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To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Talbot Wentworth Rogers entitled "Working in our disadvantages : the perceptions of selected Nicaraguan teachers about the effect of war on their professional roles." I have examined the final electronic copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Education.

Dale Doak, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation and recommend its acceptance:

Edward Bratton, Mary Jane Connelly, Dianne Whitaker

Accepted for the Council:

Carolyn R. Hodges

Vice Provost and Dean of the Graduate School

(Original signatures are on file with official student records.)

To the Graduate Council:

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Dianne Whitaker

Accepted for the Council:

Associate Vice Chancellor and
Dean of the Graduate School

WORKING IN OUR DISADVANTAGES: THE PERCEPTIONS OF SELECTED NICARAGUAN TEACHERS ABOUT THE EFFECT OF WAR ON THEIR PROFESSIONAL ROLES

A Dissertation Presented for the

Doctor of Philosophy

Degree

The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Talbot W. Rogers

December, 1997

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents, Mary Belle and Edward Rogers, and to the twelve dedicated schoolteachers who were participants in this study.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to thank my committee for their patience and help: Dr. Dale Doak, Dr. Mary Jane Connelly, Dr. Edward Bratton, and Dr. Dianne Whitaker. I would also want to remember the kind contributions to methodology and analysis made by Kathleen deMarrais, Lynn Blinn and Howard Pollio. I wish to thank Roger Kühl and Manuel Marquez for their unselfish help in making this study possible in an educational setting in Matagalpa. I will always be grateful to Jim and Sarah Hornsby for their constant support in Matagalpa for so many years. Thanks to my wonderful wife Judy for her editing skills and untiring encouragement. I have appreciated all the friends and family who have encouraged me in this study: Grace Cooley, Jesse Rogers, Sarah Grace Rogers. My thanks also for the constant support of the Crossville and University Society of Friends.

Abstract

Research Question: How do selected teachers in the Matagalpa, Nicaragua area perceive the effects of the war period of 1979 to 1990 on their professional roles?

This study was an on-site qualitative interview study utilizing autophotographic techniques and was directed towards answering the above research question.

The twelve participants were all schoolteachers in Matagalpa, Nicaragua with teaching experience in Nicaragua during times of war and peace. The interviews were done in two stages and involved their reflections of the effect of war on their professional roles as educators. Each participant took twelve black-and-white photographs with a small camera. The film was developed and printed on site, and the participants viewed their photographs during the second-stage interview.

Analysis of the data revealed two basic themes: loss and devotion. The theme of loss involved a loss of the future, violation of potential, failed expectations, incomprehensibility, disconnection, and uncertainty. The theme of devotion related to the profession, to students, to improvement of the profession and to the concept of peace.

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Chapter 1

Motivations and Rationale for the Study

And would it have been worth it, after all,
After the cups, the marmalade, the tea,
Among the porcelain, among some talk of you and me,
Would it have been worth while,
To have bitten off the matter with a smile
To have squeezed the universe into a ball
To roll it toward some overwhelming question . . . .

T. S. Eliot, from "The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock"

Part 1: Introduction to the Study

Background

How do selected teachers in the Matagalpa, Nicaragua area perceive the effects of the war period of 1979 to 1990 on their professional roles?

This is the research question with which I have grappled over a period of several years, beginning in the summer of 1989. At that time I was an elementary art teacher in Cumberland County, a rural county in Tennessee, and had been teaching there for sixteen years. During July, as was my habit, I was a delegate to the National Education Association Convention in Washington D. C. As a delegate to that convention, I engaged two white-haired schoolteachers in conversation and learned that they had just returned from a work-study tour of Nicaragua. They remarked that in spite of the war and deep poverty there, the people of Nicaragua were making great

strides in the fields of health and education. I heard other visitors to Nicaragua talk in much the same vein- almost always citing the stark living conditions there. Statistics and demographics indeed showed that the people of Nicaragua were among the hemisphere's poorest. A few days after my return from Washington D.C., I decided to look into the possibility of driving to Nicaragua with a pickup load of supplies, donating whatever monies could be raised to charitable organizations there. That drive would later lead to the desire to conduct this research

I ascertained that it was possible to drive from Knoxville, Tennessee to Nicaragua through contacts with members of the "Women's Convoy to Central America." This group of women loaded a number of vehicles with medical and humanitarian supplies and proceeded to drive them overland to countries in Central America. There, both vehicles and cargo were donated to aid organizations. While on the United States leg of their journey, three of the drivers for this convoy stayed with my family and provided me with news of road conditions through Central America (Women's Convoy pamphlet, 1989). My local American Automobile Association checked road conditions through access to United States State Department bulletins and found that although guerrilla movements were active in several of the countries I would need to pass through, the roads were open and could be traveled with relative safety, as other authors affirmed (Anderson, 1988; Colburn, 1991; Dickey; 1985).

Previously, I had driven across Thailand with my family in a small rented Toyota to the border of Cambodia in order to see the refugee camps there. Road conditions, food, and accommodations were sometimes primitive, but we completed that journey without significant trouble. I felt confident that the Central American roads could be no worse (I was wrong).

At that time, I traveled from Knoxville, Tennessee to Matagalpa, Nicaragua driving a small pickup truck loaded with donated medical and school supplies. In traveling approximately three thousand miles in seventeen days without maps or strong skills in Spanish, I witnessed many things which were later explained only through long hours of reading and research. I returned to Nicaragua again in 1990 to deliver a bus for the use of an organization working with children in Matagalpa and again in 1992 to do the fieldwork for this study.

A related factor motivating this study was a desire to observe a small part of Central America firsthand. An overland trip to Nicaragua involved traveling about three thousand miles through five countries. The route traversed the length of Mexico, continued south through Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, and finally lead into Nicaragua. At one point in history many of these countries were linked in a single Republic, and even a cursory visit to them yielded greater dimension to my academic understanding of the region. The study was strengthened by my temporary immersion in the culture

of Matagalpa where the palpable physical, economic and sociological effects of the war were evident.

Overview of Nicaragua

A poor nation, Nicaragua contains a paradoxical wealth of natural resources. Its area and population are geographically similar to the more affluent State of Tennessee. Nicaragua contains the largest fresh water lake in Central America, and numerous active volcanoes. Nicaragua's countryside is divided between the mountains of the central highlands and the almost inaccessible and sparsely populated Caribbean lowlands. About half of the country is covered by lush hardwood forests which have made a large timber industry viable for the past two centuries. The economy depends primarily on coffee, sugar, cotton, timber, and cattle exports (LeFeber, 1984, p. 11).

Like many other third world countries, these rich resources belie the poverty of the majority of its people, who survive hardly above subsistence levels, with their children a vital part of the work force by age six or seven (Barry, 1987, p. 11). Surveys of living standards have consistently ranked Nicaragua at or near the bottom of all countries in the Western Hemisphere, often tied with Haiti for last place. During the last years of the Somoza dictatorship, average life expectancy was only 53 years, with preventable diseases like diarrhea, tetanus, tuberculosis, and pneumonia being the primary causes of death. Two thirds of the children under five suffered from

malnutrition, less than 60 percent of the total population was literate and only about 50 percent were employed. These figures were much worse in the countryside (Kinzer, 1991; Barry, 1987; Clouse, 1988). By the late 1980's, the new government had made major gains in literacy and health care, but the "maximum" daily worker's wage in Nicaragua would only buy about 60 percent of the basic needs of a family of six (IHCA [Institutio Histórico Centroamericano], 1984, p. 30).

Even this marginal quality of life has been shown to be deteriorating over time. One ethnographic study found that the 1988 income of a Nicaraguan family of seven with two employed members was only enough to purchase "76 percent of the family's requirements in rice, beans and sugar *alone*. . . . a bottle of aspirin would have taken one-tenth of the family's income." (Lancaster, 1992). Indeed, daily caloric intake of the poorest half of all Nicaraguans was measured as 78% of the average daily requirement (Ministerio de Planificatión, 1980, p. 98). Throughout this nation, and much of Central America, significant numbers of the population were at or near starvation levels, and the poorest half of the population had only a few hundred dollars per year in income (Barry, 1987; Booth, 1982; Close, 1988; Collins, 1982; Conroy, 1987; Kinzer, 1991; Whisnant, 1995; Wilkie & Reich, 1980).

Part 2: Statement of the Problem

A lack of Understanding of War and the Effects of War

The research question reflected a need to know more about the effects of war. I hoped that observations on the effects of war in this specific area would lead me to a broader global understanding of the nature of this phenomenon. I had never seen war firsthand, yet was confronted by it regularly in the newspapers, in the movies, and on television. The military plays a constant part in contemporary life- it permeates our newspapers, books, and theaters. From working with lobbying efforts for educational funding through the National Education Association and the Tennessee Education Association, I realized that the military budget has, since World War II, adversely impacted funds that could have been available for domestic educational institutions. Defense spending in our country, takes up about half the federal budget and certainly impacts public education and other social services (Vidal, 1996).

Several agencies count wars like the one which occurred in Nicaragua: The National Defense Council Foundation, the Center for Defense Information, and organizations such as the United States Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). The count varies from one institution to another but is invariably well above twenty each year. One CIA spokesperson described war as areas with "high levels of organized violence between states or between contending groups within a state or with high levels of political or societal tension likely to erupt into violence" (Briscoe, 1997, p. A16).

Though scholars have studied individual wars, war itself is little scrutinized. Barbara Ehrenreich says, ". . . we have no theory of war, at least not in the sense that we might be said to have a theory of capitalism. Each war arrives as a total surprise" (1997b, p. 21). In her work *Blood Rites: Origins and History of the Passions of War,* Ehrenreich hypothesizes that human beings began to engage in warfare as a result of their ascent upwards on the food chain, evolving from the hunted to the hunters, with defense remaining a high priority. War, Ehrenreich suggests, has remained ingrained in human nature and can only be examined as an entity separate from any specific conflict (1997a). It would follow that studies of specific wars such as the one in Nicaragua might gain in value as they are not the observation of a singular but rather an archetypal phenomenon.

Lawrence Keeley (1997) examines war's origins as having started about 12,000 years ago. The average human, he maintains, was much more likely to meet death through war in the tribal cultures of preceding centuries than in today's world. The modern era, however, appears sufficiently bloody with about 100 million deaths attributable to war in this century. Keeley maintains that war has been practiced by every type of human group: farmers and urban dwellers, roving tribesman, dictatorships and democracies.

I read literary authors who looked deeply into the subject of war: Leo Tolstoy, Alexander Solzhenitsyn, Kurt Vonnegut, Albert Schweitzer, Winston Churchill, Herman Melville, Bruce Catton, Wilfred Owen, Robert Lowell, and Elie Weisel. Ernest Hemingway

wrote that he could never understand life until he understood death and set out to the bullfights of Spain as a war reporter. *Death in the Afternoon* and *For Whom the Bell Tolls* followed these journeys. In conversations with John Dos Passos, Hemingway stated that, for him, war was the best subject of all, that everything was speeded up and afforded the writer a mass of experience that he might otherwise have to wait a lifetime to attain (Baker, 1969). No author except Mahatma Gandhi seemed to understand war well enough to advocate a long-term prescription for a civilization which could function without it.

Still, the nature of war escaped me, refusing to yield to some intellectual encapsulation. What might research in Nicaragua show about war's effect on selected educators? What might be learned from them that might aid a larger society in ameliorating the negative effects of war?

A Need to Study a Third World Country Under Stress

Nicaragua can be taken to represent many other countries scattered across the globe beset with destitution and war. Approximately half of the world's population lives in what would be considered poverty. Nicaragua's educational expenditures per student are approximately 3% of comparable expenditures in the United States. Its average adult income is approximately 5% of that of the average in the United States. By the time the interviews were

conducted, unemployment rates had climbed to 58%, and the marginal standard of living was on the decline (Malterer, 1992, p. 9).

The Potential of Interviewing Nicaraguan Educators

The teachers of a nation are constantly involved with the lives of their students, and it follows that they would be familiar with many aspects of their broader society. As Erich Fromm stated, teaching:

> . . . can only be given by the presence of a mature, loving person. In previous epochs of our own culture, the man most highly valued was the person with outstanding spiritual qualities. Even the teacher was not only, or even primarily, a source of information, but his function was to convey certain human attitudes. . . . (1963, p. 98).

Teachers play a central role in their communities, and as communication is a major part of their training as well as the foundation of many of their professional functions, they can be expected to express themselves well. They should logically be expected to be able to respond to the research question with detail and with a practiced ability to clarify and elaborate their ideas. Their reflections of grappling with the effects of over a decade of war should provide a rich base of data for analysis and discussion. Through their work with large numbers of children and, indirectly, with their parents, teachers should be expected to have considerable knowledge of the lives of the broader community around them. If

this is so, the possibility that teacher attitudes might serve as a bellwether to a broader population should not be ignored.

Media/ Academic Disparity

A final problem for this research was a desire to have a more complete world view as a result of an on-site study of war. Academic studies in the region appear to contradict the presentation of the conflict as presented in the mainstream media (Hart, 1990; Heyck, 1990; Lancaster, 1988, 1990). The two schoolteachers I met in Washington D.C. projected a vision of a warm and benign Nicaragua, amicable toward visitors in spite of its destitution. In contrast, some voices from the media and government had for years been proclaiming that Nicaragua was a threat to the United States both politically and militarily. President Reagan had criticized Nicaragua as a dictatorship and a military threat to the region in an address to Congress (Reagan, 1980) and in countless other White House press releases. In a later address, the President pointed out that Russian Migs capable of striking our country were en route to Managua (Reagan in Booth, 1985). Henry Kissinger stated that "If we cannot manage Central America it will be impossible to convince threatened nations in the Persian Gulf and in other places that we know how to manage the global equilibrium" (in Buckley, 1984, p. 317).

The press had been filled with dire pronouncements against Nicaragua by Secretaries of State Alexander Haig and George Shultz,

United States Ambassador to the United Nations Jeanne Kirkpatrick and other government officials. The view of Nicaragua as a danger to the United States was repeatedly presented in daily White House press briefings at that time. I was also aware of news reports regarding the Contras, a rebel group partially funded by the United States. Congress had been funding this guerrilla movement for some years, with the cooperation of the CIA. I was aware that President Reagan completely supported them, repeatedly referring to them as "freedom fighters." (Barry, 1991; Ilke, 1983; Kirkpatrick, 1982; Woodward, 1987).

With notable exceptions, reporters for the media had reinforced the view taken by the United States government, depicting Nicaragua as an ideological and military appendage of the Soviet Union and Cuba, an "expansionist menace" to the whole Western Hemisphere (Buckley, 1984; Chomsky, 1985; Christian, 1985; Gutman, 1988; Chamorro, 1987; Crawley, 1979). I had an inbred reluctance to discount the outlook of my government and press, though any mistrust was reinforced by such social analysts as Jacques Ellul (1964, 1965).

The two viewpoints, one taken by the media and another taken from eyewitness accounts, were irreconcilable. Each perspective held implications for human behavior in a wider world. I was to find that the vast preponderance of authors who wrote about Nicaragua noted the same disparity between academic and observed reality vs. the broad content of national media reports (Cohen & Soloman, 1995;

Herman & O'Sullivan, 1989, p. 61, 229). Hopefully, a qualitative study would shed some light on whether Nicaragua had been accurately portrayed as a "menace" by the mainstream media or as benign by eyewitnesses and historians. Here was one country within reach; one country I could legally visit and ask questions, drawing my own conclusions.

Part 3: The Purpose of the Study

The Formation of Theory

Theory is defined by Bennet & LeCompte as "a world view, a way we organize and explain the world we live in" (1990, p. 2). The formation of theory that explains behavior is the primary goal of a qualitative research endeavor. Theoretical preparation, data collection and data analysis are all directed toward finding an "answer" to the research question. The interviews should, after analysis, yield a plausible theory that explains the behavior of the participants. Harry Wolcott said that the researcher's unique importance comes in conveying "how it is to 'walk in someone else's shoes' and to 'tell it like it is'" (1975, p. 111). Michael Agar stated that the "goal is to. . . build new knowledge through which social action in one tradition can be seen as coherent from the point of view of another" (1986, p. 39). The theory or set of theories should be supportable by the preponderance of data in a qualitative study, though it will not be "mathematically" justified. Bogden and Taylor state that the researcher, "Unlike practitioners of most other

methodologies. . . seeks merely to demonstrate the plausibility of his or her hypotheses and not to 'test' or 'prove' them" (Bogden & Taylor, 1975, p. 80).

Possibility of Generalization of Theories of the Effects of War

Soren Kierkegaard once said that "Life must be lived forwards, but can only be understood backwards" (Young-Buehl, 1983, p. 423). The concept of studying war's effect on the population subgroup of teachers would seem to have great value in today's conflict-strewn arena. Knowledge possessed by teachers concerning their interaction with war should be useful to a wider audience, since today few populations can feel immune to the possibility of violent conflict. Goetz and LeCompte state that "qualitative studies are meant to be compared and translated to other groups" (1984, p. 5). The theories generated by the proposed study may be generalizable in such a way as to help others cope with the phenomenon of war.

I have found no studies conducted on any Latin American culture regarding the relationship of educators to war and believe that a study of teacher attitudes about the conflict in Nicaragua is unique. It is unlikely that Nicaragua will fund any similar study, as the nation has historically reached the point of its greatest economic hardship, and funds for anthropological endeavors are nonexistent. The cost of the blank tape audiocassettes used in this study is equal to a month's salary to a public school teacher.

The Evaluation of Cross-Cultural Techniques

The study of a culture by an outsider is generally desirable by qualitative theorists. Bogden & Taylor state: ". . . we would recommend that researchers choose settings in which the subjects are strangers to them and in which they have no particular professional knowledge or expertise" (1975, p. 28). Fried states the case even more strongly:

> Anthropology requires a cross-cultural setting for its most basic theoretical operations. Rather than urging anthropologists to dwell within their own cultures, the needs of the discipline are best served by encouraging all anthropologists to maximize their experiences outside their own cultures (1972, p. 239).

As an outsider, I would hope to notice aspects of the lives of my subjects of which they might not be conscious. As anthropologist Clyde Kluckhohn said, "It would hardly be fish who discovered the existence of water" (1949, p. 16).

Need for the Study

Qualitative research is involved in the study of culture and the acquisition of a data base can be said to be preserving a particular culture as it exists in a specific time. The teachers of Matagalpa experienced a long and devastating war but rarely if ever closed their schools. These teachers have contributed to raising the literacy rate in their country faster than any other country in recent

decades- from under 50% to approximately 88% in less than a decade. The reflections of Nicaraguan teachers during this unusual time period have not been studied previously, and without such a study, a unique knowledge of their reflections into this critical time period could be lost.

Time was a factor in this study. This general period offered an excellent opportunity to select participants who have recently worked during a period of war and the period of peace. The area, however, was economically and politically unstable.

The use of a translator is natural to a hermaneutical study (Gadamer, 1972), which posits the investigator as translator and emphasizes the need for comprehending the meanings behind the words of the participants. The translation from Spanish to English is but a linguistic repetition of the hermaneutic approach. For meaning, the study relies heavily on the overall context and content of all the interviews, and an emergence of overall themes.

The fieldwork for this study was completed during the June-August period of 1992. Sr. Robert Kühl, the Director (equivalent to President) of the National Autonomous University of Nicaragua in Matagalpa extended an invitation to work on this project during this exclusive period (see "Letter of Permission" in Appendix). There was no guarantee that this invitation would be renewed or that the "gatekeepers" selected for the study would retain their positions for any significant length of time.

Additionally, the political situation for many teachers appeared to be deteriorating which could threaten an open environment for anthropological work. Administrators who served during the Sandinista era were increasingly finding their programs and positions under fire (Arnove, 1994). Newsletters generated by the *CEPAD Report* (The Council of Churches of Nicaragua, a multi-denominational service organization, [1992]) and various published articles (Central America Newspak, 1992) indicated that the new government was severely cutting back health and educational resources.

In the review of literature I found few qualitative studies conducted in Nicaragua of any kind, and none whatever in Latin America on the relationship of war to educators. This study will help preserve the culture of teachers during a unique era.

Chapter 2
Review of Literature

All real living is meeting.

Martin Buber

Overview

As I prepared for this venture, it became apparent that Nicaraguan professional teachers would know and discuss the history of their country and would make observations about the involvement of the United States in their nation's political and economic destiny. Historical and social conditions would have some direct as well as indirect effect on the interview content. For that reason, my own study would not be complete without a brief overview of Nicaragua's past, including a summary of the foreign domination of that country. Qualitative theorists encourage the researcher to study the relevant culture prior to the interview. Lawrence Watson (1976) states that when approaching a study "it is important to know as much as possible about the larger sociocultural context" (p. 102). This account cites and contextualizes much of the historical and cultural research done on Nicaragua to date.

Part 1: A Short History of Nicaragua

> **It has been Nicaragua's fate, often an evil fate like that of a woman too lovely, to be desired by many nations. Geological forces laid out the area which was to be Nicaragua at a point destined to be of enormous strategic importance to the great powers of the world** (Denny, 1929, p. 14).

Until 1522, Nicaragua was inhabited by approximately one million indigenous peoples. By some accounts these people, with ties to the Mayans and Aztecs, had a higher standard of living than Nicaragua's current overall population. "Pre-Columbian Mayans ate better than the people today," stated the Director of the Central American Nutrition Institute (United Nations Environment Program; 1980, p. 24). The pre-Columbian populace generally appears to have lived in harmony, though the culture certainly experienced internal wars and some slavery. The land was communal and widely cultivated, producing an abundant food supply for the residents. Numerous towns and cities developed and matured over a period of many centuries. Spanish explorer Gil Gonzales came to Nicaragua in 1522, followed quickly in 1524 by Hernández Cordoba. Cordoba founded the cities of Bruselas, León, and Granada. One of the early Spanish chroniclers enthusiastically described Nicaragua as "one of the most beautiful and pleasant lands" in the New World. "What human mind can comprehend such diversity of language, of customs. . . of these Indians? Such variety of animals . . . ? Such a multitude

of trees, laden with . . . fruit. . . ? How many plants and herbs, useful and advantageous to man? So many high and fertile mountains . . . ?" (Rodriguez, pp. 118-19 taken from Whisnant, 1995, p. 16).

The Spanish conquistadors had not come peacefully but to expand their empire. The chronicler and conquistador Bernal Díaz del Castillo reflected, "We came here to serve God and the King, and also to get rich" (Lovell, 1988, p. 30). The Spanish wasted no time in making war upon Nicaragua's inhabitants and expropriating their land. Worse than the violence were the diseases the Spanish brought to the New World which virtually exterminated whole communities throughout the hemisphere. The natives on Nicaragua's Pacific Coast were reduced by 92% in the first twenty-five years after the first Spanish arrival. In addition, between 1527 and 1548 approximately one half million people were taken from Nicaragua as slaves, mostly to work the mines of Peru.

The slave trade did not diminish after it was outlawed in 1542 but continued until about 1550 and stopped only because the supply had all but disappeared (Whisnant, 1995, p. 20). One writer estimates that slavery and disease caused the population of roughly one million native inhabitants "to plummet to a few tens of thousands" (Walker, 1982, p. 11). The remaining communal lands were slowly confiscated by the Spanish, who consolidated the country into large landed estates and used the few remaining natives as a source of cheap labor, forcing them to perform difficult and

debilitating tasks, reducing their numbers even further (Radell, 1969; Whisnant, 1995, chap. 1; Walker, 1986, chap. 2; Walker, 1982, chap. 1).

Over the remaining centuries, the indigenous races disappeared from central Nicaragua, where the population is now considered mestizo, a blend of their Indian and Spanish predecessors. The new population gradually returned to its original level of approximately one million, where it remained until the early 1950's. Descendants of the original inhabitants still exist on the almost inaccessible Atlantic coast. The Misquito, Sumu, and Rama tribes continue to speak their native tongues, and retain a distinct culture, protected by the vast marshy flatlands and heavy forest that make up much of their domicile. A small population of blacks, later brought to the eastern coast as slaves by English colonists, live in the Bluefields area and speak English as a primary language. These groups have historically treated their Spanish-speaking countrymen with suspicion and disdain.

In 1821 Central America was made independent of Spain and became part of the Mexican Empire. An immediate drive was made to create a Central American Republic from the Spanish territories of Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras (which then included Belize), Columbia (which then included Panama), and Nicaragua. In 1824 Nicaragua briefly existed as a state in the independent Central American Federation. The consolidation effort sputtered, then failed, and five independent and sporadically warring countries remained.

In 1838 Nicaragua declared itself a sovereign nation. Some historians consider that Nicaragua was hampered from taking a strong independent course toward development by a government structure originally designed by the Spanish for the benefit of their home country and a tiny group of large landowners.

Politically, the country gradually polarized two factions known as the Conservatives and the Liberals. The Conservatives were generally large landowners with strong political ties to the Catholic Church and were entrenched in monopolistic trade practices. The Liberals represented a somewhat less orthodox adherence to the will of the church and favored less monopolistic land and economic policies. The Liberals were also more open to public education, as the Conservatives were more closely allied to the Catholic clergy and to church schools. The Liberals centered themselves around the northern city of Léon while the Conservatives organized themselves around the city of Grenada, which bordered Lake Nicaragua. After independence, the Conservatives and Liberals' ill-equipped armies periodically battled for control of the country. The new republic suffered through several revolutions, with its capital city fluctuating between the Liberal city of Leon and the Conservative city of Granada, depending upon which faction held political power. (It should be noted that today the Liberal party, which was the party of the Somoza family, is considered to be extremely "conservative" in ideology. In order to promote peace between the factions, the capital

was moved to Managua, a city geographically located between Léon and Granada.)

The Influence of the United States in Nicaragua

In understanding Nicaraguan history and in understanding the participants in this study, it is important to have a general knowledge of the place of the United States in Nicaraguan history. For at least a hundred years, United States policy has dictated the most basic directions of life in Nicaragua. In the United States, it is little known that United States troops have been sent into Nicaragua more often than into any other Central American country- on eleven occasions (Gutman, 1988, p.63).

From the outset, United States Presidents have been acutely aware of Central America. Thomas Jefferson stated in 1786 that he was content that the North American continent remain in Spanish hands until "our population can be sufficiently advanced to gain it from them piece by piece" (from Chomsky, 1987, p. 13). "History," Jefferson further stated,". . . furnishes no example of a priest-ridden people maintaining a free civil government' (Whitaker, 1954, p. 29). Jefferson's confidence in a political philosophy later termed Manifest Destiny was shared by Alexander Hamilton, John Quincy Adams, and James Monroe (LaFeber, 1984, pp. 19-26). Manifest Destiny, simply put, was the belief that the United States was destined to inevitably expand and rule North America and dominate the entire hemisphere.

Certainly the greatest public expression of these sentiments came in 1823 with the issuance of the Monroe Doctrine, written by

then Secretary of State John Quincy Adams. This pronouncement warned that "the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers," and that ". . . we should consider any attempt (by the nations of Europe) to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety" (May, 1975). This statement did not greatly trouble the British who continued to maintain troops and warships throughout the Americas. The British presence would become the dominant colonial power in Central America after the region was declared independent of Spain in 1822.

On the dawn of its independence, the fledgling nation of Nicaragua was being eyed by two much larger powers, the United States and Great Britain. Tiny Nicaragua was geographically the best location for the construction of a transoceanic canal route, with lucrative worldwide trade implications. Militarily, such a canal would constitute one of the most valuable strategic sites in the world.

Cornelius Vanderbilt immediately seized on this potential by creating the "Accessory Transit Company" which by 1854 annually carried 24,000 passengers and freight between the Atlantic and Pacific Coasts through a series of rail and boat facilities. The route of this transit passed in its entirety through Nicaragua and was considered superior to that of the present day Panama Canal. During the gold rush periods, Vanderbilt's company was swamped with passengers traveling from the East Coast of the United States to

California and Alaska. Mark Twain took the transit in 1866. His wry observations were later published as *Mark Twain's Travels With Mr. Brown* (Walker & Dane, 1940).

Nicaragua was viewed by some North Americans as having potential for a more sinister purpose: slavery. Rising pressure from slave states in the United States for additional territory provided some special interest groups with the hope of somehow annexing Nicaragua. This fertile land could provide a considerable area for the expansion of slavery, and might even be admitted to the Union as either a slave state or territory.

In 1856, Nicaragua's out-of-power Liberals turned to North American mercenaries for help. They decided to seek out a man of some reputation in the field, William Walker, a native of Nashville, Tennessee. Walker had a reputation as a newspaperman, doctor, military leader and charismatic public speaker. Through this mercurial man, one of the strangest sagas in all Central American history began to unfold.

Some years earlier, Walker had attempted to "liberate" the Sonora region of Mexico and develop it into a sovereign state. The Mexicans in the region did not appreciate Walker's efforts to bring them "civilization" and quickly expelled him from their borders. Walker's failure in Mexico was translated into sufficient fame in the press to attract the Liberals to hire him to lead an army on their behalf. There is some evidence that Cornelius Vanderbilt's isthmus transit company took an interest in Walker, hoping that he could be

utilized to bolster stability (and profits) in Nicaragua should he become politically ensconced there.

Walker found getting to Nicaragua a difficult affair- the concept of invading another country was not popular with many parties in the United States, and a number of attempts were made to keep him from leaving the country. He attempted to cultivate ties to the Buchanan administration but never gained an agreement for official recognition of any new government he might create.

After several trips, Walker landed in Nicaragua with a small band of mercenaries, whom he dubbed the "59 Immortals." This tiny band, working with their allies, the Liberals, managed several surprising military upsets against the Conservatives and took power in 1855. In the following year, Walker was "elected" President of Nicaragua by the small percentage of the population eligible to vote.

During his two years in power, Walker's "accomplishments" included changing his loyalties from the Liberals to the Conservatives, betraying Cornelius Vanderbilt in favor of a rival transit company, reinstituting slavery, executing a popular Nicaraguan general, and declaring that English was to be equal to Spanish as the official language of Nicaragua. As might be imagined, he made few friends. Vanderbilt fatefully changed the routing of his transit company to an alternate route in Panama and blocked much of the Nicaraguan traffic. Outraged Nicaraguans united with an army from neighboring Costa Rica to fight against their North American President. In 1857, after considerable bloodshed, Walker burned the

capital city of Granada and fled to the United States. There, his appetite for power unabated, he persuasively began to raise funds for a return to Nicaragua in hopes of retaking his lost kingdom. In 1860 he did return with a small military force but was captured in neighboring Honduras. By then, Walker was considered an affront to much of the leadership of Central America, and the Hondurans showed little patience for "the gray-eyed man of destiny," and quickly had him shot by a firing squad (Carr, 1963; Walker, 1982, p. 12; Whisnant, 1995, chap. 2).

Honduran bullets killed Walker and his influence in the United States, but his memory has never been forgotten in Nicaragua. There, every schoolteacher knows the story of the "Yankee Invader." The North American adventurer is often portrayed as a barbarous villain by present-day Nicaraguans, an example to students of the threat of interference from the Colossus of the North (Borge, T., 1992, p. 61).

That Walker was a portent of things to come is certainly borne out by history. The United States' interest in Nicaragua increased markedly after our own Civil War, as the United States' military grew to the size of other world powers. Competition with Great Britain over trade and canal routes in Central America became heated. President Theodore Roosevelt could not get a suitable canal treaty from the Colombians or Nicaraguans for a route, and historical evidence indicates that a revolt was consequently fostered in Columbia which effectively carved out the independent nation of

Panama. The new nation of Panama predictably granted the United States exclusive and perpetual sovereignty over the canal.

In 1905, President Theodore Roosevelt announced "Big Stick" diplomacy in what has become known as the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine. This dictum stated that the United States would act as the policeman to maintain order in the hemisphere, with Roosevelt stating:

> All that this country desires is that the other republics on this continent shall be happy and prosperous; and they cannot be happy and prosperous unless they maintain order within their boundaries and behave with a just regard for their obligations toward outsiders" (Richardson, 1897, pp. 7375-76).

"Big Stick" diplomacy was followed a few years later with the concept of "Dollar Diplomacy," authored by Secretary of State Philander Knox under President Taft. "Dollar Diplomacy" carried the Monroe Doctrine one step further: it was deemed that the nations of the Western Hemisphere should do their banking in the Western Hemisphere or risk intervention by the United States. Naturally, the biggest banks in the hemisphere were located in the United States, and the bank which wished most to make loans to Nicaragua was the Brown Brothers Bank of New York. Secretary of State Knox conveniently sat on the Board of Directors of this bank. The initiation of this policy pressured Latin countries to refinance their debts in the United States and protested the long-standing practice of European powers sending their warships to collect delinquent loans.

Warships from the United States would thenceforth suffice (Buckley, 1984, p. 61). Through this stratagem Knox's bank came eventually to own the Nicaragua State Bank and the Nicaraguan railroads, and to gain possession of the Nicaraguan Customs House, Nicaragua's chief source of outside income (LaFeber, Chap. 2).

