

Education as a tool for development

The influence of bilingual education on the livelihoods of indigenous people in
Baja Verapaz, Guatemala.



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*Maltiyoox*¹,
Jolanda van Ginkel

¹ 'Thank you' in Achí.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Inequality, poverty and a variety of indigenous groups have characterized Guatemala through history and are still prominently visible in present-day Guatemala. Guatemala is struggling with a high rate of social and economic inequality, a low education level and a large rural population. Its corrupt government, increased drugs violence and susceptibility to seasonal patterns, shocks and trends illustrate the fragility of the country in which its people are vulnerable to changes in their livelihood patterns.

As a result of the signing of a peace agreement in 1996, the 36-year lasting civil war was ended. Indigenous groups were no longer suppressed; equality and indigenous cultures were promoted throughout the country. This resulted in establishment of educational reforms and the inclusion of *educación bilingüe intercultural* (EBI) in the new educational curriculum. The aim of EBI is that children receive education in their mother tongue in the first years of primary school and in the dominant language in higher grades, while they learn about their own culture and get familiar with multiculturalism at the same time. In order for this method to be effective, EBI must be implemented carefully and with full support of all stakeholders involved.

This research has paid specific attention to issues relating to social well-being, vulnerability and social equity of the Achí people living in the rural communities of Chixolop and Tempisque. The Achí is a cultural group which is characterized by its own language (Achí), traditional clothing and traditional dance. While traditional views on differences between men and women – and their roles within households – have been slowly diminishing over time, the importance of the Achí culture is still prominently visible in both communities.

By applying the sustainable livelihoods approach, the concept of EBI – which was incorporated in the school policy of both communities three years ago – was linked to the daily lives of indigenous people. According to this theory, a livelihood is sustainable when its assets are well balanced. In indigenous communities, such as Tempisque and Chixolop, bilingual education can play an essential role in establishing such balanced livelihoods. Bilingual education is intensely influenced by the institutional environment; in this regard three – heavily interlinked – components can be distinguished: the legal system, human capacity and physical capacity.

Based on a baseline study on the livelihoods of indigenous people and an evaluation on the implementation and effectiveness of EBI in Chixolop and Tempisque, this research will answer the following research question:

To what extent does the institutional environment influence the implementation and effectiveness of bilingual education in Guatemala and how can bilingual education contribute to the improvement of the livelihoods of indigenous people?

Bilingual education in practice

The institutional environment is significantly influencing the development of bilingual education on a national level but also in Chixolop and Tempisque. Access and quality both play a prominent role in defining the extent to which an indigenous population can benefit from education. The right to education is promoted in Guatemala's national policy and the Ministry of Education (MINEDUC) aims to improve access to education. The quality of education at primary schools is determined by the human and physical capacity; the provision of materials and the development of methodology stimulate the way EBI is implemented and its effectiveness.

In theory, diversity and bilingual education are well-represented in the law. Besides the acknowledgement of the right to receive education, Guatemala's constitution recognizes that education must focus on the development of individual human knowledge of the cultural reality on a local and national level and that – in areas that host an indigenous population – education must be implemented in a bilingual form.

Unfortunately, this research concludes that the legal system supports the implementation and effectiveness of EBI only to a certain extent. Positive results show that, since the incorporation of EBI at both primary schools, a reduction in the number of dropouts and repeaters is clearly visible in both communities. However, many shortcomings for which the Ministry of Education (MINEDUC) can be held responsible are observed. Most of these are related to the provision of financial resources to buy goods which are needed to execute EBI in a proper way; e.g. the purchase of books, maintenance of the school and provision of food to all students. Furthermore, more practical problems are visible in this respect; currently, books in Achí are nonexistent. While MINEDUC stresses the importance of provision of education in a bilingual form in areas that host an indigenous population, they do not stimulate the development of books which are essential in this case.

While human and physical capacity can play a significant role in correct and effective execution and implementation of EBI, results of this research show that both concepts are currently hampering this development. Factors that are negatively influencing the quality of education are dominated by the poor condition or the complete lack of materials, contradictions in opinions on the importance of EBI and the absence of knowledge or motivation to implement EBI correctly.

Many improvements regarding the influence of the institutional environment on the implementation and effectiveness of EBI must be made. Lack of awareness on the importance of EBI is one of the main issues influencing the poor state of education; awareness on this topic must be raised and parental support must be improved. When teachers are aware of the importance of bilingual education, they are more motivated to attend one of the language courses on Achí, which are provided without any costs by MINEDUC. Moreover, the lack of capacity of many teachers is a key issue; this can be attributed to either lack of motivation, lack of knowledge or lack of education. Besides stressing the importance of EBI, workshops on capacity building and the implementation of dynamic classes must be given. Additionally, teachers must receive workshops that indicate the importance of synergy in teaching methodology and the effect and usefulness of working based on a solid planning. It is important to truly incorporate

bilingual education in school policy by allocating bilingual teachers to the first three grades, in which the Achí language plays a key role in the learning process.

Contribution of EBI to sustainable livelihoods

In this research, a livelihood is characterized by sustainability, equity and capability. A livelihood can be seen as sustainable if it can cope with and recover from stress and shocks; maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation. A livelihood can be influenced by many different aspects, including education. This research has clarified that bilingual education is an asset in the local market place, but also in the larger transnational community.

Both Tempisque and Chixolop face a relatively poor, unsustainable livelihood outcome, based on a fragile and unbalanced set of livelihood assets, high inequity, and the inability to respond to shocks and trends; access rights of indigenous people, levels of livability, gender roles, labor conditions, nature conservation and distribution of income are the key issues in both communities.

Results of this research identify a variety of financial issues in both communities. Most likely, these are generated by the combination of the consequences of the communities' vulnerability context and people's inability to establish a long term vision. The latter is also visible in the way people manage the protection and conservation of nature. In both communities, people are lacking a sustainable view and corresponding knowledge regarding the maintenance of the environment and development of their natural capital.

Social advantages are among the greatest benefits for bilinguals; bilinguals are familiar with the existence of a variety of discourses and, therefore, possess a form of capital that is used to negotiate social, economic and environmental benefits. During the provision of bilingual education the understanding between different cultural groups and the promotion of gender inclusion are addressed. Therefore, bilinguals understand the importance of these issues and take this matter into account in their livelihood activities. A strong understanding of the (multicultural) world contributes to the decrease of social inequity.

Bilingualism leads to an increase in job opportunities because bilinguals have an advantage regarding jobs for which both Spanish and Achí or cultural knowledge is required. Bilinguals have more power and agency than monolinguals; they have the capacity to act independently and make their own free choices that influence their opportunities in life. A better understanding of the market and interconnectivity within society increases their opportunities regarding the achievement of a better socioeconomic status. Based on the identification of these benefits, this research has proven that bilingual education stimulates the development towards a sustainable society.

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CNB	Currículo Nacional Base
DfID	Department for International Development
DICADE	Dirección de Calidad y Desarrollo Educativo
DIGEBI	Dirección General de Educación Bilingüe Intercultural
EBI	Educación Bilingüe Intercultural
HDI	Human Development Index
IARNA	Instituto de Agricultura, Recursos Naturales y Ambiente
ILO	International Labour Organization
INE	Instituto Nacional de Estadística
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MINEDUC	Ministry of Education
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
PAN	Partido de Avanzado Nacional
PSI	Primaria Santillana Integral
SLF	Sustainable Livelihoods Framework
SSF	Sustainable Society Foundation
SSI	Sustainable Society Index
UN	United Nations
URNG	Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca
USA	United States of America

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INTRODUCTION

Western theories are often used while analyzing the situation in ‘developing’ countries. Unfortunately, these theories often focus on what ‘we’ – as people from the West – think is good for ‘them’. This research similarly attempts to analyze the situation in Guatemala based on Western theories, but in contrast emphasizes on experiences, thoughts and perceptions of local people.

It is important to realize that it is not the people in Guatemala who are ‘underdeveloped’, but that it is the country that is ‘underdeveloped’. This research aims to analyze the livelihoods of inhabitants of Chixolop and Tempisque, the current situation regarding bilingual education at two primary schools in these communities, and in which way education can be used as a tool for development. Everything in this thesis is written with the following statement in mind (see footnote for translation):

“Afuera nos veían como subdesarrollados, pero que esto aplica al país y no necesariamente a las personas, ya que en los países del llamado primer mundo, también hay analfabetas, indigentes, etc. los cuales no pueden llamarse desarrollados, aunque vivan en un país industrializado.”²

- Fausto Samuel Esquivel Rivera, 2011

Background and relevance

Inequality, poverty and a variety of indigenous groups have characterized Guatemala through history and are still prominently visible in present-day Guatemala. Development indicators confirm that Guatemala can be seen as a country with high social and economic inequality, a low education level and a large rural population. To illustrate this statement, the average amount of years of schooling for adults over 25 years is only 4.1 years (UNDP, 2011); this is extremely low, even compared to other countries with low human development rankings. Fortunately, the enrollment rates for primary, secondary and tertiary education show a more positive picture; currently, 70.5% of the school age population is actually enrolled in school (UNDP, 2011). It has to be noted that development indicators regarding education do not include information about the level of quality of education. Additionally, some population groups – e.g. Mayas – benefit when they receive education in a bilingual form; *educación bilingüe intercultural* (EBI): The aforementioned indicators do not distinguish between forms of education. Moreover, development indicators differ enormously when disaggregated by population group. Differences between the *Ladino* (Amerindian - Spanish) population and indigenous communities (e.g. Mayas) are clearly visible in daily life. It is therefore difficult to make simplified statements about development on a national level; the level of progress differs among relevant areas and even between different ethnic groups.

In theory, bilingual education is well-represented in the law. It is acknowledged that education must focus on the development of individual human knowledge, knowledge of reality and culture on a

² "From the outside they [‘Western’ or ‘developed’ people] see us [people from Guatemala] as underdeveloped, but this applies to the country and not necessarily to people living in it. In the so-called ‘first world’ countries, there are also illiterate and homeless people, which cannot be called developed while living in an industrialized country.

national and universal level, that everybody has the right and obligation to receive education, and that in areas that host an indigenous population education must be implemented in a bilingual form (Ley de Educación Nacional, 1991: 7). These statements are all closely related to the topic of this research.

This research can serve as an example of how education, EBI in particular, can be used as a tool for development. This thesis provides a valuable framework of common issues occurring during the implementation of EBI. Additionally, this research can be used by organizations (e.g. PLAN International) and ministries (e.g. the Ministry of Education, MINEDUC) as a baseline study or an example evaluation of how EBI is currently implemented in indigenous communities. While this thesis is a case study of two communities, valuable lessons can be derived from its conclusions that can be applied in similar contexts.

Problem definition and research objective

Albert Einstein once stated, “education is what remains after one has forgotten everything he learned in school”. This is the exact philosophy behind EBI; education should contribute to the development of norms and values – focusing on culture and language, while introducing a certain way of living – rather than being a form of teaching subjects. Additionally, EBI tackles the problem of children who do not understand classes taught in a certain language because they do not speak the language. Until three years ago, this was exactly the case in Chixolop and Tempisque – two Mayan communities in Guatemala. In these communities, education was provided in Spanish, while the mother tongue of children was Achí.

As a result of the signing of a peace agreement in 1996, the 36-year lasting civil war was ended. Indigenous groups were no longer suppressed; equality and indigenous cultures were promoted throughout the country (Geografica, 2008). This resulted in the inclusion of *educación bilingüe intercultural* (EBI) in the new educational curriculum – part of the educational reforms – which was presented in 2007 (CNB, 2007: 10).

The aim of EBI is that children receive education in their mother tongue in the first years of primary school and in the dominant language in higher grades, while they learn about their own culture and get familiar with multiculturalism at the same time. However, in order to be effective, this type of education must be implemented carefully and with full support of all stakeholders involved.

In order to relate the concept of EBI to the daily lives of indigenous people, the sustainable livelihoods approach is used in this research. According to this theory, a livelihood is sustainable when its assets are well balanced. In indigenous communities, such as Tempisque and Chixolop, EBI can play an essential role in establishing such balanced livelihoods.

The objective of this research is to analyze the livelihoods of inhabitants of Tempisque and Chixolop, gain insight into the current situation regarding the implementation and effectiveness of EBI, analyze to what extent institutions are influencing this process and how EBI, eventually, can contribute to the improvement of the livelihoods of these indigenous people. In order to fulfill this objective, research was carried out with a two-pronged approach:

- A baseline study on the livelihoods of inhabitants of both communities;
- An evaluation of the current situation regarding the implementation and effectiveness of EBI at primary schools in both communities, while taking the institutional environment into account.

Because it is complex to characterize the institutional environment of Chixolop and Tempisque, in this thesis it is attempted to structure this concept by distinguishing three main components: the legal system, human capacity and physical capacity. Naturally, these concepts are heavily interlinked.

Research questions and thesis structure

In order to structure this thesis clearly, one main research question and several sub research questions were identified. This thesis is written in such a way that it answers the sub questions while aiming to provide an answer to the main research question:

To what extent does the institutional environment influence the implementation and effectiveness of bilingual education in Guatemala and how can bilingual education contribute to the improvement of the livelihoods of indigenous people?

Chapter 1 provides a clear view of the theoretical framework that serves as a basis for this research. Theoretical concepts are defined, research questions are explained and the research methods are substantiated. In order to understand the local context of Guatemala, chapter 2 gives a full description of the country. Geographical characteristics are given and development indicators are analyzed. Furthermore, a small introduction of both communities is given. Before analyzing the empirical results obtained during the research, it is important to clarify the establishment of national policy regarding bilingual education. Chapter 3, therefore, answers the following two research questions: *‘What is the current national policy on bilingual education and how did this policy evolve through history?’* and *‘To what extent is bilingual education included in Guatemala’s national curriculum?’*.

The sustainable livelihoods approach is used as the main theoretical research method in this thesis. This approach requires a thorough analysis of the livelihoods of the research subjects (inhabitants of Chixolop and Tempisque). Therefore, chapter 4 answers the question *‘How are the livelihoods of Chixolop and Tempisque characterized?’* based on results of the empirical research.

The institutional environment plays a key role in the implementation and effectiveness of bilingual education in a rural community. Chapter 5 elaborates on this subject using results obtained by the empirical research. The following research questions will be answered: *‘How is the institutional environment of Chixolop and Tempisque characterized and what are the main stakeholders?’*, *‘To what extent is the legal system influencing the effectiveness of bilingual education?’* and *‘To what extent is human and physical capacity influencing the effectiveness of bilingual education?’*. Eventually, it is possible to reflect on research findings obtained in this chapter, by answering the question *‘What are the lessons learned from bilingual education practices in Chixolop and Tempisque?’*.

The final part of this thesis consists of the conclusions and discussion. It summarizes and reflects on existing literature and research findings obtained, and links these findings in order to provide an answer to the main research question.

1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

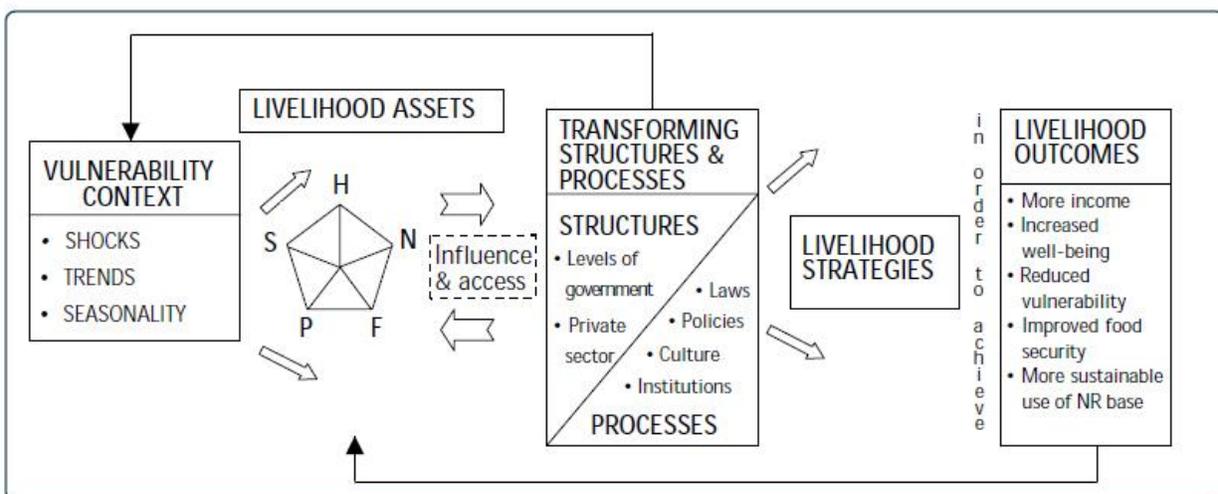
The outcomes of this thesis are associated with a theoretical framework, which is based on relevant theories regarding the subject. In order to gain a clear view on theory related to this thesis, a literature review on the sustainable livelihood approach, institutions and bilingual education has been executed. Some might say that a picture says a thousand words. This is a valid statement but especially in the field of bilingual education it is proven that a word can also represent a thousand pictures. In order to be able to analyze these words carefully, the data – on which outcomes of this research are based – is collected by using different methodologies. This chapter elaborates on different methodologies used during the desk- and fieldwork.

1.1 Sustainable livelihood approach

A livelihood comprises “the capabilities, assets and activities required for a means of living” (Potter et al, 2008: 484). A livelihood is sustainable if it can “cope with and recover from stress and shocks; maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation; and which contributes net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels in the long and short term” (Potter et al, 2008: 484). Sustainable livelihoods are characterized by equity, capability and sustainability.

The sustainable livelihoods framework (SLF), figure 1.1, is an analytical framework developed in the 1990s and based on the work of Robert Chambers and Gordon Conway at the Institute of Development Studies (DfID, 1999). The framework is often applied to rural livelihoods but increasingly applied to urban livelihoods. It helps to gain understanding and analyze local livelihoods in order to point out priorities for policy and research. These priorities are valuable in the planning process of new development activities and the evaluation of the impacts of existing interventions.

Figure 1.1: Sustainable Livelihoods Framework



Source: DfID, 1999.

The five main aspects of the SLF are addressed below; the vulnerability context, livelihood assets, transforming structures & processes, livelihood strategies and livelihood outcomes.

Vulnerability context

The vulnerability context points at the factors that often cause or increase poverty of the poorest groups directly or indirectly, but which cannot be controlled by these groups or on which these groups have very little control. The vulnerability context can partly be influenced by transforming structures and processes.

Livelihood assets

Livelihood assets are the assets that people may have or may not have, often referred to as capitals. The SLF distinguishes social capital, human capital, natural capital, financial capital and physical capital. Examples of each type of capital are listed below:

- Human capital: skills, knowledge, ability to work and good health.
- Social capital: networks, relationships of trust, access to wider institutions.
- Natural capital: natural resources, such as: land, trees, but also biodiversity.
- Physical capital: basic infrastructure and producer goods needed to enable people to meet their basic needs; shelter, energy, water, sanitation.
- Financial capital: financial resources; savings, credit, remittances or pensions.

Livelihood assets can be influenced by livelihood outcomes; more income can lead to the ability to send children to school which leads to an increase in human capital. In this research these assets are analyzed to gain a clear view on the livelihoods of the people living in Tempisque and Chixolop.

Transforming structures & processes

Transforming structures and processes include levels of government, the private sector, laws, policies and culture. In this research, this part of the SLF will be addressed by identified institutions (section 1.2). Transforming structures and processes can have an influence on non-natural shocks and trends of the vulnerability context.

Livelihood strategies

Livelihood strategies refer to the range and combination of activities that people undertake in order to achieve to livelihoods outcomes. These strategies can include natural-resources based activities and non-natural resource based activities (Kollmair & Gamper, 2002: 7).

Livelihood outcomes

Livelihood outcomes are the result of decisions made and actions undertaken in the livelihood strategies part. These outcomes can influence livelihood assets on its turn. This research will pay specific attention to the outcomes that relate to increased social well-being, reduced vulnerability and improved social equity.

In low income countries the exploitation of rural resources is often unsustainable. Additionally, these regions often deal with high population growth rates and vulnerable environments. According to

Chambers and Conway (1991), “the needs of the rural poor are likely to get even less attention in the future” (Chambers and Conway, 1991: 1). This can be explained by an increasing urban growth; nowadays more people are moving from rural areas towards larger urban areas. It is therefore likely that more attention will be paid to the development of resources in these (semi) urban areas in the future. The majority of Guatemala’s indigenous population is currently living in rural areas.

It is of great importance to focus – also in the future – on capability, equity and sustainability of livelihoods. Each of these terms has two sides; a normative and a descriptive one (Chambers and Conway, 1991: 3). The normative side represents the desirable goal or criterion for evaluation that all aspects have. The descriptive side acknowledges that each of the aspects can be empirically observed and/or measured. Additionally, capability, equity and sustainability are linked because each is both end and means. As Chambers and Conway (1991) note: “Linked together, capability, equity and sustainability present a framework or paradigm for development thinking which is both normative and practical. (..) However, “they are not always or necessarily mutually supporting” (Robert Chambers and Gordon R. Conway, 1991: 4). An example of this is that “equity in access to a resource by no means assures sustainable resource use without appropriate and effective institutions for resource management and exploitation” (Chambers and Conway, 1991: 4).

While analyzing livelihoods by the SLF, it is wise to keep in mind that all three concepts are ‘our’ concepts and not ‘theirs’. The SLF is developed by people from ‘the West’ and therefore it should only be used as a tool to analyze livelihoods in order to give policy recommendations and to point out priorities of this process. It is needed to – always – keep in mind what ‘their’ conditions and priorities are.

1.2 Institutions

Institutions have a major influence on the way a livelihood is shaped. In order to gain deeper insight in this process, it is essential to realize how institutions shape social interactions and in which way they are established and embedded in society. According to Kilpinen (2000: 3), the only way to examine institutions is to study human behavior. In this research, this has been done by means of a baseline study and an evaluation of bilingual education at two primary schools.

Institutions can be analyzed from different scopes and angles and therefore defined in numerous ways. As Hodgson (2006: 1) confirms, there is no agreement among experts on the definition of institutions. Nevertheless, the concept of institutions has gained importance in social sciences. Most experts agree that institutions are often ‘created’ intentionally by individuals or groups of people, but that they further organize and develop themselves in a way that goes further than the predetermined intentions of these individuals or groups.

Douglass C. North won the Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Sciences in 1993 with his definition of institutions as ‘the rules of the game’. As North defines more into depth: “Institutions are the rules of the game in society or, more formally, are the humanly devised constraints that shape human interaction” he emphasizes that “if institutions are the rules of the game, organizations and their entrepreneurs are the players” (North, 1990: 3). In his definition, North distinguished formal constraints

from informal constraints. As an example for formal constraints he mentioned rules, laws and constitutions and as an example of informal constraints he distinguished norms of behavior and self-imposed codes on conduct. This caused the following problem: “if all rules are formal and institutions are essentially rules, all institutions are formal” (Hodgson, 2006: 8). As a result, North redefined institutions as “the constraints that human beings impose on human interactions”, putting an emphasis rather on constraints than rules (North, 1995: 15).

It is almost impossible to characterize institutions as entirely formal because all formal institutions always depend in some way on informal norms and behavior. Many institutions do not function individually and need others for their implementation. As James (1892), Joas (1993) and Kilpinen (2000) agree, institutions only work because “the rules involved are embedded in shared habits of thought and behavior”. Habit is, therefore, seen as a key element in “the understanding of how rules are embedded in social life and how institutional structures are sustained” (Hodgson, 2006: 6). As a result, formal institutions with a lack of informal support can more-likely be seen as governmental statements that are not backed up by society than as real institutions. This does not imply that formal institutions or rules are not important but it means that formal institutions gain importance when are integrated in habits, norms and behavior.

To avoid confusion, distinctions between formal and informal rules or constraints should be used with extreme care. In this research, the division between formal and informal institutions will therefore not be applied.

Institutions can be seen as both constraining and enabling behavior. At first sight, rules are directly linked with constraints. However, rules – or constraints – can generate possibilities as well; laws can emphasize the right to education and accordingly create opportunities for people to educate themselves.

Taken all contradictions and misleading concepts into account, the definition of institutions used in this research is based on the opinion of Hodgson (2006: 19): “Institutions are systems of established and embedded social rules that structure social interactions rather than rules as such”. This means that not only rules and policies, but also institutions related to human and physical capital such as educational buildings and methodology, are included when addressing the institutional environment in this research. Looked at from its broadest definition, institutions include amongst others marriage, religion, educational institutions, NGOs, laws and the legal system (including rules for criminal justice), military forces and civil society. Additionally, in extended context language, art and culture are often included. For this research, language is seen as a basic, because all institutions involve social interaction and interpretation of some kind (Hodgson, 2006: 13). Language is – just like many ‘legal’ rules – basically self-policing (Quine, 1960). However, an extra authority such as the state is often needed to enforce these rules and regulations. Especially in this globalizing world, with unequal access to information and large controlling institutions that generate an unequal distribution of power, authoritative institutions are required to enforce rights.

The institutional environment, a term often used in this research, refers to “the systems of formal laws, regulations and procedures, (...) informal conventions, customs and norms that broaden, mould, and restrain socio-economic activity and behavior” (Popova, 2010). Due to the complexity of the concept, in

this research, the institutional environment is subdivided into three sub-concepts: the 'legal system' and 'human capacity' and 'physical capacity'. Because of the interconnectivity of many institutions, the influence of all relevant institutions will be taken into account in chapter 5.

1.3 Bilingual education

"Bilingual education includes the use of multiple multilingual practices that maximize learning efficacy and communication and that, in doing so, fosters and develops tolerance towards linguistic differences as well as appreciation for languages and bilingual proficiency" (Garcia, 2009: 9).

Definitions of bilingual education are debated worldwide. According to Baker (2001) bilingualism is "the ability to use more than one language". However, many academics claim bilingualism is more than just this ability; bilingual education is a form of instruction that facilitates equitable education, establishes tolerance towards different cultural groups and raises a multiple understanding and appreciation for human diversity (Garcia, 2009: 6). As Martin (2003) states, bilingualism also includes bilingual encounters and therefore, bilingual education is more than just based on language as a subject; language has shifted from the subject towards the medium of instruction. Cazden and Snow (1990) agreed that bilingual education is "a simple label for a complex phenomenon".

Disagreement does also exist about the terminology of bilingual education. In some countries, such as the USA, bilingual education does not have a positive image because it is often associated with immigrants and minority groups (Garcia, 2009: 10). Therefore, most scientists in the USA refer to 'dual language education' when discussing bilingual education. Nevertheless, the term bilingual education is seen as appropriate for people that are living in a bilingual context, which is the case in Guatemala. In Guatemala bilingual education is known as '*educación intercultural bilingüe*' (EBI). Whenever bilingual education is mentioned in this thesis, it is referring to 'EBI' as it is applied in Guatemala.

According to Lewis (1977), "bilingual education has been advocated for entirely pedagogical reasons, while the fundamental rationale is to bring political, economic and social equity". In line with this statement it is possible to say that all forms of education are concerned with redistribution or maintenance of power. This is confirmed by Garcia; tensions regarding to bilingual education are often related to dominant groups that are protecting their power (Garcia, 2009: 12).

Ruiz (1984) perceives language as a problem, right or resource. The perception of 'language as a problem' has its roots in the 20th century and fits within the structural functionalist theoretical perspective and modernization theory (Garcia, 2009: 1). In this period, children were instructed in their mother tongue in the early grades until they were fluent in the colonial or majority language. From that moment on, education was only provided in this majority language. This is called transitional bilingual education and within this form of instruction the relation between language and power is clearly visible. 'Language as a right' was the new philosophy after the economic downturn of the 1970s and fits within the critical theoretical perspective. In this period it was clear that modernization had failed and had resulted in an increase in social inequity (Garcia, 2009: 14). Therefore, structures such as class, ethnicity, race, language and gender were given increased attention and agency was promoted. Agency in this context refers to the capacity of individuals to act independently and to make their own free choices,

without limitations of existing structures that could influence opportunities that these individuals have (Bandura, 2001). During this time bilingual education was used by minority groups to revitalize their languages, which they often had lost due to colonialism; having your own language was seen as a right. 'Language as a resource' fits within the ecological theoretical perspective and became more popular when globalization became more and more visible. It aims at the improvement of quality of education, the promotion of gender and social equity and the encouragement of understanding between different cultural groups (Garcia, 2009: 16). Within this school of thought, interaction is locally but also globally promoted. Nowadays, the emphasis often lies on 'language as a resource'; however, the other two perceptions of language have not been forgotten and therefore the three perceptions are coexisting in the 21st century.

