

Intercultural Bilingual Education

A study on Intercultural Bilingual Education within the livelihoods of the Achí people and its influences on the Achí culture and child development.
Baja Verapaz, Guatemala



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A study on Intercultural Bilingual Education within the livelihoods of the Achí people and its influences on the Achí culture and child development. Baja Verapaz, Guatemala

The situation in the communities Tempisque, Salamá and Chixolop, San Miguel Chicaj in Baja Verapaz, Guatemala

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I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this research paper. I authorize Utrecht University to lend this research paper to other institutions or individuals for the purpose of scholarly research.

Foreword

First of all I would like to say that I am very grateful that I got the opportunity to carry out this research. Most master students do not get the opportunity to carry out research in the field they study. Especially after my research period in Guatemala I realized that I learned so much while spending time in the communities, I received many invaluable experiences. In Guatemala I realized that education is a field I would have great desire to work in after completing my studies. Children are the cornerstones of society, our future, therefore it is of high priority that worldwide early childhood education programs should be supported and strengthened to provide more and more children with knowledge, but also to strengthen their development process, which will favor their abilities later in life.

I would like to thank Dr. Paul van Lindert for his supervision, support and his inspiring visit to our research area in Guatemala. It is a teacher who is very much dedicated to his work, and most of all an inspiring person. And more important, without his advices, this thesis would have never looked like this. Furthermore I would like to thank the employees of PLAN Guatemala. First of all the head of the education department in Guatemala city, Norma Guísela Zavala de Acosta, who provided us the opportunity to do research and took care of us in this unstable country. Besides, our local supervisor Fausto Samuel Esquivel Rivera who has been of invaluable support; his role as our guide, teacher and father was very much appreciated. But also all the other employees who always welcomed us warmly in the office and who were always willing to help us.

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Maltiyoox.

(Achi for 'thank you')

Executive summary

Being taught in one's maternal language is vital for the development process of children, especially in a country as Guatemala. The population consists of 24 distinct ethnic groups, of which 22 are distinct indigenous Maya groups, which all know their own Maya language and cultural identity. Over 50% of the population has some Mayan ancestry (INE, 2002). The education system in Guatemala is poor in many aspects, especially in the field of ethnic and gender inequities. Indigenous people are less likely to be enrolled in school, they are more likely to repeat grades, drop out early and are over-aged in primary schools. Rural indigenous children are the group that has the least access to basic education. Just 30% of rural students complete third grade, and two thirds of Maya first graders are taught by instructors who neither understand nor speak the children's maternal languages (Rubio e.a., 2005). Therefore, Intercultural Bilingual Education (IBE) has been introduced to meet the needs of the indigenous population, since the 1990s. IBE teaches students to understand their culture and master the basic language skills of understanding, speaking, reading, and writing in a Mayan language, followed by mastering the same skills in Spanish. Besides, the role which culture plays in IBE is of high importance and almost as important as the language itself. Since its implementation, the benefits of IBE for indigenous populations in Guatemala are significant. However, although IBE programs have been implemented in several areas in the country, in many schools large deficiencies are found. Therefore, improvements are needed to foster educational achievements and the development process of children.

This thesis is designed around a study on Intercultural Bilingual Education (IBE) and its influences on the Achí culture and child development in rural indigenous communities in Guatemala, in collaboration with PLAN Guatemala. This thesis is carried out in the indigenous villages Tempisque and Chixolop, part of the rural areas of the department Baja Verapaz located in the center of Guatemala. The objective of this thesis is *'an analysis of the livelihoods and current situation of IBE in the communities, followed by an analysis of the socio-cultural context of the Achí people, in order to indicate in what way IBE influences the Achí culture and how it is influenced by the Achí culture. Additionally, it is analyzed how education and other external and environmental influences that children are surrounded by, influence their development'*. For PLAN Guatemala recommendations will be given in order to develop effective Intercultural Bilingual Education programs and increase the development process of children in indigenous communities.

The underlying literature provides knowledge about the history, development, costs and benefits of IBE in Latin America, and Guatemala in particular. Besides, underlying literature provides knowledge about the importance of education and early childhood development. Theories used are the rights-based approach, and as main theory and structure used within this thesis is the bio-ecological systems model of the development psychologist Bronfenbrenner. His theory looks at a child's development within the context of the system of relationships that form his or her environment. This thesis focuses on education, therefore it has been valuable to analyze the development process of children by looking at the external influences of education.

The methods used to reach the objective of this study are 1) 82 household surveys conducted among families, 2) 16 in-depth interviews conducted among youngsters 3) evaluation of IBE in the primary school of each community, including classroom observations and 14 in-depth interviews among teachers (and directors) of each grade, and 4) 10 in-depth interviews conducted with main stakeholders in the field of education.

The research objective can be translated into the main research question;

'How does Intercultural Bilingual Education influence the Achí culture, how is it influenced by the Achí culture and in what way does it affect child development?'. This question is threefold, therefore three sub questions have been identified and examined.

1) *In what way does IBE influence perceptions on the Achí culture and other elements in community life?* It is acknowledged that the influences of IBE on the Achí language, Achí culture and identity are big. Besides, education also has a lot of influence on people's perceptions of elements in community life. However, a significant difference can be found between educated and non/low-educated people. Educated people believe that knowledge changes the way people perceive elements in life and provides someone with much more opportunities in life. In addition, it provides people with much more knowledge on their own culture and language, which strengthens their cultural identity. Further, the rising education level has its effects on the children's views on life. Nowadays, the community norms, values and traditions are still very important to the youth, but their individual choices become more important. In contrary to their parents, educated children look at the future, at the possibilities outside the community besides working at the field or being a housewife.

2) *In what way do cultural elements of the Achí culture influence and shape IBE?* Cultural elements people value the most; norms and values, traditions and religion, influence education significantly, on several manners. The education system is now adjusted to needs of the Achí people (implementation IBE), importantly, without the voice of indigenous people IBE would not even exist. Overall, the people in Tempisque and Chixolop find it very important that cultural elements are included in the education provided at primary schools, the cultural identity of the Achí people will be maintained and strengthened on this way.

3) *In what way does IBE and other external and environmental influences children are surrounded by, influence their development?* It is acknowledged that education is next to a child's parents, the second most important influence in a child's development. However, quite some deficiencies can be found in the education system in the communities. It is especially the lack of knowledge about IBE, motivation and lack of financial-material resources which make that the IBE system is not applied how it should be. The way in which IBE is applied strongly depends on the teachers' education and experience. It is just 50% of the teachers who implement IBE well. Other teachers do not have the knowledge, do not know how to apply IBE with the materials they have or are not motivated. Other important external and environmental influences that foster child development, are the strong community ties, family and extended family ties. Also the strong ties with the church, which is seen as part of the children's education. However, the environment they live in hampers their development process; lack of good nutrition, lack of good available health care and a lack of financial resources. Unfortunately, these circumstances cannot easily be strengthened in the near future.

The quality of education is slightly improving, but IBE still shows many shortages which must be strengthened; which will not only affect children's development process positively, but also provide people with better future opportunities and lead to overall development in the communities. Hopefully this thesis will provide more in-depth knowledge on IBE in rural communities in Guatemala and create more interest in the topic.

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Terms and abbreviations

ALMG	Institute of Mayan Languages Guatemala
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CNB	National educational Curriculum system
DIGEBI	General Directorate of Intercultural Bilingual Education
EU CSP	European Union Country Strategy Paper
HDI	Human Development Index
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GII	Gender Inequality Index
IBE	Intercultural Bilingual Education
INE	National Statistics Institute
LLECE	Latin American Laboratory for Assessment of the Quality of Education
MINEDUC	Ministry of Education
MINUGUA	United Nation Verification Mission in Guatemala
PRONIBE	National Program of Bilingual Education
PAEBI	Access to Intercultural education Project
RBA	Rights-Based Approach
SIL	Summer Institute of Linguistics
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for refugees
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UN MDGI	United Nations Millennium Development Goals Indicators
USAID	U.S. Agency for International Development America

Introduction

Background, relevance and problem definition. A research focused on Intercultural Bilingual Education in Guatemala; why can this research be valuable for the improvement of the livelihoods of rural indigenous people? In this introduction will be made clear why this study is seen as a necessity for the improvement of the livelihoods of the Achí people in the region Baja Verapaz, Guatemala.

Poverty in Guatemala is high and deep, the country has one of the highest poverty rates in Latin America. The distribution of income in the country is one of the most unequal in the world, with the wealthiest 10% owning 42.4% of the national wealth and the 10% poorest owning 1.3%. 51% of the population lives below the national poverty line and 15% below the line of extreme poverty. The poverty rates of indigenous people are significantly higher. 76% of the indigenous people live in poverty, of which 28% is said to live below the line of extreme poverty (CIA World Factbook, 2008). These poverty levels highlight the importance of strengthening the assets of the poor. Since the Peace Accords in 1996, after a civil war of 36 years, the government has outlined a poverty reduction strategy focused on the rural poor, of which one of the focus points has been the investment in human capital and participation. Besides, the rights of indigenous people were highlighted and important issues in the strategy included issues as interculturality, multiculturalism and gender equity. Although significant improvements in living conditions have been made, select development-related targets supported by the Peace Accords have not been met, which include among others outcomes in health and education (World Bank 2003). This does not seem strange when looking at the governmental expenditure on education which is just 3.2 % of the GDP (CIA World Factbook, 2008), which indicates that education is not the governmental highest priority.

When strengthening people's assets it is of significant importance to strengthen human capital in order to live a more quality full life. Someone's human capital will certainly be strengthened when this person is in the position to attend proper education. Although progress in extending education has been made, the education system in Guatemala is still poor in many aspects, also in the field of ethnic and gender inequities. Rural indigenous children are the group that has the least access to basic education. Just 30% of rural students complete third grade, and two thirds of Maya first graders are taught by instructors who neither understand nor speak the children's maternal languages (Rubio e.a., 2005). It is the environment in which indigenous children live and external influences they are surrounded by, which hampers or fosters their development; these aspects influence the way in which they are able to use their full potential (Bronfenbrenner, 1998).

Being taught in the own language is vital for young children, especially in a country as Guatemala. The existence of 24 languages (23 different indigenous languages and Spanish) in the country makes it difficult to be instructed in their own indigenous language. Therefore, intercultural bilingual education (IBE) has been introduced to meet the needs of the indigenous population, since the end of the 1990s. Intercultural Bilingual education in Guatemala involves the use of two languages in a classroom instruction. IBE teaches students to understand their culture and master the basic language skills of understanding, speaking, reading, and writing in a Mayan language, followed by mastering the same skills in Spanish. Although IBE has been implemented in several areas in the country, still many areas exist where IBE programs are desired and more important, improvements are needed. However, a 'one size fits all' program of IBE does not exist and is not

beneficiary. Guatemala is a multicultural country in which many ethnic minorities live. This means that the implementation of IBE in a specific region needs to be contextualized on a local level, as the IBE program needs to fit the indigenous language and culture. Especially because these people have their own cultural identity and often live a traditional life including local indigenous traditions, values and beliefs (Hernández, 2009).

Research objective and questions. This research on IBE has been carried out for PLAN Guatemala. Two years ago, IBE was implemented in several municipalities in the country. The education department of PLAN Guatemala will start in 2011 with their first program in the field of Intercultural Bilingual Education in indigenous communities in the department Baja Verapaz, where the indigenous Achí people live. They started this program in order to improve the situation of IBE provided in the communities. In order to improve IBE in the right way it is first all of high importance to draw an outline of the current situation on IBE and carry out a livelihood analysis. Besides, as IBE focuses on the importance of local cultures, the socio-cultural context of the specific ethnic group, the Achí people, needs to be analyzed. As the current situation on IBE was not drawn yet before the implementation of the program, an in-depth analysis was highly desired, next to an analysis of the socio-cultural context of these people. From this problem definition, the research objective of this thesis can be defined as follows;

Research objective- *To analyze the livelihoods and current situation of IBE in two indigenous communities. This is followed by an analysis of the socio-cultural context of the Achí people , in order to indicate in what way IBE influences the Achí culture and how is it influenced by the Achí culture. Additionally, it is analyzed how education and other external and environmental influences that children are surrounded by, influence their development. This, in order to give recommendations for the development of effective Intercultural Bilingual Education programs and increase the development process of children in indigenous communities.*

The research contained four main components and has been carried out in two indigenous communities. The first component of this research included a livelihoods study in the research communities, to gain in-depth knowledge on the current situation with respect to the people's well-being. The major elements of the livelihood study included general characteristics of household members, the level of education, work and occupation of family members.

Second, to gain knowledge of the socio-cultural context and the importance of the Achí culture for the people in the communities, the livelihoods study and in-depth interviews have been broadened with questions related to the people's culture. As within IBE the focus is on the importance of local cultures, it is analyzed how the Achí people see IBE in relation to their culture. Therefore, the influences of IBE on the Achí culture and vice versa; the influences of the Achí culture on IBE, have been analyzed.

The third and most important component of the research consisted of the evaluation of IBE in the primary school in each of the research two communities. Besides, in-depth interviews have been held with local educational authorities and other actors involved in the education sector to gain more knowledge on the current situation and perspective on IBE.

The fourth component of the research focused on education related to child development. As education forms an important role within the development process of a child, its influences have

been analyzed. Furthermore, also other external and environmental influences by which children are surrounded and influenced, have been analyzed.

This research can be used by PLAN as a recommendation or advisory tool for the development or further implementation of IBE projects. Besides, the research can be used by local and regional education authorities to broaden their knowledge about the current education situation in their communities, and use the research as an advisory tool to improve IBE in the region and improve the livelihoods of the indigenous groups living in Baja Verapaz.

Research questions. The research objective can be translated into the main research question, pointed out below. In addition, in order to answer the main research question, it is divided in to twelve sub research questions, which will be answered throughout the thesis;

How does Intercultural Bilingual Education influence the Achí culture, how is it influenced by the Achí culture and in what way does it affect child development?

- 1 How can IBE in Latin America be characterized?
- 2 What is the importance of education and early childhood development for children?
- 3 How can the livelihoods of the Achí people be characterized?
- 4 How do stakeholders on national level influence the implementation of IBE?
- 5 What are the main cultural elements within the Achí culture?
- 6 On what manner do cultural elements of the Achí culture influence and shape education?
- 7 In what way does IBE lead to different perceptions on the Achí culture and other elements in community life?
- 8 How is IBE perceived by the Achí people?
- 9 How can the current situation of IBE in Tempisque and Chixolop be characterized?
- 10 On which way does education and other external and environmental influences children are surrounded by, influence their development?
- 11 What recommendations can be given to improve the effectiveness of IBE and increase the development process of children in Baja Verapaz, Guatemala?

1

Theoretical framework

In this chapter the first and second research question will be answered, being as follows; ‘How can IBE in Latin America be characterized?’; ‘What is the importance of education and early childhood development for children?’ Besides, the theory where this thesis is based on will be discussed. The chapter will continue with an elaboration on the conceptual framework and to conclude, the used methodology will be discussed.

1.1 Thematic framework

Education, culture and development. Education is the process of learning through formal schooling or through many other experiences. Since the enlightenment, universal education is seen as one of the major elements, or the major, which provide people over the world with chances to develop themselves. Individual development will inevitably aggregate national development and thus benefit the entire society. However, by then it was only the elite who got the opportunity to get schooling and further develop themselves. It is not since the Universal Declaration of Human rights (1945) that the right to education and development were changed from beliefs into facts by governments. The conference Education for All (1990) further strengthened the process that every individual has a right to a quality basic education. This has been the start for governments worldwide to design national development plans and use education as a way to stimulate socioeconomic development for the entire country, with the means that everyone benefits equally. The Dakar Conference (2000), which created another worldwide framework for action, included specific targets to achieve universal primary education and literacy (Chabbott, 2003). Children are the corner stones of society. Particularly in the field of knowledge, education has a positive impact on life and thereby reflects on the society as a performance and quality among the other communities of the world. Schooling, especially the amount of years of education received by children, will shape/hamper their individual opportunities, on this manner also opportunities for the society which will eventually lead to further development. Schooling makes children more accessible to advancement; it encourages division of labor and mobility. These aspects are eagerly pursued in modern societies but not necessarily welcome in highly traditional societies. Concern over environmental harmony precludes most common forms of technological development, and land cultivation is perceived as the ultimate means of communicating with god. However, to develop indigenous communities and strengthen their wellbeing, education is highly desired to move forward (Carvajal e.a., 1993).

1.1.1. Intercultural Bilingual Education (IBE). Intercultural Bilingual Education is an intercultural, bilingual education model which involves the use of two languages and cultures in a classroom instruction. Typically, it includes the dominant and a minor (underprivileged) language of the country. IBE teaches children to understand their own culture and master the basic language skills of understanding, speaking, reading, and writing in a child’s mother tongue; followed by mastering the same skills in a second language. Maintaining a strong sense of one's first language and culture is necessary to acquire another language and culture. ‘It has been proven by several studies that a child develops better intelligence, better abilities of all kinds, if he learns in his mother tongue’(UNICEF, 2007). Within intercultural bilingual education programs it is not just the indigenous

language maintenance and learning the dominant language that plays a role; the role which culture plays in IBE programs, interculturality, is of high importance and almost as important as the language itself. People from a specific culture share the same beliefs, symbols, values, artifacts and behavior. The essence of a culture which distinguishes one people from another is the way people interpret and see the meanings of these elements in perspective (Banks e.a., 2009, Rodríguez Cabrera, 2010). Learning about one's own culture and other cultures, live and learn how to deal and negotiate with people from different cultures is very important in countries which exist of several subcultures and languages. Culture is an instrument for social interpretation and communicative action. IBE programs can be applied in every country, but above it is offered in Latin American countries to respond to the demands of the indigenous people.

Intercultural Bilingual Education in Latin America. Throughout Latin America, more than 700 indigenous languages are spoken. Brazil is the country which counts the highest amount of indigenous languages; approximately 180 indigenous languages are spoken within the country. Nicaragua on the other hand, is the country with the smallest linguistic diversity and only counts three indigenous languages. Some languages are spoken by many people and in several countries, such as the language Quechua which is spoken by 13 million people from Colombia up to Argentina, while other languages are just spoken in a small area or region in one single country. One such language is the language of the researched indigenous group, the Achí people. Achí is one of the 22 Maya languages spoken in Guatemala and is spoken only in a part of the region Baja Verapaz which counts 3124 km² and 245.787 inhabitants (Lopez e.a., 2006).

The great amount of indigenous languages is one of the reasons why ethnicity plays such a crucial role in Latin American countries. Actually, it plays a crucial role in the determination of economic and social relations. The division between Spanish speaking people, the ladinos/mestizos, and people who speak an indigenous language, encompasses every facet in life. 'Ladinos exhibit geographical mobility and are interested in escalating the socioeconomic ladder as a sign of progress'(Carvajal, 1993,p.2), while indigenous people have a tendency to find this competition not necessary. Still, many of the indigenous people hold on to their traditional values, but are by the mestizos seen as primitive and inferior people who need to be civilized. In many of the Latin American countries attempts have been made to integrate indigenous people into the dominant national culture since more than five centuries ago, and indigenous people have often been treated more as objects of government policies rather than participants in the decision-making process. Indigenous people have often sought to protect themselves against integrative national political and economic forces; they maintain their traditional culture by preserving its own identity through style of dress, local customs and traditions, crafts and importantly, their language. 'Language diversity is a sign of much deeper cultural differences which are likely to encompass supply of school facilities as well as demand for formal education'(Carvajal, 1993, p.2).

Contemporary Latin American intercultural bilingual education (IBE) has quite a long history. The first projects of bilingual education in indigenous communities date back to 1934 when the United States based Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) started with language training program experiments in indigenous communities in Mexico. Since then, SIL works with ethno linguistic minority communities as they build their capacity for the sustainable development of their own languages. The organization is founded on the principle that communities should be able to pursue their social, cultural, political,

economic and spiritual goals without sacrificing their God-given ethno linguistic identity. SIL soon became well known, especially when several governments signed contracts with SIL. The organization helped governments to integrate isolated indigenous groups which had very limited access to the outside world (SIL, 2011) Thus, IBE was first used as a way to integrate the indigenous population. In the first place IBE projects were used to integrate the indigenous population in the national society and most governments implemented early-transition strategies. Nonetheless, the use of IBE in instructional setting in which increasing attention was paid to the importance of indigenous languages, dates back since the late 1970s. This was the time when indigenous demands grew stronger.

Besides, the revival of ethnicity and demands of powerful indigenous organizations has pushed governments to start to reconsider the rights of indigenous people, with regard to education, and especially education in the mother tongue of children. Shifts from top down approaches to more grass-roots approaches took places, which in several countries also followed towards indigenous organizations taking part in decision-making programs. The shift towards more grass-roots approaches in the 1980s lead to educational reforms and intercultural bilingual approaches, in which increasing attention is paid to the importance of indigenous languages and the role culture plays. Interculturalism in society is exactly where indigenous leaders demanded for, as in the whole history indigenous people had to learn from non-indigenous people instead of the other way around. It must be noted that the majority of the educational reforms include the concept of intercultural education, which are results of the educational demands and creating connections between education and the strengthening of democracy (Lopez e.a., 2006).

One of the earliest bilingual education projects in the late 1970s started in countries with a high percentage of indigenous people; Mexico, Peru and Bolivia. The projects affected indigenous communities positively. The projects at the primary schools provided important evidence that teaching in a child's mother tongue had significant positive effects in children's educational achievements. The importance of IBE also drew attention in the academic world since the beginning, attention for indigenous people rights and autonomy had an impact. Many books and articles on IBE have been published since the beginnings of the 1960s, especially the 1970s has known a large impact of linguistics in IBE. Since then, many studies have shown that bilingual education programs met with success. The first large-scaled projects showed that children who took part in the bilingual programs scored significantly better than their peers. In the 1960s and 1970s, IBE projects took primarily place in countries where the indigenous population was high, but since the end of the 1980s IBE has expanded significantly in many other Latin American countries. In the late 1980s and the 1990s the geography of IBE expanded enormously. By 2006, IBE programs had been implemented in 17 countries. This change took place as many countries tended to respond to the indigenous needs (Lopez e.a., 2006, Mejía, 2005).

Major outcomes and contributions of IBE are the understanding of the role which culture plays within IBE, the attention for indigenous languages and increased parent participation, and indigenous organizations participation. Besides, it has led to involvement of indigenous experts and organizations in IBE, especially in teacher training. Furthermore, professional IBE teacher education programs are implemented which include attention to indigenous knowledge systems. In addition, research from several countries indicate that IBE programs have led to overall higher academic improvement; active participation in learning, a more positive self-image, self-esteem and respect.

Besides, IBE programs have also led to higher percentages of enrollment and attendance, and less retention and grade repetition. A major problem within IBE in Latin America is for instance that IBE is stuck in a perspective of indigenous monolingualism, which used to be high in the past due the geographic isolated areas which were difficult to reach. However, since the 1970s the effect of societies on indigenous languages, which is called sociolinguistics, is becoming more and more diverse. Indigenous populations are not as isolated as they used to be, due to the development of roads, migration, telecommunication and political reforms which have changed and lessened the physical and mental distance between indigenous and non-indigenous people. Another problem is that indigenous groups are losing their indigenous language. Further, another important problem is the lack of bilingual trained teachers and professionals. Although efforts in this field have been made and teacher training programs have been developed further during the last 15 years, significant results remain behind (Lopez e.a., 2006). Thus, it is of high importance to recognize the value of indigenous languages and cultures and regard indigenous populations as an integral part of the state. When looking at the future several important aspects need further attention, taking indigenous demands into account. Education needs to be linked with cultural identity, local history, values and beliefs. Therefore intercultural bilingual education needs to be further implemented, which focuses not just on linguistic and pedagogical orientation, but pays specific attention to the local environment of the children and connects knowledge with learning and cultural identity. Indigenous languages need to be revitalized through developing close contacts between communities and schools. Next, because indigenous people want to develop further and see IBE as a very positive development and contribution to the community, education should be put in a framework of indigenous sustainable development. It enables indigenous people to develop themselves further by maintaining and strengthening their identity (Lopez e.a., 2006, Rodríguez Cabrera, 2010).

Importance of IBE in Guatemala. Guatemala is one of the countries with the largest indigenous population in Latin America. The majority of the indigenous peoples in Guatemala are of Mayan ancestry. Exact numbers are hard to find as large differences in consensus are found, but indigenous Maya and African descendant peoples together make up 41% according to the 2002 census, and more than 50% of the entire population has some Mayan ancestry (UNHCR, 2009, Rubio, 2004). The population consists of 24 distinct ethnic groups, of which at least 22 are distinct indigenous Maya groups, which all know their own Maya language (Lien, 2011). The four major indigenous Maya languages are K'iche', Q'eqchi', Kaqchikel and Mam. The 18 other Mayan groups are Achi, Akatek, Awakatek, Chuj, Ch'orti, Itza', Ixil, Jakaltek, Mopan, Poqomam, Poqomchi', Q'anjob'al, Sakapultek, Sipakapense, Tektitek, Tz'utujil, Uspantek and Chaltchitek (INE, 2002). Besides, there is the non-Maya group Xinka, the African descendants consisting of the Garifuna and the Creoles, and besides there is Guatemala's non-indigenous majority population; the mestizos or Ladinos (mixed Spanish and Amerindian ancestry) which makes up almost 60% of the population. The linguistic richness in Guatemala is enormous; however, intercultural bilingual education is desired as indigenous people are facing language loss and thus loss of their cultural self-identification. Language is seen as one of the basic requirements for human capital. Language capital can be seen as the speaking, reading and writing skills in a language. Especially spoken language skills, the skills to be fluent in your mother tongue, are developed in these earliest years. In these first years the human mind is very efficient in building language capital, which is one of the reasons why early childhood development needs to be stressed (Patrinos e.a., 2009). Usually, significant investments in language capitals are made when children attend school. However, this is difficult for a country like Guatemala

which exists of many ethnic minority groups and many languages, and in which schooling is not provided in every child's mother tongue. Thus, in Guatemala language skills are of high importance. When indigenous children are taught in a different language than their own mother tongue, this leads not only to poor schooling results, but it also limits training opportunities, job mobility and higher income opportunities. Spanish is the business and dominant language and therefore the key to access jobs, secondary education and higher incomes. Actually, economy wellbeing depends on the knowledge of Spanish.