The fact that the United States had secured canal rights in Panama still did not give Nicaragua the "right" to arrange for its own competing canal. Just after the turn of the century, Nicaraguan President José Zelaya attempted to garner sufficient loans abroad to build a competing canal through Lake Nicaragua and up the San Juan river. He found himself immediately beset with a revolution with mysterious monetary and military ties to the United States. Zelaya and the Nicaraguan army quickly routed the forces of the rebellion, but just before they could completely crush it, the United States Navy and Marines set up "neutral zones" to protect the insurgent forces. The rebels, with perpetual safe haven granted from Uncle Sam, were able to weaken the Nicaraguan government. Finally Zelaya was forced to step down, followed by a successor more compliant to the will of Washington. In the aftermath, the United States' ambassador in Managua made it clear that any future governments which resisted their administration's policies would remain unrecognized. This policy, augmented with the occasional use of the United States Navy and Marines, would keep pliable Presidents in place in Nicaragua for almost three-quarters of a century. A contemporary historian stated, "In reality, the

government of Nicaragua became only a name, as the supervision of affairs of that country were now actually controlled from Washington" (Cramer, 1929, p. 38).

Nicaraguans rebelled. In order to protect tottering but synchophantic governments, the United States Marines occupied Nicaragua from 1912 to 1925. When these troops were removed in 1925, the existing government had so little popular support that it was immediately threatened by internal forces. The United States returned the Marines promptly to prop up the tottering regime. The troops remained from 1926 until 1933. During this period, Nicaraguan Presidents with the proper loyalties were aided by election fraud and buttressed by the United States Marines when necessary. Perhaps one of the most startling admissions of culpability of the United States was made by Major General Smedley Darlington Butler, one of only four two-time recipients of the Congressional Medal of Honor. He held command of the military forces of the United States in many countries around the world, including Nicaragua during its occupation. During an American Legion dinner held in his honor he flabbergasted his audience by stating:

> I spent 33 years. . . being a high-class muscleman for Big Business, for Wall Street and the bankers. In short, I was a racketeer for capitalism. . . . I helped purify Nicaragua for the international banking house of Brown Brothers in 1909-1912. I helped make Mexico and especially Tampico safe for

> American oil interests in 1916. I brought light to the Dominican Republic for American sugar interests in 1916. I helped make Haiti and Cuba a decent place for the National City (Bank) boys to collect revenue in. I helped in the rape of half a dozen Central American Republics for the benefit of Wall Street (Millett, 1977, pp. 24, 31; Archer, 1973, pp. 118-9).

In the newsletter of his brigade, Butler also stated that "There must be no more reactionary and destructive intelligence work. The true domestic enemies of our nation- hunger, injustice and exploitation- should concern the military intelligence, not the subversive shadows of their own creation. . . ." (Everett, 1989, p. 4).

During the first part of the twentieth century, huge loans from the United States to several compliant Nicaraguan governments gradually required that railroads, ports, and other sources of revenue be placed in North American hands. Profits from this country so rich in agricultural and mineral resources went back to owners generally located in the United States (Barry, 1987). High paying posts were sometimes distributed as political sinecures by the Democratic Party. Of 130 documented incursions made into Central and South America by United States forces (Kornbluh, 1987, p. 125), Nicaragua has been the country most invaded.

Augusto César Sandino was made famous by his eloquent and uncompromising resistance to the Marine occupation from 1926 to 1933 and is undoubtedly the most revered figure in the history of Nicaragua. Sandino was the illegitimate son of a Nicaraguan

landowner of Spanish descent and an Indian woman in the employ of the Sandino family. His father was a supporter of the Liberal political party and impressed these values on his son. The Liberals supported a constitutional government, the rule of law, and an elected legislature. While employed as a bookkeeper for a North American-owned firm in Mexico, Sandino became a student of early socialist theorists, such as Francois Babeuf, Auguste Blanqui, and Pierre Joseph Proudhon. Sandino was also deeply motivated by tenets of Spiritualism, Gnosticism, Freemasonry, and Christianity. He became an ardent feminist. He appears to have accepted a form of Christian-based "spiritual" communism rather than the more common "scientific" communism espoused by Marx and Engels. He renounced any intention of holding public office and made a point of never owning anything, declaring that "Property is theft." The eloquent Sandino became an ardent spokesman for these complicated philosophies and was uniquely able to relate them to the common people of Nicaragua (Hodges, 1992, pp. 1-14; 1986, chap. 1).

Returning to Nicaragua to fight against the Conservative government, Sandino refused to make peace after President Coolidge landed troops in order to restore "stability" to the country. He declared that he would never stop fighting until foreign troops left his native soil. His military prowess was such that he was able to deliver an unending series of costly reverses to the superior forces arrayed against him, deftly evading defeat or capture by constantly surprising his enemy. Sandino, to the frustration of the Nicaraguan

government and the United States Marines, was able to keep his location secret with the complicity of much of the population (Whisnant, chap. 9).

Sandino gained a grudging respect from some of his adversaries. One United States Marine Corps commander, Stanley Atha, interviewed in retirement, stated that though he was officially ordered to refer to Sandino as a bandit:

> Sandino himself was no *bandido,* not by a stretch. *Bandidos* never commanded the loyalty, never had people voluntarily giving them food and animals for the soldiers. . . . Sandino paid as he went, and when he couldn't pay he gave people notes and sent someone back to pay them later.

Atha also regretted having knowledge of some marine atrocities, and stated that in one instance a Lieutenant had:

> . . . cut off the heads of six bandits and held the heads to be photographed with them. I have one of the pictures- there, see, he holds them by the hair. Now, no marine officer in his right mind is going to do that." (Davis, 1987, pp. 65-7).

The marine atrocities were probably an aberration, though stories of this type made the United States less and less popular in Nicaragua. By contrast Sandino's reputation as an honest man was high with the general population, and his popularity with the peasants was his greatest strength. A Robin Hood figure, he robbed the rich and shared with the considerably larger masses of the poor. The army of Sandino was renowned as never taking advantage of the

civilian population, often paying civilians for services and appealing to the spirit of the populace for independence. He was a spellbinding speaker, and became popular in the overseas press and with several political factions in the United States, where a significant political base was built. Powerful Congressmen began to inveigh against the occupation of Nicaragua for the protection of large companies there. Senator Frank Borah of Idaho led the opposition to these policies, stating that "the people of Nicaragua are being exploited in shameless fashion by American corporations protected by United States Marines" (Johnson, 1936, p. 343). Even Henry Stimson, a key diplomat sent to Managua to oversee the United States' occupation, is quoted in 1931 as stating: "Today we are hated and despised. This feeling has been created by employing the American marines to hunt down and kill Nicaraguans in their own country" (LaFeber, 1984, p. 67). In 1933 the expense and pressures finally proved too much for Franklin Roosevelt's Administration, and all military forces were ordered withdrawn.

One month after the marines withdrew, Sandino entered Managua triumphantly and negotiated for peace with those in power. He gained an amnesty for his soldiers, agreed to turn in most of his arms, and proclaimed that all Nicaraguans were brothers. He did not desire national office but did request to be given some autonomy in maintaining a community of his followers in the northern mountains.

Sandino was to survive the United States Marines but not the treachery of his own countrymen. On a subsequent visit to Managua,

he was forcibly driven to an area where the airport is today and shot. His execution appears to have been arranged by the new *Jeff Director* of the new National Guard, Anastasio Somoza Garcia. General Somoza, fluent in English, was a favorite of the United States military and Washington's diplomats. On the night of the murder, Somoza is said to have met several times with Arthur Bliss Lane, the United States Minister to Nicaragua. These meetings later caused some historians to accuse Lane and the State Department of complicity in the murder, though this was never conclusively proven. Somoza wasted little time in accumulating total power, and soon came to rule with an iron hand (Hodges, 1986, 1992; Millet, 1977).

The Somoza Years

> **". . . as I traveled around and saw the situation, namely a few fabulously rich people in a country, small if any middle class, and oceans of poor, miserable, illiterate people living constantly at the starvation level, I became exceedingly worried, and I felt that orthodox aid would do no more than strengthen the prevailing order."**
>
> Milton Eisenhower on a fact-finding trip for his brother, President Dwight Eisenhower

President Eisenhower's brother, though inexperienced in foreign affairs, discerned a great truth regarding the relationship of his own country to Latin America. Certainly Nicaragua collected considerable aid from the United States for most of this century, with little real gain for the poor majority. Somoza's Guardia Nacional,

trained and equipped by the United States, became his enforcers. Guardia officers were promoted more on the basis of personal loyalty than competency. By 1937, with his faithful troops counting the votes, Somoza became the "elected" President of Nicaragua. Later translucent ballots and transparent ballot boxes were to come into use, intimidating voters by revealing their ballots publicly (Walker, 1986, p. 100).

Somoza stole more than elections. Using his political power as President, the Guardia as his enforcers, and with the United States in the background as his patrón, Somoza and his sons accumulated a tremendous percentage of his country's businesses and property. Approximately one-third of the land mass of Nicaragua was to pass into the hands of the family and its closest supporters (Millet, 1977).

Anastasio Somoza García, and his two sons, Luis Somoza Debayle and Anastasio Somoza Debayle, would continually rule the country between 1937 and 1979. They were ardently pro-Washington and fluent in English. The younger Anastasio appeared to prefer speaking English to Spanish. Both sons attended college in the United States. Under the leadership of these men, the Fourth of July came to be celebrated throughout Nicaragua, and Franklin Roosevelt's birthday was declared a national Nicaraguan holiday (Whisnant, 1995, pp. 142-5). Trade with the United States increased to the point that the United States' share of imports and exports was as high as 80% early in the century (Barahona Portocarrero, 1977, pp. 13-14; Booth, 1985, p. 34). The Somozas encouraged this trade to the

point that in 1956 a count of the ads in *La Prensa,* a national Nicaraguan newspaper, demonstrated that 90% of the paper's advertisements represented firms from the United States, and that the sports pages were "focused around U. S. baseball, boxing, and golf. Had it not been written in Spanish, most of it could have emanated from any sizable city in the United States" (Whisnant, 1995, p. 142).

The Somozas exacerbated a trend throughout Central America wherein export markets, dominated by large landowners and companies concerned primarily with the highest profit margins, took priority over domestic food consumption needs. For example, the use of agricultural land for raising export cattle increased in order to supply demand in the United States, where beef consumption increased by 50%. Simultaneously consumption declined by 30% in all of Central America. Presently an average housecat in the United States eats more beef than the average Central American (Barry, 1987, p. 35).

Anastasio Somoza was assassinated in 1956 by a student officially declared to be insane but seen as a patriot by resistance groups. Somoza's eldest son, Luis, followed his father as President, and when he died of a heart attack in 1967, he was followed by his younger brother, Anastasio. Anastasio Somoza Debayle was a graduate of West Point and continued the family tradition of keeping Nicaragua as Washington's closest ally in Latin America. With the Somozas at the helm, the Nicaraguan government invariably

supported the United States foreign policy in the United Nations and the Organization of American States, and was eager to offer help and support to Washington in many situations of questionable legality. For example, Somoza allowed Nicaragua to be used as a training base for the CIA army which invaded Guatemala in 1954, and again a few years later to train another CIA army of Cubans for the Bay of Pigs invasion. This was an apparent violation of Article 15 of the Charter of the Organization of American States that, "No State or group of States has the right to intervene, directly or indirectly, for any reason whatever, in the internal or external affairs of any other State" (LaFeber, 1984, p. 93). Article 20 plainly states: "The territory of a state is inviolable; it may not be the object, even temporarily, of military occupation or of other measures of force taken by another state, directly or indirectly, on any grounds whatever. . . ." (from Spykman, 1988, p. 163).

The United States had insisted on the insertion of further language which could cloud this issue, allowing collective intervention, as well as insisting that it could unilaterally intervene should it become necessary. Maintaining the ability of the United States to intervene in spite of Article 15 has become known as the Miller Doctrine, after its designer Edward Miller, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs under Harry Truman (LaFeber, 1984, pp. 93-4). This policy, underpinned by the Monroe Doctrine, was used to justify several invasions in the Caribbean by the United States during the 1960's and 1980's.

Somoza and his family carefully cultivated political and business ties in influential circles in the United States and fully expected reciprocal support against any domestic insurgency. Family interests and national interests gradually came to be viewed by the Somozas as synonymous, with the family having either an interest in all major businesses or outright ownership. At times the graft reached ridiculous proportions. Managua, the nation's capital, was patrolled even in its slums by Mercedes Benz police cars, because the Somoza family owned the national dealership. Tom Barry (1987) states that "Indeed, the system has worked well for the large landholders. . . . Keeping slaves would cost them more than temporarily hiring peasants for a dollar or two a day" (p. 11). Social and educational programs were among the most poorly funded in Central America, with reliable politicos maintaining the top posts. "I don't want educated people, I want oxen," stated the dictator (Whisnant, 1995, p. 164). The Guardia Nacional, with 98% of its officers trained by the United States Army, generally suppressed dissent, maintaining control of the country by brutal, often extralegal means of repression (Davis, 1987, p. 35).

Little exemplifies the cruelty of the era as clearly as a description of the Somoza family's private zoo. Barred cages housed political prisoners next to lions and panthers in the Presidential Palace garden. One journalist, himself a victim of Somoza's torture, gave the following account of this facility:

> In front of these animal cages often strolled the current president of the dynasty, Luis Somoza, and his brother Anastasio, with their wives, relatives, and children. From the end of the garden where I was being held (in a more ordinary cell). . . several times I saw their innocent children, carrying their dolls and toys, pass before the cages where men lived together with the beasts. More than once I saw children of the palace servants pass before them, their young faces revealing a mixture of pain and astonishment caused by this spectacle (Chamorro, 1979, p. 77).

In December, 1972, Managua was almost destroyed by an earthquake, and reconstruction aid flowed from the United States Agency for International Development. Somoza's greed had become so great that most of the money was shuffled into businesses and projects owned by his family. Aid money meant to rebuild the city's infrastructure was funneled instead into the pockets of the Somozas. Emergency housing funds went into the construction of luxury homes for officers of the National Guard. For instance, one $3,000,000 grant from the United States was earmarked to finance a housing project, but not one house was ever built with the money (Booth, 1982, p. 89). After the earthquake:

> Somoza invested in demolition, earth moving, heavy equipment, construction materials, premixed concrete, paving, metal buildings, pipes and tubing, real estate development, land, and housing. His greed and his willingness

to take advantage of his compatriots' suffering seemed boundless. His wealth became heroic- one estimate placed Somoza's personal worth at $400 million in 1974 (Booth, 1982, p. 81).

The misuse of aid money gave Somoza a negative image abroad and cost him considerable support from his own middle class. Dissent mushroomed against his regime, and the dreaded Guardia Nacional was sent into the countryside to repress dissidents. "In supposed pursuit of that objective, the Guard engaged in extensive pillage, arbitrary imprisonment, torture, rape, and summary execution of hundreds of peasants" (Walker, 1986, p. 32). In the mid to late 1970's the repression accelerated. In 1976 Amnesty International documented that human rights violations abounded in Nicaragua. Considerable evidence indicated that military forces had fired on campesinos, a term generally applied to landless agricultural workers and that prisoners had disappeared and been held incommunicado. In one prison, torture techniques included beatings, rupturing the eardrums, cigarette burns, hanging by the extremities, electroshock, the hooding of prisoners for months, and the confinement of nude prisoners in an extremely cold room for days (Amnesty International, 1978, pp. 50-51).

The best known of the rebel groups, which later came to dominate Nicaraguan government, was the FSLN, which stood for Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional. The Frente was Marxist in origin but had evolved in ways which would be recognized as

peculiarly Nicaraguan: religious freedom was respected, the private sector was given considerable support, and freedom of speech was considered a major legal foundation of the revolutionary society. The FSLN also became known as the Sandinistas, after August Sandino.

The rebels slowly gained in popularity and became increasingly effective in combat. Somoza's troops countered with brutality toward civilians:

> The Guard often murdered not only suspected FSLN collaborators, but their families as well. . . . When in the late 1970's the government began to suspect the FSLN of recruiting mainly teenage males, the Guard seized many- often barely more than children- from Managua's streets and executed them on the shore of the lake (Booth, 1985, p. 95).

It should be noted that since its inception in 1933 the officers of the Guard were usually trained in the School of the Americas operated by the United States. By 1979, almost the entire officers corps had been trained there, more than any other Central American country. Practically all of Nicaragua's military equipment came from the United States, either through outright purchase or from foreign aid. Millet (1977) states:

> In 1976 Nicaragua was clearly a nation occupied by its own army. Far from producing a professional, nonpolitical force, United States influence had helped create one of the

> most totally corrupt military establishments in the world, a force that functions more as the guardians of the Somoza dynasty than as the protectors of Nicaraguan sovereignty and freedom (p. 251).

Pedro Joaquín Chamorro, a highly popular editor of *La Prensa,* Nicaragua's best known newspaper, maintained a brave stance of opposition to the Somoza government. Chamorro tirelessly and fearlessly investigated and exposed government graft and corruption. On January 10, 1978, he was assassinated as he drove to work. The public outrage that followed never really died down, and some historians mark Chamorro's death as the beginning of the end for Somoza. In the eye of the United States public and much of the world, this remote war came home in June, 1978. Millions of people around the world cringed when they saw television coverage of the execution of Bill Stewart, a well-known ABC news correspondent. A member of Somoza's Guardia had ordered Stewart to lie on the pavement, then shot him in the back of the head with his M-16 rifle. Unknown to Guardia soldiers, Stewart's camera crew had filmed the incident, and smuggled their film back to the United States.

The Carter Administration in Washington, with human rights as a cornerstone of its foreign policy, was placed in a quandary by the embarrassing behavior of its best Latin ally. Somoza cleverly played upon cold war fears in the United States, using lobbyists and sympathetic members of Congress to emphasize that his country could turn into another Cuba. After considerable debate and

vacillation, aid to the Somoza government was completely terminated in Carter's 1979 budget, though to the end, Washington clearly hoped for the survival of the dictatorship, or at the very least that Somoza's Guardia be retained intact. In a desperate effort to avert a FSLN victory, the Administration made a request to the Organization of American States that a peacekeeping force be sent to Managua. This proposal for what amounted to armed intervention was unanimously rejected. At this point the Carter government attempted to cajole the FSLN into preserving some form of the Guard, but the FSLN flatly refused.

Sandinista strength had snowballed to the point that Somoza and his Guard were beginning to weaken. In June, 1979 the FSLN, launched a nationwide "final offensive." Civilians throughout the country took part in opposing the Guard using whatever meager weapons they could muster. Somoza raged defiance but had already begun a quiet liquidation of many of his Nicaraguan assets. As the situation became hopeless, Washington arranged for the departure of Somoza to Miami, and on July 17 the dictator departed in an aircraft with Red Cross markings. The Sandinistas moved into Managua on July 19 and received an unconditional surrender from a tiny remnant of the once 14,000 strong National Guard. This day is presently referred to in Nicaragua as "The Triumph" and was followed by a nationwide period of jubilant celebration (Walker, 1986, pp. 37-43; Booth, 1985, pp. 157-182).

The cost of the war was approximately 40,000 lives and 300,000 wounded. The economy was devastated, the nation's infrastructure largely destroyed. Somoza left Nicaragua with a $1.6 billion foreign debt, an empty treasury, per capita productions set back to 1962 levels, 600,000 with their homes destroyed or badly damaged, and several hundred thousand refugees (Booth, 1985, p. 183). The new government, which took power in mid-1979, was dominated by the FSLN, or Sandinistas, and enjoyed a "honeymoon" of intense public support. The Sandinista government was led by Daniel Ortega, an articulate spokesperson. Ortega was a practicing Catholic but an ardent socialist, and his new government lost little time in making diplomatic overtures to Cuba and the Soviet Bloc countries.

The Sandinistas, 1979-1990

I think they find themselves very much in the position which we did at the period of the Continental Congress in 1776. . . what we rose up in arms against the British about, we are now doing to the other Western Hemisphere Nations.

Nelson Rockefeller, 1970

The FSLN supported a continuing private sector and tolerance for limited political opposition. Religion of all stripes thrived, and four priests were placed into high posts in the new government. The FSLN quickly acted to heighten literacy and health programs, approximately tripling the resources and personnel previously

allocated to those departments. Health programs included 100% of the population, compared to 10% under the Somoza regime. Literacy increased from approximately 50% to 87% in the first three years of the new government, spurred on by the epic Literacy Crusade of 1980-81 which mobilized a teacher corps of approximately 80,000 persons (Miller; 1982). The economy improved with a 5% growth rate in 1983, the highest in Central America (Lafeber, 1984, p. 316). By 1984, land had been redistributed to some 200,000 people (Arnove, 1986, p. 45).

According to Booth (1985), approximately 3,000 new classrooms were added by the Sandinistas (p. 251). Arnove (1994) states that the teaching force was boosted from 15,000 teachers to 46,000 and educational expenditures soared from 2.9% to 6% of the gross domestic product (p. 2). Arnove (1986) cited the improvements in education made under the Sandinistas:

> Among the principal improvements in education are the reorganization and decentralization of Ministry of Education activities; the elaboration and production of Nicaraguan educational materials; the development of a national educational publishing capacity; upgrading of school libraries, science laboratories, and crafts workshops; the introduction of a new system of language instruction; the implementation of bilingual education for the Miskito speaking populations of the Atlantic Coast; and the institution

of programs and methods for the constant upgrading of the teaching force (p. 76).

Carlos Tünnerman Bernheim, the first Minister of Education under the Sandinistas, made it clear that the new government would also fund private schools, as long as they agreed to teach the approved curriculum. Religious instruction was never to be restricted (Tünnerman, 1984, p. 23).

Popular and worldwide support grew for the new regime, but the FSLN would find it had few friends in Washington. A new President, Ronald Reagan, would make the downfall of their government the primary foreign policy goal of his administration (Kornbluh, 1987, p. 3). Certainly, the Reagan Administration was consistent in its belief that a failure to control Nicaragua's fate would have far-reaching foreign policy implications. Henry Kissinger stated that "If we cannot manage Central America it will be impossible to convince threatened nations in the Persian Gulf and in other places that we know how to manage the global equilibrium" (Booth, 1982, p. 317).

By the end of Reagan's first year in office, insurgents and former members of the Somoza military gained official support from the United States. Though ties to the Somoza Guardia Nacional were officially denied, 46 of the top 48 officers of the new group were identified as former Somoza officers. These rebel forces came to be known as the Contras, and would be trained and funded officially and unofficially by the United States over the next decade. The

Central Intelligence Agency and personnel of the armed forces of the United States would play a major role in the training and tactics employed by the Contras, who operated from secret bases in Honduras and Costa Rica (Brody, 1985; Gutman, 1988; Marshall, 1987).

During the period from 1980 to 1990, the Contras wrought havoc to the infrastructure of Nicaragua. Their advisors from the United States taught them a series of tactics which became collectively known as the strategy of "Low-Intensity Conflict." This strategy is best explained by Colonel John Waghelstein, commander of the U.S. Army's Seventh Special Forces, who referred to it as "total war at the grassroots level," involving the integration of "political, economic, and psychological warfare, with the military being a distant fourth in many cases" (Waghelstein, 1985, p. 42).

Low-Intensity Warfare was fostered by a realization by the military planners in the United States military that an all-out nuclear or conventional confrontation between superpowers was no longer a viable possibility. War and preparation for war was undergoing a basic metamorphasis, evolving away from grand strategies and toward smaller "managed' conflicts. According to Jack Nelson-Pallmeyer, it was being developed as a consequence to the defeat of the United States' policy in Vietnam. The strategy included the rapid buildup of Special Forces capabilities, cost-effectiveness, the use of non-U.S. nationals in combat, scientifically managed programs of repression, and a management of domestic and foreign media. U.S.

control over a region's resources, rather than military victory, was the goal (Nelson-Pallmeyer, 1989, chap. 3).

Although effective in gaining U.S. policy ends, the strategy has been repeatedly documented as devastating to the civilian population. The Reagan government preferred to keep this strategy secret, possibly because it included elements that would be unacceptable to the public. John Stockwell, CIA official, stated: "Encouraging techniques of raping women and executing men and children is a coordinated policy of the destabilization program" (Robinson & Norsworthy, 1987, pp. 56-7). The *CIA Operations Manual*, written and later acknowledged by the Central Intelligence Agency and translated into Spanish for use by the Contras, urged the assassination of civilian leaders, including teachers (Tayacan, 1983). The manual, according to a summary by Stephen Kinzer, "advised guerrillas to 'neutralize' carefully selected and planned targets, such as court judges, magistrates, police and state security officials. . ." "(Kinzer, 1991). Educational workers were tortured, kidnapped, and their schools targeted (Brody, 1985). By the mid-eighties, much educational and economic progress had been brought to a standstill, with 60% of Nicaraguan budget forced into defense expenditures (Sheehan, 1989, p. 300). One summary of the aftermath of the conflict states:

> But a "low-intensity" war from Washington's viewpoint means terror in the Nicaraguan countryside. Between 1982 and 1985, the American-supported mercenaries murdered

> 3,346 children and adolescents. Another 6,236 children lost one or both parents. On average, there have been more than four deaths per day; by March 1985 there were 170,000 displaced persons within Nicaragua. Education suffered heavy losses. In 1984, the Contras killed ninety-eight adult education teachers and kidnapped 171; killed fifteen primary school teachers and kidnapped sixteen and destroyed fourteen schools. Because of the threat to life and the scarcity of resources, the government has closed 840 adult education centers and 354 schools. Since 1983, few new schools have been built. The budget for education was frozen, no new teachers hired, and no new texts published (Kirk & Schuyler, 1988, p. 117; author refers to Melrose, 1985; Maine, 1985).

By 1990, approximately three hundred teachers had been assassinated (Walker; 1991, p. 203), and economic and agricultural production had declined markedly (Collins, 1982; Walker, 1991). Access to health and education, hallmarks of the early Sandinista regime, plummeted. The agrarian land reform program continued, but because of the economic collapse of the late 1980's economy, the peasants remained desperately poor. Egalitarian gains over the class hierarchies from the Somoza era remained evident, as did considerable increases in the rights of workers (Colburn, 1991, pp. 131-2). The wheels of progress had been slowed, or even halted because of the immense drain of the continuing war and a highly effective embargo by the United States. Skyrocketing inflation of

33,000% by 1988 left Nicaraguan currency practically worthless (Cuenca, 1992, p. 72). Inflation greatly reduced the real salaries of most workers. One government worker with the Sandinistas commented:

> I make 15,000 Cordobas a month compared to 8,000 last year; prices have increased, so they raised the salaries. Any day now there might be another increase in prices but without the same increase in salaries. I can't eat in a restaurant now because it would cost my entire month's salary. And in addition, I probably would end up owing part of next month's salary" (Hart, 1990, pp. 196-97).

The end of the Sandinista regime came suddenly and unexpectedly when it lost the Presidency in the elections of 1990. Under the new Constitution, elections were to be held every six years, with all members of the National Assembly elected on the same ballot. The winning Union of National Opposition (UNO) party, a coalition of over a dozen Nicaraguan opposition parties including the Communist Party of Nicaragua, had been funded with millions of dollars from the United States. It took power under President Violeta Chamorro, having also won majority of seats in Nicaragua's legislature, the National Assembly. Violeta Chamorro possessed a high profile in Nicaragua, being the widow of the famous newspaper editor Pedro Joaquín Chamorro, slain near the end of the Somoza era. Her new government soon finalized peace treaties with the warring factions mandating that Contra forces disarm and that the size of the

Sandinista Army be severely reduced. Canadian troops were allowed into the country to destroy many of the weapons possessed by both sides. Hostilities ebbed dramatically.

The new peace had brought no great prosperity by the time this study was conducted in 1992. Arnove (1994) states that ". . . in 1990 the unemployment rate was estimated at 46 percent" (p. 59). Arnove goes on to cite a UNICEF study in 1991 that estimated that 70 percent of the population was living in dire poverty, and that this poverty especially affected children since the median age in Nicaragua was approximately 15 years. The agency stated that by 1991 approximately 240,000 children were direct or indirect victims of the war; 120,000 were victims of natural disasters; 114,000 were living in severe poverty; 100,000 suffered some physical or mental disability; 100,000 were working, and that due to such conditions 22 percent of all children exhibited stunted growth (UNICEF, 1991, pp. 26 and 30; Vargas, 1992, p. 156; in Arnove, 1994, p. 59).

Both health and educational expenditures were down, even from wartime levels, and educational direction and leadership were undergoing drastic changes. Four million textbooks were burned, a number including virtually all the textbooks available in many schools. Even nonpolitical books from Sweden and West Germany were destroyed (Arnove, 1994, p. 82). Class sizes went up, and teacher salaries went down even further. At the time fieldwork for this study was carried out, teachers salaries had only about one-third the purchasing power they had during the last years of the Somoza

regime. In 1992, elementary teacher's salaries ranged from $63-$93 (U.S.) monthly, and from $88-$117 for secondary teachers (Arnove, 1994, p. 110).

Part 2: Similar and Related Studies

> **. . . I have been a tree amid the wood**
> **And many a new thing understood**
> **That was rank folly to my head before.**
>
> Ezra Pound, from "The Tree"

The works and studies that most influenced me are discussed here- those that served to underpin different academic aspects of this work. I have cited a number of additional works in the previous historical section and in the following methodological section, and an examination of all of them would be repetitive.

Qualitative Studies

There were many influential works I have found only a few qualitative studies which deal directly with Nicaraguan life during the 1979-1990 period. The lack of quantity is probably due to the fact that qualitative studies were rare during the initial period covered by this study. Certainly two ethnographic works of Roger Lancaster, *Thanks to God and the Revolution: Popular Religion and Class Consciousness in the New Nicaragua* (1988) and *La Vida Dura (The Hard Life): Machismo, Danger, and Intimacy of Power in Nicaragua* (1992) stand out as two of the finest examples of

qualitative studies done recently in Nicaragua. In these ethnographies, Lancaster studied subjects residing in a poor neighborhood near Managua and deftly expounded theories about many aspects of their lives. Lancaster takes a thorough look at the theoretical basis for his research and the disadvantages of positivism, concluding that good methodology pursues the informant's perspective. He explained in *Thanks to God and the Revolution* that his ethnographic research attempted to preserve and thus "save" tradition. His comments on the importance of studying revolution as a change agent (1988, p. 18) seemed to be similar to my own interest in studying countries in wartime. Of particular interest were the anthropological equations Lancaster created in order to explain the behavior of his subjects to the reader. Lancaster developed a respect for the religion of his participants for which his orthodox Marxism had not prepared him. Politics was equated with Christianity, and Marxism with religion. Sin was seen as man's social estrangement from his fellow citizen, generally through class differences, and sin itself was finally defined as the exploitation of human beings. Even the phrase "Going to the mountains," used by those joining the guerrillas fighting Somoza came to have a Biblical rather than secular context akin to that of Christ going into the wilderness. As an old Nicaraguan related, "We have never read Marx-- all we know is the Bible" (p. 85, 1988).

Lancaster noted aspects of Nicaraguan life which were also important in my study. He noticed the devastating effects of the

decrease of the buying power of 1989 wages to only about 10% of the 1980 level. In *La Vida Dura* he delved further into the "machismo" culture of his Nicaraguan subjects and examined the cultural roles played by sexuality, race, and communication. His observations helped me to understand the comments of the participants in my own study, who lived in a similar culture. Lancaster's analysis of the role of gossip in the community as the way his participants deconstructed the world (1992, p. 73,) was helpful to me, as my participants gained considerable prior knowledge of my study through gossip. Lancaster's view of racial color codes in Nicaragua (1992, p. 225) helped give me some insight to the impact of race on the social status of my own participants. His perspective into the aspect of sexual control evident in the Macho culture was also helpful in understanding the attitudes and actions of some of the males in my study (1992, pp. 207-271). Lancaster's work was based on over a year in residence near his participants in Managua, and during this time he built a data-base from his notes and audiotaped interviews.

Dianne Hart studied a mother and her children in Northern Nicaragua in the town of Estelí during 1987. Her work has much the same title as Lancaster's, *Thanks to God and the Revolution: The Oral History of a Nicaraguan Family.* Hart notes the words of oral historian Elena Poniatowska: "In the strictest sense, oral history is almost always related to the vanquished, the defeated, the earth's forsaken ones, that is, the people. Oral history walks side by side

with defeat, not victory" (Poniatowska, 1988, p. 15). Hart's work recounts the life of one "vanquished" Nicaraguan family in its own words, moving through long episodes, moving the narrative through one participant at a time in chapter-lengths. The passages are poignant, richly detailed and well selected and organized. In the end the separate stories form a cogent interconnected web of the patterns of a family's life.

Hart records the rich dialogue of her participants in a manner reminiscent of the work of Oscar Lewis with Mexican families in *The Children of Sanchez: Autobiography of a Mexican Family (1961).* Lewis presents members of a Mexican family one by one, and as Hart did, presents them primarily through their own narration. The rich detail and emotional robustness inherent in these self-portraits describes one family's life with great power. The skillful juxtaposition of these related interviews yields a poignant description of one Mexican family's life.