Social advantages are among the greatest benefits for bilinguals. Bilingualism is seen as a form of capital which is "used to negotiate social goods and benefits" (Garcia & Otheguy, 1994: 97). Therefore, being bilingual can lead to an increase in job opportunities. Additionally, the amount of global interactions will increase once a person is bilingual; nowadays, the need is no longer to be dominant in two languages but rather to be familiar with many discourses. As Garcia concludes: "bilingual education might not only be an asset in the local market place, but also in the larger transnational community" (Garcia, 2009: 95). In Guatemala, this trend is mainly visible on a regional scale. Nevertheless, it slowly becomes more common on a transnational scale as well; locals are migrating to the United States, where they need to be able to speak other languages than their Mayan mother tongue.

On the other hand, bilingualism can be an advantage for local interaction; older generations often only speak traditional languages and therefore younger generations can communicate with family members when they can speak the traditional language that belongs to their culture.

Multiple identities can be formed through participating in divers '(social) networks' and it gives children the opportunity to develop themselves more broadly. As Hall (1996) defines: "it is rather important to know what we might become instead of only focus on who we are and where we come from" (Garcia, 2009: 99). Bilingual education can contribute to the process of forming multiple identities and it can also clarify 'what we might become'.

Bilingual education has been implemented in different forms and by different means throughout different countries. Often, bilingual education is imposed by governments as a response on needs for this type of education by the indigenous population. Nevertheless, indigenous demands are "challenging historically top-down instituted educational policies and approaches, pushing for bottom-up ones" (Lopez and Sichra, 2006: 11). Bottom-up approaches are increasingly implemented in Bolivia and Ecuador and in countries where bilingual education is a relatively new concern, such as in Argentina (Lopez and Sichra, 2006: 12).

It is important to have a clear view on the objective of bilingual education before implementing it. Research on bilingual education in Latin America (Chiapas, Mexico; Puno, Peru and Chaco, Paraguay) show that bilingually educated children obtained comparable or better results than indigenous students in monolingual Spanish schools (Lopez and Sichra, 2006: 7). This is confirmed by Patrinos, Velez and Rubio, who indicate that indigenous children who have received bilingual primary education, obtain better results regarding the Spanish language and perform better in secondary education (Patrinos &

Velez, 2009 and Rubio, 2004). Research on bilingual education in the region of El Quiché in Guatemala has indicated that when indigenous people receive education in a bilingual form, they are likely to replace their mother tongue (K'iche' in this case) by Spanish and face loss of their cultural identity (Rubio, 2004). Naturally, it is debatable whether this was the intended outcome before it was implemented.

According to Ofelia Garcia (2009: 12), bilingual education is the only way to teach in the 21st century. This is meant as a statement that applies worldwide and represents the importance of this form of instruction. Especially in a complex cultural diverse context, as in Guatemala, it is important to make sure that all indigenous groups receive bilingual education. Bourdieu states “being able to use language effectively, increases one’s wealth” (Garcia, 2009: 12). In many situations this statement is valid, because bilinguals are able to interact with others in various social contexts and therefore increase, for example, their employment opportunities.

There is a large difference between transferring from education in one language to education in another language and simply adding a second language to the first. Lewis (1977) argues “one plus one does not always equals two” (Garcia, 2009: 8). Bilingual education, therefore, needs to be applied carefully and in a consistent way in order to achieve desirable and efficient results. Language has more than a symbolic function; “it also has a rhetorical function” which is used to construct identity and solidarity (Garcia, 2009: 82).

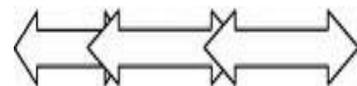
Different types of bilingualism

Bilingual education has been applied in several forms, at different times and different places, and perspectives on bilingualism shifted from monoglossic to heteroglossic (Garcia, 2009: 44 & 51). The following two traditional models (1 and 2) and two modern models (3 and 4) of bilingual education can be distinguished:

1: The subtractive model

In this model the goal is loss of linguistic features of the traditional language (L1): $L1 + L2 - L1 = L2$. Eventually the students will only speak the dominant language. This form of bilingualism was often applied in the context of colonialization. Nowadays, this model is still visible in countries where many immigrants live.

Figure 1.2: The recursive model

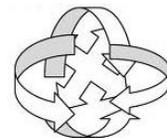


Source: Garcia, 2009.

2: The additive model

This model fits within the monoglossic perspective. A second language is added to the traditional language and both languages are maintained: $L1 + L2 = L1 + L2$. This type of bilingualism is also referred to as double monolingualism (Garcia, 2009: 48). In general this model applies to prestigious groups.

Figure 1.3: The dynamic model



Source: Garcia, 2009.

3: *The recursive model*

This model (figure 1.2) is often visible in communities that want to revitalize their traditional mother tongue. Examples of these groups are communities that have been suppressed in the past and “*people move back and forth in a bilingual continuum*” (Garcia, 2009: 52).

4: *The dynamic model*

This model (figure 1.3) fits within the heteroglossic perspective and is applicable in complex societies. Nowadays, it is increasingly applied in the West where sometimes more than two languages are required and there is an ongoing change in these languages (Garcia, 2009: 54). Global interaction is the key word that fits this model; it accepts flows of bilingualism and encourages communicative and dynamic bilingualism.

In bilingual education, four types of abilities are distinguished. These aspects can be divided in two categories; oracy (speaking and listening) and literacy (reading and writing). Often not all four aspects of a language are managed by bilinguals. Garcia (2009: 61) distinguishes four categories of bilinguals; one of these categories includes indigenous groups. She claims that bilinguals in this category often understand other generations speaking in their traditional language but that there are not able to speak it themselves.

Moreover, elective and obligatory bilingualism can be distinguished. Elective bilingualism is also known as ‘elite bilingualism’ (Fishman, 1977); people in this category choose to develop bilingual abilities. Contrary, obligatory bilingualism includes people that are forced to develop bilingual abilities, such as indigenous or deaf people.

Critics on bilingual education argue that it maintains separated linguistic groups and it increases social exclusion, because cultural groups maintain their own language instead of adapting themselves to global changes that take place. Many critics of them see bilingual education as an instrument that only maintains traditional languages (L1) at the cost of a modern, more dominant language (L2). Therefore, it is important to acknowledge that bilingual education is not only a great instrument to maintain traditional languages (L1); at the same time it is applied to educate young generations in the majority language (L2).

1.4 Research questions

This research is focusing on the characterization of the institutional environment in Guatemala and its influence on bilingual education. Additionally, it is focusing on the livelihoods of indigenous people and how these are influenced and can be improved by correct implementation of bilingual education. Therefore, the main research question is:

To what extent does the institutional environment influence the implementation and effectiveness of bilingual education in Guatemala and how can bilingual education contribute to the improvement of the livelihoods of indigenous people?

In order to answer this question, several sub questions are defined. These sub questions are listed below and provide a clear structure throughout the thesis and will be answered in the chapters that follow.

What is the current national policy on bilingual education and how did this policy evolve through history?

In order to assess the implementation and effectiveness of bilingual education, it is required to know what the current national policy on bilingual education is and when, how and why this policy has been established and how it changed over time. The answer to this question will give insight in the situation of Guatemala and the importance – or absence of importance – of bilingualism for the country.

To what extent is bilingual education included in Guatemala's national curriculum?

The national policy on bilingual education influences the way bilingual education is included – if included – in Guatemala's national curriculum; *Currículo Nacional Base* (CNB). In order to examine implementation and effectiveness of bilingual education on local level, insight in the situation on national level is important.

How are the livelihoods of Chixolop and Tempisque characterized?

Insight in livelihoods of indigenous people is required in order to determine whether bilingual education can contribute to the improvement of these livelihoods. A baseline view needs to be present to analyze what is missing, what can be improved and how the community can develop itself. In this thesis, the focus lies on how bilingual education can stimulate these developments and improvements in the communities.

How is the institutional environment of Chixolop and Tempisque characterized and what are the main stakeholders?

It is mandatory to know which stakeholders are present in both communities and how the institutional environment is characterized. These stakeholders can, and sometimes need to, stimulate potential development opportunities and improvements in the community. Additionally, both visible and less visible institutions can have significant influence on the development of a society.

To what extent is the legal system influencing the effectiveness of bilingual education?

The legal system is mainly visible on national level; however, this system has a great impact on rules and regulations that apply locally. For example, the extent to what bilingual education is included in the national curriculum influences the situation on primary schools in the community; teachers are supposed to use the national curriculum as a guidebook and therefore it directly influences the implementation and effectiveness of bilingual education in indigenous communities.

To what extent is human and physical capacity influencing the effectiveness of bilingual education?

Human and physical capacities are of significant importance when it comes to the ability to implement bilingual education and the effectiveness of bilingual education. Presence or lack of materials, good methodology, buildings that are in good condition and parental participation all influence the quality of education directly.

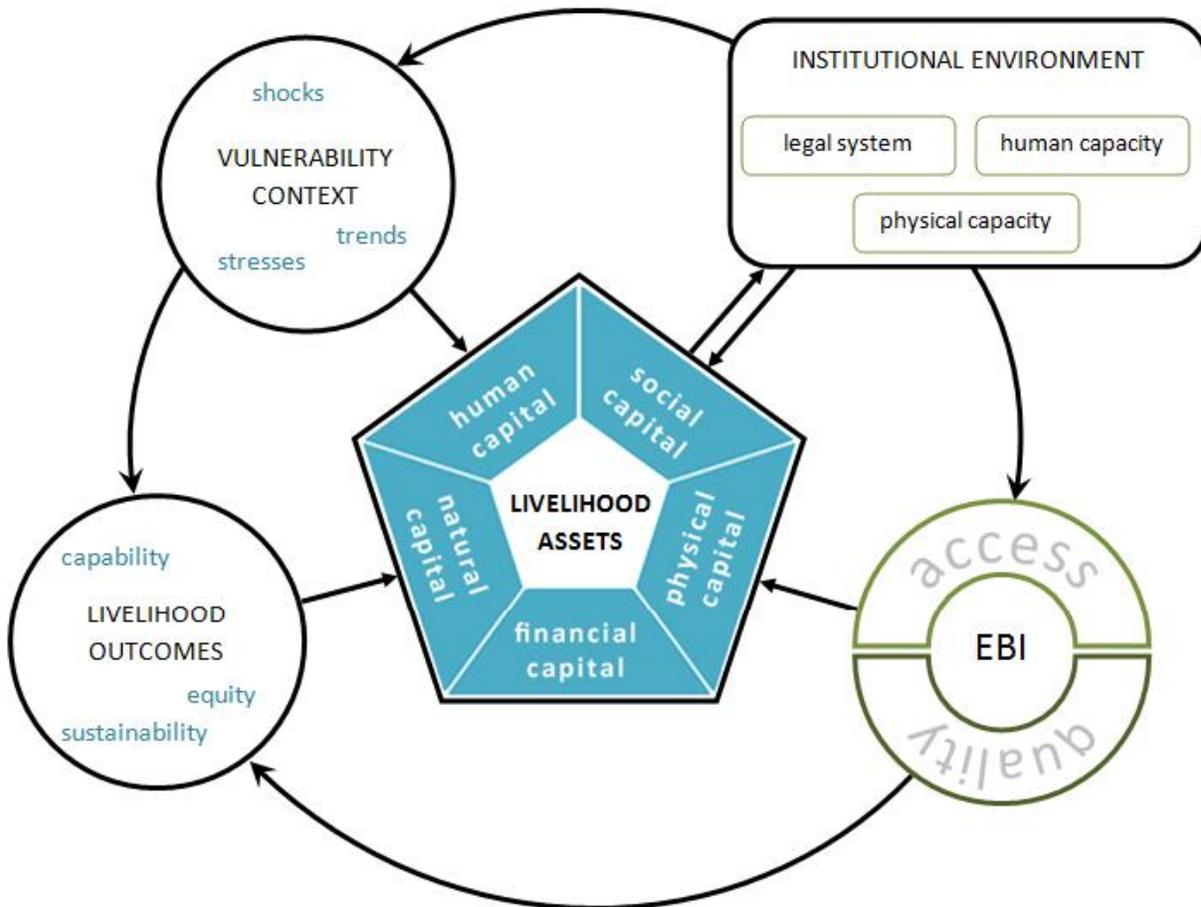
What are the lessons learned from bilingual education practices in Chixolop and Tempisque?

It is essential to analyze the current educational situation in both communities in order to lessons learned at both primary schools. By analyzing a local situation, weaknesses, strengths, threats and opportunities become visible; this knowledge can be used to support the development of sustainable livelihoods.

1.5 Conceptual model

The design of the conceptual model (figure 1.4) is based on knowledge obtained from existing literature, especially the sustainable livelihoods guidance sheets (DfID, 1999), and data on the current situation in Chixolop and Tempisque that were obtained during the field work.

Figure 1.4: Conceptual model



The livelihoods of indigenous people are the central focus of this conceptual model. Additionally, the institutional environment and *educación intercultural bilingüe* (EBI) are two key aspects of the model. The conceptual model provides a clear visualization of occurring and potential processes in a community. The black arrows visualize the influence that one concept can have on another; this can be a one or two sided process. An explanation of the interaction of these arrows and a broader definition of

these concepts is provided below. Moreover, the conclusions and discussion of this thesis will link research outcomes to the conceptual model.

Livelihood

A livelihood comprises people, their capabilities and their means of living, including food, income and assets (Chambers & Conway, 1991: i). In this research, livelihood assets are analyzed in order to define the livelihoods of the Achí people. These assets include: human capital, social capital, financial capital, natural capital and physical capital. All assets are influenced and affected by all other concepts in the conceptual model. Additionally, people can influence the institutional environment as a response on their agency³; they can alter ‘the rules of the game’. Institutions can be established or shaped as a response on the demand for an enabling environment which creates opportunities that can improve their livelihoods (e.g. NGOs or educational institutions).

Institutional environment

The institutional environment includes “the systems of formal laws, regulations and procedures, (..) informal conventions, customs and norms that broaden, mould, and restrain socio-economic activity and behavior” (Popova, 2010). Due to the complexity of this concept, the institutional environment is subdivided into three concepts: the ‘legal system’, ‘human capacity’ and ‘physical capacity’. The institutional environment influences the implementation and effectiveness of EBI. Moreover, the institutional environment can either enable or constrain the development of an increase of livelihood capitals.

Bilingual education

As explained in section 1.3, *educación bilingüe intercultural* (EBI) is a form of instruction that facilitates equitable education, establishes tolerance towards different cultural groups and raises a multiple understanding and appreciation for human diversity (Garcia, 2009: 6).

In this research, the implementation and the effectiveness of bilingual education are analyzed. Attention is paid to the way bilingual education is enforced in the schools of Chixolop and Tempisque and an emphasis is put on the efficiency and the success of this enforcement. The concepts of implementation and effectiveness are inevitably interlinked.

In this conceptual model, two key aspects of EBI are appointed: access and quality. When people have access to EBI, this can directly influence livelihood assets by an increase in human and/or social capital. Moreover, it can influence livelihood outcomes, which is in particular visible in the level of capability; EBI can develop and stimulate agency which generates people’s capacity and capability.

³ In this model, livelihood assets represent the abilities of the Achí people.

Livelihood outcomes

Livelihood outcomes are the result of decisions made and actions undertaken in the livelihood strategies part and influence the livelihood assets of a community. Livelihood outcomes determine the equity, sustainability and capability of a livelihood. Livelihood outcomes can either increase or decrease livelihood capitals. Additionally, livelihood outcomes – sustainable or not – are influenced by the level of a livelihood’s vulnerability.

Vulnerability context

As defined in section 1.1, the vulnerability context points at the factors that often cause or increase poverty of the poorest groups directly or indirectly, but which cannot be controlled by these groups or on which these groups have very little control. The vulnerability context exists of shocks, trends and stresses and can partly be influenced by the institutional environment. The vulnerability context can either increase or decrease livelihood capitals. Furthermore, the condition of the vulnerability context is influenced by existing policies and actions that are undertaken regarding the institutional environment.

It is important to take into account that corruption can influence a research outcome, especially when analyzing the institutional environment⁴. Corruption is operationally defined as “the abuse of entrusted power for private gain” (Transparency International, 2011). Corruption undermines peoples trust in the rule of law and institutions. Moreover it affects accountability in leadership and public spending. The concept of corruption is complex and sometimes not directly visible on the surface. While it has been taken into account, the topic is beyond this thesis’ focus and, therefore, not included in the conceptual model. Nevertheless, possible influence of corruption has been taken into account in this research and, therefore, data obtained has been verified in several ways.

1.6 Data collection

Both qualitative and quantitative research methods have been used while conducting this research. Qualitative methods are often used to gain an in-depth understanding of human behavior and the reasons that direct this behavior. The focus lies on individuals, households, policies and institutions and it often includes a narrative analysis. Data can be collected according by an ethnographic (e.g. conversations, interviews and observations) or participatory approach (e.g. institutional analysis, focus group and community mapping) (Hulme, 2007).

Quantitative methods are in general more reliable and replicable, but a lot of information can be lost while doing this type research. Often standardized questionnaires are carried out in the sample population without room for additional comments or answers. Therefore, research was done according to the q2 approach; a combination of both qualitative and quantitative research techniques.

⁴ When analyzing the institutional environment, one is partly depending on answers given by authorities. These authorities might benefit from providing answers that slightly differ from reality and, therefore, sketch a biased view of the situation.

Using the q2 approach is supported by a number of purposes (Hulme, 2007), such as complementarity (seek clarification of results from one method with findings from the other method), development (inform the one method according to results of the other method), initiation (discover paradoxes and contradictions) and expansion (increase size and variety of the study). Nevertheless, triangulation might be the most important purpose of combining quantitative and qualitative research techniques. It provides the opportunity to cross-check and to compare findings from one method with another. As a result, data quality, reliability and validity, will improve and a deeper understanding can be obtained. The outcome of the data collection includes a baseline study at community level and an evaluation of bilingual education in both Tempisque and Chixolop based on the influence of the institutional environment on the situation.

1.6.1 Household survey

One of the most important components of the research is a household survey, which was conducted in both Chixolop and Tempisque. In order to do research in these communities, permission was required from both from gatekeepers, in this case the community leaders. Additionally, approval was needed from *voluntarios* of PLAN International that represent the community. This approval was needed because of child abductions which took place in the past. Currently, many indigenous families are still distrustful and anxious when Western people enter their community. After gaining trust of the *voluntarios* it was possible to enter the communities without notice, but they would always be present while conducting the household surveys.

In total 82 households were interviewed; 41 household in Chixolop and 41 in Tempisque. These households were randomly selected by the *voluntarios*. The household survey (annex 1) was composed by four parts: 1) general questions about household composition, 2) questions regarding education and work, 3) perceptions on the influence of education on certain themes (such as culture, language, development of the community) and 4) perceptions on the influence of certain themes (such as cultural aspects, capacity and legal system) on the development of education.

All household surveys were conducted during daytime because of security reasons. As a result, most surveys were held with females because their men were working in the field. Because of clear visibility of gender roles, analysis was done on the difference in answers given by females and males. In general, no outstanding differences were visible in the answers given.

1.6.2 In-depth interviews

As an addition to the household survey, 18 in-depth interviews were held with household members in Chixolop and Tempisque in order to gain more detailed information about their community. Furthermore, interviews with the majors of both communities and with four *voluntarios* of PLAN International were conducted. Two persons of the *Academia Lenguas Mayas* in Rabinal were interviewed to gain deeper insight in the Achí culture. These persons organized workshops on cultural diversity and were spokesmen of the academy. Information gained during these interviews was especially valuable for the analysis of the livelihoods of both communities.

In order to gain more information about education in Guatemala and both communities, six interviews with authorities of MINEDUC were conducted. Most of these people were working at the department level of Baja Verapaz. Interviews with staff of PLAN International (10 in total, spread over offices in Guatemala City, Salamá and Rabinal) and SHARE (2) gave a deeper insight in the current situation regarding education and related nongovernmental activities in both communities.

On local level, the school principals (2) and teachers from both primary schools (12) were interviewed. These interviews provided more information about methodology, opinions on EBI and strengths and weaknesses within the schools. Additionally, three interviews with teachers from Purulah were conducted during a capacity building workshop in Alta Verapaz. In total, 61 interviews were held.

1.6.3 Observations

During the fieldwork, both participant and non-participant observation was practiced. Participant observation includes interaction with the subject(s) of study. This is a very useful method to get to know and experience the situation in the classroom. Interaction with both teacher and children provides deeper insight in and generates new perspectives on reality. This method was also applied in several workshops, facilitated by PLAN International, in order to build capacity among teachers of primary schools in Baja and Alta Verapaz.

Additionally, non-participant observation was practiced in both primary schools in Chixolop and Tempisque.

In order to evaluate teacher's methodology and child participation a ranking form has been composed. This form was used to rank several aspects in all classes in both primary schools: child participation (gender differences and absolute level of participation), attention paid to children (both gender differences and the amount of attention), diversity in methodology (group work, individual work, variety in methodology), use of language (intonation, type of words, language (Aché or Spanish), use of materials (availability, creativity in solutions) and contextualization (topics of teaching, examples used in explanation).

1.7 Limitations of research

In general, most of the inhabitants of Chixolop and Tempisque speak Spanish. Nevertheless, their level was often not very advanced and, therefore, it was sometimes hard to communicate with the female heads of the households. In many cases children – who attended secondary education⁵ – could help out as interpreter during the interviews. Their Spanish was often very advanced and therefore it was possible to collect more detailed answers.

Additionally, volunteers of PLAN International – who lived in the community – arranged an introduction to all of the families. In first place, this was done to take away possible fear that would exist for 'white people', but the volunteers were also of great help acting as interpreter.

⁵ These children were still at home during the family visits.

Safety is currently a big issue in Guatemala; drugs-related violence is more visible than ever, 2011 was an election year and at the time of the fieldwork it was cardamom harvest season⁶. This required taking some precautions and the necessity to avoid traveling to 'red zones'. Initially, the plan was to do the fieldwork in Alta Verapaz; however, during the time of the fieldwork this zone was identified as 'red zone' by its state of siege. Therefore, the decision was taken to conduct the fieldwork in Baja Verapaz⁷.

Corruption is clearly visible in both private and public sectors; here entrusted power is used for private gain. It is possible that corruption has influenced the answers given by interviewees, such as authorities, during the fieldwork and, as a result, influences the reliability of information given. Nevertheless, it is hard to verify this and even harder to avoid or combat it. Therefore, all information and all statements made in this thesis are based on information that is cross-checked. In this way, statements do not rely on information given by only one single person.

⁶ During this time of the year violent attacks increase throughout the whole country.

⁷ At the time of writing this thesis, state of siege was declared in the department of Baja Verapaz.

2. REGIONAL CONTEXT

The influence of Guatemala's history is clearly visible in the majority of the country, especially in the division between ethnic groups. The country's geographical location, close to the United States and in a very vulnerable area, is reflected in current living standards, norms and values. In many scopes, Guatemala is still an underdeveloped country characterized by a high percentage of inequality. A quick impression of some Guatemala facts can be found in box 2.1. In order to present a clear image of Guatemala, this chapter elaborates on the country's history, location and development.

2.1 History and indigenous groups

The Spanish conquerors occupied Guatemala in 1523 and this lasted until 1839, when independence of Guatemala was declared. This era was followed by a period of dictatorship. In 1944, this dictatorship was ended by the 'October Revolution' by a group of dissidents, students, and liberal professionals who were empowered by the wave of revolutions that stood up against unpopular dictatorships in Cuba and Venezuela (U.S. Department of State, 2011). Guatemala experienced a period – known as 'Ten years of spring' – in which the leftish governments of Presidents Arévalo and Arbenz improved the economy and infrastructure. Additionally, they implemented social and agricultural reforms, among which the expropriation law. The implementation of this law led to a conflict between President Arbenz and the 'United Fruit Company', at that time one of the largest and most important landowners of Guatemala.

In 1954, Arbenz resigned under pressure and a military rule followed. Land reforms were reversed and unions were prohibited. The left opposition united in 1982 in the 'Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca' (URNG). President Lucas García en Ríos Montt fought the guerillas with military violence and suspicion indigenous villages were destroyed. This resulted in an estimated amount of 200,000 victims (U.S. Department of State, 2011).

Between 1983 and 1996 Guatemala was ruled by several presidents; Oscar Mejía, Vinicio Cerezo and Jorge Serrano, but none of them was capable to end the civil war and do improve the situation regarding human rights violation. In 1996 Alvarado Arzú of the 'Partido de Avanzado Nacional' (PAN) won the elections. This resulted in the signing of the peace agreement between PAN and URNG, which ended the 36-year lasting armed civil war (Geografica, 2008). This agreement was supported by several donor countries such as the USA and the Netherlands.

Box 2.1

Guatemala in facts

Name: Republic of Guatemala;
Area: 108,889 square km;
Government: Unitary presidential constitutional republic;
Capital: Guatemala City;
Population: 14.7 million (2011);
Annual population growth rate: 2.4% (2011);
Language: Spanish, indigenous languages (23);
Currency: Quetzal;
GNI per capita: US\$2,740 (2010)
Main exports: Textiles, coffee, sugar, bananas and oil;
Life expectancy: 67 years (men), 74 years (women).

Source: World Bank, 2011.

In the years that followed, Presidents Alfonso Portillo Cabrera and Berger ruled in line with the peace agreement; unfortunately, not many improvements were visible. In 2007, Alvaro Colom obtained 53% of the votes⁸ of the second election round and became the new president of Guatemala. He promised to combat poverty in the country, but he was not very successful in fulfilling this goal. Reflecting on his presidency, the majority of the media calls him the weakest President Guatemala ever had. Regardless of the fact that he aimed to improve the lives of the poorest – and also achieved this in several parts of the country – critics state that these improvements are not structural and mainly led to the development of political preferences⁹. Even while statistics prove that less people were killed in 2011, inhabitants of Guatemala indicated that they do not feel safer than before.

On January 14th 2012, Otto Perez Molina – candidate of the right-wing Patriotic Party – became Guatemala’s new president. He is the first former military leader to be president of Guatemala, since the country restored democracy in 1986. His main objectives during his campaign were to bring peace, improve security, increase work opportunities and stimulate rural development (BBC News, 2011). President Otto Perez Molina promised to hire 10,000 new police officers and deploy 2,500 additional soldiers in order to combat crime. Nevertheless, critics refer to Molina’s controversial past in which he was accused of abuses as commander of troops during Guatemala's civil war.

As described above, inequality, indigenous groups and poverty are characterizing Guatemala’s political history. This aspect is still prominently visible in present-day Guatemala. 59% of the population is *Ladino*¹⁰, 0.5% is composed by a diverse group of origins (the majority from Europe) and the other 40.5% is of indigenous origin; 40% is Mayan and the other 0.5% represents the *Garifunas* (Central Intelligence Agency, 2011). Unfortunately, large differences exist between the majority of indigenous people and the *Ladinos* – often referred to as the ruling elite.

Indigenous inhabitants of Guatemala’s highlands still maintain tight connections with the Maya culture which emerged around 1200 BCE. The province of el Petén was the home of Classic Maya civilization, one of the most advanced civilizations of the ancient world. The Mayans were the source of the distribution of art, architecture, ceramics and literature. The invasion of the Spanish conquistadors resulted that the world of the Mayans came to a brutal end. Throughout the occupation of the Spanish, nearly 90% of the indigenous population was killed (World Bank, 2011). Nevertheless, the Mayans of Guatemala survived and kept a large part of their heritage, religion and languages¹¹ intact. Therefore, culture in Guatemala deserves a special emphasis in daily life.