The Guatemalan population census of 2002 shows clearly the loss of Maya language used as mother tongue. It shows that 27,5% of the children between 0 and 4 years identify Spanish as their mother tongue, compared to 24,5% of the people between the age of 20 and 24, 19,5% between the age of 45 and 49 and 17,8% with the age of 70 and higher. These results show clearly the loss of Maya language among the youngest indigenous population. Besides, the census shows that among the indigenous population a relation can be found between higher education level attained and language use. The more education indigenous people receive, the less likely they have their native language as their mother tongue and the greater the chance that their mother tongue is Spanish. Of the Maya people who received 0 years education, 85,9% talks in their indigenous language as mother tongue, this is 65,4% of the children who received 6 years of primary school, 54,6% of the people who received 10 years of education, 39,8% of the people who received 15 years of education and 34,7% of the people who received 20 years education. This means that 14,1% of the people who did not receive education uses Spanish as their mother tongue, while this is 65,7% for the people who received 20 years of education (Rubio, 2004).

The Guatemalan school system can be characterized by a lack of quality, lack of teacher training, high rates of failure, repetition and early dropouts. Especially the quality indicators for the indigenous population are poor, which account for approximately 30-50% of the Guatemalan population. Although gaps in educational attainment levels between non-indigenous and indigenous people have been reduced the last years, indigenous people are less likely to be enrolled in school, they are more likely to repeat grades, drop out early and are over-aged in primary schools. In general, analphabetism of the indigenous adult population (aged>15) is still high; 44% in rural zones compared to 18% in urban zones. Also, more women are illiterate (36.7%) than illiterate men (24.6%). Among Indigenous people, the illiteracy rate is more than double (47.7%) than among non-indigenous (20.4%). Besides, rural indigenous woman have the lowest attainment levels, the illiteracy rate 65,3% (Rubio, 2004). When looking at children aged 7-18 years, it can be noticed that for each age, indigenous children have completed less years of education. Generally, indigenous children have completed 70% of the amount years of education compared to non-indigenous children. To give an indication, at the age of 12 indigenous children have completed an average of 2,9 years, compared to 4,0 years of education for non-indigenous children (children are allowed to start in 1st grade with the age of 7). Moreover, at the age of 18 indigenous children have completed an average of 4,35 years, compared to 6,95years of education for non-indigenous children.

This educational status of the indigenous people has been one of the motivations to develop educational alternatives; intercultural bilingual education (IBE). IBE enables children to improve their Spanish language proficiency after they have mastered the basic language skills of understanding, speaking, reading, and writing in their mother tongue. This will lead to better results in the Spanish

only schools, which children attend after they have completed their schooling at bilingual primary schools (Patrinos, 2009, Rubio, 2004). Besides, intercultural bilingual education results in the increase of someone's human capital; the increase in knowledge, competences and personal attributes in the ability to perform labor. Research has shown that the increase of human capital of indigenous people has a considerable positive effect on their incomes, besides it lessens the income disadvantageous of indigenous laborers versus non indigenous laborers. The equalization of human capital leads to a decrease in socioeconomic inequalities; the better children perform in bilingual schools as result of IBE programs, the more schooling (competences, knowledge, etcetera) they achieve, which will lead to higher earnings. Moreover, and importantly, IBE enables children to understand their own Maya cultural heritage within the national context, as IBE seeks to preserve and strengthen the Maya cultural and linguistic heritage of the indigenous people while empowering rural indigenous communities (Patrinos, 2009).

History and development of IBE in Guatemala. The National Bilingual Education model in Guatemala has been developed since the beginning of the 1980s as a means to improve the quality of education for the indigenous population. The National Program of Bilingual Education, PRONIBE, started with a pilot project in 1979 in 40 schools and was funded by USAID. In 1984 the pilot project was expanded to 400 schools in 119 communities. It started with only primary, followed by the introduction of IBE in pre-primary schooling into four Mayan languages. This project became the base for the official PRONIBE program under the Ministry Education Directorate of Rural Education, which was responsible for all rural education in Guatemala. During the nineties, he project has been supported by the Ministry of Education and also by USAID. Since 1995, PRONIBE was changed into DIGIBE; General Directorate of Bilingual Intercultural Education (Chesterfield, e.a., 2003, Rubio, 2004). PAIBE is a program which works in collaboration with DIGIBE and is designed in 1996 to provide culturally pertinent education to the indigenous population and focuses especially on the access to IBE. Up to 2005 it has been implemented in 750 schools and reached 81.000 students (Rubio, 2005). A bilingual school is seen as bilingual when at least one teacher appointed bilingual. A teacher is considered bilingual when he/she is examined by DIGIBE departmental headquarters on speaking, reading and writing and passed the test. However, a standardized test/procedure for bilingual teacher certification does not exist (Rubio, 2004). In 1996, the Peace Accords have been signed, especially the agreement on Identity and Rights of Indigenous peoples and led to the start of educational reforms. The agreement started with the recognition of cultural diversity, linguistic and ethnic diversity within the country. It promotes the educational use of all indigenous languages, so children will learn to read and write in their native language (Rubio, 2004). IBE is available in kindergarten and in primary schools up to grade 4. However, some schools only offer IBE in kindergarten, or just in 1st or 2nd grade. After having followed IBE, children can move on to Spanish schools (Hall e.a., 2006).

Achievements and benefits of IBE in Guatemala. Since the implementation of IBE in several parts of Guatemala quite some IBE programs have been evaluated. The benefits of bilingual education for indigenous populations in Guatemala are significant. So far, IBE has made quite some progress and led to positive impacts. Important achievements and benefits, which are outcomes in several reports on IBE in Guatemala, are higher attendance and promotion rates and lower repetition and dropout rates. Besides, bilingual students score higher on all subjects and improved Mayan speaking, reading and writing skills. Furthermore it is argued that IBE preserves ethnic identity and

increases parent participation. Financially, it is a very efficient investment. Cost-benefits analyses indicate that the IBE offered in the country results in significant cost saving as fewer children repeat classes due to PRONIBE, besides the reduction in repetition and dropout rates has also its positive effects on personal earnings. Higher quality of education means that higher promotion rates can be generated, which will be supportive for children to complete primary school, which will considerably lead to lower cost while increasing total educational levels (Patrinos, 2009, Chesterfield e.a., 2003, LLECE, 2008, Rubio e.a., 2005).

Costs and weaknesses of IBE in Guatemala. One of the largest problems is the lack of supply of bilingual teachers. Adequate training is needed; however this will lead to delays in implementation of IBE. This also leads to a lack of quality as some teachers are not able to implement the IBE program and meet the goals of the program. Besides, teachers might not be willing to teach in remote areas. Next to that, the expansion of PRONIBE in remote rural areas to reach small gaps, leads to higher costs. However it is also argued that the efficiency savings of IBE absorb the costs for further expansion. Other weaknesses of evaluations of IBE indicate that the physical conditions in the rural schools are weak and do not offer a supportive learning environment. Besides, student participation; the involvement of all children in classroom activities, is low and must be strengthened as individualization of instruction is of high importance within the IBE program. Next, although parent participation is increasing, their involvement is still too weak which leads to situations in which they keep their girls home for preparing food and doing cleaning. It is very important to expand participation of parents; to extend their knowledge and stress the importance of IBE. Thus, although IBE has its advantages and benefits, still many weaknesses can be found and a lot needs to improve in the coming years (Rubio, 2004, Patrinos e.a., 2009, Chesterfield e.a., 2003, LLECE, 2008, Rubio e.a., 2005).

1.1.2. Importance of education and early childhood development. Earlier this chapter is mentioned that early childhood development needs to be stressed, one of the reasons is that the first years of a child's life the human mind is very efficient in building language capital and importantly, language is seen as one of the three basic requirements to strengthen human capital. Spoken language skills, the skills to be fluent in your mother tongue, are developed in these earliest years. This makes the extension of a child's language capital very positive for a child's development process, which usually takes place at school. When indigenous children are taught in a different language than their own mother tongue, this leads not only to poor schooling results, but it also limits training opportunities, job mobility and higher income opportunities (Patrinos e.a., 2009). This paragraph elaborates on the importance of early childhood development and education.

'The early years of life are crucial. When well nurtured and cared for in their earliest years, children are more likely to survive, to grow in a healthy way, to have less disease and fewer illnesses, and to fully develop thinking, language, emotional and social skills. When they enter school, their prospects for performing well are improved. And as adolescents, they are likely to have greater self-esteem. Later in life, they have a greater chance of becoming creative and productive members of society' (UNICEF, 2010).

No scientific literature is needed to explain that children are our future and that children who are developed physically, mentally, socially and emotionally well, will be better able to achieve their

goals and take care of their family and community. Early childhood education and development is very essential as it can affect a child's pattern of growth significantly. It has been proven by several studies that children who have followed early education programs, which are interactive and let children follow an independent decision-making process, will have improved social responsibility skills and educational performance in their adult life (Weikart, 1998). It will improve their physical and mental capacity; education assists in strengthening these skills; for instance the ability to place knowledge into meaningful categories and the transfer of knowledge to different situations. When mental and physical capacity has grown, it can also affect a child's progress and performance at school.

Children who have higher risks of developing normal and healthy are those in developing countries which live in bad conditions of poverty and stress. These children have to fight challenges in daily life and might not be able to reach their full development potential. When children are physical, mental, social or emotional hampered in their development, this can affect all of later life. They will not be able to live up to their potential and for instance, escape from poverty. Within the development of a child, it is of high importance that children participate actively and learn by doing at all levels (Myers, the1992). In addition, as mentioned in the section on IBE earlier, parent participation in a child's learning process is of high value to foster the development process of children. And besides, worldwide, parenting practices have a direct impact on early childhood outcomes, especially when it comes to the socioemotional development of young children. Poorer parents are said to have less interaction with their children, which does not fosters a child's development process (Worldbank, 2010).

Worldwide, there is a huge difference in the maturity of education programs, some have only recently been developed while other education programs have existed for decades. Although overall seen research on early childhood education is growing steadily, an increased focus on the education of young children and its consequences is highly desirable. 'There needs to be a greater commitment on the part of all countries to support not only the practice of early childhood education, but inquiry into that practice as well' (Spodek e.a., 2005, p.358) By reviewing existing education programs, these programs get the opportunity to be developed further.

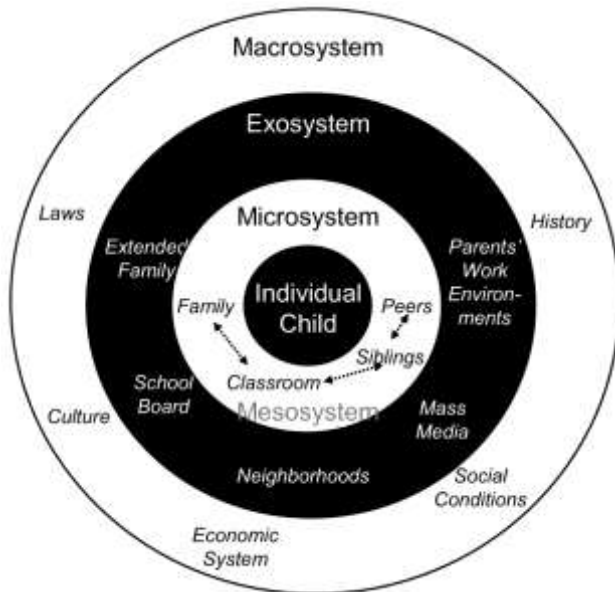
In Latin America, regional disparities are significant. In some countries children have access to basic education services, while in some countries this is not the case. Overall, the percentage of children who obtain early education is low and very often only a small percentage of the potential beneficiary population is reached. In some countries early childhood development indicators are relatively high and closer to reach developed world standards, while in a country as Guatemala (among the lowest incomes and among indigenous people), young children are in a severely disadvantaged position. But recent research has shown that the focus on early childhood education demonstrates remarkable potentials to improve cognitive and socioemotional development, but also the physical well-being and growth of children (Worldbank, 2010).

1.2 Theoretical framework

1.2.1. Rights-based approach. This research has been carried out in cooperation with PLAN Guatemala. As this organization follows a rights-based approach, the research has also followed this path. Therefore, a portrayal of the rights-based approach will be given. PLAN Guatemala is using this rights based approach since 2004. This approach 'represents a fundamental reflection process on the means and ends of development, which has resulted in an approach that provides new impetus to the debate on how best to combine human rights and development' (Moynihan Institute of Global Affairs, 2009, p.3). In recent years, the recognition of rights violations and discrimination has caused for an evolution of the development model of development organizations; towards respecting, protecting and fulfilling human rights (which form an obstacle to economic development and social justice). The focus of PLAN has been modified towards a model based on building rights-holders' capacity and on claiming their rights; the rights-based approach (RBA). 'The rights-based approaches are aimed at creating the conditions under which people can live in dignity and peace and develop their full potential' (Rand e.a., 2007, p.4). The emergence of the RBA in development organizations has brought new ways of thinking, more towards a focus on how to deal with the widespread social problems and other underlying causes of poverty. For instance corruption and unequal power and gender relations (Hickey e.a., 2009). The RBA is a rather recent and contested concept. 'A rights-based approach to development sets the achievement of human rights as an objective of development. It uses thinking about human rights as the scaffolding of development policy. It invokes the international apparatus of human rights accountability in support of development action' (Manzo, 2003, p.1) When the British government's Department for International Development approved the use of RBA in 2000, still very few International Development Agencies were entrusted and dedicated to this approach. By the end of the 1990s tensions were visible between the relationships of human rights to development, although it was definitely considered as a very positive change to recognize the central role of human rights within the development process. The World Bank for instance saw human rights as a goal of development while the UNDP claimed that human rights are vital to achieve development (Manzo, 2003). However, what is essential is that 'after so long, the issue of human rights is being addressed now' (Duffield, 2001, p.221). This approach reflects a rethinking of the neo-liberal development thinking and its policy frameworks. 'One of the principles of the RBA is 'good governance' in which the state is the primary agency for the enforcement of people's rights. But, governance is only 'good' 'to the extent that it benefits the social groups who are impoverished, oppressed and socially vulnerable and excluded' (Gready e.a., 2005).

1.2.2. Bronfenbrenner : Bio-ecological systems theory . The importance of early child hood development related to educational achievement is emphasized earlier this chapter. As this research

Figure 1.1: Bio-ecological systems model



Source: Bronfenbrenner, 1977

focuses on education provided to young children, it will be valuable to analyze the development process of children in the researched indigenous communities, especially by looking at the external influences of education. Therefore, the theory of Bronfenbrenner has been used. The Bio-ecological systems theory is a theory developed by the development psychologist Urie Bronfenbrenner. The emphasis within the theory and ecological model he designed is on child development, it is a theory that looks at a child's development within the context of the system of relationships that form his or her environment. 'Child development takes place through processes of progressively more complex

interaction between an active child and persons, objects, and symbols in its immediate environment. To be effective, the interaction must occur on a fairly regular basis over extended periods of time' (Bronfenbrenner, 1998, p. 996). When looking at the original ecological model Bronfenbrenner designed, 'the ecological model of human development' (figure 1.1), it can be noticed that the child is placed at the center of the model. Besides, the environmental influences a child is confronted with states central within his theory and is seen as very important when looking at the development of a child and the way his/her development is influenced. The model consists of four different systems which encompass roles, norms and rules that shape development. The different systems are concentric layers of environments set in an overarching system of time. However, this original model does not include the ultimate layer which include the dimension of time (the chronosystem), because Bronfenbrenner added this layer not until a few years to his model. The development of a child is influenced by every layer, but also the interaction between layers influences the development of the child. Also, the number and quality of the interrelations between the settings in which a developing child spends time has significant implications for his/her development.

The **microsystem** is the first layer surrounding the child. The microsystem consists of the setting in which the developing child is embedded, it is made up of the environment where the child lives, moves and participates. It are the direct (interpersonal) relations the developing child is surrounded by and interacts with within that environment (each and every environment has its own particular physical and material characteristics). Examples are immediate family members, school (school teachers and peers), religious institutions and the playground; depending on the age of the child. The microsystems together are a dynamic context for development, as individuals within this environment have a mutual influence. Bronfenbrenner argues about the microsystem that it is 'a pattern of activities, roles and interpersonal relations experienced by the developing person (1979, p.22)'; different microsystems are characterized by different activities, which provide opportunities for development. Next, every person within a microsystem has a different role which also has its

effects for development. E.g. the role between a teacher and a student or a parent which influences the values and behavior of the child he/she raises. But it is also nutrition, the home situation, way of raising a child and living circumstances which affect the development of a child. All these interpersonal relations together glue the microsystem and are the cause and effect for the development taking place.

The **mesosystem** is the layer surrounded by the microsystem; these are the interrelations between two or more settings within the environment the developing child participates. The child is not directly involved by the mesosystem, they are indirect relations the developing child is surrounded by. Nevertheless, the child is affected by them. Examples are a parent interacting with a school teacher, an adult and his/her work or his social life or friends/parents interacting with each other. Essential within the mesosystem of the developing child are the strengths of the linkages between the microsystems, which can affect the development of the child. For example can be referred to the home situation of a child and its effects of his/her situation at school.

The layer surrounding the mesosystem is the **exosystem**. This layer refers to the broader community in which the developing child lives. It consists of the settings in which the developing child does not actively participate. The events which occur within the microsystems in which the child does not participate affect, or are affected by the setting in which the developing child participates. Examples are mass media, the community health system, family friends, a schools policy change, social welfare services or a parents' workplace. The child does not have direct contact with these systems, but they do affect the child's development and socialization. For example when a parent obtains an income raise at his/her workplace. This change in the parent's life will most likely positively impact the child's life.

The outer layer, the **macrosystem**, is the most remote from the children's immediate experience. They do not affect the life of a person, but the general prototypes within a (sub) culture. It contains the attitudes, practices and customs, but also the ideologies, beliefs and values of a particular (sub) culture or society. Besides, it also contains their socio-economic status, ethnicity, poverty, culture and religion. These aspects strongly influence the activities, roles, participants and settings of microsystems within that culture. The macrosystem encompasses the microsystems, mesosystems and ecosystems of the child's environment. Therefore, all the aspects have influence on all through the interactions of all other layers. The macrosystem influences roles, participants & settings of microsystems within that culture. Besides, the components of the macrosystem are mostly informal and unwritten, they are more a mindset of people, which is manifested through custom and practice in daily life. For instance; within a culture local beliefs tell that parents should be solely responsible for raising their children, than that culture is less likely to provide resources to help parents. This affects structures in which parents function.

The **chronosystem** includes the dimension of time in relation to all the child's environments-external systems. It are patterns of environmental events and transitions over the life course, as well as socio-historical circumstances. Elements within the chronosystem can be extern or intern. Examples of extern events can be general historic events like a civil war or personal events like the death of a person. An example of an intern event can be the corporal or physiological changes during a child's development. E.g., when children get older they might react differently to changes

taking place within their environments, as they might start thinking how changing elements in their lives will influence their life.

The ecological model tries to explain the distinctions in someone's knowledge, development and capabilities through the culture and society in which they live. External influences and environmental factors which are main elements within Bronfenbrenner's theory are very useful to assess the cause and solution to problems children have, as the ecological model encompasses all areas of influence on the development of children and gives the chance to see how lives are balanced between every aspect of our environment. Bronfenbrenner argues that primary relations (e.g. parents) should last a life time and are very important to children as they cannot be replaced. If these primary relations within a child's microsystem fall apart, the developing child will not have the necessities needed to explore other parts of his environment. Supporting these relations is seen as the solution to enhance child development. On this manner, an environment for children will be created which will foster their development. Besides, important secondary relations for children are schools and teachers; however secondary relations they cannot provide a sense of caring and interaction that lasts for a lifetime. It is the work of schools and teachers to support the primary relations children have to create an environment in which the child will develop better. (Paquette e.a., 2005., Ahuja,2005., Cross, 2007, Bronfenbrenner, 1977, Bronfenbrenner 1979, Bronfenbrenner 1998).

Bronfenbrenner's theory will be applied to the context of the Achí people in the researched communities. His theory has been used for this research because of its child-centeredness. Especially because the ecological model is focused on the child's experiences the model focuses on. It is what actually happens within settings where a child is, that influence his or her development. This is very important, rather than only looking within individual settings. This theory has been especially used to make clear what the importance of a child's environmental influences is for his/her educational development. It must be mentioned though that the focus of this research is on education and not on development psychology of children, therefore psychological influences of distinct elements which influence children, will not be discussed in depth.

1.3 Conceptual framework

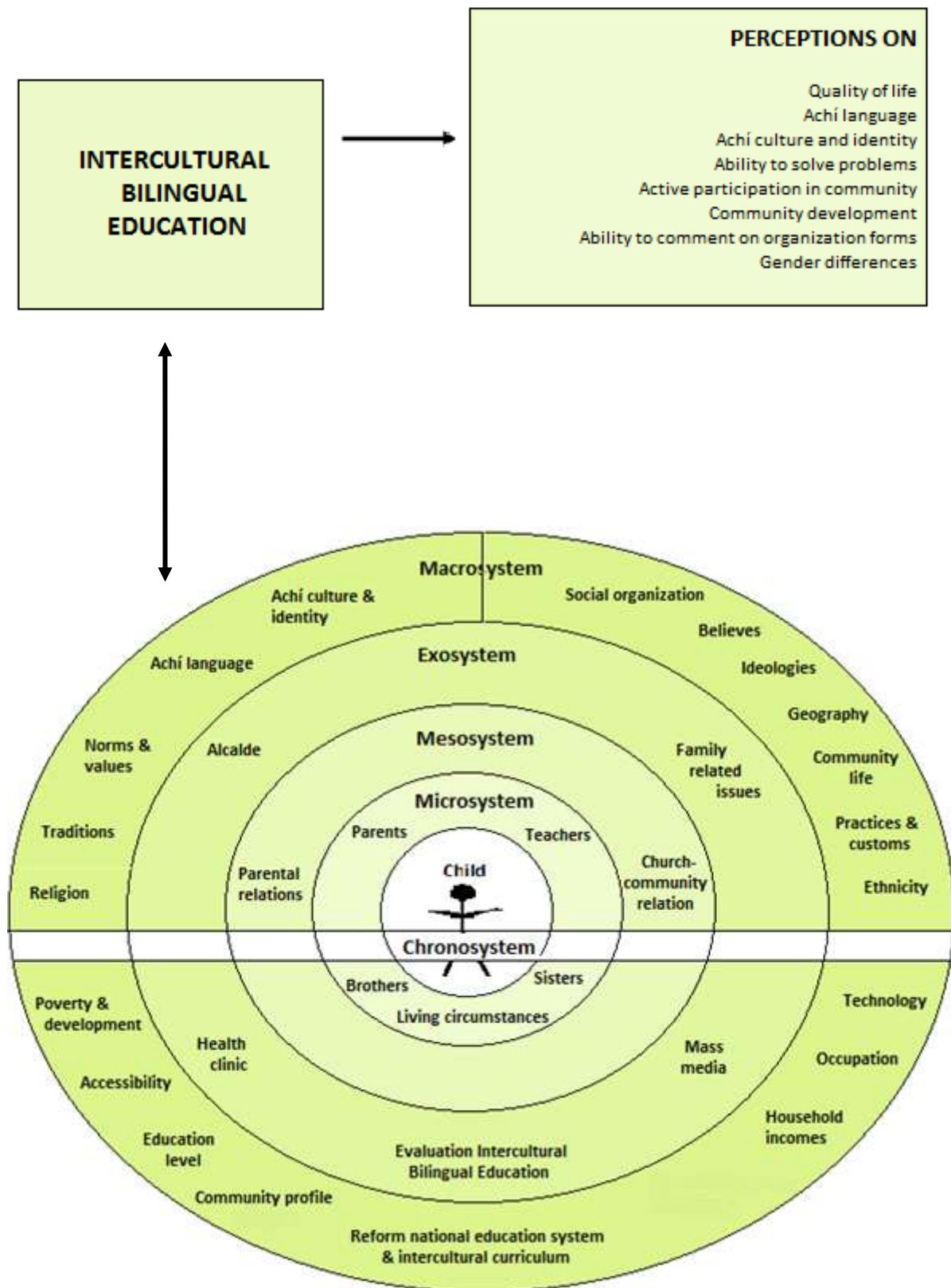
A schematic overview of the research is provided in figure 1.2; the conceptual framework. The central research theme is Intercultural Bilingual Education (IBE); IBE in both communities have been analyzed and its influences will become visible. Besides, the influences of the Achí culture and the influences of surrounding environments on child development are also main elements which will be analyzed throughout this thesis.

IBE strongly emphasizes the importance of and focus on local cultures, this thesis will show in what way the most important cultural elements belonging to the Achí culture (norms and values, traditions and religion which are defined below this section) influence and shape IBE. Besides, on the other hand this research shows whether IBE, shapes people; whether education leads to different perceptions on elements in community life and to a different view on aspects of the Achí culture (including the Achí language and the Achí culture and identity which include norms and values, traditions and religion).

The thesis is structured according to Bronfenbrenner's Bio-ecological systems model. This onion-shaped model looks at a child's development within the context of the system of relationships that form his or her environment. Each layer of the model represents distinct systems which will be

analyzed throughout this thesis. These systems represent different environments and include elements where children are surrounded by and influence their development directly or indirectly. The influence of these elements will be discussed throughout this thesis. As the central research theme is Intercultural Bilingual Education, the influences and importance of education will be highlighted in every system. In every chapter the conceptual framework will be shown, to indicate on which part of the research, and which layer of the model, will be focused on.

Figure 1.2 Conceptual Framework



1.4 Operationalization cultural elements

This thesis pays a lot of attention to cultural elements belonging to the Achí culture. Below is made clear how a culture's norms, values and traditions can be defined.

Norms. Norms are informal guidelines about what is considered normal (what is correct or incorrect) social behavior in a particular group. Norms form the basis of collective expectations that members of a community have from each other, by which a culture guides the behavior of its members in any given situation.

Values. Values reflect a person's sense of right and wrong or what "ought" to be. It are the commonly held standards of what is acceptable or unacceptable, important or unimportant, just or unjust, right or wrong, in a community or society.

Traditions. The passing down of rituals, believes, customs, legends, attitudes, information etcetera from generation to generation and still maintained in the present. The passing down especially takes place by word of mouth or practice.

Religion. The belief in a supernatural power or powers which is considered to be divine and controls human destiny; it is a set of believes, attitudes and practices associated with such belief.

1.5 Methodology

1.5.1 Research characteristics. Field research has been carried out in two indigenous communities in Guatemala, Tempisque and Chixolop, in the department Baja Verapaz. The geographical setting of these communities will be explained later. The research contained the following elements;

- 82 household surveys have been conducted, 41 families in each community.
- Moreover, 16 in-depth interviews have been conducted, 8 youngsters in each community.
- In addition, IBE has been evaluated in primary schools in both communities, of which each community counts one primary school. The evaluation included in-depth interviews with a teacher in every grade. 6 teachers in every grade, 12 teachers in total. Besides, in the classrooms of these teachers, thus in every grade, participant observations took place and classroom observations have been held by the use of ranking forms. Moreover, in-depth interviews have been held with directors of both schools. To carry out a correct evaluation on IBE, and especially classroom observations, knowledge on which research elements to include, is gained in previous research evaluations on IBE in Guatemala; (Chesterfield e.a., 1999, USAID, 2004, PRODI, 2009, Hall e.a., 2006).
- Further, 10 in-depth interviews have been conducted with main stakeholders in the field of education. Interviews have been held with the community leader in both communities, the head of the education department of both municipalities, the head of education of the department, 2 pedagogic professionals, 2 professionals who provide capacity workshops to teachers and the director of the *Academia Lenguas Mayas*, the main institution for information-workshops on bilingual education.