Ernesto Cardenal constructed an interview study on the Nicaraguan island called Our Lady of Solentiname, in which the comments of peasants on scriptural passages were recorded and transformed into the text, *The Gospel in Solentiname.* Ernesto Cardinal was a Jesuit priest, later to become the Minister of Culture. He tape-recorded commentaries on the gospel by often illiterate campesinos, revealing many political and personal facets in their lives. The uneducated, impoverished, and hardworking people of this remote settlement made statements which were strikingly powerful

and erudite. Their comments are consistent with Lancaster's observations on the confluence of political socialism with religion. In this example, Cardenal, a priest, read from the book of John and the local people responded:

> *Through him God made all things;*
> *nothing that exists*
> *was made without him.*
>
> . . . . ALEJANDRO: "The worker is the image of God, and everything he produces is good. It enriches man."
>
> . . . . FELIPE: "It's the greatness of the workers. The workers continue the power of God on earth by working on creation. That's why the workers should be the owners of the earth and not the ones who don't do any work- the ones who have shoes and food and clothing and travel everywhere and don't work or sow or produce anything. But they own the work of the others and the houses and the lands. . ." (1978, pp. 4-6).

Not long after Cardenal finished this work, the colony at Solentiname was attacked and its library vandalized by the soldiers of the dictator Somoza.

At about the same time, *The Tiger's Milk: Women of Nicaragua,* by Adrianna Angel and Fiona Macintosh evolved from interviews with women in many parts of Nicaragua, as did *Sandino's Daughters* by Margaret Randall. Again, the interviews reveal the rich communicative power inherent in the struggling people of Nicaragua. Both books feature interviews with women from the teaching

profession as well as many other walks of life, and generally reveal a great excitement over the possibilities for grassroots empowerment in their subjects. Among the well-photographed interviews by Angel & Macintosh was one with a teacher, Rosario Antunez, reflecting about her involvement with the FSLN:

> I felt then that I'd found what I'd been looking for. As a teacher I'd felt so angry and sad to see my pupils arrive at school faint with hunger. Here now was a chance to end the people's humiliation. My fears dissolved; I felt totally committed. I didn't think I might die. Or worse, that my daughter would give her life for the revolution (1987, p. 137).

Another similar work was *Life Stories of the Nicaraguan Revolution* by Heyck. Heyck's interviews were only a page or two each in length, including a photograph of the subject. This series of short interviews involved a larger number of subjects than any other work encountered, demonstrating the possibilities of a consistently rich base of grounded data over a diffuse population. I was most particularly touched by his interviews with poor people who felt that their revolution was, for the first time, giving them concrete hope for an improved future. The interviews were usually accompanied by a single candid photograph of the subject at home or at work.

All these qualitative studies were predictors that quality interviews could be obtained in my own study from the struggling teachers in Matagalpa. Many were testimonies to the communication added by photographs. I heard my own participants in Matagalpa

echo the fervor, sadness, and impressive expressiveness found in these works.

Certainly nothing teaches me more about qualitative research than doing research. In 1991 I completed a qualitative interview study involving four long-retired schoolteachers regarding their attitudes toward technology in education (Rogers, 1991). This work involved making tape-recordings, transcripts, photographs, and doing data analysis in a search for conclusions. The study taught me about the importance of allowing the participants to speak freely, laboriously making my own transcripts, and the painstaking organization of the data into categories and finally into themes. I was amazed at the amount of work required to create and analyze the transcripts and to then reach supportable conclusions. No amount of reading, theoretical work, or exposure to other researchers could have been more important that the actual experience of doing a thorough qualitative study and preparing it for presentation to a scholarly organization.

Works on Education in Nicaragua

I found only a few major works on education in Nicaragua during the 1979-1990 time period. Carlos Tünnerman's *Cinco Años de Educación en la Revolucion (Five Years of Education in the Revolution)* was the most important Nicaraguan overview of their revamped school systems and was an official publication of the Nicaraguan government released in 1984. This work, written in

Spanish, chronicled the changes brought to public education by the Sandinista leadership. Tünnerman's work was filled with official statistical data which documented the progress made by the new government, particularly in comparison to the defunct Somoza regime. Tünnerman was the Minister of Education at the time the book was published, and it was well received by outside scholars. I found the work most helpful- it was unique as an official chronicle of the Sandinista educational system.

Education and Revolution in Nicaragua and *Education as Contested Terrain: Nicaragua, 1979-1993* were both written by Robert Arnove, and contained comprehensive information about the Nicaraguan educational system during the Sandinista years. Arnove examined the elementary, secondary, vocational and university level aspects of the Nicaraguan system in depth, presenting a well documented history of Nicaraguan education. His work contrasted the Somoza system, the Sandinista system, and the Chamorro systems of public education. In *Education as Contested Terrain* Arnove describes in detail the incoming Chamorro government's scheme of education, which systematically opposed much of the educational emphasis and philosophy of the outgoing Sandinistas. Arnove documents the cutbacks in educational expenditures and the shrinking literacy rate from 88% accomplished by the Sandinistas to only 49% by 1993 (1994, p. 186). I found these books to be unique in their breadth, and my experiences in the field found my

participants confirming many of Arnove's statements and conclusions.

The Literacy Crusade, seen by many to be the Sandinista's proudest accomplishment, was the subject of Miller's *Between Struggle and Hope: The Nicaraguan Literacy Crusade.* I found the Literacy Crusade, as described by many authors and particularly by Miller, to be a singularly amazing event in the annals of international education, as it raised the literacy rate dramatically in an entire country in the space of only about a year. Nicaragua, because of this crusade, became the most literate country in Central America early after the Sandinistas took power, and this status was maintained until literacy rates began to fall in the 1990's. Miller details the almost unbelievable devotion of the entire nation on all political and socioeconomic levels to attaining this high rate of literacy and to raising educational standards generally. The campaign demanded a tremendous focus of scant resources and personnel from one of the world's poorest countries.

Historical Accounts

A plethora of historical accounts of the period exist, and many of the best were mentioned previously in the historical section of this chapter. I found Whisnant's *Rascally Signs in Sacred Places: The Politics of Culture in Nicaragua* to be one of the best documented of them all. Whisnant wrote a lengthy but lively tome in a sweeping attempt to cover the entire history of Nicaragua. "I am fascinated,"

Whisnant states, "by the links between culture and power, in their innumerable forms and manifestations" (1995. p. 4). Whisnant looks at the interactions between cultural and political changes wrought in Nicaragua through the pre-Spanish population, the Spanish colonialists, the new population groups, and later competition between the English and the United States for neocolonial dominance once the Spanish departed.

Thomas Walker is another outstanding historical and cultural scholar on Nicaragua. Walker has authored numerous books and articles centered on Sandinista history in Nicaragua, and his *Nicaragua, Land of Sandino* (1986) was probably more often cited by other scholars encountered in my study than any other single work. Walker's clear narratives gave me a basic understanding of the recent history and turmoil in Nicaragua and provided me with a reliable perspective of the country.

In reading approximately fifty histories of Nicaragua as background for this study, I was surprised that almost all the authors expressed considerable admiration for the Sandinista government. This, I felt provided a sharp academic rebuke to the caustic anti-Sandinista rhetoric emanating from the United States mainstream media and from officials of the Reagan Administration.

Qualitative Works

In Chapter 3 a number of qualitative theorists were cited, but I found Kathleen deMarrais' work, *Qualitative Inquiry, Engaging in the*

Process (1997), along with Goetz & LeCompte's *Ethnography and Qualitative Design in Educational Research* as having formed my basic understanding of qualitative research. DeMarrais possessed an incredibly clear writing style and presented this branch of study cogently. Goetz & Lecompte (1984) covered an immense amount of ground and provided me with an almost limitless list of references into the many specific divisions of qualitative research.

Looking at the qualitative interview as a specific type of research, I found McCracken's *The Long Interview* (1988) to be filled with relevant information. McCracken specifies techniques and structures helpful both in the field, in building data, and in data analysis.

The biggest boost to my qualitative morale came paradoxically from Gleik's cornerstone work on mathematics- *Chaos: Making a New Science* (1987). Gleik describes the discoveries of mathematicians, physicists, and chemists in the new field of Chaos Mathematics. This field closely parallels the work of anthropological qualitative researchers, only along mathematical lines. Many physically perceptible phenomena are described as being basically beyond statistical analysis. The phenomena of the physical world are best understood through an emphasis on patterns which become visible through computer diagrams. Gleik found that, as in qualitative anthropology, the researchers in the field of Chaos Mathematics tended to study phenomena with a broad rather than a deliberately

narrowed perspective, and which tended to include rather than exclude personal bias.

Photographic Research

Beyond a doubt the greatest influence on the photographic segment of my research was Collier's *Visual anthropology: Photography as a research method.* (1967). Collier's work served as a common reference point for almost all anthropologically oriented research photography. He investigated the value of the photograph, the photographic interview, the two-stage photographic interview, the autophotographic interview, and the analysis of data obtained from research photographs.

Ziller's *Photographing the self: Methods for Observing Personal Orientations.* (1990) was also a work I found invaluable. Ziller describes a number of photographic research studies which both validate and extend the work of Collier. His studies on the value of autophotography in elicitation were particularly helpful.

Chapter 3

Methodology

O body swayed to music, O brightening glance
How can we know the dancer from the dance?

W. B. Yeats, from "Among School Children"

Introduction

The study was built around one basic research question: **How do selected teachers in the Matagalpa, Nicaragua area perceive the effects of the war period of 1979 to 1990 on their professional roles?**

At the present time most scientific research is aligned around two sometimes opposed camps- positivist and qualitative. Though a number of researchers use and value both paradigms, some believe that these two methods are incompatible, as they are based on such vastly different world views. A number of researchers believe that qualitative research basically is used to search for a working hypothesis, and that quantitative research can generally be used afterwards to test and verify this hypothesis (Agar, 1986; McCracken, 1988).

This investigation is primarily a qualitative interview study (McCracken, 1988; Spradley, 1980) and as such primarily involved audiotaped interviews with participants. The basic focus was on participant responses to an interview schedule which was designed to elicit detailed answers to the research question concerning the

ways in which the war affected their professional role as teachers. Because it was possible that aspects of their personal lives could be interrelated with their professional role, this study also explored those possible relationships. A second-stage autophotographic interview was conducted, allowing participants an opportunity to return to the questions involved in the initial interview and also to discuss photographs they had taken themselves (Collier, 1986: Ziller, 1990).

Part 1: An Overview of Methodology

Positivist Research

The positivist paradigm is somewhat synonymously referred to as being quantitative or empiricist, and traces its origins to established social theorists of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, such as August Compte and Emile Drukehim. A rigorous mathematically-based design is expected to result in answers to hypotheses which are measurable. Bogden and Taylor state that: "The positivist searches for 'facts' and 'causes' through methods such as survey questionnaires, inventories, and demographic analyses, which produce quantitative data and allow him or her to statistically prove relationships between operationally defined variables" (1975, p. 2). This type of research assumes that there is a reality apart from the belief systems of individuals and that imbedded in this reality there are social *facts*. Through these *facts*, objectively measured and mathematically analyzed, *causes* are sought for

observed phenomena. Quantitative researchers make every effort to remain objective and as personally detached from their work as possible in order to minimize or eliminate personal bias. There are correlational aspects built into their projects' designs which are likewise designed to reduce this effect (Firestone, 1987, pp. 16-17).

Posivitivist Research Challenged

Originally, Howe and Eisenhart (1990), state that positivism was "conceived as partly a description of, and partly a prescription for the conduct of natural sciences. . . .positivism was embraced as an accurate portrayal of *the* scientific method, and then was cashed out in the form of methodological behaviorism" (1990, p. 3; ref. to MacKenzie, 1977). Indeed, Howe and Eisenhart repudiate positivism as a flawed research method, stating that:

> . . . it can no longer be based on a viable epistemology. For the core tenet of positivism, verificationism, has been thoroughly repudiated. . . replaced by the notion that all scientific investigation is inherently theory-laden. . . . it is, broadly speaking, inherently interpretive. Thus, there is no good reason for educational researchers to legitimate an alternative paradigm so that it might peacefully coexist with positivism. . . . it merely encourages the view that positivism is a worthy competitor" (Howe and Eisenhart, 1990, p. 3; ref. to Bernstein, 1983, also Rorty, 1982, and Phillips, 1987, p. 37).

Other renowned researchers have brought some of the underpinnings of quantitative research under scrutiny as well. The quantum theorist Heisenburg makes the astonishing observation in his Uncertainty Principle that the act of measuring affects the object of measurement. Heisenburg "challenges the possibility of a completely detached observer and requires that physicists account for their measuring or observing activity in representing accurately the actions of the phenomena they examine. Heisenburg's work is even more germane to the work of social scientists whose observed phenomena consist of highly complicated human beings. Human subjects require interaction before measurement of any sort can be accomplished (Barrett, 1962; Tranel, 1981, Heisenburg cited in Goetz & LeCompte, 1984, pp. 56-7).

Albert Einstein's Theory or Relativity determines that *time* is a variable, and he described time and space as a continuum rather than as separate constants (Einstein, 1961, chap. VIII, appendix V). Like the qualitative researcher, Einstein concluded that the perspective, or position of the researcher could determine reality. He recognized that his views might challenge established theories by Newton and Galileo and could even affect long-taught beliefs in the ancient positivist views of Euclid's geometry.

But though he challenged their immutability, Einstein did not wholly repudiate these disparate views. With considerable respect for the past and probably some diplomacy for the scientists of his

time, he commented on the classical concepts so long upheld within the framework of Euclidian geometry:

> For the present we shall assume the "truth" of the geometrical propositions, then at a later stage (in the general theory of relativity) we shall see that this "truth" is limited, and we shall consider the extent of its limitation (Einstein, 1961, p. 4).

Einstein's response would well apply to the quantitative-qualitative debate. It appears evident that traditional positivist research is often valid and useful as a mode of perception, but when studying human beings in the world of education, its truth is "limited," and these limitations should be discussed and understood.

Chaos mathematics is the most recent development to help buttress the case for qualitative research, providing a sort of triangulation through pure mathematical theory. This branch of mathematics began in earnest in 1961 when a long-range weather prediction researcher, Edward Lorenz, realized that "beyond two or three days, the world's best forecasts were speculative, and beyond six or seven they were worthless" (Gleik, 1987, p. 20). He found that, mathematically, even the best computer weather models would be of little help- that large systems simply could not be predicted. This unpredictability was not simply random- there was pattern in the seeming irregularity. At first, Lorenz thought the visual printout formation his computer was generating was the result of a broken vacuum tube, but it was indeed a nonrepeating, visually perceptible

pattern related to the weather. The structure was indeed geometrical, hiding behind a mask of randomness.

At the present time, scientists from many disciplines have begun to use Chaos Mathematics to understand the physical and biological world. Mathematicians have been joined by eminent biologists, astronomers, economists, and physicists. Ralph Abraham is among the first of the anthropologists to incorporate Chaos Theory in an attempt to understand human history (Abraham, 1994). Gleik's description of these scientists sounds much as if he is describing qualitative researchers:

> The first chaos theorists, the scientists who set the discipline in motion, shared certain sensibilities. They had an eye for pattern, especially pattern that appeared on different scales at the same time. . . . They feel that they are turning back a trend in science toward reductionalism, the analysis of systems in terms of their constituent parts. . . . They believe they are looking for the whole (1987, p. 5).

Qualitative Research

Qualitative research has many branches, all of which are concerned with meanings as perceived by persons in their social environment. Qualitative research is not done by persons who claim to be neutral observers, nor by persons who claim that their precise measurements will predict and measure phenomena in an unbiased manner. Researchers using qualitative methods may include

ethnographers, phenomenologists, anthropologists, naturalists, sociologists, and historians. Max Weber, Margaret Mead, Harry Wolcott, George Mead, and Barney Glaser are some of the earliest practitioners and theorists of these methods.

The first tenet of these researchers is to describe the empirical world and then proceed to develop theory which explains the human behavior they have observed. "The emphasis must be on attending to and accurately recording events which, when systematically analyzed, will offer insight into the dynamics of the situation as it is experienced by its participants" (Bondy & Hatch, 1982, p. 88).

How, one might ask, does qualitative and quantitative research basically differ? Taylor and Bogden (1984) hold that such research is part of a phenomenological paradigm and that reality is defined by individuals or groups in a social context. The purpose of such research, far from a search for facts, is comprehension:

> The phenomenologist is concerned with *understanding* human behavior from the actor's own frame of reference. . . . The phenomenologist examines how the world is experienced. For him or her the important reality is what people imagine it to be. . . . The phenomenologist. . . seeks understanding through such qualitative methods as participant observation, open-ended interviewing, and personal documents. These methods yield descriptive data which enables the phenomenologist to see the world as subjects see it." (Bogden and Taylor, 1975, p. 2).

Phenomenology, simply put, is the belief that it is the personal view of the world which is primal. As Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1964) stated, "The perceived world is the always presupposed foundation of all rationality, all value and all existence. This thesis does not destroy either rationality or the absolute. It only tries to bring them down to earth" (p. 13). Qualitative researchers use a phenomenological base in that they accept both the perceptions of their subjects and their own perceptions as seminal to understanding social phenomena. This quality is referred to as "participant observation," as the observer is never truly separate from the observed, a recognition of sorts of Heisenburg's mathematical observations. Positivists are in a testing role, while those in the qualitative field are in a learning role. Qualitative researchers:

> . . . set out to show how social action in one world makes sense in another. Such work requires intense personal involvement, an abandonment of traditional scientific control, an improvisational style to meet situations not of the researcher's making, and an ability to learn from a long series of mistakes (Agar, 1986, p. 12).

Whereas a quantified approach would mandate the use of an instrument as its basic tool of research, the instrument of the qualitative approach is the *researcher*. Rather than being detached, the qualitative scientist is personally immersed in both the phenomenon being studied in the lives of the subjects and by the data generated by such a study. The researcher's emotions and

biases are critical to an eventual understanding of the research question.

The qualitative researcher embraces all ethical methodologies in the search for answers, including (but never limited to) those of positivism. "Methodology must be tied to research purposes, it must accordingly respond to the variety of purposes that exist" (Howe & Eisenhart, 1990, p. 4). As Nobel prize-winning scientist P. W. Bridgeman said, "There is no scientific method as such. . . . The most vital feature of the scientist's procedure has been merely to do the utmost with his mind, no holds barred. . ." (Dalton, 1964, p. 60).

Though a qualitative researcher follows a rigorous design, it is always open to scrutiny and change should the object of study suggest new or altered methods. Paradoxically, it is the openness to any need for procedural change that plays a rigid structural role in qualitative research frameworks. In conclusion to *The Sociological Imagination* (1959), C.W. Mills wrote:

> Be a good craftsman. Avoid a rigid set of procedures. Above all seek to develop and use the sociological imagination. Avoid fetishism of method and technique. Urge the rehabilitation of the unpretentious intellectual craftsman, and try to become a craftsman yourself. Let every man be his own methodologist (from Bogden & Taylor, p. 40).

Part 2: Photographic Research Methods

> **It was when I said,**
> **"Words are not forms of a single word.**
> **In the sum of the parts, there are only the parts.**
> **The world must be measured by eye"**
>
> from "On the Road Home" by Wallace Stevens

The best-known early researchers to utilize photography as an integral research tool in anthropology was undoubtedly the team of Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson. In studying tribes on the island of Bali, they took black-and-white pictures of the people there and analyzed them afterward for meaning. "We treated the cameras as recording instruments, not as devices for illustrating our theses" (Bateson & Mead, 1942, p. 49). Over 25,000 frames were taken, and 759 were published in their landmark work, *Balinese Character: A Photographic Analysis.*

As time passed, photography began to be used often as an analytical tool by anthropologists, and in 1967 John Collier published *Visual Anthropology: Photography as a Research Method,* a touchstone for later researchers in the field. In this work and a revision in 1986, Collier makes a case that photography can be used for many research purposes: in establishing rapport, as an aid in elicitation, as a documenting tool, in crossing cultural barriers, and as a reward for participants.

Collier reports on an earlier study which has greatly influenced my own. While attempting to interview reticent Arcadian subjects in

Canada about their community, he found them closemouthed to the point of being uncommunicative. Collier then placed photographs taken in the community in front of them, and these shy and hostile individuals suddenly began to talk freely. The photographs "opened doors of memory and released emotions about forgotten circumstances. . ." (1957, p. 853). A later work with Navajos evoked a similar heightening of interest, especially in second, third, and fourth interviews (1986, p. 107).

Collier also found that in many projects, photography heightened his personal rapport with his subjects and put them at ease. He stated:

> . . . photographs are charged with psychological and highly emotional elements and symbols. In a depth study of culture it is often this very characteristic that allows people to express their ethos while reading the photographs. *Ultimately, the only way we can use the full record of the camera is through the projective interpretation by the native"* (1986, p. 108).

Photographs can also lessen cultural boundaries between researcher and subject, and facilitate dialogue. ". . . it is assumed that photography, a form of iconic communication, is a universal language which may be the preferred representational system to examine value orientations and self theory interculturally" (Ziller, 1990, p. 11). Other researchers documented this effect when conducting studies outside their own culture: with Peruvians (Bunster, 1977),

Navajos (Worth & Adair, 1972) and in New Guinea (Sorenson,1976). Photographic elicitation has also been utilized in a study examining the feelings of children about war, in which participants were asked to view one photograph depicting war, and another depicting peace. Content analysis of their comments followed (Dinklage & Ziller, 1989).

Auto-photography

When the participants in a study take pictures themselves, researchers refer to the process as *auto-photography*. Researchers in this field usually espouse the concept that the perspective of the individual photographer is more important than other aspects of the production of photographs, leading to the conclusion that photographs taken by subjects could reveal a great deal about their inner selves. Collier says that "We can feed cultural material back to informants, allowing them to express their life feelings, or we can get the people to express themselves by manufacturing their own feedback. . ." (Collier, 1986, p. 122). The elicitive value of auto-photography is evident in the works of many other researchers (Templin, 1979; Worth & Adair, 1972; Ziller, 1977, 1985, 1986, 1989).

Ethnographers and other qualitative researchers use photography but have not begun any large scale use of the autophotographic interview, although they certainly allow for it in their theoretical designs. A typical statement of the openness for

innovative techniques is made by Bogden and Taylor: ". . . other research methods may be used in conjunction with the fieldwork in order to gain a greater understanding of the setting" (1975, p. 73). Photography, particularly auto-photography, is a method which may reveal highly useful aspects of the inner psyche of subjects. As Ziller (1990) says:

> In auto-photography we have eliminated the middle person in the communication network. We are observing directly. As a result, we are observing a different reality. The images have a meaning which is in a different domain than what we are accustomed (p. 132).

Part 3: Theoretical Framework

> **The most salient influence of theory at the conclusion of a research project is its provision of a framework for interpreting the meaning of what a researcher has discovered or established.** (Geotz & LeCompte, 1984, p. 61)

This study is informed by a theory base from symbolic interactionalism as well as grounded theory. The research model chosen is that of a qualitative interview study. An examination of these concepts is integral to understanding the theoretical framework of this study.

Symbolic Interactionalism

Symbolic interactionalism is a branch of the transformation theories within qualitative research. Transformationalists believe that individuals in schools are "active, rather than passive, participants in the social construction of their own reality" (Bennett, 1990, p. 21). The symbolic interactionalists believe that human beings are creators of their own meanings through interpretation, in interaction with other persons. Ideas, concepts, and tangible objects have no intrinsic meaning but gain meaning though interaction with others. Sociologists may refer to symbolic interactionalism as the phenomenological or ethnomethodological approach. The symbolic interactionalist will use descriptive forms of research, emphasizing the primacy of their observations of subjects in obtaining meaning.

Grounded Theory

Grounded theory refers to the assumption that people have experiences which are ordered in patterns. They make sense of their environment by bringing an order to it which they understand, though their behavior may appear confused and unregulated to the outside observer. The grounded theorist believes theory must emanate from the real world of the subjects of researchers. Martin (1978) states that "the relative merits of a theory for predicting, explaining, and being relevant cannot be separated from the way it is generated" (p. 17). Grounded theory, is in fact, a commitment to remain within the protocols generated by the subjects when devising

end-of-project theories. It should relate synchronously back to any other theories endorsed by the researcher.

The Qualitative Interview Study

An interview is much like a conversation, with important differences. It is certainly a situation in which "a researcher asks questions and a participant responds with answers," but goes further in that "the researcher has a greater stake in seeing that the interview is accomplished. . . . has a research purpose in mind, has designed the study, selected the participants, and intends to implement it" (deMarrais, 1997, p. 90-91). It is structured much like a conversation, but goes beyond conversation in that it is designed to elicit information from the participant. A good interview should "take us into the lifeworld of the individual, to see the content and pattern of daily experience" (McCracken, 1988, p. 9).

In qualitative research, the interview study can be conducted in many different ways, depending upon the theory base used and special considerations the researcher may have. A phenomenological theory base is used in this study and posits the flexible use of questioning techniques related to obtaining answers to the research question(s). Mischler states: "Ambiguities are resolved through the discourse itself and not by efforts to give a more precise statement to the questions in the interview schedule" (1986, p. 47).

Whyte & Whyte add:

> The good research interview is structured in terms of the research problem. The interview structure is not fixed by predetermined questions, as in the questionnaire, but is designed to provide the informant with freedom to introduce materials that were not anticipated by the interviewers (1984, p. 97).

The questioning format itself is devised with care. The first rule of phenomenological questioning is that the questions must fit the topic. They should cause the participants to reveal their clearest personal perceptions of the phenomena that are the objects of the study. The schedule can include "warm-up questions" to establish rapport and trust (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992, p. 71). Some researchers have guidelines with different categories of questions included. There should be at least three basic types of questions which should include a combination of:

1) descriptive questions- "What happened?"

2) evaluative questions- "How did you feel about this?"

3) nonspecific questions- "What can you add? What more can you say about this? What has not been covered that you think is important? Nonspecific questions involve both descriptive and evaluative answers (Whyte and Whyte, 1984, p. 101).

The interview design should guide participant response to the research question yet allow ample latitude for discussion of areas not considered beforehand by the researcher. The researcher should feel

free to modify the line of questioning from interview to interview, or even mid-interview. This modification is done should participant responses lead into unanticipated areas relevant to the research question, if amplification of a topic is needed, or if existing questions appear to be unnecessary or ineffective. The researcher must be aware of the symbols which differ in meaning from one culture to another. Respondents should be encouraged to think deeply about their answers to the questions by a planned strategy of probes, nods of acknowledgment, and requests for further reflection. Researchers should adapt whatever strategies are needed to "enable the subjects to talk about what is on their minds, and what is of concern to them without forcing them to respond to the observer's interests, concerns, or preconceptions" (Bogden & Taylor, 1975, p. 57).

Questions to be avoided by the phenomenologist include those requiring self-analysis and rationalization. The interview responses are meant to be uninterpreted (Kvale, 1983).

Selection Procedures for Participants

There are several selection procedures for the participants in a study. The method of subject selection will vary from researcher to researcher. Five methods of criterion-based selection are discussed by deMarrais (1977, pp. 93-5):

1) Comprehensive selection occurs when all cases that apply are included.

2) Network-based selection involves the referral of one subject by another.

3) Reputational-based selection involves locating participants through their reputation for fulfilling criteria for subjects.

4) Typical case selection involves finding a subject or subjects which fills the criterion and pursuing the study regardless of an additional number of available subjects.

5) Unique-case selection involves, as is implied, a study of a unique subject.

In this study, aspects of the second and third of these methods were utilized, with criterion for potential subjects being forwarded to a "gatekeeper" in Nicaragua (the President of the teacher's union). He helped in the selection of subjects using both the reputations of teachers known to him, the network of the union, and his own large network of potential subjects. I had an ongoing role in this selection.

The N-number for qualitative studies varies but is generally much smaller than the N-number for quantitative studies. Harry Wolcott pioneered the ethnographic dissertation with his N of one study of a school administrator, later published as *The Man in the Principal's Office* (1973). Bogden and Taylor say:

> Once you have a general knowledge of a setting or organization, concentrate on one or a few parts of it. The beginning observer would be wise to select a rather small setting with no more than eight to twenty-five subjects. . . ." (1975, p. 74).

Twenty or thirty subjects can overwhelm the qualitative researcher with data, with each hour of conversation generating approximately thirty pages of transcript. "Less is more," deMarrais cautions, recommending that the researcher stop interviewing subjects once redundancy is reached in their perceived patterns of response (1997, p. 95). McCracken states:

> For many research projects, eight respondents will be perfectly sufficient. The quantitatively trained social scientist reels at the thought of so small a "sample," but it is important to remember that this group is not chosen to represent some part of the larger world. It offers, instead, an opportunity to glimpse the complicated character, organization, and logic of culture (1988, p. 17).

Subjects may not be of equal value to the researcher. Some of the informants are often known as "key informants" and appear to contribute more than others toward providing answers to the research question. Whyte and Whyte state:

> . . . informants are not of equal value to the research. No matter how skilled the interviewer, there are people who do not notice what is going on around them or have difficulty in expressing themselves. The best informants are those who have observed significant events and who are perceptive and reflective about them (1984, p. 105).

Key informants may be given extra weight during analysis. Their grasp of the overall situation, descriptive power, abilities to

observe, and ability to communicate may simply be superior to other subjects in the professional judgment of the researcher.

Interviews should be tape-recorded in a manner which is not overly obtrusive and renders voices to be clear and intelligible. The researcher should listen to each tape as quickly as possible after the session has ended, formulating themes the dialogue may suggest and adding new questions to the interview schedule should they appear to be merited. The researcher should meticulously record all observations which might be of use later on dated and numbered field notes. Some theorists recommend that these notes later be typed. The tapes themselves are to be transcribed, double-spaced, with lines numbered for later reference, and with a wide left margin for notes and coding (DeMarrais, 1997; Glesne & Peshkin, 1992).

Analysis

The transcripts and field notes are to be read repeatedly by the researcher. "Analysis of protocols is a search for patterns in the cultural scene. The search begins with identifying the parts of social situations, moves toward discovering the relationship among those parts, and culminates in determining their relationship to the whole" (Bondy & Hatch, 1982, p. 89).

The first phase of analysis involves the identification of categories of meaning. Spradley calls these "domains." After considerable analysis and immersion in the data, relationships should begin to appear between domains. Schematic diagrams may help in

the conceptualization of these relationships. This comparison of incidents very soon starts to generate theoretical properties of the category. Color, number, or letter codes are commonly used. In this study letter codes were used, and then color codes combined with them as thematic analysis progressed. Categories and their properties are integrated, and constantly compared back to the data base for validation. At some point, an overall theory will begin to emerge. This theory should be delimited and again compared to the original database and notes. This is done for validity, for the location of data relevant to a hypothesis, and for providing illustrations. The process is usually one of analytic induction, and its goal is to find an integrated theory which explains the cause for the phenomenon being studied. "The problem becomes not how we can explain what is happening, but how we can describe what is happening. The researcher's inventive powers are thus directed toward representation" (Woods, 1984). Methods of analysis are expounded upon in depth by such researchers as deMarrais (1997), Glaser (1969), Glesne & Peshkin, (1992), McCracken, (1988), Whyte & Whyte (1984), and Wolcott, (1990).

Ethics

Ethics in scientific research will always pose a dilemma, pitting the needs of the researcher and the importance of the study against the best interest of its subjects (Bronowski, 1975). Different research designs and situations can make any preordained "code of

ethics" ineffective (Punch, 1986). House (1990) advocates adhesion to three general principles "the principles of self-respect, of noncoercion and nonmanipulation, and of support for democratic values and institutions" (p. 158).

Ethics in qualitative research may be guided by the researcher by asking a question posed by Brody, who wrote about ethics in medicine: "If I were in that person's situation, and I were like him in morally relevant ways, would I be satisfied in having this done to me?" (1981; from Smith, 1990, p. 149). Brody suggests that the researcher diagram a perceived ethical problem, listing alternative actions, listing choices of alternatives, listing consequences, and finally comparing the consequences with the personal values of the researcher (Smith, 1990, pp. 146-9).

Any human subjects study requires that considerable thought be given to the ethics involved. Guides such as *The Belmont Report* and the *American Anthropological Association's Revised Principles of Professional Responsibility* should be adhered to (Fluehr-Lobban, 1991). The federally regulated Institutional Review Boards in colleges and universities (Human Subjects Committees) are charged with enforcing certain measures of protection on subjects of academic inquiry. These guides and this committee basically posit that, should a conflict arise, the interests of the participants should take precedence over the interests of the researcher. The researcher is expected to take an active role in protecting the participants of a

study. This role involves taking a number of conscious precautions. Some of the more important measures include:

1) Informed consent- participants will understand the nature of the study, and a form clearly explaining the study is to be given to and signed by all participants.

2) Voluntarism of participants- all participants are to be volunteers, free to withdraw from the study at any time.

3) Nonmanipulation of participants- vulnerability of participants is not to be exploited.