Today, the grammar rules for Mayan languages in Guatemala are gaining more importance. This is stressed by the language policies which were recently adopted by the government, fulfilling the Peace Agreement. Spanish is spoken by 93% of the population, including people who speak Spanish as a

⁸ Otto Perez Molina, Guatemala’s president since the 14th of January, 2012, obtained the other 47% of the votes in this round.

⁹ Statement based on an internal report of the Dutch Embassy in Guatemala, 2012.

¹⁰ *Ladino* is a mix of Amerindian and Spanish people.

¹¹ Nowadays, 22 Mayan languages are still spoken in Guatemala.

second language. Nevertheless, it needs to be stressed that a large part of the population is very limited in its Spanish skills; often indigenous people cannot write in Spanish and have a limited vocabulary.

During the civil war, many Guatemalans fled their country in search of a better life. The majority of this diaspora is located in the USA (between 500,000 and 1,500,500 people), followed by Mexico (between 24,000 and 190,000) and Canada (between 15,000 and 35,000) (World Bank, 2007). These numbers are just estimations as many Guatemalans are still refugees and waiting for formal asylum.

2.2 Geographical characteristics

Guatemala is around 3.2 times the size of the Netherlands and is located south of Mexico. The country borders Belize, Honduras, El Salvador and the Gulf of Honduras. Guatemala has the highest population density of Central America (Geografica, 2008), figure 2.1. Baja Verapaz, where research for this thesis was conducted, is the highlighted region in the middle of the country. A more detailed map of Baja Verapaz can be found in section 4.1.

Guatemala is known for its diverse landscape. In the South, coastal areas are composed of black volcanic sands. Not many Mayas are living in these areas; the majority consists of *Garifuna* and *Ladinos*. Typically, *Ladinos* are landowners who provide work for the *Garifunas* on their banana, rubber, sugar cane or cotton plantations. The area has a convenient location for trade¹² and is therefore characterized by small harbors.

El Petén, where the most important Mayan site Tikal can be found, is located in the North of the country. This area covers approximately one third of the country and is characterized by solid rainforests and is sparsely populated. Unfortunately, large parts of these rainforests are currently removed to make place for coffee plants (U.S. Department of State, 2011).

The area between the North and the South of the country is mountainous and characterized by high volcanoes and fertile valleys. In these valleys beautiful lakes can be found, including Lago Atitlan; the World's highest lake. Volcanic soil is very fertile and therefore ideal to grow coffee and corn. Because of its agriculture potential, the majority of Guatemala's population lives in this part of the country. The



¹² Guatemala's three most important rivers pass through the area and are connected to the Gulf of Honduras here.

area is host to the Tajumulco volcano (4420 meters), which is the highest point of Central America (Geografica, 2008). This is one of the 33 volcanoes which can be found in Guatemala; some of them are still active.

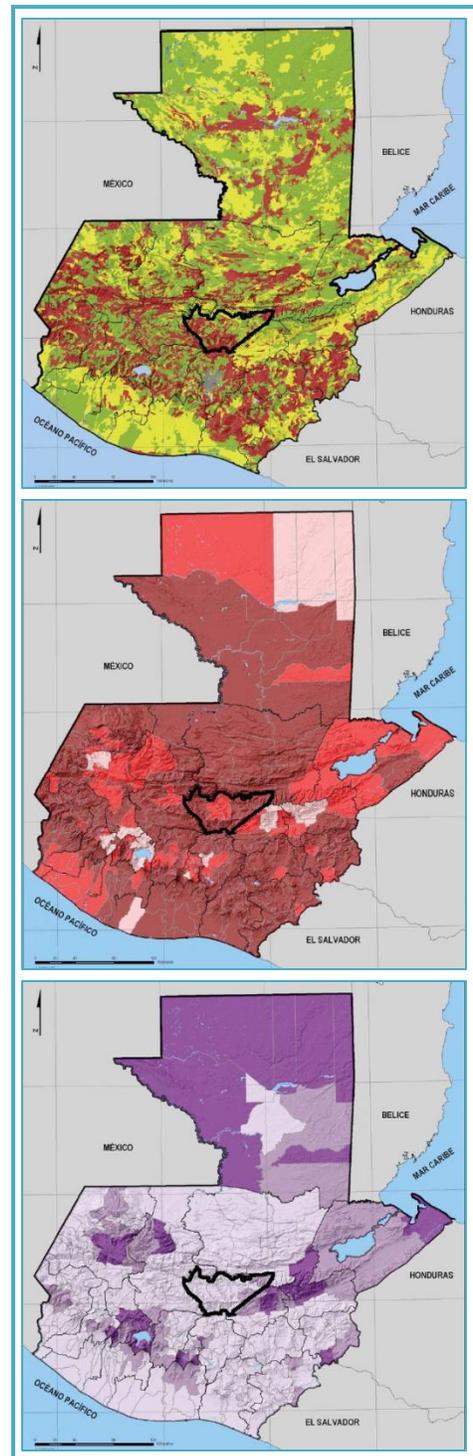
Guatemala's climate is mainly determined by the altitude of the areas. In general, Guatemala has a tropical climate with some differences in the temperature. In the highlands it is relatively cool with temperatures around 22 degrees Celsius during the day. The coastal areas are warm with daily averages of around 30 degrees Celsius (U.S. Department of State, 2011). Climatically there are two major seasons: the rainy season and dry season. The rainy season runs roughly from May to October, the dry season from November to April.

Guatemala's main land use consists of (Geografica, 2008): arable land (12%), permanent crops (5%), permanent pastures (24%) and forests (54%); leaving 5% for other, uncategorized land use. The intensity of land use, land degradation and responsiveness to land degradation (based on 2003 statistics) is demonstrated in figure 2.2; Baja Verapaz is the region in the middle, highlighted by a black border.

The first map in this figure shows intensity of land use; green indicates land which is used according to its capacity, yellow indicates land that is not being used to its capacity (the potential is being wasted with activities that do not correspond its productive capacity) and red indicates overused land (leading to resource degradation and acceleration of erosion processes). The second map shows the level of land degradation; the darker the color, the higher the level of degradation. The last map indicates the level of responsiveness regarding to land degradation; the darker the color, the higher the level of responsiveness.

In general, Guatemala suffers from a high level of land degradation and overexploitation and a low level of responsiveness to this issue. It can be concluded that areas with a high level of responsiveness (dark purple, third map) are the areas with the lowest level of degradation (light red, second map). Moreover, these areas are – most likely as a result of its effective management – used according to their capacity.

Figure 2.2: Land use



Source: IARNA, 2006.

Areas, such as Baja Verapaz, which are – partly – overused (red), show a high level of degradation and a low level of responsiveness to this degradation. This can be the result of lack of legislation regarding resource and territorial management. Recovery programs, agricultural policy or the appointment of protected areas can improve land conservation.

2.3 Development indicators

Based on development indicators, Guatemala can be seen as a country with high social and economic inequality, low education level and a large rural population. Nevertheless, life expectancy at birth is set at 71.2 years; a relatively high value for a country with low human development (UNDP, 2011). Additionally, the under-five mortality rate is set at 40 (per 1,000 live births); this is a value that would fit a country with medium human development.

The expected years of schooling for children under the 7 years old) is 10.6 years (UNDP, 2011). This is a much better perspective than one would expect while looking at the mean years of schooling of adults over 25 years. This value is set at 4.1 years; even lower than the average of countries with low human development. 70.5% of the population of theoretical school age for primary, secondary and tertiary education is actually enrolled in school. This percentage is relatively high compared to expectations that previous numbers on education would suggest. It has to be noted that these numbers are national averages; differences exist between ethnic groups.

Income inequality can be measured with the Gini coefficient; a measure of the deviation of the distribution of income among individuals or households within a country. Guatemala's Gini coefficient is 53.7, a value that represents a relative high income inequality especially in relation to other developing countries (UNDP, 2011).

When looking at the rate of females that holds at least secondary education, 7.42 women obtained this education in comparison to 10 men. There is a difference, but it is not as large as one would expect in a country with a large rural, traditional, indigenous population and high Gini coefficient. Unfortunately, when taking into account the dimensions of reproductive health, empowerment and the labor market, the Gender Inequality Index is set at 0.542. This is a relatively high value indicating that in this area Guatemala is a country with low human development when taking into account these factors.

The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) are eight international development goals, which are set to serve as an operational and political framework to combat poverty worldwide. All United Nations member states and more than twenty international organizations have agreed upon the achievement of the MDGs by the year 2015 (UN, 2011).

Guatemala's progress on (parts of) seven of eight of the development goals is demonstrated below, figure 2.3¹³. Green indicates that progress towards achievement of the goal is on target, yellow indicates there was some progress and red indicates that progress is off target.

¹³ Based on statistics of the Centre for Global Development, 2011.

Figure 2.3: Progress on MDGs



1A: Eradicate extreme poverty



1C: Eradicate extreme hunger



2: Achieve universal primary education



3: Promote gender equality



4: Reduce child mortality rates



5: Improve maternal health



6A: Combat HIV/AIDS



7C: Ensure access to safe drinking water

In general, Guatemala does not make sufficient progress in the achievement of the MDGs; with exception of goal 7C and goal 2, Guatemala is off track. Guatemala scores badly on the eradication of extreme poverty; the amount of people in extreme hunger increased from 15.5% (1998) to 18% (2007) of the total population.

The same can be concluded on the eradication of extreme hunger; in 1993, 15% was in extreme hunger, this amount increased to 21% of the total population in 2008 (Benjamin, L. and J. Barmeier, 2010). Additionally, the amount of people that have HIV/AIDS increase instead of decreased; the prevalence rate of people aged between 15 and 49 went from 0.1 (1990) to 0.8 (2009).

Some progress was made regarding to the promotion of gender equality, the reduction of maternal health mortality and the reduction of child mortality. Unfortunately, these achievements did not meet the required achievements that match the preset aim of the MDGs.

Poor progress in the focus areas of the MDGs is confirmed by the conclusions of the Human Development Index (HDI) of 2010. Nevertheless, there is a huge difference in level of poverty and progress between *Ladinos* and indigenous people. Progress of goal 2 can partly be explained by the educational reforms that took place several years ago. However, it does not include the inequality between members of Guatemala's population.

Guatemala's HDI is set at 0.574, ranking the country at place 131 out of 187 countries. The HDI shows that Guatemala scores relatively low compared to other countries in its region: "The HDI of Latin America and the Caribbean as a region increased from 0.582 in 1980 to 0.731 today, placing Guatemala below the regional average." (UNDP, 2011). This low rank can be explained by Guatemala's low HDI score on 'education' compared to the other two components 'health care' and 'income'. Besides, the level of quality is not even included in these statistics; it does not mean that people who receive education of good quality.

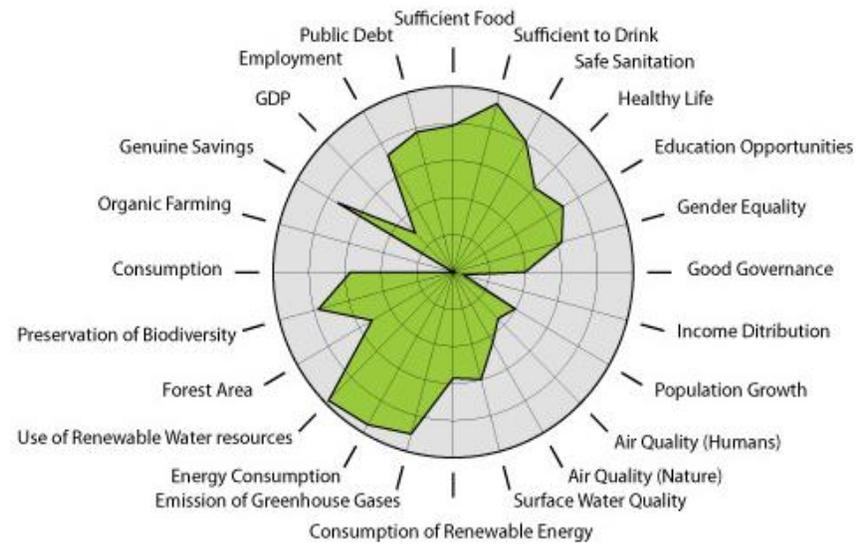
While the data above gives a small indication on the country's situation regarding development, concluded can be that it is complex to actually measure this development. The level of progress differs among relevant areas and even between different ethnic groups.

According to the Brundtland commission, "sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs." (UN, 1987). This definition of sustainable development shows exactly why it is important that a country develops in such a way and does not emphasize only on short-term benefits.

In order to evaluate the sustainability of a country, the Sustainable Society Foundation (SSF) has developed the Sustainable Society Index (SSI). This index shows the level of sustainability of societies by taking into account economic, social and environmental indicators; figure 2.4 (next page). Guatemala scores very well on the use of renewable water resources and the preservation of biodiversity. Guatemala has sufficient water to drink; however, its surface water quality is not very high. Nevertheless, safe sanitation has a relatively high score. This does not say anything about the equal distribution of safe sanitation, and therefore part of the low score for healthy life can be explained by the low surface water quality.

The air quality (for both human and nature) obtained a low score and can be partly responsible for the low score for healthy life. The SSI confirms the low score on income distribution. In its current situation, Guatemala cannot be seen as a sustainable society. Mediocre scores for gender equality and education opportunities can both be explained by the low score on good governance. Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged that

Figure 2.4: Sustainable Society Index (SSI) of Guatemala



Source: Sustainable Society Foundation, 2010.

this figure was generated in 2010 and there is a growing awareness on the importance of gender equality and education.

2.4 The communities

Research for this thesis has been carried out in Chixolop and Tempisque; two indigenous communities located in the region of Baja Verapaz.

2.4.1 Chixolop, San Miguel Chicaj

Chixolop is a community which is part of San Miguel Chicaj, Baja Verapaz. San Miguel Chicaj was founded in 1803 and achieved city status in 1877. The municipality is located at a height of 940 above sea level and its total area has a surface of 300 km².

Its population is estimated at 23,201 inhabitants (2010); the majority is Achí (87%) and 13% is Ladino (INE, 2002). The name of San Miguel Chicaj came from because the archangel San Miguel fell from heaven upon the people.

Chixolop was founded in 1850 and named after the surname of the first inhabitants; Xolop. This family came from Rabinal, where the Achí people are originally from, and migrated to this place because there was a lot of land available. The 'Chi' – meaning place in Achí – of Chixolop was added to the surname of the family; therefore, Chixolop means 'the place of family Xolop' (Brawand and Brawand, 1971). The community is located on 960 meters above sea level at 7 kilometers west of the municipality of San Miguel Chicaj. In 2010, the population was estimated at 2,248 inhabitants; of which 1,072 women and 1,056 men (INE, 2002). The community is 100% indigenous (Achí). More detailed information about the livelihoods of Chixolop can be found in chapter 4.

2.4.2 Tempisque, Salamá

Tempisque is a part of the municipality Salamá, which is the capital of the Baja Verapaz department. The municipality of Salamá was founded in 1540 and is located at a height of 960 meters above sea level and has a total surface 776 km².

Its population consists of 31.818 inhabitants and is composed by two ethnic groups; Achí (12%) and Ladino (88%) (INE, 2002). Their main source of income comes from agriculture. The main cultivated crops of Salamá include corn, beans, peanuts, tomatoes and sugar cane.

Tempisque was founded in 1621 and is located between hills. The community has a population of 2.736 (2010), distributed in 570 families (INE, 2002). All of the inhabitants are 100% Achí and 1.641 are men and 1.095 are women. The first inhabitants of Tempisque came from Rabinal as farm workers.

Main crops cultivated are corn, beans, sugar cane and soybeans. The name Tempisque was derived from 'Tempixk', which is the name of a leafy tree that was located in the center of the community Xolop' (Brawand and Brawand, 1971). More detailed information about Tempisque can be found in chapter 4.

3. EDUCATION IN THEORY

Before analyzing the situation regarding bilingual education in Tempisque and Chixolop, it is essential to gain insight in Guatemala's national policy on education. Therefore, this chapter will answer the following research question:

What is the current national policy on bilingual education and how did this policy evolve through history?

Guatemala is host to a very large, diverse indigenous population. This population has a Mayan language instead of Spanish as mother tongue. The government is aware of this fact and, therefore, increasing attention is paid to development of these vulnerable groups. To what extent will become clear by answering the following question:

To what extent is bilingual education included in Guatemala's national curriculum?

This chapter provides a deeper understanding of the division of the educational system, national policy on education and the national curriculum.

3.1 Education system

The law on social development states that everyone has the right to receive and benefit from education, especially of children and adolescents. Education is a social, political, economical, cultural and ethical formation process of human beings that allow them to develop a dynamic relationship with their environment (Ley de Desarrollo Social, 1993: 9)

Figure 3.1: Educational system



In the education system of Guatemala, four levels can be distinguished: *preprimaria*, *primaria*, *secundario* and *universitaria* (figure 3.1). This research is focusing on the level of *primaria*. *Primaria* is divided into *ciclo 1*; grade 1 to 3 and *ciclo 2*; grade 4 to 6, to stimulate systematic development of the children and to make it easier to set long-term goals (Ley de Educación Nacional, 1991: 7).

Ciclo 1 encourages the methodology of 'learning while playing', which is characterized by stimulating children to establish meaningful relationships in their environment; within the school, within their family and within their community. In this methodology, the use of competences is included in order to allow children to integrate more easily into *ciclo 2* and, eventually, *secundario*. Within this cycle, the teacher facilitates the children to use their maternal language (in this case Achí), learn a second language (in this case Spanish) and learn skills such as teamwork and leadership. This cycle emphasizes on social interactions and the coexistence of the natural and social environment.

Ciclo 2 focuses on the systematic study of knowledge from different angles and cultural perspectives, in order to discover personal and social autonomy (CNB, 2007: 41). This cycle responds to the demands of the present and future and, therefore, stresses social and cultural importance within society, it strengthens EBI, stimulates the equipment of job skills and the exercise of leadership. *Ciclo 2* is seen as the preparation for *secundario* and, therefore, the way of teaching matches the methodology that is applied in *secundario*. This learning process is seen as the most important factor for the ability to generate new knowledge in any field of interest. Attention is paid to subjects such as the improvement of quality of life and the use of technology.

In order to become a teacher, it is required to complete six years of *primaria*, three years of *basico* and three years *diversificado*; this is the part in which you can specialize as a teacher. Additionally, it is recommended to extend this by studying three years at a university. Officially, people can start working as a teacher after completing *diversificado*, but in practice most teachers in rural schools already start working after the completion of *basico*. The majority of these teachers never received any additional courses and is, therefore, not very familiar with tools as the *Currículum Nacional Base* (CNB).

3.2 National policy

The formation of primary education has its roots in Guatemala's laws on education. The 'Constitution of the Republic of Guatemala' stresses the importance of the following three aspects in education (Constitución Política de la República de Guatemala, 1993: 14).

Article 72: Aims of Education

The primary purpose of education is the development of individual human knowledge, knowledge of reality and culture on a national and universal level.

Article 74: Compulsory Education

People have the right and obligation to receive education within the age limits prescribed by law.

Article 76: Bilingual education system

The administration of the educational system should be decentralized. In schools that are established in areas with predominantly indigenous population, education must be implemented preferentially in a bilingual form.

Additionally, the national education law of Guatemala stresses the importance to carry out the educational process in educational establishments and according to acknowledged levels, cycles, grades and stages. The law claims that education needs to be organized according to structured programs and available curriculums in a flexible, gradual and progressive way (Ley de Educación Nacional, 1991: 7). The 'national language act', act 19-2003, formalized the use of indigenous languages in Guatemala. In article 3 of this act it is stressed that the national education system, both public and private, must communicate in Mayan languages in all processes, procedures and standards, if this is required in a community (CNB, 2007: 10). Additionally, act 81-2002 on 'education against discrimination' states in article 2 that it is the task of MINEDUC to apply educational reforms in order to eliminate discrimination

in all its forms (Constitución Política de la República de Guatemala, 1993: 2). Educational reforms are the result of a process generated by political, economic, social, religious and scientific changes and stimulated by reform trends worldwide. These changes were the result of growing social pressure, which revealed the discomfort of various social groups at both national and local level. Education can stimulate human development, as long as it is contextualized. In order to be successful, the educational reforms need to be included in the 'new' curriculum, educational materials and the methodology of teachers.

In Guatemala, educational reforms take place in a sociocultural, socioeconomic, legal and political context. The sociocultural context of the education reforms addresses ethnicity, cultural identity and language as an expression of national diversity, which is recognized in the 'Constitution of the Republic Guatemala' from 1985 onwards. Awareness of diversity gained more importance in 1990; in this period various Maya movements took place. The socioeconomic reforms aim at strengthening production, the improvement of quality of life, enlargement of workforce and the promotion of employment and ecological awareness (CNB, 2007: 6). The Peace Accords and Convention 169 are the legal sources of the formulation of educational policies which are aiming at the development of a culture of peace. Within this context, policies are focusing on citizenship, peaceful conflict resolution, democratic leadership, respect for human rights and solidarity between individuals and social groups in Guatemala.

According to the national policy, education should promote the strengthening of the cultural identity of each of the cultural groups. Additionally, recognition of Guatemala as a multiethnic, multicultural and multilingual country is stressed. The new educational policy intends to meet the needs for a better future for the citizens of Guatemala. In order to do so, specific laws were established which aim at the development of individuals and guidelines were established by the Ministry of Education. Within these guidelines, emphasis is put on linguistic and cultural relevance.

3.3 National curriculum

Curricular transformation is an important aspect of educational reforms. Therefore the new curriculum, *Currículum Nacional Base* (CNB), consists of the technical updating and renewal of pedagogical approaches, methods and procedures. Moreover, it points out the various forms of educational provision and the importance of participation of all stakeholders. Fundamentally, changes in the curriculum are proposed to improve the quality of education.

In the case of Guatemala, the transformation includes the introduction of a different educational paradigm with an intercultural and bilingual vision (CNB, 2007: 15). Within this transformation the importance of principles, goals and policies, which respond to the demands of the sociocultural context, are emphasized.

The curriculum is the teaching tool which defines the competences that students must achieve in order to realize the amount of learning that is expected. It proposes basic guidelines on how to achieve these competences, an evaluation system and a specification of educational methodology.

The main focus of the new curriculum lies on the individual as an engine for development which promotes peaceful coexistence. It emphasizes the value of cultural identity and aims to strengthen

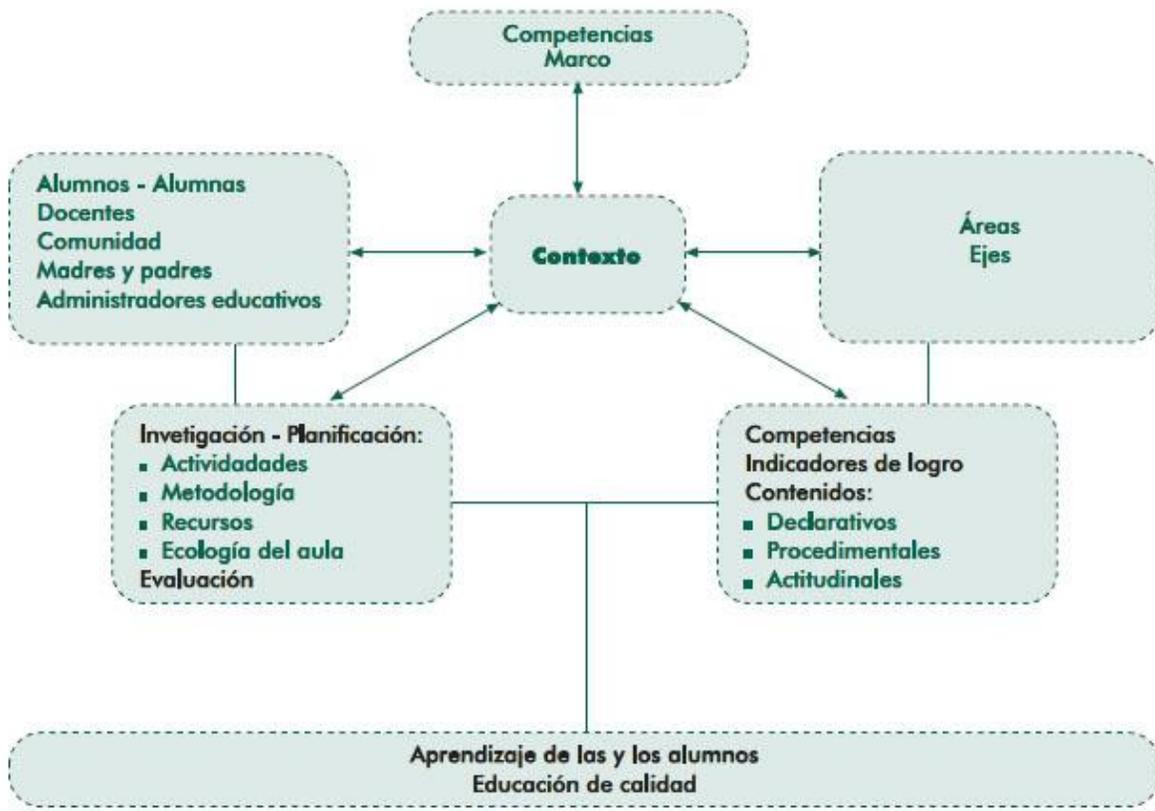
multiculturalism. Therefore, the curriculum considers the human being as the center of educational process. The human being is perceived as a social creature with its own features, identity and the capacity to transform the world around him. Human interaction in this context is performed based on cooperation, competition, responsibility and solidarity, while recognizing human rights (CNB, 2007: 19). The principles of the *Currículum Nacional Base* (CNB) are the following (CNB, 2007: 20):

- Ensuring respect for the individual socially, culturally and ethnically by promoting equal opportunities for all.
- Accepting a multiethnic, multicultural and multilingual society.
- Sustainability: Promotion of continued and sustainable development of knowledge, attitudes, values and skills which are capable to transform and improve reality.
- Encouragement of communication to foster participation in the exchange of ideas, proposals and mechanisms which contribute to problem solving. Generate social commitment in order to encourage participation in this process.
- Create understanding for different cultures and societies.

The CNB is designed in such a way that it allows a wide range of adaptations; it is possible to contextualize the curriculum in different cultural and social contexts. The content of the curriculum, is for each grade, divided into several learning areas that form a discipline. These areas are developed according to the needs, demands and aspirations that enable students to integrate the knowledge of the discipline into their own local context. Three levels are covered within the curriculum: the national, regional and local level. The CNB is, therefore, seen as the general framework of information and methodology within the national education system of Guatemala. Guidelines are set on a regional level and provide structures in which knowledge for all students in a certain area is generated. This is a gradually done by following preset cycles and levels of education.

The curriculum plays a leading role in defining the quality of education. Additionally, the needs and expectations of different social groups must be met in order to develop capacity among individuals and social groups. This can be done by implementing the curriculum in the local context; by linking competences to learning areas, planning, evaluation and all relevant stakeholders (figure 3.2, next page). Moreover, interaction between these stakeholders needs to be stimulated.

Figure 3.2: Model of interaction within education



Source CNB, 2007: 42.

People with special educational needs, such as indigenous people who do not speak Spanish as their first language, are acknowledged in agreement number 22-2004, article 1: 'generalization of bilingualism'. This article advocates for the establishment of bilingualism in the national language policy (CNB, 2007: 11). The first language for learning is the mother tongue (often an indigenous language such as Achí), the second language is the national language (in this case Spanish) and the third language is an overseas language (in this case English).

Additionally, according to article 5 of this agreement, the curriculum must respond to interests and aspirations of Guatemala and meet linguistic realities. The CNB should promote mutual understanding between people to strengthen national unity. The aspects of these two articles are acknowledged in the curriculum.

