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**A SPECIAL EVALUATION OF THE
GUATEMALA CAPS PROJECT
WITH AN EMPHASIS ON IMPACT
ON TRAINEES AND THEIR
SIGNIFICANT OTHERS**

Including a Review of Predecessor Programs

Prepared For:

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By:

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2060 North 14th Street, Suite 113
Arlington, Virginia 22201

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by

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The views and conclusions expressed in this report are solely those of the authors and should not be attributed to or interpreted as representing the official views, position, or policy of the U.S. International Cooperation Development Agency, the Agency for International Development or the Guatemala Mission.

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Preface

This report covers many topics and has many foci as it examines comprehensively the Guatemala Central America Peace Scholarships (CAPS) Program. Primarily intended as a report on an impact evaluation of the AID/CAPS Program in Guatemala, it also must address other topics that were added to the charge we received from AID/Guatemala. We were called upon to examine the history of the current CAPS Program and, in general, develop a total picture of CAPS. Moreover, the various parts and chapters of this report emphasize different modes of information gathering and reporting.

Therefore, this Preface is basically a guide to reading and using this report.

At the outset, we shall state that the busy executive, or even the methodical reader, may wish to begin by reading Chapter 7: Important Findings and Their Implications. We have avoided preparing an executive summary, but Chapter 7 serves that purpose although it covers the important findings more completely than most such summaries.

The other parts and chapters serve varied purposes in presenting the total picture of CAPS we were asked to develop.

PART I provides the background for the total picture. Chapters 2 and 3, which describe the forerunner programs and which air the current views from Capitol Hill on CAPS, rely on words to present their stories and fill out their parts of the total picture. Frequently in those chapters the actual words of persons who provided the basic information are presented. In fact, in these chapters a concerted effort is made to let significant actors in the history of CAPS speak for themselves. In effect, their own words are the most enlightening feature of this part of the report.

PART II is much less verbal. It may appeal more to readers who like to see information plotted and displayed graphically and in tables. But we hope that any reader can learn about the current CAPS by following the trail presented by Chapters 4 and 5 and culminating in Chapter 6. Chapter 4 is mostly bar graphs and pie charts that provide pictures of the total CAPS (becario) population. Chapter 5 presents our sample, in tabulations and accompanying words. And Chapter 6 utilizes 19 tables and some 25 pages of descriptive-analytical narrative to provide the core focus of the entire study. We hope that most readers will be drawn back repeatedly to Chapter 6 and its tabular displays, joining us in a search for patterns bearing on the impact of the CAPS Program on becarios and on their family members and friends.

PART III is the location of Chapter 7, the comprehensive summary of findings (cited above). Also in PART III is Chapter 8: Recommendations. In truth, the hurried reader may wish to read both Chapters 7 and 8 before digging into the main verbal and quantified content of the comprehensive report on and evaluation of CAPS.

APPENDICES complete our obligations to describe methods more fully and to at least comment on a topic, Costs and Cost Containment, which could not be addressed as completely as was originally intended.

In summary, we hope that the bulk of this report and its many modes of presenting content do not inhibit the reader from examining its findings. The reader may begin at many different points and still, we hope, be led to obtain a comprehensive picture of the CAPS Program and its impact on participants and their close associates in local communities of Guatemala.

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PART I. BACKGROUND

We begin this report on a Special Evaluation of the CAPS Program in Guatemala by looking into the background of that program. Basic information on CAPS and the assignment we received for its evaluation is presented. Then two further aspects of our study's background are addressed. First, the forerunner programs that have led to the current AID-CAPS are discussed in considerable detail, utilizing materials from interviews with important former participants and presentday spokespersons. And finally the desires for and interests in CAPS by the U.S. Congress are discussed, utilizing interviews obtained on Capitol Hill in Washington, D.C.

Chapter One: Introduction

A. Overview

A special evaluation of the Central America Peace Scholarships Project (CAPS) in Guatemala was performed for the USAID Mission to Guatemala. This examination of the CAPS project in that country was designed to complement the broad and ongoing evaluation of CAPS in each country and in the Central American region as a whole. It was to search more carefully for impact of the project generated by the scholarship experience of short-term trainees and prepare the way for future assessments of the "ripples" of impact and their reinforcement in the local communities and sub-regions of Guatemala.

A very distinctive feature of the evaluation is its primary focus on significant others in the life space of returned becarios.^{*} Specifically, while information regarding impact was obtained from a sample of becarios, the major focus of the study was on obtaining impact data from family members and friends identified by becarios as persons they had communicated with and, in their view, influenced in some way about matters relevant to the purposes and objectives of the CAPS Project.

Other distinctive features of this special evaluation include:

- An emphasis on the quantification of findings.
- The use of sampling procedures (to permit intensive questioning of representative groups of becarios, family members, and friends).

In essence, the study has provided baselines for future quantified measurement of change linked to the CAPS Project. At the same time, it provides insight into the change process and the problems and potentials of the ripple effect radiating outward from the becario through family members and friends. Importantly, it begins to develop a base of noneconomic -- perceptual, attitudinal -- information and to provide methods for future acquisition of such information vital to the assessment of development processes.

^{*}Scholarship recipients.