4) Privacy- The privacy of participants is not to be abridged by the study. Pseudonyms are to be used in place of their names, and in some cases geographical locations are to be likewise obviated by pseudonym. Any researchers allowed to see data or work on a project are to sign forms stating that they will respect the privacy of these subjects, keeping relevant information confidential.

In maintaining ethics, states Punch (1986), "My answer is that we should rely on *common sense*- a characteristic that some may not readily attribute to academics in general. . ." (p. 82).

Nicaragua is a country which has recently emerged from a severe war. It is also in proximity to El Salvador and Guatemala, two countries with terrible records in human rights. Unlike these nearby countries, Nicaragua has a comparatively good record on human rights, not only through statute but through culture and tradition.

Arnove states:

"I was very favorably impressed with the level of energy, openness, self-confidence, and group camaraderie of the educators. . . . They have developed their own work rules, which include an openness to giving and receiving information; freedom from prejudice; full and sincere communication" (Arnove, 1994, p. 97).

At present there is no reason to believe there will be retaliation of any kind against the participants. Many authors have written about the considerable personal freedoms evident in Nicaragua, particularly in the teaching profession. Stephen Kinzer, the *New York Times* station chief in Nicaragua for many years and the author of a history of Nicaragua, *Blood of Brothers* (1991) has addressed the University of Tennessee Human Subjects directly on this issue, as has Don Mosely, author of *With Our Own Eyes* (1996). (See Appendix: "Letter of Research Committee," "Response of Talbot Rogers;" "Letter to Human Subjects Committee from Jim Hornsby;" "Letter to Human Subjects Committee from Don Mosely;" "Letter to Human Subjects Committee from Stephen Kinzer"). It is safe to conduct a study of this type, though certainly the principles of anonymity and respect for the confidential nature of the interviews must be carefully respected.

Validity

There are a number of validity checks to be made on a qualitative interview study. The research question, interview schedule, and other procedures should be discussed by a qualitative research group for criticism and suggestions for improvement. If possible, a pilot study should be conducted. Data should be similarly presented to such a committee, and themes, domains, and generated theory discussed. A constant process of referring back to the data for verification of themes should take place. Theory generated by the research group should be somewhat consonant with theory generated by the researcher working separately. One type of data should reinforce another. Goetz & LeCompte state that "data collected in one way may be used to cross-check the accuracy of data gathered in another way" (Goetz & LeCompte, 1984, p. 11).

Howe and Eisenhart (1990, pp. 2-9) cite five standards which aid in giving a study validity:

1) The *fit* between the research questions, data collection, and analysis should be evident.

2) Data collection and analysis should be applied effectively.

3) A knowledge of background assumptions should cohere to the study.

4) An "overall warrant" should be had by adherence to the first three principles, as well as examination of outside theories, including a review of unacceptable theoretical explanations.

5) External and internal value constraints. External value involves "the worth of research for informing and improving educational practice. . . ." Internal constraints imply ethical repercussions to the subjects and may affect the validity of the study accordingly (pp. 7-8).

Replicability in qualitative research is difficult, since the grounded theory advanced by one study is dependent on the creative interaction between that researcher and the data. The theory should *fit* the data, however, and successfully explain the phenomenon in question. This theory generated from the data may well be generalizable to other population groups, though this can only be determined though additional verification studies. The theory then lays the groundwork for further research, both quantitative and qualitative which may confirm the conclusions of the study (McCracken, 1988).

The maintenance of dated and labeled tape recordings of all interviews maintains a degree of internal validity, as does the coordination of similarly marked field notes and archival materials. Thorough transcripts, indexed with the field notes and tape recordings, are also an aid in establishing internal validity.

Part 4: Persons Involved in the Study

Gatekeepers

Gaining entry to the culture of Matagalpa in 1992 was not easy. The Sandinistas had been defeated in the elections of 1990 and were

replaced by a much more restrictive government. Getting into Matagalpa with the necessary permission, gaining the confidence of teachers and administrators, constructing a suitable population of participants, securing translation services and finding a site for darkroom photography would have been impossible without the help of certain key persons. "We refer to the people who have the power to grant access as gatekeepers," say Bogden and Taylor (1975, p. 31). The study occurred during my third overland trip to Matagalpa where I had previously been introduced to some of the educational personnel in the area. On this and previous trips I had overseen the delivery of a quantity of humanitarian supplies and equipment, and this work had increased my credibility with a number of those persons I later considered to be "gatekeepers." They were critical in obtaining access to the educational community.

Jim and Sarah Hornsby were my initial gatekeepers in this study and did the work of basically opening the site to this research. The Hornsbys, longtime residents of Matagalpa and University of Tennessee graduates, were well known in the area. Jim founded Habitat for Humanity in Nicaragua and was instrumental in bringing ex-President Jimmy Carter there to publicize that organization. He and his wife Sarah are locally recognized for their work with the youth of Matagalpa through a religious organization known as La Vida Joven (Young Life). They had originated a number of youth retraining programs there, had built a large recreational/training farm for Matagalpa's youth, had initiated a number of cottage

industries and training programs, and were in close contact with the local educational community. Sarah had published a number of books regarding her experiences in Nicaragua, including the partially photographic work *Nicaragüense* (1987). Jim and Sarah agreed to help coordinate this research project and arranged for living quarters for me in a nearby hotel.

The Hornsbys put me in touch with Róger Kühl, the Director of the Universidad Nacional Autonoma de Nicaragua (henceforth referred to as "UNAN"), the primary teacher-training facility in Matagalpa. Señor Kühl endorsed my project and formally invited me into the city to conduct the study (see Appendix: "Letter of Permission to Study Teachers in Matagalpa from the Universidad Nacional"). He introduced me to one of his professors, Manuel Márquez, the President of Matagalpa's largest teacher's union, the Asociación Nacional de Educadores de Nicaragua (henceforth referred to as "ANDEN"). Manuel volunteered to help me find approximately twelve participants. His experience as a professor in the university, as a former public school teacher, and in ANDEN, gave him an unusually broad perspective on education in Matagalpa.

Participant Selection

Manuel Márquez was crucial to the selection of participants. With his background as a public school teacher, a leader in the teacher's union, and as a professor at UNAN, Sr. Márquez was familiar with hundreds of teachers in the area. He discussed the

potential participants with me and endorsed the study to them privately. He was very flexible and diligent in finding participants who fulfilled the criteria I needed to conduct the study. I wanted all the participants to have taught during times of relative peace as well as during the war period, so that they could make comparisons during the interviews. I preferred to study a population of teachers who represented differences in gender, ages, experience, position, political outlook, education, and experience. I also wanted some of the participants to have been identified strongly with opposing sides during the war, and for some to be non-members of ANDEN. In spite of his own heavy teaching schedule Manuel tirelessly helped me in this selection process and in the initial scheduling of interviews.

Translators and Translation

Manuel Márquez was also helpful in locating a suitable primary translator for my use in Matagalpa during the study, introducing me to Danlilo Velasquez. Danlilo spoke English well as he had lived for two years in Los Angeles during the mid-1980's. Importantly, he was a teacher of English at the public high school, and understood the vocabulary of teachers. Danlilo admitted that his sympathies during the past war had been strongly with the Contras, though he displayed considerable diplomacy, restraint and even sympathy when we interviewed individuals who held opposing views. I quickly found that all of my participants had, to some extent, taken sides in the past conflict, and Danlilo knew where each participant

stood politically. His information was invariably confirmed during the interviews.

Danlilo performed some gatekeeper functions as he became adept at scheduling the interviews and the efficient return of cameras and film. He shared his knowledge with me about many particulars regarding the culture of the participants and the institutions that employed them. He was able to efficiently guide me through the city to their homes where most of the interviews were conducted. He also served as a guide to Matagalpa, with its complicated network of mostly unnamed streets. Though he worked in the high school during the mornings, he was able to accompany me almost constantly in the afternoons. Danlilo served me well for twenty-two of the twenty-four interviews (two interviews for each of twelve participants). Jim Hornsby interpreted for the two remaining interviews.

All interviews were conducted in Spanish, with the help of the interpreter. It was expected that the interpreter would understand the nature of the project, and help with the interview, even suggesting occasional additional probes to the interview schedule. Danlilo was carefully coached in the overall project design, and was expected to point out any areas of confusion or relevant areas which I might have ignored for cultural reasons or because I was not fluently comprehending the words of the participants. I had completed nine hours of undergraduate Spanish language coursework at The University of Tennessee in Knoxville and

understood and spoke some Spanish. At times I stopped the interview to discuss the meaning of the participant's words with the translator. The translator and all subsequent translators signed a form asserting their obligation to respect the confidentiality of the data (see Appendix: "Researcher Release"). Copies of this and all other relevant papers were supplied in both Spanish and English to translators and participants.

As the study progressed, Danlilo and I developed what I term the "cadenced interview." Every few sentences we would stop the subject for translation into English. This evolved as the best translation technique, allowing me to insert probes when they were appropriate and to immediately review or question the statements participants made. The translator's comments were of great importance to the accuracy of the translation and also served as a source of feedback to my questions about the exact meanings of words. As the interview progressed, this structure became natural to all parties and gave participants an opportunity to reflect quietly as translations took place.

I used four other on-site translators to translate some of the early interviews which had not been "cadenced," as well as to retranslate other interviews, both for validity and accuracy. They made their translations orally on audiotape, and all signed confidentiality forms (see Appendix form: "Researcher Confidentiality"). The Bermuda Hotel lobby became an industrious scene of persons bringing me taped translations, photographic film,

and messages. We conducted 24 interviews in a little less than three weeks.

Later in the United States, three other translators were hired to help with further retranslation. My primary translator in the United States was Shanti Lowrey, who had once lived in Matagalpa and was an honors student at the large high school there. Her fluency in both languages and her ability to construct written Spanish documents and occasional Spanish transcripts were critical to analyzing the interviews later. Other translators included Mary McConnell, a retired high school Spanish teacher with 30 years experience, and Louisa Merchant, a graduate student in Spanish who possessed a keen ear and wide vocabulary.

Cross-Cultural Techniques

Two unusual techniques were utilized to help foster communication and bridge the cultural gap: One was the autophotographical segment, and the other involved the procedures involving translation. These techniques have proven effective in establishing trust in other studies. The use of a darkroom and cameras on-site, as employed in this study, was a difficult proposition logistically but was intended to amplify elicitation between the conventional first interview and the second interview. This technique involved a display of photographs taken by the subject following the initial session. The pictures were also used to establish greater rapport and trust between the participants and the

investigator. Should the technique prove especially valuable, it could be used in future studies in combination with the quickly improving technology of digital cameras and computer printers.

Both the use of translation in language and the use of autophotographic techniques were designed to augment the interview process in the pursuit of an overall interpretation of the meanings imparted to us by the participants. Their revelations reflect their individual phenomenological perspective (Husserl, 1931), and require translation. Translation is essential to a hermaneutical study as it makes the words of the participants meaningful. This study involved both the translation from Spanish to English and a further translation by the investigator into patterns which could be comprehended by all parties. This translation for meaning involves of necessity an outside investigator and is often referred to as a hermaneutical approach (Gadamer, 1975). The words of participants are translated with a view toward the *meaning* intended by the participants. This translation is far superior to one which is simply literal. Lawrence Watson writes about the interaction of phenomenology and hermaneutics in qualitative research:

> An essential act of interpretation, according to the hermaneutical view, is the willingness to enter into a true dialogue with the other party. . . . At all times, in striving for understanding in the hermeneutical sense, we must try to see

> the object of interpretation in its larger context, for a phenomenon takes its inner meaning only in relationship to the whole (Gestalt) of which it forms a part (1976, pp. 98-99).

Part 5: Structural Framework of the Study

Interview Schedule

Interview schedules were devised for both the first and second interviews (see Appendix: "First Interview Schedule," "Second Interview Schedule"). The second interview, involving autophotography was meant to be of a more personal and emotional nature than the first. The interview questions were discussed and modified prior to the study by a qualitative research group, though the schedules were not meant to remain rigid in the field, but to be open to modification if necessary to help participants in their discussion of the research question. As Whyte & Whyte state:

> The good research interview is structured in terms of the research problem. The interview structure is not fixed by predetermined questions, as in the questionnaire, but is designed to provide the informant with freedom to introduce materials that were not anticipated by the interviewer (1984, p. 97).

Equipment

All photographic and recording equipment was taken with me in a small Isuzu truck. Equipment included one small but high quality audiotape machine and one backup machine. Rechargeable batteries and a sufficient supply of audiotapes were taken to the site. Photographic equipment included two Nikon 35 mm cameras and four lenses for use by the researcher, and two 35 mm Vivitar autofocus "clamshell" cameras for use by the subjects. This small camera was chosen because it takes high quality photographs and is fully automatic. Most of the film used in the study was black-and-white ISO 400-rated film for use in average lighting conditions. Black-and-white film is used in many similar studies and utilizes a much simpler and more portable array of chemicals than color film. As the purchase of film was difficult and expensive in Nicaragua, approximately 75 rolls of film were taken to the site, as well as a bulk film roller. Other equipment included a portable darkroom and the necessary chemicals and papers suitable for making negatives and prints as well as archivally storing them for the return trip to Knoxville (Templin, 1979; Ziller, 1990).

My photographic darkroom was designed to fit into a hotel room. As in much of the third world, the room had a limited water supply and only sporadic electricity, but chemicals and equipment were selected which compensated for these conditions.

Participant Procedures

Before the first interview began, participants completed the following procedures:

1) Listened to a reading of the "informed consent" paper in Spanish by the translator and were presented with a copy of this sheet to keep (see Appendix: "Information Sheet").

2) Responded to the opportunity to pose any questions about the study. I answered all such questions before proceeding. This opportunity was provided in both interviews for every participant.

3) Completed a brief demographic questionnaire (see Appendix: "Personal Information Sheet").

4) Signed written consent forms (see Appendix: "Consent Form" and "Consent Form for Photographs").

At this point, when the participant's questions were satisfactorily answered and the forms were signed, the first interview began and was audiotaped. I asked questions on the interview schedule through the interpreter. I halted the interview at times and inserted probes of several types when appropriate. I eliminated some questions on the interview schedule when they appeared to be ineffective in eliciting responses germane to the basic research topic. At times I asked new questions, requested clarification of the responses, or requested that the participant respond to my summary of their remarks. If the interpreter detected inconsistencies or noticed incongruities in the responses, he was instructed to pause in the interview and discuss them with me.

I then adjusted the question, inserted probes, made additional explanations to the participant, and generally changed strategies or wording until all three parties agreed that they understood the meaning of words or questions being asked. When other translators worked on these original tapes, they were likewise instructed to include their insight into the meanings of any confusing words or phrases, and to note any inconsistencies in the original translation. Many of these comments were incorporated into the transcripts in parentheses, with the translator identified.

At the end of the audiotaped interview, I:

1) Loaned participants a 35 mm camera loaded with black-and-white film with sufficient automatic features that it required little adjustment in operation. The mechanical use of this camera was explained.

2) Asked participants to take the camera home and also to the workplace if possible and make twelve pictures that represented the important aspects of their present life (Collier, 1986). Either the translator or myself made an arrangement with them to pick up their camera and film, and I developed it in my hotel darkroom and printed each negative twice into 4x5 black and white photographs. At the time of the second interview, one print of each negative was given to the participant and one was retained for later use in the analysis and presentation of findings. Permission for the academic use of these photos was addressed by the previously cited consent form and orally repeated on audiotape during the second interview.

3) Asked participants to consent in writing to the use of photographs which reveal their faces. It was explained that these photographs would not be published in this dissertation but might at some time be used in academic publications collateral to their function in this project. It was explained to the participants that any refusal to allow their faces to be published would not exclude them from this study.

The participants met a second time with me within two weeks after the first interview. At that time they were interviewed again. At the second interview:

1) Participants were asked to repeat their consent to participation in this project and to attest to the fact that they had read and understood the information sheet which explained the nature of the project. They were asked to state a belief that they felt certain that they would not be retaliated against in any way for their role in the study. The participants stated this belief on tape in their own words as an additional safety precaution. Participants were asked if they had any new questions concerning the nature of the study.

2) Participants were presented with the photographs they had taken.

3) Participants were asked questions about the manner in which the contents of the photographs related to the war, to their professional role, and finally to both.

4) In some cases, questions asked in the previous interview were repeated in an effort to encourage participants to recall as much relevant data as possible.

5) Participants were asked to add material they believed germane to the study that might not have been adequately covered by the interview.

Written consent forms with signatures were obtained from all participants in the study (see Appendix: "Consent Form", "Consent Form for Photographs"). The consent forms and the notebook I kept in the field were the only deliberate records of the subject's names and were kept in sealed envelopes. The participants were provided with copies of the English and Spanish versions of the consent forms and Information Sheet describing the study, along with my name and address in the United States (See Appendix: "Information Sheet"). They were told that they could remove themselves from the study at any time simply by contacting me and making such a request. I took care to answer any questions the participants had at any time during the study. I encouraged my translator to be sensitive to any such questions and encouraged him to endeavor to make my explanations as thorough as possible.

Each interview was planned to be about one hour in length, but this time-frame varied considerably with the quantity and intensity of subject responses. The individual interviews ranged from 30 minutes to two hours in length, depending on the desire of the participant to elaborate on the questions. Contingency plans were

made verbally with participants for an additional interview or interviews at a later date if deemed necessary. No additional interviews took place as there was sufficient data to complete this study.

Compilation of Data

Once I returned to the United States, I transcribed the tapes. Due to awkward wording, several tapes were retranslated in their entirety. While transcribing the tapes I listened to the English translation first, then any second English translation, and finally to the original interview, progressing through small segments of conversation in each sequence. This at least doubled the time taken to construct the transcripts but improved the final product. The transcripts were double-spaced and the lines numbered.

The cameras used in this study were seen "as recording instruments, not as devices for illustrating . . . theses" (Bateson & Mead, 49). The pictures I and the participants took were thus viewed as raw data. I carried an ample supply of black-and-white bulk rolled film to the site, sufficient for at least 3,000 frames, and took pictures freely throughout my stay with the participants as an additional method of obtaining data. I made numbered and dated 8x10-inch proofsheets of all photographs taken by myself or by the participants, and made selected prints on site. Some of the photographs that I took proved useful as a supplemental data base for content analysis and supported some themes that emerged in this

study. Proofsheets and negatives are archivally stored in 3-ring binders designed to fit the protective plastic negative holders.

I made dated handwritten field notes and kept them chronologically in a 3-ring binder. These, combined with all photographic negatives, recordings, consent forms, translations and transcriptions will be stored in the United States in a locked filing cabinet in my home for a period of seven years after completion of the study. The data will remain confidential unless viewed by a qualified researcher who will be required to sign a form stating intent to respect the confidentiality of the participants. These materials provide a record of the accuracy of the data and may serve as a source for further data analysis. Participants will be identified in findings only by pseudonyms, and no photographs showing their faces will be published in this dissertation. Nicaraguans, unlike citizens of many other Central American countries, have an established right to freedom of speech and have exercised it regularly without drastic government repercussions. It is my belief, based on previous visits and discussions and the statements the participants made on audiotape, that these persons wanted to tell their stories to the outside world and would clearly have supported the use of relevant photographs without restriction. Nevertheless, written accounts in the dissertation itself refer to subjects strictly through pseudonym, and photographs were not used in a manner that might betray their identities.

Data Analysis

The compiled data underwent established methods of inductive content analysis (Goetz and Lecompte, 1984; Bogden and Taylor, 1975). The analysis identified and categorized patterns and themes which emerged from all collected sources of data. The database was thoroughly and repeatedly reviewed to ensure that a substantial amount of evidence supported prevalent themes. Measures utilized to assist in analysis included a review of data and themes by the Phenomenology Research Group organized by Dr. Howard Pollio, a professor in the Psychology Department of The University of Tennessee. Spanish transcripts were made available for those interviews studied by this group, and a Matagalpan translator provided so that the exact meanings of the words in their cultural context could be discussed.

Data analysis was "a search for patterns in the cultural scene" (Bondy & Hatch, 1982, p. 89). It involved a continual process of reading and rereading transcripts and interviews, searching for commonalities and coding them into the data itself. I used acronyms for such coding. A category such as "changed student behaviors" was recorded on the appropriate transcript as "CSB". A separate tally was kept on a separate paper of the occurrences of "CSB" throughout all interviews in the study. This search created more categories as it

continued and is referred to as "progressive differentiation." Over 30 of these categories finally emerged.

As they were examined, combined and recombined for commonalities, the categories were effectively reduced in number and the names of the categories appropriately changed. The categories themselves changed from "descriptive categories," or categories organized around observed features of the protocol to "sensitizing categories," organized around more generalized characteristics (Woods, 1984, pp. 57-8). This process of distillation is usually referred to as "integrative reconciliation," and refers to the process of searching for a meaningful nexus connecting a large number of categories. Finally, a handful of basic themes emerged. I recoded the data accordingly and recoded these new predominant themes, comparing them to each other and to the original data. Through this continual utilization of rigorous data analysis it was possible to utilize identified themes of similarity in the participants' responses. This was used for the formulation of a hypothesis which could be defended as an answer or partial answer to the research question (Agar, 1986; Bogden & Taylor, 1975; McCracken, 1988; Spradley, 1979; Wolcott, 1990).

Part 6: Further Parameters of the Study

Oh brilliant kids, frisk with your dog,
Fondle your shells and sticks, bleached
By time and the elements; but there is a line
You must not cross nor ever trust beyond it. . .

Hart Crane, from "Voyages"

Assumptions

Assumptions of the study:

1) Participants would respond honestly to questions in the interviews.

2) Participants would not discuss interview questions with each other in a manner which basically affected the content of their responses.

3) With acclimation, participants would answer questions in the presence of a tape recorder in the same manner as they would without its presence.

4) With acclimation, participants would answer questions in the presence of a camera in the same manner as they would without its presence.

5) Participants would be able to use a simple camera themselves for purposes of the autophotographic interview.

6) Participants would be capable of reflection on the content of the interview question.

7) Translation from Spanish to English would be accurate.

8) Cultural differences between the interviewer and participants would not unreasonably affect the content of the interviews or its interpretation.

9) Freedom of speech in Nicaragua (unlike many other Central American countries) was such that participants would be unafraid to divulge their true opinions. This concept was important to the safety of the participants and was buttressed by letters from experts in the field contained in the Appendix to this proposal. (See preceding "Ethics" section of this chapter).

10) Participants would not be intimidated by release forms.

11) The presence of the translator as well as the translating process would not significantly change the basic thematic content of the interviews.

12) Audiotaping techniques would be adequate.

13) My knowledge of Spanish would be adequate to answer the research question through the use of translators.

14) Adequate and valid translation would be further assured by having the tapes retranslated as deemed necessary.

Limitations

The findings in this study were limited to the perceptions of participants as presented in the interview tapes, photographs, and formal and informal observations of the researcher during the interviews. Though I strove for translations that maintained the

meanings imparted by participants, it was recognized that some problems with translation would occur. Theoretically the sheer quantity of the interview data minimized this problem, allowing themes to emerge unimpaired.

Delimitations

The participants in this study consisted of teachers in the Matagalpa area with three or more years teaching experience. Since hostilities had ceased for only about two years, this condition assured me that they had taught in time of war and peace. The participants had some connection with the Matagalpa teacher retraining institute: Universidad Nacional Autonoma de Nicaragua, which granted permission for this study to take place. The input of Sr. Márquez was another important factor in participant selection. An effort was successfully made to obtain participants of varying ages, gender, and political orientations, years of work experience, types of teaching assignments. All participants were employed during time of war and peace. I had input on these choices and made the final decision on which participants were included.

The sample size was twelve participants, a number consistent with a large body of qualitative research based on recorded interviews. These twelve subjects allowed the interview content to reach a level I perceived to be redundant. Redundancy would probably have been reached with only six or eight participants, but the remoteness of the site made the larger N-number appear

prudent. The decision to cease interviewing was made in the field, based on my perceptions of increasing redundancy in the responses of the subjects (Bogden & Taylor, 75).

The time period 1978-1990 was selected since this represents a distinct era of almost constant conflict. The takeover of the National Palace in Managua by Sandinista rebels was seen by some as the point when the civil war gained irretrievable momentum. The civil war ended in July, 1979, with the defeat of Somoza and the installation of a new Sandinista government. The peace was almost immediately shattered by the advent of anti-government rebels who came to be called the Contras. The Contras fought the new government for ten years until 1990, when the conflict finally ended with the election of a new government and effective negotiations between the adversaries. During these wartime years, the Matagalpa area was under stress with military combat taking place constantly in the nearby mountains and small towns. Relatively peaceful periods in Matagalpa which existed both prior to and following these years, can serve as a useful reference point for the subjects.

Further Comments on Risks and Protection Measures to Subjects

Few risks were expected to any of the subjects involved. Repercussions for candid interviews are common in nearby Guatemala and were feared in Nicaragua during the days of the Somoza dictatorship. Somoza's Guardia Nacional, the military agents of repression, were completely eliminated as a political or military

force in 1979. The Sandinistas established a strong legal tradition of respect for the civil rights of all citizens, including the right to voice dissent, and none of my participants nor any of the gatekeepers voiced any fear of repercussions for the interviews (Booth, 1985, p. 147, 229; Chilcote, 1990; Melrose, 1985).

Other works of candid interviews with photographic portraits of Nicaraguans have been published in the United States without pseudonyms. A good example is Life Stories of the Nicaraguan Revolution (Heyck, D. L. D., 1990). Identifying photographs were used, and little fear of self-expression was evident in the words of residents in the Matagalpa area interviewed in this work. No major historian has noted any significant restraint on Nicaraguan teachers for exercising freedom of expression.

To say that there are no political risks in Nicaragua or in any other society would be foolhardy, however. I took every possible precaution that no harm would come to my participants, as has been previously noted. I did what I could to make certain that this investigation could not be seen as supporting a particular political side in the conflict. I kept a low profile in the Matagalpa area and carried out the interviews quickly with minimal publicity to avoid unnecessary controversy in recognition of the fact that this country had just come through a divisive war and was in a painful process of changing its government.

During past visits I had made friendly contacts among both the Sandinistas and members of the UNO Coalition. I was aware that

most of these people had lost family members through the years of fighting and attempted to maintain a neutral, amiable and sympathetic stance. Had I sensed any inordinate personal or professional danger to myself or my participants, I was prepared to break off the research and return to the United States.

Risks to the Researcher

Nicaragua is a poor country with few medical facilities. The visitor from abroad should expect to be exposed to a number of diseases, usually attributable to a contaminated water supply. I took approximately ten inoculations to protect myself against diseases found in the region and carried a supply of drugs known to be effective against many common sicknesses there such as dysentery and malaria.

There were no recent reports of United States citizens being harassed in Nicaragua at this time. The new government, as a gesture of friendship with our country, has ceased to require a visa for entry. I was aware of the emergence of "bandit" groups in Nicaragua and in several surrounding countries, and took care not to be on the highways at night when these persons were said to be most active. Matagalpa proved to be a peaceful and almost tranquil city during prior visits in 1989 and 1990, and though the most recent reports from that city indicate that poverty and unemployment has increased markedly, the danger to visitors has been negligible. I found Matagalpa to be terribly poor but safe

during the time the fieldwork for this dissertation was conducted in 1992.

I obtained a number of letters, many partially or totally in Spanish, which facilitated my passage and stay in the region (see letter samples in Appendix: "Letter to Aid in Transit from Albert Gore"; "Letter for aid in Transit from the Tennessee Education Association"; "Letter of Introduction from Dr. Dale Doak of The University of Tennessee"; "Letter of Permission to Study Teachers in Matagalpa from the Universidad Nacional"). Other helpful letters included one from the Superintendent of The Cumberland County Board of Education (my employer), The Crossville Friends (Quakers, sponsors of some of the aid programs I was involved with), CEPAD (a Nicaraguan-based aid consortium with nationally recognized credentials), two Tennessee Presbyterian Churches, and a police report from the Cumberland County Sheriff's Department (Tennessee) attesting that I possessed a law-abiding background.

Researcher Bias

A bracketing interview was conducted with me in relation to my research question in March, 1997 (Tarsi, 1997). The interview revealed motivations previously unknown to me, and emphasized my perception of the effect of war and violence as a justified method for change for society. The topic of my research was in my own mind somewhat equated to the violence encountered in everyday life, evident in corporal punishment in families (including my own)

and in the schools. I had used corporal punishment as a schoolteacher and parent but stopped after doing research on its origins, convinced not only of its ineffectiveness, but of the physical pain and longterm resentment it caused students. The beginnings of corporal punishment went back to the legal concepts of slavery and the ownership of women and children by the male head of household exemplified by such cases as Jacob v. State (1842) and Ingraham v. Wright (1977). Women, children and slaves were at one time considered property and could be legally controlled with brutal physical force. War was, in my mind, an ultimate form of corporal punishment with far-reaching and horribly permanent effects in the lives of the people exposed to it.

I was reared in a dichotomy bound to cause me to ponder the nature of war. My father was a career officer in the United States Army, but there were pacifist Quakers in both my ancestry and acquaintance. All of my childhood was spent on or near military bases and later near the United States embassies in Paris and Bonn, where there was constant contact with the military. I remember how, as an elementary student, I was taken to bleachers set up in the deserts of New Mexico to watch jets drop napalm nearby. I loved being a child in the officers' quarters, moving from place to place, and living "on base." I saw soldiers and their equipment daily.

During the height of the Vietnam Conflict in my junior year of college, a Quaker acquaintance affected me greatly with her insistence that I think about the nature of war before joining the

military. The important thing, she urged, was not what my decision was, but that I thought about it beforehand. After considerable debate I withdrew from an officer training program for the United States Marines and successfully gained conscientious objector status.

Also, there is some bias on my part in favor of the Sandinista government. It was a government which emphasized education and health to the point of doubling and tripling the funding for these areas. Though the Sandinistas were guilty of great mistakes, I viewed their government as far more humane than the leadership in surrounding countries, where most political analysts viewed their governments as little more than neocolonial outposts of the United States or other powerful economic nations or blocs of nations. Though by no means a Marxist or believer in scientific socialism as proposed by Marx and Engels, I believe that the socialist practices of many of the Western European nations, particularly in the areas of medicine and education, are of great benefit to their populations.

I strongly believe that a qualitative framework applies to the goals of a study of this type. Augmented with the autophotographic segment, the study is equipped with a methodological foundation which can meaningfully address its goals.

Chapter 4

Presentation of Findings

And when she sang, the sea,
Whatever self it had, became the self
That was her song, for she was the maker. Then we,
As we beheld her striding there alone,
Knew that there never was a world for her
Except the one she sang, and singing made.

Wallace Stevens, from "The Idea of Order at Key West"

Overview

The site and the individuals who participated in this study are introduced in this chapter. The collection of data, the data itself, and an outline of the results of the analysis of the data are also discussed. Finally, the two emergent themes, Loss and Devotion, are presented with thematic examples extracted from the transcripts. As this study has been formulated on a framework which is both descriptive and subjective, the observations, emotions, and biases of both myself as a participant observer (Spradley, 1980), and the participants, are included.

Part 1: Introduction

Matagalpa, Nicaragua

On July 26, 1992 I drove my dirty blue pickup truck into Matagalpa, Nicaragua. The city pavement alternated between a cobblestone and dirt road, punctuated with potholes and occasional

stray rocks. I wheeled around a small pig that was ambling into my path. Grunting, it jumped into an alleyway between two wooden two-story business buildings. This was my third time to drive to this city from my home in Knoxville, Tennessee, and I always arrived with a sense of relief. The borders of Mexico, Guatemala, El Salvador, and Honduras were difficult to pass through and often extended the trip for days as the customs inspectors haggled for taxes. The Nicaraguan customs agent had actually impounded my truck the day before, and friendly workers there warned me that the impoundment would result in a large amount of my cargo, including my research equipment, going "missing." I had argued for eight hours with the fashionably dressed chief agent, who sat casually behind his desk and repeatedly explained that the truck must be kept and that I was to go away, apparently on foot. A portrait of the new President of Nicaragua, Violeta Chamorro, was hung slightly off center on the dusty wall behind him. I had learned to do meticulous paperwork, and my paperwork was in order, but never mind. After waiting eight hours, the official finally accompanied me to my truck, and I opened its cargo box, offering him anything in it in exchange for the right to proceed. He motioned to his men to carry in two large boxes of magic markers originally destined for Nicaraguan schools, and soon I was on my way, having also paid over a hundred United States dollars in taxes. Left inside the truck were two copy machines, a gasoline powered agricultural pump, and numerous

other valuable items. Transit over other Central American countries' borders had also been similarly slow and expensive.

This incident was in sharp contrast to a previous journey I had made two years earlier during the reign of the Sandinista government. At most national borders "tips" to officials and police had become so routine that I had automatically offered a clerk at the border a new pencil to facilitate paperwork. This pencil, however, shot back toward me at a frightening velocity. It appeared that the Sandinistas did not take "tips." Taxes totaled $10, and I was through the border in a little over an hour.