3.4 Conclusions

In theory, diversity and bilingual education are well-represented in the law. This is confirmed by the three main conditions in education that are recognized by Guatemala's constitution and form part of the educational reforms; 1) education must focus on the development of individual human knowledge, knowledge of reality and culture on a national and universal level, 2) everybody has the right and obligation to receive education and 3) in areas that host an indigenous population, education must be implemented in a bilingual form.

The new curriculum has its roots in these three conditions and is the practical guide on which teachers can base their methodology. Additionally, the CNB is designed in such way that it can be contextualized in different cultural and social contexts. The CNB emphasizes the elimination of discrimination and the importance of participation of all stakeholders. Moreover, it provides various forms of educational provision, including bilingual education.

It can be concluded that the CNB looks very promising in theory. But, unfortunately, by just acknowledging EBI in the curriculum and the constitution, it does not mean that it is actually implemented properly. It is critical that all teachers implement their methodology based on guidelines from the CNB in order to be effective. This means that in the first three years (*ciclo 1*) the majority should be taught in Achí and from the fourth class on (*ciclo 2*) this can gradually shift towards a majority in Spanish. When classes in *ciclo 1* are not given in Achí, the children will not understand everything and start with a disadvantage. Additionally, it is important to switch to Spanish in *ciclo 2* because Spanish is for follow up education and later on job opportunities outside the community level.

Chapter 5 will analyze the current situation regarding to bilingual education in two primary schools; one in Tempisque and one in Chixolop.

4. THE LIVES OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLE

It is important to study livelihoods in order to learn from them; in this way it is possible to see what the lives of (poor) people look like and how these people cope with shocks and stresses. This chapter attempts to answer the following research question:

How are the livelihoods of Chixolop and Tempisque characterized?

In order to do so, findings in this chapter are based on data that was gathered by a household survey which was held in both communities; 41 households in Chixolop and 41 households in Tempisque. Additionally, in-depth interviews were conducted with the community leaders of both Chixolop and Tempisque, some authorities and several household members.

4.1 Community history

Chixolop and Tempisque are both located in the region of Baja Verapaz, figure 4.1. The people living in Chixolop and Tempisque are part of the Achí; one of the Mayan ethnic groups living in Guatemala. The Achí people originate from Rabinal, and nowadays they are settled in the municipalities of Cubulco, San Miguel Chicaj, Salamá and San Jeronimo as well. All these municipalities are located in the department of Baja Verapaz.

Figure 4.1: Map of Baja Verapaz



University of Texas, 2012.

Three main aspects characterize the Achí people; they have their own language (Achí), they wear traditional clothing and they have a traditional dance, which is of great importance within their culture. All Mayan languages originate from a common linguistic stock, but each of them has its own historical process and they all differ from each other. According to *Instituto Nacional de Estadística* (INE, 2002), Achí is spoken by 105,992 people in the department of Baja Verapaz.

It is complicated to explain the history of the Achí because not much has been published on this topic and stories which are published differ from each other. Nevertheless, it is commonly agreed on that before the year 1200 Achí was often seen as a part of the K'iche'; another Mayan group. The word 'Achí' means 'man' in the K'iche' language and was therefore used as a general term of outsiders to give the indigenous people a name. According to a mythical tale, all groups that were seen as part of the K'iche' gathered at a mountain one day to divided territories. In this tale Rabinal was given to the Achí people. From this moment on the Achí were acknowledged to be an individual group (Prensa Libre, 1995).

In present day Guatemala, there are still some different opinions about Achí as an individual language. The main debate is set around the question whether Achí is a separate language or variant of K'iche. The people of Rabinal claim that there is a difference between the sociolinguistic characteristics of the K'iche and the Achí, such as their social identity and its relationship to the language. This argument has historical roots in the political separation of the K'iche and the Achí.

England (1994) disagrees that Achí is a separate language: *“Dentro del grupo K'iche’ se han hecho análisis en relación al K'iche’ y al Achí se ha concluido que el Achí es un dialecto o variante del K'iche’ y no un idioma diferente. Lingüísticamente, ambos son dialectos de un solo idioma con solo dos siglos de separación sin embargo, por factores político-históricos, los hablantes mismos de la variante Achí se han dado ese nombre”* (England, 1994). Just like England concludes above, nowadays, the majority acknowledges that Achí is a dialect or variant of K'iche’ and that the two languages have the same roots. Nevertheless, some refuse to accept that Achí is not seen as a separate language and as a result tendency exists among this subject.

Nowadays, many Achí people still practice weaving; they make beautiful clothes as they used to do in the past. The traditional clothing exists of a *huipile* (a woven top) and a wrap-around skirt for women. The traditional woven *huipiles* always contain natural designs which refer to the close relationship that Achí people have with nature. Men, traditionally, wear a shirt with long sleeves which is made of white cotton, trousers made of white cloth, a leather belt and a straw hat. However, nowadays the influence of globalization is present in the way Achí people are dressed. T-shirts with prints, modern skirts and pants – often imported from the USA – are more popular and often even cheaper than traditional clothes. This especially affected the clothing style of men; nowadays, they usually wear jeans, a shirt and sometimes a hat. Most women still wear a traditional *huipil* and woven wraparound skirt.

The traditional dance of the Achí is seen as the basis of the persistence of Achí traditions. Many state that it is the only evidence that remained intact after the Castilian influences. The dance is called 'the Rabinal Achí' and it is a traditional pre-Hispanic dance. Generally, it is performed during the celebrations that are held from the 17th to 26th of January. The dance is performed in traditional costumes that represent seven important characters from the past and its main objective is to honor the legendary ancestors. The Achí people believe that any errors in the representation or lack of devotion of the dancers can cause death of one of the participants (Prensa Libre, 1995).

4.2 Community profile

In 2010, the population of Chixolop was estimated at 2.248 inhabitants; 1.225 women (54.5%) and 1.023 men (45.5%). Tempisque has a population that is slightly larger; 2.736 in total, of which 1.190 are men (43.5%) and 1.546 are women (56.5%). In Chixolop, these inhabitants are spread among 401 households setting the average size of a household on 5.6 persons. The average household size in Tempisque is much smaller; its population is divided among 570 households, which makes the average size 4.8 persons.

Both populations are composed of people that are a 100% Achí. Therefore, it is remarkable that 2.4% of the households in Tempisque indicated that the main language they use at home is Spanish. In Chixolop this percentage is even higher; 4.9% of the households indicated Spanish as their main language.

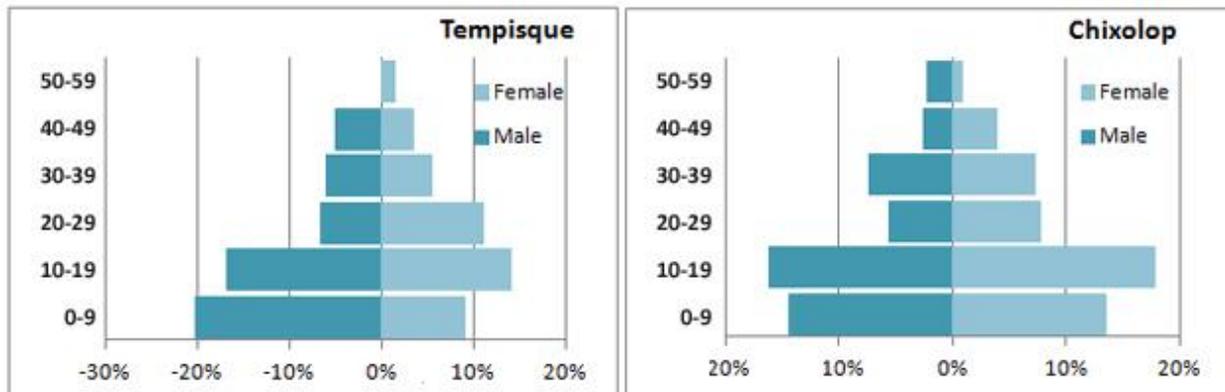
People tend to distinguish four different types of religion: given: Catholicism, Christianity, Evangelism and Atheism. These different religions are also distinguished when looking at the different types of churches which can be found in the communities. Even while Catholicism and Evangelism arose from and both have their roots in Christianity, in this research they are distinguished from Christianity. This is done because inhabitants of both communities were very specific in answering about their religion and apparently this distinction is important for them.

Table 4.1: Religion

	CHIXOLOP	TEMPISQUE
Atheism	0.0%	12.2%
Catholicism	56.1%	82.9%
Christianity	14.6%	0.0%
Evangelism	29.3%	4.9%
Total	100.0%	100.0%
	N= 41	N= 41

In general, Chixolop is more religious than Tempisque (table 4.1). A remarkable conclusion is that all people in Chixolop indicate that they are religious, while in Tempisque 12.2% indicates that they are Atheist. Additionally, the composition of religion is very different; in Chixolop people distinguish the broader Christian religion from sub religions such as Evangelic and Catholic; they have special churches for Christians. In Tempisque, there is no special church for Christians because they only acknowledge the sub religions. The majority of both communities is Catholic; 56.1% in Chixolop and 82.9% in Tempisque.

Figure 4.2: Age pyramid Tempisque & Chixolop



Both communities are characterized as communities where many young people live (figure 4.2). In Tempisque, approximately 60% is younger than 20 years. In Chixolop, this percentage is even higher; 62% is younger than 20 years. The majority of the both Chixolop's and Tempisque's population above 20 years is female. This can be explained by the fact that many males – who have reached the age of 20 years – move or migrate to Guatemala City or elsewhere for work. Therefore, they are not included in the current population these communities.

The largest part of the population of Tempisque still lives in the house where they were born (58.4%). Additionally, 28.4% was born in another house in Tempisque, 10.2% was born in the hospital Salamá and only 3% was born in another community or town. The situation in Chixolop is similar; most were born in the house where they currently live (66.8%) and 26.2% were born in another house in Chixolop. Additionally, 5.7% was born in Salamá and only 1.3% in another community or town. Nevertheless, all members of the population were born somewhere in the department of Baja Verapaz. Therefore, both communities are characterized as authentic Achí communities.

4.3 Livelihood capitals

Livelihood capitals are compound of human, social, financial, physical and natural capital. For this thesis, human capital is the most relevant one because it comprises education. But, in order to analyze livelihoods effectively, it is important to include everything that influences the lives of indigenous people because these factors can be indirectly or directly related to education.

Human capital refers to the educational status, skills, capacity, knowledge and experience. Social capital refers to organizations, culture and religion that are seen as important for a livelihood. Financial capital describes the level of income, corresponding income-generating activities, remittances and possibilities to get a loan or credit. Physical capital gives a clear view on housing, access to transportation and communication, whereas natural capital analyzes livestock and the access to land, water and forest resources.

4.3.1 Human capital

In both communities, the level of education is not very high (table 4.2). In Tempisque 21.1% and in Chixolop 17.9% of the population never received any type of education. Most of these people are older than 40 years. These findings can be (partly) explained by the fact that there was no school 40 years ago. Additionally, many had to work in the field or in the household and, therefore, they had no time to go to school. The majority of the people without education is female (12.9% of 21.1% in Tempisque and 14.3% of 17.9% in Chixolop).

Traditional views on the role of women in the household are confirmed by these numbers, this is especially visible in Chixolop. The percentage of women (41.2%) that attended or is attending primary education is higher than the percentage of men (34.1%) in Tempisque. This can be explained by the number of women (56.5% of the total population) living in Tempisque. The same counts for Chixolop; of all people who attended or is attending primary education (71.4%), 36.6% is female.

Table 4.2: Gender & level of education

TEMPISQUE					
	None	Elementary	Primary	Secondary	Total
Male	8.2%	0%	34.1%	1.2%	43.5%
Female	12.9%	1.2%	41.2%	2.4%	56.5%
Total	21.1%	1.2%	75.3%	3.6%	100.0%
	N=20	N=2	N=76	N=4	N=98
CHIXOLOP					
	None	Elementary	Primary	Secondary	Total
Male	3.6%	1.8%	34.8%	5.4%	45.5%
Female	14.3%	0.9%	36.6%	2.7%	54.5%
Total	17.9%	2.7%	71.4%	8.1%	100.0%
	N=29	N=5	N=100	N=11	N=145

None of the inhabitants studied, or is still studying in a university. This is in some way remarkable because there are good opportunities to study at a university in Salamá which are especially easy accessible for people from Tempisque. Additionally, plenty of universities can be found in Guatemala City. Unfortunately, most people are not able to pay the tuition fee. Additionally, the fear of dangerous trips to these cities is very large and therefore of great influence on the decision not to continue studying.

Table 4.3: Gender & highest grade obtained

	TEMPISQUE			CHIXOLOP		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Elementary 1	0%	0%	0%	2.8%	2.8%	5.6%
Primary 1	7.5%	7.5%	14.9%	5.0%	8.8%	13.8%
Primary 2	6.0%	13.4%	19.4%	4.4%	8.3%	12.7%
Primary 3	9.0%	9.0%	17.9%	5.0%	4.4%	9.4%
Primary 4	4.5%	6.0%	10.4%	5.0%	7.2%	12.2%
Primary 5	1.7%	4.3%	6.0%	6.1%	1.1%	7.2%
Primary 6	13.4%	14.9%	28.4%	13.3%	10.5%	23.8%
Secondary 1	0%	0%	0%	2.2%	2.2%	4.4%
Secondary 2	0%	0%	0%	1.1%	3.3%	4.4%
Secondary 3	1.5%	0%	1.5%	4.4%	1.1%	5.5%
Secondary 6	0%	1.5%	1.5%	1.1%	0%	1.1%
Total	43.5%	56.5%	100.0%	50.3%	49.7%	100.0%
	N=42	N=54	N=96	N=71	N=69	N=140

Table 4.3 includes people who have studied, but do not study anymore and displays the highest grade obtained by both populations, distributed by gender. In Tempisque, only 28.4% of the people completed the sixth grade of the primary school – 13.4% was male and 14.8% was female. In Chixolop, this number is even lower; only 23.8% completed the 6th grade. In Chixolop, the difference between males (13.3%) and females (10.5%) is also larger. This can be partly explained by the large percentage of women (8.3%)

who went only to the first class of primary school. Motivations to leave school included “I did not want to go to school” and “we needed money and therefore I needed to work”¹⁴.

In contrast to Tempisque, where for women the sixth grade of secondary school was the highest education received, women in Chixolop only received education until the third grade of secondary school. Moreover, this percentage (1.1%) is lower than the sixth grade completion of Tempisque (1.5%). Nevertheless, more people in Chixolop went to secondary (15.4%) than the people in Tempisque (3%). This is remarkable because people in Tempisque have better access to a secondary school.

Table 4.4: Gender & school population’s current level of education

TEMPISQUE				
	Elementary	Primary	Secondary	Total
Male	6.5%	48.9%	7.6%	63.0%
Female	3.3%	28.3%	5.4%	37.0%
Total	9.8%	77.2%	18.0%	100.0%
	N=8	N=63	N=11	N=82
CHIXOLOP				
	Elementary	Primary	Secondary	Total
Male	6.7%	33.7%	9.0%	49.4%
Female	5.6%	36.0%	9.0%	50.6%
Total	12.3%	69.7%	18.0%	100.0%
	N=11	N=62	N=16	N=89

The difference between the amount of males (63.0%) and females (37.0%) studying in Tempisque is much larger than in Chixolop: males 49.4% and females 50.6% (table 4.4). In Tempisque, the majority of both sexes currently attend primary school (77.2%) and in Chixolop this percentage is 69.7%. This can be explained by the age division in the communities. In Tempisque, more boys (7.6%) than girls (5.4%) are currently studying in secondary school. Most-likely this is a result of many girls marrying at very young age and, therefore, they need to take care of their own, new family. In addition, views of parents on gender roles are still very traditional; girls need to help in the household and – according to many parents – they do not need an education. However, many respondents agree that this traditional view is changing over the years and is not as strict as it used to be. In Chixolop, this is already observable because an equal percentage (9%) is attending secondary school.

Most of the skills, knowledge and experience that the inhabitants of both communities have are based on traditional knowledge¹⁵; culture and its traditions are still very much present within the communities. The majority of the women still practices *tejido manual*, the traditional weaving of the Mayas. As women teach their daughters how to weave and make traditional *tortillas*, men teach their sons to work

¹⁴ These answers were given during the household survey.

¹⁵ More information and data on the working population is provided in section 4.3.3.

on the land. These traditions are observable within the majority of the households of both Chixolop and Tempisque.

As an addition to traditional knowledge and knowledge obtained at school, institutions such as PLAN International and SHARE are active within the communities. These institutions organize workshops on health, protection, water and sanitation, child participation, economic security and education. Not only do they stress the importance of education in general, but they also specialize in topics such as reproductive health. With these workshops they aim to spread knowledge among the inhabitants and to build capacity within the community.

While conducting the surveys and in-depth interviews with household members, it became clear that there is a strong sense of ‘fatalism’ present within both communities. Fatalism emphasizes “the subjugation of all events or actions to fate” (Encyclo, 2011). In other words “man has no power to influence the future or his own actions” and, therefore, everything is predetermined (Taylor, 1962 & Rice, 2010). Many inhabitants of Chixolop and Tempisque believe that they are born as a member of the Achí culture and, therefore, are obliged to live like members of the Achí culture did traditionally. As a result of social unrest and discrimination that took place in the recent past, many Achí people currently feel powerless to do anything other than what they usually do and are afraid to change their patterns accordingly. However, times are changing and there is a strong presence of globalization in both communities. This brings interesting developments along within the communities; members are influenced by globalization, but still want to maintain their cultural identity.

4.3.2 Social capital

In spite of the strong presence of fatalism in Tempisque and Chixolop, social status and social cohesion is of great importance to the people living there. The Achí culture is still very much present in both communities and therefore people can easily identify themselves with neighbors. Within the Achí society, discrimination is not a great issue and people tend to help each other in times of trouble. Therefore, it can be concluded that Achí is seen as an important social group within both communities.

Household members in both communities immediately indicated which religion they practiced but, noticeably, the majority denied that religion was of great importance for links among or within households. In this regard, it has to be noted that the majority of those who did not question the importance of their religion were evangelic. From this, it can be concluded that evangelic people take their religion more serious than others.

The importance of NGOs, such as PLAN International and SHARE, is highly acknowledged. PLAN International is very active in various types of subjects in Tempisque and Chixolop. PLAN provides schools with materials and organizes workshops on methodology for teachers. Moreover, the organization promotes health care and sanitation, for example, by distributing portable water bottles that filter dirty water. In the past, PLAN organized some successful projects in both communities that provided households with access to electricity and waterworks.

SHARE promotes the development services that enable people to improve their quality of life in a sustainable way. SHARE acts in the country's poorest areas, supporting families and communities that

are vulnerable by establishing projects in health care, education, agriculture and self-sustaining projects such as micro credits. These organizations are important for social well-being of inhabitants and their power to contribute to the decision making within their community. However, these NGOs are not only are acknowledged by these contribution to the community. Household members indicate that NGOs give the inhabitants a feeling of solidarity. By means of the capacity development workshops, people get to know each other and are able to identify themselves with each other.

In both communities, the primary schools have a *junta de padres*; an organized group of parents that are a partner of the school when it comes to decisions. In Tempisque, the *junta de padres* can decide over the amount of money that will be spent on food for the children.

In Chixolop, the *junta de padres* even protested against a new principal that was selected based on favoritism of co-teachers (box 4.1: a translation from the article that was published on this subject '*Nuestro Diario*' in 2011). Such an organized group gives people a sense of social cohesion and recognition of their capacity to change and develop their community.

4.3.3 Financial capital

The average monthly income of households in Chixolop (2196.29 *quetzales*; 202.27 euro) differs enormously from the average income in Tempisque (1459.02 *quetzals*; 134.37 euro)¹⁶. Most household incomes in both communities (63.4% in Tempisque and 63.2% in Chixolop) are estimated between 1000 and 1999 *quetzales* per month (table 4.5). Nevertheless, the inequality between households within the communities is extreme.

Table 4.5: Monthly income per household in *quetzales*

Income	TEMPISQUE	CHIXOLOP
0 – 999	19.5%	5.3%
1000 – 1999	63.4%	63.2%
2000 – 2999	4.9%	7.9%
3000 – 3999	9.8%	18.4%
4000 – 4999	2.4%	5.3%
Total	100.0%	100.0%
	N= 41	N= 41

Box 4.1

San Miguel Chicaj, 07-01-2011

A group of parents protested in front of the primary school in Chixolop on Wednesday as a response to the election of Juan Pablo Xitumul as the school's new principal.

This group of parents nominated Carmelo Jerónimo as new principal and, therefore, organized a strike in front of the primary school. As a result, a meeting was organized with all stakeholders involved on Wednesday afternoon. After several hours of negotiation they decided to confirm the Carmelo Jerónimo as successor and the parents agreed to leave.

Translated from Nuestro Diario, 2011.

¹⁶ 100 *quetzales* equals 9.21 euro.

The difference between households with many children and households with just a few children is not very large. However, households with more children will have less to spend per person than families with fewer children. Revenues are based on the number of household members that are actually working. Most households that have a monthly income between 1000 - 1999 *quetzales* include one member working in the field. Households with an income between 3000 - 3999 *quetzales* usually include at least two members working in the field or one that works, for example, in construction¹⁷.

In Chixolop, 18.4% of the households has a monthly income between 3000 and 3999 *quetzales* and 5.3% has a monthly income between 4000 and 4999 *quetzales*. In Tempisque these percentages are lower; 9.8% of the households has a monthly income between 3000 and 3999 *quetzales* and only 2.4% has an income between 4000 and 4999 *quetzales* per month. These percentages are almost half of those in Chixolop, which explains the difference in average family income between these communities.

When analyzing the statistics on Tempisque's age groups, the large, young population of the community is clearly stands out; 52.1% of its total inhabitants belongs to the school population. The majority (94.8%) of the children of school age is currently enrolled. Some of these students are also working or helping in the household next to their education. When comparing Tempisque's school population to the one of Chixolop – only 38.9% of the total population belongs to the school population and 16.6% of these are also helping in the household – it is shocking to see that only 78.2% of the children who are old enough to study actually are enrolled in a primary school. This means that 21.8% of the children is missing the opportunity to study.

Remarkably, only 1.7% of Tempisque's inhabitants is unemployed. Comparing the percentage of unemployed people in Chixolop (16.2%) Tempisque's percentage is extremely low. Many unemployed people are below the age of 20 and just finished school. Most of them are male (82.6%), who lack future perspective and are, therefore, not motivated to work or help at home. Many people in Tempisque indicated that they do not have a stable job which allows them to work every day. Nevertheless, these people are included in the working population in this sample. Therefore, the working population is set at 46.2% of the total population compared to 44.9% in Chixolop.

This percentage of Tempisque is composed by the following segments: 22.4% 'field crop and vegetable growers', 18.4% 'unpaid family labor', 5.7% 'weavers, knitters and related work' and 0.6% 'construction and maintenance'. This pattern differs slightly from the one of Chixolop where the working population (44.9%) is composed of: 18.8% 'field crop and vegetable growers', 10.5% 'unpaid family labor', 14.2% 'weavers, knitters and related work', 1.8% 'protective services workers' and 0.6% 'street food vendor'.

Noticeable is that more people work in production in Chixolop and less people characterize themselves as a housewife. This percentage can be explained by the fact that Chixolop is home to more women and that Chixolop is perceived to be more traditionally than Tempisque.

Most of Tempisque's workers are working permanent (98.3%); the remaining 1.7% includes people that work occasionally. This is also notable in Chixolop, where 98.8% of the workers work permanently and

¹⁷ People working in construction earn more when they are working in construction.

1.2% works occasionally. However, many people who are working permanently work only 2 or 3 days a week. This form is different from occasional work, because these workers are ensured of a stable number of days to work. Most of Tempisque's workers and students are working or studying at home (11%) or elsewhere in the Tempisque (83.4%). In addition, 3.4% is working or studying in Salamá and 2.1% in another city.

Chixolop shows a different pattern; 32.3% works at home (this can be explained by the high percentage of women practicing *tejido manual*), 56.3% works or studies elsewhere in Chixolop and 11.4% works or studies in another city. In Tempisque 5.5% of all household members works or studies outside of the community. This percentage is much higher in Chixolop (11.4%). A large part of this percentage can be explained by the fact that Chixolop does not have a secondary school; students are forced to continue in the neighboring San Gabriel.

Table 4.6: Working population & level of education¹⁸

TEMPISQUE					
	None	Elementary	Primary	Secondary	Total
Unpaid family labor	9.8%	1.2%	28.1%	0%	39.1%
Field crop and vegetable growers	8.5%	0%	37.8%	1.2%	47.5%
Weavers, knitters and related work	2.4%	0%	9.8%	0%	12.2%
Construction and maintenance	0%	0%	1.2%	0%	1.2%
Total	20.7%	1.2%	76.8%	1.2%	100.0%
	N=20	N=1	N=71	N=1	N=93
CHIXOLOP					
	None	Elementary	Primary	Secondary	Total
Unpaid family labor	9.7%	1.0%	18.5%	1.9%	31.1%
Field crop and vegetable growers	2.9%	1.0%	28.2%	1.9%	34.0%
Weavers, knitters and related work	3.9%	0%	22.3%	2.9%	29.1%
Manufacturing labor	0%	0%	1.9%	0%	1.9%
Protective services workers	0%	0%	2.0%	0.9%	2.9%
Street food vendor	1.0%	0%	0%	0%	1.0%
Total	17.5%	1.9%	72.8%	7.8%	100.0%
	N=18	N=2	N=75	N=8	N=103

Students and people who are unemployed were excluded for the analysis on labor activities practiced by people in both communities and their corresponding level of education. Most inhabitants, who have an occupation, are 'field crop and vegetable growers' (Tempisque 47.5% and Chixolop 34.0%). Of these people, 37.8% (Tempisque) and 28.2% (Chixolop) has attained primary education. 8.5% of Tempisque's inhabitants and 2.9% of Chixolop's inhabitants who are 'field crop and vegetable growers' did not go to school (table 4.6).

In Tempisque, 39.1% of the household members practices 'unpaid family labor'; 9.8% of these people did not receive education, 28.1% has attained primary education and 1.2% attended only elementary

¹⁸ Based on the official ILO list 'international standard classification of occupations'.

school. A pattern in educational achievements can be recognized when comparing these results with ‘unpaid family labor’ in Chixolop. In this community, 31.1% of the working population belongs to this category and 9.7% did not receive education. An additional 18.5% has attained primary education and 1.0% only went to elementary school.

As explained in section 4.3.1, the number of people that did not receive education is higher in Tempisque than in Chixolop. This is confirmed when analyzing data on the working population; in Tempisque 20.7% did not receive education, in contrast to 17.5% in Chixolop. Moreover, 2.9% of Chixolop’s ‘weavers, knitters and related work’ attained secondary education, in contrast to Tempisque where none of them attained a higher level of education than primary education. These are two remarkable conclusions because Chixolop is perceived to be a more traditional community that would rather focus on retaining its culture instead of improving its educational level. This research proves otherwise.

There is a lot unclear about other sources of income. In some cases it was obvious that the households must earn or received additional money when comparing average spending with average incomes. Also, many households argued that their earnings were often not high enough but in the end they somehow managed to have enough money to spend what they need to spend.

Concluded can be that there is a gap between expenditures and earnings of many households that bridges the lack of money about which household members often complained during the research. None of the households admitted that they received remittances from migrated household members. When asking further about household members that migrated, arguments were raised that life in other places (e.g. USA or Guatemala City) was too expensive and the migrated members already had a hard time taking care of themselves. Let alone that they could miss money for their relatives.

There are no banks with an office in Tempisque or Chixolop; however, it is relatively easy for inhabitants of both communities to get a loan, a credit card or to buy goods on credit. Two well-represented banks in the nearby town Salamá are Banco Azteca (Mexican) and Banrural (Guatemalan). Banco Azteca is the banking unit of the specialty retailer Grupo Elektra (box 4.2). In both communities, it is not uncommon that households have a TV. Moreover, owners of TVs indicated they would buy such an expensive good – while they barely had money for food, education or health care – because TVs are seen as a status symbol. People in communities as Tempisque and Chixolop are nearly all living a similar life. Therefore, these status symbols are a popular way to distinguish themselves.