1.5.2. Triangulation – Q2 - in research methodology. Within this research is made use of triangulation. Many researchers favor several methodological techniques. In fact, every methodology exposes considerably different sides/features of the same symbolic reality. All these methods are different lines pointing towards the same point. When researchers combine several lines of sight, this

is called triangulation. The use of triangulation in a research permits the researcher to obtain a better, more substantive picture of the reality; a richer, more complete array of symbols and theoretical concepts and a means of verifying many of these elements' (Berg, 2007, p. 5). During the research period has been made use of qualitative and quantitative research methods. Why? It provides richer data quality; it serves as enhancement of the study as results from one method will be clarified with findings from another method. It increases the confidence in the reliability of the dataset. Besides, it expands the breadth and range of a study by using multiple methods for different study purposes. Next, by using both methods a study is more comprehensive than quantitative or qualitative methods alone. It leads to a better understanding as qualitative results can guide quantitative researchers in their analysis and provide additional support for quantitative findings. The qualitative methods which have been used during the research are observation, participant observation and in-depth interviewing. Next, documents and multiple theoretical perspectives on the researched' concepts have been analyzed (Berg, 2007).

1.5.3. Household surveys. Household surveys have been carried out in two indigenous communities, Chixolop and Tempisque, as a way to gain insights in the livelihoods of the Achí people. One of the oldest and most widely used social research methods is the use of survey by means of questionnaires. This method can be really effective; if used correctly, questionnaires can be a really informative tool to find out a broad array of factual information and individual views and perceptions from a particular population group. In development studies, questionnaires are often used to provide baseline information of a certain ethnic group, which will be followed by more detailed research using in-depth interviews and focus groups. Within this research, is made use of structured and semi-structured questions within the household survey. Within structured questionnaires short specific answers will be given within a prescribed questionnaire. Besides, the semi structured questionnaires combine a few structured questions to generate basic information about others, but it allows people to speak freely 'to convey ideas or perceptions in an open-ended manner' (Potter, 2010, p.166).

1.5.4. Qualitative in-depth Interviewing. Qualitative interviewing is a very resourceful and multipurpose way of doing research. This is a research method used to find out how other people think, feel and value their own world in which they live and work. It gives a much broader view and understanding of someone's position within a community, group or culture. In-depth qualitative interviewing is a way to understand how cultures are developed and maintained, to find out how people see their world and find out what people do what they do. It expands your emotional and intellectual reach across aspects as time, class race, sex and geographical distinctive areas. Besides, doing interviews enables people to understand experiences which you did not take part in. During interviews explicit topics or events can be looked at to understand social, political and economic phenomena. In-depth interviews can be unstructured, semi structured and structured. Often, qualitative interviews are semi structured and exist of more and less structured parts within their interviews. Within this research, it will most likely be semi structured interviews as obtaining specific information is required. Several topics will be introduced next to a number of predetermined questions, but it will allow the interviewed people room to tell their stories. The interview will be guided by the interviewee by asking specific questions on the topic but the elaboration on topics stays central. It is of importance to be aware of the used vocabulary and 'taken for granted' understandings during an interview; these can most likely be understood by paying attention to symbols or metaphors people use in their stories about their livelihoods. On this way interviewees

can try to understand the experiences that have shaped these assumptions. Finally, what should not be forgotten is that someone's experiences are not more or less true than others. Several different versions of the same events or happenings may all be right, but are just a reflection of distinct perspectives on what happened (Rubin e.a., 1995).

1.5.5. Participant observation. Participant observation has as the aim to understand the culture you are studying. How does the world look like for the Achí people in Guatemala? This is done by living with the people you are studying. In ideal descriptions of this method, the observer is said to participate actively, for an extended period of time, in the daily lives of the people and situations under study (McCall e.a., 1969). This may require that the observer lives or works in an area; it clearly assumes that the observer will become an accepted member of the group of community, able to speak informally with the people to 'joke with them, empathize with them, and share their concerns and experiences' (Bogdan e.a. 1975, p.55). Participant observation is the central methodology of anthropology fieldwork. It involves getting close to the people and make them feel comfortable enough with your presence so that you can observe and record information about their lives. Seeing through others' eyes is one of the main tenets of qualitative research, the participant observer would seem to be better placed for gaining a foothold on social reality in this way. The researcher's prolonged immersion in a social setting would seem to make him or her better equipped to see as others see. The participant observer participates in many of the same kinds of activity as the members of the social setting which are studied. This research method gives the opportunity to gain a better insight in the realm of thought of the studied people and will able one to understand situations from their perspective. Understanding and Interpreting the meanings and experiences of the researched group is a task which anthropologists argue is only possible through participation with the individuals involved (Silverman, 1997). The participant observer his extensive contact within a social setting allows the context of their behavior to be mapped out fully. The participant observer interacts with people in a variety of different situations and possibly roles, links between behavior and context can be shaped. Furthermore, understanding language is an important part of this type of research, because knowing how words are used and the meanings of specific terms in the local vernacular is frequently viewed as crucial to an appreciation of how the social world which is studied is viewed by its members (Bryman, 2008).

1.5.6. Race, Class and gender in Qualitative research. Research has been carried out in minority communities in Guatemala. Something which must be taken into account while doing research across racial differences is the relationship between researchers and the researched people. The social distance between the interviewers and the interviewed people are inflicted by class and race relations as the interviewers are white and middle class and the interviewed people are not. How should white researchers study people who have been inferior throughout history, without creating sociological accounts deformed by race, class, and gender? Issues related to trust are especially important; research done by the black anthropologist J.Gwaltney indicates that within his research it became clear that black men and women strongly mistrust white researchers. Research must be seen in context to be able to shape knowledge about the researched people. It is said that researchers who keep their interest in reproducing racist and sexist relations, will at least discover the social construction of class, gender and racial relations. Importantly when doing research, it is required that researchers see themselves as 'situated in the action of our research' (Stanfield II,

1993, p.43) and keep in mind their influence of their status like race, gender or class, in shaping knowledge.

1.6 Research limitations

Doing social research in a developing country has had several limitations which should be bearded in mind. Not just while doing research, but also while reading and discussing the thesis;

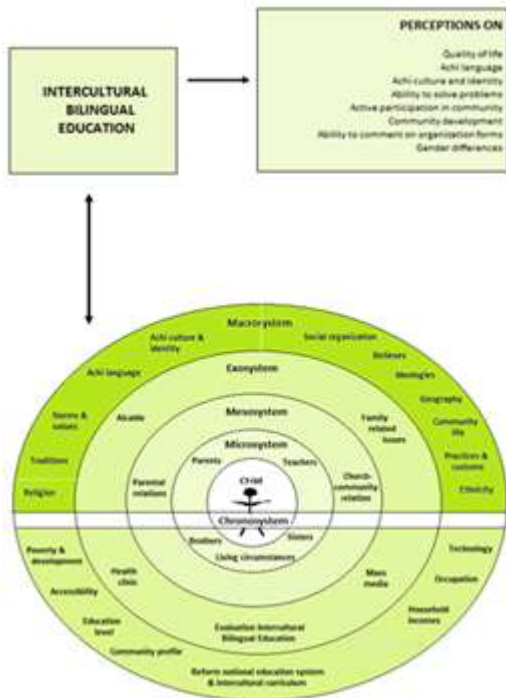
Objectivity. Qualitative research focuses on subjective data that is not easily coded into numbers. The emphasis is on words and feelings rather than numbers. Qualitative research tends to work with fewer subjects or respondents (cases) but analyses each case to a deeper level. (Strauss e.a., 1998). It is impossible to make this research totally objective as it has not been possible to measure the conclusions which will be drawn and the recommendations which will be given. Furthermore the researcher her interpretation, the objectivity of the researcher, must be taken into question while reading this thesis.

Language / use interpreter. Spanish is not the native language of both the researcher and the Achí people, which implies that information might be interpreted or passed wrong or got lost while having conversation. Besides, the mother tongue of the Achí people is Achí and it might be that a part of the local population only speaks this indigenous language. Therefore, sometimes is made use of a local interpreter. The use of an interpreter also has its negative consequences, as translations might be passed on wrongly or important information for the researcher which is not seen as important to the interpreter in this context, might get lost. When working with a translator it is vital that all the information needs to be passed on to the researcher. However, although interpreters can be used, a large part of daily conversations between the local population who only speak Achí can still be been missed.

European woman. The research is carried out by a young white woman who is seen as a stranger by the local people and not familiar with the local culture. For this reason it is likely that received information is restricted and subjective. Received answers might be 'social desirable answers', information can be left behind, transformed or only positive aspects or stories will be told by local people and negative aspects or stories left behind. Local people are not aware what might possibly happen with information they share with the researcher. It is very important that the researcher is trusted and the objective of the research is made clear before conversations about sensitive topics are held.

Limited period of time. The three and half month field research is of a too short time to gain a full insight in the realm of thought and socio-cultural context of the Achí people. However, it has been possible within this timeframe to carry out household surveys in 82 families, to evaluate IBE in two primary schools in two separate communities and to talk to main stakeholders in the field of education, by making use of effective and efficient qualitative research methods.

2 Regional framework



The macrosystem of Bronfenbrenner’s theory will be introduced in this chapter, in which the third research question can be placed and will be answered, being; ‘How can the livelihoods of the Achi people be characterized?’ The highlighted part of the conceptual framework at the left indicates which part of the research will be focused on throughout this chapter. Geographical characteristics of the research area will be illustrated, besides, a view on the culture of the researched indigenous group, the Achi people, will be provided.

2.1 National geographical characteristics

Guatemala is located in Central America and is in the North bordered with Mexico, in the North-East with Belize and in the South with Honduras and El Salvador. Besides, on the South-West the country is bordered by the North Pacific Ocean and on the East coast by the

Gulf of Honduras (the Caribbean Sea) between Honduras and Belize. The country has a surface of 108.430km² and is divided in 8 regions, 22 departments and 335 municipalities. Guatemala’s geographical characteristics can be described as very diverse. The country (figure 2.1) can roughly be divided into three regions; the lowlands in the north, the volcanic highlands, and the coastal plain south of the mountains. The highlands take up around 50% of Guatemala’s land area and cut across the country. The Sierra Madre is the southern part of the mountains, where a wide range of more than 30 volcanoes can be found. The Petén lowlands can be found in Northern Guatemala, which covers around 30% of Guatemala’s land area. It is a very isolated region; it is covered for 90% with rain forest and wildlife. The coastal plain in the South is made up of black volcanic sand beaches and is an area which contains many mangrove swamps (Sheehan, 2008). Traditionally, agriculture used to be Guatemala’s major income sector. Main crops cultivated are sugarcane, corn, bananas, coffee, beans and cardamom. Nowadays, Guatemala’s major income sector is the tourism sector which has been growing heavily and now counts for 56% of the countries’ GDP. Agriculture counts for nearly 15% of the GDP, although 50% of the working population works in agriculture. Another major source of income which counts for 10% of the GDP is

Figure 2.1 : Map of Guatemala



Source: UN, 2004

remittances, of which the majority comes from the USA (CIA World Factbook, 2011). As mentioned in the first chapter, Guatemala is very rich in cultural and linguistic diversity and is the most populous country in Central America. However, this diversity has caused a lot of conflict, exclusion and large inequalities in its social and economic structure. Between 1950 and 2000 the country has known a variety of military and civilian governments and a 36-year during civil war, in which the indigenous population groups have been the main victims. The peace accords signed in 1996 ended this terrifying period; however scars can still be seen. Over 100.000 people have found their dead in this period and around 1 million people migrated, especially to the USA (World Bank, 2004, CIA World Factbook, 2011).

The country counts 13.8 million inhabitants. Guatemala’s population is concentrated mainly in rural areas, 51% of its population lives in rural areas. The rural population is linked to the large indigenous presence in Guatemala. It has the largest indigenous population in Latin America, relative to the total population. Besides, of the total population 38.1% is aged 0-14 years, 58% is aged 15-64 years and the remaining 3.9% is 65 years and older (CIA World Factbook, 2011).

2.1 Local geographical characteristics

The field research has been carried out in two indigenous communities in the department Baja Verapaz; in Tempisque, Salamá and Chixolop, San Miguel Chicaj.

Figure 2.2: Location department Baja Verapaz, Guatemala



Source: CEPREDENAC, 2009

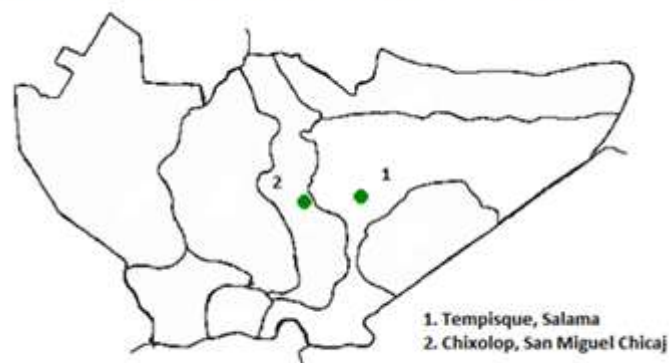
Baja Verapaz. Baja Verapaz is one of the departments of Guatemala and is located in the middle of in the country (figure 2.2). The department has a surface of 2134km² and 245.787 inhabitants. It consists of the municipalities Cubulco, El Chol, Granados, Purulhá, San Jerónimo, Rabinal, San Miguel Chicaj and Salamá, the capital. Overall seen the area can be characterized as rural highlands, with primarily indigenous population groups living in the area. The area contains a widespread cultural diversity; the ethnic groups living here are the Achí, Q’eqchi, pocomchi and K’iche people. The significance of Verapaz, true peace, is rather in contrast with its history. In the 1980s, parts of this area have known massive military genocide, among others the traditional indigenous village Rabinal, where the Achí people from origin.

Tempisque, Salamá. Tempisque is a community that is part of the municipality Salamá and is located 147 km from Guatemala City. Salamá comes from the name *Tz’alam Ha’*, which is Achí for ‘tables above the water’. The valley in which Salamá is located used to be a lake, thousands of years ago. The town is located 960 meters above sea level, it is an area with a surface of 776 km² and has a population of 31.818 inhabitants. The ethnic groups which live in Salamá are the Ladinos, which form the majority of the population, and a small minority of Achí people. Its main income source is agriculture (the crops cultivated are mostly tomatoes, papaya, corn, peanuts, watermelon, potatoes,

beans and sugar cane). Besides, also cattle breeding takes place; pigs, cows and chicken. Tempisque (figure 2.3) is located 15 km west of Salamá and is based between green fertile hills. Besides, the community includes two hills known as jay XeÚtiw b'exex Xe. Tempisque counts 2.736 inhabitants which are 100% indigenous. The first inhabitants in Tempisque came originally from Rabinal, the traditional Achí municipality 1 hour east from Tempisque, located in another valley. The Achí people originated from Rabinal came as farm workers, as this area was much more fertile and grew corn, sugarcane and soybeans. The name Tempisque comes from *Tempixk*, which is in Achí an ancient name for a huge tree which was located in the center of the community, a tree where people used the shade to rest/ meet other people and for community events.

Chixolop, San Miguel Chicaj. Chixolop is a community which is part of the municipality San Miguel Chicaj. San Miguel Chicaj is located 940 meters above sea level, has a surface of 300 km² and a population of 23.201 inhabitants. The name San Miguel Chicaj comes from St. Michael, which is one of the principal catholic angels. The village San Miguel was founded in 1803 and became a municipality in 1877. Chixolop (figure 2.3) is a plain, relatively dry area located 960 meters above sea level and located 7 kilometers west of San Miguel Chicaj. Chixolop counts 2.248 inhabitants which are 100% indigenous. Chixolop was founded around the year 1850. The town center's name is derived from the surname of the first inhabitants who migrated to this place as much land was available. The first inhabitants also came originally from the municipality Rabinal and were called Xolop. *Chi* means place in Achí and therefore the village was called Chixolop.

Figure 2.3: Map municipalities Baja Verapaz, Guatemala



Source: ZONU, 2009

2.3 Achí culture

A view on the researched communities has been provided; now information about the culture of the Achí people who live in the researched communities will be given. This knowledge will be of assistance to understand the importance of the cultural identity of the distinct ethnic groups living in Guatemala.

2.3.1. Identity. Achí is one of the 24 ethnic groups and languages of Guatemala. The Achí people is the ethnic group which lives mainly in the department Baja Verapaz in the municipalities of Cubulco, Rabinal, San Miguel Chicaj, Salama and San Jerónimo and parts of the municipalities of El Chol, Granados and Purulah, The language is spoken by 105.992 people (INE, 2002). Originally, Achí people come from the municipality Rabinal, and migrated to other parts of the region. The linguistic diversity of Guatemala plays the most important role concerning the cultural identity of the ethnic Maya groups. All Mayan languages come from a common linguistic group, but each process has its

own historical, linguistic, phonological, morphological and syntactic background and differs from each other (ALMG, 2003, Lujaj, 2005).

2.3.2. Ethno history of the Achí language. Mayan languages, over many centuries, have had changes in all linguistic fields. In the Mayan languages exist similarity, but in each language variations in the phonological, morphological and syntactic field can be found. It is believed that Mayan languages have a common origin, they are descendants of a single proto-language called Proto-Mayan. It is believed that this language has been spoken in northwestern Guatemala about 4000 years ago. In 1824, the government issued decrees that sought the demise of indigenous languages; laws that sought the death of the Mayan languages instead of their strengthening and development. It is not until 1945 since people started talking about the rights of indigenous groups in the country's political constitution. After many efforts of indigenous communities and as a result of the constituent assembly, a new political constitution of the Republic had been realized, this regulated the rights of the Maya. The constitution of the republic states that all humans have rights to liberty, equality and dignity in developing their own form of cultural and linguistic diversity. In 1950, the National Indigenous Institute officiated the alphabets for the four major indigenous languages in Guatemala; *K'iche*, *Mam*, *Cakchiquel* and *Q'ecqchi*. Since 1987, a government agreement decided officially to recognize 22 alphabets for the 22 Maya languages. Today, the grammar rules for the Mayan languages in Guatemala are gaining in importance in view of the new language policy adopted by the State fulfilling the Peace Agreement signed in 1996. This new language policy passed by the Congress in 2003 makes it necessary and essential that Mayan languages make use of this type of grammar, so this law really benefits the part of the population that speaks an indigenous language. However with all the political changes that have confronted the lives of the Maya villages, Maya languages still suffer lexical and phonological changes. This is also the case for the Achí language (ALMG, 2003, Lujaj, 2005).

Regarding the language Achí, several discussions exist around the recognition as a separate language. The recognition of Achí as being separate of the language K'iche has archaeological and ethno historical poses that remain unresolved. Different opinions about the Achí language exist. Is it a separate language or variant of K'iche? Some say that is a variant of K'iche, but speakers consider that Achí comes from the same origin as K'iche. The dialectal variation between them is phonological and lexical. The verbal roots are equal, even as the morphology. Another key reason to maintain this linguistic argument is that K'iche has more than one dialectal variant. Linguistically, both are dialects of the same language but because of political and historical factors, speakers of Achí have given the different name. The differences may be in the way of pronouncing vowels and besides, differences in certain words used in each region are found. Today, the Achí people recognize that the two languages come from the same root, but manifest there is a difference between K'iche and Achí by sociolinguistic factors, such as social identity and its relationship to language. Besides, the tendency exist that people do not to identify themselves K'iche, but as Achí. This causes that some of its speakers do not accept calling the language K'iche, but only Achí (Prensa libre, 1995).

2.3.3. Social organization. Like all cultural groups the Achí people have a specific internal system which organizes the activities and relations in their society. Important for Maya people in general are '*los derechos y demandas del Pueblo Maya*'; the rights and demands of the Mayan villages which allows them to decide and carry out their economic, cultural, social and political plans

liberally. In the communities Tempisque and Chixolop, the *alcalde* is the name for local government officials who have several functions, but always include a judicial element. Legally seen the *alcalde* in indigenous communities do not have official power, but their power is legitimized.. Decisions which are made by the *alcalde* are based on shared experiences in the community through the time. The experiences are seen as the norms, and are based on the habits in the community. The norms are in reality rules of social control and whether these are effective or not are more important to the people than the state rights. Besides, the norms are based on consensus, which means that it is legitimized by the authorities although they are not legally recognized by the central government. The norms are not written down, also because they change with the time. The conflicts within the communities are solved based on these norms. Only when problems, fights or other issues cannot be solved by the *alcalde*, these issues will be managed by the authorities of the municipality of Salama or San Miguel Chicaj, which are part of the state (Ramirez e.a., 1993).

2.3.4. Family and community life. All human beings develop as individual persons and as member of a group; in a family, school, and community. For Mayan people, the life in a community, as a group, is necessary to survive individually. The life of an individual in a Maya community and the important moments or phases one experiences, are marked by religious rituals. Like a birth, baptism, wedding, or death of a person. These important events secure someone's identity, but also tighten relations between members of the community. The communities are divided in several quarters, which are mainly divided by family ties. In a traditional Mayan village like Chixolop and Tempisque, the main obligation of a husband consists of working at the land to sustain his family and to provide the main daily family needs; corn and beans. While young men are growing up they are supposed to help their father at the land. The husband has the authority in the family, although the wife usually also has certain power in taking decisions. The wife and children have the responsibility to take care of the household and the preparation of meals. Days start very early with carrying water, making fire and grind corn for the preparation of tortillas. Another important daily activity for women is weaving. Often, women are making traditional textiles just for family use, but it also happens that they make textiles for commercial purposes. Besides, some women also have little family business like a family store or food sale. Little children are always at the side of their mom and usually have a strong relation with their mother. They learn on a very young age to be a responsible person and help in taking care of their family. Their domestic activities often start at the age of four and once they get older they get more and more responsibilities and are supposed to have discipline. Discipline is important and is strongly related with good behavior; to respect god, your obligations, to do good work, respect older people and respect nature. From the age of eight on children are supposed stop playing and get mayor responsibilities. They learn how to make tortillas, cook and are responsible for their younger sisters. If people do not have enough income, they should also contribute to the family income. It is not until the age of 15 that children are considered as adults and have their work responsibilities and take care of the money they gain (Ramirez e.a., 1993).

Nowadays however changes are taking place in the agricultural sector, women who work at the land of their father, husband or for other people; to increase the family income. Often, women who work at the land are young, single, separated or widow. These agricultural possibilities offer an important income source for these women, although they are underpaid compared to men who carry out the same activities. The agricultural work offers the possibility to provide their family with a higher income, at the other hand does this change lessen the time to take care of the children and realize domestic activities. These duties are now taken over by the young children themselves. This

participation in economic activities has created a little space of independency for women. However, the majority of the women stays dependent on their husband's salary and lessens their capacity to take decisions related to economic and domestic matters.

Relating to marriage; nowadays the majority of the young people in Chixolop and Tempisque are free to choose their partner. However, still a minority of traditional families exist who are not as free in decision making as others, which means that parents choose their children's future partner. This change is taking place since only 5-10 years in these communities. Right after a marriage, a couple lives in the house of the husbands parents while in the meanwhile the wife gets accustomed and learns her husband's family habits. After the first baby is born, the family moves to their own house. This is a development which makes the individuals officially mature, grown-up. Before, it was very common that girls got their first child at the age of 13. The last ten years this is changing towards the age of 16-18.

Baptism is an important element in life as parental ties with the family will be intensively strengthened. This ceremony establishes a tight relation between the parents of a child and the godfathers. On this manner the cooperation and mutual help between the two families increases. Besides, godfathers establish certain obligations towards their godchildren with respect to their well-being and education.

In the Maya culture, the family and community life, its relations and its norms and values are very important. It is essential that parents transmit the community norms and values to their children; especially the aspect of solidarity is seen as one of the most important values. Besides, important in Mayan families is that you will always take care of your children, even when they are grownups. The other way around, adult children will always continue with helping their parents economically, also after they created their own family and do not live in their parental house anymore. Also, the heritage persist that children receive a piece of land to cultivate and build their house on after they got married. Ideally all children should receive the same amount. However, often preferably men are given land as women will be living with their husbands after they get married (Ramirez e.a., 1993).

2.3.5. Traditional Achí clothing. Next to the language, the traditional clothing the Maya people wear, identifies the village/region where they come from and reflect their cultural identity. However, in the Achí area it is nowadays just the women who still wear their traditional clothing. The traditional dress for men is a white shirt and trousers or *Kotono*. The white cotton shirt with long sleeves and buttons has now been replaced with contemporary designs shirts. The traditional pants have been replaced with jeans and are made of white cloth. Accessories men used to wear consisted of a slip with various designs and colors tied to the waist. Besides, the men used to make use of a *Su't*, which consists of a thin fabric napkin with various colors and designs embroidered on the shoulders. Besides, they wore a straw hat, which is nowadays replaced by a hat made of a different fabric. Women at the other hand do still wear their hand-woven traditional dress. Weaving is still one of the main activities women daily realize in the communities, next to domestic activities. Girls start weaving around the age of six with fabric-made cotton. The cotton yarn that enjoyed high prestige in pre-Hispanic times and of which the use declined in colonial times, was spun by women. This textile process has survived to the present in several Mayan communities in Guatemala, including in the Achí area. However, women in Chixolop and Tempisque do not spin the cotton themselves; they buy cotton to weave their traditional outfit. Traditional blouses women weave are called *huipiles*. It is a blouse which is finely woven on a backstrap loom. The used colors and figures which characterize the

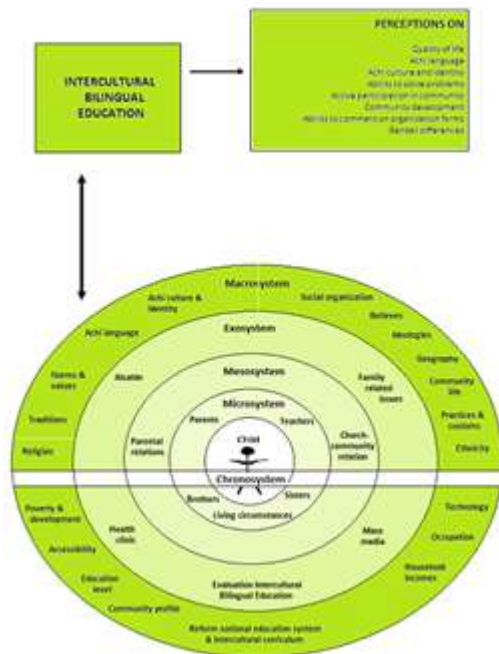
women in Chixolop and Tempisque are turquoise and black. These are used as main colors for the *huipil*, on which small geometric natural designs are embroidered in all kinds of bright colors. The natural designs, often animals, emphasize the close relationship of the Achí people with nature. Luckily, Achí people keep on weaving and sustain the Maya textile tradition on this manner, although they do not weave with handspun cotton anymore. Using fabric-made cotton is by the women seen as an alteration which took place. The fact that they do not produce their own cotton is not seen as a loss of a cultural value (ALMG, 2003, Prensa Libre, 1995).