The trip taken to do the fieldwork for this study had been completed in a record twelve days. I had passed Canadian troops on the road several times, who had been sent to Nicaragua as part of the recent peace accords mandating that Contra and Sandinista forces be largely disarmed. They were collecting weapons and destroying them. The assault rifles visible everywhere during my last trip during wartime in 1989 had disappeared. Even the uniformed officers at the city's police station stood outside unarmed.

Matagalpa had grown tremendously in the two years since I had last visited- new shacks stretched up into the previously forested mountains which surrounded the city. These dwellings belonged to thousands of disbanded Contras and other homeless refugees who were returning from the war. The cities were looked upon as places to live which were more secure than the countryside, where armed bands still roamed, preying on the rural population.

I stopped by a local cantina for a coca-cola, and sat outside at a table on a wooden porch with a view to the street and watched a panoply of Matagalpans pass by. Like most Central American towns, Matagalpa was noisy, filled with unmuffled vehicular sounds and the irregular cacophony of peddlers announcing the sales of their wares. Children were everywhere (demographics suggest that about half Matagalpa's population of 80,000 is under the age of 16, and that only about half of them have an adequate diet). I learned that many were on the street because they had dropped out of school due to new student fees levied by the new government, or because they had to work to support their families. The literacy rate had grown to 88% during the Sandinista years, the highest in Central America, but with the cuts in educational funding under the new government, the hard-earned literacy rate had begun a precipitate decline (Arnove, 1994; Barry, 1991).

A little boy about eight years old walked up onto the porch and stood quietly in front of me. He carried a worn shoeshine box in one hand and a battered wooden footstool in the other. He stepped up a little closer to me and waited silently. I could not drink with the round face and brown eyes so close. Another ragged boy, about twelve years old, came from the street and stepped to my table. A large yellow bowl filled with tamales rested easily on his head. "Tamale?" he asks, looking straight into my eyes, then stood quietly like a sentinel. "Si," I responded, "para usted," ("yes, for you.") I asked the shoeshine boy if he wanted a tamale, and he responded

quietly that he did. He sat on his shoeshine box and began to eat. I finished my coke. This scene was repeated often during my stay-even late at night when children stood outside the windows of the restaurants, waiting for a signal from any diner. Once bidden, they slipped in and backed out quietly, taking any excess food in their tiny hands to eat on the sidewalk (also noted by Sheenan, 1989, p. 124).

Matagalpa possesses many streets of modest and neatly kept shops and urban homes built of brick or masonry. They were well protected with window bars and often surrounded by high walls and barbed wire, for theft was rampant. There were no public libraries or museums, nor large public recreational facilities found in this city. The city's open but timeworn square was bounded on one side by a stately cathedral, and the city's park was saturated with shoeshine boys who close in quickly on prospective customers. Moneychangers did a brisk business on select street corners, mostly in changing Nicaraguan Cordobas for more stable United States dollars. The streets were filled with endless groups of young people playing, yelling, selling, and begging.

The Hotel Bermudez

Jim Hornsby, my major contact person here, had arranged for me to stay in the Hotel Bermudez. My large room was more than adequate for my research needs. The water ran only occasionally, and a large plastic barrel of water was kept in the bathroom so that

by using a dipper a shower of sorts could be regularly obtained. With the manager's permission, I covered the windows with black plastic and hooked up my darkroom equipment on the floor. I could then process negatives, black-and-white prints, and proofsheets whenever the electricity was on. I used additional chemicals to compensate for the lack of running water. A telephone sat on the counter in the lobby, and the wires were disconnected from the wall when it was not in use. I was told that there were less than a hundred telephones in the city. However, the staff was friendly and helpful in taking messages when I was out conducting interviews.

The Participants

Twelve Matagalpan teachers participated in the project. Most agreed to be interviewed in their homes, though we met several in locations more convenient to their work schedules. They ranged in age from the late twenties to the mid-sixties. Half were men and half were women. Only one taught elementary full-time, though many had taught elementary school during their careers and during the war period. Two taught secondary school, and three taught secondary school part-time. Two taught at a post-secondary level, and two taught at this level part-time. Four were presently principals, and three worked at least part-time in a supervisory capacity. More positions are listed than there were participants in the study because most of the participants held more than one job in order to make a living wage.

Educational backgrounds ranged from one participant with a 10th grade education to the majority of participants with post-bachelor's degree certifications. Teaching experience ranged from 7 to 46 years, with the average participant having taught 23.75 years. I did not ask the participants their exact age, feeling it might embarrass some individuals. I did ascertain that two participants were in the 26-35-year age range; five were in the 36-45-year age range; and five were over 46 years of age.

Judging from the many published accounts of Nicaraguan society which I had read, I expected to find a polarized society. Though my participants often stated their desire to respect all sides in the recent political and military conflicts, it was easy to deduce that all had formed a personal political perspective. Still it was difficult to describe the participants' views as simply being pro-Contra or pro-Sandinista or neutral. All but one participant voiced dissatisfaction with the Somoza dictatorship (one had been placed in jail by the Somoza government), and most expressed support for the Sandinista government in its earliest years. The interviews revealed that seven of my participants strongly believed in many of the basic ideas inherent in the Sandinista government, and five had, at some point during the past decade, come to basically oppose that government. Many tried earnestly to express sympathy for the values evident on opposing sides of the conflict between the Contras and Sandinistas and made a point of stating that part of their

perception of their role as teachers required them to attempt to work with all sides.

Individual Descriptions of Participants

The following descriptions describe the twelve participants as they were in 1992 at the time of the interviews. I used these pseudonyms consistently throughout the study.

Gregorio. Gregorio was 50 years old and had 27 years experience in education. During the uprising against Somoza he spent two months in jail for his political viewpoints. Once released he had to resort to teaching in a school run by a sympathetic administrator who offered him some protection against rearrest. Currently a secondary school teaching principal, he had taught in a variety of grade levels over his previous career. Presently, he taught social sciences and philosophy. Affable and loquacious, Gregorio exuded personal warmth and tempered cynical remarks with humor. He was the director of a liberal political party which was not always in agreement with the Sandinista party.

Anna. Anna, according to my translator Danlilo and others I spoke to, was probably one of the best known teachers in Matagalpa. An eloquent speaker and ardent supporter of the priorities given to education by the Sandinistas, until 1991 Anna held a post as the director of a teaching institute which had considerable influence over many teachers in the Matagalpa area. She was 65 years old and had 46 years of experience as a teacher at every level. In 1991 the new

government's administrators forced her out of her position and out of the public school system as well. Anna greatly resented having been forced to leave her former supervisory position. She told me that her retirement check came to $40 (U. S.) per month, and she made it plain that she didn't want to be retired, that she loved her profession, and had several "good years left."

At the time of the interviews Anna was working part-time with a teacher-training program funded with a monetary grant from Germany. During our conversations, her mental alacrity became immediately apparent to me. Her replies were spellbinding, demanding my full attention, as she was capable of quoting poetry at length and of delivering opinions rhythmically and expressively, all with an air of well-practiced authority. She expressed a passionate sense of Nicaraguan nationalism and more than once condemned the United States for its foreign policies. I sat rigidly in my chair in her pleasant but dimly lit living room and felt myself once again a schoolboy.

Pedro. I went to the Institutio Nacional Eliseo Picado (INEP), Matagalpa's large public high school, and met Pedro by the door of his chemistry classroom. The school and classroom were spacious, but furnishings were ragged and a worn chart, a Periodic Table of the Elements, was the room's sole visual aid. Pedro was 50-years-old and had 18 years experience in education. He also taught school at night and was an instructor at an industrial arts school. He was the President of the Federación Sindical de Maestros de Nicaragua (the

Union of Federation of Teachers of Nicaragua), a rival to the ANDEN union, and he stated that his organization had 80 members. Pedro lamented the lack of teaching resource materials for his classes, particularly during the Sandinista years, and showed me his personal book collection at home. He was interested in the English language and absolutely insisted on speaking English during the second interview.

Vicente. Vicente was a solidly built man in his early 40's, though he looked much younger. His youth belied fifteen years of educational experience, most of it as either the principal or vice-principal of a secession of secondary schools. He was currently the principal of a vocational training school. Vicente had been a combatant in the struggle against Somoza and had later served in the Sandinista military. Sympathetic to the Sandinista ideals, he spoke with modesty and restraint but displayed an extensive knowledge of the issues he discussed.

Maria. Maria was an attractive, vibrant woman, about forty years old, her face often animated. She had a charming smile. Her pleasant demeanor hid the fact that her husband had been killed in an ambush during the war. An ardent Sandinista, she fought with the rebels against Somoza, and afterwards worked with the ANDEN union in the dangerous position of a traveling supervisor during the period when the Contras were assassinating people in that position. Her brother, husband, and several teachers and students she knew were killed by the Contras. With 20 years experience, Maria was

working three jobs: with a teacher-training school, with a university for teachers, and as a secondary social sciences teacher.

Lillian. Lillian was a relatively young teacher in her late twenties. She had a 10th grade education and taught elementary school for seven years. Lillian was tall and attractive and spoke slowly and with expression. After a question, she always paused quietly and then said, "Bueno" to indicate that she understood. During the war the man she planned to marry was drafted into the military and had to leave her to raise their young daughter. The man drifted out of their lives and decided not to return. They lived with her mother and stepfather when Matagalpa was attacked by Somoza's Guardia. As she and her daughter hid, a rocket hit their house and killed her stepfather, to whom she was very close. Lillian broke into tears as she talked about burying her stepfather, "It was only with a sheet in our patio." Lillian and her family were very poor, and it was difficult for her to continue her education, though she was sufficiently trained during the Sandinista era to become an elementary teacher. She spoke emotionally about her daughter and how she loved her and that she was all that she had. She said if it weren't for the war she might have been able to wait and marry successfully, and again broke into tears.

Dolores. Dolores was a strong supporter of the Sandinista movement and a firm ANDEN supporter. Because of her busy schedule (she taught over 9 hours a day at two schools), we met her for one interview in the ANDEN headquarters. Dressed in a pink suit

and matching pink earrings, Dolores looked professional but a bit fatigued. As a teacher myself, I knew how hard it was to stand in front of classes for such long periods and was amazed at the energy she and many of the other teachers possessed. With twelve years teaching experience, Dolores was, at the time, working with elementary-age girls during the daytime and teaching mixed gender secondary classes at night.

Cecilia. Cecilia was enthusiastic about what the Sandinistas were doing for education from their very beginnings, working to coordinate other teachers in the Literary Crusade of 1980. Like Maria, Cecilia had traveled into the countryside during the period of the war with the Contras, and had maintained a close relationship with the ANDEN union. Tall and slender, she was probably the most subdued of all the participants, sitting quietly in her chair with the dignity of a museum statue. She had been teaching since she was a teenager, and now in her early thirties had eighteen years of experience. She held two jobs, one teaching secondary school and the other in adult education, and finding time for the interviews was difficult.

Juan. Juan was a professor of education at UNAN and worked intensively with the ANDEN union. In his mid-forties, he had 22 years of experience, much of it as a secondary teacher of science and mathematics. A heavy set man with a short beard, he projected an intent intelligence and a broad knowledge of the teaching profession both internationally and locally. He often hesitated after a question

was asked and appeared lost in thought before answering with great animation and enthusiasm. Committed to the Sandinistas, Juan expressed well-documented philosophical and political opinions and did not hesitate to criticize himself or the Sandinistas. During the war he went into the military full-time for four months and served in an area which was under constant threat of attack by the Contras. He described some gruesome experiences with death and misery there and returned with the conviction that war was an unacceptable method of gaining political ends. Juan felt that the war had contributed to the breakup of his first marriage and cost him his youth.

Simón. Simón had 42 years of experience, much of it as an administrator. He and Anna were the two oldest of my participants, both in their sixties. Simón had studied education in Managua and Venezuela, and during the late 1950's, he had studied in Puerto Rico on a grant provided by the United States Department of State. His graduate degree, signed by Anastasio Somoza, hung on the wall of his home. He was currently serving as a high school principal. A man of obvious scholarship, he displayed a dignified reserve at all times. Though a man with some conservative leanings, he earnestly related insights into the accomplishments and failings of the opposing factions.

Rosalia. Shortly after the Sandinistas lost power in 1990, Rosalia had become the principal of a large high school. My translator Danlilo described Rosalia as "a small woman who in reality

is a very big woman." The contrast of her small body sitting behind a large desk in the principal's office indeed gave off an air of competence. Rosalia had retired from teaching under some pressure during the 1980's but had been asked to return to teaching as principal after the 1990 elections. With the faculty split between Sandinista and non-Sandinista factions, she had a difficult job ahead. She was quiet, almost stern, answering the introductory questions perfunctorily. As the questions progressed, she grew animate, adamantly making points. She stated that her work in the Catholic church had become a great source of strength for her. During the second interview, Rosalia spoke emotionally about her family. "My daughters left the country with my husband. He is a U. S. citizen now." Rosalia had gone to the United States to visit them in Miami and while there had been forced to work as a maid. I was struck with the contrast between that menial position and the responsibility she had here running the largest school in the province. Rosalia looked at me and may have read my thoughts. Her eyes moistened, and she had to pause in the interview.

Carlos. Carlos was a dark, stout stocky man whose gold and white teeth flashed often in a smile. He was the principal of a local technical training institute and was interviewed in his office. A poster of Pope Paul hung on the wall. Carlos was in his forties and had 27 years of teaching experience in both elementary and secondary schools. He quit teaching for awhile during the 1980's because he felt he could no longer work in the Sandinista-controlled

teaching environment. His brother was killed in the war, and he felt that this death contributed to the subsequent death of his mother.

Part 2: Analysis

Qualitative Categories

In the first analysis of the interview transcripts, (henceforth referred to as the "protocols"), a search was conducted for categories of common experience. These categories were later to be reduced to what some researchers call domains (Bondy & Hatch, 1982). Domains are concepts that demonstrate relationships between categories or parts of categories. The domains are again compared to each other and back to the original categories until a smaller number of subthemes and finally a few basic themes emerge. These themes generated a theoretical answer to the research question and were internally consistent with the domains, categories, and the protocols. Though these steps are reductionalist, the process involved a constant interactive referral back to the original categories and protocols.

The initial analysis of the protocols resulted in the formation of almost 60 categories. The categories were arranged in alphabetical order on charts so that they could be easily located and citations from the protocols listed beneath them. Citations consisted of the interview number, the page number, and, if needed, the line numbers. The protocols were also marked with abbreviations

representing the categories (see Appendix: "Qualitative Categories"). About 350 citations were distributed throughout these categories.

The categories were compared to each other and discussed with other participating researchers. As the initial categories were compared to one another and again to the protocols, a number of them became saturated with overlapping citations. This clearly suggested that new categories be formed, often collapsed from two or more previous categories. Six domains finally emerged: Uncertainty, Disconnection, Incomprehensibility, Failed Expectations, Violation of Potential, and War vs. Education. Categories and protocols were again related to these domains, and the domains to one another, until, once again, the interactions demanded a simpler organization. During this redistribution of concepts three subthemes emerged. One subtheme was reduced primarily from the collapse of the domains of Uncertainty, Disconnection and Incomprehensibility, and I termed this subtheme Chaos. The second subtheme was collapsed from the domains Failed Expectations and Violation of Potential, and I termed this subtheme as Loss of Potential. The third subtheme, formed somewhat independently, absorbed the War vs. Education domain as well as a host of other categories and parts of categories. I termed this final subtheme Continuance in Teaching. I was content with these subthemes and would have termed them themes and ended the analysis forthwith, except that a few remaining categories refused to fit neatly into this pattern. A final resynthesis of the protocols, categories, domains and subthemes led me toward one last

Table 1.

The Process of Analysis in This Study

CATEGORIES	DOMAINS	SUBTHEMES	THEMES
anti-imperialism			
apathy			
bad aspects of peace			
changes in student behavior			
changes in curriculum	**Uncertainty**		
the tragedy of children			
coping			
coercion			
compromising,	**Disconnection**	***Chaos***	
the concept of war			
dreams			**LOSS**
devotion to teaching			
death and loss	**Incomprehensibility**		
failed expectations			
fear, guns			**DEVOTION**
good aspects of peace			
gratitude for the study	**Failed Expectations**		
lack of materials		***Loss of Potential***	
propagandizing			
religion	**Violation of Potential**		
recruiting			
salary problems			
teacher firing			
teaching peace		***Continuance in Teaching***	
teaching quality declining	**War vs. Education**		
teaching quality rising			
tension			

undeniable reduction- and I was left with two clear themes. I termed these simply as **Loss** and **Devotion**. The following table may help to clarify the process of analysis. The double-arrows between the column heads indicate the two-way interaction typical of qualitative analysis.

Grounds

Four grounds are commonly accepted as central to human existence in the phenomenological framework: Self, Others, Space and Time (Heidegger, 1949, 1972). By far, the most emphasized of these grounds by the participants in their interviews was the concept of Time. The profession of education is, by its nature, oriented toward the future, with the present being subjected to it. The participants repeatedly observed the *loss of the future* in their statements, both in regards to the grounds of Self and Other. This loss of time orientation was a major contributor to such domain concepts as Uncertainty, Disconnection, Incomprehensibility, Failed Expectations, and Violation of Potential. Finally, the ground of Time became a predominant feature in the formation of the theme of Loss.

The participants' ground of Self appeared to be heavily related to and dependent on the ground of Other, which might be expected of teachers constantly involved in the nurturing of children. These grounds contributed toward the War vs. Education domain and finally to the theme of Devotion.

All the participants portrayed a world that was structured spatially, though this ground was subjected to the other grounds and represented a figural rather than a foundational structure in their experiences.

Part 3: The Theme of Loss Presented in the Voices of the Participants

Loss of the Future

The concept of war involves the annihilation of the future on many conceptual levels. The concept of loss incorporated a broad number of categories of concepts, and the participants often reflected on losses involving time, particularly future time. The concept of time was a major ground in the lives of the participants, and the loss of many aspects of their future and of their students' futures was a major component of their reflections of the effect of the long war. At the outset, the concept of loss in wartime would suggest a loss of life, but tragedies suffered by the participants often involved the temporal loss of the future.

Against this ground, loss is most conveniently organized for discussion along the lines of the five domains of Violation of Potential, Failed Expectations, Incomprehensibility, Disconnection, and Uncertainty.

NOTE: IN THE EXCERPTS FROM TRANSCRIPTS THAT FOLLOW, THE COMMENTS OF THE PARTICIPANTS HAVE BEEN PLACED IN

BOLDFACE TYPE. WITHIN THESE TRANSCRIPTS, MY PERIPHERAL ON-SITE OBSERVATIONS ARE IN *ITALICS IN PARENTHESES.*

Violation of Potential

Teachers discussed the loss of potential caused by over a decade of war. This loss was felt in many ways: lost education, lost opportunity, lost time, and loss of life and health.

Juan took leave from teaching and went into the Sandinista military full-time for several months. He was sent to a small but strategically important town under almost constant siege by the Contras. His job was to educate the public about not entering the minefields, particularly important since the high rate of illiteracy there made many people unable to read the signs warning of the danger. Juan stated:

> **So then, along with three other people who would work in the same political division as myself, we would go through the whole town, house by house, to make people aware that those fields were dangerous. We would tell them the specific locations of those fields so they would avoid going by there. They would also explain this to the children so that they wouldn't go there. I went to a school there in _____. In that horrible place of war there were still schools functioning, even after all the wartime conditions that existed there. So I remember going to the schools at _____ and being with the teachers, and the teacher would tell the students. There was an elementary school that went to the fourth grade. . . it wasn't a complete elementary school, so I'm talking about children who were from six**

> **to eight or nine years old, or maybe ten years old. So I went to these schools and talked to the teachers there and told them that the minefields were very dangerous. We showed the teachers which signs were the warnings for dangerous minefields, and then the teachers would go to the students and explain to them that it was dangerous, and they couldn't go to these places and that the fields were wired for a reason and they couldn't play there; they couldn't go there. And then, the military base took precautions in warning the civilians, though all the precautions that we took, a child once entered a field and set off a bomb and one of his legs was completely destroyed. Still, when the brigade got there, the child was still alive and they got him out of there, and they took him to the hospital at _____ and they proceeded to give him help. But the doctors there said that in this specific case they couldn't help the child, and they would have to get him out of there. The child had to be transferred to another hospital in _____ or _____ where there were facilities to treat the boy. So at night they took the boy in a vehicle with his dad, with his mother crying, and transferred to a hospital in _____. They traveled by road to _____, but the road was long and the child couldn't stand it and he just died. In _____ they prepared the body and returned it the following day. But that night, when I saw that boy that wandered into the minefield and that his poor leg was off his body, that night I cried. I remembered that up to that time it had been about fifteen years since I had cried, and then I understood the war.**

Lillian was a young teacher in her twenties. She lost her much-loved stepfather to the war when a rocket hit her home, and the family buried him in a simple sheet in the back yard. This was not

her only strong memory of war, however. When asked if she could remember a day with her students that exemplified some of the bad things that happened to her, she recounted:

> **I remember something that happened to one of my students who was 18 years old *(Note: it would not have been unusual for an adult to have been taking elementary classes during this period of educational reform).* She was in first and second grade. My school, because it was away from the main part of the city, here came some of the young fellows and invited her to go out a little while *(closer to the center of town, police and security forces probably would have prevented what followed).* They took her to a river and between the five of them they raped her, and this is one thing I remember that was terrible. In the war, sometimes, when they would kidnap people and take them away, they would also rape them. It was something horrible. . . maybe they didn't kill them, but they killed their dignity, and afterwards they had psychological problems because of the violation. The girl withdrew from school because of the embarrassment. In these cases, not only the teachers suffered, but also the students and after that for this young woman, she became a woman of the streets, going here and there and becoming a prostitute. Now her mind had become completely ruined because of those five men who had taken her. That was something really bad for me. I remember it was something similar to the death of your life. And that's how I remember the war.**

Cecilia, who worked in the most dangerous parts of the countryside, said:

> **The faces, the expressions, that's what impacted me. Especially the children, living in the midst of that tension, that's what I cannot forget. And the dead people, and the dead, every moment you saw dead people and that would impact you. Every moment there were being killed young people, adults, children. Maybe they would go through a mine and it would blow them up. That also affected you.**

Maria, a supervisor with 20 years experience, spent time in the countryside and had significant exposure to the violence of the war and was in considerable personal danger. Asked in the second stage interview about the single worst thing that affected her teaching during the war, she responded:

> **I think that I said the last time, I always continue to say, that it was the loss of my friends. To have friends that you shared things with, that you worked with, even including many people who were becoming teachers that had been my students, and later they were sequestered, and we found them dead, and we had to take them and bury them, and they were really good friends. This, in particular, teachers that were sequestered, teachers that were killed in a very brutal, savage manner. They were tortured before dying and their bodies, all of these acts. Later we saw them already dead. This affected us a lot. Later the death of friends and family and my sister really affected me strongly as a teacher, as a person, and as a professional. War, as it was, the worst effect was**

> **the limitation of materials that I had, but the most significant was the moral effect and the psychological effect when we saw companions. The emotional effect when we saw companions that were dead. These people were just cut down; they had potential, they had ideals. They had ideals to develop and build the country, but they were just cut down. . . .**

Maria's job included returning some of the bodies to their families in sometimes distant hometowns. A representative of the Sandinista cause, she was cursed by the grieving families. Once she was forced to return the body of her brother to her mother:

> **For example the town council where I worked had students who came to class with weapons. I used to get familiar with them because they were my pupils during the day and at night they watched the school and took care of the area with weapons, and suddenly sometimes they would be killed in the combat, and it was very sad. It was very hard, it was very hard, because when you were working with somebody and then you see that he is dead. A few moments ago he left the schoolhouse or the house and you know that he is dead. It happened to me with my husband. My daughters' father died and my brother too. This was very terrible, it was terrible and then the teachers with whom I was working were killed. They were dead and it was hard to understand it. When you see that someone is dead and completely destroyed it is very hard, and you become sad, and the impact is terrible because in a war you can understand the rest. For example there is no food, there are no salaries, in some cases there is no medicine, and everything is terrible, but the death, the death of**

> the partners. This is very hard. And they were very good partners, very good teachers, then they were killed. That's the way during war. . . . I remember that a teacher, this teacher who worked in _____ was killed and it was terrible and I had to, I was in charge of ANDEN here at that time, and I had to go to take the body to the family. And the family was against the Sandinistas, the whole family was against the Sandinista government, and it was very difficult for me, and I received a lot of comments against my person from them, because the family said it was the Sandinista government's fault. And this was hard for me, to take the body to them. And this dead person, he was _____ and the family was not with the Revolution. And this situation was the hardest for me, and the family told me that the Sandinista government was guilty, that we were guilty, that he was dead because of us, because of our government. And I remembered all the things the Contras did to his body, you know, and it was terrible, but it was worse to take this dead person to their family, because they were really mad. I had this same problem again when my brother was killed, and I had to take the body to my mother's house, and my mother spoke against the government and against the commanders, the Sandinista Commanders and everybody in the army and the Sandinista government. My mother really was angry and when I took the body of my dead brother my mother used strong words against the Sandinista government, and me. . . .

Failed Expectations

The Sandinista Revolution, with its emphasis on education and health, gave many teachers hopes for a both better society and a

better personal and professional future. At first these hopes seemed justified, with economic improvement evident until about the year 1984 when Contra attacks intensified and targeted the food supply. From then until the fall of the Sandinista government in 1990 conditions in Nicaragua steadily deteriorated. After 1990 hopes that the new government would bring improvement were dashed as the budget in education was severely cut and working conditions continually worsened.

Cecilia said:

> **I don't feel that we are experiencing the same changes now that we did during the Revolution. For example, during the Revolution, if a teacher had a sick child, he could take the child to the hospital, with the certainty that he wouldn't pay anything, because since he was a teacher he got that benefit. Now, if one of the kids gets sick he has to pay for the doctor and medicines. Also, some teachers have three or four children and now they have to buy them books and pencils, or they have to rent the books because the books are too expensive. They have to buy the shoes, clothes and food and they can't afford that much. So I think that the benefits we gained through the Revolution are gone now.**

Vicente recounted:

> **The hope for the teachers was that in this government *(the Chamorro government, which had followed the Sandinistas in 1990)* everything was going to be different and better. The teachers remembered the piñata of the Sandinista government *(a piñata is an unofficial bonus).* The**

> **Sandinistas gave too many piñatas, so this government, it was hoped by teachers, would give them more to help them to have a better life. They didn't get them.**

Cecilia worked in the mountains under very dangerous conditions with the poorest and most devastated of the rural population. She said:

> **The thing that you feel the most is for example the children who are abandoned. The children who are left without a mother, without a father, without a home. What I can't forget as well is the sad faces in the mountains with that uncertainty. It's like they saw themselves in a dead-end street. So the faces of the people, the expressions of the people is what I cannot forget. Those activities where you had no tranquillity. They had to be there because where were they going to take off to? That was their place, that was their home, and without any possibilities that that would improve because the war lasted so long, eight or ten years, and they couldn't see a future.**

Anna, a supervisor with 46 years of experience showed considerable anger when she spoke:

> **If they had been as intelligent as they seemed to think they were *(Anna was referring to the Chamorro government)*, they would have taken out what was bad and left what was good. They might say "take out Sandino and Carlos Fonseca" *(these are two Nicaraguan socialist leaders)* but leave what was good from those ten years. But instead they wanted to butcher, to cut**

up everything. It has been a great mix-up or trap. The economy has never been so bad as it has been in these last two years. The development of the students has never been as low as it has been in these last two years. You know when we had the blockade, you know when we had those ten years of intervention, was there this disaster in education that we have now? The teachers feel that they have been deceived, they are disanimated, their training is insufficient.

. . . . And so with these two years of peace, a peace between question marks, what kind of peace and education has it been? It has been a disaster. It is their problem, they don't want to say it. The desertion *(of jobs)*, the surrender of the academic standards, the training, the quality. Everything is down to the ground.

. . . . for hatred of Sandinismo they destroyed everything that they could have made use of. It was a disaster, including the Ministry of Education order to destroy a huge number of books that were donated by the government of Sweden. They ordered these books burned because they contained something about Carlos Fonseca and about Sandino and they didn't like him either. . . .

. . . . I was a teacher for 46 years and so I know what it was like during the time of the Somozas. So now I'm seeing similarities- yes, yes, yes, yes, now there's a similarity between the Somoza time- there's no motivation, there's no help. . . . When I began working in 1945 in the time of Somoza they were putting into the classroom a young person who only knew how to iron clothes, someone who had had sexual relations with the inspector of education. And so this was the education and this is the education and we're going back to it. I see a great similarity and a return to that time.

Rosalia commented on an aspect of failed expectations reflected in the interviews with many of the participants: their personal hopes for material advancement in their profession had been dashed by the war. Teachers had more buying power during the time of the dictator Somoza:

> **We had a decent salary and lived well at that time. And the secondary teachers earned 2500 Cordoba, depending upon the hours which one worked. A nice salary. In 1972 to 1979 financially everything was OK. After that period of time, as you know, things started in the country. Farmers couldn't plant. There were problems, there were agricultural problems and they had several things to fear. They had to fear the Guardia, which was very scary. The National Guard was very scary. The farmer who gave food to a Sandinista, they would kill the farmer and all of his family. So there were two things: they were afraid of the National Guard and started to reduce their production. This is an agricultural country, and when they started to reduce their production, they started to reduce the economic level of Nicaragua. So later, afterwards, the war basically ruined everything.**

Simón commented along this line of thought:

> **But unfortunately the change that was made for myself, for my family, for the country, was not a positive one. Positive change would have been one that improved social, economic, political conditions of the country. The tremendous change that we suffered was the change of poverty. You can see in my house some things that I cannot repair, and the change that poverty**

> **brings about. That is to say that I do not have the possibilities, the conditions necessary to present myself as an adequate educator during all of the years of involvement with this affair. I think that there is a great failure, economic failure, in the salaries of teachers that exists still. It seems to be a chronic situation because in all of the governments that have existed, the position of the teaching profession has always been marginal, badly recognized, poorly paid by both society and the governments. The teacher in Nicaragua earns 300 Pesos, correction, $60 *(U. S.)*, per month. A houseworker that I have here earns the same thing. Three meals a day, she has a house here, and if she gets sick, she has help. If she gets sick, I help her. The teacher here in Nicaragua is restricted from entertainment. He cannot afford to get sick, and is able to have only one meal a day. He is restricted in marrying, and if they do marry, they do very poorly. Teachers have nothing here. . . .**

Carlos, who did not agree with many of the changes brought about by the Sandinistas during the war, expressed the loss of anticipated stature and respect due to his profession:

> **And all of a sudden the teachers found that all the sacrifices they had made, all the things they had tried to do for the students were just thrown into the floor. And they said it had to be like that because they had to be revolutionaries, and if they weren't revolutionaries then they were against the government. . . . Parents respected their children for entering the service, but they didn't respect teachers. Even after two years *(the participant is referring to the two years of the Chamorro government)*, we the teachers still don't have the respect of the**

> **parents. You can still hear nasty things said about the teachers. This, this this, that one, that one. Fifteen or twenty years ago in our country the teacher was much loved, the teacher was very well respected. It was like they made you feel like a god, or you were put up on a pedestal. The father of the family would salute you with respect, greet you with respect. And they would say to their children, "Son, be careful, be respectful of your teacher." But now the students don't respect the teachers, much less the fathers of the family, they don't respect the teachers. The teachers lost respect because they were ordered by the government to go and pick coffee in the mountains *(There is some disagreement on whether teachers were absolutely forced to pick coffee, but there is no doubt that there were strong pressures placed on them to do so)* .**

Incomprehensibility

The war brought about situations which many of the participants stated that they could not understand at all. Their usual frames of reference for understanding their world were simply lost. Juan stated:

> **. . . when there's a country like this where unemployment is so high, about half of the country is unemployed, and on top of this unemployment there begins to be limitations to access to health care and access to education and other services. This begins to degenerate into one of two paths. One path is disintegration of society, noted by assaults and robberies, violations, rape and prostitution, and the other possibility is revolution, and revolution means more blood. . . and so this country has come to a**

> **labyrinth from which there is no escape, no way out. We're coming out of one war and conditions have been so instituted that we don't know what's going to happen from one minute to the next.**

Maria noted a lack of comprehensibility after the war ended because of the new government's policies:

> **There are no records from the teachers because most of them were destroyed because of politics. You don't have orientation and so you don't know how to teach or which way to teach because you haven't received any orientation. So the teachers are left wandering, like when you get lost. so we can get the programs, we can get the programs but the programs are taken out from books and these books have mistakes and you cannot repair this. So in this case when you receive only the orientation and you see the orientations are no good and the teaching programs, are no good and you can do nothing about it you feel like a robot, like a machine. And then you see the people working in charge of these programs are not doing good things, the only thing you see is revenge, you know. So I see that this is only like a pressure, a pressure for students and teachers to conduct education as they want *(participant indicated that "they" meant the present government).* And so we had a situation in the war that we could understand and justify, I mean we understood it, but now we don't understand the situation that we are in.**

Many of the teachers were aware of the role that the United States had played in financing the Contra-Sandinista war. They

expressed puzzlement at why such power had been brought against their nation. Anna, with anger rising in her voice, stated:

> **Why does this government *(Anna is referring to the United States)* have to think this way? Why do they speak of God and in the name of God do all kinds of barbaric things. I am 65 years old and I say to myself, "When, when are they going to understand that God made us free?" Free to make our own decisions, free to determine our own government. Why do they resort to the label "communist"? Because then they are the anti-communist. They have to fight. They have to destroy and kill. And who has said what communism is? How can they determine that here there is communism? Yes, enough, enough. Someone to observe or fulfill the teachings of the Gospel, the Gospel of Jesus Christ whether they be red or black or white or whatever color, this is good in the eyes of God, because in the Gospel it has said, "When I had hunger you gave me something to eat, when I was sick you visited me. I was naked and you clothed me. And to some he said, "Come to me," and to others he said "You are going to eternal flames." These may not be the exact words, but that's serious what I am interpreting. So I ask myself, "What is this country doing, to determine the destinies of the peoples and countries smaller than they are, poor of the third world. . . the smaller countries and determine that they are to be destroyed?" So this I want to clarify, that in no moment, never will I consider that we had a civil war. Right now we have a war. We don't have a peaceful situation, we have war *(Anna is referring primarily to the bands of armed groups that have continued fighting after the 1990 peace agreements).* And the Nicaraguan people understand who it is that is giving the money.**

> **They continue to be under the power of the noxious forces of the imperialist North Americans. Why? I ask. I say, "What a shame it is that the poor of the earth, the humble of the earth like me. . . they don't see me and they don't care what I say, but I'm going to keep on saying it. I would ask Mr. this and Mr. that, and all the misters that are up there in the government of the United States, "Who has given you the right to determine the destinies of the peoples of the world?"**

Vicente, who had fought in the war against Somoza and who had taken a strong pro-Sandinista stand during the 1980's also performed the "vigilance" duty asked of teachers. This duty required the teacher to have some training with a rifle and usually involved carrying a rifle. Vicente could no longer understand the reason for fighting:

> **Well, it would be different if another country attacked our country. I think that every Nicaraguan teacher would fight to defend the sovereignty of our country. But in a war when you cannot do this, I don't know what I would do. I can see no reason in going to fight again because of the experience I had and other people had. I can see no reason for going to fight or to kill each other here in Nicaragua. I know that there is violence in our country right now, but this is because of politics. If this happens in the future I will try not to be quickly involved in the war. I would think about my decision because I see no reason to fight again.**

Disconnection

The participants expressed the loss of many of their support networks and social structures during the war. The participants often mentioned their personal disconnection from family and the effects of their students being separated from their families.