Banrural provides credits tailor-made for nearly all types of (consumer) goods such as cars, motorcycles, houses, teaching materials and agriculture & livestock materials. This bank even has a special campaign, *señora cuenta*, which is targeting at women. In this way both males and females are easily triggered to

Box 4.2

Grupo Elektra

Grupo Elektra is targeting lower-income households but sells electronics at almost double the price of a regular retail store. At Grupo Elektra customers have the possibility to pay for goods in very small weekly payments over a period of one or two years. When the customer is not able to make these payments, the item under contract is usually confiscated and the payments made so far are not refunded.

get a loan or buy goods on credit. Unfortunately, a large part of the population does not know what the consequences of such credits are.

4.3.4 Physical capital

Houses are generally made from organic materials such as adobe (some sort of dried loam) and roofed with grooved aluminum plates or ceramic tiles. Sometimes corn stalks and garbage materials (such as cardboard) are also used as building materials. An average house has two bedrooms; one for the parents and one for the children, regardless of the number of children. Often the children do not sleep on beds, but on wooden shelves or reed mats covered with some woven cloth. Most houses have one or two chairs and a small table. Sometimes a family owns a cabinet for dishes or other stuff, but most of their possessions are stored in open baskets. Cooking is usually done in the garden or in a separate room (without ventilation) using a stove with firewood. Some more wealthy families are lucky to own a stove that works on gas, but this is a rare exception.

In both communities, the majority of the inhabitants has access to electricity. They have this thanks to a successful project of PLAN International which constructed an electricity network in the communities. Electricity is generally used for lights, refrigerators and TVs. Regardless of the primitiveness in which people live, most households own at least a TV. Refrigerators, on the other hand, are much more an exception. People have the possibility to buy these equipments on credit as mentioned in section 4.3.3. Most of the families use water from water tanks which are often installed in the garden. In some cases (13% in Tempisque and 8% in Chixolop) households have their own waterworks. A number of households – that were participating with the PLAN child sponsorship program – were selected by PLAN International to participate in a project on waterworks construction. While these waterworks are supporting these selected families, it does not benefit all families within the community. In some way, it can be stated that these projects have widened the gap between families and are, therefore, increasing inequality instead of developing the community as a whole.

The quality of houses influences school performance of the children. In a house of better quality and with sufficient space, children are more likely to concentrate on their homework. Teachers and principals of both primary schools acknowledge this and see better results for children that are from richer families.

It seems that no strict regulation exists when it comes to the ownership of houses. The families all indicated they inherited the house (or ground) from family members. However, this ownership is not formally registered. In Guatemala it is very common that new couples or families use part of their parent's house or build a house on the ground of their parents. Therefore, families often live in clusters. This results in the continuation of cultural traditions and customs. An example of this is the role of man and woman that barely changed over the years. Men work mostly in the field while women practice the traditional weaving at home and take care of the house and the children. Section 4.3.3 elaborated on the type of livelihood activities that are carried out in both communities.

Both communities have one central semi-paved road going through the center of the villages. In both cases this road is host to a number of side streets and gives direct access to a few (3 in Tempisque and 2

in Chixolop) small shops. These shops only sell some basic sweets, salts and drinks. Additionally, they always sell credit for prepaid cell phones. No matter how poor you are, almost every household has at least one cell phone. Besides the products that can be bought in the small shops, many females cook *tamales*, *tortillas* or small rice meals that they sell directly from their house. Remarkably, they never mentioned these activities as extra income-generating activities during the household survey. Larger groceries can be bought in neighboring towns (San Gabriel or San Miguel Chicaj for Chixolop and Salamá for Tempisque).

The paved road is mainly used by minivans that are the local means of transportation. A minivan officially hosts twelve to sixteen people, but in practice they are stuffed with at least thirty people and anything that fits in the van or on the roof (goats, chicken, building materials, baskets with vegetables or rice). The average price for a one-way trip of thirty minutes is 3 or 4 *quetzales*; 30 or 40 eurocents.

In each of the communities, a small *centro de convergencia* – some sort of health post – can be found. This health post is not fulltime in use; inhabitants have the chance to visit a registered nurse here only once a month. However, in Tempisque interns who study at the University of San Carlos are present a few times a week. Additionally, once or twice a year children under 12 years old are weighted and measured here and important vaccinations are given. Medical consults at the *centro de convergencia* are free, but inhabitants need to buy prescribed medicines themselves. Especially families from rural areas are often not able to afford these medicines because they are too expensive. Even if they are able to pay for these medicines, they have to be bought at one of the pharmacies in a larger town. If an additional consult with a private doctor is required, people are expected to pay for this consult themselves. This consult costs around 100 *quetzales* (10 Euros). For both communities the nearest hospital and dentist are located in Salamá (about 30 minutes from Tempisque and about 50 minutes from Chixolop).

In Chixolop, one public primary school can be found. Whenever children complete this school they will have to go to San Gabriel to continue their studies. In Tempisque, there is one public primary school and a private primary school. Nevertheless, the building of the private school is currently empty and has not been used for several years. Argumentation for this is that the private school was too expensive, especially compared to the public school (which was free). People from Tempisque could not afford to go there. Additionally, there is one secondary school in Tempisque. Unfortunately, it is not a physical school yet; there is no building and there are no materials. Teachers teach children in the open air and only up to class 3 (the whole range of *basico*) of the secondary school.

Parents do not have to pay for their children to go to a public primary school. Nevertheless, in some cases books or notepads need to be bought. The same counts for uniforms. More information on education facilities is provided in section 5.3.1.

As mentioned above, regardless of the financial status of households, the majority of the households have one or more members that have a cell phone. Additionally, some small shops rent telephones on which inhabitants can make a quick phone call. As noted while doing research, several family members migrated to other cities or countries. Therefore, cell phones are of great value to keep in touch with each other. Internet is only present at the two primary schools in each community and is only accessible

for the principal and the teachers. Additionally, internet café's are present at larger cities such as Salamá.

4.3.5 Natural capital

As explained earlier, most families live in clusters. Their houses are built on land which is inherited from and passed through to family members. During informal conversations it became clear that the households see themselves as owner of the land. However, this ownership is not formally registered. Sizes of land differ tremendously among households, but because land ownership is not officially registered no information is known about exact measurements and divisions. While questioning the households, it became clear that most households do not own a piece of land which they can use for farming activities. According to agricultural workers in Tempisque, the land on which they work belongs to three 'rich' farmers who are from 'the city'. The city referred to in this case is Cobán; the capital of Alta Verapaz. These 'rich' farmers all live in Cobán and inherited a piece of land in Tempisque from family members. They use their land to cultivate tomatoes, corn and potatoes and hire people from the community to work on it. When interviewing one of these farmers, he showed a piece of paper which was apparently an official document that said that he was the owner of the land.

In Chixolop a large part of the land was owned by a cousin of the mayor. According to different household members who were questioned, this cousin owns almost one third of the community's land. Therefore, he is one of the main providers of salaried employment for Chixolop's inhabitants. Additionally, some inhabitants stated that they would go to the neighboring town San Gabriel to work on the land.

In both communities it is not very common to rear livestock on a large scale or for commercial purposes. The two largest cultivators of animals in Chixolop had four and seven cows and in Tempisque the two largest each had three cows. Nevertheless, Tempisque is known for its many pigs wandering around in the community. Based on data collected, 61% of the households indicated that they had at least one pig. Some families would eat this pig, but others would sell it at the market of Salamá. In Chixolop, pigs were rarely seen; here, only 4% indicated they had at least one pig. Additionally, a goat occasionally appears in the communities, but it is seen as a luxury to have a goat.

In both Chixolop and Tempisque, approximately 35% has their own chicken or duck, which is usually used for own consumption. A typical example is the story of Maria Louisa from Chixolop (box 4.3). This story is typical for the mentality of people from both communities; they live day by day and do not worry about the future.

Box 4.3

Chixolop

Maria Louisa used to have twelve rabbits. She would let the rabbits breed and sell them at the market of San Miguel Chicaj afterwards. Additionally, when the family was hungry, they would eat one of the rabbits.

Currently, only one rabbit is left; they ate all the others. But how can you let rabbits breed when there is only one left?

Both communities are located next to a river that tends to flood in the wet season. On the other hand, in dry season this river is almost non-existing. The water of the river is used for laundry, farming (most farming areas are located directly next to the river) and drinking water. The quality of the water is very

poor and as a result many diseases occur. Additionally, the water quality is lowered even more by the amount of waste which is dumped in river areas.

Forests can be found at the border of both communities. Unfortunately, it is common that inhabitants cut the trees and use the wood for fire to cook on. As a result logging, deforestation occurs. Problems caused by deforestation are better observable in the wet season when heavy rainfall causes enormous flows of water. These flows carry soil that used to be retained by the trees. As mentioned above, people live day by day. Therefore, their problem of how to cook without wood usually wins from avoiding deforestation.

4.4 Vulnerability context

The vulnerability context aims to analyze seasonal patterns and crises faced in the past of both Tempisque and Chixolop. Many events from the past still influence the way people currently live their lives. In order to give a clear overview, natural disasters, civil unrest and trends and changes are distinguished. Additionally, seasonal patterns that are based on the livelihood characteristics are highlighted.

4.4.1 Natural disasters

Guatemala is located in an area where tropical depressions frequently occur from May to December. However, the country is rarely hit directly by a hurricane. More often it suffers from consequences of hurricanes, such as heavy rain. Well-known examples of this are hurricane Mitch in 1998 and hurricane Stan in 2005. Especially hurricane Stan caused massive rainfalls in Tempisque and Chixolop which resulted in disastrous floods, mudslides and landslides.

Guatemala is positioned in a major fault zone (the Motagua and Chixoy-Polochic fault complex) because it borders the Caribbean tectonic plate and the North-American tectonic plate. This location makes the country vulnerable to earthquakes. The most destructive earthquake in 'recent' history was the one in 1976 which caused 23,000 deaths and left 76,000 people injured (USGS, 2011). Larger towns are – in general – well constructed in order to limit damage when these earthquakes occur. People in rural areas often do not have the financial assets to build their houses in such a way it resists earthquakes. This results in more damage in rural areas such as Chixolop and Tempisque.

4.4.2 Civil unrest

Guatemala has known 36 years of civil war; this was ended by former President Alvaro Arzu who signed the Peace Accords. Nevertheless, discrimination towards the indigenous people is still ongoing and Ladinos are still seen as the ruling elite of the country. This influences the perspective of many indigenous people living in rural areas; as explained earlier, signs of fatalism are present in both Tempisque en Chixolop.

Many stories on abduction of children exist in Guatemala. As a result, people tend not to trust strangers, foreigners and government officials because of these events. This influences the way households deal with problems, but also how they deal with opportunities that they sometimes face.

One of the most present-day issues is the war on drugs in which Guatemala is involved. Since the nineties of the last century, Guatemala is a springboard of drugs from countries such as Colombia. For various reasons, Guatemala is seen as a perfect transit country for drug cartels:

- The country has a 950-kilometer border with Mexico, the last country which the drug passes before it reaches the United States.
- Guatemala has several ports, both on the Gulf of Mexico and the Pacific Ocean.
- There are huge amounts of firearms in circulation.
- Corruption experiences heydays; officials and police are often to buy.

Most active in Guatemala are the Mexican drug cartels Sinaloa and Golfo. In 2007, the violent Los Zetas (at that moment still part of the Golfo cartel) were introduced in Guatemala; they maintain contacts with local drug traffickers in Central America. Later on, Los Zetas separated themselves from the Golfo cartel (De Wereld Morgen, 2011). Since this moment, they have been acting as a paramilitary gang characterized by terror and held responsible from among others the tragic event that took place on the 17th of May, 2011 (box 4.4). The city of Cobán, less than an hour away from both communities, is

Box 4.4

Los Zetas

On May 17th 2011, 27 farmers were killed by decapitation in the state of El Petén, northern Guatemala.

The massacre, one of the worst in decades in Guatemala, took place in the village Caserio La Bomba, near the Mexican border. The drug cartel Los Zetas is held responsible for the massacre.

considered to be the head quarter of the Los Zetas. Heriberto Lazano, the chief of the Los Zetas, is able to move around between Honduras, Guatemala and Mexico without any restrictions. Even soldiers and police men protect him and he has access to the services of TAG, an airline owned by Francisco Ortega Menaldo, Guatemalans ex-general who participated in the civil war.

This war on drugs is influencing the lives on people anywhere in Guatemala. Many youngsters are persuaded to participate in drugs related businesses and it is unsafe to travel on many routes in the country. To illustrate the size of the influence of the war on drugs; it is the most important theme that was discussed during the elections in late 2011 (NOS Nieuws, 2011)

4.4.3 Trends and changes

In both communities, people indicated that the population is much younger nowadays than it was 25 years ago. This can partly be explained by the increase of migrants that move to large cities within the country (such as Guatemala City and Antigua) or Guatemala's neighboring countries. Often females remain in the communities, while their husbands migrate to work and earn an income. Some of these males only come back once every three or six months; this means that females have to deal with all family and financial issues that arise. In some way, these females become more independent. But more often they cannot deal with the pressure alone and, therefore, they look for (financial) support from relatives.

Globalization is noticeable in both communities; as explained in section 4.3.3, luxury goods are seen as a status symbol and currently available in towns nearby. According to the majority of the interviewed authorities, poor household spend their income inefficiently and on less essential goods as a result.

Nowadays, it is easier to sell crops and livestock at markets of neighboring towns such as Salamá and Rabinal. Salamá hosts a large market every Monday and Friday and is relatively easy to reach by minivan. Remarkably, most vendors on this market are women. Often they are forced to go, because their husbands have to work in the field. Sadly, most people sell almost the same products (potatoes, onions, tomatoes and bananas); diversification is a term of which the majority has never heard of.

4.4.4 Seasonal patterns

The weather has an enormous influence on the way people in Chixolop and Tempisque can live their lives. In both communities, there is a clear distinction visible between the rainy and dry season. The rainy season starts around May and lasts until October with an interruption from some weeks in July and August. During this rainy season there is more work in the field and, therefore, most households have a larger budget to live from. Additionally, due to the harvest season there are more vegetables available and, as a result, food prices are lower. On the other hand, some children – mostly boys – are forced to work in the field during this time. Because of this obligation, they are not able to go to school. Primary schools are usually open from January until October. This is excluding a small summer break. Additionally, many strikes take place during the school year; every year, the school is closed for two to four weeks in April and two weeks in September. When children are forced to work in the field during the rainy season, they miss two extra months of the school year.

Most households cut trees for firewood, causing deforestation. Especially in the rainy season this has major implications; heavy rainfall causes mudslides because the ground is not held by trees anymore. Additionally, some remote areas are hard to reach during this season because of landslides and floods.

Despite of all problems caused by heavy rainfall, Chixolop and Tempisque both suffer from extreme droughts as well. Especially in March and April – just before the rainy season – crops are often very dry and it is almost impossible to keep the arable land wet enough. In these months, rivers are almost completely dried. It is needless to say that – despite all the problems the rainy season can cause – one extra month of drought can be disastrous for food security and water supply.

4.5 Livelihood strategies

As addressed earlier in this chapter, there is a strong presence of fatalism among inhabitants of Tempisque and Chixolop. People tend to live their lives day by day. When there is no work in the field, there is no income. When there is no income, there is no food. When there is no food, there is no food. Because people tend to live their lives in a predetermined way, it is possible to distinguish three main livelihood patterns. Moreover, a number of coping strategies are highlighted.

4.5.1 Livelihood patterns

In order to gain deeper insight in the lives of people from both Tempisque and Chixolop, three main livelihood patterns are analyzed. These patterns are chosen, because they are the most common in the communities. Additionally, seasonal and temporary migration occurs regularly and, therefore, a separate section is devoted to this topic.

Weaving

All females in Chixolop and Tempisque indicated that they were housewives. The majority of them practices *tejido manual* (weaving) at home, next to their tasks as housewives. Often this is done to provide the family with traditional clothes but – especially in households with more daughters – it is common to produce pieces of clothing which are to be sold (on markets) afterwards. In some cases, females migrate temporary to a larger or town with more tourists in order to sell the clothing. In these cases, often an older son or daughter is often appointed to take over her tasks in the household.

Occasionally, it happens that a family only exists from a female and her children. The man could have died, migrated or left his wife. In these situations, females are often forced to produce clothing to sell at markets. Additionally, they might work in the field to earn something extra.

Farming

The majority of the men works in the field. As explained in section 4.3, it is common that men work on the farmland of someone else. Some families have a very small part of arable land on which they grow some vegetables for own consumption, but in general larger landowners provide work for the majority household members in both communities.

Farming can be divided into permanent and occasional work. The majority of both communities has a permanent job; only 1.2% in Chixolop and 1.7% of Tempisque work occasionally. It is very common – especially in Tempisque – which people with permanent work, only work two or three days a week. This is better for the household income than occasional work because – even while they can only work a few days a week – they are secured of this job. Households in which members rely on occasional work are far worse off. They do not know whether they will have an income for the week and in many cases they need to come up with additional activities to earn an income. Many of these households try to sell home-made tortillas in order to be able to buy more diverse food for its members. Occasionally, these families are supported by relatives.

Diversified households

In general, most households are classified in this category; it is very common that both *tejido manual* and farming occurs within one household. Sometimes the man of the household works in construction with which he often generates a higher income. Diversified households are better off than households which rely on only one income-generating activity.

Migration

In some cases, men did not succeed to find a job in farming or construction. As a result, they migrate for a certain period per year to larger cities such as Antigua and Guatemala City. In these cities, they often find a job as a security guard, in a factory or as a soldier.

Besides men migrating in order to find work, some women migrate to Antigua in tourist season to sell their home-made clothing. Sadly, most women indicate that life in Antigua is so expensive that they hardly made profit on their trip because they had to spend it all on food and housing. Still, this does not keep them from going.

A rare exception occurs when somebody decides to move to Guatemala City to continue their studies. In Tempisque, this occurred only twice – both during the in-depth interviews. In both stories, the oldest

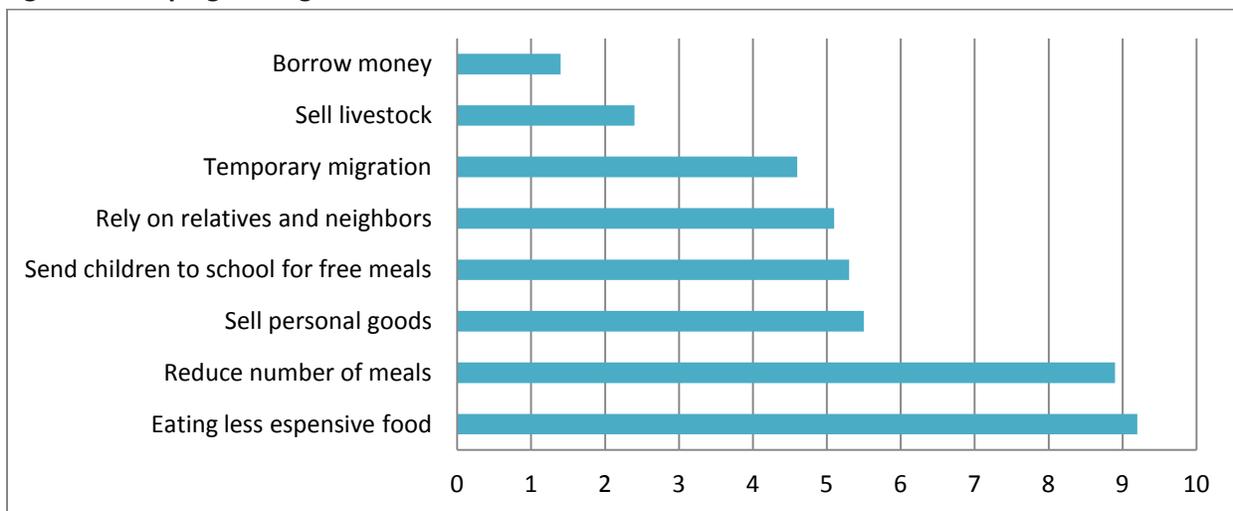
child of the household migrated to the capital, completed a university degree and started working in administration. Many courses on administration and marketing are currently offered in cities as Guatemala City.

4.5.2 Coping strategies

From section 4.4, it became clear that Guatemala is a very fragile state, environmentally, but also socially and economically. Therefore, all coping strategies are focusing either on increasing the amount of food or increasing income in order to buy food. Lack of food is seen as the major problem in dry season or when stresses and shocks occur. The large difficulty is that people do not have any savings as they live day by day and 'invest' money in (useless) status symbols. Additionally, it is assumed by many authorities that households often have large debts or future payments which need to be done for luxurious goods. It must be noted that none of the household members ever admitted this.

During the in-depth interviews, several coping strategies were mentioned by household members. These options were ranked by the same members from least-likely to apply to most-likely to apply when they are coping with stresses, shocks and seasonality.

Figure 4.3: Coping strategies



Each household member ranked a number of coping strategies from least to most applicable to their situation (figure 4.3). Concluded can be that people would not borrow money easily. The low outcome of 'sell livestock' can be explained by the fact that many people do not have any livestock and, therefore, they would not give this answer. It is most-likely that people would first adapt their consumption pattern to the amount of food available. When this is not sufficient, they will sell personal goods.

Additionally, they have the opportunity to send their children to school (the ones that are not enrolled) around lunch time when free meals are distributed. Of course, this strategy will have major consequences at the schools; when unsubscribed children profit from food which is not meant for them, the children who are enrolled will be reduced.

It is known that people within the Achí culture look after each other, as a result, they can rely on relatives and neighbors whenever this is needed. Unfortunately, many people will face the same problems in times of trouble. When it is not possible to rely on relatives and neighbors, people have limited options and will consider temporary migration as elaborated on in livelihood patterns.

If people cannot cope with stresses, shocks or seasonality, or if they do not see any future possibilities to develop themselves, permanent migration can be seen as an understandable option to escape all problems. Often this decision is closely related to future opportunities regarding education or work. These people who migrate will leave the community permanently. Therefore, they were not included in the statistics on which this research is based. Nevertheless, migration is a contemporary subject and it was raised several times during in-depth interviews with household members. The majority of the household members knows at least one person who migrated either to Guatemala City or to the United States of America. Unfortunately, family members who stay behind do not seem to benefit from migrated relatives financially, because life in places outside the community is – in general – more expensive. As stated before, during the survey none of the households indicated that they were receiving remittances.

4.6 Conclusions

Guatemala – with its corrupt government, increased drugs violence, susceptibility to seasonal patterns, shocks and trends – proves to be a very fragile state. Some even call it a failed state (BBC News, 2010). This makes both communities, as an addition to the presence of a strong sense of fatalism, very vulnerable to changes in their livelihood patterns. Before concluding, some summarizing characteristics on both communities are listed in table 4.7.

Table 4.7: Main characteristics Chixolop and Tempisque

CHIXOLOP	TEMPISQUE
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Very traditional; - More remote, especially for purchasing food; - Relatively low percentage of youth is enrolled in school (78.2%); - Children are often working instead of going to school; - High reliability for work on only one large landowner; - Large part of youth is unemployed and lacks a future perspective; - No strict regulation regarding ownership of land; - Unequal distribution of the land; - Relatively high unemployment rate (16.2%). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Location is quite good, close to Salamá; - No strict regulation regarding ownership of land; - Low average monthly incomes (1459.02 <i>quetzales</i>); - Not a lot of permanent work available; most jobs are part-time; - Large percentage of youth is enrolled in school (94.8%); - High reliability for work on only three large landowners; - Low unemployment rate (1.7%); - Unequal distribution of the land; - High rate of 'unpaid family labor'.

Culture and its traditions are still very much present within the communities. However, many respondents agree that the traditional view on roles within households is changing over the years and is not as strict as it used to be. Nowadays, girls attend school more often than they did in the past. Unfortunately – especially in Chixolop – still too many children are working instead of studying. This can be explained by the fact that the importance of education is not always acknowledged.

The majority of the skills and knowledge that the inhabitants of both communities have obtained are based on traditional knowledge; e.g. *tejido manual*, the traditional weaving of the Mayas. Daughters are still taught how to weave and sons are taught to work on the land. NGOs, such as PLAN International and SHARE are well represented in the communities. They give, among others, workshops to spread knowledge among the inhabitants and to build capacity within the community.

As times are changing, there is a strong presence of globalization in Chixolop and Tempisque. This brings interesting development issues along; inhabitants are influenced by globalization, but still want to maintain their cultural identity.

In terms of capitals, there is especially a lack of financial capital in both communities. Financial issues are the first issues raised when talking about people's assets. Human capital could be improved by better education and health care facilities. Chapter 5 analyzes the situation of both communities regarding education and how this is structured and influence by institutions. People in both communities need a more sustainable view and more corresponding knowledge to maintain, improve and value their natural capital. In terms of social capital, both communities are tolerable; whenever it is possible, households can rely on relatives and neighbors. Nevertheless, an unequal division in social classes is visible within the community; only one or a few important families rule the community.

In general, it can be stated that Chixolop and Tempisque are unsustainable communities. Access rights of indigenous people, livability, gender roles, labor conditions, nature conservation and distribution of income are just a number of important issues that could be improved. Both communities use, for example, water from a river for laundry, farming and drinking water. At the same time, people dump waste in this river which decreases water quality.

Both Tempisque and Chixolop face a relatively poor livelihood outcome. This is based on a fragile and unbalanced set of livelihood assets, high inequity, the inability to sustain to shocks and trends and the unsustainable livelihood strategies (socio-culturally, environmentally and economically) which they currently practice.

Education could be used as a tool for development aiming at stimulating both the youth and adults to choose a sustainable livelihood strategy. An example of this could be a workshop which addresses the importance of living in an environment, while maintaining this environment for future generations. Additionally, primary education, especially in the form of bilingual education, could be a start for a brighter future perspective for many children in both communities.

5. BILINGUAL EDUCATION IN PRACTICE

In Guatemala, indigenous people are forced to develop bilingual abilities. According to Fishman (1977), this is called obligatory bilingualism. Therefore, it is mandatory that *educación bilingüe intercultural* (EBI) is implemented correctly at primary schools in rural areas. This chapter provides an analysis of the implementation and effectiveness of EBI in order to gain insight in the current situation regarding education and the importance of EBI for community development. An analysis of the implementation and effectiveness of bilingual education would be impossible without identifying the stakeholders. Additionally, this research is focusing on the influence of the institutional environment in this process. Therefore, the following research question will be answered in this chapter:

How is the institutional environment of Chixolop and Tempisque characterized and what are the main stakeholders?

As explained in chapter 1, the institutional environment is a broad and complex concept. Therefore, in this research the institutional environment is divided into three key concepts: the legal system, human capacity and physical capacity. These concepts are interlinked, but because the legal system is mainly visible on national level (and does not differ a lot in local context), the following two research questions were formulated. By answering these two questions, clear insight will be obtained on how these concepts are influencing the effectiveness of bilingual education:

To what extent is the legal system influencing the effectiveness of bilingual education?

To what extent is human and physical capacity influencing the effectiveness of bilingual education?

When combining the findings obtained regarding the institutional environment and its stakeholders, it is possible to clarify the lessons learned from EBI practices in both communities, answering the following question:

What are the lessons learned from bilingual education practices in Chixolop and Tempisque?

This chapter provides a thorough analysis of the way bilingual education is currently implemented. This is done based on observations and interviews with both stakeholders and community members. In this research, perceptions of the community are included in order to gain insight in the importance of bilingual education and its influence on, for example, religion and culture. Additionally, perceptions on the influence of institutions on bilingual education are included as well.