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter has provided background information on the geographical and cultural setting of the researched indigenous communities. This regional framework will be useful to place the research more in perspective and lead to a better visualization of the local area and its people. The Achí people live in rural areas in the middle of the country, in the department Baja Verapaz. It has become visible that the Achí people have their own cultural identity of which their language Achí forms the most important part. Besides, cultural identity is also expressed by other aspects which are of importance in community life of the Achí people; their norms and values, traditions and traditional clothing. The coming chapters will go more in depth on the importance of cultural elements which reflect and strengthen the cultural identity of the Achí people.

3

The macrosystem, and the influences of the Achí culture and education.



How can the livelihoods of the Achí people be characterized and what role does education play within their culture? This chapter will provide information on the macrosystem of the Achí people in the researched communities Tempisque and Chixolop. In the conceptual framework at the left is illustrated which part of the research is focused on in this chapter, which will also be specified more in coming paragraphs.

In this chapter, research question 4-8 and 10 will be answered, being; ‘How do stakeholders on national level influence the implementation of IBE?’; ‘What are the main cultural elements within the Achí culture?’; On what manner do cultural elements of the Achí culture influence and shape education?’; ‘In what way does IBE lead to different perceptions on the Achí culture and other elements in community life?’; How is IBE perceived by the Achí people?’; And; ‘on which way does education and other external and environmental influences

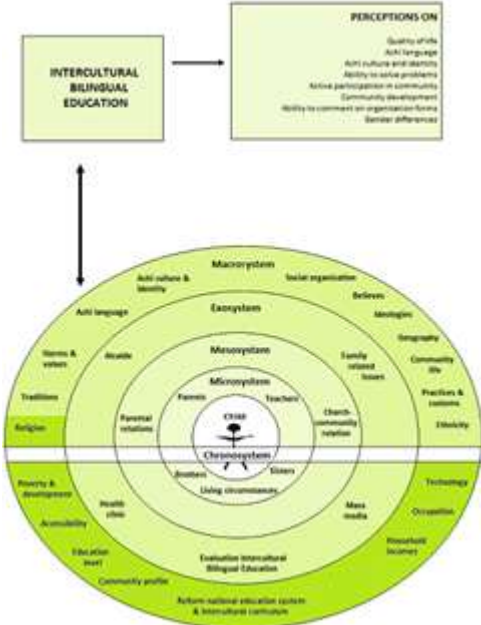
children are surrounded by, influence their development?’ The theory of Bronfenbrenner will be used by specifying on the role of education within the Achí culture; how education is influencing and is influenced by the Achí culture. As argued by the development psychologist Bronfenbrenner, the macrosystem provides a view on the cultural context in which the individuals live; the society-subculture of the Achí people. The macrosystem includes aspects as; poverty and development, a community profile including; socio-economic status, religion, education levels, occupation, technological characteristics. But also culture related aspects like practices and customs, ideologies and believes and values of that subculture. In chapter 2, knowledge on the Achí culture has been gained, therefore these aspects will not be shown again, but other aspects of the macrosystem will be discussed more in depth. As the macrosystem focuses on the place of the individuals in the society (on national level) and this research is focused on education first a view on the national educational reform will be provided, which has led to the development of the educational curriculum, which will also be discussed.

First, the education system is pictured to put the further analysis on education better into perspective. Second, the manner on how the Achí culture (cultural elements) influences and shapes education is analyzed and on the other side is analyzed on what manner education influences the Achí culture and shape people. Furthermore is discussed on what way education influences perceptions on the Achí culture and other elements in community life.

Moreover, it will become visible in what way external and environmental influences (on macro level) affect the development of children in Tempisque and Chixolop. Although the macrosystem is the largest and most remote set of people and things to a child, it still affects children either positively or negatively. The majority of the data which has been used is based on the

result of the fieldwork in the communities. In both communities, household surveys have been realized with 41 families, 82 in total. Conversations have been held with respect to people’s family, work situation, education and culture. Moreover, interviews have been held with the youth in the villages, with respect to elements influencing their lives (and thus development) in the communities.

3.1 Reform national education system



When looking at the macrosystem of the Achí people and the significance for this research, it is valuable to start with a look at the education system (including the curriculum) on national level and changes which have taken place within the system. Then other aspects of the microsystem will be discussed. Which part of the research this paragraph encompasses is highlighted in the conceptual framework at the left. The educational reform which took place in Guatemala was designed in 1996 as part of the Peace Accords, after the 36 year during civil war. It was the point in the history of Guatemala, in the struggle for democracy and social justice in the country. The Peace Accords and educational reform have been the result of growing social pressure which manifested the marginalized position of diverse ethnic groups in the country. In short; in the 1970s and 80s, many Maya communities had been the victim of

violence, (the violence characterized the counter-insurgency strategy of the army), rightly or wrongly, but considered as supporters of the rebellion. In 1990, for the first time communities came unarmed into action after a military massacre; mass meetings were organized and indigenous people got support from a national human rights official for the first time. Demands for basic democratic rights to live in peace were sent to the government, which had its effects as the military draw back. The effects of this event were significant for the entire country. The national civic movement was developed and got nationally and internationally support from many human right groups, development organizations, political parties, churches and trade unions. Together with a mass protest in Guatemala City, it convinced the president to back down and withdraw the army. This was the beginning of the development of civil society organizations, the beginning of the construction of local power in Maya communities, autonomous from the state. However, it lasted six years until the actual Peace Accords were signed (O’Sullivan, 2008).

Provided for in the Peace Accords, the educational reform had two orientations (argued by deputy minister of education; Manual Salazar (O’Sullivan, 2008)); a modernized decentralized education system responding to the necessities and social demands of its habitants. This would be realized in a socio-cultural, politic, socioeconomic and juridical context, and second, in such a way that it would reflect the cultural diversity and identity of the country. Within the socio-cultural field, the ethnic, cultural and linguistic context were said to be emphasized as these aspects should be seen as expression of the national diversity. This awareness of cultural diversity received its importance since 1990 when the Maya movements developed and of which demands continue to be a crucial political point of attention for the Guatemalan state today. The reform aimed to implant the history, language and culture of the Mayas into the countries national curriculum, especially with the agreement in the Peace Accords on ‘Identity and development of the Indigenous villages’. Especially these two legal

sources were seen as political educative ways to the development of a peaceful culture. A culture in which solidarity among all social groups would exist within the country. Besides, a culture which respects human rights next to economic, political, social and cultural rights. Education was profiled as one of the decisive driving forces behind the strengthening of the cultural identity of indigenous people and the affirmation of the national identity. It was seen as valuable to recognize Guatemala as a multiethnic, multilingual and multi-cultural state in which the necessity to reform the education system and the curriculum was seen as important element to focus on for a better future and quality of life for each human being. A future without discrimination in the political, ethnic, social, cultural or gender field (MINEDUC, 2003).

Especially in countries like Guatemala, a country with a multicultural and socioeconomically diverse society which is sharply class-divided, curricular and pedagogic exclusion takes place. Although the educational reform looked good on paper and promises were made, the Peace Accords have not been implemented. Especially not when seen from the perspective of the Maya population. The political Maya organizations have not accomplished in effectively pressuring the governments to implement agreements made in the Peace Accords. Several governments in a row have rejected and not implemented the measures the way they should be; measures which specifically relate to the socioeconomic and cultural marginalization of the Maya population. Educational decision makers at national level take bureaucratic and political imperative decisions which do not benefit the larger national society and especially not the Maya communities. To illustrate this; the publically funded education system in Guatemala had next to Haiti the lowest rates with regard to basic literacy figures of the entire population (based on data generated in the 1990s). Besides, at the end of Portillo's government in 2004, the UN mission in Guatemala found out that very little, also in the education sector, had been achieved with regard to the Peace Accords. UN Statistics from the 1990s until 2004 and figures from the *Proyecto Regional de Indicadores Educativos* -Educative Indicators of the Regional Project- also reflect this (MINUGUA, 2004).

Educational achievements which are reached were among others in student achievement and student enrollment; however statistics are the lowest in rural schools where the majority of the Maya population lives. A deep disparity exists between educational achievements and opportunities for urban children of ladino descent compared to rural children from Maya descent. Overall seen, educational achievements which are realized do not contain cultural elements which are seen as the most important elements to the Mayas (O'Sullivan, 2008). Today, the education system is still facing a lot of problems. Private schools do not know significant problems, but it are schools which are in the hand of the state, and mainly the indigenous population, which suffer from under financing of the education system, under qualified teachers due to bad professional training, bad educational infrastructure, and the continuing discrimination. The government still does not have the intention to implement significant reforms; reforms that consider the distinct indigenous languages and cultures. In daily life, a lot of indigenous parents do not see any reason in the educational training of their children, because the curriculum does not include lessons in a Mayan language or in their culture and history. Therefore, they often do not take them to school, especially during the period of harvest. This leads to high rates of drop-outs and high repeating figures. One of the things which are highly needed is an adaptation of the content of the curriculum to the needs of the population in Guatemala and the implementation of this curriculum (Enge e.a., 1996).

3.1.1. Intercultural curriculum. Now more in depth will be provided on the national education curriculum, which will in the further analysis on IBE assist in understanding the existing differences between the theory on paper and practice of the curriculum in daily life. The curriculum, officially called Curriculum Nacional Base (CNB), is the major pedagogic tool for teachers which define the competences students should obtain and goals need to be achieved. When the educational reform took place during the end of the 1990s, the adjustment of the curriculum took an important place within the process. The curriculum has as base the concepts which are described in the educational reform, focused on the demands and aspirations of the distinct villages and cultures of Guatemala.

The focus point of the adjusted educative model, the intercultural curriculum, places the human being in the center as promoter of personal development, as human beings which transform through learning. As promoter of social development, social characteristics and participative processes which favor living together. It emphasizes the value of cultural identity and interculturality. Within this focus point, education is pointed towards the development of social responsibilities, respecting differences among individuals and paying attention to necessities of special children. A part of the criteria is that the education of a human being is constructed by interactions with others during social exchange and cultural development. It recognizes that when a child gets educated in his/her mother tongue, it will develop processes of thinking which will lead to the production of knowledge. This way of construction provides opportunities to generate significant better learning opportunities than when not taught in their mother tongue. Besides, the curricular emphasizes that the way the physical environment is structured, the way groups are integrated and norms of behavior are structured, will smoothen the progress of the teaching and learning process (MINEDUC, 2003).

The aim of the curriculum can be understood by general principles that have been developed. These comprise of fundamental norms or ideas which can be found throughout the curriculum. The principals of the curriculum include the following elements;

- Equality; guaranty respect between individual, social, cultural and ethnic differences and promote the equality of opportunities for everyone.
- Relevance; believe in personal and sociocultural dimensions of people and bound them to their near (family and local community) and mediate (village, country) environment. On this manner, the curriculum has a multi ethnic and multilingual character.
- Sustainability; promote the permanent development of knowledge, value attitudes and skills for the transformation of the reality and on this manner obtain the balance between nature, human and society.
- Pluralism; to facilitate the existence of a diverse plural. In this sense, it should be understood as a group of values and positive attitudes in the presence of distinct ways of thinking and manifestations of cultures (MINEDUC, 2003).

Besides, guiding political principles which govern the distinct processes of curricular development exist;

- Strengthening of the values respect, responsibility, solidarity and honesty for a democratic way of living together and a peaceful culture.
- Actuate the development of every village and linguistic community, benefitting intercultural relations.
- Promote bilingualism and multilingualism
- Stimulate the equality and opportunities of people and villages
- Focus in education on productivity and laboriousness
- Stimulate the development of science and technology
- Focus on the educative quality
- Establishment of a decentralized curriculum
- Attention to the population with special educational needs (MINEDUC, 2003).

With the principals, characteristics and politics of the curriculum, larger objectives and aims have been developed. They include;

- Perfection and integral development of the people and villages in the country
- The knowledge, valuation and development of the cultures in the country and the world
- The strengthening of personal, ethnic, cultural and national self-esteem and identity.
- The promotion of a peaceful living between villages with as base inclusion, solidarity, respect, mutual enrichment and elimination of discrimination.
- Recognize family as fundamental of spiritual morals and values of society.
- The improvement of the quality of life and erasing poverty by means of the development of human resources.
- Strengthening of the values respect, responsibility, solidarity and honesty, next to the development of ethical behavior and attitude for a responsible interaction with the natural, social and cultural environment (MINEDUC, 2003).

The smaller and larger aims of the curriculum have been demonstrated to give an idea how the curriculum is designed and on which principles the model is based. The entire curriculum itself is quite extensive, well-structured and explains very clearly what competences children need to obtain in every grade, and for each class. The curriculum is organized in competences, axes and areas for knowledge development. The basis of the competences is the interaction of three contributing elements; the individual, knowledge areas and the context. It is very important to be competent, more than to have knowledge, to know how to use adequate and flexible manners in new situations. The curriculum must be used in a contextualized way by using regional or local elements complemented with general elements, but with as base the national aim. It is important to look at the local context and place human beings in the center. People must look at the type of society and ethnic group they wish to educate, socio-cultural needs need to be determined in context, a selection of competences which need to be developed must be made and the activities which to include in the instructing and learning process. Further, the decentralized curriculum has as end purpose to pay attention and listen to the demands and characteristics of the student population of diverse sociolinguistic regions and communities. Besides, it wants to provide quality full education with cultural and linguistic relevance in every grade and class (MINEDUC, 2003).

3.2 Macrosystem of the Achí people in Tempisque and Chixolop

Poverty & development. Development is measured on national level as is looked at the macrosystem of the Achí people. As mentioned in the introduction, Guatemala has one of the highest poverty rates in Latin America and some of the weakest social indicators. The country knows major differences in the distribution of wealth, in which various indigenous groups lag significantly behind, especially in health and education indicators. To measure the development in Guatemala the Human Development Index is used. The three basic dimension of human development are health, education and income. Between 1980 and 2010, the HDI for Guatemala has increased yearly 1.1%, from 0.408 until 0.560 in 2010. This gives the country a position of 116 of the 169 countries of which data is available. Neighbor HDI countries Nicaragua and Honduras are ranked 115 and 106. When we compare the numbers of Guatemala with the HDI of Latin America and the Caribbean, the figures have grown from 0.578 up to 0.706, which gives Guatemala a significant lower position than the average in Latin America and the Caribbean (EU CSP, 2007, UNDP, 2011). Poverty has often been discussed in terms of income poverty. For Guatemala is looked at the differences between the income poverty, measured by the percentage living below the poverty line of \$1.25 per day, and the

other dimensions of the human development index; health and education. It can be noted that the income poverty only tells a part of the story. The distinct figures are for income 0.517, education 0.422, health 0.804 and HDI 0.560. The HDI is 14% higher than the income poverty. This implies that people living above the poverty line may still suffer deprivation in education, health or other living conditions. Besides, when looking for instance at the figure for education, can be seen that this is 19% lower than the income poverty. This indicates that the situation is worse than it seems when you would only look at poverty rates. Education represents the most important determinant of inequality in the country; there are to be found large inequalities in access to education and education attainment, especially when looking at the differences between urban and rural Guatemala (World Bank 2004, UNDP, 2011). Overall seen, the primary school enrolment for boys is 97.9% and 94.9% for girls (2008). The primary completion rates are significantly lower however; 83.1% for boys and 76.9% for girls (2008). Next, the literacy rate for boys aged 15-24 years is 88.8% and 84.3% for girls, based on dates from 2009 (UN-MDGI, 2011). Moreover, the mean number years of schooling is 4.1 years. Comparing this figure with Guatemala’s HDI neighbors, the mean number years of schooling in Nicaragua is 5.7 years and in Honduras 6.5 years (UNDP, 2011). The life expectancy at birth in Guatemala is 71 years. Besides, the under 5 mortality rate per 1000 live births is 39.8 and the infant mortality rate (0-1year) per 1000 live births is 33, based on data of 2009 (UN-MDGI, 2011). To conclude with, also interesting to look at is the gender inequality index (GII), which reflects women’s disadvantages in reproductive health, empowerment and economic activity. The GII provides information on the inequality in human development for women compared to men with respect to the three GII dimensions’. The GII for Guatemala is 0.713 which ranks the country 107 out of 138 countries. When we look at neighbor countries Nicaragua and Honduras, they are ranked respectively 97 and 101 (UNDP, 2011).

3.2.1. Community profile Tempisque. Figures of both community profiles are based on household surveys done with 41 families in each community, these sample surveys are representative for the total population. The indigenous population in Tempisque is 100% Achí. However, 2.4% of the population speaks Spanish at home instead of Achí. Overall, these 2.4% are the younger families (of which parents < 29 years). It is visible that the percentage of women living in the community (56.5%) is significantly higher than men (table3.1).

Table 3.1: Population divided by sex in Tempisque, 2011

Sex	#	%
Women	1546	56.5
Men	1190	43.5
Total (n)	2.736	100%

Next, Tempisque is a young community as can be seen by looking at the division by age (table 3.2). Overall, more than 60% of the inhabitants of Tempisque are under the age of 20. Compared to the number of people aged 50 years and up, 1.5%, the difference is high. Many young people who have obtained the age of 20, move or migrate to Guatemala City or elsewhere for work.

Table 3.2: Population divided by age in Tempisque, 2011

Age groups	#	%	Cum.%
0 – 9 years	58	29.4	29.4
10 – 19 years	61	31	60.4
20 – 29 years	35	17.8	78.2
30 – 39 years	23	11.7	89.8
40 – 49 years	17	8.6	98.5
50 > years	3	1.5	100
Total (n)	197	100%	

The average number of people living in a house is 4.8 people. This number is relatively small, as many larger families living in Tempisque can be found. This can be explained by the fact that many people marry at an early age, approximately at the age of 15, move out, and start their own family. Furthermore, 58.4% lives in the house where they were born, 28.4% in a different house in Tempisque than where they were born and just 10.2% is born in the hospital in the nearest city Salamá. It is rare that people from out of the community move or migrate to Tempisque, it is just 3% of the inhabitants who come from outside the community.

Education level. In general, the level of education is low. This can be partly explained by the fact that there was no school 50 years ago. People did not have time to go to school as they had to help their parents in the field or help in the household. In the traditional community life especially women got fewer chances to be educated as they were supposed to stay at home. Another point why the older generation is not higher educated, is that a secondary school did not exist before. Since two years a secondary school can be found in the community. General educational characteristics indicate that 76.3% of the community attends or attended primary school, however the majority only finished the first few grades, which will be analyzed in depth later. Besides, 7.9% attends or attended secondary schooling. 10.2% of the population, who is old enough to attend school (aged > 6 years), does not attend any form of education. Besides these general characteristics, the education level and characteristics have been analyzed more in depth; by looking at sex, education level, type of work and highest agree obtained.

Non-studying population. First, the people who are not studying anymore or never obtained a degree have been analyzed. This is not the younger generation aged < 20 years as the current enrollment rate is quite high, but approximately people who are older than 25 years. When referring to the attendance rates divided by sex, it is visible that 21.1% of the population has never obtained a degree. The overall percentage of people who attended primary school seems quite high (75.3%), however the completion rates are much lower (table 3.4). Besides, it seems that the attendance rate of women is much higher. This can be explained by the fact that relatively much more women than men live in Tempisque. Just 3.6% attended high school, but nobody obtained a college or university degree.

Table 3.3: Education attendance rates divided by sex(non-studying population), Tempisque 2011

Sex	Never obtained a degree	Attended primary education before	Attended secondary education before	Total
Women	12,9%	41.2%	2.4%	56.5%
Men	8,2%	34.1%	1.2%	43.5%
Total	21.1%	75.3%	3.6%	100%
Total (n=)	20	76	4	96

Table 3.4: Education completion rates divided by sex (non-studying population), Tempisque 2011

Sex	1 st grade	2 nd grade	3 rd grade	4 th grade	5 th grade	6 th grade	3 rd grade secondary school	6 th grade Secondary school	Total
Women	7.5%	13.4%	9%	6%	4.3%	14.9%	0%	1.5%	56.5%
Men	7.5%	6%	9%	4.5%	1.7%	13.4%	1.5%	0%	43.5%
Total	15%	19.4%	17.9%	10.4%	6%	28.4%	1.5%	1.5%	100%
Total (n=)	13	19	17	10	6	27	2	2	96

When analyzing the completion rates divided by sex of the population who is not studying anymore, it becomes visible that the education level is low; many people only finished the first few grades of primary school. Of this population group, in total 51.4% completed 3rd grade or less and just 28.4% completed primary school. Further, just 1.5% completed secondary school (table 3.4).

Studying population. The attendance rate divided by sex is also analyzed for the currently studying population (table 3.5). Currently, 51.1% of the population of Tempisque is studying, which is divided by 34.5% who only studies, 4% who works and studies and 13.6% who studies and also helps in the household. More boys (63%) than girls (37%) study in Tempisque. This is noticeable in pre-primary, primary and secondary education. As can be noticed by looking at these figures, the majority of both sexes attends primary school and in total 77.2% of the children is attending primary school. However, more boys than girls are attending secondary school. This can be explained on several manners, which are all related to (traditional) values. First of all, the views of parents can still be quite traditional, in such a way that girls have to help in the household and do not need to study (further). In their future, their husband will take care for the household income; therefore girls have to learn and take care of the household and do not need any further education. Thus, if not enough money is available to send children to secondary schooling, boys are given priority. Next, although times are changing a little, girls get married on an early age, especially in the more traditional families. However, many people in the community agree that the difference between boys and girls is not as great as it once was. Girls get more opportunities since approximately 10 years.

Table 3.5: Attendance rates studying population Tempisque, 2011

Sex	Preprimary education	Primary education	Secondary education	Total
Girls	3.3%	28.3%	5.4%	37%
Boys	6.5%	48.9%	7.5%	63%
Total	9.8%	77.2%	12.9%	100%
Total (n=)	8	63	11	82

Occupation. Next to educational characteristics it is also interesting to look at the division of work of Tempisque's population (table 3.6). The highest percentage is the studying population (51.1%), followed by the working population (22.6%). The unemployment rate is very small, just 1.7%. Very fertile grounds can be found in and near Tempisque and as the majority of the working people works in agricultural sector (see table 3.7), it provides enough employment opportunities. Therefore, people who have a permanent job (98.3%) and work in agriculture, usually work 6 days a week.

Table 3.6: Division of work. Tempisque, 2011

Work	#	%
Studying population	82	51.1%
Employed population	45	22.6%
Unemployed population	3	1.7%
Unpaid family labor	39	20%
Unpaid family labor and weavers, knitters and related work	11	5.6%
Total (n=)	197	100%

Besides, it is also analyzed how someone's obtained degree is related to type of occupation (table 3.7). Studying and unemployed people are not included in the table. With 'obtained form of education' is meant that someone completed one of the grades of this form of education. In total, the majority (76.8%) obtained some degree at primary school. The highest occupation percentage is in the sector 'field crop and vegetable growers'. People working in this sector have diverse obtained degrees, but just 8.5% (of 47.6%) of the field crop and vegetable growers does not have any degree. Comparing this to unpaid family labor, the second major occupation, the percentage who does not have any degree is 9.8% (of 39.1%), is relatively a much higher percentage. The few people who work in construction and maintenance (1.2%) do all have some primary school degree.

Table 3.7: Obtained form of education in relation to type of occupation, Tempisque 2011

Type of occupation	Obtained form of education				Total
	None	Preprimary education	Primary school	Secondary school	
Unpaid family labor	9.8%	1.2%	28.1%	0%	39.1%
Construction and maintenance	0%	0%	1.2%	0%	1.2%
Field crop and vegetable growers	8.5%	0%	37.8%	1.2%	47.6%
Weavers, knitters and related work	2.4%	0%	9.8%	0%	12.2%
Total	20.7%	1.2%	76.8%	1.2%	100%
Total (n=)	20	1	71	1	93

Household incomes. The largest part of the households (63.4%) has an income between 1000 and 1999 Quetzales per month (Q1000= € 100 approximately) (table 3.8). The average income of families in Tempisque is 1459.02 Quetzales per month. The difference in earnings between families with many children and families with few children is not very large. These figures are based on the number of people working in the family, which indicates that families with more children will have less to spend per person than families with fewer children. The families who earn 3000-3900 Quetzales per month include 9.8% of the total population. These families usually include at least two family members (father and son, or sons) working in the field.

Table 3.8: Household incomes per month, Tempisque 2011

Income in Quetzales	#	%
0 – 999	8	19.5
1000 – 1999	26	63.4
2000 – 2999	2	4.9
3000 – 3999	4	9.8
4000 – 4999	1	2.4
Total (n)	41	100

3.2.2 Community profile Chixolop. Even as Tempisque, Chixolop is also a 100% indigenous community, but compared to Tempisque a larger part of the families speak Spanish at home instead of Achí (4.9% versus 2.4% in Tempisque). The population division counts slightly more women (51.5%, table 3.9).

Table 3.9: Population divided by sex in Chixolop, 2011

Sex	#	%
Women	1.158	51.5
Men	1.090	48.5
Total (n=)	2248	100%

Chixolop is also a very young community as can be seen in table X. In total, 75.5% of the population is under the age of 30. It is only 6.6% of the people who is between 40 and 49 years old and just 3.1% of the inhabitants which is above the age of 50 (table 3.10).

Table 3.10: Population divided by age in Chixolop, 2011

Age groups	#	%	Cum.%
0 – 9 years	64	27.9	27.9
10 – 19 years	78	34.1	62
20 – 29 years	31	13.5	75.5
30 – 39 years	34	14.8	90.3
40 – 49 years	15	6.6	96.9
50 > years	7	3.1	100
Total (n=)	229	100%	

Furthermore, the average people living in one house are 5.6 persons. 66.8% of the people lives in the house where they were born, 26.2% is from Chixolop but lives in another house. 7% of the inhabitants migrated to Chixolop, of which 5.7% is born in Salamá and 1.3% comes from another city. Compared to Tempisque, the percentage of migrants is higher (Tempisque; 3%).

Education level. General educational characteristics indicate that 70.6% of the population attends or attended primary school. However, the majority has not completed this education. 12.4% attends or attended secondary school. 10% of the people do not go to school, the most common reason people have is that they have to work in agriculture or help in the household to make a living. Just as for Tempisque, a more in depth analysis on education level and educational characteristics of the community has been realized. Like in Tempisque, the following aspects have been looked at; sex, education level, type of work and highest degree obtained.