Maria's long trips to work with teachers in the countryside kept her away from her children:

> **I was gone from my home for so long that I didn't take care of my children, and this was a big problem. I have two children, and the only person they have is me because their father was killed in an ambush during the war. They had to grow up alone, by themselves, and now I see that this affected them a lot. The children have serious problems now because I didn't take care of them and now they have emotional problems because when I used to go out I used to leave them with some friends or family, or people like that. This was not good for them. Now I see the results of this. This used to be a big problem because sometimes I used to take them to people in some houses, and these people didn't take care of them and they didn't want to take care of my children, and this became an emotional problem for them. Now they reflect this problem because they don't feel good about going out. They prefer to stay home, and I don't feel right about it. My other daughter is twelve years old now and she's in elementary school. She doesn't like to go out. I have problems with my family. I have a sister who didn't want to take care of my daughters because she didn't like the position I had or the political persuasions. She used to tell me, "No, I will not take care of your children," and this affected them a lot. And now they reflect this**

> **problem because they didn't receive real care, and I think this has affected them a lot. My children needed me, and the main effect of the war is that I see this result, and for me this is the main effect personally.**

Most of the participants commented on the effects of the war on themselves and the children while in their classes. They and their students had been disconnected from many aspects of traditional life, and in particular had lost or been separated from family members. Dolores stated:

> **One of my brothers died during the war. My family was affected psychologically because it created limitations for the family to be together. One of my sons had to go out of the country because of the war. . . . In one way or another it affected the children *(her students in school)* psychologically because of the way the teachers were personally affected. There were some girls present in my classes whose fathers were either killed or who went away to war, so there were many students like this. Many of the students whom I had in the evening had some relative affected by the war or suffered during the war. . . . I taught only girls. Some the the girls were affected directly because some of them lost their fathers or brothers. The war affected many of these people directly, people who lost family members during the war, and I can see why they are saddened now- they have lost a father or brother or someone close to them. . . . I feel that those incidents affected the students, especially their behavior and performance in school. The girls were a little nervous. It was evident that nervousness was reflected when they were in class and asking questions and responding.**

> **Another related fact that the teachers needed to know deeply what the problems were for each child in order to be of help. I feel it should be one of the responsibilities of teachers to get to know their children, perhaps not in depth, but enough to be able to differentiate whether there is a psychological problem or something going on at home that affects the children's behavior and grades in the classroom. I definitely try to give special attention to those children who have been directly affected by the war.**

The war caused a predictable disconnection from normal school schedules. This was particularly bad in the countryside, where there was a much higher rate of illiteracy and where schoolchildren were often the first generation of their families to learn to read. The Contras were unable to capture and hold any urban areas at any time, but they were able to attack rural areas. Cecilia stated:

> **No, in fact, during that time they did not learn, they did not learn to the max due to the tensions, because they were with the expectation of having to go back to their place and they would sometimes find their homes burned or robbed or vandalized. So that would not allow them to concentrate. So sometimes we would cancel the get-togethers *(regular class)* because they couldn't leave their place, and we knew that it was a great risk. So sometimes we would lose days of class.**

Another type of disruption in the lives of teacher was their loss of salary. From 1979 to the present they had experienced a

consistently downward slide in the buying power they possessed. All participants discussed this matter. Lilian stated:

> **It is something horrible to see. My colleagues with their salaries that are very low. They have many children, and sometimes they don't know what to do, how to feed them. For me that is something terrible, that they go and teach class but they go with that problem that sometimes they didn't leave any food at home and they left their children with no food because really the salaries in elementary school are very low. So then I was thinking of course, it's not a war to death, it's not a shot that kills you. . . .**

Several teachers looked back to the days of Somoza when salaries had almost three times as much purchasing power by the accounts of several participants. Rosalia reflected:

> **Well, I would make a comparison and say that during the time of Somoza the teachers, we had a pretty high standard of living, good pay. We would get together and make jokes. We did have a pretty high standard of living back then. We had in our classes the most luxury that you could find in Nicaragua. We had refrigerators, we had cars, every teacher in the center had their car, and we were doing well.**

Juan discussed the damage poverty did to the teaching profession generally:

> **I'm clear that what needs to take place is a change in the formation of the teachers of this country. . . and prepare them pedagogically and scientifically, enabling them to be people of change, and this disgracefully, is tied to the economic problems. I'm not romantic about this. We can't have good teachers if we don't have a decent salary for the teachers, so we need to improve the salary conditions for the teachers so that the teachers, besides having love of their job as teachers will be able to perform their jobs as teachers correctly without having to look for other work on the side in order just to barely live.**

The Sandinista recruiters expected teachers to cooperate in procuring military-age eligible males for the army. This expectation was resisted by some of the participants who felt it violated their traditional professional independence. Carlos said:

> **. . . there comes a time when we have to send our superiors a list of names of children who are eligible now for military service. I think that the teachers who do this, sending a list of children who are eligible for military service, feel badly, because teachers aren't supposed to be recruiters.**

In addition to on-site recruiting, other factors changed the school curriculum. Many participants expressed their distress that

the students' academic curriculum had been adversely affected by the war. Gregorio stated:

> . . . for teachers also, implementing study programs was very difficult because they were substituted by all kinds of different programs concerned with traveling to the cotton fields or recruiting or all kinds of different things that substituted the implementation of classes. The students were promoted from one year to the next because of their participation in these activities. So even when they graduated from high school, for example, instead of presenting grades, they presented a form that stated that they had participated in revolutionary activities or military service and therefore they could go into different universities. So the emphasis was more toward military service than scholastics. This created a situation that made it possible for students to participate in certain activities supported by the government to be in a position to place pressure on the teachers to advance them to their next classes. It was really difficult for teachers, even in the literacy campaign, because the students were more in control than the teachers.

A large number of teachers expressed the belief that the war forced them to perform duties like recruiting for which they were not suited and which contradicted the basis of the teaching profession. Another role which the participants were uneasy with was that of carrying weapons. Many were asked to carry rifles for protection in the mountains. Some performed "vigilance" duty- that of guarding buildings from the Contras or from thieves. None of the

participants expressed any desire to use a gun for any reason. Juan reflected:

> **I believe that teachers are trained for life, they are not trained for death and destruction. The function of the teacher is to prepare for life, so the first homework of the teacher is to develop a conscience in the youth concerning the errors of the war so that war would not be something that would come about in this country again. One needs to fill oneself with this goal of developing in the youth this conscience, so that war would never take place again. . .**

Dolores, who worked in the dangerous countryside, explained:

> **During that time in the country schools, teachers needed to carry guns for their security, because the teachers were living under pressure and were afraid of being killed or kidnapped. Teachers had to go to their schools with a gun in one hand and their books in their other hand. This didn't occur in the whole country, just in some parts where the Contras were near the school or where the town was under pressure as part of the war. Not only the teachers carried guns to survive, the rest of the people had guns in case fighting occurred, in case Contras came into town. So they needed to have guns to answer them. For example, in the communities far from Mataglapa had over fifty teachers killed. Some were killed in their schools, and some while walking to their homes, and some were killed while on the road. It was necessary for the teachers to have guns, not because they were going to war against the Contras, but because they had to defend themselves against them. They had to be ready in case of attack and were**

> **going to be killed. Having a gun, the teachers felt they were on the front, and that was the situation the teachers were in during the wartime confrontation.**

Juan spoke of his feelings about performing guard duty while harvesting coffee:

> **. . . it was an economic situation where many farms and places were attacked by the Contras. And those places were the places where we would go and pick coffee. So then, yes, there I had to and not only me but everybody there would go, they would pick coffee during the day and then at night they would take turns doing the vigilance, you know from 9 to 11 and from 11 to 1 and every two hours, and they would leave you there with your rifle.**

Maria explained her training in weaponry:

> **We played an important role within the militia to take care of the children, to take care of the old people. If there was an attack on Matagalpa then we at the school were going to serve. We were going to be a place of safety for the old people and the children. Then, preparing ourselves to confront in combat, what to do in an attack. There are some techniques to defend yourselves. The militia was the defensive part in a combat. The offense always went to the army, but the town has to know how to defend itself. So we had training, and we had a gun that we were always assigned on the hour of leaving so that when we walked on the streets to school, to go to work. I went to school with a gun, I went to see my students with a gun in this place. I**

> never, fortunately, had to use it. I don't have the experience of confronting someone with a gun. Equally, my students had guns. . . . It affected me. It's very uncomfortable. We're not prepared for war, and we didn't want the war. We, in particular, I really didn't want the war. I knew that I had to participate and the training, and I went voluntarily, and I got the gun, not because I was such a lover of guns, and luckily I didn't have to shoot it one time, no more than in the practices and that's good because I'm a lousy shot.
>
> . . . in that time if there hadn't been a war nobody could have made me pick up a gun, but I understood that this war was a war that was going on to confront a horrible condition, and I knew that it was just to defend yourself, and I knew that it was just to defend your family, your work, your school. You had to guard the school against a possible attack, and there was this need, and there was the need to protect oneself, to be alert.

Maria explained the one time she tried to fire her rifle while on guard duty at the ANDEN headquarters. She spotted a thief and raised her rifle:

> When I shot I didn't hit anything. I shot at him but when I shot at him the safety was on so I didn't hit anything but a companion of mine did shoot. When I realized this, the police arrived, and I realized that I hadn't shot anything I told them that the safety was still on. The police were very suspicious of me. How was it that I couldn't have figured out that the safety was on? I told them that I didn't shoot the man. It was a very confusing situation, including the police upbraiding me for not being able to defend the

> **place. It was my responsibility, and you know, I said, "I was prepared to be a teacher, I wasn't prepared to be a military person."**

A contrasting form of disconnection were the dreams experienced by the teachers, separating them from a happier life. Some reported having nightmares, usually involving death. Pedro spoke of his nightmares:

> **Also, during the war I felt terrible because I felt alone, lonely because I was seeing the city destroyed every day. I felt bad. Sometimes I felt that I was in the middle of a graveyard and that I was the only person alive in the graveyard. When the dream was finished, I couldn't believe that I was alive.**

Lillian recounted her nightmares:

> **I was afraid, personally afraid, because some days I would go to visit other teachers in a rural area. I was afraid that the Contras might come out and kill us. Just thinking about this gave me horrible dreams. So this affected my life because it was affecting my mind, thinking that someday the Contras might come out and torture me, because they were searching for many teachers.**

All of the teachers expressed dismay at a lack of a good teacher-support structure within the teaching system. There was some disagreement ideologically as to which political faction was worse for teachers in this regard, but participants left little doubt of

the fact that they felt that they were often left feeling isolated, without supervision and without a chance to advance themselves academically. Anna was adamant on the failure of the new Chamorro government in comparison to that of the Sandinistas:

> **. . . the recent teacher's course was a disaster, a complete irresponsibility. Without giving the teachers time to study or to prepare themselves they had to attend classes and take tests. Now the teachers have lost the interest that they had when I was the director of _____ when we were giving them plans for study and really helping them with their education. Now this doesn't exist. So they're missing that, and this is true in all parts of Nicaragua. The teachers don't feel the need to work. They're not interested in their work and they don't feel that the director is interested. They have no one to say "help me" to, so now you find teachers are irresponsible themselves, and before they were working very well. . . .**

Even critics of the Sandinistas stated that they did provide more opportunities for teachers to have inservices and continue their education. Maria explained how the interference of war made it difficult to get to the weekend classes that could result in an advanced degree:

> **Yes I had to travel every Saturday, every Saturday. And I was late. For example in '78, I started in '78, and I didn't finish until '89. You can see that's a lot of time. The problem of the war, I couldn't attend on Saturday. There were problems in this one place because of the**

> **presence of troops. If there was a presence of troops in a particular place, well then you couldn't leave, and you couldn't make it to class. That's why it took me such a long time to finish. I finished a degree that otherwise would only have taken me four years to complete. It took a lot more time, almost ten years, actually eleven years.**

A final type of disconnection was discerned in the generous thanks given to me as a researcher by so many of the participants at the conclusion of their interviews. Within this gratitude a sense of isolation from the international community was discerned. With the peace of 1990, the international media had largely departed from Nicaragua. Most aid groups I was working with reported that their funding had been cut drastically. Conflicts in Bosnia and Africa were in the headlines of the media at that time in the United States. Nicaragua, stable in its rapidly increasing poverty, had been virtually forgotten. As a novice researcher I was surprised at my participants' kind and often lengthy expressions of gratitude for the study in the conclusions of their interviews. In analyzing these statements, it became obvious that they were evidencing a strong current of isolation, combined with a wish for the outside world to know more about conditions in their country. In the words of Lillian:

> **Yes I would like this in the study. When the teachers in the University are reading it, that they would really, really understand what you are doing with the study. I hope that, well a suggestion for them, that it serves them to become aware of the reality that the teachers**

here in Nicaragua are going through. And maybe they in some future would feel some solidarity with us, the teachers, because really here in Nicaragua, like in other countries that are at war, the education has suffered. So then I would like that the teachers there would take time in the consideration of their studies, to help us.

Rosalia comments in a similar vein:

Yes, I am doing this interview in part so that others that know very little about us may understand so that others in other countries can understand what a simple teacher in my country carries in her heart. Above all, I want to present, and give my feelings to Toby, who is thanked for allowing me to participate in this. And I want to present to the person that receives this message that, if I am here as a teacher, it is to fulfill an obligation to my people. I love my people. I love my vocation, I love students and above all I want to send a message of peace, and the desire that we reach a peace in our country.

Uncertainty

The domain of Uncertainty will be divided into three areas for presentation: Fear, Tension, and Coercion. All are concepts rooted in uncertainty, and all further reflect loss- loss of the security and infrastructure usually found in a peaceful society.

Fear. A major category of reflection for the participants centered around the concept of fear. Teachers in the mountains spent the 1980's afraid for their lives, as the assassination of

teachers was common in the countryside. Some fear of the danger spread to the teachers in the safer city of Matagalpa. Maria related:

> **The teachers in the city were always tense and worried because of the war in the mountains, but the situation was very different. They heard the news about the dead, and they knew those that had died, because they had been coming into the cities and saw the persons who died every day. That's why we knew who died some days, who the dead persons were. But it was a different situation here, we were never directly involved in the war in the mountains. I had known that here in Matagalpa we were aware of 300 teachers who were kidnapped and killed in the mountains, 350 teachers including the popular teachers *(these "popular" teachers were less formally trained teachers, making up for the shortage of certified teachers in the personnel expansion mandated by the Sandinistas).* They were kidnapping the popular teachers too.**

Lillian:

> **Well, I think that what affected me was the instability, the fear that I felt, being a teacher. Because I would hear about that teacher that was killed in the country, and I would think that when I had to go into the mountains that the Contras would attack me and kill me. So I would have horrible nightmares, and they would kill me.**

Anna, a supervisor, reported her fear resulting from receiving threatening notes at school:

> . . . a threat would make us afraid. Many times anonymous threats would come to the school, appearing in the classroom and threatening me. . . . So the threats would say that they would do this or that and my family would be worried about me. . . so my family would say, "Mama, don't go up that hill to _____." But I didn't pay any attention to them. Yes, I had fear at the same time, and at the same time there were young men dying in the mountains because of this war. So I said, "No, we have to continue struggling, and we'll give to the guardia *(the local military guard)* the little that we're able to get. And I think that all of the teachers reacted that way, because we went through difficulties but the worst that we had was fear. . . .

Many subjects discussed getting over their fear, or at least getting used to it. Cecilia stated:

> So it was as if they were selected to be killed. They were selected, the attack on the popular educators was very direct. So then that affected us, but it would give us more courage in the midst of that sadness to follow their example, so that would not help them *(the Contras)* any. And they were playing the role of teachers, although empirically. So then that, in the middle of your pain, gave you the courage to continue their work. So then if we were to start crying and do nothing, the people would stay abandoned.

Anna also recounts becoming outwardly inured to fear:

> I knew that if my students knew that I was afraid, that wasn't good. Then I would take advantage of that opportunity of my fear, you know when I went to class and was being pressured. When we had more difficulties, then what I would do is transmit to the students that in spite of that situation we would analyze it, we would let them see how we were in this moment. This is what's happening, but this is what we need to do. Then, I have never had the belief that a person, no matter how much fear they have, even in the war has to stay crying at the side of the road. On the contrary, if I have fear but there's something to be done, then I think that we had to do it, and then that's what I would do in my classroom. Throughout the whole period of war, first I was in a primary school, then I was in a high school, and for me each day there was a new lesson. In spite of my fear, which I did not transmit, I would then with that fear say, "What do we have to do to overcome the fear and to continue fighting because I knew our fight, because I believed in our fight, and because I believed and I believe in the principles of our revolution, knowing what I would have to do is to utilize that moment and that opportunity to transmit to the youngster the training, the formation that he needed for his personality, to have courage and to know what it was to have love for his country and to know what it was to have dignity, what was our home and why we needed to defend her. That's the way that I saw it, that's the way that I felt it, and that's the way that I worked in that moment.

Tension. Most participants reported that, though they might become acclimated to fear, there was an inescapable tension in their lives and classrooms throughout the war. Maria:

> **Almost every family had someone killed during the war. It was very difficult to find a family without a mother or father or sister or brother who died. I think that the way the families were affected by the war was the worst effect. We have many teachers who are widows because their husbands were kidnapped and they never saw them again. We had two teachers kidnapped, and they were never seen again. They were killed. This happened in the town. . . . The teachers were always afraid, because several times the Contras came to the town frequently and asked, "What are the teachers teaching?" This caused tension, a very strong tension for the teachers, because they were afraid that the Contras might come at any moment.**

Cecilia explained that in the countryside, teachers and children realized that they could become combatants in the war, and that this tension also interfered with classroom learning:

> **No, in fact when we would go into the rural areas it would hurt you psychologically in the sense that at any moment you could be attacked. In reality you didn't work in peace or tranquillity. You were there teaching class, but you were there with a tension, right, that something would happen to you and in fact the ones who were studying would keep a rifle to their sides, because also they had to defend themselves. It wasn't a normal situation that you were tranquil teaching your class and that people**

> **would assimilate *(as in assimilate knowledge-TWR).* So in fact you wouldn't be teaching in tranquillity and the student could not assimilate to the max. They would make the effort, through discipline, but you weren't able to 100% reach their objectives in the rural zones.**

Maria, who taught in the countryside, adds to this description:

> **. . . people are sequestered *(kidnapped)* there, and there is tension, somebody dies. The tension, it makes everything tense. The psychological effects are bad, one is really tense. The effects of the abandonment of the children by their fathers because they have to go to the war. Everything like this affects the classroom. It doesn't only affect the lives of the teachers, but it affects the lives of the students, and so there's a complete atmosphere of tension within the classroom.**

Other pressures from the war caused teachers to notice that their students' behavior deviated from expected traditional patterns. The military draft was empowered to take students from the schools, and it became more intense as the war worsened. Pedro stated:

> **During this period the students didn't come to class because they were afraid of being drafted into the army. They missed a lot of class during this period. They were not concentrating during the class because they were thinking about the army. They were in class not paying attention. This was a very great influence on their grades and qualifications because they were not paying attention and they were not concentrating during the class.**

Gregorio:

> **You take for example a twelve-year-old that has been obligated to go and fight and is raised in this culture and here he comes ten years later, he's 22 and tries to integrate himself again back into being a student. It's really difficult to have a normal student who under normal circumstances would be dedicated to sports and play and studies. How to integrate this student, especially in schools with no labs, no libraries, no center for sports, not even textbooks for the subjects they are studying. . . the type of classes that they teach they teach without books. The students react violently or they get bored or they don't pay attention because the teacher is having to dictate the lessons. You're having to deal with adults instead of children, adults that had to mature very rapidly, who when coming back to the classrooms had no respect for authority. . . .**
>
> **. . . it not only affects the people who had to fight but also the women that were abandoned. . . just the whole society, the whole culture was affected naturally. . . and so there's no stability. It's not like dealing with a normal society that is coming to the classrooms to study and to learn, and all has been turned upside down. There exists a lot of anxiety and insecurity.**

Coercion. Coercion might be seen as the act of forcing individuals to act in a predetermined manner. To the participants, coercion involved a loss of personal or ideological freedom and security, and an alienation from their ability to express themselves personally or professionally. The effects of coercion were discussed

by teachers on all sides of the political spectrum. The criticism did not follow predictable ideological affiliation, and included a number of participants' commenting on the abuses of the power on all sides, including their own. Coercion was discussed in three major areas: fear of dismissal, biased textbooks, and a biased curriculum.

Fear of Dismissal. With the Chamorro government came major changes in the Ministry of Education. Salaries declined, and teachers began to lose their positions. Sometimes the teachers were fired for political reasons. At other times the reasons might be caused by budget cutbacks. Dolores commented:

> **. . . now we have this new economic problem, and that, added to pressure we already have by teachers being fired, has affected teachers. I know one of the teachers that was fired today, and it makes it hard for me to concentrate on my work because I'm thinking that I might be fired tomorrow.**

Teachers reported political firings during both the Sandinista and non-Sandinista eras. Rosalia commented on her experience during the time of the Sandinistas:

> **I began to realize that there was a backlash going on. There was a tremendous backlash, and I was seeing that all the teachers had to be Sandinistas and if they weren't Sandinistas then there were going to be problems. They had to be of one ideology and this ideology was Marxist. . . . They started to get their people together to work with their people, and the teachers that were not Sandinista they were firing them. They were**

> **firing the teachers that were not Sandinista. At first I was very content with the change, very very content with the change. To see these things, I wasn't a Sandinista, and therefore in a very subtle way they also got rid of me. They gave me my retirement.**

Maria discussed the firing of Sandinista teachers by the present government:

> **We say the sweep begins when the teachers are removed and fired and directors and principals are changed. Directors and principals that were in favor of the Sandinista government, now the government begins to change or move or fire these people. Of course, all the other people in charge, like the principals and directors had a revolutionary attitude of teaching and they had to be moved from their positions or charges. And also some teachers who were always in favor of the Sandinistas, or Sandinista teachers were sent home and fired or transferred. That was the first step in the beginning, but now the government is getting used to cooperating with the Sandinista teachers. A lot of them are still working in some areas, but you don't feel safe in your job, work, because there is a danger, there is a pressure from this government toward the Sandinista teachers.**

Biased textbooks. Many of the controversial texts during the Sandinista period were supplied from Soviet and Cuban sources, with heavy ideological content. Most of the participants, even the strong Sandinistas, voiced objections to portions of them. Rosalia said:

> **In the math book for little children, for example, a problem was presented as "three rifles plus two rifles equals five rifles," and so on. Everything had to do in some way with the war and militarism and with politics. All of the texts and programs included that. There was a series of textbooks which ranged from the level of a very young child to a University level, wherein the central character was Carlito. The book reveals what Carlito has to learn, and everything had a military or war scene in it, with a pro-Soviet and pro-Cuban perspective.**

Dolores said:

> **The thing that could have been changed is in the textbooks that were published during that period of time *(the 1980's).* They were loaded with war material. . . pictures and texts regarding calls for war and defense and defending the country and different things that affected the children negatively psychologically. Not only did they have to listen to this in the news and at home in the discussions. . . they also had to come to school and be presented with more of it.**

The new books, issued under the Chamorro government, were looked on by many participants with disfavor. Anna stated:

> **Those books that they have now are things that they've copied. Most of those books are a disaster for South America because they come with great glaring errors.**

Biased Curriculum. The curriculum under both Sandinista and non-Sandinista governments, was seen as biased by many of the

participants. It should be said, in all fairness, that the pro-Sandinista participants repeatedly indicated that their objections were only peripheral in view of what they felt had been a trend of positive curricular development. The non-Sandinista teachers often expressed their outright opposition to the curriculum of the 1980's.

Carlos, a supervisor, quit working for a time because of his objections to the Sandinista curriculum. He stated:

> **I was a supervisor. I was in charge of methodology. I wasn't in front of students, but when I realized that the programs had already been designed, had already been established, I realized that things weren't ethical when things were this way, because they were in control. I said to myself. "No, better to not be educating." Under the new government of the Sandinistas I did work, but then when I realized how things were, I said "No" because I didn't like the situation. You know when the education becomes too politicized. When we're doing this kind of thing and we're basically robbing the students, well I didn't want to do that kind of thing. I didn't want to have this guilt because students are capable of thinking for themselves. . . .**
>
> **Almost all the books we had was literature from socialist countries. This was what we had and they were transcribed and this was what we used. All of them were like that.**

Simón, another administrator, stated that in regard to the curriculum:

> **We really just can't change anything. There are so many different aspects of it. Like, if**

> **there's a very extensive program, or themes that shouldn't be taught. . . . You know there are things within the program that shouldn't be there, but they still appear because the government wants them to be there. There is nothing we can do to change the curriculum that has been presented by the government.**

Juan, a man who had served in the Sandinista military and who held strong Sandinista sympathies, reflected:

> **In other words, somehow there was some sort of preparation in the formation of the youth to be prepared to defend the country or to defend the revolution through the armed forces. In other words, a justification of the war. The problem is that education and the role of teachers is to educate for peace. Somehow we found ourselves immersed in a tornado of war. It could be argued that we did it, or it was done to us or it was imposed on us, but education had to lean towards forming or creating a generation of young people in a sense of responding to the call for war. In other words, our programs and our plans were to prepare a generation of young people to confront this. And well, how?- Through the formation of revolutionary values, patriotism and the defense of the revolution. That, I think is terrible.**

Part 4: The Theme of Devotion in the Voices of the Participants

Overview

The second theme which emerged from the data was the theme of Devotion. Devotion is a word which implies giving oneself to an

activity or cause. The teachers of Nicaragua responded to the war with many different types of devotion: to their profession, to their students with their individual problems and beliefs, to coping with adversity, and to raising the quality of their profession. Throughout the interviews participants expressed their devotion to the profession, devotion to the students, devotion to the improvement of their profession, and a devotion to the concept of peace.

Devotion to the Profession.

Every participant made a statement of devotion to the profession of teaching. Several had begun teaching as a second choice of vocation, but in time expressed that they had come to love their profession, and would not wish to change it. Representative was the statement of Dolores:

> **I feel that we have a special responsibility, a special social responsibility. I feel that the job of the teachers is to be in the forefront for the students and to continue to maintain education, not stopping the classes. . . . The responsibility that many teachers feel is that they must maintain education for the youth in spite of any problems or complications that might be presented and any difficulties that we ourselves might have.**

Rosalia:

> **I'm definitely in love with education. At first I just thought of it as a way to live, as a way to support myself because I couldn't continue my**

studies in medicine. Now I'm in love with my career. I love it. It doesn't really matter how much we make, we don't make very much right now.

Lillian:

If I were to be born again, yes I would be a teacher, because I like being a teacher. . . . I would like to have a lot of wit and intelligence so that I would be able to fight and be heard about the teachers' difficulties. . . . To find a way to integrate myself into the Department of Education, to be able to move forward. . . .

Maria:

. . . during all my years teaching, it's been 20 years, I have fallen in love with the profession. I feel totally identified with my job. I enjoy this, and this has allowed me to keep in touch with children, and I like it very much because now I have the feeling that I have been teaching and helping. . . . Now I see children who were my children once, and now they are professionals. There is a personal fulfillment you realize in the profession as a teacher. I like it, though initially it was an accident. I have a very strong feeling about the role that the teacher has in society, and I constantly try to be the best teacher that I can be.

Devotion to the Students.

Many participants expressed a desire to help students overcome the traumatic effects evidenced on them during war. Juan said:

> **In other words education in time of war must allow, I think, special attention to the children and adolescents that might have been victims of the war with their families. The people who lost brothers, parents, relatives. And even though they may not manifest it, they carry internal traumas, and the teacher can help them to overcome, otherwise there will be a generation which will grow up with those traumas and. . . in their development they become individuals that have a difficult social position. Sometimes they degenerate into sociopaths. So the teachers, especially in times of war, must help overcome the traumas that might have been caused in the youth. I think that is a task that the teachers must accomplish.**

The participants stated that during and after the war, the students experienced ideological difficulties, and that they split into differing political factions. Participants perceived themselves in the role of peacemakers and as neutral facilitators of communication between differing sides. Maria made it clear that although she was personally a strong Sandinista:

> **If I take the ghost of war with me, it would affect my classes, but I don't do it. . . . So I understand too why many peasants went to the Contras and fought against the Sandinista government. In some ways I can understand the**

> reasons that they have. . . but in the class I am neutral. . . . In class I have students who were in the Contras and soldiers in the Sandinista army and Catholics and Evangelicals and Priests and all kinds of people. I also have people that don't care about politics. So I have this combination, you know, I have these people in my class, in my social studies class, my professional specialty. It is one of those classes where you have to speak very very very often about social problems or society. My classes are different. I don't like to teach only with lecture. I like the students to talk in class, and I consider them when I am in class, though I have to control the class and control all the different attitudes in the class. Some of them sometimes accuse each other and I have to take control. I tell them, class is for learning, not for arguing. . . . And the truth is that I have pretty positive results in my classes and the students respect me, even the Contras or other non-Sandinista people.

Though participants differed politically, there were many comments about patriotism and the need to teach their students to be patriotic. Anna said:

> So here in Matagalpa we . . . were chosen to live the things that we were studying and teaching. It was with a greater conscience or understanding, with a greater feeling of what patriotism or country means. This is my opinion, this is what I've lived.

Some participants saw their profession in an unselfish nationalistic role in wartime. Lillian said that:

> **. . . teachers become like a mother or father to give support. So then there are many ways that they can help during a war. It's like being in the rear guard in the city without being able to pick up a weapon, but yes, preparing, making the people aware of what is happening, and really being honest. That the cases are presented really as they are, that they don't try to change the situation or deform it so really that the teacher can give an example and be honest.**

Devotion to the Improvement of their Profession.

Participants expressed a continual concern with improving the quality of teaching in their profession. Many, like Vincent, were excited about the Sandinista government's changes in education:

> **Yes, before 1978 *(the period of the Somoza dictatorship)* I had the chance to administer classes in school and there was no orientation for the teachers, no one to give us direction, no one to supervise our work, and we had to get by with books that anyone can buy in any library. And after that there was a change. Teachers got more help in orientation. I was able to check and analyze programs to see if they corresponded to what the kids needed, and suddenly the teachers started to feel more secure. I was in an educational system that we were participating in, and that was something great. We didn't have to copy our programs from books. New programs contained our ideas about how to make a better world for the kids. Ours was a great satisfaction.**

The teachers who were not sympathetic with the new methods nevertheless discussed their continuing concern for high standards in education. Carlos stated:

> **Let us say that to talk about the history of Nicaragua you could take three or four books for consultation. But in those times *(the Sandinista government)*, to talk about the history of Nicaragua there was only one book, and there was no access to another text. That's the way it was. I always took the chance of telling the truth. . . . Under a new government changes will occur where the freedom of the seat of the professor is retaken, where the teacher feels fulfilled because he is given a program, and he is not relegated to using one textbook. But now he can have many additional textbooks.**

The Sandinistas almost trebled the number of teachers in Nicaragua, and accepted many individuals with scanty credentials to the profession. Carlos, like several other participants, went on to discuss the lowering of teacher qualifications that had occurred under the Sandinistas.