5.1 Legal system

The legal system includes formal¹⁹ laws and rules regarding bilingual education. These are mainly shaped at national level, but increasingly implemented in the local context. In both Tempisque and Chixolop education is given according to the national acknowledged curriculum and policy. As explained in chapter 3, the education law states that teachers at a primary state school are supposed to use the national curriculum as a guidebook for their methodology. In order to verify if this happens in practice, the current situation regarding the visibility of the legal system in the implementation of bilingual education in a local context is analyzed in this chapter.

5.1.1 Policy

The Ministry of Education (MINEDUC) is Guatemala's education institution. Its mission is the establishment of high quality, efficient and effective learning opportunities. MINEDUC operates from a people centered perspective and wants to stimulate its citizens to develop in a way in which their pride of being Guatemalan is reflected in their principles, values and beliefs.

In 2007, MINEDUC presented the 'Education Plan 2008 – 2012'; the roots for the reforms in the educational system that were taking place at the time of research. As explained in chapter 3, the plan includes policies that support the development of EBI. These policies take into account that education starts from a child's first years of life and acknowledge that child participation in the school system does not only depends on the availability of schools and teachers, but also on the economic conditions of households. Therefore, the plan includes the implementation of mechanisms which assist families that are living in poverty. An example of this is the development of nutrition programs. It is an important and positive development that the concept of education in this reform plan is seen in a broader social context instead of as an individual concept. NGOs such as PLAN International also incorporated this strategy in their five year plan of 2011 – 2016. Instead of viewing education as a concept on its own, they now focus on the links that exist between concepts; this is visible in projects on – for example – education and water & sanitation or education and child participation.

The education plan is initially designed for a period of four years; therefore, the challenge is to ensure that the new educational goals are development in a sustainable way and will serve as a base for future policy plans.

Both Tempisque and Chixolop incorporated the education reforms in their school policy three years ago; the study year 2011-2012 is the third year in which the new intercultural approach (including EBI) serves as a base for teacher's methodology. The shift to EBI is very important for children's personal development. Children often do not understand and speak Spanish in their early years. As a result they do not understand the majority of the classes and – consequently – they do not meet the educational requirements and capacity to proceed to the next grade. Additionally, many children are tempted to skip school and eventually dropout if they do not understand the language in which classes are given. If

¹⁹ In this sentence, formal refers to acknowledged and in the social system accepted laws and rules.

implemented in a universal way, the implementation of EBI can reduce the number of children who repeat grades and dropouts.

On paper, the role of MINEDUC is to provide schools with financial resources to pay their staff and to maintain the building. Additionally, MINEDUC is supposed to provide a basic meal²⁰ and study materials for each of the students. In reality, MINEDUC often does not provide sufficient money to the schools, resulting in overdue salary payments and old, poorly maintained school buildings. The same applies to the provision of materials; often no or not enough books are available for all the students.

Another problem occurs in the provision of meals at the primary schools. This provision is only meant for children enrolled in the particular school. In the case of Tempisque, the school receives 1 *quetzal* per student per day to buy food²¹ for each student. According to the principle of the school, this amount of money is not enough to provide every child with something nutritious to eat. Additionally, many children from the community – which are not enrolled in school – come at the time of serving to the school in order to acquire some food. This means that children that are enrolled in school often do not eat a sufficient amount of food; this results in innutrition or malnutrition, which eventually influences the school performance. This issue is especially visible at the end of the school year, when money is running out.

5.1.2 Curriculum

As a result of the educational reforms, the implementation of the new curriculum and EBI is in both primary schools somewhat visible. General aspects of the curriculum, such as the two primary areas of teaching, are acknowledged and incorporated in the classes of most teachers. These two areas include fundamental classes and classes focused on training. These key areas are seen as the basis for the new dynamic type of learning and therefore incorporated in the courses given. Within these areas, multiculturalism and interculturalism are considered as the foundation on which teaching should be based.

The visibility of this acknowledgement in the primary schools of Tempisque and Chixolop rests in schedules that both principals have established for each *ciclo*. This schedule is based on guidelines of the CNB and includes the minimum hours per week that a teacher needs to pay attention to a certain class, table 5.1 (next page). In this schedule, classes are subdivided in the areas (fundamental or training) and in *ciclos*. It is important to realize that this schedule is a reflection on the type of courses that need to be taught and not on the language in which they need to be taught. During the first three years of primary school, the majority of the classes need to be given in the maternal language of the children; in this case this is Achí. Unfortunately, in practice this is not happening in all grades.

Additionally, not all teachers use this schedule. It depends very much on the opinion of the teachers on EBI if they implement a new methodology based on the educational reforms. Section 5.3 will elaborate on this topic.

²⁰ In some cases this is done in the form of financial resources and in others it is done in the form of actual food.

²¹ The meals are prepared by a voluntary group of mothers. Additionally, they manage the budget for these meals.

Table 5.1: Schedule for each ciclo

Areas	Ciclos		Minimum hours per week	
	1	2	Ciclo 1	Ciclo 2
Fundamental				
L1 (Achí)	X	X	4	4
L2 (Spanish)	X	X	2	2
L3 (English) ²²	--	--	2	2
Mathematics	X	X	5	5
Biology	X	--	4	--
Natural sciences and technology	--	X	--	3
Social Sciences	--	X	--	3
Artistic expression	X	X	2	1
Gymnastics	X	X	2	1
Training				
Citizenship formation	X	X	2	1
Development and productivity	--	X	--	1

The primary school of Chixolop pays attention to capacity development of its teachers. During this capacity development training, teachers learn about the new pedagogical approaches, planning and evaluation. These components are all stressed by the new curriculum. Teachers are trained to work with competence forms in order to monitor the student's progress throughout the year. Additionally, these forms can be distributed to the parents of the children in order to increase parental participation. The new curriculum emphasizes the involvement of all relevant stakeholders.

Access to education and quality of education are the two main aspects that need extra attention²³. It is possible to establish a school which offers high quality education, but if people do not have access to this school it does not matter if the education provided is of high quality. Conversely, if people have access to education but this education is of extremely poor quality it would not generate the desired outcomes. MINEDUC, therefore, acknowledges that education quality should be high and universal throughout the whole country in order to reduce inequality and maximize future prospects for development. In the case of Guatemala, this means that education provided to indigenous people needs to be improved.

Repeaters and drop-outs

Since the implementation of the curriculum the number of children who repeat grades decreased extremely²⁴. Before the implementation of the new curriculum, 50% of the children repeated the first

²² L3 is optional; in total L1, L2 and L3 need to be given at least 8 hours a week.

²³ Based on an interview with Cesar Augusto Cuxum, education supervisor of Salamá.

²⁴ This statement is based on grades in which the teacher supports the educational reforms and really put an effort on incorporating the new type of education in his/her classes.

grade. Currently, only one or two children repeat this grade in Tempisque²⁵. In Chixolop this number also decreased drastically, but it is still a bit higher; five or six children currently repeat the first grade²⁶.

In addition, children understand the teacher much better nowadays because he/she explains more in Achí. This is visible in the results of the children; these are much higher. The same change is visible in the number of drop-outs in both primary schools. Before the implementation, children did not understand much of the classes and were therefore not motivated to continue with their studies. Currently, they understand their teachers and are as a result motivated to complete their studies. In both Tempisque and Chixolop, there are one or two drop-outs per grade²⁷ in the *ciclo 1* and occasionally one in *ciclo 2*.

Unfortunately, this change is only visible in grades where teachers truly and effectively implement the new curriculum. There are still many grades in which the teacher does not support this new type of education and therefore refuses to incorporate it in his classes.

5.2 Physical capacity

The quality of education is partly determined by the quality of the school. Materials of which the school has been built can determine whether students feel comfortable studying in the school. When a school is built from materials which are not able to keep heat and rain outside, children will be less concentrated and not motivated to pay attention. Therefore, both schools were assessed on the level of comfort, the presence and quality of facilities and the number and quality of materials provided.

Lack of capacity can have negative impacts on the quality of education. This particularly applies to bilingual education because this type of education is more likely to be unsuccessful if not implemented accurately. It is therefore important that all types of institutions are not constraining this process and that associated capacity is playing an enabling role.

5.2.1 The schools

The primary school of Tempisque is located along the main street of the community and based on a central location. The school is easily accessible by foot and by minibus coming from Salamá. All children who are enrolled to this school live in Tempisque; the average distance to walk to school is about 20 minutes.

Tempisque's primary school offers a preprimary grade (divided into four groups) and all six primary grades. Students are distributed among the grades as follows; four groups of the first grade, three of the second grade, four of the third grade and two of the fourth, fifth and sixth grade. The low number of groups of the fourth, fifth and sixth grade confirms that many children do (or did) not finish their primary education. In total, 632 students – all of Achí origin – are enrolled in this primary school; 327 of them are boys and 305 are girls.

²⁵ Based on conclusions of Mauricio Noguera, principal of the primary school in Tempisque.

²⁶ Based on conclusions of Carmelo Jerónimo Morales, principal of the primary school in Chixolop.

²⁷ Each grade is comprised by a few groups. In this context, 'grade' refers to one of these groups, not the grade itself. E.g.: four groups form one grade. Each group has two drop-outs; the total grade has eight drop-outs.

The school has only 15 classrooms and is, therefore, is not large enough to host all grades at the same time. As a result, the preprimary grade and the first three grades of primary school have classes in the morning from 07:30 to 12:30. The fourth, fifth and sixth class have classes from 13:00 to 17:30 o'clock. When the weather does not allow teaching outside, classes of the first three years of secondary school are taught in this building. This is done because there is no building available for the secondary school.

In Chixolop, there is only one main street. Most of the houses are scattered around this road. The primary school of Chixolop is located along this main road near the entrance of the community. Chixolop's surface is much smaller than that of Tempisque; as a result, all children live close to the school. The average distance to walk to school is about 7 minutes; this is 13 minutes shorter than the average distance in Tempisque.

Similar to the primary school of Tempisque, Chixolop's primary school offers a preprimary grade (only one group) and all six primary grades. In total, the school hosts 499 students; 249 boys and 250 girls. The first grade is composed of four groups. Furthermore, there are three groups of the second grade, four of the third grade, three of the fourth grade, two of the fifth grade and three of the sixth grade. In contrast to the composition of groups per grade in Tempisque, Chixolop has more groups of the sixth grade than they have of the fifth grade. This can be explained by the group sizes of the sixth grade; all three are composed of fewer children than groups of, for example the fifth grade.

While the school hosts nineteen groups of students it only offers seventeen real classrooms. The other two classes are given in a building, which is located behind the school. This building is in very bad condition; parts of the ceiling are missing and it has almost no windows. Additionally, no tables or chairs are present.

The walls of both schools are constructed of concrete blocks and the roof exists of water-resistant material. This will keep rain and mud outside of the classroom and prevents moisture problems. The classrooms are well maintained and the floors are cleaned every day. In this sense, the school buildings prove to be a safe and healthy environment for children to study.

Windows provide sufficient daylight in classrooms in both Tempisque and Chixolop, but supplementary light (e.g. by electricity) is required during (dark) days of bad weather. Unfortunately, the electricity is not working in the majority of the classrooms.

In Tempisque, the classrooms are filled with rubbish and materials which are not in use. This is the result of the school lacking a storage room. Additionally, the school also does not have a separate administrative room; part of the principal's office is used for this purpose. All classrooms are provided with a sufficient amount of chairs and tables. However, the school furniture is all of the same size; most chairs and tables are too small for children in higher grades and too big for children in lower grades.

Similar conclusions can be drawn when analyzing the situation in Chixolop. Nevertheless, there are often not sufficient chairs and tables present. As explained above, two of the groups do not have any chairs and tables. Oddly, a big pile of used chairs and tables can be found next to the school. When asking if why these chairs and tables were not used, nobody could provide a clear answer. Some teachers claimed that most of the furniture was still good enough to use, some small aspects needed to be fixed.

However, nobody was in charge of this and, therefore, it was not done. This created a remarkable situation; there are two groups of students that are studying without tables or chairs, while there is a pile with usable furniture located less than ten meters from their classrooms. After discussing this issue with PLAN International, a small project was started in which recently graduated, unemployed students could earn some money with fixing the furniture. In this way the furniture could be used again and these former students could generate some extra income for their family. A follow-up on this project recently started on the restoration of the two classrooms which were in bad shape.

Sanitation facilities in Tempisque are built by PLAN International and of reasonable quality. These toilets are actually – very basic – flush toilets, connected to a small drainage. This is a great improvement with respect to the pit toilets they used to have in Tempisque. The toilets are not equipped with toilet paper. Nevertheless, they are cleaned every day. In Chixolop, pit toilets are still in use. This is a dry toilet system which collects human excrement in a large container. Besides the smell that it generates, this is a very unhygienic type of toilet system. In Chixolop they cover the human excrement daily with a bit of sand.

In both communities, there is a separate utility sink available. Unfortunately, the water that flows out of this sink is insufficient quality to drink. According to some teachers, the bad quality of the water is the source of many diseases.

5.2.2 Materials

As briefly mentioned in section 5.1, the government does not provide the CNB to all the teachers; there are only two general versions available for the whole school. Therefore, the school must buy their own versions of the national curriculum (CNB) and/or the *Primaria Santillana Integral* (PSI) to provide the teachers with materials. Unfortunately, often there is often no money available to buy these materials. As a result, several teachers use their own materials instead of the CNB and others use an older version of the CNB or IPS. These older versions date from the period before the educational reforms and, therefore, do not include the incorporation of EBI. To implement EBI correctly, it is needed that all teachers use the same type of materials in an efficient way. Teaching materials that are composed personally can be used, but only as complementary materials.

Teachers argue that the *Primaria Santillana Integral* (PSI) can be of great help to plan activities that can be organized in the classroom. Some teachers also recognize that the CNB and PSI can help them becoming a better teacher. Nevertheless, none of the teachers mentioned the importance synergy; teacher's methodology and using the same materials. Only a few teachers acknowledged the importance of teaching material that incorporates cultural aspects. These teachers recently graduated and are receiving extra training to become a bilingual teacher while teaching according to the standards of the CNB. Additionally, they use their own material in order to address cultural aspects, being able to contextualize and make children aware of different cultures which exist within the country.

In class, children often only use notepads because there are not sufficient books available or no books at all. The CNB is meant as a guideline and not a replacement for textbooks. Moreover, it cannot be literally applied to every context. Therefore, it is important for teachers to use other materials besides the CNB and design their own classes related to the local culture. Extra handouts can visualize learning

content for the students; this helps children to understand better and faster. In some cases old textbooks are being used; unfortunately all these books are in Spanish. In general, the only books that exist in Achí are books for L1 (Achí) and mathematics. Unfortunately, these are not available in both Tempisque and Chixolop.

Only a few teachers in both schools have a desk to work on. Because of the lack of books and desks (for most teachers) their principal working material is a whiteboard which can be used to visualize exercises. Nevertheless, not all teachers are aware of the fact that visualization increases efficiency of education. Section 5.3 elaborates on the teacher's methodology, which is closely related to the lack of materials.

5.3 Human capacity

The lack of materials increases dependency for high quality education on human capacity. Teachers often need to improvise; creativity and assertiveness is a must when teaching on a school that lacks textbooks and other materials.

5.3.1 General characteristics

The quality of education depends for a large part on the methodology of the teachers. While analyzing the current situation at both primary schools, it became clear that it is possible to distinguish several types of teachers to distinguish. Within this distinction, it does not only matter if teachers are able to speak the local language, it is often of more importance if they actually originate from the area where they teach. In this way, it is easier to implement EBI more effectively because teachers are able to contextualize their classes.

Additionally, the level of education obtained by the teachers themselves is of great importance. As explained in section 3.1, one can become a teacher by completing six years of *primaria*, three years of *basico* and three years *diversificado*²⁸. These last three years are the part of education in which it is possible to specialize as a teacher²⁹. Unfortunately, the majority of the teachers did not complete this recommended extension of three years at a university. In fact, most teachers already start working at a primary school after just completing three years of *basico*³⁰.

In total, twenty four teachers are working at the primary school of Tempisque; most of them work only the morning or the afternoon shift. The majority of the teachers (sixteen) was born in Tempisque and are, therefore, Achí. Others (eight) come from San Miguel and Salamá and are often monolingual. In general, these monolinguals know some basics of the Achí language, but did not complete a course in this.

In total, seven teachers at the primary school of Tempisque completed the level of *diversificado* before they started teaching. The other seventeen teachers completed only the level of *basico*; the first three years of secondary education. It is common that current teachers had other occupations before they

²⁸ Comparable with a completion of the level of high school in the Netherlands.

²⁹ Moreover, it is recommended to continue studying at a university.

³⁰ Comparable with third grade of high school in the Netherlands.

started teaching. If they would have started teaching immediately after completing *basico*, it would mean that they were a teacher at the age of fourteen or fifteen. Currently, most of the teachers are working as a teacher between one and ten years, setting the average experience as a teacher at 5.6 years. The majority (nineteen out of twenty-four) did not teach at another primary school before; the average working period as a teacher at the primary school in Tempisque is 4.6 years.

In Chixolop, the average amount of years in teaching experience is slightly higher (6.83 years). This can be explained by the fact that more recent graduated teachers start working in Tempisque than in Chixolop, lowering the average years of teaching experience in Tempisque. When looking at the average years of teaching at the primary school of Chixolop, it seems that many of these teachers achieved their experience elsewhere. The average time teachers are working at the primary school of Chixolop is only 3.25 years. This can partly be explained by the fact that Chixolop is more isolated and, therefore, harder to reach than Tempisque.

The primary school of Chixolop hosts more bilingual teachers; of the total teachers (twenty-one), sixteen are bilingual. Nevertheless, the majority (fourteen) does not originate from Chixolop; they come from San Miguel Chicaj. It has to be noted that even while teachers are bilingual, it does not mean that they master both oracy and literacy in Achí and Spanish. Often they are very limited in one of the skills and, as a result, their teaching quality is not very high. It does not mean that teachers who are bilingual automatically support the idea of EBI and are motivated to teach in Achí just because they are able to. Additionally, one third (seven) of the teachers is monolingual; they do not even understand the Achí language.

Teachers at both primary schools are required to teach a class in English because the CNB obliges them to. While one third of all teachers (both Tempisque and Chixolop) argued they knew the basics of English, it was not possible to converse with them in this language. If teachers do not master a language, how is it possible for them to teach their students this very same language when there are no books available?

The Ministry of Education provides the opportunity to study free of charge at the University of San Carlos in San Miguel Chicaj³¹ in order to obtain a higher level of education and receive specific training which is related to teaching. Unfortunately, only twenty to thirty percent of all teachers in Baja Verapaz used or is using of this opportunity³². The number of teachers in Chixolop who attend this education is remarkably high; thirteen of twenty-one teachers are studying or have completed this extra course at the University of San Carlos. In Tempisque, this number is drastically lower; only six of twenty-four teachers is attending or has attended this course.

³¹ Classes take place every Saturday from 08.00-18.00.

³² This information is based on an interview with Pablo Hernandez, director Baja Verapaz at the Ministry of Education. This information was confirmed by several key experts at the local level (Salamá and San Miguel Chicaj) of the Ministry of Education.

In general, the level of education of the teachers is higher in Chixolop than in Tempisque. But this does not necessarily mean that the quality of education is automatically higher as well. Quality of education is both related to the physical capacity as well as to teacher's motivation, language skills, applied methodology and opinion on EBI. The opinion on EBI is both influenced by a teachers (cultural) background, type of education received and by priorities set by the principal of the primary school.

In Tempisque, a new principal of the school was appointed in the school year of 2011. However this man is monolingual, he is very much in favor of the application of EBI. Therefore, he likes to change the methodology of the teachers working at school. He acknowledges the fact that currently not enough teachers are able to teach according to the recommended method of bilingual education. However, he sees the potential to improve this since 16 out of 24 teachers are bilingual. Therefore, his plan is to get to know the teachers and their methodology first, before introducing a new methodology. His aim is to transform the traditional methodology into a more dynamic one and at the same time create awareness on the importance of multiculturalism.

The very same switch is visible in Chixolop. As elaborated on in box 4.1 (section 4.3.2), a new director was appointed in 2011. He has lots of ideas to change the way the methodology of the teachers. He is in favor of EBI and completely supports the new curriculum. According to this man, teachers are currently insufficiently involved in the results their students achieve. He wants to build capacity among the teachers by providing them with EBI workshops. These workshops will not only provide them with new insights of effective and efficient methodology but also increase the awareness of them teaching in a multicultural context, in which they need to pay attention to cultural aspects of both the local culture but also to other cultures Guatemala is hosting.

At the time of the research, the first workshop of '*La escuela activa*' was given. *La escuela activa* can be translated as 'the dynamic school' and is a teaching format focusing on capacity building in the field of planning, methodology and the development of a dynamic approach. According the principal, *la escuela active* should be applied in line with the guidelines set by the CNB.

The view that teachers have on the importance of EBI differs enormously. Some support this form of education and claim that EBI is very valuable for indigenous people. They stress the need to preserve the Achí culture and language and learn about other existing cultures in the country. A process which moves slowly towards the introduction of Spanish as a second language is the best way of preparing them for the future. It must be noted that not all in favor of EBI also acknowledge the cultural importance of this form of education; some only see the gradual switch in languages as an essential element.

On the other hand, some teachers do not see the added value of a teaching program which is implemented partly in a local language while Spanish is 'the language of the future'. These teachers do not see any value in the Achí language nor the Achí culture and, therefore, claim it is best to start teaching in Spanish from the beginning. Remarkably, also many teachers that are Achí feel this way. This has consequences of the implementation and the effectiveness of EBI, because it works best when it is equally supported by all teachers.

5.3.2 Methodology

Teacher's opinions on EBI are often shaped by institutions such as culture, language and religion. This opinion is often reflected in his or her methodology. Additionally, teacher's methodology is shaped by his or her educational background, cultural background, language skills and motivation.

This section elaborates on several aspects that together give shape to methodologies. These aspects include: language, group versus individual work, division of attention, inclusion of multiculturalism and contextualization.

Languages

As explained in section 1.3, *Educación intercultural bilingüe* (EBI) is a form of education which is designed for contexts where two or more cultures and languages interact. One of the most important elements to implement this correctly is the language in which is taught. This does not refer to language subjects which are taught (such as Spanish, Achí and English) but to the language in which subjects (such as mathematics) are taught. This is an important but complicated issue because exact percentages on how many hours and in which grades need to be taught in the maternal language are not stated in the CNB. Therefore, opinions of teachers, principals and experts on bilingual education differ enormously. In this research, the norm is set to the one that the Ministry of Education of Baja Verapaz supports, table 5.2.

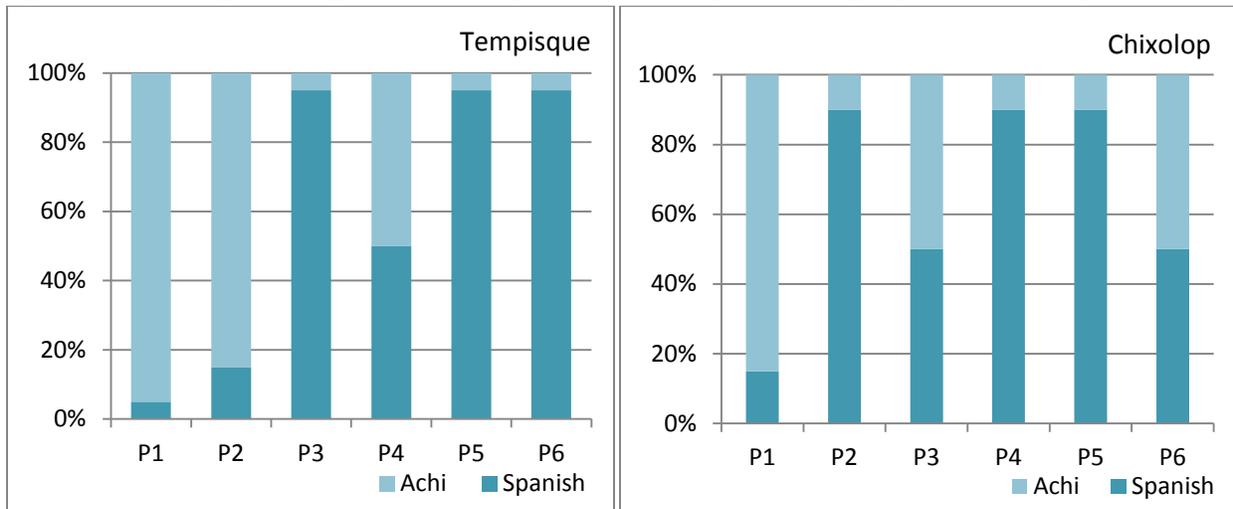
Table 5.2: Recommended percentage of hours taught in Achí and Spanish

Grade	Achí	Spanish
Primaria 1	95%	5%
Primaria 2	85%	15%
Primaria 3	65%	35%
Primaria 4	45%	55%
Primaria 5	25%	75%
Primaria 6	10% - 0%	90% - 100%

Source: Ministry of Education Baja Verapaz, 2011.³³

The recommended hours of table 5.1, serve as a guideline for the primary schools in both Tempisque and Chixolop. It is up to the teachers whether they incorporate these guidelines in their methodology. Unfortunately, the Ministry of Education does not monitor the actual amount of hours taught in Achí and Spanish; this results in actual situations being completely different than the one which is recommended by MINEDUC, figure 5.1 (next page).

³³ This information is based on an interview with Pablo Hernandez, director Baja Verapaz at the Ministry of Education. This information was confirmed by several key experts at the local level (Salamá and San Miguel Chicaj) of the Ministry of Education.

Figure 5.1: Actual percentage of hours taught in Achí and Spanish Tempisque and Chixolop

Results in this figure are averages based on observations and interviews done in each of the grades, including each group in every grade. Because not every teacher shares the same opinion on EBI, patterns differ in the way they apply the two languages. The first two grades of Tempisque reflect a good example on how EBI should be implemented regarding to the use of languages. Unfortunately, the third grade shows quite the opposite; 65% of all hours should be taught in Achí in this class, but the real average of this grade is only 5%. The average of grade four and six is more or less corresponding with the recommended average, but grade five disturbs the pattern. In this grade the recommended amount of hours to be taught in Achí is 25%, while the actual percentage is 5%.

In Chixolop there is no grade that matches the recommended amount of hours to be taught in Achí. Grade one to five are dominated by monolinguals and teachers that do not see the importance of correct implementation of EBI. Grade six, on the other hand, shows a slightly different problem. All three teachers are bilingual, born in Chixolop, and value the importance of teaching in Achí. In general, there is nothing wrong with this belief, but these teachers are working in the last grade of primary education – the last grade before students continue studying at *secundario*, where classes are taught in Spanish. It is therefore necessary that children are prepared for this transition and are able to study in Spanish. These teachers should increase the number of hours in which they teach in Spanish or start teaching lower grades.

It is remarkable that, on average, fewer hours are taught in Achí at the primary school of Chixolop than at the primary school of Tempisque. Chixolop is seen as a more traditional village than Tempisque and therefore more aware of and focused on their culture. On the other hand, two third of Chixolop's teachers do not live in this village. Therefore, many of them are monolingual and cannot speak Achí. Additionally, it has to be taken into account that not all teachers master both oracy (speaking and listening) and literacy (reading and writing) abilities in Achí and Spanish. The level of a teacher's proficiency in a language will be reflected on its students.

When teachers are not teaching a sufficient amount of hours in Achí, it does not necessarily mean that their methodology is not good; these teachers might have a very dynamic way of teaching. The problem has its roots in the consistency and alignment of methodologies of various teachers. In order to implement EBI correctly, all teachers should set norms on the minimum and maximum amount of hours in which they need to teach in Achí. Teachers need to use a similar dynamic methodology to stimulate the children to continue with their studies. It is still visible in the size of the groups per grade, that not all children finish their studies.

Depending on the scope (local, national or regional) and timeframe (one, ten or fifty years) several models on bilingual education are applicable on Guatemala's situation (section 1.3 provided more detailed information on each model).