Non-studying population. The population group people who are not studying anymore or never obtained a degree will first be analyzed. In total 17.9% of the people in Chixolop have not obtained any education degree, 14.3% women and 3.6% men (table 3.11). This large difference between sexes can be explained by the traditional values of the Achí people as mentioned earlier.

Women marry very early and take care of the children/help in the household, instead of going to school. Before it was not seen as a necessity for girls to study as men would earn the family income later.

Table 3.11: Education attendance rates (non-studying population), Chixolop 2011

Sex	Never obtained a degree	Attended primary education before	Attended secondary education before	Total
Women	15.2%	36.6%	2.7%	56.5%
Men	5.4%	34.8%	5.4%	43.5%
Total	20.6%	71.4%	8.1%	100%
Total (n=)	29	100	11	140

However, these traditional values are changing nowadays and girls get much more opportunities, especially the last 5-10 years. The percentage of girls who attended primary school is 36.6%, which is higher than that figure for boys (34.8%). This can be explained by the fact that much more women (56.5%) than men (43.5%), are not studying right now and live in Chixolop. Next, 8,1% of the inhabitants went to secondary school, of which the majority of 5.4% are men.

When looking at education completion rates divided by sex, it is visible that the education level is very low (table 3.12). In total, 41.5% of this population group completed the first three grades of primary school, or less. Just 23.8% finished primary school, of which 13.3% men and 10.5% women. Compared to Tempisque, the education level in Chixolop is higher; 15.4% of the population studied at a secondary school (compared to 3% in Tempisque) of which 5.5% completed third grade (compared to 1.5% in Tempisque). When looking at the difference between sexes, more men completed primary school and several grades of secondary school. Thus, in general the difference between the educated people is not very large, but the level of men is higher.

Table 3.12: Education completion rates divided by sex (non-studying population), Chixolop 2011

Sex	Highest obtained grade												Total
	Pre primary	1 st grade	2 nd grade	3 rd grade	4 th grade	5 th grade	6 th grade	1 st Grade sec. School	2 nd Grade sec. school	3 rd grade sec. school	6 th grade Sec. school		
Women	2.8%	8.8%	8.3%	4.4%	7.2%	1.1%	10.5%	2.2%	3.3%	1.1%	0%	49.7%	
Men	2.8%	5.0%	4.4%	5%	5%	6.1%	13.3%	2.2%	1.1%	4.4%	1.1%	50.3%	
Total	5.6%	13.8%	12.7%	9.4%	12,2%	7.2%	23.8%	4.4%	4.4%	5.5%	1.1%	100%	
Total(n)	8	19	18	13	17	10	33	6	6	8	2	140	

Studying population. In total, the school population of Chixolop is 38.9% of the total population, which is divided by 21% who only studies, 1.3% who studies and works but this is seen as very unusual, and 16.6% studies and helps in the household. It is visible that the attendance rate between studying boys (49.4%) and girls (50.6%) is almost equal (table 3.13). These figures are significantly different from Tempisque as in that community the majority of studying children are boys (63%). When we look at the division in pre-primary, primary and secondary education, these figures do not indicate a significant difference between boys and girls. This is a positive development in Chixolop, as girls did not get these study opportunities before. In total, 69.7% studies at a primary school, although this is not as high as in Tempisque where the primary attendance rate is 77.2%. But, the attendance rate of secondary education is 18%, which is higher than in Tempisque (12.9%).

Table 3.13: Attendance rates studying population Chixolop, 2011

Sex	Preprimary education	Primary education	Secondary education	Total
Girls	5.6%	36%	9%	50.6%
Boys	6.7%	33.7%	9%	49.4%
Total	12.3%	69.7%	18%	100%
Total (n=)	11	62	16	89

Occupation. Next to educational characteristics it is also interesting to look at the division of work of Chixolop's population (table 3.14). The highest percentage is the studying population (38.9%), followed by the working population (23.1%). The unemployment rate in Chixolop (16.2%) is quite high, which can be explained by the drought in and around the community which has led to very few employment opportunities for the field crop and vegetable growers. Almost all working people have a permanent job (96.4%). However, permanent jobs in the sector 'field crop and vegetable growers' often consist of a 3day workweek, as not enough work is available to provide every farmer a fulltime workweek.

Table 3.14: Division of work. population Chixolop, 2011

Work	#	%
Studying population	89	38.9%
Working population	53	23.1%
Unemployed population	37	16.2%
Unpaid family labor	33	14.4%
Unpaid family labor and weavers, knitters and related work	17	7.4%
Total (n=)	229	100%

Table 3.15: Obtained form of education in relation to type of occupation, Chixolop 2011

Type of occupation	Obtained form of education				Total
	None	Preprimary education	Primary school	Secondary school	
Unpaid family labor	9.7%	1.0%	18.5%	1.9%	31.1%
Protective services workers	0%	0%	2%	1%	3%
Manufacturing labor	0%	0%	1.9%	0%	1.9%
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%
Street food vendor	1%	0%	0%	0%	1%
Total	17.5%	2%	72.9%	7.7%	100%
Total (n=)	18	2	75	8	103

In addition, it has become visible how someone's obtained degree is related to type of occupation (table 3.15). Studying and unemployed people are not included in the table. With 'obtained form of education' is meant that someone completed one of the grades of this form of education. The different types of occupation are more diverse compared to Tempisque. In total, the majority (72.9%) obtained some degree at primary school. The sector 'field crop and vegetable growers' is the major occupation (34%). The field crop and vegetable growers have diverse obtained degrees, of which just 2.9% does not have any degree. Besides, the sector 'unpaid family labor' is the second

major occupation (31.1%) and is also realized by people who have diverse obtained degrees. Further, it is also noticeable that the 1% street food vendors do not have any form of education compared to the 1% of the protective services workers who studied at a secondary school.

Household incomes. The average income of families in Chixolop is significantly higher than in Tempisque; 2196.29 Quetzales per month (Tempisque;1459.02 Quetzales). However, when looking at the figures it is visible that 63.2% of the households has an income between 1000-1999 Quetzales per month (table 3.16). The average income is higher than the average within this category, which can be explained as follows. Quite some families have an income twice as high as others; 18.4% has an income between 3000 and 3999 Quetzales per month. In general, families who gain more are the ones who have more sons in the household who also work in the field and contribute to the family income. In these cases, families double or triple the family income. 5.3% earns very little; 0-999 Quetzales per month, but also 5.3% who have an income between 4000 and 4999 Quetzales a month. These differences indicate that the family income between families in Chixolop is quite high.

Table 3.16: Household incomes per month, Chixolop 2011

Income in Quetzales	#	%
0 – 999	2	5.3
1000 – 1999	24	63.2
2000 – 2999	3	7.9
3000 – 3999	7	18.4
4000 – 4999	2	5.3
Total (n)	41	100

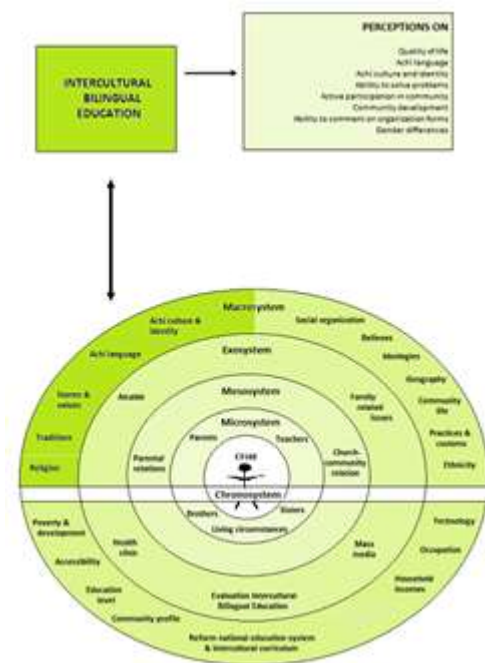
3.2.3. Accessibility, religion and technological characteristics

Accessibility. Where you live matters; but can it hinder educational attainment? On which way does accessibility form a barrier for children? Currently, in both Tempisque and Chixolop a primary school is available on a walking distance of max. 20minutes. However, the situation is different when we look at the availability of secondary schools in both communities. In Chixolop, a secondary school is not available. The nearest school is in San Gabriel, a community 20 minutes by bus. This is quite close, but for many families this is economically not feasible as people need to pay for travel and study costs. Next, overall seen people believe that having (only) finalized primary education, this is quite an achievement. Just a small percentage studies at the secondary school. However, in San Gabriel only the first three years of secondary schooling are available, if people want to study further and complete secondary school children need to travel 45 minutes from Chixolop to Salamá. The study and travel cost are too high for the majority of the families, therefore just 1.1% studies in Salamá. The situation in Tempisque is a little better. Since two years there is a secondary school in Tempisque which is available for both boys and girls. However, no classrooms available and therefore they only have class in the afternoon, in the classrooms of the primary school. Besides, it are just the first two years of secondary schooling which are available, as there is not more space nor teachers. If children want to pursue their study they have to travel to Salamá. Luckily Salamá is much closer to Tempisque than to Chixolop, which makes that a small group studies in Salamá. However, parents have to pay for their children’s travel and study cost, which makes it economically less feasible. Conversations with students who started secondary school have indicated that most of them want to pursue their study and obtain a degree, but their parents cannot afford the costs. Although last few years improvements have been made, due to these constraints, fewer children pursue their study which leads to a lower education attainment rate in both communities.

Religion. As in almost all Latin American countries, Roman Catholic still forms the major religion, which also counts for Guatemala. However, nowadays Evangelism is becoming more and more popular throughout the country and also reaches the smallest communities. In Tempisque, it came as a surprise that not everyone said to be religious. In Tempisque, 87.8% is religious of which 82.9% is Catholic and 4.9% is Evangelical. This is significantly different than for Chixolop as in Chixolop 56.1% is Catholic, 29.3% is Evangelical and 14.6% is Christian. Before, both communities were 100% Catholic, but since several decennia especially evangelistic churches gain more followers. In each of the communities each religion has their own religious institution, but not their own schools. In each community is one single school, which is public. These religious differences do not make a difference in how people treat each other in the communities; people are seen as equal human beings but just with another higher believe.

Technological characteristics . Remarkable in both communities is that the people are quite ahead on technological level compared to the fact that the communities are quite primitive and traditional. A cable network is constructed through the communities; in the majority of the houses televisions can be found. Besides, many people, except for children, have their own mobile phone. Next, the amount of people who own a car is very small. It is just the few families who earn significantly more than the average families, who own a car. All other people make use of the minibuses which pass the village several times an hour. When looking at the way people prepare their food, can be stated that the majority of the people cook on their own prepared fire. However, remarkable is that in the few wealthier families, people make use of a gas cooker. This is one of the aspects which indicate the difference in wealth in the communities.

3.3 Cultural elements influencing education



The culture of The Achí people, which is an important part of their macrosystem, has its influences on aspects in daily life. Does culture shape education and reflect the norms of society for which they have been developed? In the conceptual framework on the left is highlighted which part of the research this paragraph covers. While talking with community members in both Tempisque and Chixolop, the following cultural elements are seen as most important to the people; norms and values, traditions and religion. It is analyzed whether these elements influence the way education is provided/the development of education, and if yes, on what manner the Achí culture has its influences. These issues can direct/indirect influence the development of education, and as this section provides a view on how people in the communities view cultural elements in relation to education, outcomes can be used to improve the

education system and will benefit the population in Tempisque and Chixolop. During the research it has become clear that the better people are educated, the more extensive their answers are. They have a much better understanding of the discussed issues and are able to answer the questions reasonably. Overall, people who are non/low- educated did not quite understand every question well. This makes it more difficult to gain knowledge of their views, especially because a larger part of

the community is not high educated. People cannot better express themselves, because they do not understand where you talk about. It makes it for instance difficult when people do not understand the concept 'influence.' But now, findings of both communities will be discussed and compared below. 41 families in Tempisque and 41 families in Chixolop have been asked in what way each element influences the development of education (table 3.17, 3.18).

Table 3.17: Cultural elements influencing the development of education, Tempisque 2011

Cultural element	Degree of influence						Total	Total (n)
	No influence	Very little influence	Little influence	Has influence	Significant influence	A lot of influence		
Norms and values	4.9%	4.9%	0%	2.4%	39%	48.8%	100%	41
Traditions	2.4%	4.9%	2.4%	4.9%	46.3%	39%	100%	41
Religion	4.9%	0%	4.9%	14.6%	41.5%	34.1%	100%	41

Table 3.18: Cultural elements influencing the development of education, Chixolop 2011

Cultural element	Degree of influence						Total	Total (n)
	No influence	Very little influence	Little influence	Has influence	Significant influence	A lot of influence		
Norms and values	2.4%	0%	7.3%	0%	51.2%	39%	100%	41
Traditions	2.4%	0%	2.4%	2.4%	73.2%	19.5%	100%	41
Religion	2.4%	0%	0%	12.2%	48.8%	36.6%	100%	41

3.3.1. Norms and values. In total, the majority of the community members in Tempisque (88.8%) argue that norms and values have an influence in the development of education of which 39% argues that it has a significant influence and even more people, 48.4%, argue that it has a lot of influence. Just 4.9% who finds that norms and values have no influence in the development of education The most common answers why people find these aspects important are that these aspects are 'part of their culture', besides, seen as their 'lifestyle', but they also argued that it is taught at school. When asking people on what manner the aspect influences education, people could not quite explain how, but they did indicate that it is very important for their culture. They argued that their norms and values are part of their culture and way of life. The children will most likely unintentional use (and maintain) their norms and values and thus influence the education system, as the education system has to be adjusted to the local needs. Why? The Achí norms and values are reflected in the behavior and attitude of the children. This is important, as the maintenance of their norms and values asks for a specific manner of treatment by teachers. Teachers need to be capable of dealing with the local culture in their instruction method. In chapter 4 will be evaluated in what way teachers are capable of teaching in a bilingual intercultural way. When comparing the figures with those of Chixolop, a higher percentage (90.2%) argues that norms and values have influences in the development of education. 51.2% argues that is has a significant influence and 39% that it has a lot of influence, which is less than in Tempisque. The percentage who finds that norms and values have little or no influence is twice as much as in Tempisque, 9.7%, of which 2.4% argues that it has no influence.

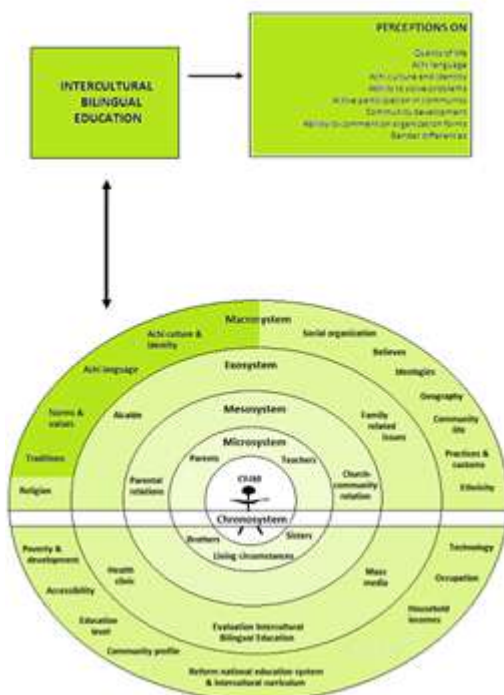
3.3.2. Traditions. The majority of the people in Tempisque, 90.2%, believe that local traditions influence the development of education of which 46.3% argues that traditions have significant influence and 39% that traditions have a lot of influence. It is 7.3% of the interviewed people which argues that traditions either have a little or very little influence. Comparing this with the numbers of the influence of norms and values, it can be stated that for the people in Tempisque

the influence of traditions is less strong than the influence of norms and values. When referring to traditions, the most common answers why people find this aspect important and influential is that they are 'part of their culture', and besides, seen as their 'lifestyle'. Moreover, their traditions are influential as many people argue that at school children carry out traditional activities, they can speak their language and use their traditional clothing. Their traditions are influential as it enables the children to maintain their traditions while studying. The local traditions are very important to the children as it forms part of their culture. Therefore it is of importance that these traditions will be maintained and strengthened, which also asks for an IBE instruction method to keep their traditions alive while studying. Comparing this with Chixolop, it is visible that 95.2% finds that local traditions influence the development of education, which is slightly more than in Tempisque. The division in what way traditions have its influences is quite distinct compared to Tempisque. It is just 19.5% who believes that traditions have a lot of influence. This 19.5% is much lower than the 39% in Tempisque. These percentages of Chixolop indicate that the influence of norms and values compared to traditions is almost equal, but norms and values are seen as aspects which have more high influences in the way education is developed.

3.3.2. Religion. Besides norms, values and traditions, religion also forms an important cultural element within the Achí culture. In Tempisque, 34.1% believes that religion is very influential, and 34.1% believes that this element has a significant influence. Besides, some people (14.6%) argue that religion somehow has an influence. This makes in total that in Tempisque 90.2% finds that religion influences the development of education, which is the same percentage as traditions. However, the percentage 'very influential' is higher in the field of traditions. When comparing these figures with Chixolop, the religion statistics of Chixolop are higher. Almost every person interviewed argued that religion influences the development of education (97.8% in total of which 36.6% argues that religion has a lot of influence). Just one family believed that religion did not have an influence, although they were religious. The figures are quite interesting. During interviews held with people in the communities, it seemed that overall many people do not find religion the most important cultural element in their lives, although the figures tell something else. Compared to the elements norms and values and traditions, religion shows the highest 'influential' percentages. But on what manner does religion influence the development of education? Going to the church and listening to the priest influences the way people think of education positively. Besides, although it does not influence the education system, people are also educated by the church as they are told a lot about life, about their culture, doing good/wrong etcetera. Many people argue that the church promotes education and encourages children to go to school, but it is not often noticeable the priest pays more attention to education than to other important aspects in life. During conversations it has become clear that people are influenced by what the priest says. By the way many people talk about the priest, it has become clear that they believe in what he says and follow his advices. Since several priests, of the several churches, talk positively about the importance of education, this has a positive influence on the inhabitants and their thoughts about education. Religion is also discussed in school, but as it is a public school, teachers do not go in depth on one specific religion. What can be said is that religious influences have an impact on how this education system is training its teachers, the way teachers look at instructing children and besides, it also has its influences on the recognition of the importance of education.

3.3.4. Concluding remarks on the influences of cultural elements on education. When searching for an answer on the question on what way culture shapes education, not just one answer to be found or given. But it can be confirmed that the Achí culture shapes education. As the high majority of the inhabitants believe that their cultural aspects influence education on several manners and just a minority argues that it does not influence the development of education. This minority is in general non/low- educated people who were not able to understand the meaning of issues discussed during conversations held. Besides, as IBE has finally been implemented two years, the value of indigenous cultural elements is now recognized, indigenous voices of the people in the communities are heard and the education system is now reformed to the needs of the Achí culture. This indicates that the people in Tempisque and Chixolop find it very important that the cultural elements are included in the education system, as they want to maintain the cultural elements belonging to the Achí culture. On this way education is shaped by the local culture. Within the IBE system, culture is supposed to shape education as that is one of the main components of the system. The IBE system has been developed with the intention to focus on the cultural diversity of the distinct cultural groups in Guatemala. The local language, history, environment and surroundings are those elements which should get specific attention while instructing bilingual children. When looking at cultural influences on the development of education, it is indeed of high importance to get to know the other side of the story; on what way IBE influences the Achí culture. To gain knowledge of the way cultural aspects are respected, valued and on what way attention is paid to norms and values, traditions and religion in the classrooms. The evaluation of IBE and its possible influences will be discussed in the next chapter.

3.4 Educational influences on the Achí culture and other elements in community life



Cultural influences on education have just been discussed, but it is also interesting for this research to look at the other side and analyze how education; having followed education and the education system itself, influences the way people perceive the Achí culture and other elements in community life. In the conceptual framework on the left is clearly illustrated which part of the research this paragraph encompasses. Does education shape people? Aspects which have been discussed with people in both Tempisque and Chixolop are the quality of life, the Achí culture and identity (which include their view on values, beliefs, traditions and religion), the Achí language, gender differences and community issues; the ability to solve problems; active participation in the community; promote community development and the ability to comment on organization forms in the community. Now, findings of both communities will be discussed and compared below.

41 families in Tempisque and 41 families in Chixolop have been asked in what way education influences each element (table 3.19, 3.20).

Table 3.19: Educational influences on Achí culture and other elements in life, Tempisque 2011

Element	Degree of Influence						Total	Total (n)
	No influence	Very little influence	Little influence	Has influence	Significant influence	A lot of influence		
Quality of life	17.1%	2.4%	2.4%	4.9%	29.3%	43.9%	100%	41
Achí language	14.6%	2.4%	2.4%	2.4%	53.7%	24.4%	100%	41
Achí culture and identity	14.6%	2.4%	0%	0%	61%	22%	100%	41
Ability to solve problems	22%	0%	4.9%	2.4%	48.8%	22%	100%	41
Active participation	12.2%	0%	4.9%	2.4%	51.2%	29.3%	100%	41
Participation community development	12.2%	0%	4.9%	4.9%	48.8%	29.3%	100%	41
Ability to comment on organization forms	14.6%	0%	0%	14.6%	39%	31.7%	100%	41

Table 3.20: Educational influences on Achí culture and other elements in life, Chixolop 2011

Element	Degree of influence						Total	Total (n)
	No influence	Very little influence	Little influence	Has influence	Significant influence	A lot of influence		
Quality of life	4.9%	0%	0%	9.8%	36.6%	48.8%	100%	41
Achí language	2.4%	2.4%	2.4%	14.6%	58.5%	19.5%	100%	41
Achí culture and identity	4.9%	2.4%	0%	12.2%	58.5%	22%	100%	41
Ability to solve problems	7.3%	2.4%	12.2%	14.6%	39%	24.4%	100%	41
Active participation	2.4%	2.4%	4.9%	14.6%	36.6%	39%	100%	41
Participation community development	4.9%	0%	2.4%	9.8%	51.2%	31.7%	100%	41
Ability to comment on organization forms	2.4%	0%	2.4%	9.8%	46.3%	39%	100%	41

What has become clear during conversations about these issues, is that overall seen, people who are non/low- educated believe that views on aspects in life do not change when someone is educated. They do not realize that education makes people capable of achieving more. These people do not have the capacity, the knowledge, to understand that education can change a lot in the way people look at aspects, happenings or developments taking place around them and how these aspects can influence people's perceptions. Conversations have been held with educated and less educated people to gain knowledge of their views on educational influences.

3.4.1. Quality of life . Education provides people with more possibilities in life. How does the population in the communities perceive this? In Chixolop almost everyone believes that education influences the quality of life (94.6%), of which 48.8% believe that education influences the quality of life a lot, which is almost equal to Tempisque (49%). In Tempisque the total amount is less, it is 83.2% who believes that education influences the quality of life. Besides, the people who believe that education does not, or a little, influences the quality of someone's life is much higher in Tempisque (21.9%) than in Chixolop (4.9%). People argue that life stays the same, whether you go to school or

not. The people who had these opinions are non/low- educated people. They never had the chance to experience how education could change their views and give them knowledge about life. They do not recognize the value of education and therefore believe that education does not influence their quality of life. The percentage who finds that education does not have an influence is much higher in Tempisque than in Chixolop, which should indicate that the percentage of non/low- educated people is higher in Tempisque. That is true, although the differences in education level are not as high as in this part of the analysis. When looking at education completion rates for Tempisque, 21.1% has never obtained a degree, and 52.2% completed third grade or less. In Chixolop, 17.9% of the people has never obtained any education degree, and 41.5% completed third grade or less. Thus the percentage non/low- educated (compared to higher educated) people in Tempisque is higher than in Chixolop, which confirms the statement that the percentage of non/low- educated people is higher in Tempisque.

3.4.2. Achí language. As mentioned in chapter two, the linguistic diversity of Guatemala plays the most important role concerning the cultural identity of the ethnic Maya groups. People in both Tempisque and Chixolop consider their language Achí as the most important aspect that reflects their cultural identity. As every of the 23 indigenous groups in Guatemala have their own language it is important for every group to be connected with their own cultural group; language in Guatemala is the aspect that connects people. People were asked whether education influences the Achí language and if so, on what manner. Does an educated person find Spanish more important or remains Achí the most important to them; does education change their views on the language? The majority of the people in Tempisque believe that education has its influences; 53.7% argues that it has significant influence and 24.4% that it has a lot of influence. Compared to Chixolop, the figures are respectively 58.5% and 19.5%. In total, around 78% in both communities find that education has influences on the language. What the majority of the people believes is that education has an influence on the knowledge children gain of the Spanish language, as that is what children learn at school. It is the only opportunity for them to learn Spanish. With the knowledge of Spanish, it gives children much more opportunities for the future as it enables them to get a job in the entire country. When knowing how to speak and write in Spanish, a whole new world is opened for them. Besides learning Spanish at school, children learn how to write in Achí, which is something they do not learn at home (almost everyone of former generations is not able to write in Achí as they never had classes Achí). On this manner education influences the knowledge of the Achí language positively, as it is since the introduction of the IBE system that children learn how to write in Achí. On the other hand, 14.6% of the people in Tempisque argued that education has no influence on the language. Many parents emphasize that children learn and speak Achí at home and learn Spanish at school. This explains why 14, 6 % finds that education has no influence in their native language. However, this percentage is much smaller in Chixolop; 2.4%. But when comparing opinions of non/low- educated and educated people about the importance of Achí, a difference cannot be found. Although most educated people work outside the community and talk Spanish, they would always speak Achí while being back in the community. It is their native language, which is the most important to them as it belongs to their culture and reflects their cultural identity.

3.4.3. Achí culture and identity. Does education change people's perspective on the Achí culture and identity, and if so, in what way? In both Tempisque and Chixolop, the majority believes that education influences their culture significantly (61% in Tempisque and 58.5% in Chixolop). 22%

in both communities argued that education has a lot of influence. Many people argued that especially for them, as being a 100% indigenous community with their own culture, cultural aspects are very valuable. Children learn about the Achí cultures and other existing cultures in Guatemala at school, especially now with the new education system which focuses specifically on the local cultural and environment. Besides, many people do directly relate to their language when talking about their culture. Therefore people are also positive about the implementation of the intercultural bilingual education system which besides instructing in Achí, also focuses on writing skills. Overall, the majority of the people believe that with IBE their cultural identity is maintained and strengthened. However, in Tempisque was a group of 17.2%, and 7.2 % in Chixolop, who believes that education does not have an influence, or just a little. Arguments to support this view are among others that children will always value their culture, and there is no need for school to pay extra attention to cultural elements. Other people would say that at school the Achí culture is valued, but the support of school does not have an influence in this regard. Besides, people argue that the value of their culture stays the same, whether children go to school or not. Some parents argued that they do not find it useful that children are instructed in Achí at school, as they speak Achí at home already.