B. Background on CAPS

The roots of the CAPS Project are actually embedded in Title IX* of the Foreign Assistance Act passed in 1966. The emphasis of Title IX is on increasing popular participation in developing countries through the encouragement of democratic private and local government institutions. Thus as AID proceeded with its economic development efforts, it was concurrently to strengthen such democratic institutions as trade unions, cooperatives, and professional and volunteer associations.

Title IX called for a multidisciplinary approach to development: modifying the view that economic development alone was the surest generator of desired change and promulgating the view-point that concerted attention needed to be paid also to human resources development -- including political development. Moreover, the Title stated specifically that programs "use the intellectual resources of such countries and areas in conjunction with assistance provided under this Act to encourage the development of indigenous institutions."** Title IX thus shifted the emphasis from outside experts delivering their expertise to help solve the country's problems to outside experts facilitating and supporting the growth of indigenous capabilities to solve problems through the development of indigenous institutions and in-country leadership.

"Leadership training" became one of the key areas of AID assistance in promoting democracy and building democratic institutions in Latin America. And as Title IX was later overshadowed by subsequent mandates from Congress in the 1970s that stressed focusing on the disadvantaged majority and made assistance contingent on a country's adherence to civil and political rights, trainee selection and the content of leadership training were intended to reflect these new priorities.

Later we shall present a review of the leadership training programs that were precursors of CAPS and attempt to show how the CAPS Project in Guatemala has built on that base of experience and reflects the new emphases that have been mandated. Here, as we prepare to summarize the immediate origins and the substance of the current CAPS Project, it is sufficient to say that our evaluation is grounded in these earlier roots, basically, in:

*This background on Title IX and its implications is taken from "A Retrospective of AID's Experience in Strengthening Democratic Institutions in Latin America 1961-1981," Creative Associates International, Inc., September 1987.

**Quoted in Ibid., p. I-4.

- Attempting to make a contribution to the noneconomic dimensions of development and the future monitoring and assessment of non-economic processes.
- Seeking ways for the evaluation process, in itself, to be "developmental" through its involvement of indigenous persons.
- Attending to the issue of greater involvement of the disadvantaged (and women) while seeking evidence of, and ways for overcoming, socioeconomic barriers in leadership development and its rippling effects in Guatemala.

Immediate impetus for the CAPS Project came from the findings and recommendations of the Kissinger Commission (officially called the National Bipartisan Commission on Central America - NBCCA). A scholarship program was recommended that would bring selected leaders, occupying various crucial roles in Central American countries, to the United States for both long- and short-term educational experiences. These experiences are designed to provide familiarization with the United States and with democratic processes as well as to develop human capacity and work-force capabilities in target groups across a range of functional areas critical to the support of democratic processes and development objectives.

The Guatemala CAPS Center of USAID is known as PAZAC (Paz en la America Central) to differentiate it from a forerunner program, an AID-sponsored leadership training project conducted some 20 years ago at Loyola University of New Orleans. That program was subsequently transferred in the late 1960s to Landivar University, a private Jesuit university located in Guatemala City. The Landivar University Center for Leadership training is called Central de Adiestramiento Para Promotores Sociales (CAPSO). USAID funding for this program ended in the mid-1970s.

The particular focus of the current CAPS project in Guatemala is on upgrading skills and opportunities among the country's indigenous, female and economically/socially disadvantaged groups. These target groups are considered less economically, socially and educationally endowed than their predecessors in the previous leadership program. The project is regarded, not only as an effective way to counter direct Soviet Bloc efforts today among groups most affected by the civil war of the late 1970s and early 1980s, but as a way to reduce the exploitable conditions that give Soviet Bloc agents and sympathizers opportunities to promote their ideas and interests in Guatemala and across the region.

Since March 1985, when the initial Mission Country Training Plan (CTP) launched the first year program, much has been learned about

using the CAPS Project in innovative and imaginative ways with the target groups to address political objectives of the NBCCA and social and economic goals that underwrite hopes for Guatemala's stability and economic growth. Various assumptions that guide the project are still being tested, however, as ways are sought to improve the identification, selection and preparation of large numbers of candidates from the target groups for both long- and short-term scholarships.

The CAPS project in Guatemala responds to both USAID and Government of Guatemala development strategies:

- Attempting to overcome wide inequities in well-being between the modern sector and the traditional agricultural economy.
- Attempting to overcome inequities and gulfs between the Ladino and indigenous populations.
- Addressing critical institutional weaknesses, particularly in technical and administrative capacities.

In Fiscal Years 1985-86 the Guatemala CAPS focused principally on short-term scholarships. Overall, CAPS scholarships are intended to promote directly the objectives of strengthening democratic processes. Over the first two years, short-term scholarships were targeted especially at rural groups such as: teachers, cooperative leaders, community development representatives, health and education promoters, small entrepreneurs and agribusiness representatives.

The rolls for the Guatemala CAPS Project in late 1987 showed that over 1,700 short-term trainees had participated in the scholarship experience. These short-term becarios are trained for five weeks. They go to their particular training center in the United States for four weeks of intensive training and spend a fifth week in Washington, D.C. for an experience in American government. The becarios are trained in their chosen field and exposed to American society and culture. They live with American families.

Because of language barriers and to ameliorate culture shock, short-term trainees have been grouped for their training experience so that group supports can operate optimally. A groups-in-Spanish concept has been applied: training is in Spanish and is addressed to groups clustered by functional areas and by previous education and experience.