From the national perspective, bilingual education in Guatemala could fit the dynamic model. This model is applicable in complex societies and global interaction is an essential element in this model. In Guatemala's new policy and curriculum, bilingual education is seen as communicative and dynamic bilingualism. Nevertheless, it is impossible to limit to one of the models which Garcia identified. The recursive model emphasizes the aspect of communities that want to revitalize their traditional mother tongue; people move back and forth in a bilingual continuum (Garcia, 2009: 52). This is what happens in communities that have been suppressed in the past, such as Mayas in Guatemala.

On the other hand, it is possible to look at the models from a teacher's perspective. The additive model represents the addition of one language to another while both languages are maintained. While this model is often applied to prestigious groups, the general aspect of adding one language to another is clearly visible in the EBI which is suitable for Guatemala. Unfortunately, many teachers – who do not understand the cultural context in which bilingual education needs to operate – only recognized the added value of EBI based on theory of the subtractive model. The goal of this model is loss of linguistic features of the traditional language (Achí) so every student will eventually only speak the dominant language (Spanish). Teachers that support this thought do not value the traditional Achí culture and are of opinion that one just needs Spanish in order to develop further; Achí does not bring one anywhere.

Individual versus group work

An important aspect of teaching in a dynamic way is maintaining a balanced mix of classical, group and individual work. In this way, children stay focused and develop skills to work both individually, in couples or in groups. Group work stimulates the fact that children can learn from each other and cooperate. Individual work improves a child's ability to work independently.

While working in groups it is important to work in diverse compositions of students in order to teach children to work together, also with other children that might not be their friends.

In Tempisque, children are generally lined up in pairs in the classroom. The majority of the teachers works on a classical basis with small intervals of group and individual work. As a result, the children do not get a lot of individual attention; most of the teacher's attention is paid to the group as a whole. In some groups, the teacher is assisted by students of *secundario* who complete their internship at primary schools in order to gain experience in teaching. These interns pay more individual attention to children in contrast to the teacher.

Nevertheless, observations differ per grade, group and teacher. A small group of teachers, mainly young, recently graduated teachers³⁴, designed their own 'activity book'. This activity books are based on recommended methodology of the CNB, contextualized for Tempisque and contain all sorts of exercises, games and worksheets for the students. Subsequently, these teachers hang completed tasks on the wall to remind students of previous completed tasks.

In Chixolop, all children are divided among small groups in the classroom. Additionally, a different way of teaching can be recognized. The majority of the teachers (66.6%) prefers to work in groups; motivation for this type of teaching is that children learn from each other while working in groups. In this way, children that do not have the ability to understand things as fast as their classmates, have the opportunity to learn from the others in his or her group. Teachers encourage all students to actively participate in their groups in order to build capacity. According to the teachers, by working in groups children learn to respect each other, are more social and learn how to cooperate. However these teachers recognize the importance of children to work individually, they do not emphasize on individual work.

The other teachers (33.3%) provide the children mainly with individual work and only let them work in groups when they have to share materials such as text books. According to these teachers, children can develop themselves individually and therefore do not hamper other children that have a different speed of learning. However, they do recognize that by teaching in this way children ask for a lot of individual attention. Unfortunately, teachers cannot always give their students the attention which they ask for, because the groups are too large.

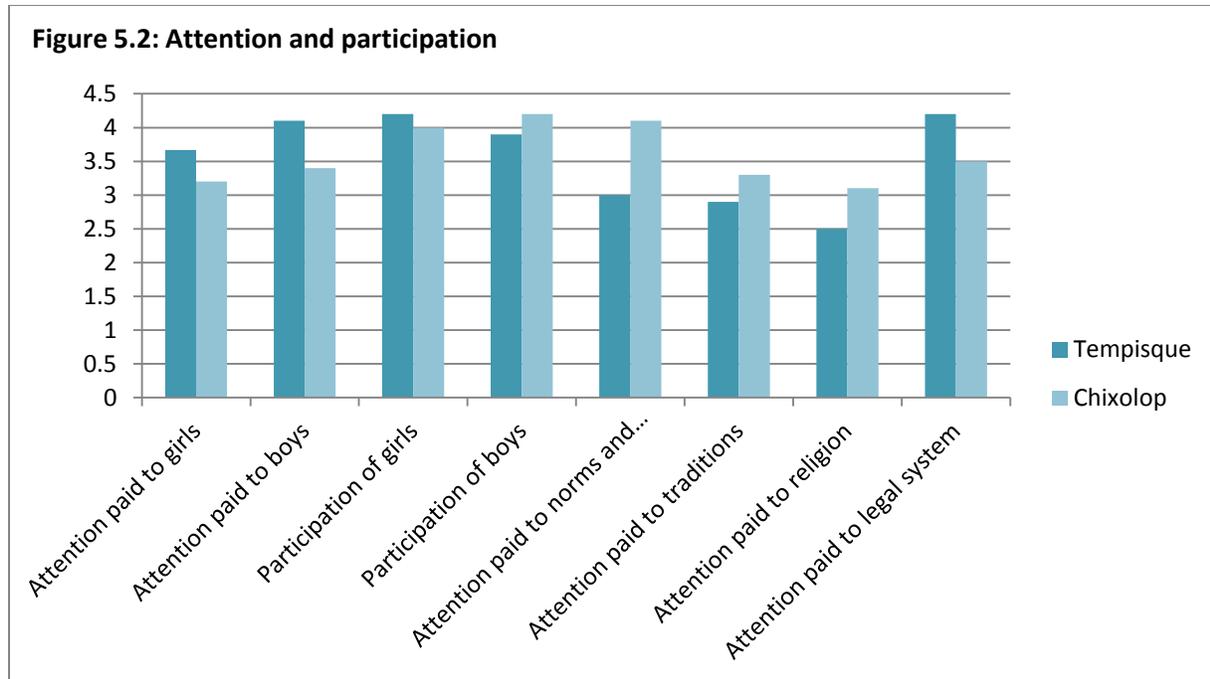
Division of attention

Observations and in-depth interviews with all teachers focused on several areas in order to measure important issues related to attention and participation in the classroom. All subjects were ranked from 1-5 during the observation and during the interviews teachers were asked to do the same based on their methodology; average results are shown in figure 5.2. Naturally, these averages differ per grade, teacher and group, but they provide a clear image of the current situation in both primary schools.

In Tempisque, the average rank for attention paid to girls (3.67) resulted in a high rank (4.2) of participation of these same girls. When comparing these ranks with those obtained for boys (4.1 for attention paid and 3.9 for participation), concluded can be that boys ask for more attention but participate less than girls. In correspondence to Tempisque, the rank for attention paid to girls (3.2) in Chixolop is lower than the rank for attention paid to boys (3.4). However, boys (4.2) in Chixolop also do participate more in class than girls (4).

It is possible to analyze these results in two ways; either boys participate more because they receive more attention than girls (Chixolop) or boys need more attention because they participate less (Tempisque).

³⁴ This group attended school in recent years and are, therefore familiar with dynamic methodology.



With regard to the classes taught at both primaries and based on knowledge regarding to teacher's priorities in school, it was possible to rank the attention that was paid to various subjects, figure 5.2. Both Tempisque and Chixolop show a completely different pattern; this is most visible with regard to attention paid to norms and values where Tempisque's average rank is 3 and Chixolop's is 4.1. This outcome is not very surprising because Chixolop is portrayed as a more traditional community than Tempisque (chapter 4). This is confirmed when comparing Tempisque's (2.9) and Chixolop's (3.3) ranks in attention paid to traditions; again, Chixolop scores higher than Tempisque. Nevertheless, it has to be noted that 3.1 is a low rank for a traditional community; implementation of EBI could be improved regarding this aspect.

Of all topics, religion is integrated the least in teacher's methodology and subjects taught; rank Tempisque is 2.5 and rank Chixolop is 3.1. It is not surprising that Chixolop obtained a higher rank than Tempisque. Section 4.1 showed that all inhabitants indicated to be religious, in contrast to 87.8% in Tempisque. Additionally, the composition of religion is much more diverse in Chixolop. One could argue that because of (acceptation of) this diversity in religion, more attention should be paid to this subject. Remarkable, 'attention paid to the legal system' is the only subject on which Chixolop (3.5) obtained a lower rank than Tempisque (4.2). Arguments to explain this result include the fact of mistrust in policies and external institutions of teachers in Chixolop³⁵.

³⁵ This interpretation is based on feedback provided by several employees of PLAN International during a review meeting on the interim report of this research.

Multiculturalism and contextualization

After 36 years of civil war, Guatemala's citizens claim to be proud of their country's multiculturalism. One way to express this is by incorporating it into education. As stated in the CNB, education is a manner of respecting different cultures.

In Guatemala, education regarding multiculturalism is composed of three parts. First, children learn about their own culture. Second, children learn about other cultures existing in Guatemala. And, third, children learn about interaction between their own culture and other cultures and about the importance of understanding that not all cultures – including aspects such as language, norms, values and traditions – are similar. By learning from other cultures, children can learn about their own identity and community as well. This gives children insight in their own development process.

Unfortunately, not all teachers agree with the importance of acknowledging Guatemala's multiculturalism. Some state that children learn about culture at home; it is not the job of teachers to teach children about this subject. They argue that children do not lose their culture because it simply is part of them. Additionally, these teachers worry about 'an overkill' of Achí knowledge; the future perspective is larger outside of the community. Besides, these teachers claim the existence of a negative image of indigenous cultures; there is no reason to attach to such image. In general, teachers that share these opinions are the same teachers that do not see the added value of teaching according to the EBI methodology.

Some teachers indicate that they do not know how to implement their knowledge on multiculturalism in the classroom. Often these teachers have the will to integrate EBI aspects in their methodology, but they lack the capacity to do so.

The national curriculum (CNB) is only effective if applied in the context. Children in rural areas live in completely different worlds than children in urban areas.

Differences between these worlds are often larger than 'we', as Westerners, can imagine, see box 5.1 for a personal experience to illustrate this statement. It should be noted that this example has its roots in a difference between a rural area (Chixolop) and a small urban area (Salamá); the effect could be even more radical between a small rural area (Chixolop) and a large urban area (Guatemala City).

The example from box 5.1 shows that not all people are familiar with or surrounded by the same things³⁶, even while they are sometimes located only one hour away from each other. The notion, that

Box 5.1**Rural – urban differences**

During the field research in Chixolop, one of the locals approaches me pretending to carry some sort of secret object in a napkin. She looks around and whispers: "Do you know this? It's called 'pizza'!" A bus driver brought it for her from Salamá, which is located one hour away from Chixolop.

For a moment I did not know how to respond. Of course I know what pizza is; Dutch supermarkets are stuffed with pizza. But I could not explain this fact to a woman who saw a piece of pizza for the first time in her life; to a woman who experiences periods of food shortage each year.

³⁶ This could be products, but also animals, vehicles, etc.

not all people – even within a country – live in the same context, needs to be integrated in the teacher’s methodology. Example exercises and classes that are included in the CNB often contain examples animals (e.g. elephants) or products (e.g. pizza) that people in Chixolop and Tempisque do not know. Therefore, these example exercises and classes need to be contextualized. Unfortunately, as argued before, many teachers copy these examples literally from the CNB.

The same counts for words and language that is used within the classroom. When words are used that children recognize they would remember what they have learned easier. This is especially important in the first three classes of primary school. When children learn the alphabet, they will remember characters easier when they know the word that is associated to the character (e.g. in English: A as in ‘apple’; B as in ‘boy’; C as in ‘car’). While taking this into account, it must be recognized that not all communities use the same words as other communities do. For example: in Chixolop and Tempisque, pigs are called ‘*coche*’, in Guatemala City, pigs are called ‘*cerdo*’. A ‘*coche*’ in Guatemala City is a car, while a car in Chixolop and Tempisque is called ‘*carro*’. It is understandable that miscommunication, in this case, can cause hilarious situations, but children often just experience it as confusing.

5.3.3 Parental involvement

In both Tempisque and Chixolop, parental involvement is very low. The majority of the parents argue that education is very important for their children; however, most of them do not even visit the school. The amount of parental involvement highly depends per grade and its associated teacher. Some teachers schedule regular meetings with parents, but they state that on average only about 20% of the parents actually shows up. It seems that they are not interested in the progress that their children make. This issue can be dedicated to both the teachers and the parents. On one hand, the parents do not show any interest. It is understandable that teachers are not motivated to organize regular meetings with these parents. On the other hand, teachers should aim for regular meetings at preset times; e.g. every three months on the first Monday of the month. This ensures constancy among both teachers and parents and makes it easier to evaluate children’s performance.

It is essential that parents know what their children are doing and learning at school so they can stimulate them in their studies. Additionally, they can support their children with their homework. When parents are familiar with their children’s school tasks, they are in general more interested in the results that their children obtain.

Regular meetings with parents can also be used to address common issues regarding education. The two main issues that occur in both Tempisque and Chixolop are related to homework³⁷.

Many parents do not give their children sufficient time to let them do their homework. Sometimes this is related to disinterest in their children’s education, but more often parents need their children to help in the household or work on the field in order to generate extra income.

³⁷ Statements on these issues are based on in-depth interviews conducted with both teachers and parents in both Tempisque and Chixolop.

The second issue is related to the way parents help their children with their homework. Parents are often opinioned that children need to get time at school to do all their work which is related to school. In a way they do not agree with the concept of homework; when their children are home, they are needed for other tasks. Therefore, when children ask their parents for help with homework, parents tend to complete the homework of their children themselves, instead of explaining what they need to do and how they can do this. This saves them time and complicated explanations.

Additionally, these meetings can be held to inform the parents about the importance of EBI; the importance to maintain their culture and to learn Spanish to prepare for the future. Many parents have the opinion that education should only serve to teach their children Spanish and mathematics. These parents state that cultural aspects are taught at home; their children do not need to go to school for this. The general idea behind EBI is that these topics should be offered as a package deal at school to make the students understand the multicultural context as a whole and apply they knowledge learned at school directly in their own environment.

Nevertheless, there are also some good examples on parent participation. In Tempisque, a group of mothers participates intensively in school activities and in the school committee (*junta de padres*). This group consists of twenty women that work in shifts. One of their daily tasks is to cook lunch for the children and to decide which food can be bought from the budget.

In Chixolop, the *junta de padres* has even more influence on decisions. As explained in box 4.1 (section 4.3.2) this group of parents protested against the election of the new principal in 2011.

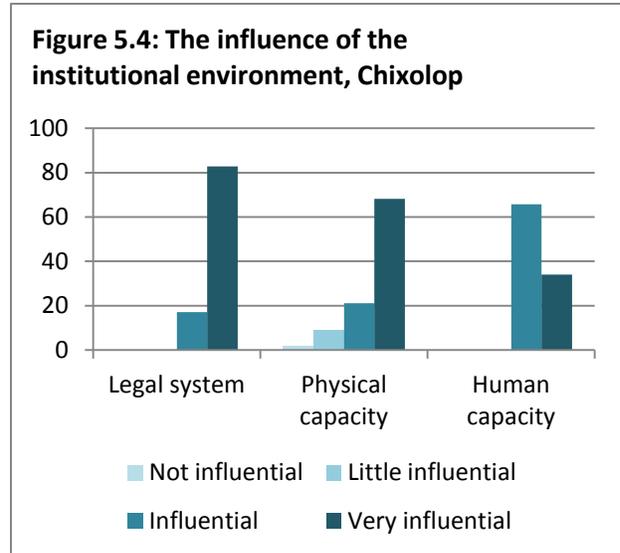
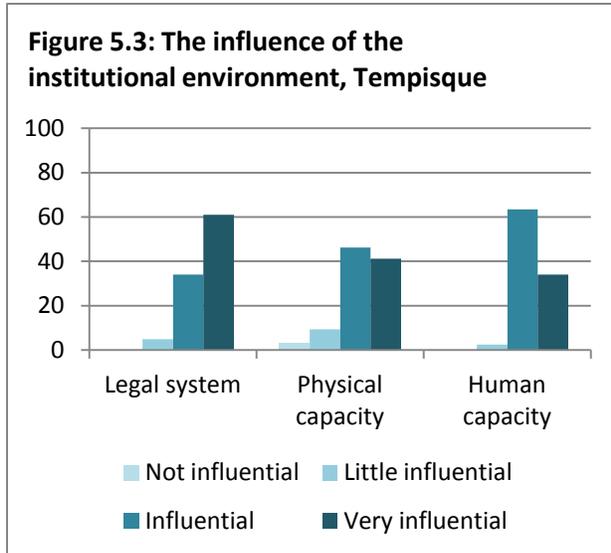
5.4 Community perceptions

In addition to perceptions of parents, who have children enrolled in one of the primary schools, perceptions of other community members are of great importance; the whole community is seen as one of the major stakeholders that might influence education and its effectiveness. According to the new curriculum, the whole community needs to be involved in the decision making and development process. Therefore, results presented in this section are based on the outcomes of a questionnaire which has been answered by household members³⁸, regardless if they have any children who are currently enrolled in school.

It is clear that ‘sufficiently influential’ and ‘very influential’ are the two predominant categories when asking about the degree of influence of the legal system, physical capacity and human capacity (figure 5.3 and figure 5.4, next page). This proves that both communities acknowledge the influence of the institutional environment on the development, implementation and effectiveness of EBI. While these are just perceptions – most of the respondents cannot base their answers on actual facts – it is interesting to see how firm statements of community members are.

³⁸ 41 households in Chixolop and 41 households in Tempisque provide a total outcome of 82 respondents.

Notably, the percentages for the influence of human capacity on the implementation and effectiveness of EBI are almost equal in both communities; in Tempisque 63.4% states that human capacity is influential and 34.1% states it is very influential. In Chixolop these percentages are 65.8% for influential and 34.1% for very influential.



In both communities, the legal system is seen as the factor that influences the situation regarding EBI the most. In Tempisque, 34.1% of the respondents state it is influential and 61% states it is very influential. In Chixolop, these numbers are more extreme; 17.1% of the inhabitants opinion that the legal system is influential and the other 82.9% indicates it is very influential.

In Tempisque, the influence of the physical capacity on the implementation and effectiveness is less acknowledged than the influence of the legal system and human capacity. Nevertheless, the concept still scores very high; 46.3% indicates it is influential and 41.2% opinions it is very influential. In Chixolop, the respondents have very firm statements on this topic; 68.2 % states that the physical capacity is very influential and 21.1% indicated it is influential. These scores can be explained by the shortage of school furniture for some classes and the poor conditions of the school building.

The answers given differ among people who have children that currently are enrolled in school and people who do not have any children. Parents with children that are currently enrolled recognize the importance and large influence of human capacity above the influence of the legal system and the influence of physical capacity. In contrast, people without children tend to stress influence of the legal system above the others. Experts³⁹ argue that these differences can be explained because people with children can base their answers on experience instead of prejudices.

³⁹ This information is based on an interview with Pablo Hernandez, director Baja Verapaz at the Ministry of Education. This information was confirmed by several key experts at the local level (Salamá and San Miguel Chicaj) of the Ministry of Education.

5.5 Conclusions

The institutional environment of Chixolop and Tempisque is characterized by complexity. In order to structure this concept, this research distinguished three main components: the legal system, human capacity and physical capacity. As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, these concepts are heavily interlinked.

The main stakeholders in each of the communities include teachers, students, their parents, educational administrators, the community, *junta de padres*, school employees and NGOs. Additionally, this chapter confirms that institutions – such as culture and religion – play an important role in the implementation and effectiveness of EBI in both primary schools. Both the stakeholders and institutions which were identified influence these processes directly and indirectly.

As explained, the aim of EBI is that children first receive education in their mother tongue which shifts gradually to Spanish in higher grades, while they learn about their own culture but also about other cultures. In order to implement this type of education effectively, it is important that teachers recognize the importance of this method.

In order to gain insight in the current situation regarding the implementation and effectiveness of EBI at both primary schools, the methodology of teachers was observed, analyzed and judged on the following aspects: language, dynamics regarding methods of working, attention paid to boys/girls, level of contextualization and level of attention paid to multiculturalism. Results regarding these aspects are determined by the (cultural) background and education obtained by the teacher⁴⁰.

Four types of teachers can be distinguished: (1) the traditional teacher and (2) the dynamic teacher, the teacher who is in favor of EBI (3) and the teacher who is not in favor of EBI (4), table 5.3 (next page). An important issue to take into account is that bilingual teachers do not equal teachers who are in favor of EBI and monolingual teachers do not equal teachers who are not in favor of EBI. Some bilingual teachers, simply do not acknowledge the importance of *educación bilingüe intercultural* (EBI). This can be the result of suppression in the past; many have experienced the lack of future perspective within their own community as a result of their indigenous descent. Therefore, these teachers promote future development outside of communities such as Chixolop and Tempisque. On the other hand, some monolinguals confirmed that they do see the importance of EBI, even while they are not indigenous themselves⁴¹. Most of these monolinguals are young, recent graduated teachers, who have received education in line with the new theories on education, or teachers who have been working in indigenous communities for several years.

The ideal teacher has a combination of several aspects of a dynamic teacher and a teacher who is in favor of EBI; the five most important aspects are highlighted in blue in table 5.3. However, it is important to take into account that not all teachers with abilities in Achí and/or Spanish master both oracy (speaking and listening) and literacy (reading and writing). Moreover, it is not the intention to

⁴⁰ A teacher's educational background is influenced by the legal system.

⁴¹ Mauricio Noguera, the principal of the primary school in Tempisque is a good example of a monolingual who stresses the importance of bilingual education in indigenous communities.

either favor group, classical or individual work. It is of high importance to include all three forms of teaching in one methodology in order to keep the children motivated.

Table 5.3: Four different types of teachers

TRADITIONAL	DYNAMIC
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Older generation; - Both monolingual and bilingual; - Only completed the first three years of <i>secundario</i>; - Mostly classical; - Less individual attention; - Less attention to girls; - Operate with old books; - Do not contextualize their materials; - Do not base their methodology on the guidelines of the CNB; - Pay more attention to the legal system compared to culture or traditions; - Lack of enthusiasm and no encouragement towards children. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Young, new generation; - Both monolingual and bilingual; - Completed at least the last three years of <i>secundario</i>; - Attended additional courses (E.g. the course 'Primary professional education' at the University of San Carlos); - Balanced mix of classical, group and individual work; - Use the guidelines of the CNB as a basis, supported by the PSI; - Good combination of theoretical and practical work; - Design their own 'activity book', use additional materials and contextualize these materials; - Incorporate children in the teaching method;
NOT IN FAVOR OF EBI	IN FAVOR OF EBI
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Not originated from an indigenous village; - Often monolingual; - Majority has only Spanish abilities; - Completed the first three years of <i>secundario</i>; Opinion: Spanish is needed for the future, Achí is waste of time. - Opinion: EBI generates 'an overkill' of Achí knowledge, future perspective is outside of the community; - Pay no or little attention to culture and religion; - Do not or little work in groups; - Lack of cultural knowledge; - Do not contextualize their materials. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Locals, born in an indigenous village; - Young, new generation; - Abilities in Achí and Spanish; - Completed at least the last three years of <i>secundario</i>; - Attended additional courses (E.g. the course 'Primary professional education' at the University of San Carlos); - Opinion: Teaching in mother tongue gives children confidence, strengthens their cultural values and motivates them to continue studying; - Use the guidelines of the CNB as a basis supported by the PSI, both contextualized; - Use additional materials and contextual their materials; - Pay attention to multiculturalism; - Give dynamic classes; - Incorporate children in methodology.

Bilingual education and multiculturalism are well represented in Guatemala's constitution. The educational reforms are shaped by this inclusion, which is – in theory – visible in the following three declarations:

- 1: Education must focus on the development of individual human knowledge, knowledge of reality and culture on a national and universal level;
- 2: Everybody has the right and obligation to receive education;
- 3: In areas that host an indigenous population, education must be implemented in a bilingual form.

Because of this strong focus on indigenous population and multiculturalism, both Tempisque and Chixolop incorporated these education reforms in their school policy three years ago. From the moment of incorporation, the number of drop outs and repeaters at both primary schools decreased tremendously. It is, therefore, possible to conclude that the legal system influences the implementation and effectiveness of EBI significantly. Unfortunately – as key informants stated – it seems that EBI is not fully supported by the legal system.

Many improvements can be made, especially related to the provision of financial resources to actually realize EBI in a proper way. Currently, no books in Achí are provided by MINEDUC. Sometimes this is the result of lack of financial resources, but more often these books do not even exist. It is important that MINEDUC stimulates development of books in indigenous languages in order to support the implementation of EBI. This is an example of a difference between theory and practice; the educational reforms stress the importance of children learning from books written in their own language, but at the same time these books do not exist.

Additionally, MINEDUC does not provide enough money for maintenance of the school and food for all students. Of course, it must be noted that Guatemala is not one of the richest countries in the world and therefore it is very likely that these funds are nonexistent for MINEDUC. This gap generates an opportunity for NGOs to support primary schools in this matter. Financial support by NGOs (for both food and school supplies) is very much visible in both communities.

Regardless of the lack of school supplies, the CNB is not implemented correctly by all teachers. This is not the result of the legal system hampering the implementation and effectiveness of EBI, but as a consequence of human capacity. Human capacity is somewhat supporting the implementation and effectiveness of EBI, but unfortunately this support is very limited. This can equally be stated about the physical capacity (table 5.4). All factors presented here have either a positive or negative influence on the quality of education at the primary schools of Tempisque and Chixolop.

Factors influencing the quality of education negatively are dominated by the lack of materials or poor condition of materials, contradictions in opinions on importance of EBI and absence of knowledge or motivation to implement EBI correctly. As a result, students do not see the importance of receiving education and lack motivation to continue their studies.

On the other hand, if materials are available it is easier for teachers to teach and for students to study certain subjects. When it is easier to study, students are motivated to continue studying. The same

counts for human capacity; when teachers teach enthusiastic and in a dynamic way, students experience education as something useful that can contribute to a better future perspective.

Table 5.4: Influence of human and physical capacity

POSITIVE INFLUENCE	NEGATIVE INFLUENCE
<p>Physical capacity</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Classrooms are clean and well maintained as far as possible; - Schools are built from good materials which keep the heat / mud outside; - Sanitation is recently renewed in Tempisque; - Some teachers are using additional materials to support their classes. <p>Human capacity</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Some teachers studying at university level to increase their skills and knowledge; - Some teachers implement EBI correctly; - Dynamic teachers provide a good combination of individual and group work; - Young teachers (who recently graduated) teach in a dynamic way; - Teachers make, increasingly, use of schedules; - Classes on (Maya) cultures are included in the CNB; - Children are more motivated to complete their studies when receiving education initially in their maternal language; less dropouts and repeaters; - Existence of <i>junta de padres</i>. 	<p>Physical capacity</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Lack of sufficient amount of classrooms in Chixolop; - Lack of electricity; - Lack of materials (textbooks, CNB); - Tables and chairs are too small for children in upper grades; - Sanitation in Chixolop is not hygienic and in poor condition; - There are hardly any books in Achí available; - Insufficient amount of food available for all students, <p>Human capacity</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The amount of students in one class is too high; - Children do not get enough individual attention; - Lack of action plan regarding recurring meetings with parents; - There is no unanimity in views on importance of EBI; - Classes in English are taught because the CNB requires it, but teachers do not speak English; - Too many monolinguals are teaching in the first three grades; - EBI not applied in a consistent way; - Many teachers only studied the first three years of <i>diversificado</i>; - Different levels of education exist between groups within same grades.

It is important to take into account the opinion and perception of community members on the influence of the legal system, human capacity and physical capacity on the implementation and effectiveness of EBI. The new curriculum and educational law recognize community members as one of the major stakeholders in the context of education efficiency.

In both communities, ranks on the influence of human capacity on the situation regarding EBI are almost equal. The legal system is seen as the aspect which influences the implementation and effectiveness of EBI the most. This is especially visible in Chixolop, where the number of people ranking this factor as 'very influential' is almost 30% higher than it is in Tempisque. The influence of the physical capacity on the implementation and effectiveness of EBI is less acknowledged in Tempisque than in it is Chixolop. This is most likely a result of the poor condition (of some parts) of the school building.