3.4.4. Ability to solve problems. First, people in Tempisque are asked how education influences the ability to solve problems. 48.8% believes that education has a significant influence 22% that it has a lot of influence and 2.4% said that education has somehow an influence. Also people in Chixolop are asked how education influences the ability to solve problems; the figures between the two communities differ significantly. In Chixolop, 39% believes that education has a significant influence. 24.4% that it has a lot of influence and 14.6% said that education has somehow an influence. But a large group argues that it has a little or no influence; 22% in Tempisque and 21.9% in Chixolop. It is visible that the opinions on this issue vary widely. However, the strongest opinion is that education has a significant influence on the ability to solve problems (better) once someone is educated. Arguments why education influences the way people solve problems are that people have more knowledge about many distinct elements in life. Besides, educated people learn to think on different ways and are able to look at a problem from different angles, education gives people a wider view. Moreover, educated people look for similar problems in other communities and find out how these problems are solved. However, in total the percentage who finds that education influences the ability to solve problems just a little or not at all is quite high; more than 20% in both communities. The most common argument of people was not many problems in the community exist, and if problems exist, everyone could solve them as it is about problems between people. According to these people, to solve these problems education is not affecting people's capabilities.

3.4.5. Active participation. The next aspect which has been discussed is whether education influences active participation in the community. For both Tempisque and Chixolop, the figures vary widely. In total, 82.9% in Tempisque believes that education influences active participation, compared to 90.2% in Chixolop. However 12.2% in Tempisque believes that education has no influence in active participation in the community, which is just 2.4% in Chixolop. The figures indicate that in Tempisque less people believe that education influences active participation in the communities. However, overall seen the majority of the people in both communities find that education has a lot or a significant influence. They would say that it is noticeable that educated people have the desire to be more involved with activities in the communities. Another explanation was that education leads to a wider field of interest and thus active participation. Moreover,

generally seen people ask educated people earlier for advice or help in the community because ‘they went to school’. The people who believe that education does not influence active participation have argued that education is not a necessity to help actively in the community. These are mostly non/low- educated people, and say that they participate actively as well. It might be that these people help in other areas in the community, in which knowledge is not necessarily needed.

3.4.6. Participation in community development. The next analyzed issue is participation in community development. Does education influence the way people participate in the development of the community? 29.3% of the people in Tempisque believe that education has a lot of influence in the way that people participate, furthermore, a relative big group of 17.1% believes that education has little or no influence at all. The figures for Chixolop do not differ that much from Tempisque and are respectively 31.7% and 9.7%. Comparing these figures it is visible that more people in Chixolop believe that education influences community development. Especially when looking at the people who do not believe that education has its influences; this percentage is 10% higher in Chixolop. The question which came up after the research was whether the communities would be significantly more developed if people would be higher educated. This question can undoubtedly be answered with yes. Why? If people would be higher educated, they would have much more knowledge of the environment they live in; they would for instance treat nature with more respect and know more about hygiene. If people are not aware of the consequences, they do not bother. For instance when discussing the huge amounts of garbage on the streets, in the gardens, everywhere. An example is garbage which is burned at the playground of the school. People are not aware of the consequences it may cause to the nature and people’s health.

3.4.7. Ability to comment on organization forms. To conclude with the last aspect of the community issues; it has also become visible how education influences the ability to comment on organization forms in the community. In total, 84.6% of the people in Tempisque believe that education has its influences, divided by 31.7% who believes that education has a lot of influence and 39% significant influence. In Chixolop more people believe that education leads to better abilities to comment on organization forms. A total of 94.1% of which 39% believes that education has a lot of influence and 46.3% significant influence. People have argued that education gives people a wider view and provides knowledge on many distinct aspects in life. This makes people more able to form an opinion. When looking at the figures it becomes visible that in Chixolop, compared to Tempisque, the percentage of people who believe that education is influential is significantly higher, 10%. Besides, 14.6% of the people in Tempisque argue that education does not influence the ability to comment on organization forms in the community, which is just 2.4 % in Chixolop. Looking at these figures it is not unreasonable to remind us that in Chixolop people are overall seen higher educated, which can be seen when looking at this answer. They have more knowledge and realize that education assist people with forming opinions about community businesses.

3.4.8. Gender differences. Has the existing education system also lead to changes in the view on education between boys and girls? When we look back at the education levels in the community profiles, it has become visible that gender differences existed and still exist. An in depth analysis on possible differences in treatment between boys and girls will be provided during the evaluation of IBE in the communities in chapter four, but first is analyzed whether the current education system influences the education possibilities between boys and girls. The traditional life in the communities

exists of men working to gain the family income and women dedicated to the household and taking care of the children. As mentioned earlier, when a family does/did not have enough money, priorities are/were given to send boys to school. Many women from the last generation (who are aged approximately 25 years and older) are non/low- educated; the percentage of educated men is significantly higher. It is not that girls were not allowed to go to school, but if they did not want to they surely did not have to go. While having conversations in the communities with women who never went to school or who are very low educated, they either argued that they just did not want to go to school, or had to help in the household/at the land. It is not until approximately 10 years ago that gender changes in the researched communities took place. The education system and several NGOs advocated for education for all, for boys and for girls, which was (and still is) also supported by the church. This has led to changes in the community. Nowadays, especially the last 5 years, all boys and girls go to school, they are supported by their parents, their teachers and the church. and are expected to finish primary school. Indigenous girls also have the desire to be educated and become a teacher or a nurse; now their desires can become true. Although the majority of the parents support their girls, a minority of 'traditional' parents can be found. They believe that their girls do not necessarily need to be educated as they will become a housewife later. They argue that it is better when girls learn everything about the household and taking care of their brothers and sisters as young as possible. Nevertheless, the education system has led to changes in the way people look at education between boys and girls; primary education has now become a standard for both boys and girls and not just for boys.

3.5 Conclusion

In this chapter the macrosystem of the Achí people is analyzed and has become clear in what way it influences child development. Besides is analyzed in what way the Achí culture influences the development of education and education influences the Achí culture.

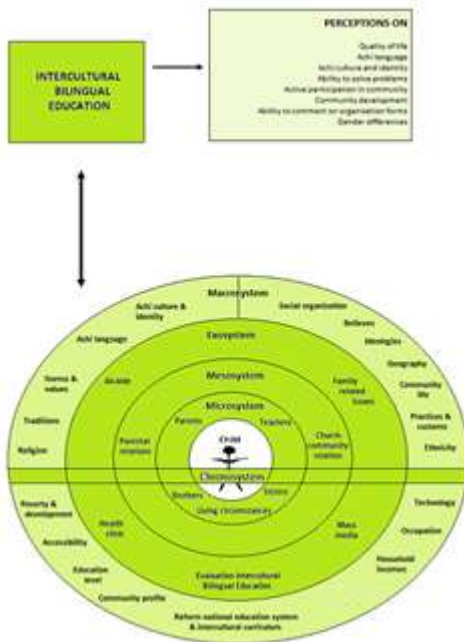
Does the Achí culture shape education? On several manners, although some aspects have more influence on the development of education than others. The majority of the people believe that cultural elements they value the most influence education on several manners. Just a minority argues that cultural elements do not influence the development of education (mostly non/low-educated people). Although slight differences in the findings can be found; traditions influence the development of education the most, followed by norms and values, and religion. Overall, people in Tempisque and Chixolop find it very important that cultural elements are included in the education provided at the primary schools, they find it important that the cultural identity of the Achí people will be maintained and strengthened..

Besides, does education influences the Achí culture and shape people? Surely, overall it became visible in both communities that education has a lot of influence on perceptions of elements in community life, although slight differences can be found between the influences of the analyzed elements. Further, it became visible that the majority of the people believe that the influences of IBE on the Achí language are big, even as the influences on the Achí culture and identity. IBE strengthens their cultural identity; children learn a lot about their own surroundings and cultural elements belonging to their culture. However, a large difference can be found between non/low-educated people and educated people. Non/low- educated people believe that education does not have that much influence/not at all on the way people behave/think about aspects in life. On the other hand, educated people have other views about aspects in life than non/low- educated people. It is the knowledge that changes the way people think; a whole new world is opened which provides them

with much more opportunities in life. Besides, education gives local people more knowledge about their own culture and language, which is also acknowledged by the local people.

With all this knowledge gained, on what manner would we say that the macrosystem influences the development of children? All the discussed aspects affect children indirectly on different levels. With respect to education has become clear that the education level is changing, which has its effects on the children's views on life. Nowadays, norms, values and traditions are still very important to the youth, but their individual choices become more important. They want to decide for themselves whether they want to raise a family, get a job or keep on studying. However, they do decide this with the purpose to help their family and give them a more quality full life in the community. Educated children look at the future, at the possibilities outside the community besides working at the field or being a housewife. However, almost no work possibilities in both communities are to found, which influence the further development of the youth in a negative way. In addition, nowadays also girls get more opportunities to study, which is leading to lower fertility rates as higher educated girls find their education more important than forming a family on a very young age. Unfortunately the opportunities in the communities are limited. Due to the high poverty levels, fewer future opportunities for the youth exist. Especially due to a lack of financial resources, children do not get the opportunity to study at a secondary school and develop further.

4 Evaluation of IBE, and influences of other systems

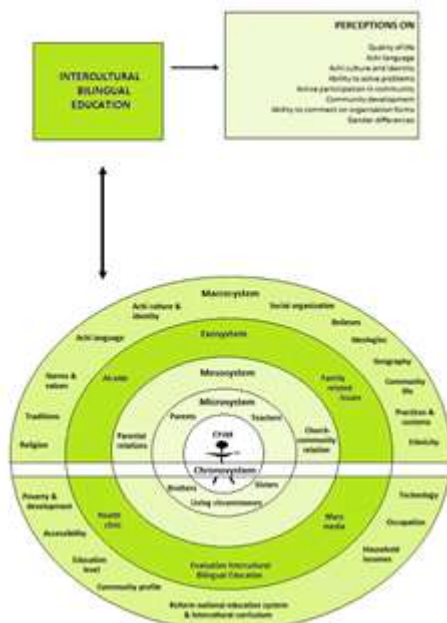


In the former chapter the macrosystem of the Achi people is analyzed, with a focus on the influences of education. The focus on education will stay central, as now the Intercultural Bilingual Education system within the communities will be evaluated. Research question 9 and 10 will be answered throughout this chapter, being; 'how can the current situation of IBE in Tempisque and Chixolop be characterized?'; 'On which way does education and other external and environmental influences children are surrounded by, influence their development?'

It will be analyzed how the IBE system in both Tempisque and Chixolop is performing. Besides, as the macrosystem has been discussed, this chapter will pay attention to the other systems of Bronfenbrenner's theory; the exosystem, mesosystem, micro- and the chronosystem, as is clearly illustrated in the conceptual framework at the left. These

systems focus more on a child's direct environment and the way it influences his/her educational and overall development. For the evaluation of IBE, observations have taken place in every grade with ranking forms and in-depth interviews have been held with corresponding teachers and directors of both primary schools. Besides, in-depth interviews have been held with stakeholders involved in the education system; among others community leaders, heads of municipality education department of Salamá and San Miguel Chicaj, pedagogic professionals and the head of the education department of Baja Verapaz. To gain more knowledge on the influence of the systems on child development, in depth interviews have been held with the youth in both communities.

4.1 Exosystem - evaluation of IBE



The exosystem consists of the settings in which the developing child does not actively participate. It refers to the broader community in which the developing child lives and includes the indirect relations who influence the development of a child and its education, clearly illustrated in the conceptual framework at the left. Therefore the provided Intercultural Bilingual Education in the communities will be evaluated in this section. Besides, other elements which are part of the exosystem will be discussed; the influences of the community organization and health clinic, extended family and the influence of the mass media. In both Tempisque and Chixolop, 2011 is the second year in which IBE and the intercultural curriculum (which is explained in chapter three) is implemented. The shift towards IBE is very important for the personal development of the children as

they will learn more about the surroundings they live in; their local language, culture, local history and attention for other cultures in Guatemala. An important question to be answered in the evaluation of IBE is whether culture shapes education, and if yes, on what manner. Importantly, IBE can lead to less children repeating grades/fail a class and higher attendance rates. Although IBE has recently been implemented, interviewed teachers have acknowledged little progress has become visible. The amount of students repeating grades has already been reduced, compared with figures from the period before the implementation of IBE. Education is nowadays very important to the people in Tempisque and Chixolop. Older people realize less that education is of that importance to achieve more in life, as they are non/low- educated. Now, youngsters want to learn a lot about life, to be educated and to develop themselves, to share their knowledge with their family and to be able to achieve more in life.

4.1.1. Teacher characteristics. In both communities, many bilingual teachers are found. In Tempisque 16 of the 24 teachers are bilingual and in Chixolop 16 of 21 teachers, although just 33,3% of this percentage instructs in Achí. The average years of teaching experience is 6,8 years in Chixolop and 5.6 years in Tempisque. Officially every teacher needs to complete three years of study at a university before they are allowed to work, but the majority start working after finalizing high school (the 2nd three years of high school which are meant as specialization; to prepare students for specific jobs). To complete the highest level of education, the possibility to study three more years at a university exists, which just a few people completed. The university San Carlos in San Miguel Chicaj offers free courses to obtain a higher education degree, however just 20-30% of the teachers make use of this opportunity.

4.1.2. Intercultural character of IBE. What will be analyzed now is the intercultural character of the implemented IBE system. In what way do teachers pay attention to the use of the Achí language, religion, traditions, norms and values in the classroom? The grading methodology which has been used can be explained as follows. First, in-depth interviews are held with teachers from every grade of both schools, 12 teachers in total. During these interview is among others discussed in what way they pay attention to these elements. Additionally, observations have been held in every grade, to see in what way attention is paid to cultural elements in the classroom. The in-depth interviews in combination with the observations have formed the basis to complete the ranking forms. The used ranking forms which indicate in what way attention is paid to a specific element were scaled from 0-5.

0= no attention paid to in the classroom

1= very little attention paid to in the classroom

2= inadequate attention paid to in the classroom

3= adequate attention paid to in the classroom

4= more than adequate attention paid to in the classroom

5= Full attention paid to in the classroom

Every single figure of the elements below is an average of the 6 teachers interviewed/observed at one primary school.

Achí language. In the IBE system, the first three grades should be primarily instructed in 100% Achí, introducing more and more Spanish every year. Children are supposed to be bilingual in 4th grade and should ideally be instructed 50%-50% in both languages from 4th grade up to 6th grade.

Table 4.1: % Classes taught in Achí in Tempisque and Chixolop

% in Achí	1st grade	2nd grade	3rd grade	4th grade	5th grade	6th grade
Tempisque	95%	85%	5%	50%	5%	5%
Chixolop	100%	0%	50%	5%	10%	50%

When looking at the statistics on language use in the classroom it is visible that the percentages do not match with desired percentages (table 4.1). Too many classes are given in Spanish in both communities, starting already with 100% in Spanish in 2nd grade in Chixolop. Overall seen, the language use in Achí is higher in Tempisque. Reasons teachers have for instructing in Spanish is that teachers are monolingual and only know the basics of Achí, or they are not motivated to teach in their mother language. Besides, a teacher argued that students should be taught in Spanish, they talk Achí at home and need to be prepared for the future. Some teachers in 4th, 5th and 6th grade argue that children are supposed to be bilingual, they instruct them in Spanish and only give classes of Achí in Achí.

Table 4.2: Attention to cultural elements in the classrooms in Tempisque and Chixolop

	Tempisque	Chixolop
Norms and values	4.17	3,33
Traditions	3.17	3,33
Religion	2.5	2,67

Attention to norms and values. In the classrooms in Tempisque, a lot of attention is paid to local norms and values, it is graded 4.17 out of 5 (table 4.2). An important course, *Formacion Ciudadana*, pays attention to values, honesty, respect, solidarity and behavior in and outside the classroom. But also quite some teachers correct children and for instance, posters on behavior in the class room can be found. In Chixolop, the level is lower, 3.33. Although they also have the course *Formacion Ciudadana* and for the higher classes *Ciencias Sociales* (which pays attention to respect towards others, tolerance, solidarity and other values in the socio cultural context and between distinct cultures), fewer teachers (66%) find it necessary to pay special attention to this course and these aspects. Besides, some teachers argue that their parents have to teach them their norms and values and learn how to behave.

Attention to traditions. Compared to norms and values, much less attention is paid to local traditions. The average level in Tempisque is 3.17 and 3.33 in Chixolop. A focus on traditions, the local culture and its customs is one of the principles of IBE. This indicates that not sufficient teachers apply the IBE program well as they do not contextualize the material.

Attention to religion. In both communities no special attention is paid to religion because it are both public schools which do not permit this, therefore the average levels of 2.5 and 2.67 are not surprising. Besides, as children are Catholic, Evangelical or Christian, it would be difficult to teach religious aspects. Every class does pray together each morning at the beginning of the class.

4.1.3. Gender differences and individual attention. Within the personal development of children, it is also valuable to look at the way boys and girls are treated and participate in the classroom and whether enough attention is paid to individuals.

Table 4.3: Attention and participation girls versus boys in Tempisque and Chixolop

	Attention girls vs. boys	Participation girls vs. boys
Tempisque	3.67/3.83	4/4
Chixolop	3.5/3.67	4.17/4

Attention. It has become visible that the average levels in Tempisque are 3.67 for girls and 3.83 for boys (table 4.3). This indicates that boys and girls are treated equally, equal attention is paid to both sexes in the classroom. The level is a little higher for boys as they regularly ask more attention from the teacher, girls are quieter. This also counts for Chixolop, where the levels are just a little lower, respectively 3.5 and 3.67.

Participation. Overall, boys and girls participate very well in class, obey the rules and seem eager to learn (table 4.3). Generally, boys seem more eager to learn as they are more active in class, however although girls are more quiet they do participate well. Average levels in Tempisque are 4 for both girls and boys, in Chixolop respectively 4.17 and 4. But, this also highly depends on the way a teacher instructs. Overall is noticed that teachers who have a dynamic way of instructing (one of the principles within the IBE system), keep the attention, participation and concentration of the children.

Individual attention. Overall seen, 2/3 of all teachers spend time working in small groups, instead of individual work. Individual attention is highly desired in the lower grades, which is going well in practice. One of the teachers argued that half of the day children get a lot of individual attention in their writing and reading skills as not every student learns as fast as the other. Especially in higher grades group work is desired. Teachers argued that is important that they learn how to work together and respect each other, learn from each other and to build capacity. Boys and girls are also mixed nowadays, which is not common in the Achí culture, but good for their development. It is noticeable that teachers, who instruct in a more dynamic way, pay more attention to individuals, check on them and make them participate. Activities include especially visualizing/playing exercises which are emphasized in the IBE system, as children learn while playing. More traditional teachers give more attention to the class as a whole and dictate a lot. They usually say that no time is available for individual attention as the classes are too big.

4.1.4. Teachers capacity; attention to interculturality and material use

Attention to interculturality. The way teachers view IBE, have knowledge about IBE and apply IBE can be separated in two groups. One group finds it a very valuable form of education for indigenous children which needs to be strengthened. They have a lot of knowledge about IBE which is reflected in their instruction method. They are mostly bilingual teachers; higher educated teachers with a university degree or teachers who have just graduated. These teachers have been trained specifically to instruct indigenous bilingual children. The other group does not understand (well) the importance and necessity of IBE for indigenous children and not everyone believes that it is more effective than the traditional instruction method. These teachers are either not well known with the system because they have been educated a long time ago, or they are not motivated. They do not understand the necessity and effectiveness of IBE and do not apply IBE well in the classroom. In the schematic overview (table 4.4) the different views of the teachers with respect to 'attention to interculturality in the classroom', are pointed out. With the elements discussed has been found out what they know about, what their opinion is and how they apply the following elements in the classroom; IBE, the Achí culture discussed in depth and other cultures in Guatemala. When looking at the answers closely, it can be noticed that the differences in answers reflect the teachers' knowledge/lack of knowledge of IBE. Teachers with knowledge of IBE have been much more talkative and had more extensive answers, as they apply these elements while instructing the children. They know what is of importance for the children and why the IBE system is needed. The other group clearly showed their lack of knowledge; they never talked about attention to the Achí culture in

specific and moreover, they gave (vague/wrong) answers which were not in line with the principles of the IBE system.

Table 4.4: Attention to interculturality in the classroom

	Teachers who find IBE a valuable form of education	Teachers who do not understand necessity of the IBE system
Signification of IBE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A form of education that respects different cultures and offers children to learn two languages. • It is very important to maintain the children's culture. • It starts to teach children in their first language in order to maintain this language, later a 2nd language is introduced to prepare them for (a better) future. • A system which strongly relates to the child's maternal language, culture of the child has a profound position. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Teaching in the maternal language of the children • Exchange cultures • Value and work with different cultures, without discriminating. • Work with different cultural groups in one class and learn from each other. • To teach about different languages and cultures; important in Guatemala as many different languages and cultures can be found.
Opinion on IBE and attention for Achí culture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This type of education ables to include all children and cultures. • Using their maternal language ables the child to understand. • IBE is a necessity and very important. • Important to respect the Achí culture; it is part of the children's identity. • Really important to learn 2 languages; with this knowledge, kids are able to communicate with people from other cultures. • Better future opportunities as they can leave the community. • Inclusive type of education if taught well; you can get the best out of a child for his/her future. • With knowledge of 2 languages, no need for racism. Children value their culture. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Teachers have not talked about the importance of Achí culture for children. Opinions included;</i> • Talk about different cultures in Guatemala; they can learn from each other. • Important to value/learn about the ladino culture • They can value their culture at home. • Speaking Spanish at school prepares for future. • It is very important, but no reason was given (However, she teaches in Spanish). • Knowledge of 2 languages provides better work opportunities (However, she teaches in Spanish).
Work method in class regarding attention for interculturality, Achí and other cultures of Guatemala	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Majority of the teachers pay too less attention to Achí culture and language. • Attention to Achí culture -> ables children to maintain their language and learn about their identity • Classes are contextualized to their surroundings, local customs and traditions • Regarding other cultures; it is important that children understand where they come from, learn about other cultures and respect them. • With knowledge of others cultures children respect their own. • Teacher applies local customs and traditions and norms and values in class. • Courses <i>Ciencias Sociales</i> and <i>Formacion Ciudadana</i> discusses these 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Teachers do not refer to the importance of Achí, only to culture in general (learning material is not contextualized) • children learn a lot about all different cultures which exist in Guatemala • With respect to attention for other cultures, teachers only argue that there is a class that pays specific attention to the different cultures in the country and if they learn about other cultures they gain more experience • Parents should pay attention to norms and values, not teachers. • Children practice culture at home, therefore speaking Spanish at school.

	subjects.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Course <i>Medio social y natural</i> pays attention to Maya cultures . • Children speak already Achí at home, thus focus must be on Spanish.
Possibilities to maintain Achí culture and its importance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Culture will be strengthened on this manner; children also learn to write in Achí nowadays. • Culture will be maintained because it is a part of the children. Teachers have to respect their culture. • If attention will be paid to the Achí culture, culture can be maintained. But children get in touch with more attractive aspects of other cultures; leads to a loss of customs/traditions and important values. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Teachers do not understand/see a reason why to maintain it. Do not talk about its importance. • Culture will be maintained as they speak Achí at home, it is part of their life. • Several teachers do not know it the culture can be maintained. • Teaching in Spanish is the most important for childrens' future.
Valuable cultural elements for the Achí people	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Norms and values, customs and traditions. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Customs and traditions (which many teachers do not teach in, only about Maya culture in general).
Attention to fundamental elements of the Achí culture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They discuss norms, values, customs, traditions and history. Important that children know where they are from, community history, traditions, customs etc; that they value their culture. • Problem: some parents do not to teach in Achi as they learn Achí at home already and want child to learn Spanish. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Children learn how to write in Achí.

Use of materials. Since the implementation of the curriculum the use of materials has not been changed. However, a huge lack of materials exists for both children and teachers because they are not provided by the government. Besides, the few books which the school has bought are in Spanish as they do not exist in Achí. For the teachers, both schools have bought several versions of the *Santillana Integral Primaria*, which is part of the CNB and focuses on how to apply theory in practice. It is a very useful tool that help teachers how to put theory into practice. This is where the problems start and this is the moment where the IBE instruction method should be applied. The current situation can be pointed out as follows;

- Just a few books for all teachers are available and besides, this book is designed on national level, therefore it has to be contextualized and are additional materials of high value. Thus if teachers want to instruct well, they should contextualize and use additional materials which relate to local culture/history/ local gastronomy of the children.
- The education teachers provide depend on their experience and (lack of) knowledge. This causes a huge gap in the quality of education which is provided in the classroom. Many teachers do not teach well as they are low educated/educated a long time ago and do not know how to apply IBE well. Teachers do not stick to the curriculum/do not use the *Santillana* and design their own program/use an older version or simply do not know how to put theory into practice.
- This gap consists of teachers who teach on a dynamic way and the more traditional teachers. As mentioned earlier, it has become visible that teachers who have obtained university degree, and

teachers who just graduated, apply IBE much better and thus instruct indigenous children better. They contextualize the material and make use of additional materials and instruct on a dynamic way by letting children participate, visualizing/playing exercises, combination of individual/group work etcetera. In contrast to more traditional teachers; who mainly only use the whiteboard to dictate children and mainly give individual jobs.

- Another major problem is the lack of material available for children; the several old books which are available are not designed for indigenous children, they are not contextualized. If books would be available, children could proceed on their own level instead of doing most classes with the entire group by explaining everything on the whiteboard. This means that materials would work in favor of the personal development of a child.

4.1.5. Parent participation. Positive for a child's development is that parents are included in the education progress of their children. They can stimulate them; on this way it is more likely that parents give them time to do their homework and help them if they have difficulties (which will increase their skills). By participating more, parents will also become more interested in the results of their children. In general, parent participation is very low, although almost all parents find education very important. In Tempisque the majority almost never comes by to check on their children's progress. It is just a minority who often visits the teacher and asks for the progress of their children. Parent participation also depends strongly on the teacher. Meetings with parents can be each month, but also once in 3 months' time. In Chixolop can be noticed that teachers who instruct in a dynamic way, have meetings more often and more participatory parents, around 50%. In more traditional classes, just 25% of the parents show up in a meeting. It is also noticed that the more often teachers have parental meetings, the higher the parent's interest in their child is.