After their return to Guatemala, the becarios are invited by PAZAC to share their return experience and learn through reunions and an Alumni Association about projects other ex-becarios are doing.

PAZAC has helped the becarios form this Association which provides a framework for the following functions:

- Serving as a pool for screening committee membership recruitment.
- Identifying needs of communities and regions.
- Publishing a newsletter.

The newsletter is designed to: enhance ex-becarios self-worth (e.g., through the regular reception of mail); provide an outlet for becarios to publicize their work; provide a means of communication and for continued education.

Besides the five weeks of training in the United States, PAZAC adds a continuing education component. In this component, four months of study are extended over a two-year period following the becario's return. Four seminars and four correspondence courses constitute a part of this after-return training. These seminars and courses cover the major CAPS objectives. At the end of two years, and upon satisfactory completion of the work, the becario is awarded a "Diploma Technica" to certify his or her accomplishments in the scholarship program.

C. Mandate of the Evaluation

The emphasis in this special evaluation of the Guatemala CAPS Project, mandated by USAID Mission-Guatemala, is quantified impact measurement performed on short-term trainees and on persons who are significant others to those trainees. However, more qualitative and holistic evaluative descriptions will fill out the larger picture around this concentrated focus.

Utilizing information from existing data bases and the evaluative findings of Aguirre and Associates, and through selected interviews, the contractor is called upon to develop a complete picture of the current CAPS Project and its forerunner leadership training program.

Developing and applying an appropriate sampling methodology and instruments that permit quantification of findings, the evaluation is to expend most effort and resources on an assessment of the impact of short-term training. This assessment will concentrate on project impact on family members and friends of the trainees (or becarios), obtaining sufficient samples of relevant categories so that valid inferences can be made regarding differential impact. Thus, a major effort is made to discover the impressions of family members and friends of the United States and changes in these impressions as a result of interactions with returned becarios.

Desires of AID for "impressions" data were spelled out more completely to cover measurement of impact around the following dimensions:

- Individual self-esteem.
- Impressions of the United States.
- Attitudes toward democratic practices.
- Behaviors related to democratic practices.

It was further specified that careful consideration be given to the development and use of a questionnaire for obtaining impact data, although standardized interviews would be carefully considered as an alternative method. To facilitate quantification and "scoring" of findings, careful consideration would be given to the use of rating scales and rank-ordering in providing respondents with methods for indicating their answers.

D. Format of the Evaluation

It was foreseen that a number of problems and contingencies would arise as the evaluation went forward following its initial guidelines. Major problems, dictating feasible alternatives and requiring negotiation and agreement with AID, arose, particularly in the following areas:

- Sampling
- Instrument development and use
- Logistics of impact data collection

It soon became apparent that a broad canvassing of "significant others" via questionnaire or interviewing would not be possible. Canvassing by mail proved unfeasible and person-to-person interviewing with large numbers was not possible given time and resource constraints and the broad geographic distribution of the population to be contacted. An additional problem was that many significant others spoke and/or read a language other than Spanish. Moreover, it was quickly realized that the significant others, a completely unorganized and unarticulated group from the standpoint of the study, could best be identified and contacted (and appropriately sampled) through the becarios and information provided by them.

Therefore, it was decided to draw the sample from the becario population and to ask each selected becario to identify one family member and one friend who would then be contacted for impact information. At this point it was further decided that the becarios

too would be asked the same impact-related questions as were asked of their significant others so that comparisons between the three groups, becarios, family members, and friends, could be made and inferences even made on how and whether the becario was having an influence on the attitudes and perceptions of his particular significant others.

The standard method for obtaining impact data was through administration of a questionnaire -- usually to (separated) groups of becarios, family members and friends invited to a central location for a data gathering session, but oftentimes (as contingency plans were instituted) in one-on-one situations where the researcher sought out respondents in their homes and used the questionnaire as an interview guide.

In summary, basic parameters of the core study of impact are as follows:

- A total sample of just 101 becarios was taken from just 3 departments of Guatemala (using the 3 departments with greatest numbers of becarios).
- This initial sample led to additional samples of 101 family members and 101 friends.
- Thus the core study of impact is based on data obtained from three groups, each containing 101 persons and contributing to a total study population of 303.
- Questions asked of these groups explored the impact of the becario experience on:
 - Perceptions and ranking of priority problem areas and their improvement in the person's personal life situation.
 - Perceptions and ranking of priority problem areas and their improvement with regard to conditions in the local community.
 - Basic attitudes and predispositions toward change.
 - Perceptions and rating of most reliable sources of information about the United States.

- Perceptions and rating of various terms and phrases that express possible characteristics of the United States (including ratings of characteristics "liked most" and "liked least").
- Attitudes toward democracy (rating various possible characteristics of democracy).
- Perceptions (and ratings) of how much the U.S. democracy possesses various characteristics.

Around this core analysis, the other (basically minor) topics are also discussed and analyzed, using second-hand data from other sources and interviews conducted specifically for this study. A brief outline of the order of topical coverage in the remainder of this report is as follows:

- Description of the Forerunner Program
- Congressional Interest/Direction of the Current CAPS Program.
- Comprehensive Analysis of Impact Data Findings (around the dimensions cited above)

"Special Impact" topics are also treated; and an effort is made at the conclusion of this major Analysis Section to cite and discuss "Important Implications in the Findings."