> **. . . before the Sandinistas, we had 80% of the teachers graduated. We only had about 20% of the teachers who were empirical *(non-certified)*. We now have 80% of the teachers who are empirical and only 20% of the teachers who have graduated.**

The Marxist beliefs expressed by some of the participants could be interpreted as going beyond political opinion and as being an

attempt to find a frame of reference that could explain the world their students would have to deal with. Juan stated:

> **. . . the destiny of Nicaragua has been bound to the destiny of the United States in a manner that is horrible, repeatedly intervening in the affairs of our country while in Nicaragua we are trying to search for peace and for democracy. . . in times past there have been interventions by the United States here. From this we know that the United States doesn't want to establish a relationship of friendship. It just doesn't interest them for Nicaragua to be a friend. They are just interested in Nicaragua being a submissive country. So for this reason many Nicaraguans feel under pressure from this relationship with the United States. . . . I am certain that over 50% of the population of this country has a sentiment that is very strongly anti-imperialist, and to be more exact, against the imperialism of the North America. We are not a country that is against North America, but we are a country that is against the imperialism of the North Americans. We can have excellent relationships with citizens of North America.**

Devotion to the Concept of Peace.

A majority of the participants expressed the need to teach peace, and that teaching was by its nature a profession of peace. Simón was against the involvement of teachers in war:

> **. . . to take a school, to want to take a school in moments of peace, because the school is at peace not war, the war is outside . . . . I don't see that as being good, that they should take the school, and teachers are people of peace by**

> **nature, and the same nature of the building is one of peace. A teacher is a person of peace, and therefore to put oneself in the position of fighting a brother that comes, whether it is to sack the building or not, is wrong.**

Rosalia commented on this as it related to working with her teachers:

> **We've tried to bring the teachers to a level of understanding that all human beings are friends. That we've tried to explain to them that what we need in Nicaragua is love among everybody and not division, because this is the model that we should show for our students.**

Juan, who had served in the Sandinista military, stated:

> **. . . what has changed in me is the form of the struggle. In the form of the struggle one has to exhaust oneself and to . . . overthrow and destroy forever the option of war. I have come out of this war with the conviction that there must not be any more war in this country. We must continue struggling, but we must look for negotiated solutions. Never must we look at war as a solution in this country.**

Comments on the Interviews

After conducting the interviews, I was driven to the airport at Managua 100 miles distant. I had worked with scant sleep for almost three weeks, driven by a ceaseless schedule of appointments and photographic processing. The interviews had affected me with

the intensity and fluency of language possessed by the participants. They had all been hospitable and well-dressed, even when met in casual situations on the street, belying the incredible conditions they were confronting and had lived through. They spoke with practiced poise and eloquence, and often stopped to make certain that I understood the nuances of a particular thought.

As I landed in Miami the memory of these people was strong, and it was difficult to look down at the illuminated glass and steel of this powerful North American city without dismay.

Chapter 5

Conclusions

I found a dimpled spider, fat and white,
On a white heal-all, holding up a moth
Like a white piece of rigid satin cloth-
Assorted characters of death and blight
Mixed ready to begin the morning right
Like the ingredients of a witches' broth-
A snow-drop spider, a flower like a froth,
And dead wings carried like a paper kite.

What had that flower to do with being white,
The wayside blue and innocent heal-all?
What brought the kindred spider to that height,
Then steered the white moth thither in the night?
What but design of darkness to appall?-
If design govern in a thing so small.

Robert Frost, "Design"

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to answer the research question: "How do selected teachers in the Matagalpa, Nicaragua area perceive the effects of the war period of 1979 to 1990 on their professional roles?" The reason for selecting this place, this time, and these participants was, at bottom, my desire to understand more about a remote culture in Nicaragua after a brief visit there in 1989. Though on this initial visit I could not speak the language at all, a number of the impoverished people there impressed me with a sense of their nobility and sophistication.

In Chapter 1, illustrating the desirability for qualitative researchers to be outsiders regarding the culture they study, I

quoted Clyde Kluckhohn: "It would hardly be fish who discovered the existence of water" 1949, p. 16). As an almost complete stranger to Nicaragua, I observed aspects of the culture there that seemed important to me that might have been disregarded by a native researcher.

My methodology was carefully chosen for its effectiveness, and though it was time-consuming, it led me toward simple yet defensible conclusions. Twenty-four interviews were conducted on the twelve participants, and translations were sometimes done twice by different interpreters. This process resulted in approximately 440 pages of English transcripts. I processed about 150 pictures made by the participants and took approximately two-thousand additional photographs for my own later reference to the general interview environment.

The auto-photographic segment of the research appeared to have a number of advantages. The most apparent was the power of the photographs to bring added depth and breadth to the participants' responses to the interview schedule questions. I felt that the entire photographic process increased rapport and credibility between myself and the participants.

I was not to be disappointed in the intelligence or sensitivity of the participants. Analysis of the data revealed two themes centered around the teachers' responses to a horrible internecine war: devotion and loss. The teachers toiled in their positions for twelve

agonizing years, surrounded by a war that was an affront to everything for which they felt their chosen careers stood.

The literature review indicated that the United States bore much of the responsibility for initiating this war. Looking at the effects of this conflict on ordinary Nicaraguan citizens was not pleasant, but a study of this type was necessary if we were to explore the consequences of policies initiated by our elected representatives. Indeed, one of the intriguing questions raised by the participant Anna in the conclusion of this chapter involves just where accountability for the behavior of the United States stops.

Part 1: The Role of History in the Review of Literature

Fish and Genocide

I was an outsider in Matagalpa, and as such I was among Kluckhohn's "fish" discovering "water." As an outside researcher, it appeared to me that Nicaragua's bloody past greatly affected the contemporary lives of my participants, though during the interviews none of them referred to the Spanish conquest as a cause of their suffering. An outsider studying educators in the southern United States might similarly conclude that the past massacre of the indigenous population by colonists and centuries of slavery had affected current attitudes. Hence, the slaughter of over 90% of Nicaragua's indigenous population by outside colonialist forces does indeed seem relevant. For centuries, the history of Nicaragua has been one of ruthless exploitation by a small minority of its broader

population, and this exploitation has continued to the present day.

The United States cannot be held accountable for three centuries of Spanish rule, by the introduction of African slaves to eastern Nicaragua by the British, nor for the instability of the early government of the Central American Federation in the 1820's. Since the mid-nineteenth century and particularly since the conclusion of the Second World War, there can be little doubt that the United States viewed Nicaragua as little more than a colony. Violations of Nicaraguan sovereignty take on a discernible pattern of being in the business interests of individuals and corporations represented by Washington DC.

The patterns of history, even ancient history, cannot be ignored. Even worse, crucial historical patterns must not be assumed to be so well understood as to no longer need discussion. The researcher who forgets his participants' past risks becoming a "fish" in an ocean of irrelevancy.

Part 2: The Effectiveness of the Methodology

The Phenomenological Interview Approach

The heuristic approach pioneered by Hans Gadamer (1975) and Edmund Husserl (1931), using the qualitative interview as the primary source of data, worked well in this study. The rich quality of the interviews and conditions discussed by the participants appears comparable to other Nicaraguan interview studies (Hart, 1990; Heyck, 1990; Lancaster, 1988, 1992).

The concept of "translation" as a function of the research (Gadamer, 1975) served a double function in this study, as I attempted to translate the cultural meanings of the interviews and at the same time was involved in translating the Spanish transcripts into English. I discovered that this second aspect of translation also had qualitative overtones as my translators revealed their own understandings of the words to me. As much as possible, I used Nicaraguan translators and spoke to them about what they felt were the actual meanings behind the words of my participants. The comments of the translators thus became a valuable cultural sounding board. This process resulted in a final product more closely directed toward the meanings implied by the speakers than a strictly literal translation by detached outsiders could have provided.

The Two-Stage Interview

In most auto-photographic interview studies a two-stage interview is necessary in order to give participants time to take pictures and then view and comment on them. The two-stage interview, however, had some unforeseen strengths. I found that in the second interview participants had time to consider whether to continue their participation in the project. It gave me another opportunity to remind them of their rights to confidentiality, and for a second time they gave their permission orally to use the data for research purposes.

In my mind, the greatest benefit of the two-stage interview was that during the time between the interview, participants appeared to have had time to reflect on the questions on the interview schedule. During the second interview they often expressed themselves more eloquently and sometimes requested that we return to an aspect of the research question that they had come to see as important. Two-stage interviews, for these reasons, could conceivably play a more prominent role in interview studies.

Auto-Photographic Techniques

The auto-photographic segment pioneered by Collier (1957, 1967, 1986) and also discussed by Ziller (1977, 1986, 1990) was useful in several aspects of the study. The set of pictures served as a small token of goodwill and personal effort on my part toward individual participants. The photographs appeared to be an aid to the elicitation of the feelings and reflections of participants on a personal level. I found that my participants looked forward to seeing their pictures on my second visit, and that rapport often increased between us at that time, possibly as much because of the interest generated by the photographs as because of the photographs themselves (Bunster, 1977). The pictures gave me a much improved insight into the participants' lives and served to lay the groundwork for new probes into what the personal effects of the war were for them.

Collier and Ziller conducted a number of studies involving two-stage interviews. The interviews I conducted were all two-stage interviews, somewhat similar in structure to studies conducted by Collier (1967) and Ziller (1990). I felt that rapport was higher in the second-stage interview, and that several factors made this second stage helpful in interview research. First, the same questions could be asked again, as an aid in establishing reliability and validity. Participant responses to the same question were invariably consistent in both interviews, though in the second interview participants added more detail and sometimes told new stories to illustrate their previous ideas.

Second, since both the participants and I had time to reflect on statements made during the first interview, both my questions and their answers tended to cover new perspectives on the research question. Their second-interview statements were often a more eloquent recapitulation of their prior responses and later were helpful in establishing the initial categories and domains used in data analysis.

Logistics

The logistics of setting up a darkroom and carrying film and supplies into the site were difficult in 1992 but should be eased with new technology involving electronic cameras. Pictures can presently be printed with a computer and printer. Electronic processes should lessen the considerable time spent in the darkroom by the

researcher and eliminate entirely the need for bringing the supplies for a photographic darkroom to the site. This new process should make auto-photographic research more viable. The use of computers should make it possible for a researcher to enter dangerous areas of the world such as Bosnia, Iraq, or the West Bank, and complete this type of study quickly and efficiently.

Photography may be highly useful for a broad range of phenomenological studies. In addition to their use as an aid in elicitation, they were helpful in other ways. On my return to the United States, I found that the photographs were an aid in sharpening my own memory as I reviewed individual interview transcripts. Looking at the photographs as the participants talked about them on the audiotapes aided me in visualizing and comprehending the meanings of our conversations. If I or someone else were to repeat this segment, I would recommend numbering the prints on the front and encouraging participants to refer to the photographs by number. In this way an exact match could have been made to audiotaped references. This was not a great problem in this particular investigation, but it could be for a third party investigator looking at the data years later, or in another study involving a larger number of pictures.

More than anything else, I found the qualitative methodology to be gruellingly time-consuming- hundreds of hours went into compiling a mountain of data. The entire process was, however, rewarding, involving the company of interesting participants,

translators, and research groups. Though there was indeed a mountain of data, it was fascinating data and held me attentively in its grip.

Recognizing the Need Educators Have for Professional Reflection

By the end of the second interview it was apparent that the participants were engaged in a reflective process that had become important to them. In a sense, the study became "theirs"- they were not just participants but "owners," in part, of a study which made them feel that their reflections were not just important to them, or to Matagalpa, or to Nicaragua, but perhaps to other places in the world affected by war, violence, or natural disasters.

Effective educators have a need to reflect on their work, and it should help impel research on the teaching profession. John Dewey described this reflective process as important in order to help educators develop to their highest professional potential:

> . . . behavior which involves active, persistent and careful consideration of any belief or practice in light of the grounds that support it and the further consequences to which it leads. . . . Reflective teachers actively reflect on their teaching and upon the educational, social and political context in which their teaching is embedded" (Dewey, 1933 from Grant and Zeichner, 1984, p. 4).

During her second interview in her concluding remarks, the participant Maria commented on the methodology of this dissertation which encouraged reflection :

> **I think that we as teachers have a moment of opportunity, that we have the opportunity as teachers to make a difference among our students, that we need to look back at the history of our country and in particular that we need to analyze the period of history that has just ended, the period of war that we just went through. . . . On the other side of the matter, the methodology of this interview seems to me to be very positive. The methodology of the interview which utilizes responding to questions and then in the second part looking at the pictures and responding to pictures. In this way we can reflect, we can reflect about the reality, we can reflect about the class environment in which we work, our daily life. I think that this is a very good method and above and beyond the theme. The theme also appears to me to be correct. I think that there are a lot of people in different parts of the world that are thinking about the problems of war. They are thinking about how the war affects humanity and in this particular case how the war affects teachers, and how the war affects teachers and the education and their conjunction. . . . I hope that a lot of professionals when thinking about our thesis will reflect about the war and the effects of the war here, and they think about what benefits a war like this can have, because there aren't any benefits. The damages that are done to the little minds of the students that are forming, not only just to us that are old because we have already lived. . . but the most major effects happen to the little ones that are still growing. We need to be able to effect a life that is more just and more healthy and more clean, so**

for this reason I think that there are a lot of people that will be thinking about this theme, not only in Nicaragua but in other places as well.

Part 3: Reflections on the Emergent Themes

Emergence of the War/ Education Dichotomy

An overview of the two basic themes yielded the perspective of war as the opposite of education and everything education connotes. Therefore, in this study, war and education have been treated as opposites. Education primarily emphasizes the ground of the "Future." War destroys this "Future" both physically and psychologically. Returning to the five domains which emerged from the categories formed by the study (see Chapter 4), the concept of education can be seen consistently to emphasize their opposite qualities:

War	Education
Violation of Potential	Fulfillment of Potential
Failed Expectations	Realization of Expectations
Incomprehensibility	Comprehensibility
Disconnection	Connection, Relatedness
Uncertainty	Certainty, Stability

From this perspective, it is not surprising that teachers of varied political persuasions emphasized the value of peace, or concluded during their wartime experiences that peace was worth almost any sacrifice. The two emergent themes of "Loss" and

"Devotion" were somewhat complimentary. The absences implied by the concept of "Loss" were responded to, but not replaced or obviated, by the concept of "Devotion." "Devotion" involved a series of educators' responses to war's many "Losses."

Loss

The process of subtraction is basic to war's nature. If we accept the definition of war as a state of violent conflict between two parties, then it becomes apparent that war's nature is designed around the subtraction of the assets of an enemy. The imposition of losses by one side to the other is a basic component of war. Military losses of life and material appear as the first and most obvious loss, but civilian losses of life and property are more and more a product of modern war. Nations undergoing war can expect civilian loss of life, economic losses, a loss of infrastructure, a loss of social services, a lowered standard of living, a breakdown of family structures, and a loss of civil liberties.

The participants of this study recounted many experiences that could be seen only as a variety of losses. Their conversations were saturated with reflections of losses: loss of life, family, economic power, homes, schools, and security. Throughout was seen the loss of hope for a better future. This phenomenological ground of the future (Heidegger, 1949) binds all the other losses together. For teachers, this loss of the future is catastrophic, as their profession at best deals

only marginally in the present or past and is primarily involved in preparing students for an improved life in time to come.

At first it seemed the theme might be limited to the domain of "Violation of Potential," which explained much of the data concerned with loss of life or health, loss of education, loss of salary, and a loss of materials. Other data clustered around the domain "Failed Expectations," since so many educators had their hopes for educational improvement during the Sandinista revolution dashed. This concept was distinguished by a sense of hope that things could change systemically, and that a government sympathetic to health and educational improvements would be a catalyst for making epic improvements in the living conditions of Nicaraguans.

"Incomprehensibility," "Disconnection," and "Uncertainty" were the three remaining domains, and all are negating words, implying a loss of something. In the end, the participants were describing their lives, the lives of those they knew, their work, and their society as a culture connected by the concept of loss.

Devotion

The second theme which emerged from the data was the theme of devotion. Devotion implies an object or objects to which the participants were loyal or affixed. This theme arose out of parts of the other domains and much of a discarded domain called "Giving/Taking." The participants, faced with their many examples of loss, responded with a multifaceted sense of devotion. Their

devotion was not newfound but was rather comprised of many of the qualities of educators: devotion to the students, to their profession, to improving educational conditions, and a devotion to peace that was often strengthened by their experiences during the war. The devotion of the teachers did not counter the other effects of the war. The losses remained losses and were no less horrible. Devotion was the only tool at the educators' command, the only response to war for which they were trained. It was inadequate to the task, but it was all they had. Teachers, like civilians generally, are not prepared to stop war. As Simón said:

> **. . . I think that every war has it's own characteristics, that is to say the causes or origins of war are what causes people's reactions to the war. And the citizens, people who are not soldiers, are the least prepared to deal with this war, the least ready to understand. We don't have the methodologies to defend ourselves, to defend ourselves civically and peaceably, to defend ourselves from the consequences of war. It's very difficult to be a civilian in wartime because we don't have the power. We're the ones that are killed.**

It would appear that war, in its vastness, could not be palpably stopped by the participants. In the end, these teachers bore the unendurable through the two profound but inadequate channels allowed by their profession and humanity: devotion and loss.

Part 4: Implications for Research

Pointing the Finger

The greatest implications for research may not be the effects of war on Nicaragua, but the effects of that war and other similar wars on the United States. The Nicaraguan Revolution placed education and health as the two primary government fiscal priorities. According to some theorists, this placed Nicaragua in direct opposition to international policy of the United States. As Noam Chomsky concluded:

> U.S. foreign policy is designed to create and maintain an international order in which U.S.-based business can prosper, a world of "open societies," meaning societies that are open to profitable investment, to expansion of export markets and transfer of capital, and to exploitation of material and human resources on the part of U.S. corporations and their affiliates (p. 6, 1987).

As this country continues to champion "privatization" over social programs both at home and abroad, the consequences of these foreign policies may appear on the domestic scene. Indeed, the continuing stratification of children in the United States into richer and poorer classes has been well documented by such researchers as Ivan Illich, Michael Apple, and Joel Spring. After the Sandinista government collapsed in 1990, and the United States regained its influence with the Nicaraguan government, educational benefits for the broader population dramatically decreased. Is it not logical that

educational scholars might be concerned about the possible affects of United States foreign policy on its own domestic programs, particularly those involved with health and education?

In the mid-nineteenth century, Horace Mann preached throughout Massachusetts a new concept: that all children rich and poor be given a quality education by the state. He and like-minded educators had to fight for this concept, called the common school movement, tirelessly before it was finally adopted by the Massachusetts Legislature in 1837 and later by the United States as a whole (Gutek, 1991, pp. 179-83). The wreckage of present-day Nicaragua may be an example of the consequences of having the "privatization" philosophies and the anti-public education bias of many politicians become dominant. Horace Mann's dream for universal education might then be dismantled. Should educators assume that the gains made in the United States during the past century and a half can be really be taken for granted? Should funding for universal education stop, would our society note precipitate increases in illiteracy similar to those which occurred in Nicaragua after the fall of the Sandinistas?

Should the United States continue to champion these philosophies at home and abroad, the sad fate of Nicaraguan educators could conceivably come home to their counterparts in the United States. Therefore, the need for more research is indicated into what has happened in Nicaragua and in other similar areas

where wars, sponsored directly or indirectly by the United States, have affected education.

Sadly, the type of study I have conducted may not be destined only for distant countries. There are, after all, problems in the United States that cause conditions in schools that are not dissimilar to conditions in war zones around the world. This type of study should be beneficial in understanding some American schools where violence occurs regularly and where teachers have suffered setbacks similar to those endured by the teachers in Matagalpa.

Part 5: Personal Conclusions

Averting war is the work of politicians;
establishing peace is the work of education.

Maria Montessori

Cooperative vs. Competitive Societies

The literature review and the interviews with participants indicated that the war was promoted by the United States as a defense against what it considered its vital economic and ideological interests. Perhaps the major lesson of the study is not to be one focused on Nicaragua but on the wealthier country that initiated, then quickly forgot the conflict that was at the center of this investigation.

My examination of the history of Nicaragua brought much of Central America and the Third World into economic and political focus. Tensions in the world appear to center around competition between cooperative and competitive models of society, between

ideologies which would share national resources with the broader population and opposing ideologies which would concentrate those resources into the hands of a smaller elite. The world appears to be in conflict over these two basic economic concepts. Presently, the forces representing competition and privatization appear dominant. Nicaragua's Sandinistas, with their dreams of a state emphasizing universal health and education for its population, have had their influence systematically diminished. Nicaragua's new government has expressed scant interest in the welfare of the broader population and has concentrated its energies on the welfare of the business sector, as the poor become immeasurably more miserable and hopeless. New factories have come to Nicaragua from the outside world, but they often bring pitiable wages without social benefits. Many of the Somoza supporters have returned home to find their homeland a fertile base for elitist enterprises, with the growing masses of the poor willing to work for less than ever before. World Bank and International Monetary Fund policies dictate domestic policy for Nicaragua, and funding for education has become impossibly scant. Droves of children have been forced to drop out of school because of new fees or because they are forced to work to support their families. It appears that the First World has made Nicaragua into a wretched example for the remainder of Central America of the consequences of having committed the "crime" of using its resources for the benefit of its own people (Anderson, 1988;

Barry, 1991; Blum, 1995; Chomsky, 1985, 1987; Gross, 1980; LaFeber, 1984; Mosley, 1996).

Marx, The Corpus Delicti

It became evident during the course of the study that Marxism, with its scientific rationale, was dead. The Sandinistas, though their ruling cadre had been schooled in Marx, had turned their back on so many of its tenets as to render their new government unrecognizable to orthodox Marxists of the recent past. The Sandinistas recognized a democratic opposition, the private sector, and freedom of speech and of the press. When the Sandinistas did make domestic enemies, it was often because of the leadership's adherence to vestiges of communist orthodoxy. The phenomenon that struck me most was that under the Sandinistas, church membership and the publication of religious literature were not only legal but encouraged. I feel that it was this embracing of religion, particularly of the liberation theologians, that endeared the Sandinistas to the people of Nicaragua and gave their government an enduring legacy of legitimacy.

Worldwide, the demise of Marxism with its rigid and intolerant adherence to dogma, is evident. I believe that the open, tolerant socialism of the Sandinistas could be a strong predictor of the nature of future social entities advocating cooperative societies over our current competitive one. These entities, with their respect for universal education, will probably gain the support of public school educators.

The Themes Come Home to Roost.

Are the themes of loss and devotion limited to the Nicaraguans? I think a case can be made that educators in the United States suffer from the constant war and endemic preparedness for war so characteristic of their country from World War II to the present day. The preoccupation with war abroad parallels growing societal violence at home and an increasing belief in simplistic, irrational solutions to social problems. An economy which has profited enormously from the exploitation of Third World countries now gluts its own society with a plethora of relatively inexpensive material goods, often produced by laborers abroad receiving little more than starvation wages.

Additionally, the same conservative political forces that organized the war against Nicaragua's Sandinistas has marshaled its strength in a campaign to discredit public education in the United States. Never in the history of this country has the structure and funding for public education been derided and discredited with such intensity.

Teachers of the United States are surrounded by the concept of loss: loss of support for public education, loss of sensitivity toward the poor, loss of a peaceful environment, loss of respect, and a loss of credibility in the political arena. Like their Nicaraguan counterparts, teachers are relatively helpless to make positive structural changes in a country driven by forces beyond their control.

As in Nicaragua, devotion is the counterpoint to the theme of loss. Teachers in the United States have not given up or capitulated in the face of the enormous challenges they face. They have, by and large, continued to struggle to educate the broad population of their nation's children in the face of a culture which has grown increasingly hostile to their profession and its goals. In both countries those forces bent on the continued accumulation of wealth must realize that an educated populace can never be fully controlled, and to that extent public education must be regarded as an enemy. In the struggle between rich and poor, Nicaragua's people have been stifled in poverty while the people of the United States have been stifled in the midst of vast material wealth. Teachers in both countries have taken their losses and have continued to educate children in a context that at times seems almost hopeless. In the end, continued devotion is all they have to give.

Can educators afford to forget Nicaragua, a remote nation which now suffers so quietly? What individual responsibility can be expected of educators from the United States, who have so many problems of their own? Anna, the oldest and most experienced of my participants, spoke heatedly to this point. When asked what she might do should war come again, Anna became so angry that she threatened to withdraw from the study. Her voice was clear and resonant, and her four decades of teaching experience galvanized me into my chair. Like a frightened student, I sat at motionless attention, afraid to move for fear of being chastised. My translator

blushed. Anna's voice quaked with anger and at times she pointed her finger at me as she spoke:

> **. . . this country of Nicaragua, this poor country that will never see a clear sky, because it took on an enemy, my God, the greatest and most powerful enemy in the world. . . . No, first I would ask the North American people, when are they going to stop this barbarity and this constant aggression from a government such as yours that has everything in their hands: money, power, glory, and hatred? Because what I feel is that they hate us. . . . I think that the guilty people are people like him *(referring to me)*, that have not been able to change the system that they have over there in his country. People like him *(referring to me, the investigator, with emphasis)*. . . . I don't know if the way the American people are educated has influenced so much the ideas and ideals to the extent that thinking that yes, they are the hand of God. . . . . . let it be known that I am 65 years old, and I want that to be well recorded. I am Catholic and Christian, and I am a revolutionary and I never have been an atheist. . . . Yes, so then that's how I would ask questions to the North Americans that come this way. What have they done to change that system that's so cruel that they have there that governs them? What have they done? What are they thinking about doing?**

In her dimly lit living room, Anna's eyes appeared extraordinarily large and unblinking through her spectacles. She looked directly at me, and I wanted to squirm but could not. The memory of Anna has stayed with me during the years following. I cannot think of war without seeing this retired schoolteacher

standing, staring at me through the shadows with the dignity, tragedy and pain of her country in her eyes.

During the years I spent on this research, I was often asked to speak and show slides about my experiences in Nicaragua. As the analysis of the interview data progressed, I became less pleased with my presentation, and finally I removed many of the Nicaraguan slides from my repertoire and inserted slides of people like Teddy Roosevelt, Howard Taft, Oliver North, and Ronald Reagan. I reasoned that these people had more to do with present-day Nicaragua than Nicaraguans did. I felt that Anna would approve.

Once the analysis of the data was finally concluded, I answered my research question with the twin themes of loss and devotion. But I find little pleasure in these answers, for the sadness in Anna's eyes and the outrage in her voice are burned into my memory, and I find that her questions, rather than my own, echo in my memory and in my heart.

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Appendixes

Appendix A

Fieldwork Documents

A STUDY OF THE PERCEPTIONS OF SELECTED NICARAGUAN TEACHERS IN MATAGALPA, NICARAGUA OF THE INFLUENCE OF THE CIVIL WAR PERIOD (1978-1990) ON THEIR PROFESSIONAL ROLES

INFORMATION SHEET

You are invited to participate in a study of how teachers in Matagalpa perceive that the civil war period from 1978 to 1990 affected their professional roles. This research is being done as part of the dissertation of Talbot Rogers in the Ph. D. program at the University of Tennessee in the United States.

If you agree to take part in this study, you will be asked to take part in two or more one-hour sessions with Talbot Rogers and an interpreter who will question you about your perceptions of the effect the civil war had on your role as a teacher. You will be asked to talk about the ways the war affected your teaching methods, your teaching behavior, your status as a teacher in the community, your personal relationship to the teaching environment and profession , and other effects that you feel are relevant to the understanding of the question. You will be asked to reflect on the question, and to feel free to add your own comments. You will be asked to reflect on the effects your wartime experience might have on the remainder of your teaching career.

You will be required to sign a consent form, which is attached, stating that you understand the conditions of the study. The researcher believes that benefit can be gained from your experiences in understanding the impact of war on the teaching profession. The researcher hopes that you will also benefit from the study as you think about the questions and respond to them. No risks are expected to you as a participant in this research.

Your responses will be held in confidence by all researchers involved in this project. The interviews will be audiotaped, and these interviews will be translated into English and transcribed into written form. They will be analyzed later in order to develop a perspective on the ways in which war affected your professional role. You may obtain transcripts of your interviews if you wish when they are finished by writing the researcher at his address below.

You will also be asked to take some pictures with a small automatic camera that reflect those subjects you consider important in your life. You will receive a set of these pictures to keep, and a set of the pictures and all negatives will be retained by Talbot Rogers for his study. Mr. Rogers may take other pictures of you at home or at work- with your permission.

Only the person or persons interviewing you will know your name. All audiotapes and transcripts will be labeled with a code name so that your identity will not be known. The materials will be kept in a locked filing cabinet in the home of the researcher in the United States for a period of at least seven years following the study. No pictures showing your face will be used in the dissertation without your express permission.

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You may withdraw from participation or refuse to answer specific questions at any time without penalty. The researcher is happy for you to contact him at any time if you have further questions about the project or your participation in it.

Thank you,
Talbot W. Rogers
9704 Tay Circle
Knoxville, Tennessee 37922
Phone (615) 693-3631

UN ESTUDIO DE LAS PERCEPIONES DE MASTROS SELECCIONADOS EN MATAGALPA, NICARAGUA: LA INFLUENCIA DE LA GUERRA CIVIL (1978-1990) EN SUS PROFESIONES

HOJA DE INFORMACIÓN

Está invitado a participar en un estudio en el cual los maestros de Matagalpa perciben como la Guerra Civil de los anos 1978-1990 afectó sus profesiones. Esta investigación es una parte importante de la tesis doctoral del Sr. Talbot Rogers de la Universidad de Tennessee en los E. E. U. U.

Si ud. está de acuerdoen participar en este estudio, le pediremos participación en dos o más sesiones de una hora con el Sr. Rogers. Habrá un intérprete quien le preguntará preguntas sobre sus percepciones del efecto que la Guerra Civil tuvo en su profesión como educador. Le preguntaremos como la guerra afectó su enseñanza en particular, sus metodos, su compartamiento, su posición relativa de maestro en la comunidad, su relación personal con el ambiente y la profesión enseñanza, y otros efectos que ud. piensa sean importantes para entender bien la pregunta. Le pediremos que refleje en la pregunta y que se sienta libre para añadir sus propios comentarios. Le pediremos que piensen en los efectos que su experiencia con la guerra podría tener en el resto de su profesión como maestro.

Necesitan firmar un papel de permiso el cual está junto a ésta. Este papel indica que ud. entiende las condiciones de la investigación. El investigadov piensa que se pueden obtener beneficios de sus experiencias al entender el impacto que tuvo la guerra en su profesión de enseñanza. El investigador espera que ud. también obtendrá beneficios del estadio al reflejar y respondera las preguntas. No se espera ningún riesgo a los participantes del estudio.

Sus respuenstas estarán guardadas en confianza por todos los investigadores comprometidos a este proyecto. Las entrevistas serán grabadas, traducidas al inglés y escritas. Estas respuerstas serán

analizadas más adelante para desarrollar una pespectiva de las maneras en que la guerra afectó su profesión. Puede obtener copias de sus entrevistas si desea. Escriba a la dirección que sigué del investigador.

Le pediremos que tome unas fotografías con una pequeña maquina de fotografía automática de los asantos que ud. considera importantes en su vida. Le daremos copias de estas fotografías y otra copia más los negativas se los quedará el Sr. Talbot Rogers para su estudio. Con su permiso, puede ser que el Sr. Rogers tome alguna fotografía de ud. en casa o en su trabajo.

Solamente las personas o la persona que le hará la entrevista sabrá su nombre. Todas las grabaciones y copias serán identificadas con un nombre de código para que su identidad permanezca anónima. Las materias serán encerradas por lo' menos siete años en unfichero con llave en la casa del investigador en los E. E. U. U. No se usará ninguna fotografía de cara en esta tesis doctoral sin su seguro permiso.

Su participación en este estudioes voluntaria. Puede resignarse o negar en contestar algunas preguntas cuando ud. quiera sin ningúna multa o inconveniente. Con mucho gusto el investigador le anima que se ponga ud. en contacto con él cuando quiera si tienen alguna pregunta acerca del proyecto o su participación.

Gracias,

Talbot W. Rogers
9704 Tay Circle
Knoxville, Tennessee 37922
U. S. A.