4.1.6. Results since IBE implementation. Although 2011 is the second year since IBE is implemented, little progress in student achievements has been noticed. Before the implementation of IBE around 50% (of 28-30 students) repeated 1st and 2nd grade in both Tempisque and Chixolop, this is now reduced to 5-8 students in 1st grade and 7-8 students in 2nd grade in Tempisque and just to 1 or 2 students in both grades in Chixolop. Additionally with respect to dropouts, just 1-2 students per grade in Tempisque and less than 1 student in Chixolop drops out. Children are more enthusiastic; they can follow and understand their classes and if they come to school, they will usually pass. However, few children do not always attend school due to home duties or work at the field.

4.1.7. View of the youth on education. Discussing the thoughts and views on education with youngsters (both boys and girls, aged 17-25 years) in the communities has provided a view on how they see education, information which will be used to relate it to their (personal) development within the exosystem, but also later in this analysis when looking at the meso-,mico- and chronosystem. The youngsters are relatively high educated and are currently in their final year of high school. First has been found out how they feel about the education they obtain, to indicate how it influences their development. It is argued that a huge difference between teachers exists. Good teachers who want to learn and understand them everything can be found. Other teachers instruct on a different manner; they do not explain the material well and do not instruct on a dynamic way. According to the youngsters, especially bilingual teachers instruct good and transmit the material well. Some youngsters believe they are taught enough, others want to learn more and feel that courses are lacking. Especially classes related to their language Achí, norms and values, biology and

other aspects of life (these children are not educated via the IBE system, which is noticeable). The contact with teachers is overall seen quite confidential and they can discuss everything with a teacher, especially aspects they cannot discuss with their parents.

Besides, the youngsters are asked whether they believe that good education influences the opportunities for their future or not. According to them education helps people to develop, to gain more knowledge and be more capable to obtain goals and dreams. Besides, education opens a lot of gates and helps people to get a job here or somewhere else. A few girls who study to become a teacher argued that their goal is to change the community, help to develop people further. 'We need to fight for them; instruct them to let them grow. When we will not do it, who will?' (Aura Marina Sis Xolop, 18 yr.) When asking them on what manner education changes people in the community, it is argued that it leads to different ways of thinking, provides you with a better life. Besides, it enables you to share knowledge, help people and on this manner develop the community. However, people in the communities do not necessarily have a more prosperous life when having followed education. This is only the case when they have obtained a job, which is one of the largest difficulties in the communities, especially because the older generation is very low educated. This will change in the near future as nowadays more people are educated.

Moreover, do educated people have a different position in the community and think differently about taking care of the surroundings where they live in? No, someone's position does not change. It is mentioned that people are treated equally; educated or not, people do not feel better or less than others. With respect to taking care of the surroundings, opinions vary. This question has been asked as both communities destroy their surroundings with their own waste. Does knowledge lead to other opinions/practices? Some say that they are taught about taking care of the environment, but do not practice it. However, the majority argues that it is important to take care of the environment because it will affect them if they do not treat her well. 'The nature provides us in our necessities and we have to respect that and teach our children to respect her'. (Réne de Léon Léon, 21 yrs.)

The answers youngsters have given indicate that for them, education is of high value and helps them to develop further. As can be noticed by the answers given, education has helped them to develop; to form an opinion, provide them with knowledge and future perspectives which reach further than living in Tempisque or Chixolop. This in contrast with most parents who never experienced this. It is obvious they feel very comfortable at school and discuss personal issues with their teachers. This stimulates them indirectly more to proceed with their education. But, it is noticeable that they have not been taught via the IBE system as courses on interculturality have been lacking in the past. Besides, it is good that people are nowadays treated equally, this does not hold them back to develop further. However, it is a pity to see that even educated people not always take care of their surroundings and that it is not just education what makes people aware of their surroundings.

4.1.8. Teachers' IBE Strengths and weaknesses. During in depth interviews and observations in the classrooms, the teachers' view on IBE and its strengths and weaknesses of IBE at both primary schools has become visible which is pointed out below.

Strengths:

- Cultural identity is strengthened because of the attention to the local history, environment, customs and traditions.
- They learn how to respect and value their culture and deal with people from other ethnic groups.
- Children are first taught in their mother tongue, which makes children comfortable.

- IBE Strengthens personal development as children learn to understand, speak and write in both Achí and Spanish.
- It fastens the overall development-learning process of children.
- It is the only way for children to learn Spanish, and being bilingual offers a better future perspective.

Weaknesses:

- Lack of individual attention.
- A huge lack of materials, as the government does not provide books. When children would have their own material they would be able to work individually on their own level, and learn faster by carrying out visual assignments. Besides, more individual attention would be provided as the teacher would not have to provide classical lessons.
- Lack of motivation; many teachers do not apply IBE on a correct way/support the methodology/ too many teachers who do not know enough about IBE, they ‘watch’ but do not practice.
- Many teachers refuse to teach in Achí or improve their language skills.
- The quality of education differs per class as it depends on the knowledge and experience of a teacher.
- Too many children repeating grades.
- A lack of high educated teachers/ teachers who master both Achí and Spanish/teachers willing to teach in Achí.
- Discrimination still takes place, not every teacher values and respects the indigenous cultures.

4.2 Further influences of the exosystem

Besides the implementation of IBE other influences in the exosystem are found that indirectly affect the development of children, in what way it influences children will now be discussed.

Alcalde and health clinic. The alcalde and health clinic are two institutions who can indirectly have an influence on the children in the communities. The community health clinics are the most basic available clinics. They almost do not have medicines except for the basics; it is more a consultancy clinic. For a good treatment people have to visit the hospital in Salamá, but the problem is that people do not have money to pay their medicines. It is said that people take loans from the bank to be able to pay their hospital bills. This health care situation hinders the further development of children. Children are often not treated when they are ill, as no money is available. When children are ill they are less able to succeed at school which can lead to situations in which they lie behind. The community organization, the *alcalde*, assists well in solving problems such as robbery of animals/abuse/family problems, although people argue that almost no problems exist. But they take good care of the communities’ wellbeing. Relating this to child development, can be said that the alcalde assists in diminishing possible problems which could affect children. Generally, the communities are very quiet and peaceful which fosters a careless childhood.

Mass media. Media that could possibly have an influence is television. Overall, when talking to people it does not seem that television affects children. Television makes children realize what is all possible besides life in the communities, but it is very rare that television is watched in Tempisque and Chixolop. Educative programs are good for their development, but several programs influence the behavior of children negatively. Generally, people only watch news or local programs/soaps, no other channels are available. Relating to the Achí culture, especially girls are attracted to ‘modern’ clothing people wear on television, but they do still prefer their traditional clothing as it is part of

their culture. When talking to families in the communities they state that programs on television do not affect the Achí culture specifically.

Family related issues. A person's workplace is also an indirect influence for the development of a child. In Tempisque and Chixolop most work people do at the fields is 2/3 days a week, when not enough work is available (also due to seasonality) people cannot work. However these conditions are better in Tempisque as the fields around the community are more fertile than the dry area of Chixolop. Almost everyone works for someone else and do not have their own property, which makes it harder for farmers as they cannot make their own decisions and besides, not everyone is treated equally. It is said that problems almost never occur and if they occur, they are solved at the workplace. In some cases men discuss these problems with their wives, but children are never involved in these issues. Thus work related problems do not affect children. But children are affected when their parents do not have work; less money is available to buy food and other necessities. This often takes place in Chixolop; a lack of food hinders the development of a child because this lack is one of the basic needs to live a life. Besides, parents who are unemployed could behave negatively, which might be reflected on their children. Such a situation could influence the behavior of a child indirectly negatively. Children often do not know how to deal with such developments, which is reflected in their behavior. This leads for instance to concentration and behavioral problems at school.

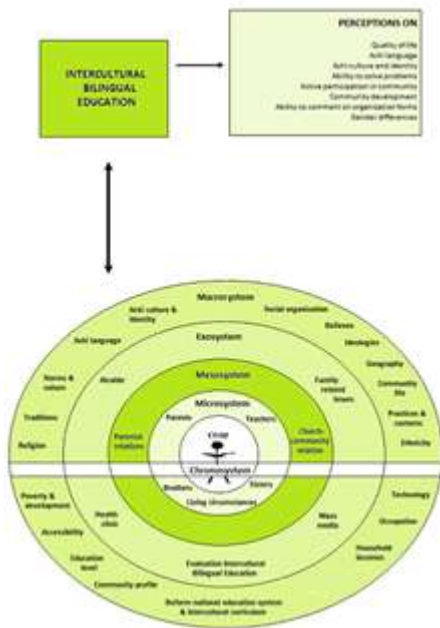
Next; extended family also influences child development, especially in Tempisque and Chixolop as the Achí people is an ethnic group who usually live together with all family members. A child's development is fostered in such an environment; by this way of living and caring. In most cases, extended family often lives next to each other and share the same general area. Family and extended family ties are overall seen very strong and it is very unlikely that big problems occur. The strong ties provide a higher sense of security and belonging and in times of scarcity there are more people to count on. Besides, Achí people feel responsible to help and support each other, both financially and emotionally.

Moreover, children who grow up without a father/mother have a more difficult childhood. They grow up without the love of one parent and besides, one parent has to educate and take care of all children. It is more likely children have to help in the household/work at the field as there is no father who takes care of the family income. However, just a few families in the communities are in the position in which the mother has to take care of the income. 75% of these children go to school, but also have more duties in the household/boys have to work at the field. This situation influences a child's development; it provides children with more pressure and work, which enables them less to focus on their school work and achieve their goals.

4.3 Meso-, micro and chronosystem

The mesosystem includes the indirect relations the developing child is surrounded and affected by, the microsystem includes children and their direct relations and the chronosystem includes the dimension of time in relation to all the child's environments-external systems.

4.3.1. Mesosystem. Essential within the mesosystem of the developing child are the



strengths of the linkages between the microsystems, which can affect the development of a child. The conceptual framework at the left indicates which part of the research this paragraph encompasses. In the communities Tempisque and Chicholop children are not affected by many settings as they are surrounded by a quiet environment. The most important settings the children are surrounded by will be discussed. These are the relations between parents, friends, teachers and the priest.

Church-community relation. First is referred to the

linkage between community members and the priest, this is a very strong linkage. Children and parents who go to church, but also people who do not, talk to the priest when he/she has a problem or wants to ask for advice. He is highly respected and seen as a role model in the community. He has the responsibility to better the people in his community and

solve a lot of issues. And if problems cannot be solved by the priest, people go to the alcalde. This relation affects the development of children positively. Besides children's parents, there is always someone they can trust and rely on. Besides, it is argued by several children that it gives them a secure feeling that priest has such close contact with people.

Parental relations. Now, the relation between the most important people in a child's life,

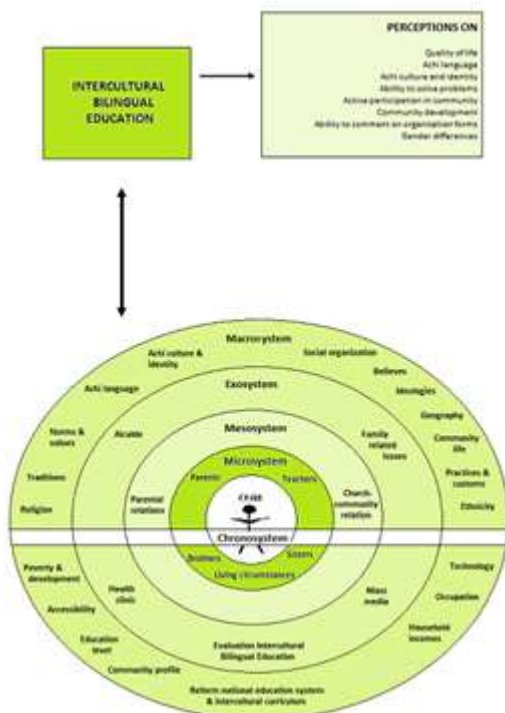
his/her mother and father, are discussed. When discussing this subject with youngsters in both communities it has become clear that overall seen, children are not very much affected by possible problems between parents. This does not mean parents do not have issues, only that they do not discuss them when children are around. It does not seem that it hinders children in their development. In both communities, abuse still takes place. Conversations with these families have not been held, but such a family situation surely affects children and can lead to concentration problems at school/doing homework which indeed lead to situations in which they lie behind. It could also lead to larger psychological problems, but this has not been further analyzed as the focus of his research is on other elements. But what are the opinions of parents that their children are studying? Overall seen, parents are very happy that their children are able to study as they did not had these possibilities when they were young. In most cases they stimulate them to pursue their studies and on this manner foster their personal development. However, this is not always the case as the more traditional families (a minority) do not want their girls to study and only provide this opportunity to their boys. Further, many cases can be found in which families cannot provide their children with the possibility to study at a secondary school in Salamá/San Gabriel, because no money is available. Certainly, these economic conditions in the communities do not favor a child's development.

The way in which parents have contact with teachers, parent participation, has already been discussed earlier this chapter, therefore now only the view from youngsters will be highlighted. It is argued that children really appreciate it when parents are involved in their schooling. It stimulates them as they can show parents their results, which on the other hand makes parents feel proud of their child's development process. Besides, it is also argued that once their parents are involved, they are given more time to do homework as parents realize that it is needed. During conversations it is

noticed that the majority of parents are not involved, but youngsters do argue that they would like it when their parents would show more interest. Concluded can be that the linkage between parents and teachers are too weak and should be strengthened in order to foster the development process of children.

Moreover, how are the relations between parents and their children's friends? Overall, mothers know their children's friends. They come over to do homework and if they need to do school research in Salamá, parents permit them as they trust their children and their friends. Friends' bad influences are overall seen not very significant as they come from the same/ equivalent community where children have the same traditions, norms, values etcetera. As the communities are relatively peaceful and quiet, they do not lead to different forms of behavior of children, which could be in contrast with the parental education in Tempisque and Chixolop. Besides, in the communities it is very common that children/youngsters only hang out with friends if it is school related. Many youngsters argue they spend time with their family in their free time. Fathers at the other hand do not know their children's friends that well as they usually work. Although the linkage between parents and friends is often not that strong, it is very comforting for children when parents like their friends and permit them to spend time with their friends. This also leads to more stress less situations in the family and on this manner encourage children's development.

4.3.2. Microsystem. This is the first layer surrounding the child, all direct personal relations within the environment of a child have a different role and have its opportunities for development. In the conceptual framework at the left is illustrated which part of the research this paragraph covers. The most important direct relations of children in Tempisque and Chixolop will now be discussed.



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Living circumstances. The circumstances in which the Achí people live are not the most favorable circumstances for children to develop due to the existing high poverty levels in the communities. Many aspects in the children's life can hinder their development and should be strengthened. They include the lack of good nutrition, lack of good available health care, lack of financial resources and lack of quality education. If these aspects would improve, it fosters not just the development of children, but of the entire community.

Parents. Youngsters argue that for them the most important aspects in life are their family and education, which ables them to follow their dreams and develop themselves. The strengths of the linkages within these systems are important as they strongly influence their development. When talking to families in the communities it becomes clear that people who influence the development of children the most are their parents; they educate their children and teachers put this more into practice and teach children other aspects which they do not learn at home. Overall seen, the relation children have with their mother is much stronger than with their father. Mothers are the ones who intensively raise and educate their children. They have a lot of confidence with their mother and are

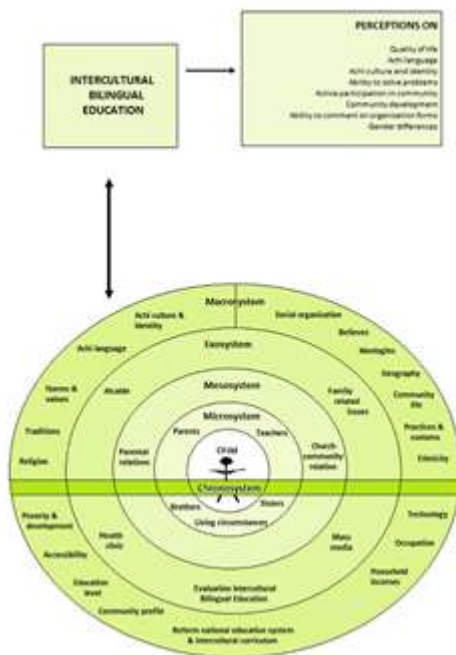
able to discuss everything. As the majority of the woman does not work, children can always count on them, which strengthens the linkages between mother and child and fosters the child's personal development. The linkage children have with their father is generally less strong. They are often from home which leads to less confidence, but as they are used to this situation it does not hinder them in their development. However, other youngsters argue that the contact with their father is as strong as with their mother. Besides, when looking at parent participation it are more the men who help their children with homework, as they are higher educated and able to assist their children. However, once children attend secondary school, parents are not able anymore to assist their children as they do not have the knowledge. But, it is also said by parents that children are obligated to do their own homework and for that reason do not provide help.

Teachers. School is definitely the second most important influence in a child's development. Teachers have the responsible role of educating children. The development of children is fostered when they are instructed well and are taught in friendly environments. However when looking back at the evaluation of IBE, this is not the case in every classroom in the communities. In many classes instructed on such a way that the development of children is not fully fostered. When children would all be educated according to the IBE system, it would strengthen their personal development. This is also indicated when talking to youngsters; they argue that large differences can be found between the way teachers instruct. Teachers who do not instruct well do not teach the children for instance their norms, values and behavior well. But good teachers teach them a lot of different aspects of life and inspire them to achieve their goals, gain more knowledge and obtain their diploma. But overall, the distance between teachers and children is small; children argue that with most teachers any problem can be discussed, which makes them comfortable.

Brothers and sisters. Like has been mentioned above, family ties are very strong in both communities. This also counts for the contact children have with their brothers and sisters. Although it is argued that girls have much better contact with their sisters, which also counts for boys. Spare time is almost always spent with brothers and sisters. They have to take care of each other and educate each other, help one another with homework etcetera. Although not all families are the same, overall it can be seen that this strong linkage surely assists in strengthening the development of children.

The church. Going to church is very important for the majority of the people in the communities. Although children do not always attend church, they argue that it is very important to them. When listening to their stories can be noticed that the church is an important pillar in their lives. As mentioned above, the priest is someone where you can always rely on and seen as the role model in the community. Youngsters argue among others that the priest is also a sort of teacher for them, they see the church as part of their education; the priest educates them important aspects of life. This indicates that this linkage strengthens the development of children.

4.4.3 Chronosystem. The chronosystem contains patterns of environmental events and transitions over the life course, as well as socio-historical circumstances. In the conceptual framework at the left is highlighted which part of the research this paragraph covers.



It is very difficult to give details on the chronosystem for an entire community, as it is more personal related than the other systems. However, several events/transitions can be mentioned which has changed the life for community members. First is mentioned that +/- 15 years ago portable water tanks have been placed in the households, provided by PLAN Guatemala. They comprise purification systems, which have led to less people who are sick due to the drinking water. Further, a huge transition in the community has been the way how men and women are treated. Before, men got much more opportunities to develop themselves. Girls were not allowed to study as they had to take care of the household and children. Now times are changing, many girls get the opportunity to go to school. Officially men and

women are treated equally and have the same rights, the few traditional families provide more opportunities to boys however. Besides, the younger generation realizes it is really important first to get a job, before getting married and form a family. People get married a few years later nowadays. Moreover, youngsters agree that they do not want too many kids, only if they have the financial resources to raise them. Before, people were very happy and grateful for all children, as god gives you them, however they did not realize how difficult it is to raise children with a lack of financial resources.

Moreover, the IBE system has just been implemented and has already shown several positive results, and besides, since two years there is a secondary school in Tempisque and since few years the secondary school in San Gabriel near Chixolop. These schools provide more future opportunities for youngsters. Due to this raising education level, more youngsters want to leave the community once they are graduated and have future plans and dreams outside the communities, which is in contrast with former generations.

4.6 Conclusion

In this chapter the exo-, meso-, micro- and chronosystem have been analyzed, specified on how these systems influences children’s educational development. The evaluation of IBE within the exosystem was the main aspect which is analyzed. Education is next to a child’s parents, the second most important influence in a child’s development. The development of children is fostered when they are instructed well and are taught in friendly environments. However, this is not the case when looking back at the evaluation of IBE. In many classes is instructed on such a way that the development of children is not fully fostered, or even hindered. The way of instructing and applying IBE well (the quality of education) strongly depends on the teachers’ education and experience. Teachers who instruct good implement IBE well and focus in their instruction method on the local environment/ culture/ history/ traditions/norms and values of the indigenous children. It is just 50% of the teachers who give dynamic classes, use additional material, combine group/individual work and pay attention to individuals. Other teachers pay too less attention to interculturality in the

classroom. They use their own way of instructing (which is much more traditional and less motivating for children) as they do not have the knowledge, do not know how to apply IBE with the materials they have or are not motivated. Besides, not all teachers are bilingual/do not want to teach in Achí, which causes problems in the lower grades. It is especially the lack of knowledge about IBE, motivation and lack of financial-material resources which make that the IBE system is not applied how it should be. Still a lot of improvements are desired, but significant improvements in student achievements have already been made. An important question raised in the beginning of the chapter has a lot to do with the evaluation of IBE; does culture shape education? It certainly does. The IBE system is especially designed to pay attention to local cultures. Teachers have to contextualize the material to the local surroundings, customs and traditions of the children and on this manner 'shape' the education they provide.

The elements of the distinct systems which are analyzed have its influences on a child's development on different manners. (It must be mentioned though that the focus of this research is on education and not on development psychology of children, therefore psychological influence of distinct elements which influence children, have not been discussed in depth). Strong linkages which foster children's development in the communities are the strong community and family ties and the church. No matter what age, children spend almost all of their free time in the surroundings of their parents and brothers and sisters. Children's friends, the community organization and the mass media do not influence the children in Tempisque and Chixolop significantly. The poor living circumstances do hinder the personal development of children. The lack of good nutrition, lack of good available health care, lack of financial resources, lack of quality education and besides one-parent households. However the problem is that these circumstances cannot easily be strengthened in the near future.

5 Discussion, conclusion and recommendations

In this final chapter the main research question of this thesis will be answered. Besides, an answer will be provided on the 11th research question, being; 'What recommendations can be given to improve the effectiveness of IBE and increase the development process of children in Baja Verapaz, Guatemala?' But first a discussion on the present research will take place.

5.1 Discussion

This paragraph aims to place the context of IBE and child development in the wider context of the literature discussed and applied in chapter 1-4. Are theories and previous research findings of existing literature in line with the present research and on which way does the present research add up to existing knowledge?

5.1.1. The present research and approaches to IBE. Different approaches have influenced the design of this research. PLAN Guatemala follows a rights-based approach, therefore the research carried out for PLAN also followed this path. Next, Bronfenbrenner's Bio-ecological systems theory and the theory on early childhood education are used and discussed in this thesis. It has become visible that overall the theories which are used are in line with present research findings, this will be emphasized below.

Rights-based approach. 'A rights-based approach to development sets the achievement of human rights as an objective of development (Manzo 2003, p.1)'. In Tempisque and Chixolop, the right on Intercultural Bilingual Education is finally acknowledged. Indigenous voices are finally heard. Since 2 years, IBE is in a process of development and currently adjusting to local needs. However, still many deficiencies in the IBE system can be found. But improvements will be realized by PLAN Guatemala. PLAN will start in 2011 with a program on IBE to improve the education provided at both primary schools.

Further, 'the focus of the right-based approach is a model based on building rights-holders' capacity, on claiming their rights, and conditions should be created under which people can live in dignity and peace and develop their full potential' (Rand e.a., 2007, p.4). Children would be better able to build their capacity when will be worked on the shortages of IBE. Then, children will understand the learning material much better, learn faster and will be able to reach their full potential. However, many teachers do not understand the importance and necessity of IBE and strengthen the development process of children. On this manner, children are not able to use their full potential.

Moreover, 'within IBE it is also emphasized that men and women should be treated equally and should be offered equal opportunities in life, which is also in line with the RBA; the emergence of the RBA has brought new ways of thinking; more towards a focus on how to deal with the widespread social problems and other underlying causes of poverty. For instance corruption and unequal power/gender relations' (Hickey e.a., 2009). Since five-ten years, the unequal power relations in the communities are changing, families are changing traditional views. In traditional views was for girls no need seen to study, they would take care of the household after getting married therefore parents did not invest in girls' education. It were only boys who got the opportunity to study as their future job would be to sustain their family.

In addition, 'one of the principles of the RBA is 'good governance' in which the state is the primary agency for the enforcement of people's rights. But, governance is only 'good' 'to the extent that it benefits the social groups who are impoverished, oppressed and socially vulnerable and excluded' (Gready e.a., 2005, p.247). This is not in line with the indigenous communities in Guatemala, who are impoverished and excluded and have not benefited from the educational reform. The education reform was said to respond to the necessities and social demands of Guatemala's inhabitants and would be realized in a socio-cultural, politic, socioeconomic and juridical context, and second, in such a way that it would reflect the cultural diversity and identity of the country. Within the socio-cultural field, the ethnic, cultural and linguistic context were said to be emphasized as these aspects should be seen as expression of the national diversity. However, several governments in a row have rejected and not implemented the measures related to the socioeconomic and cultural marginalization of the Maya population. Educational decision makers at national level take bureaucratic and political imperative decisions which do not benefit the Maya communities. Although IBE is recently implemented in Tempisque and Chixolop, the state does not offer any assistance, not with financial resources, neither with (contextualized) material for indigenous children.

Bronfenbrenner; Bio-ecological systems theory. Existing literature on Bronfenbrenner's theory states the following about the importance of parents and teachers in a child's development process. 'Bronfenbrenner argues that primary relations, like parents and other family members, should last a life time and are very important to children as they cannot be replaced. Supporting these relations is seen as the solution to enhance child development. On this manner, an environment for children will be created which will foster their development. Besides, important secondary relations for children are schools and teachers. It is the work of schools and teachers to support the primary relations children have, to create an environment in which the child will develop better' (Paquette and Ryan, 2005., Ahuja, 2005., Bronfenbrenner, 1979, Bronfenbrenner, 1998). This is in line with the present research. It is argued by many people that the most important aspects in life are their family and education, which enables them to follow their dreams and develop themselves. Besides, it is argued that people who influence the development of children the most are its parents, and school is the second most important influence in a child's development. In both communities, family ties are very strong, parents educate their children and will always take care of their children, even when they are grownups. Teachers also have the role of educating children; they put aspects children learned at home into practice and teach children other aspects which they do not learn at home. Both of these relations foster the development process of children.

Besides, 'it is also nutrition, the home situation, way of raising a child and living circumstances which affect the development of a child' (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Certainly, the impoverished circumstances in which the Achí people live are not the most favorable circumstances for children to reach their full potential. In the communities are many aspects in the children's life which hinder their development and should be strengthened. They include the lack of good nutrition, lack of good available health care, lack of financial resources and lack of quality education. If these aspects would improve, it would foster the development of children.