The report concludes, in a final Summary and Recommendations Section, with:

- A Summary of Key Findings
- Recommendations
- Future Perspectives

In those perspectives, an effort is made to envision how ongoing work with becario (present and future) alumni can be vitalized and reinforced by future activities of evaluation that involve becarios and their significant others in the evaluation process.

Chapter Two: The Forerunner Program(s): The Loyola "Mystique"
in Central America

A. Loyola University Leadership Training Program

A search today for information on the program that provided a vital building block for the current CAPS Project encounters a paucity of objective, quantified data. One must rely, for the most part, on the words of former participants, whether obtained first hand or reported in previous evaluations. But in those words one feature stands out clearly: Ideas and a social philosophy have made a difference in the lives and actions of at least a few who now are attempting to orchestrate greater freedom and dignity for the many in the Central American countries, but specifically in Guatemala.

Moreover, the words expressing a philosophy for democratic development take on greater resonance and project more inspiring vision as they are spoken today by Guatemalan graduates of the program than by their former teachers in the United States:

"... the development of liberty."

"... the education of liberty and developmental change."

"...peace and democratic development...
the theme of conscience of the Latin
American countries."

"... the payment of our social debt...
in favor of those groups least favor-
ed in the country."

"amplification of the ethnic structure
of our country ... to bring about a
national identity based on historical
and ethnic realities, with a possibility
of greater solidarity, especially with
our indigenous brothers who still speak
their own languages."

These are the words and visions of high-level leaders in Guatemalan society today who associate these ideas with their experience in the Loyola University (New Orleans) Leadership Training Program. How did that program plant seeds that now seem to be growing in Guatemalan soil and producing indigenous blossomings of at least the spirit of liberty?

1. Overview

Father Louis J. Twomey, a Jesuit priest at Loyola University in New Orleans, Louisiana, initiated the Loyola Leadership Training Course and remains, even after his death, the guiding spirit of that program in the recollections of former staff and trainee-participants. The program was actually designated "The Leadership Training Course for the Youth of Central America, Panama, and the Dominican Republic," and was developed and implemented by the Inter-American Center (IAC), a Division of the Institute of Human Relations at Loyola University. Begun under an AID contract initiated June 30, 1964, the program actually predated and anticipated Title IX and its emphasis on popular participation and investment in the growth of democratic private and local governmental institutions. The program was terminated in 1971 with the withdrawal of AID funding.

During the six years of program operations, 36 courses were delivered to a total of some 1,260 participants (five candidates from each of seven countries attending each course). Ages of participants ranged from 18 to 40, and both sexes were represented.*

As described in an early (1967) evaluation by Csanad Toth, the Loyola curriculum was not a "how to do it" but a "how to be" course. It was grounded in a belief in the necessity of first developing the individual person and that such development first takes place in the realm of ideas. It did not instruct the participants, but during its six weeks the course involved them "in a thrilling expedition of self-discovery."

The Loyola training avoided the presumption of attempting to transplant "American know-how" about democracy into Latin America and, instead, directly attacked those elements in the culture of a less developed society which prevent the growth of democratic institutions and processes. The above evaluator wrote (in 1967):

"Instead of lecturing about democratic leadership, it conditions individuals to voluntarily seek and accept leadership responsibility with all that it entails in a developing democratic society. The Loyola premise is that the techniques employed by a leader not only depend on but grow out of his role as a leader. Before he is taught the crafts of leadership, so that he may not abuse his

*From Creative Associates, op. cit., p. V-3.

skill, he is inculcated with a commitment consistent with modernity instead of with the traditional political culture in Latin America."*

Among the major conditions and traditional attitudes which a heightened self-consciousness must face and overcome (cited by Toth) are:

- lack of self-confidence
- distrust
- dependence upon the "patron" system
- fear of change
- disavowal of responsibility
- oligarchic mentality.

The Loyola course, designed as a "political therapy" course and emphasizing much unlearning as well as learning, made sensitivity training a keystone of the training experience. Each 6-week course was organized into three segments:**

<u>Segment</u>	<u>Time</u>
<u>Sensitivity Training</u> , organized and conducted by experts from the National Training Laboratories utilizing Puerto Rican professionals (mainly psychologists).	1-1/2 to 2 weeks
<u>Academic Training</u> , utilizing professors and instructors from academia to: - Familiarize participants with the dynamics of change related to pursuit of political, economic, and social progress.	3 weeks

*"Evaluation of the Leadership Training Course for The Youth of Central America, Panama and Dominican Republic of the Inter-American Center, Loyola University, New Orleans, Louisiana," by Csanad L. Toth, April, 1967, Summary, p. II.

**Information on content taken from Creative Associates, op. cit. p. V-4.

- Familiarize participants with methods of problem solving/decision-making in fostering institutional change.
- Develop understanding of the cultural, economic, and political life of the U.S.
- Increase skills in planning/implementing of intra- and inter-group action projects.
- Develop understanding of how to create a democratic climate in which representatives of various sectors of society can work together toward national development and regional integration.