Comparing the results of section 5.4 to those obtained in section 5.3, it is remarkable that 'attention paid to the legal system' is the only subject where Chixolop obtained a lower rank than Tempisque. This is notable because results show that the influence of the legal system on the implementation and effectiveness of EBI scores higher than it does in Tempisque. Therefore, it can be concluded that, there is an important acknowledgement of the influence of the legal system in Chixolop. Nevertheless, this acknowledgement is not reflected in the attention that teachers give to this aspect. This could be explained by the fact that the majority of Chixolop's teachers does not originate from the community.

CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

Guatemala can be seen as a country with high social and economic inequality, a low education level and a large rural population. Its corrupt government, increased drugs violence and susceptibility to seasonal patterns, shocks and trends characterize Guatemala as a very fragile state in which its people are vulnerable to changes in their livelihood patterns.

This research has paid specific attention to issues relating to social well-being, vulnerability and social equity of the Achí people. This cultural group is characterized by its own language (Achí), traditional clothing and traditional dance and can mainly be found in the department of Baja Verapaz. Within this department, the Achí language is spoken by 105,992 people – mostly as their maternal language (INE, 2002). This large amount of people indicates the scale of the problem and shows the need for an educational method such as EBI.

In order to analyze the livelihoods of the Achí, research was done in both Chixolop and Tempisque. In this thesis, a livelihood consists of the capabilities, assets and activities that are required for a means of living (Potter et al, 2008: 484). While analyzing livelihoods of indigenous people, it is important to take into account the influence of institutions. As became clear in the paragraph 1.2, many different opinions on the concept of institutions exist. In this research, institutions were defined as “systems of established and embedded social rules that structure social interactions rather than rules as such” (Hodgson, 2006: 19). In other words, not only rules and policies but also institutions related to human and physical capital – such as educational buildings and methodology – were included.

Unsustainable livelihoods

While performing this research, it became clear that the Achí culture and its traditions are still prominently visible in both Chixolop and Tempisque. However, respondents indicated that traditional views on differences between men and women – and their roles within households – are slowly diminishing over time. In both communities, a strong presence of globalization brings fascinating development issues along, which lead to a situation in which inhabitants are influenced by globalization, but still want to maintain their cultural identity.

By conducting both a household survey and in-depth interviews, it was possible to gain deeper understanding of both communities and answer the following research question:

How are the livelihoods of Chixolop and Tempisque characterized?

Chixolop is characterized as a very traditional community. Its location is relatively remote, which becomes especially noticeable with issues like the availability of food. Inhabitants argue that the road to other communities or the department’s capital Salamá is dangerous and, therefore, they rather avoid it. A relatively low percentage of youth is enrolled in school (78.2%); children are often working instead of going to school. Nevertheless, a relatively high unemployment rate (16.2%) is visible within the community. This can partly be explained by the relatively large amount of unemployed youth who, as a result, lack future perspective. Additionally, there is not much work available within the community and

– for the work that is available – there is a high dependence on only one large landowner. Many household members indicated this problem; unfortunately, they also indicated that they do not have a solution for it. No strict regulations regarding ownership of land exist, resulting in an unequal distribution of the land.

Tempisque is well connected to Salamá – the department’s capital – where many health and education facilities can be found. This partly resulted in a large percentage of the youth that is enrolled in school (94.8%). Similar as in Chixolop, there are no strict regulations regarding the ownership of land. As a result, an unequal distribution of land occurs and many farmers – the most common profession among male workers – are depending on only three large landowners for work. While a low unemployment rate (1.7%) is visible in the community, it was found that most jobs are part-time and not many permanent work opportunities exist; the availability of most work depends on the season. Additionally, many people who indicated that they are working belong to the segment of ‘unpaid family labor’ or are weaving; with this activity they earn some money only sporadically. This leads to a low average monthly income of 1459.02 *quetzales*.

Results of this research identify a variety of financial issues in both communities. Most likely, these are generated by the combination of the consequences of the communities’ vulnerability context and people’s inability to establish a long term vision. The latter is also visible in the way people manage the protection and conservation of nature. In both communities, people are lacking a sustainable view and corresponding knowledge regarding the maintenance of the environment and development of their natural capital. Fortunately, people seem to feel united and indicate that they can rely on each other (both financially and socially) when needed.

Within both communities, it was observed that only a few important families belong to the ruling elite, generating an unequal division in social classes. Both Tempisque and Chixolop face a relatively poor, unsustainable livelihood outcome, based on a fragile and unbalanced set of livelihood assets, high inequity, and the inability to respond to shocks and trends. Results of the research show that the following matters are among the main issues in both communities: access rights of indigenous people, levels of livability, gender roles, labor conditions, nature conservation and distribution of income.

Contradictions in education theory and practice

For many indigenous people, including the Achí in Chixolop and Tempisque, bilingualism is obligatory because they are – to some extent – forced to develop bilingual abilities as a result of the existence of different national and local languages. In this context, *educación bilingüe intercultural* (EBI) is seen as a form of instruction that facilitates equitable education, establishes tolerance towards different cultural groups and raises a multiple understanding and appreciation for human diversity; this corresponds with the theory of Garcia (2009: 6) which was discussed in section 1.3. As Lewis (1977) concluded, “bilingual education has been advocated for entirely pedagogical reasons, while the fundamental rationale is to bring political, economic and social equity”. From the outcomes of this research, it can be concluded that both pedagogical reasons and its contribution to equity confirm the importance and need of EBI in indigenous communities in Guatemala.

Based on data obtained during the fieldwork, it can be concluded that theory on models of bilingual education are applicable to primary schools in Chixolop and Tempisque. It depends on the scope (local, national or regional), timeframe (e.g. one, ten or fifty years) and personal perception, which of the four bilingual models that Garcia (2009: 52) identified are most suitable for Guatemala's situation.

- **The dynamic model.**

This model is applicable to Guatemala's national level because the features of multiculturalism and multiple languages within the country are observed. Additionally, it confirms the way in which EBI is acknowledged in the *Currículo Nacional Base* (CNB).

- **The recursive model.**

The aspect of communities that want to revitalize their traditional mother tongue often after time of suppression is emphasized in this model. Therefore, it is applicable to the local and regional level (Chixolop, Tempisque but also Baja Verapaz due to its large indigenous population). The Achí have been suppressed in the past and this research showed that they are still very proud of their culture and, therefore, motivated to maintain this where possible.

- **The additive model.**

Corresponding to the perspective of teachers' who are in favor of EBI, this model represents the addition of one language to another while both languages are maintained.

- **The subtractive model.**

According to this model, the goal of bilingual education is loss of linguistic features of the traditional language (Achí) and switch to the dominant language (Spanish). This corresponds to the perspective of teachers' who are not in favor of EBI.

Existing statements made in previous research done on bilingual education in Guatemala, suggest that indigenous children who have received bilingual primary education, obtain better results with respect to the Spanish language (Patrinos & Velez, 2009 and Rubio, 2004). This is in line with results obtained during this research. Additionally, children are more motivated to continue their studies. Research in El Quiché (Guatemala) indicated that when indigenous people receive education in a bilingual form, they are likely to replace their mother tongue by Spanish and thereby lose their cultural identity (Rubio, 2004). Findings of this research show the contrary; in both Chixolop and Tempisque bilingual education strengthens the indigenous cultural identity. The Achí culture is very strongly present in both communities and people indicated that the Achí language is one of the pillars of their culture. As a result, people will keep conversing in Achí within the community.

What is the current national policy on bilingual education and how did this policy evolve through history?

Results of research on bilingual education in other parts of Latin America (section 1.3) indicate the importance of inclusion of bilingual education in both policy and a country's national curriculum. These policies are generally established as a response to needs of the indigenous population for this type of education. As was noted, bottom-up approaches increasingly gain more attention and are gradually implemented more frequently in Latin American countries. Results of this research show that this development is not visible in Guatemala. Respondents indicated that this can be explained by the strong

presence of national policy regarding bilingual education. Other stakeholders involved, such as NGOs, initially act as an intermediary instead of fulfilling a leading role.

In Guatemala, *educación bilingüe intercultural* (EBI) gained more importance in 2007, when the new educational reforms were presented. These were an indirect result of the signing of The Peace Accords in 1996, which ended the 36-year civil war. Consequently, indigenous groups were no longer suppressed and from this time on equality and indigenous cultures were promoted.

This research shows that in theory, diversity and bilingual education are well-represented in the law. Guatemala's constitution recognizes the following three important conditions regarding education: 1) education must focus on the development of individual human knowledge, knowledge of reality and culture on a national and universal level, 2) everybody has the right and obligation to receive education and 3) in areas that host an indigenous population, education must be implemented in a bilingual form.

To what extent is bilingual education included in Guatemala's national curriculum?

As a result of the education reforms a new curriculum was established. This *Curriculum Nacional Base* (CNB) has its roots in these three conditions mentioned above and serves as a practical guideline for teachers. This research concluded that the CNB is designed in a way that it can be contextualized in different cultural and social settings.

The aim of EBI – at the primary schools of Chixolop and Tempisque – is that children first receive education in their mother tongue, and will shift gradually to Spanish in higher grades. During this process, they learn about their own culture and other cultures that can be found in Guatemala.

In order to implement this type of education effectively, it is essential that it is supported by all stakeholders. The main stakeholders in both communities include teachers, students, their parents, educational administrators, the community, *junta de padres* (parent council), school employees and NGOs. As this research showed, each stakeholder plays an important role in the implementation and effectiveness of EBI. Additionally, the importance of institutions regarding EBI is clearly visible in both communities. The institutional environment of Chixolop and Tempisque is characterized by complexity. Therefore, three main components – the legal system, human capacity and physical capacity – were defined in order to structure this concept. It is important to recognize that these components are heavily interlinked.

To what extent is the legal system influencing the effectiveness of bilingual education?

As stressed before, it is important that bilingual education is included in policies and the national curriculum. Results of the research show the degree to which this inclusion is reflected on the implementation and effectiveness of bilingual education. These results lead to the conclusion that the legal system supports the implementation and effectiveness of EBI only to a certain extent. Since the incorporation of EBI in the CNB, a reduction in the number of dropouts and repeaters was clearly visible.

However, many improvements – especially related to the provision of financial resources to buy goods that are needed to execute EBI in a proper way – can be made. Examples of this include the purchase of books, maintenance of the school and provision of food to all students. Additionally, the Ministry of Education (MINEDUC) could stimulate the development of books in indigenous languages because, currently, these do not exist. As many key experts indicated, the financial gap that occurs generates opportunities for NGOs to support primary schools in this matter.

To what extent is human and physical capacity influencing the effectiveness of bilingual education?

Observations show that besides the lack of financial resources, the CNB is not supported and implemented correctly by all teachers; human capacity is somewhat hampering the implementation and effectiveness of EBI. The same can be concluded for the influence of the physical capacity on EBI. Factors that are negatively influencing the quality of education are dominated by the poor condition or the complete lack of materials, contradictions in opinions on the importance of EBI and the absence of knowledge or motivation to implement EBI correctly.

First of all, not all teachers acknowledge the importance of EBI. Outcomes of the research show that depending on methodology, ethnicity and opinion on EBI, four different types of teachers can be distinguished; (1) traditional teachers and (2) dynamic teachers, (3) teachers who are in favor of EBI and (4) those who are not in favor of EBI. Within this distinction, it must be acknowledged that bilingual teachers do not equal teachers who are in favor of EBI and monolingual teachers do not equal teachers who are not in favor of EBI. Conversely, monolinguals could be in favor of the EBI methodology, while they are sometimes not capable of applying it themselves because they lack language skills in the indigenous language. Moreover, it is important to acknowledge that not all teachers with abilities in Achí and/or Spanish master both oracy (speaking and listening) and literacy (reading and writing).

This research concludes that the ideal teacher has the following combination of several aspects of a dynamic teacher and a teacher who is in favor of EBI; he or she has abilities in both Achí and Spanish, uses the guidelines of the CNB as a basis supported by the Primaria Santillana Integral (PSI) (both contextualized), pays attention to multiculturalism, implements a good combination of theoretical and practical work and maintains a balanced mix of classical, group and individual work.

Education as a tool for development

From section 1.1 it became clear that a livelihood is sustainable if it can “cope with and recover from stress and shocks; maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation; and which contributes net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels in the long and short term” (Potter et al, 2008: 484). With this statement in mind, it is possible to conclude that sustainable livelihoods are not only characterized by sustainability, but also by equity and capability.

A livelihood can be influenced by many different aspects, including education. Corresponding to the theory of Garcia (2009: 95), this research has clarified that bilingual education is an asset in the local market place, but also in the larger transnational community.

To what extent does the institutional environment influence the implementation and effectiveness of bilingual education in Guatemala and how can bilingual education contribute to the improvement of the livelihoods of indigenous people?

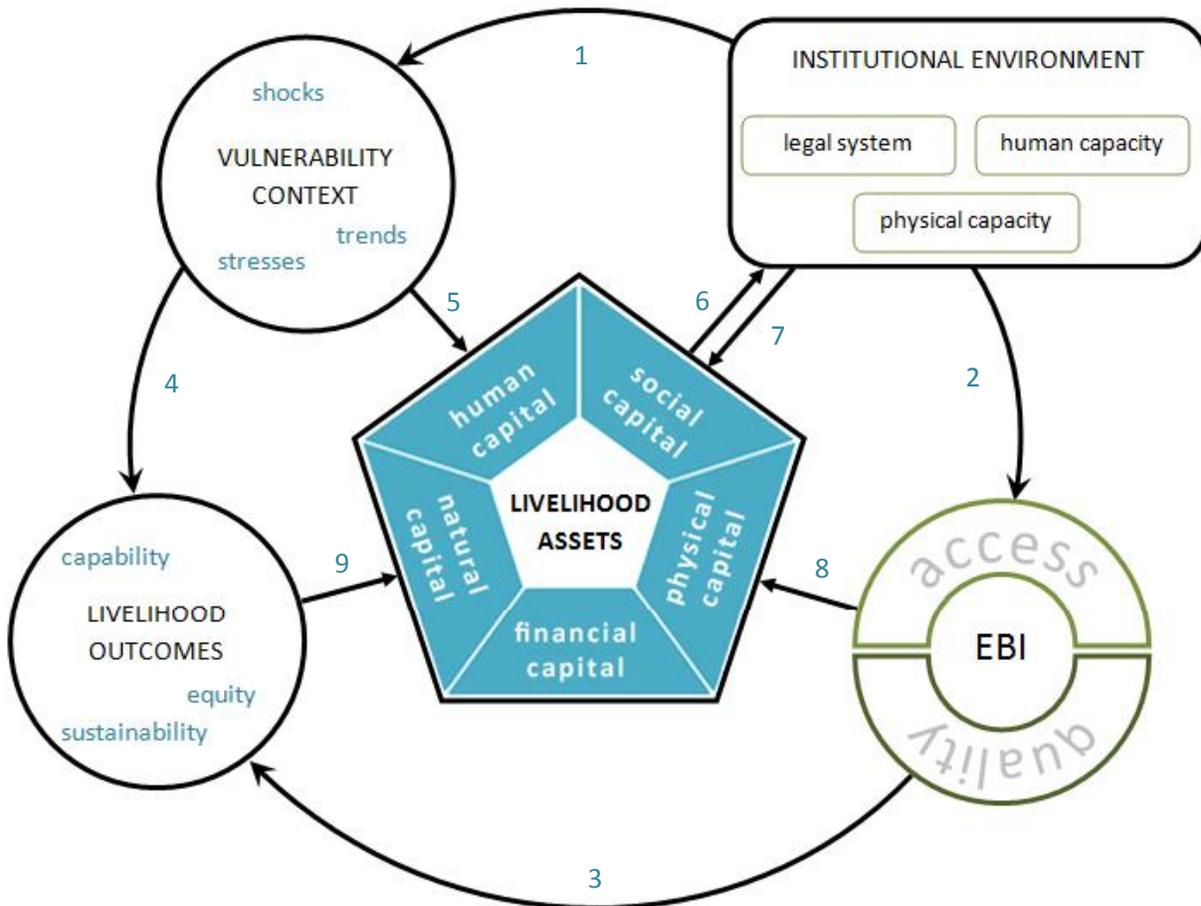
Based on the results of this research, it can be concluded that the basis of a sustainable society can be divided into environmental wellbeing, economic wellbeing and human wellbeing. According to existing theory (Otheguy, 1994; Lewis, 1977 and Garcia, 2009), EBI is influencing economic and environmental wellbeing indirectly and human wellbeing directly. In the context of Chixolop and Tempisque, human wellbeing includes among others basic needs, personal development and a well-balanced society.

Data obtained during this research confirm that social advantages are among the greatest benefits for bilinguals. Bilinguals possess a form of capital that is used to **negotiate social, economic and environmental benefits**. In this respect, bilingual education is directly linked to the three aspects of sustainability. Second, bilingualism leads to an **increase in job opportunities**. Bilinguals have an advantage regarding jobs for which both Spanish and Achí or cultural knowledge is required. Third, bilinguals are **familiar with the existence of a variety of discourses**, increasing their amount of global interactions.

Besides these advantages, this research identified the following benefits that contribute to a sustainable livelihood outcome. Bilinguals have **more power and agency** than monolinguals; they have the capacity to act independently and make their own free choices that influence their opportunities in life. Additionally, bilinguals have a better understanding of the market and interconnectivity within society, which increases their opportunities regarding the achievement of a **better socioeconomic status**. Bilinguals are **proud of their ethnicity** and have developed **a high level of self-knowledge**. Bilinguals have a strong understanding of the (multicultural) world around them which contributes to the **decrease of social inequity**. During the provision of bilingual education, students become familiar with the concept of multiculturalism and are, therefore, motivated to **encourage understanding between different cultural groups** among people in their social network. Bilinguals understand the importance of gender inclusion and contribute to the **promotion of gender** while taking this matter into account in their livelihood activities. Based on the benefits mentioned above, this research has proven that bilingual education stimulates the development towards a sustainable society.

The process of how EBI can contribute to the improvement of livelihoods can be visualized in the conceptual model, figure 6.1. The numbers mentioned in parentheses in the text below correspond to the numbers in this model.

Figure 6.1: Conceptual model in practice



The vulnerability context determines the extent to which livelihoods are capable to cope with shocks, stresses and trends. Policies alter the way the vulnerability context emerges (1) and thereby influences the extent to which its effects are experienced by indigenous people. Examples of these policies are the peace accords that are a response to civil unrest and early warning systems against hurricanes.

Moreover, the institutional environment is significantly influencing the development of education throughout the country (2). Besides promoting the right to education in its national policy, the institutional environment aims to improve access to education. In line with this, both human and physical capacity determine the quality of education at primary schools. The provision of materials and the development of methodology stimulate the way EBI is implemented and its effectiveness.

As results of this research show, EBI influences the capabilities of students, providing them with agency. Bilinguals have certain abilities that influence the improvement of livelihood outcomes and assist them – and their community – in the development towards a sustainable livelihood (3).

In addition, these livelihood outcomes are affected by the vulnerability context of a livelihood (4). Shocks, stresses and trends affect the ability of individuals to carry out livelihood activities as they intend to. Civil unrest, for example, influences the level of safety of certain communities, thus frequently restricting inhabitants to move around freely. Natural disasters such as volcano eruptions, hurricanes

and floods affect the possibility of agricultural activities, commonly resulting in a decrease in work and the number of jobs available. Moreover, these disasters affect the accessibility of certain parts of the country, thus limiting the availability of certain products and services.

The vulnerability context influences the composition of livelihood capitals (5). Natural disasters, for example, are capable of destroying people's physical and natural capital and cause a decrease in financial capital.

Interaction between livelihood assets and the institutional environment is mainly based on the concept of action-reaction. Individuals' agency leads to an increase in physical capacity (e.g. the building of a school) or changes in human capacity (e.g. the example of the *junta de padres* in Chixolop) (6). Conversely, the institutional environment consists of human capacity, physical capacity and the legal system which can shape livelihood assets (7). Examples of this are culture and the provision of churches, which both shape human and social capital. Similarly, EBI increases human and social capital directly; children extend their network and gain knowledge and skills when receiving education (8).

Livelihood outcomes are characterized by equity, capability and sustainability, and are influencing livelihood assets directly (9). When someone has acquired several skills, better future prospects (e.g. regarding job opportunities) are present. Consequently, this generates more income and a better socioeconomic status, which both lead to an increase in financial and human capital.

Outcomes of this research show that the institutional environment is significantly influencing the development of bilingual education. Sequentially, EBI influences people's capabilities to choose a sustainable livelihood strategy resulting in a (more) sustainable livelihood outcome.

Enhancing bilingual education

In this research it is concluded that bilingual education can only contribute to the improvement of livelihoods of indigenous people if it is implemented correctly at primary schools. In order to do so, the following actions – based on the three core concepts of **awareness, capacity and school policy** – could stimulate and advance correct implementation.

What are the lessons learned from bilingual education practices in Chixolop and Tempisque?

Many improvements regarding the implementation of *educación bilingüe intercultural* (EBI) must be made in order to ensure the effectiveness of this type of education.

Lack of awareness on the importance of (bilingual) education is one of the main issues influencing the poor state of education. Therefore, **awareness on this topic must be raised** among both monolingual and bilingual teachers. Additionally, **parental support must be improved**. Awareness on the importance of (bilingual) education must be raised. Moreover, parents need to be informed about the positive effects that encouragement and motivation have on their children's performances; parents must encourage and motivate their children to attend school and do their homework. These issues must be addressed by teachers or the principal during **fixed meetings with parents**. In this matter, it is important that these fixed meetings occur regularly in order to keep parents' interest and attention.

Another key issue is the lack of capacity of many teachers; this can be attributed to either lack of motivation, lack of knowledge or lack of education. It is, therefore, important to address the importance of bilingual education in indigenous communities. This must be done by the provision of **workshops on capacity building** and increasing teacher's knowledge on EBI; these are already available and provided by NGOs such as PLAN and SHARE. Additionally, it is important that primary schools incorporate the **implementation of 'the active school' and dynamic classes**. Attention on this subject must be given during workshops on methodology and planning. **Planning** is especially important in classes that consist of several groups (e.g. four classes of *primaria 2*) in order to avoid gaps between individuals of different groups. Subjects need to be taught consistently, based on the guidelines of the CNB and contextualized by the teachers. Many **courses on Achí, 'the active school' and the implementation of EBI** are provided for free at universities such as San Carlos in Salamá. When teachers understand the importance of bilingual education, it is essential to motivate them to improve their methodology by attending one of these courses. This research showed that, in both Tempisque and Chixolop, teachers are rewarded with a salary increase of 8% when they fulfill such courses. Incentives like this one help to stimulate teachers to attend these courses.

Third, it is important to truly **incorporate bilingual education in school policy**. This can be done **by allocating bilingual teachers to the first three grades**, in which the Achí language plays a key role in the learning process. Additionally, it stimulates the individual development of children when they receive education in **smaller groups**. While this might not be possible in a permanent form, it might be a solution to reserve several hours a week for splitting the class in two and alternately teaching one group of children about a subject, followed by a corresponding assignment. While one group carries out an assignment, their teacher is able to turn to the other group and teach the same subject. Finally, a suggestion would be **not to focus on English** (L3 in the course schedule). Most teachers can hardly speak or write English themselves; therefore, it might be better to use these hours to focus on more relevant subjects such as Achí, Spanish or mathematics.

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ANNEXES

Annex 1: Cuestionario Chixolop y Tempisque

CUESTIONARIO CHIXOLOP Y TEMPISQUE

Nombre: _____

Número: _____

Dirección: _____

Fecha: _____

	A. Nombre y apellido	B. Relación/parentesco	C. Sexo	D. Edad	E. Lugar de nacimiento	F. Estado civil	G. Grado de instrucción	H. Año
	Ponga los nombres de los miembros por orden de relación.	1. Jefe del hogar 2. Esposa (o) / concubino (a) 3. Hijo (a) 4. Hermano (a) 5. Padre / madre / suegro (a) 6. Otro pariente 7. Empleado (a) 8. Otro no pariente	1. M 2. F		1. Esta casa 2. Chixolop 3. Tempisque 4. San Miguel Chicaaj 5. Salamá 6. Otra ciudad / pueblo rural*	1. Soltero (a) 2. Casado (a) 3. Unido (a) 4. Viudo (a) 5. Divorciado (a) / separado (a)	1. Ninguno** 2. Pre-primaria 3. Primaria 4. Secundario 5. Universitario	Ultimo año cursado de grado de educación.
1.								
2.								
3.								
4.								
5.								
6.								
7.								
8.								
9.								
10.								

*E. Migrante: ¿Hace cuando vives en Chixolop? _____

** G. ¿Cuál es la razón principal que él/ella no tuvo oportunidad de estudiar? _____

I. ¿Qué idioma habla en casa?

Castellano

Achí

Otro: _____

J. ¿A cuál grupo cultural usted pertenece?

Achí

Otro: _____

JJJ. ¿Cuál es la religión de ustedes?

	K. Tipo de actividad(es)	L. Ocupación principal	M. Actividad	N. Categoría de ocupación	O. ¿Desde cuándo?	P. Estabilidad de trabajo
	1. Trabaja actualmente 2. Desocupado 3. Ayuda familiar 4. Ama de casa 5. Ama de casa y trabaja 6. Solo estudia 7. Estudia y trabaja 8. Estudia y ayuda 9. Jubilado	¿Qué ocupación tiene usted?	Especifique exactamente en qué tipo de negocio, empresa o institución desempeña su trabajo.	1. Trabajo familiar 2. Vendedor callejero 3. Educación 4. agricultura 5. Tejedores 6. Construcción 7. Logística / Transporte 8. Manufactura / Producción 9. Servicios de protección 10. Estudiante 11. Otros	¿Desde cuándo tiene esta ocupación?	1. Permanente 2. Temporal 3. Ocasional, eventual
1.						
2.						
3.						
4.						
5.						
6.						
7.						
8.						
9.						
10.						

	Q. Lugar de actividad	R1. Horas	R1. Días	S. Ingreso
	1. Esta casa 2. Chixolop 3. Tempisque 4. San Miguel Chicaj 5. Salamá 6. Otra (esp.)	¿Cuántas horas por día se dedica a esa actividad?	¿Cuántos días por semana se dedica a esa actividad?	¿Cuánto gana cada mes con su trabajo?
1.				
2.				
3.				
4.				
5.				
6.				
7.				
8.				
9.				
10.				

T1. ¿Cuál es (el promedio) de ingreso familiar cada mes?

T2. ¿Gana este dinero con las actividades antes mencionadas?

T3. En caso que no: ¿Cuáles son las actividades complementarias?

T4 ¿Cuánto dinero se genera con estas actividades cada mes?

_____ Quetzales
 Si No

_____ Quetzales

U1. ¿Hay alguien de su familia que vive en un otro lugar y les ayuda económicamente?

U2. ¿Cuánto dinero se genera vía esta(s) persona(s) en el mes?

_____ Quetzales

V. ¿Cuánto dinero paga por mes en alimentos, vivienda, etc.?

_____ Quetzales

W. ¿Cómo piensa usted que la educación influencia los siguientes temas?

0 = No tiene influencia 5 = Tiene mucha influencia

	0	1	2	3	4	5
Su idioma materno (Aché)						
Su cultura como pueblo maya						
Resolver problemas propios de la comunidad						
La calidad de vida de las personas						
Participar activamente en la comunidad						
Promover el desarrollo de la comunidad						
Opinar sobre las formas de organización en la comunidad						

X. ¿En qué medida influyen los próximos aspectos al desarrollo de educación y podría definir como influyen estos aspectos el desarrollo de educación?

0 = No tiene influencia 5 = Tiene mucha influencia

	0	1	2	3	4	5	Definir
Normas y valores							
Tradiciones							
Religión							
Sistema legal (leyes del país, currículo: utilidad de lo que se aprende en la escuela)							
Capacidad (# estudiantes, profesoras, escuelas)							
Otros							

Y. ¿Tienen preguntas o comentarios? _____