In addition, 'the external influences and environmental factors which are main elements within Bronfenbrenner's theory are very useful to assess the cause and solution to problems children have, as the ecological model encompasses all areas of influence on the development of children and gives the chance to see how lives are balanced between every aspect of our environment' (Paquette and Ryan, 2005., Ahuja,2005., Bronfenbrenner, 1979, Bronfenbrenner, 1998). This research confirms

that all areas of external elements within the theory of Bronfenbrenner are interrelated and directly and indirectly influence the development of a child. One of the many examples is the issue of parent participation in relation to a child's achievements at school. Overall, parent participation is very low in the communities. During the research the influence of parent participation became visible. In several classes achievements rates had grown after the teacher increased meetings with parents. Parents were more actively involved in the schooling process of their children.

Early childhood development. In existing literature is emphasized that 'early childhood development needs to be stressed, one of the reasons is that in the first years of a child's life the human mind is very efficient in building language capital and importantly, language is seen as one of the tree basic requirements to strengthen human capital' (Patrinos e.a., 2009). During in-depth interviews with teachers became clear that before the implementation of IBE, young children had large difficulties with understanding the learning material, many children repeated classes and other children dropped out of class. Compared to the lessons which are now provided in their maternal language Achí, it became visible that IBE as instruction method advances their learning process. Indeed, use of language strengthens children's competences, their human capital.

Besides, when indigenous children are taught in a different language than their mother tongue, this leads not only to poor schooling results, but it also limits training opportunities, job mobility and higher income opportunities (Patrinos e.a., 2009). This is also in line with the present research. Before the implementation of IBE around 50% (of 28-30 students) repeated 1st and 2nd grade in both Tempisque and Chixolop, this is now reduced to 5-8 students in 1st grade and 7-8 students in 2nd grade in Tempisque and just to 1 or 2 students in both grades in Chixolop. Besides, the dropout rates were around 5 children in first, but also in second grade. These have now been reduced to 0-2 child per grade. In addition, the majority of the adults have a low education level, of which a part dropped out of school because they did not understand the classes instructed in Spanish. In total, just 28.4% in Tempisque and 23.8% in Chixolop finished primary school. The low education level hinders job opportunities for people outside the communities as their Spanish and knowledge level is insufficient to obtain higher income jobs with education requirements.

In addition, 'within the development of a child, it is of high importance that children participate actively and learn by doing at all levels' (Myers, 1992). 'Early education programs which are interactive and let children follow an independent decision-making process, strengthens children's physical and mental capacity which will affect a child's progress and performance positively, for instance the transfer of knowledge to different situations' (Weikart, 1998). One of the principles of IBE is that children learn by doing; dynamic classes in which children participate are a main element of the instruction method because it is acknowledged that it increases the development process of children. It makes them more enthusiastic and willing to learn. Besides, referring to the ability to transfer of knowledge to different situations, research results of the present research indicate indeed that education changes perceptions people have about elements in community life. People are more able and willing to solve problems, participate actively in the community, able to comment on organization forms and participate in community development.

5.1.2. Former research and the present research on Intercultural Bilingual Education. To indicate in which way the present research is in line with existing literature, a schematic overview has been developed (table 5.1). In this overview similarities and differences can be found of aspects which are of importance for IBE; the importance of indigenous language for an ethnic group, the importance of and focus on interculturality within IBE, achievement and benefits, costs and

weaknesses. Besides, also the availability of IBE and loss of language and self-identification is looked at. The schematic overview provides a clear view on findings related to each subject. When looking at the schematic overview, specific findings can be noticed. Overall can be seen that many findings of the present research compared to previous research, are alike.

First of all, research carried out in rural highlands of Guatemala indicated that 'Language diversity is a sign of much deeper cultural differences which are likely to encompass supply of school facilities as well as demand for formal education'(Carvajal, 1993, p.2). This is in line with the present research. People in the communities have indicated that their language reflects their cultural identity, and they see IBE as an instruction method which strengthens their cultural identity. Other extensive research findings in Guatemala which focused on the status of IBE in Guatemala indicated that 'the more education indigenous people receive, the less likely they have their native language as their mother tongue and the greater the chance that their mother tongue is Spanish' (Rubio, 2004). However, this is not the case in Tempisque and Chixolop, Achí people have a strong cultural identity and always talk in Achí among each other. They will never lose their native language as it is very important to them, neither the people who work outside the communities. This research also indicated that 'indigenous people are facing language loss and thus loss of their cultural self-identification'(Rubio, 2004), but this does not count for the people in Tempisque and Chixolop. It is just a very small percentage in the communities that speaks Spanish at home. Besides, before the implementation of IBE the cultural identity of the Achí people was strong and will now only become stronger with the assistance of IBE.

With respect to interculturality, evaluations of the earliest bilingual education projects in the late 1970s in Mexico, Peru and Bolivia have led to an understanding what important role culture plays within IBE programs. 'Culture is almost as important as the language itself, IBE strengthens the cultural identity of people' (Lopez, 2006). This has become visible in Guatemala as well. It is argued by many bilingual teachers that it is important to respect the Achí culture; it enables children to maintain their language and learn about their identity, the culture of the child has a profound position in IBE. It is important that children understand where they come from, learn about other cultures and respect them. Importantly, classes are contextualized to their surroundings and attention is paid to norms, values, customs, traditions and local history.

Further, the availability of IBE in Tempisque and Chixolop is for preprimary, the full six years of primary school and the first two year of secondary school available while previous research results indicate that 'IBE is available for preprimary school and in primary schools up to fourth grade' (Rubio, 2004).

In addition, in many research articles on IBE is written about its achievements and benefits, but also its costs and weaknesses so far. Especially the articles of Chesterfield e.a. (2003) , Patrinos e.a. (2009), and Rubio (2005) provide results of extensive IBE studies carried out in Guatemala. With respect to IBE's achievements and benefits, previous results indicate that IBE leads among other to 'active participation, more self-esteem, a higher percentages of enrollment, attendance, higher promotion rates, less retention and less grade repetition. Further, IBE increases parent participation'. These results are in line with the present research. Research in the communities has found that IBE leads to higher educational achievements, and providing dynamic classes in which children participate is emphasized, which motivates children. IBE makes children more comfortable as they are taught in their own language. However, parent participation is still very low, but increasing steadily in several classes. Referring to costs and weakness, the previous research results indicate among others that 'there is a lack of bilingual teachers, quality education, training and

motivation. Besides, individual attention is low'. These aspects also became visible in the present research. The quality of education depends on the teachers experience. Overall the education level of teachers is low, fortunately many teachers are bilingual but many of them do not accept/understand the importance and necessity of IBE. Teachers do not apply IBE in a correct way; they design their own methodology which leads to gaps in the quality of education provided. With respect to individual attention, many classes are too big which leads to a situation in which teachers cannot pay enough attention to individuals. Classes should become smaller in order to provide children more individual attention, which will also foster their process of development.

Table 5.1: Overview of similarities and differences between previous research and the present research on Intercultural Bilingual Education.

Subject	Authors	Previous research findings	Present research findings
Indigenous Language	Carvajal, 1993; Lopez e.a., 2006; Patrinos e.a., 2009; UNICEF,2007; Rubio, 2004; Rodríguez Cabrera, 2010	Language diversity is a sign deep of much deeper cultural differences and is likely to encompass demand for formal education. Further, when a child is instructed in its mother tongue it advances a child’s development and educational achievements. Besides, the more education received, the less likely they have their native language as their mother tongue.	People see their language Achí as representative for their cultural identity and view IBE often as an instruction method which strengthens their cultural identity. Further, IBE advances the development process of children, they understand and learn faster and it leads to better educational achievements. Besides, Achí people have a strong cultural identity, Achí people always talk Achí among each other and will not lose their native language, neither people who work outside the community.
Interculturality	Carvajal, 1993; Lopez e.a.,2006; Rodríguez Cabrera,2010; Banks e.a., 2009	The role culture plays is almost as important as the language itself. Language reflects cultural identity. Further, IBE strengthens cultural identity, because it pays attention to the local environment, local history, traditions, values and believes.	Important to respect the Achí culture; ables children to maintain their language and learn about their identity, culture of the child has a profound position in IBE. It is important that children understand where they come from, learn about other cultures and respect them. Besides, classes are contextualized to their surroundings. In class, attention paid to norms, values, customs, traditions and local history. However, majority of the teachers pay too less attention to Achí culture and language and do not understand its necessity.
Achievements & Benefits	LLECE,2008; Rubio, 2005 Carvajal, 1993; Lopez e.a., 2006; Patrinos e.a., 2009; Chesterfield e.a., 2004;	IBE leads to active participation in learning. More positive self-image, self-esteem and respect. A higher percentages of enrollment, attendance, higher promotion rates, less retention and less grade repetition. IBE preserves ethnic identity and increases parent participation. Besides, it leads to cost saving as fewer children repeat classes.	Dynamic classes with participating students. Children feel comfortable, are motivated, cultural identity is maintained and strengthened. Besides, less grade repetition, higher enrollment and attendance rates and good combination group/ individual work. Further, contextualization of learning material and use of additional material. Besides, many bilingual teachers can be found at the school. Parent participation is very low, but increasing in several classes. But significant cost savings have not been identified because IBE is recently implemented.
Costs & Weaknesses	Rubio, 2004; Patrinos e.a., 2009; Chesterfield e.a., 2004; Rubio, 2005; LLECE, 2008.	Lack bilingual teachers, lack of training, lack of quality, no motivation to teach, high costs in rural areas, no supportive learning environment, student participation and individual attention is low. Besides, parent participation is weak, this leads to situation in which parents keep girls at home.	Lack of quality; low education level of teachers, teachers cannot write in Achí and many teachers are bilingual but do not accept/understand the importance and necessity of IBE. Teachers do not apply IBE in a correct way; they design their own methodology which leads to gaps in the quality of education provided. Besides, lack of materials and financial resources and individual attention is too low in some grades. Further, teachers have different opinions about the meaning, way of instructing and importance of IBE, and parent participation is weak.

Availability	Rubio, 2004	IBE is available in preprimary school and in primary schools up to fourth grade. A teacher is considered bilingual when he/she is examined by DIGIBE.	IBE is available for preprimary, full six years of primary school and the first two grades of secondary school. People can become bilingual teacher by finishing secondary school, specifying on education.
Language loss & Loss self-identification	Rodríguez Cabrera,2010; Rubio, 2004; Lopez e.a., 2006	Indigenous people are facing language loss and thus loss of their cultural self-identification.	In Tempisque and Chixolop, a very small percentage speaks Spanish at home, overall all people in Achí. Their cultural identity is strong and will not fade away. Before IBE (only Spanish speaking schools) their identity was strong and will now only be strengthened.

5.2 Conclusion

This paragraph aims to answer the main research question, being;

How does Intercultural Bilingual Education influence the Achí culture, how is it influenced by the Achí culture and in what way does it affect child development?

This question is threefold, therefore three sub questions have been identified. The first part of the question relates to the influences of IBE on the Achí culture and perceptions on other elements in community life. The second part of the question relates to the influences of the Achí culture on IBE, and the third part of the question relates to IBE, and child development. IBE has been analyzed in both Tempisque and Chixolop. Besides, it is analyzed how IBE affects child development, and how other external influences and surroundings affect child development.

1) In what way does IBE influence perceptions on the Achí culture and other elements in community life? In this section research questions 7 and 8 are answered. Overall, it became visible in both communities that education has a lot of influence on perceptions of elements in community life; although slight differences can be found between the influences of the analyzed elements, education is believed to have the most influence in the ability to comment on organization forms and the least influence on the ability to solve problems. However, a significant difference in perceptions on elements in life can be found between educated and non/low- educated people. Non/low-educated people believe that education does not have much influence on the way people behave and think about elements in community life. It is visible that these people do not understand that education changes someone's perspective. They do not know any better and cannot compare it with other times as their situation has not changed (their knowledge level has not improved). Educated people on the other hand, have other views about elements in community life. Most important, it is noticed and acknowledged by educated people that knowledge changes the way people perceive elements in life, and education provides people with much more opportunities in life. Besides, IBE provides people with much more knowledge on their own culture and language, which strengthens their cultural identity. Although education has a lot of influence on perceptions of elements in community life, it is visible that the education level in Tempisque is lower as relatively more people in this community indicate that education does not influence these elements.

Further, it became visible that the majority of the people believe that the influences of IBE on the Achí language are big, even as the influences on the Achí culture and identity. IBE strengthens their cultural identity; children learn a lot about their own surroundings and cultural elements belonging to their culture. Besides, they learn how to write in Achí, but also how to write and speak in Spanish which provides children with much more opportunities in the future outside the community. Educated people realize they can achieve a lot, no matter from which ethnic group they origin. While some less educated people feel discriminated once spending time outside the community, for them ethnicity still forms a barrier in the way towards development.

In addition, with respect to education it has become clear the rising education level has its effects on the children's views on life. Nowadays, the community norms, values and traditions are still very important to the youth, but their individual choices become more important. They want to decide for themselves whether they want to raise a family, get a job or keep on studying. However, they do decide this with the purpose to help their family and give them a more quality full life in the community. Educated children look at the future, at the possibilities outside the community besides

working at the field or being a housewife. Unfortunately, due to the high poverty levels, the opportunities are limited. The lack of financial resources does only permit a very small part of both communities to study at a secondary school and develop further.

2) *In what way do cultural elements of the Achí culture influence and shape IBE?* In this section research questions 5, 6 and 8 are answered. The majority of the people believe that cultural elements they value the most; norms and values, traditions and religion, influence education on several manners. Just a minority argues that cultural elements do not influence the development of education (mostly non/low- educated people). Although slight differences in the findings can be found; traditions influence the development of education the most, followed by norms and values, and religion. Traditions are influential as the IBE system is adjusted to the local culture; children carry out traditional activities, it enables children to speak their language and use their traditional clothing. IBE enables the children to maintain their traditions while spending time at school. Further, norms and values are part of the Achí culture and way of life. Achí norms and values are reflected in children's behavior and attitude and most likely influence the education provided, which is not remarkable as IBE needs to adjust to local cultures. With respect to religion, religious influences have an impact on how this education system is training its teachers, the way teachers look at instructing children and besides, it also has its influences on the recognition of the importance of education. It has become clear that the cultural identity of the Achí people is very strong.

Overall, people in Tempisque and Chixolop find it very important that cultural elements are included in the education provided at the primary schools, they find it important that cultural identity of the Achí people will be maintained and strengthened. IBE has finally been implemented two years, this indicates that voices of the Achí people are heard. The value of indigenous cultures is recognized and the education system is now in a process of reforming to the needs of the Achí culture.

3) *In what way does IBE and other external and environmental influences children are surrounded by, influence their development?* In this section research question 2,4, and 8-10 are answered. Education is next to a child's parents, the second most important influence in a child's development. The development of children is fostered when they are instructed well and are taught in friendly environments. However, quite some deficiencies can be found in the education system in Tempisque and Chixolop. Several governments have rejected to implement educational reforms which would favor Mayan communities; educational decisions made at national level surely do not benefit indigenous communities. Currently, the government almost does not provide any assistance to improve the situation. It is the quality of education provided, the way IBE is applied by teachers, that hampers or strengthens a child's development process. In Tempisque and Chixolop, the way in which IBE is applied strongly depends on the teachers' education and experience. Teachers who instruct good, implement IBE well and focus in their instruction method on the local environment, culture, history, traditions and norms and values of the indigenous children. Currently it is 50% of the teachers who give dynamic classes, use additional material, combine group and individual work and pay attention to individuals. Other teachers pay too less attention to interculturality in the classroom. They use their own way of instructing which is much more traditional and less motivating and effective for a child's development process. They do not have the knowledge, do not know how to apply IBE with the materials they have or are not motivated. Besides, not all teachers are bilingual or simply do not want to teach in Achí, which causes problems in the lower grades. It is especially the

lack of knowledge about IBE, motivation and lack of financial-material resources which make that the IBE system is not applied how it should be. Although the quality of education is improving and little progresses in student achievements have been made so far, IBE still shows many shortages which must be strengthened and will affect a child's development process positively.

And other external and environmental influences, how do they affect child development? Overall, Tempisque and Chixolop are quiet communities, but the environment they live in influences their development process negatively; lack of good nutrition, lack of good available health care and a lack of financial resources (the low education level in the communities is one of the reasons why people cannot work or find a job). However the problem is that the impoverished circumstances in which the Achí people live cannot easily be strengthened in the near future.

Indirect influences as children's friends, the community organization and the mass media do not affect the development of children significantly. Neither as work related problems of parents. But children are affected when their parents do not have work; almost no money is available to buy food and other necessities. This hinders the development of a child because food is one of the basic needs to live a life. Patterns of environmental events and transitions over the life course that have affected the development process of children positively (and benefited the entire communities), are the placement of portable water tanks, the implementation of IBE and the construction of a secondary school. But also the treatment between girls and boys has changed. Today, men and women are treated equally and have the same rights, however still few traditional families can be found who provide more opportunities to boys.

To conclude with, strong linkages which foster children's development in Tempisque and Chixolop are the strong community ties, family and extended family ties. The communities are divided in several quarters, which are divided by family ties. A child's development is fostered in such an environment; by this way of living and caring. The strong ties provide a higher sense of security and belonging and in times of scarcity there are more people to count on. Besides, Achí people feel responsible to help and support each other, both financially and emotionally. Next, it is also the strong ties the children (and other community members) have with the church; the priest is an important pillar in their lives, seen as role model in the community. The church is also seen as part of the children's education. This indicates that these linkages are the most important to children and strengthen their development process.

5.3 Recommendations on increasing the development process of children through IBE

This paragraph aims to give an answer on the 11th and last research question, being; 'What recommendations can be given to improve the effectiveness of IBE and increase the development process of indigenous children in Baja Verapaz, Guatemala?' This question can be divided into two sub questions; 1). What should and can be improved in the delivery of IBE in Tempisque and Chixolop? 2). On what way could PLAN Guatemala assist in improving the effectiveness of IBE in the communities? Improvements in IBE provided in the communities will not only lead to a better quality of education, it will also foster the development process of children. Education assists in strengthening physical and mental capacity, which affects a child's progress and performance. Besides, it will improve their social responsibility skills and educational performance in their adult life. Further, when children have the opportunity to follow an education program which is interactive, it enables them to participate actively and learn by doing, this will foster their development. Besides, IBE will also strengthen their cultural identity, provides children a wider view on society and with more opportunities in life.

Recommendations which will be given have the SWOT analysis of IBE as basis. A SWOT analysis (table 5.3) of IBE in both communities has been developed to look back at the evaluation of IBE and provide a clear view on the current situation in both research communities. The SWOT not only shows the strengths and weaknesses, but also the opportunities and threats of IBE.

Table 5.2: SWOT analysis IBE system Tempisque and Chixolop

POSITIVE		NEGATIVE	
INTERNAL	<p>STRENGTHS</p> <p>1: Less children repeating grades and leaving school.</p> <p>2: Good combination between individual/group work.</p> <p>3: Teachers use additional materials.</p> <p>4: Just graduated teachers/university degreed, apply IBE well and give dynamic classes.</p> <p>6: By instructing in Achí, children feel comfortable.</p> <p>7: People realize that children do not lose their identity, they learn fundamental cultural aspects, respect other cultures and are more motivated by studying in their own language.</p> <p>8: The majority of teachers are bilingual</p> <p>9: Bilingual teachers instruct in the lower grades (in Tempisque).</p>	EXTERNAL	<p>WEAKNESSES</p> <p>1: Classes are too big, not enough time for individual attention.</p> <p>2: Teachers have different opinions about the meaning, way of instructing and importance of IBE.</p> <p>11: Teachers do not apply IBE in a correct way; they design their own methodology which leads to gaps in the quality of education provided.</p> <p>3: Huge lack of materials and resources.</p> <p>9: Materials do not exist in Spanish, are old/do not correspond with the newest versions of the curriculum.</p> <p>4: Many bilingual teachers do not accept/understand the importance and necessity of IBE.</p> <p>5: Not all bilingual teachers can write in Achí.</p> <p>8: Teachers do not instruct enough in Achí in the first grades.</p> <p>10: Many teachers have a low education level .</p>
	<p>OPORTUNITIES</p> <p>1: Achí workshops are available for monolinguals.</p> <p>2: Institutions provide capacity workshops.</p> <p>3: The government provides free classes to obtain higher degrees.</p> <p>4: Culture is maintained in house, can be strengthened in class.</p> <p>5: There are good teachers, they can provide capacity workshops to others.</p> <p>6: Enough bilingual teachers are available, they should instruct in the first grades (Chixolop).</p>		<p>THREATS</p> <p>1: No high school is available, which makes is more difficult for children to proceed their study (Chixolop).</p> <p>2: Children need to work on the field/in house and do not attend school.</p> <p>4: Due to traditions, some girls are not allowed to continue their studies. They proceed in the household, marry early and form families.</p> <p>5: Influences of the Ladino culture leads to fewer attention to the Achí culture.</p> <p>6: Lack of help by the government; lack of resources, materials and capacity.</p> <p>7: Lack of parent participation; they do not understand this importance for their children.</p>

First, recommendations with respect to the first sub question will be given; what can currently be improved in the delivery of IBE in Tempisque and Chixolop? These recommendations can be subdivided in 1; capacity and 2; awareness and motivation.

Capacity. One of the main problems on IBE in the communities is that the competencies of many teachers are inadequate to implement IBE well; teacher capacity needs to be strengthened. On this way the quality of education will increase significantly, which will have positive influences on the development process of children.

First, monolingual teachers need to follow classes in Achí. Costless Achí workshops are provided by the University of San Carlos in San Miguel Chicaj, but very few teachers (+/- 25%) make use of this opportunity. This percentage needs to be greatly increased.

Second, many teachers do not have structured classes or are not able to fit the learning material in the available time frame. Therefore, all teachers need to develop planning schedules and stick to them. On this way children in different classes/grades learn the same as their co-students and children will all have an equal level when entering a following grade. Besides, schedules will not

only lead to equal levels, but also give structure to the lessons. On this way, it becomes clear when children need to obtain which competences and besides, the learning material can equally be divided in the available time frame. When children would also be provided a schedule, they become aware of what is expected from them and what goals they need to achieve during a specific period. On this way they are more part of their own learning process. Schedules can also be provided to parents, which enables them to follow the learning process of their children actively and increase their participation.

Third, due to a lack of knowledge on IBE it is of high importance that teachers need to be trained what the meaning of IBE is, of what the intercultural methodology exists, how to contextualize the material and how to bring theory on IBE in practice. Once they have the curriculum, it is important they learn how to contextualize it to the local level of indigenous communities. Besides, they need to learn what kind of additional material to look for and how to combine it with the existing material. Capacity workshops can be provided by pedagogic professionals from Salamá, who currently already provide workshops on the primary school in Chixolop. But, as financial resources lack, workshops can also be provided by bilingual teachers who already understand the value and necessity of IBE.

Forth, the level of instruction is too low. Teachers need to be stimulated to improve their way of instructing and follow classes to achieve a higher educational degree. Teachers need to gain more knowledge of education (improve pedagogic skills), specifically on instructing in IBE in indigenous communities. The University of San Carlos in San Miguel Chicaj provides costless classes to achieve higher degrees in the field of education. Currently very few teachers (20-30%) make use of this opportunity, this percentage needs to be greatly increased.

The fifth recommendation is related to classroom capacity. It is highly desirable that smaller classes will be created. This will create more space for every child and more importantly, children will get more individual attention. Individual attention is especially needed in the lower grades as not all children learn to write and read as rapid as others do.

Awareness and motivation. Fortunately, not all difficulties in the provision of IBE relate to a lack of financial resources. It is also a lack of awareness and motivation which hampers the development of IBE. The lack of financial resources cannot easily be reduced, but improvements in motivation and awareness on IBE can be realized more easily.

First, many teachers do not understand the value and necessity of IBE for indigenous children and their process of development. Teachers need to become aware of the necessity and importance of IBE. Workshops on the importance and necessity of IBE should be developed and provided by the university of San Carlos in San Miguel Chicaj, by pedagogic professionals who also provide capacity workshops, or (to reduce workshop costs) by bilingual teachers who understand and value IBE. In these workshop the current situation must be compared with a desirable situation; how improvements in IBE can lead to more quality full education that strengthens child development and the cultural identity of indigenous children. Making teachers aware will hopefully also lead to more motivation among them, after they have gained knowledge of the value of implementing IBE well.

The second recommendation with respect to awareness and motivation is related to parent participation. Parent participation is very low at both primary schools, although the level of participation strongly differs per teacher. It is very important that parent participation will be improved as this will indirectly lead to higher achievement rates. First, parents need to be made aware that their participation is highly desired to foster the development process of their children.

Parents need to be informed why their participation leads to better educational achievements. They have to stimulate and motivate their children to go to school and moreover, give them time to do their homework. Besides, when possible, parents need to help and stimulate children with their homework as this will lead to a better understanding of the material, which fastens their learning process. On the other hand, parent participation must also be stimulated by teachers, by organizing meetings with parents. When the amount of meetings will be increased and scheduled, this will make more parents aware of the importance of their participation, more parents will be actively involved and have a more central role in their child's schooling process.

Now, recommendations will be given with respect to the second sub question; on what way could PLAN Guatemala assist in increasing the effectiveness of IBE and improve the livelihoods of the Achí people in the communities?

First of all, it would be most valuable when PLAN Guatemala would provide assistance with respect to the shortage of financial resources. Financial resources are most of all needed to provide children and teachers with learning material. Material fastens the learning process of children. Material enables children to work on their own level and children learn faster when they are able to visualize the learning material and on this manner learn by doing. Moreover, material gives teachers more time to provide individual attention to children. Besides, with the availability of material, time is left to play interactive/visualizing games (when children have material, teachers give less group classes in which theory is explained, as children can read about theory in their own books from now).

Second, PLAN Guatemala could strengthen teachers' competences by providing capacity workshops. Above is recommended that pedagogic professionals will provide capacity workshop, but financial resources might not be available to pay professionals who provide these workshops.

Third, PLAN Guatemala could also be the source for developing awareness programs for parents. Awareness programs will have as its aim to make parents aware what the importance of parent participation is within a child's development process.

The fourth and last recommendation is related to food, children's health and physical-mental capacity. At both schools, food is sold by volunteers and teachers and bought by the majority of the students. The majority of the food which is sold contains a lot of fat and insufficient vitamins. But, money is spent on these products. A recommendation would be to develop nutrition programs for teachers, and when possible, also for parents. During the research it became visible that many people do not know how to use available fruits and vegetables in their dishes, they stick to the few dishes they know. By providing a nutrition program people learn what healthy products do for your body, and more importantly, how to produce healthier and tasty products with local products which contain more fibers and vitamins. When children would eat products which contain more fibers and vitamins, children become healthier and their physical-mental capacity will be strengthened, which will favor their achievement rates.

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