Action Planning, wherein participants developed individual project plans to be carried out upon their return home. 1 week

The program attempted to tie the academic to the practical and to give meaning to both. Thus the trainee was to develop an idea for a small practical and developmental project in his own community. Projects addressed such matters as building a school, or building a fence around a school; and the actions plans included giving direction and acquiring the resources -- attending to such things as who to see and who to get to do the work. Defeatism posed a real barrier: ideas were rejected when trainees returned home. So the Loyola program attempted to assist trainee projects from initiation to completion: instituting mini-grants and having trainees get in touch with AID as soon as they got off the airplane in Guatemala, for example, and to ask for support in the form of a mini-grant. And in the local community, the trainee would develop a committee, including business representation, to assist with the project. The AID follow-up, specifically in Guatemala, was through Oscar Guerra, one of the first trainees, who helped to define meaningful projects by creating a reservoir of priority community problems in Guatemala that needed to be solved.*

The academic part of the Loyola course, was composed of a series of lectures and group discussions about economic development,

*This description of the Program's linking of the academic to the practical was provided by Professor Frank Keller (Emeritus, Tulane University, and formerly on staff of the Loyola Program) in an interview.

social development, and ethics in development. Economic development, taught by economists, drew from basic theory of the great economic thinkers such as Schumpeter and Marx and showed how theories applied to specific countries. Social development was group-related and taught by sociologists, taking into account social theories of development. Ethics was taught by philosophers. No conscious effort was made to say that the Loyola program was a Christian democratic training center. But, according to Dr. Ruben Arminana, who was Director of Training and Research for the program, "we were all influenced by Christian democracy, which is a movement that blends Christian ethics with ideas on creating a society which equalizes power as much as possible, based on the teachings of Leo X." Many of the ideas germinated in the U.S. labor movement which sought leadership in labor. The program also dealt strongly with themes from the civil rights movement which was very strong at that time and in which many of the Center leaders, for example, Father Twomey, were deeply involved.*

Father Twomey's own rationale for the program stressed the importance, for participants, of understanding "that change, rather than stagnation, is a fundamental characteristic of society ... and that change from a traditional to a modern society is a critical problem that leaders from the developing nations are called upon to solve." Father Twomey also stressed the importance of the local community as the incubator of democratic processes and democratic leadership. He said:

"The motivating philosophy at Loyola University Inter-American Center is predicated on the belief that once people learn to identify, analyze and solve problems on the community level in a democratic manner, then they are prepared to exercise their role as citizens in the larger area of sectional, national and regional problems."**

2. Current Views

Oscar Enriquez Guerra is an early graduate of the Loyola program who went on to become Director of the Landivar University CAPSO Center in Guatemala City. Senor Guerra is also a former

*This description of the academic segment and philosophical underpinnings of the Program was obtained from Dr. Ruben Arminana (currently Vice President of Tulane University and formerly Director of Training and Research for the Program) in an interview.

**Quotations from Father Twomey taken from address delivered by Senator Fred Harris before the U.S. Senate and published in Congressional Record (Vol . 113, No. 37), March 8, 1967.

Congressman of the Legislature of the Republic of Guatemala. He currently is Regional Director of the Committee of Service, a social development organization in Guatemala, but operating in various countries in Central America through the auspices of the Unitarian Church.

Mr. Guerra credited the Loyola Program with having far-reaching effects in Guatemala and across the region, cultivating the growth of new ideas in civic leaders, community leaders, teachers, social workers, University professionals and also farmers/peasants (campesinos). "Loyola planted in us the seeds to believe in the dignity of man," said Mr. Guerra. "It generated within all of us the idea of the development of liberty." And he added: "The man who believes in and practices the dignity of man has success within himself and has success within his family. And the man who has success within his family also has success within his community, and as a logical conclusion, in the improvement of his country."

Mr. Guerra pointed to the Loyola Program and its generating the idea of the development of liberty as "what is giving our countries democracy in recent years." As proof he cited two current Presidents in Central America who are graduates of the Loyola Program; and he maintained that all who graduated from the Program are in important positions, working for development. Loyola program graduates have been training more and more people in the principles learned in the program. He said that he personally had trained about 13,000 persons using the ideas he received at Loyola. He spoke of people in hundreds of communities, "people with a sense or feeling for change that are now leaders of their groups and that are having a multiplier effect, that are working for liberty and for democracy and for development and growth."

Loyola, he said, was a generator and had a major role in producing these energies. And Father Twomey exemplified the principles and the philosophy behind these forces for democratic change, for Father Twomey always fought for human dignity and respect.

"Loyola gave us an initiation in sensibility, in the sensitivity training," he said. This was a vital experience for young people because sensitivity training enables one "to know oneself, one's capabilities, one's faults, one's own dignity."

And now, he said, "we have perfected the system of sensitivity training here in Guatemala. We have perfected this system for the Latin perspective. We developed a sensitivity training manual and we are capable of applying it effectively. We have studied it and have lived it and applied it. We are experts in the Latin application of sensitivity training."

Mr. Guerra suggested that the Loyola program should be revived-- reopened "not only for Central America but for all of Latin

America." He concluded: "This would be a magnificent investment for democracy and for the education of liberty and development."

Dr. Jose Miguel Gaitan is now President of the Banco de Guatemala (the Central Bank of Guatemala). He was invited by Father Twomey to contribute to the Loyola program and participated by giving lectures. "Father Twomey," he said, "designed the Loyola center as a place where leaders were prepared to carry out a form of development based on humanism -- a Christian humanism within a vision of democratic society." Many of the discussions at Loyola revolved around the issue of promoting man with his social collectivities, "searching for the manner in which individuals in developing countries, through their own initiative, can find their own destiny."