Phone: (615) 693-3631

STUDY OF THE PERCEPTIONS OF SELECTED NICARAGUAN TEACHERS IN MATAGALPA, NICARAGUA OF THE INFLUENCE OF THE CIVIL WAR PERIOD (1978-1990) ON THEIR PROFESSIONAL ROLES

CONSENT FORM

I understand that the purpose of this study is to learn about the ways Nicaraguan teachers in Matagalpa perceive the influence of the civil war period (1978-1990) on their professional roles.

I understand that the interviews will be audiotaped, and that all my responses will be confidential. Code names will be used on all data so that my identity will not be disclosed. My face will not be shown in any photographs without my express consent on a separate form. I understand that one set of the photographs I take myself will be given to me, and that another set will be retained by the researcher.

I understand that my participation in the study is completely voluntary. I may withdraw from participation or refuse to answer specific questions at any time without penalty. I understand that the researcher does not expect any risks to me as a result of my participation in this study. The benefits to me are in thinking about the research questions and in helping researchers understand more about the effect of war on the professional roles of teachers.

I understand that I am free to contact the researcher at any time if I have further questions about the project or my participation in it.

SIGNATURE:_____

DATE:_____

UN ESTUDIO DE LAS PERCEPCIONES DE MAESTROS SELECCIONADOS EN MATAGALPA, NICARAGUA: LA INFLUENCIA DE LA GUERR CIVIL (1978-1990) EN SUS PROFESIONES

Comprendo que el propósisto de este estudio es para aprender en que formas los maestros de Nicaragua en Matagalpa perciben que la influencia de la Guerra Civil (1978-1990) en sus profesiones.

Comprendo que las entrevistas serán grabadas y que todas mis respuestas estarán guardadas en confianza. Se usarán nombres de código en todos los datos para no poder identificarme. Mi cara no aparecerá en ninguna fotografía sin mi permiso escrito en un papel separado. Comprendo que me darán un grupo de las fotografías que yo tomé y el segundo grapo se lo quedará el investigador.

Comprendo que mi participación en este estudio es totalmente voluntaria. Puedo resignarme o negar en contestar preguntas sin ninguna multa o incoveniente. Comprendo que el investigador no espear ningún riesgo o peligro como resultado en mi participación de este estudio. Los beneficios para mi en esta participación consisten en pensamiento de las preguntas de la investigacioñ y en ayudar a los investigadores para que comprendan mejor los efectos de la guerra sobre las profesiones de los maestros.

Comprendo que tengo la libertad de ponerme en contacto con el investigador cuando quiera si tengo más preguntas sobre el proyecto o mi participación con tal.

FIRMA_____

DATE_____

Personal Information Sheet

*Code Name:*_____

Birthplace:

Gender: ___ Male

___ Female

Age: ___ 18-25 years

___ 26-35 years

___ 36-45 years

___ 46+ years

*Number of years of teaching experience:*_____

University Educational Level:(describe degrees and certifications obtained:

Grade level taught at present: specify whether school is urban or rural:

Grade levels and schools at which you have taught during your career (specify whether schools were urban or rural, and note approximate dates at which you worked in each school):

INFORMACIÓN PERSONAL

Nombre de código_____

Lugar de nacimiento:

Sexo: Macho____
Hembra___

Edad: 18-25 años
26-35 años
36-45 años
46 + años

Número do años experiencia en educación: _____

Universidad educacíon:

Nivel de grado que enseña ahora. Sea específico si el colegio es urbano o rural:

Los niveles de grado y colegios en los cuales ha enseñado durante su carrera sea específico si el colegio es urbano o rural y note las fechas aproximadas que trabajó en cada escuela:

RESEARCHER CONFIDENTIALITY

I understand that this research involves working with subjects whose confidentiality must be respected.

SIGNATURE_____

DATE_____

CONFIDENCIALIDAD DEL INVESTIGADOR

Comprendo que esta investigacioñ es trabajar con personas las cuales hay que respetar su confianza.

Firma_____

Fecha_____

Appendix B

Interview Schedules

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

First interview:

Why did you decide to become a teacher? What is your first memory of wishing to become a teacher?

If you had it to do over again, would you become a teacher? What would you change?

You taught before the war (not applicable to all subjects). How did the war change you as a professional teacher?

How did the war change the teaching profession generally?

Can you give a specific instance as to how the war changed the teaching profession?

How has the war changed you as a professional teacher?

Can you give a specific instance of a way in which the war changed you as a teacher?

Were there any positive ways the war affected the teaching profession?

What was the worst way the war affected the teaching profession? Can you give me a specific instance?

Do you have anything else you would like to add to this interview? Anything at all.

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Second Interview

Tell me about these photographs.

How might these photographs be different if there had been no war?

Probe.

How did the effect of the war on your personal life affect your teaching?

How did the effect of the war on your personal life affect the role of the teachers around you?

You have had many years of experience in teaching during wartime. Unfortunately, many other countries are at war around the world (mention examples). What advice would you have for teachers in these countries?

What was the worst effect of the war on your teaching personally?

What effects did the war have on the students you were teaching?

How did your teaching methods change during the war?

What permanent affects did the war have on you as a teacher?

What permanent affects do you think the war had on the teaching profession?

Will you teach differently now, during peacetime, because of the war?

Do you have anything to add to this interview? Anything at all, including the methodology, the interviewer, or any other aspect of the research?

Appendix C

Facilitating Correspondence

UNIVERSIDAD NACIONAL AUTONOMA DE NICARAGUA

CENTRO POPULAR DE ESTUDIOS SUPERIORES

Matagalpa, Nicaragua Libre, C.A. ** Teléfono No.2474

APARTADO Nº 213

Matagalpa, 4 de Mayo de 1992.

Dr. Jerrit W. Bowers
[illegible]
[illegible] Minnesota.

Estimado Dr. Talbot:

Por medio de amigos norteamericanos que trabajan aquí en Matagalpa, en la organización social "La vida joven", he tenido conocimiento de su interés en viajar a Nicaragua, para realizar sobre el terreno un trabajo de investigación sobre "el efecto de la guerra para los maestros de Matagalpa".

Estos mismos amigos nos han proporcionado información preliminar sobre los objetivos y metodología a emplear en el proceso de este investigación.

Tanto el suscrito como Director General del Centro Popular de Estudios Superiores de Matagalpa, Centro Universitario Regional de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Nicaragua, como el Lic. Manuel Márquez Ceas, Coordinador de los cursos de profesionalización para maestros en servicio, que se sirven en nuestro Centro, tenemos gran interés en este trabajo de investigación que usted piensa realizar dado que está íntimamente ligado a los maestros en servicio y por ende a la función social que realiza la Universidad en la VI Región del país.

Consideramos que este tema de investigación es de gran interés para los educadores nicaragüenses ya que el tema de los efectos de la guerra sobre la educación y en particular sobre los maestros, no ha sido abordado aún por las limitaciones de recursos materiales y humanos que adolece nuestro país.

Por lo antes expuesto y considerando además la vinculación que el Prof. Márquez, tiene con los maestros de la región como Secretario Dptal. de la Asociación de Educadores de Nicaragua (ANDEN), quiero hacer formal invitación a visitar nuestro país en los meses de Junio, Julio y Agosto del presente año.

UNIVERSIDAD NACIONAL AUTONOMA DE NICARAGUA
CENTRO POPULAR DE ESTUDIOS SUPERIORES
Matagalpa, Nicaragua Libre, C.A. ** Teléfono No.2474

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Desde ahora puede contar con el apoyo que modestamente podremos brindarle.

Cordialmente.

Roger J. Kuhl S.
Director
UNAN CPES-MATAGALPA.

UNAN-CPES
DIRECCION

c. Arch.

from: Universidad Nacional Autonome de Nicaragua
to Talbot W. Rogers

Dear Mr. Rogers:

Through North American friends that work here in Matagalpa in the social organization called "The Young Life" I have become aware of your interest in traveling to Nicaragua in order to do research on the effect of war on the teachers in Matagalpa.

These same friends have given us some preliminary information about the objectives and methods you plan to employ in the process of this investigation.

The Director, as well as his assistant, the General Director of the Popular Center of Advanced Studies of Matagalpa, Central Regional University Center of the National University of Nicaragua and (title indicates advances Master's Degree) Lic. Manuel Márquez Ceas, Coordinator of Professional Courses (Recertification courses for active teachers), and other teachers in the center- have great interest in this research you have initiated because it is linked with the teachers that are working here. We also believe that your work will serve a social function for the teachers here in the sixth region of the country (the area of Matagalpa Province).

We consider this research to be of great interest for the Nicaraguan educators because its theme- the effects of war on education and in particular on teachers- has not been done before. We are limited both in our resources and in persons who want to do this kind of research in our country.

As I said before, we have been in communication with Professor Márquez and the teachers of the region through his office as Departmental Secretary of the Association of Educators of Nicaragua (ANDEN). I want to make formal this invitation to visit our country during the months of June, July and August of the present year.

From now on you count on our help which we will modestly provide.

Cordially,
Róger J. Kühl
Director of the University

1 Second Avenue North
Nashville, TN 37201-1099

Telephone:
(615)242-8392
FAX (615) 242-8392, ext. 342
After hours (615) 242-8402

TN WATS:
(800)342-8367
(800)342-8262

June 19, 1992

Dear Sir:

This is a letter of introduction for Toby Rogers, a teacher from the state of Tennessee in the United States.

Mr. Rogers has traveled to Nicaragua to bring supplies to the Nicaragua's children, schools, and hospitals. The Tennessee Education Association endorses his efforts. Our organization, composed of over 40,000 teachers, share Mr. Rogers' desire to help children not only in the United States but in other countries as well.

We ask that you welcome him and allow him to distribute the educational, medical, and other humanitarian supplies he has brought to your country.

Thank you!

Sincerely,

Relzie Payton
President

sr

Tennessee Education Association
Excellence Through Action

cond Avenue North
ille, TN 37201-1099

Telephone:
(615)242-8392
(615) 242-8392, ext. 342
r hours (615) 242-8402

TN WATS:
(800)342-8367
(800)342-8252

el 19 de junio de 1992

Muy señor mío:

Tengo el gusto de introducirle a Ud. el señor Toby Rogers. Él es un maestro del estado de Tennessee en los Estados Unidos.

El señor Rogers ha viajado a Nicaragua para traerlos provisiones a los niños, a las escuelas, y a los hospitales de Nicaragua. La asociación de maestros en Tennessee endosa sus esfuerzos. Nuestra organización, con más de 40,000 maestros, tiene parte con el deseo ayudar los niños, no solo en los Estados Unidos sino también en los otros países.

Tengan Uds. la bondad de recibirle con amabilidad y de permitir la distribución de los provisiones educativos, médicos, y humanitarios que él ha traído a su país.

Muy agradecidos por la buena atención que se dignara Ud. prestar a la presente, saludamos a Ud. con nuestro mayor aprecio y consideración,

Relzie Payton

Relzie Payton
Presidente

THE UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE
KNOXVILLE

College of Education
Curriculum Laboratory
302 Claxton Addition
Knoxville, Tennessee 37996-3440
(615) 974-3143 / 8659

May 7, 1992

Nicaraguan Department of Education

To Whom It May Concern,

I am chairman of the doctoral committee of Talbot W. Rogers, a doctoral student at the University of Tennessee. He plan to do educational research in Nicaragua. It would be appreciated if he might be granted appropriate access to your schools. He in no way wishes to detract from the duties of any staff members and will be most sensitive to your wishes concerning his conduct within any school of schools he may visit.

Sincere regards,

E. Dale Doak
Professor and Director

:ORE, JR
...

292 Russell Senate Office Building
Phone 202-224-4944

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-4202

June 18, 1992

hom It May Concern:

This letter is to bring to your attention a humanitarian relief ect being carried out by Talbot W. Rogers of Knoxville, Tennessee. Rogers hopes to deliver educational and other humanitarian stance to Nicaraguan children. The project is sponsored by the sville, Tennessee Friends Meeting and has been endorsed by the essee Educational Association.

Mr. Rogers will be driving a truckload of goods to Matagalpa, ragua, where he will turn them over to Jim Hornsby of the tax- pt religious organization CEPAD. The goods to be donated are:

--one teel pump, model 3P600 with gasoline engine
--two reconditioned Canon copiers, Model F11800, serial numbers CPZ00374 and CPZ02681
--magic markers donated by the Dennison Carter company in Crossville, Tennessee
--two bus replacement leaf springs
--two collapsable solar cooking units
--and miscellaneous tools and other items intended for humanitarian and educational purposes.

Mr. Rogers will also be donating the truck itself--a 1986 Isuzu, # JAAEL14A8GC773034, Tennessee license BKM 451.

I am sure that after so many years of civil strife, this non- tical and humanitarian project will be welcomed by all concerned icaragua. He certainly has my best wishes for success.

Estos donaciones estan para un proyecto no-politico y sin ncia. Por favor den a el una bien bienvenidos. Esperamos su boracion y ayuda para no cobra mucho impuesto ya que estas cosas en beneficio para los jovenes de Matagalpa.

Sincerely,

Albert Gore Jr.
U.S. Senator

ww

Appendix D

Research Correspondence

THE UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE
KNOXVILLE

011-5052-6642-3P

Research Administration
Compliances
Grants & Contracts
Personal Developement Services
404 Andy Holt Tower
Knoxville, Tennessee 37996-0140
(615) 974-3466
FAX (615) 974-2805

July 29, 1992

CRP No. : 3871 B

Title : The Perceptions of Selected Teachers in Matagalpa, Nicaragua of the Influence of the Civil War Period (1978-1990) on Their Professional Roles

Talbot W. Rogers
Curriculum & Instruction
9704 Tay Circle
Knoxville, TN 37922

Dr. Dale Doak
Curriculum & Instruction
302 Claxton Addn.
Campus

In the Meeting of the Committee on Research Participation held on July 23, 1992, the above-captioned project was reviewed and the following concerns were expressed:

Reviewer No. 1:

This is an interesting project and one that appears to be well planned. The potential risks to subjects appear to be minimal and well controlled.

It is not clear whether this project is actually part of Mr. Rogers' dissertation or not. In Section VIII, it is described as providing foundation for the dissertation, but in the information sheet provided to participants, it is described as part of the dissertation.

The items being taken by Mr. Rogers are described in the supporting letters in Section VI as humanitarian gifts, and the description in Section VI of the Form B seems consistent with this. They do not appear to be incentives related to participation in the research, and this plan seems appropriate as a part of Mr. Rogers' visit to Nicaragua.

The general nature of the interview is described, and apparently it is to be relatively open-ended. We generally have requested sample questions to be included, and I think it would be helpful to have such information, although the content of the interviews seems relatively clear. Perhaps more important would be some explanation of the kinds of probes that might be used and potential responses to concerns that might be raised by participants.

My strongest concern about the proposed project concerns the use of a written consent form. This appears to be the only thing (with the possible exception of photographs) that would provide a link to the identity of participants. It seems that a greater protection would be provided to participants (especially if there actually is any risk to their

participation) by using the information sheet and having an informed consent statement read to the participants, including a statement that their participation in the interview indicates informed consent. The verbal response to the consent statement would be included on the audiotape but without identification.

If a signed consent form is used, it should contain all the elements of informed consent (including length of time for interviews and information about how to contact the researcher).

There is reference in the Form B to the plan to retain the data for possible further analysis. Reference to this plan needs to be included in the information statement (and consent form if one is used).

The use of the separate consent form for photographs to be taken by Mr. Rogers seems appropriate to me. Apparently permission for such photographs is separate from participation in the study, so I recommend keeping the consent form the way it apparently was submitted originally. (My copy of the Form B has handwritten notes indicating this might be changed, and I recommend keeping the consent for photographs separate).

More explanation needs to be included in the confidentiality statement to be signed by the translator (and supposedly by the transcriber as well).

Recommendation: Approve pending revisions indicated.

Reviewer No. 2:

I have a number of concerns about this protocol. Yes, I think the subjects are placed at some risk; and I find it somewhat disturbing that the researcher spends 6 times as long commenting on risks to the researcher as on risks to the subjects (36 line : 6 lines).

I do not know the political situation well enough to estimate the degree of risk, but it seems clear it is not zero. Therefore, some additional measures should be undertaken to minimize the risk to subjects.

1) Why not obliterate faces from the photos before sending them out of the country? Then there could be no question of their being confiscated by customs officials.
2) There needs to be some concrete measures for getting this material out of the

country without violating subject confidentiality – i.e., an assurance that no identifiers will be on material at the time it leaves the country (e.g., obliterating faces on photos, transcribing audiotapes and obliterating any identifying references, code names or pseudonyms on notes with assurance that no key is available to be confiscated).

3) We need some indication of the kinds of questions the subjects will be asked, and this should be reflected in the information sheet as well.

INFORMATION SHEET and CONSENT FORM:

1) These should be translated into Spanish. (Consent form should contain both Spanish and English versions).

2) A local address and phone number needs to be given, not the Knoxville address.

3) Info about getting materials out of the country needs to be included – or, at least, alluded to.

Recommendation: Re-submit for full committee review.

Reviewer No. 3:

The undertaking of this study has potential for great risk, both to the subjects and to the researcher. My primary concern with this study is that of keeping confidentiality of the subjects. How will the PI be able to separate comments made by the subjects from pictures of themselves and/or their families? While the PI stated in the protocol that the present government appears to be respecting the civil rights of its citizens, he cannot guarantee that participation in this study will not bring about repercussions.

I also have a concern that the letters from Senator Gore and the Tennessee Education Association seem to indicate that Mr. Rogers' trip to Nicaragua is solely for humanitarian purposes. If the trip is to be a dual role, that of delivering supplies and conducting this study, shouldn't something be included in the protocol addressing the dual purpose of the trip.

While the protocol does include the general nature of questions, has the PI developed specific questions to be used in each part of the interview? If so, they should be included as part of the protocol.

I still have reservations regarding this protocol; however, the PI has previous experience in this geographic area and has given careful thought in designing precautions to identify and minimize risk to both himself and the subjects.

Recommendation: Revisions prior to approval.

In the general discussion, it was noted that in the letters of support, research is not mentioned. The Committee was concerned as to why so much emphasis is placed on taking photos and also questioned the danger in taking such photos around the country in its present state as well as how the photos are tied into the questions you would be asking. There should be more adequate explanation for photos related to the project.

A motion was passed that the protocol be sent back to you for revisions and that after the revised Form B is received by this office, it be sent back to the full Committee for re-review.

The Committee has placed a limit of 60 days from the date of this letter for placing the protocol in acceptable condition. Therefore we must have your response on or before September 29, 1992. Please do not hesitate to call me if you have any questions.

Sincerely,

Edith M. Szathmary

Edith M. Szathmary
Coordinator of Compliances

bl
cc: Dr. J. Estill ALexander
301 Claxton Addition

Sept. 23, 1992

Talbot W. Rogers
9704 Tay Circle
Knoxville, TN 37922
Phone: (615) 693-3631

Research Administration
Compliances
Grants & Contracts
Proposal Development Services
404 Andy Holt Tower
Knoxville, TN 37996-0140

To The Committee on Research Participation:

I have submitted an altered Form B for my research on Nicaragua but also wish to submit this response to the concerns expressed about my research in Nicaragua. I will respond to the items as listed in your letter of July 29, 1992, one reviewer at a time.

Reviewer #1

This project is primarily for use as part of my dissertation. I would like to be able to use the data for any apt historical and methodological research and/or publication that may later seem appropriate.

The humanitarian gifts provided in this trip were not directly associated with my research. This and other trips to Nicaragua have had humanitarian assistance as their primary goal with my interest in research developing secondarily.

The questions in my interview schedule were meant to be open-ended and were meant be changed in any manner that might answer the basic research question. Should the questions seem ineffective, they were to be altered until the subjects became responsive. I have included a list of questions I asked during the research in the appendix of my revision of Form B.

Upon your recommendation, I obtained the audiotaped consent of the participants as to their participation in this study as well as written consent. The informed consent form was read to them aloud in Spanish and a copy given to each subject to keep. They were asked if there were any questions, and these questions were answered before the formal interviews began. Letters from Jim Hornsby and Don Mosley (appendix, Form B) indicate little need for the protection of the identity of the participants. Both Manuel Márquez, the President of the teachers' union for Matagalpa and Róger Kühl, President of the local teacher training University, assured me there was no danger of retaliation against the teachers for their participation. Both were presented with copies in Spanish of all the forms involved in the study, and Sr. Márquez was given a copy of my proposal in English, which he was able to read and discuss with me. On the audiotapes, none of the participants hesitated to consent that their names and pictures be used should it be deemed appropriate. I have requested letters from them concerning this matter, but they have not arrived as yet.

The informed consent forms included my U.S. address and telephone number. Should the need arise the mail service to the United States is functional, though slow, and in an emergency, a telephone call to the United States is possible. My local hotel address was known to any interested participants, as was my local sponsor, Manuel Márquez, the President of ANDEN, the local teacher's union. The time of the two interviews (per subject) was designed to take approximately one hour each. This was related verbally to the subjects with the caution that the interviews might take much more or less time. I hesitated to put a firm time into the form, as I had not interviewed subjects in this culture before and did not know what to anticipate.

Permission to use the data in further analysis was obtained in writing from each subject. It was not part of the original form, but was added in the handwriting of each subject and signed.

I did my best to have the translators write additional statements as to confidentiality beneath the printed matter on the forms they signed. I talked to them orally about the importance of confidentiality and gave them each a copy of the informed consent

forms to keep. I explained the importance to the University of Tennessee attached to their compliance.

Reviewer #2

I apologize for spending so much time commenting on my own safety. I was frankly quite apprehensive about the drive through Mexico, Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, and Nicaragua. These overland trips have generally involved taking humanitarian goods to contacts in several countries, and there is always a small amount of physical danger involved, particularly in Guatemala. I have found from experience that considerable preparation is helpful. This trip is known by the Nicaraguans and international relief workers in Matagalpa to be a difficult one. The fact that I have made it several times and have brought approximately $100,000 worth of aid has helped in establishing credibility with local officials toward obtaining their cooperation in conducting this research. Without the cooperation and confidence of several prominent residents of Matagalpa, this research could not be carried out.

I have a grave concern for the safety of the subjects of my study. I would not carry out this study in Guatemala, El Salvador or Honduras as a similar research question could indeed result in repercussions against participating teachers. Nicaragua and Costa Rica have a high level of freedom of speech. In Nicaragua, freedom of speech is a constitutional right and this right is being generally respected (as the Hornsby and Mosley letters corroborate). I brought copies of the three politically opposed newspapers published in Nicaragua, each containing editorials against the points of view of other political persons and entities. I was impressed that the level of freedom of speech was similar to that experienced in the United States. It has not always been so. In Inside Central America, by Clifford Krauss (1991) the author states that, in spite of many difficulties experienced by Nicaragua during the war, that during the elections of 1984 "opposition parties, weak as they were, did have a chance to organize and air their views" (p. 157). With the Marxist Sandinista government now out of power, a greater plurality of public viewpoints has emerged. Many Nicaraguans have wished to express their viewpoints to me since my first trip to that country in 1989, and none have expressed overmuch fear of reprisals. By no means do I wish to paint a rosy picture, however. The recent war

years involved a severe civil war, complete with many casualties. All of my subjects, without exception, had lost close friends or relatives during the war period. Violence was an everyday event. The almost paradoxical freedom of expression that is so evident in this country (and so lacking in others nearby) is difficult for me to easily explain.

The violence in Nicaragua may not be over. The persons I interviewed and talked to casually may end up once again fighting, but all indications were that they neither needed nor wanted to use my research as a basis for any future violence. They know or can easily find out from friends where the other individuals of their city stand politically. No one I knew made any secret of their political leanings (generally either pro-Sandinista or pro-Contra) either to myself or to anyone else. Both political sides were cordial and cooperative with me and with each other regarding my study. It was difficult to believe they had just finished fighting such a savage and damaging war. One of my translators was a known Contra supporter, but came highly recommended by Manuel Márquez, a strong Sandinista leader.

Obliteration of faces from negatives would be a good idea for a study in Guatemala, but would be inappropriate in Nicaragua. None of the literature or people I have talked to in Nicaragua believed there was any problem whatever with this data being taken to the United States. Customs checks at the borders and airports have never given anyone any reason for hesitation in removing research data to this country. Everything came home with me in my carry-on satchel and was never inspected, nor was I apprehensive that any inspection beyond the routine customs chech might occur.

My interview schedule is included in the appendix to the revised Form B.

The forms were translated into Spanish prior to my trip- I took both versions with me.

I was housed in one of the handful of local hotels, and I told the subjects its name. All the subjects knew that I could be contacted through my friends and through Manuel Márquez. There are no street numbers or names in Matagalpa. People customarily have to

know the general location of a particular person's house and ask directions as they arrive in the vicinity. Culturally, an address for me locally (beyond the "Hotel Bermuda") would have been impossible to give. I did not print a local address on the form because I could not be sure that I would be housed at the same address for the full length of my stay.

Reviewer #3

The reviewer is correct that I cannot guarantee against repercussions by the government, though, as I have stated and submitted supportive letters to support my statement, repercussions are so unlikely as to be a negligible factor. The atmosphere of personal conversations and the existence of freedom of speech in Nicaragua is similar to that in the United States. Nearby countries possess no such freedom, and I spoke to some of the residents of El Salvador and Guatemala in terms that left no doubt of their fear of their government's repressive potential.

The trip does have a dual purpose, humanitarian and research. The credibility of the researcher to persons in Matagalpa whose cooperation was essential in this study was established by this and previous overland visits. This can be considered a matter of working with a "gatekeeper" to another culture as mentioned in Ethnography and Qualitative Design in Educational Research (Goetz, J., & LeCompte, M., 1984). This matter is addressed in the revised Form B.

The interview schedule is provided in the revised Form B. My goal was to answer the basic interview question, and I felt free to change the questions as the incoming data warranted.

General Discussion

Photographs are helpful in my research for two basic reasons:

1. The second interview was to be autophotographic in nature, involving photo-elicitation. Using this technique, the subjects took photos of "those things that were important to them in their lives" with a small autofocus camera after the first interview. Before the

second interview began, these photographs were processed in the darkroom of the researcher in his hotel room.
The photos were then arranged on a desk in front of the subject before the second interview began. The hopeful result of this methodology was that this procedure would result in data content that would be more personal, introspective, and emotional than the data obtained from the first interview, when no photographs were used. To my knowledge, this method has not been used in Central or South America before, but it has been used in the United States and Europe. I include a few references that include the major authors on autophotography and photo-elicitation.

Blinn, L., & Harrist, A. (1991). Combining native instant photography and photo-elicitation. Visual Anthropology, 4, 175-92.
Bunster, B. X. (1977). Talking pictures: Field method and visual mode. Sigma, 3 (1), 279-93.
Miliford, S. A., Fryear, J., & Swank, P. (1983). Phototherapy with disadvantaged boys. Arts in Psychotherapy, 10 (4), 221-228.
Worth, S. & Adair, J. (1972). Through Navajo eyes: An exploration in film communication and anthropology. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
Ziller, R., & Smith, D. (1977). A phenomenological utilization of photographs. Journal of Phenomenological Psychology, 7 (2), 172-82.

The role of the teachers was not only political, professional, and economic, but also personal, perhaps existential in its nature. My goal was to explore the research in as many dimensions as possible, thus coming closer to a truthful answer to the basic research question.

2. Photographs, both those taken by the subjects and those taken by the researcher, can convey data that cannot accurately be transmitted in any other medium. I hope that the photographs can be a significant part of my dissertation. The many portraits I took of the subjects in their homes do not conform to my own preconceptions of third world teachers. I personally see a great dignity in their expressions, their dress, and the pride with which their homes were kept. Their appearance in photographs may add a

great deal to the reader's perception of the subjects and thus to an understanding of their responses to research question. Too often Central Americans are victims of a stereotyped image of them held by those in countries like my own. The pictures in my research are such that I hope that they will promote the perception of the subjects as multi-dimensional human beings, with a great deal in common with other professional teachers around the world. There may be many other characteristics of the subjects that I have missed but may be apparent to others who see the pictures. If words were sufficient to convey the answer of the subjects to the research question, I would limit my research to words. Some researchers who share this view are listed below.

Chaflen, R. (1987). Snapshot versions of life. Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University Popular Press.

Collier, J., Jr. (1986). Visual anthropology: Photography as a research method. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Collier, J. Jr. (1957). Photography in anthropology: A report on two experiments. American Anthropologist, 59, 843-59.

Templin, P. (1979). Still photography in evaluation. In N. L. Smith Ed.), Communication Strategies in Evaluation. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications (pp. 121-75.

I realize that the utilization of photographs may extend beyond the dissertation. I will probably use them in many formats in the future- in speaking to teaching groups such as the Tennessee Education Association, in a prospective publication on the autophotographic methodology used in this study, and possibly in a biographical account of these teachers in Nicaragua.

I plan to use these methods in other diverse cultures later in my career, and am presently hoping to go to the West Bank in Palestine and interview teachers in the Ramallah Friends School there. My current study might be relevant to this prospective research should sufficient common trends be observed in the subjects of both cultures.

The Committee on Research Participation has helped me to define and sharpen the methods I plan to use in a career of qualitative research, and I am grateful.

La VIDA JOVEN

Nicaragua

August 2, 1992

To the Human Subjects Committee
R.E. Student Research
Andy Holt Tower
University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tn..

I have lived and worked in Nicaragua for the past eight years, first as founding coordinator for the Habitat for Humanity projects in Nicaragua and now as founding coordinator of the Young Life Christian Youth ministry in Nicaragua.

We are close friends of Nicaraguans of all political persuasions. We are extremely impressed with the willingness of Nicaraguans to speak openly about political opinions as well as most every other subject. We do not know of any case in our personal experience of any reprisal being taken against any Nicaraguan for expressing themselves to North Americans or anyone else.

There are three nationally distributed Nicaraguan newspapers, each with a slightly different political

point of view. These newspapers regularly print interviews with names and photos of those being interviewed. These interviews touch every possible political, economic, military, social subject imaginable. Multiple points of view are always printed. We know of no reprisals related to these interviews.

We understand from friends who work in El Salvador & Guatemala that reprisals are common in those countries. There are many problems in Nicaragua, but reprisals for expressing one's point of view are not among these problems, in our experience.

James R. Hornsby
NATIONAL CO-ORDINATOR
"LA VIDA JOVEN" –
NICARAGUA

Matagalpa, Nicaragua
August 2, 1992

Human Subjects Committee
University of Tennessee

Dear Friends,

Toby Rogers has told me of your concern for the safety of the subjects in his present research project. I would like to offer my opinion about the matter.

Let me explain first that I was a founder of Jubilee Partners, a Christian community in rural east Georgia that has hosted over 1,400 political refugees from El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua. I am presently in Nicaragua on my twelfth trip since early 1984. Therefore I have some basis for estimating the danger to Toby Rogers' interviewees – and I honestly believe it is negligible in Nicaragua's present political climate. (I would not be able to say that about the other three countries, I regret to say.)

I will return to my office late this week (August 7) and would be happy to discuss the matter with you in detail if you so wish.

Sincerely yours,

Don Morley

Jubilee Partners
PO Box 68
Comer, GA 30629

The New York Times
HEUSSALLEE 2-10
PRESSEHAUS II/16-19
5300 BONN 1

Stephen Kinzer
Bureau Chief

Sept. 23, 1992

Edith Szathmary
Research Administration
University of Tennessee

Dear Ms. Szathmary:

I am writing at the request of Talbot Rogers, who is preparing a doctoral dissertation on the lives and work of Nicaraguan teachers.

Your concern about protecting the safety of human subjects is admirable. As a correspondent in Central America during the 1980s, I often had to make judgments about how fully to identify my sources. Naturally, my conclusions varied according to the country and situation.

In contemporary Nicaragua, there is no substantial chance that a person would be victimized for speaking openly, or for being quoted in print. The civil war is over, and the current government is committed to free expression. I know of no case in recent years where any Nicaraguan has suffered reprisals for expressing political or personal opinions.

Publication of the names and photos of schoolteachers as Mr. Rogers plans to do will not expose them to danger. I urge you to allow him to proceed.

Best wishes,

Stephen Kinzer

The writer is author of "Blood of Brothers: Life and War in Nicaragua" (Putnam 1991).

VITA

Talbot Wentworth Rogers was born in Ft. Knox, Kentucky in 1948. He graduated with an B. A. in English from Berea College, Kentucky in 1974. In 1976 he received his M. S. in English Education from the University of Tennessee in Knoxville.

In 1976 he began teaching elementary school in Crossville, Tennessee. In 1983 and 1984 he taught extracurricular subjects for Crab Orchard Elementary School. In 1984 he met and married Judith Arnold, also a teacher. In 1985 he was selected to exchange with an Australian teacher as part of the International Teaching Fellowship and taught outdoor education for that year at Somers Children's School Camp near Melbourne. From 1986 to the present he has taught elementary art in Cumberland County.

In 1989 he made his first overland trip to Nicaragua and has continued to travel there and to other parts of Central America. He has been raising funds for benevolent groups in Central America and plans to continue in these activities.

He has two children, Jesse and Sarah Grace.