Mr. Gaitan is author of a book, El Movimiento Cooperativo en Guatemala (1986), and he credits the Loyola program with having a very positive influence on the cooperative movement in Guatemala.

The new leaders and their philosophy of social responsibility and popular democracy have blended very naturally with the new cooperative movement which now provides the major popular organization of an economic base in Guatemala. And the spirit, and the practical achievements of the cooperatives (in tune with the Loyola philosophy and approach), have shown their power in such events as the catastrophic earthquake which struck Guatemala in 1976. "When the great earthquake hit," said Mr. Gaitan, "the government constituted a petit committee to direct the national reconstruction."

The President of the Republic established this committee and named such persons as a high ranking officer to represent the armed forces and the Minister of Finance to be a coordinator of the ministers. "But he also included a representative of the people," said Mr. Gaitan, "who was charged with directing the organizations having a popular base. And these popular-based organizations named me, an ex-professor of Loyola, to serve as their representative to this committee and to work in this program of national reconstruction."

Thus, Mr. Gaitan maintained, the main human base that served to motivate and mobilize the people to reconstruct the country following the earthquake was provided by the cooperatives -- non-governmental organizations of human promotion. And the advancements these groups made in their community utilized the spirit given them in the Loyola program and its offspring at Landivar in Guatemala City. The comparison to other countries is impressive, Mr. Gaitan maintained. "The earthquake left great destruction over one-third of our terrain, including the capital. But moving through these areas today you will see no vestiges of the destruction, and you will be impressed how these areas have been reconstructed superior to what they were prior to the earthquake. And the comparison to what you

will find in other countries -- Nicaragua, Mexico, Peru and Chile -- is striking."

Mr. Gaitan pointed to further evidence of the positive influence of the Loyola Program in a document just released by the President of the Republic (a program graduate). This announcement set in motion a program to promote "the payment of our social debt" through government action "in favor of those groups least favored in this country, especially the indigenous sector." "In this document," Mr. Gaitan said, "you will find the philosophy that inspires the government [of Guatemala] and that inspires this program. It is the philosophy that they taught us at Loyola." Projecting his own vision of the direction this program to "pay the social debt" should take, Mr. Gaitan spoke of a new national identity that reflected new pride and solidarity with "our indigenous brothers" and could be achieved by "improving the quality of life without losing the historical and cultural values of Guatemala."

Dr. Jose Odilio Blanco Barahona heads a center of cooperatives' studies (CENDEC) in Chimaltenango, Guatemala. He credits the objectives and aspirations passed on by the Loyola Program with producing, indirectly, his center for studying cooperatives. He too participated in the Loyola Program, and most specifically he uses the ideas on sensitivity training, learned at Loyola, in the CENDEC program.

"It was the sensitivity training that truly motivated me," he said. "The trip to the United States and the academic part were important. But one could criticize the academic segment as being too elevated for certain persons. Certain professor's lectures and discussion sessions were at a high university level, and many of the students did not understand them. But the sensitivity training was understood by the lowest and the highest."

The sensitivity training at Loyola also motivated Dr. Blanco in his subsequent vocational pursuits. "I was 30 years old when I went to the Loyola Program," he said. "I was a 'cooperativista' because it was an interesting activity, and I had no particular interest in being one. I had a service vocation, and I liked to be in associations. But it was the Loyola sensitivity training that made me more conscientious about working in social service."

The trip to the United States and the chance to meet personally with Americans was also an extremely valuable experience. "I think the United States is exactly like our country," he said, "There are good things and there are bad things. The government is one thing and the people are another thing. While those in the Pentagon say one thing, those in the Senate say another, and the President has his own way of thinking. The people are as human as we

are and know little of politics." It was this comprehension (promoted by the Loyola experience), that behind the modern technology of the United States there were human beings with problems and defects just like those of Guatemalans, that left a lasting impression on Dr. Blanco -- and contributed greatly to his sense of the basic human bonds between people. And after the trip to the United States he met American Peace Corps Volunteers, who lived with him and traveled with him, and these experiences reinforced the experiences and the teachings at Loyola about human dignity and common human bonds -- the humanist philosophy taught there and personified by Father Twomey.

Now Dr. Blanco travels constantly to other countries of Latin America and is always encountering other ex-becarios of Loyola who now are very good "social promoters" in their communities.

Dr. Constantino Ghini was Director of the Loyola Leadership Training Project for four years (1964-1968). "It was sort of like a mystic experience for the participants," he said. "And part of its effectiveness was attributable to its orchestration, in terms of the experience the participants went through. It was like boot camp. When they came here they had defense mechanisms about Americans and about this country. They had a lot of misconceptions of the United States and its people." Everyone was a participant and a great leveling effect took place. The sensitivity training "crashed through their body of beliefs, their shells, and the ideas they had of themselves and the world. They examined themselves and were examined by their peers." The trainee's level of paranoia and defenses were shaken during the sensitivity training.

The "mystic" experience was fostered, even if not deliberately, by Father Twomey. Dr. Ghini said: "Father Twomey was a mystic. He had a strong sense of the nobility of man and the dignity of the individual and the obligation society had not to squelch the small guy. His faith was unshakable and he believed strongly in social reform and social justice. He was a very sincere man of great conviction, and he was a true humanist. He was also a very humble man. He really was what he appeared to be. Very sincere and somewhat naive in his responses. Sort of innocent and non-worldly."

"In the program, openness and honesty were emphasized," said Dr. Ghini. "We openly discussed discrimination in the United States, but we pointed out that discrimination is universal." There were a lot of dictatorships in Latin America at that time, while concurrently the Civil Rights movement was going forward in the United States. Trainees were exposed to the realities of discrimination and efforts to overcome discrimination in this country.

It was a historical time, and the program staff was composed of all sorts of nationalities, Columbians, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, Italians, Irish, Blacks, Haitians. Trainees were exposed to this

diversity. And they were also exposed to American families who were asked to host social activities, such as dinners, for the trainees. "Political training per se never took place," said Dr. Ghini. Any such "training" was indirect and came through exposure to American life and beliefs and freedom of expression. "We even had Communist agents slip into the program," Dr. Ghini said, "and we treated them with kindness and openness. And in one instance a Nicaraguan wanted a forum at Tulane University to discuss American intervention in his country, and it was allowed."

What should be done in starting a new project? "The most critical element to success is the people -- the staffing. You must have a combination of idealists and pragmatists. And you need spiritual leaders like Father Twomey -- who reflected the Catholic conservative background of most trainees and was understood by the Latins, who could identify with his philosophy. You must allow the training to develop a direction. It must be ingrained that evolution is better than revolution and that dialogue is very important and that it empowers the individual to become responsible for their own lives and for those of others. Trainees should receive the knowledge that we believe in them and that they are not alone. And by all means there should be a great deal of honesty and sincerity. The American Dream at its best should be taught or emulated in such a program."

B. The Landivar University Center for Training Social Promoters

1. Overview

In two countries of Central America -- Guatemala and Costa Rica -- the Loyola Program was able to effect a transfer of its program to an in-country setting. The Landivar University Center for Training Social Promoters, located at Rafael Landivar University in Guatemala City, is a direct descendant of the Loyola program. Begun in 1967, and funded by AID from 1967 to 1974, the Landivar Center continues to operate through support from both the private and public sectors including the Inter-American Foundation, the Catholic Church and West German Christian Democratic institutions. The Center's activities concentrated on training rural leaders in Guatemala and providing follow-up to the activities of these social promoters.

Under the agreement with AID, the Center was mandated to assist in the formation of campesino associations. It was also to provide follow-up assistance to existing groups, counsel officials of associations, and organize group training at the village level. During the AID-support period most trainees were campesinos who returned to their communities to work as volunteers on local self-help projects. An AID closing paper showed that the Landivar Center for Training Social Promoters exceeded its goals.

- Planning to train 1,222 social promo-

ters by 1974, in actuality it trained 1,619.

- No difficulty was encountered in fulfilling the promise to place 435 social promoters in development projects by 1974.

During the AID funding period, the Center offered four courses per year for campesinos with each course training thirty social promoters. Two courses per year for teachers in the rural areas were also offered through the Training and Extension Department of the Center, and these courses were designed to develop and support local leadership. The Center also held "congresses" to graduates at the regional and national levels and initiated regional courses, conducted away from the Center and also designed to train and motivate social promoters to effect creative and needed change. An advanced course for the best graduates of the Center was also instituted along with a special course for training sensitivity trainers in the methods used so successfully at Loyola (but revised by Landivar for greater applicability to the Latin American culture and life situation).

In summary, the social promoters:

- Were trained in the methodology of the diffusion of innovation.
- Became channels for the introduction of technology.
- Worked to create and reinforce local organizations that served as channels for these introductions of technology.

In addition, extensionists -- paid staff of the Landivar Center -- undertook continuing outreach activities, recruiting campesinos for the Center's courses for social promoters and also supporting trained promoters in their activities in the rural areas.*

The present Director of the Center for the Study of Cooperatives (CENDEC) in Guatemala (Dr. Odilio Blanco Barahona), a graduate of the Loyola Program, described how those transferring essentials of the program to Landivar actually improved on the

*The preceding description was adapted from Creative Associates, op. cit., pp. V-5, 6.

sensitivity training component -- which they saw as the most vital element in the Loyola approach. A number of Guatemalan professionals, preparing the program at the Landivar Center, were sent to Puerto Rico to learn more about sensitivity training. These persons included medical doctors and psychiatrists, psychologists, and professors from other disciplines who went to learn from Puerto Rican masters of sensitivity training -- many of whom had conducted part of that training at Loyola. The Landivar group seized the opportunity to develop a program equal to that of Loyola and actually adapted more to Latin American realities.

Many spokespersons for Landivar express the view, confidently, that the Landivar Center was the best program in sensitivity training in Latin America as it used that technique to prepare social promoters for work in rural areas. Oscar Guerra, early Director of the Landivar Center, stated proudly: "We have perfected the system of sensitivity training here in Guatemala ... for the Latin perspective." A sensitivity training manual has been developed. "We have studied it and have lived it and we have applied it," said Señor Guerra. "We are experts in the Latin application of sensitivity training," he added, "and we would be happy to assist with that aspect of any future leadership training program for Latin America."

Professor Frank Keller (Emeritus, Tulane University) offered his insights into the origins and early functioning of the Landivar Center. "Landivar University was a rich man's school," he said, "and there was great opposition to the social promoters program at first. But eventually it was accepted, and then the well-to-do students became involved and sometimes would adopt a village and push for a project there. This was an unexpected result and a very important one. For the first time you had the rich kids in Guatemala interested in and aware of the problems of the poor kids in the Altiplano rural areas."

Professor Keller also described how the necessary ingredients were found in Guatemala for a successful transfer of the Loyola Program to indigenous soil. He credited Oscar Guerra, early graduate of the Loyola program, with providing many of the ingredients for success. "He knew the political and social problems in Guatemala well, and he created a reservoir of community problems that needed to be solved." Guerra provided rationales for specific projects in the context of Guatemala priorities and possibilities. And he sought AID and other, public and private, sources of support. While assisting the Loyola program with its problems of follow through (until its termination in 1971), he also, apparently, tried to target and support the Landivar Center's activities so that energies expended in training social promoters were not dissipated in widely scattered efforts.

2. Current and Recent Views

According to the present Executive Director of the Landi-

var Center for Training Social Promoters, this program has changed its orientation in recent years. Mr. Marco Azurdia said: "For many years, this Center has not been involved in training social promoters as generalists in community development. For about eight years, our training capabilities and our objectives have been very specific: we train community people in specific skills in agriculture, the management and care of animals, health, community development. In reality, we do not form 'promotores sociales' in the way they were formed previously."

Mr. Azurdia indicated that the Loyola goals were no longer involved in the Center's program and have not been for many years. He maintained that today the Center has no relationship with Loyola nor with any of that program's graduates. The Landivar Center does not necessarily train those who are, or are intended to become, community leaders but trains all types of community people in practical and useful skills relevant to the development of their communities.

Mr. Azurdia not only seemed to dissociate the present-day Landivar program from generalized "leadership training" and its Loyola antecedents, he had critical words to say about the current AID/CAPS program. Also, it was not clarified specifically in the interview how Mr. Azurdia felt about sensitivity training and whether this technique was still an integral part of the Landivar Center program. There was also some confusion on his part about the purposes of the interview, which he seemed to view as part of an evaluation of his Center by AID - an agency from which he received no funding, with which he presently had no relationships, and which his program "had nothing to offer."

"One of my main criticisms of the AID/CAPS program," he stated, "is that a campesino in that program boards an airplane, eats in fancy restaurants, and goes to the United States and is exposed to a different situation, is given money, and of course his reality changes. It introduces frustration into their lives The only time they have money is when they go with the CAPS to the U.S., and when they return to their poverty they do not know how to use money. That money should be invested in bettering their livelihood here."

Mr. Azurdia attempted to emphasize the point that his program was conducted within the reality of the campesinos. He also felt that the selected becarios, upon their return, tended to think of themselves as superior and did not really apply their ability and learning to assist in the development of their community. "The people they are to lead or help do not like them after they return," he said.

Mr. Azurdia was also critical of personnel changes at AID that worked against continuity in the AID/CAPS program. He maintained that a program like AID/CAPS, with its many potential negatives, had to be managed by very sensitive people who have been involved for a long time and are able to understand -- "not like the temporary AID

personnel they have." He also was upset that, apparently, the distinction between Landivar and AID/CAPS had not been publicized sufficiently. "There are people who call here all the time to ask to go to the U.S. These inquiries are taxing on us and our resources."

What was his solution? "There are many 'Organizaciones no-Governmentales' that can provide training here in Guatemala. Instead of sending campesinos to the U.S., why not leave them here and have us train them?"

Further recent insight into the Landivar Center program, its current problems and emphasis, can be gleaned from a report produced in 1985 by Dr. Gerald Murray, an anthropologist who studied the rural Guatemala credit projects funded by the Inter-American Foundation (IAF) and operating through the Landivar Center.*

Dr. Murray viewed the Landivar Center program as one deeply grounded in a self-definition as an educational institution, and one devoted to a philosophy that the individual person must develop first in the realm of ideas,** but which was now facing up to the dire need for material resources in the promotion of development. The study he performed for IAF analyzed an effort by that Foundation to provide resources through "credit projects." Murray wrote of the "awakening to realities":

"The graduates of [Landivar] CAPS courses were (and still are) simply sent back to their communities. They were given a diploma, and the honorific title of 'Promotor Social.' But this title has always been at least somewhat fictitious. It was totally up to the individual, on his or her own initiative, to become leaders in their own social promotion activities -- which ... only a fraction of the graduates ever succeeded in doing.

"In recognition of the need for follow-up ... [Landivar] CAPS instituted the role of Extensionista. The extensionist ... has al-

*Gerald F. Murray, Promotores, Patrullas, and Cash Flows: An Analysis of Credit Projects in Rural Guatemala (Report submitted to IAF, May 12, 1985).

**Murray does not mention the Loyola antecedents of the Program although he clearly detected manifestations of those antecedents. Moreover, when he cites the early Landivar emphasis on generalized sensitivity training he associated it historically with a technique "then in vogue in the Peace Corps...."

ways been a salaried employee of [Landivar] CAPS. In line with the emphasis on the power of ideas,' the earliest definition of the extensionist role emphasized continuing education of the course graduates. Neither the extensionist nor the promoter had any material resources; their power rather was to be in the realm of ideas and of community organization."*

So Dr. Murray saw material resources for community projects as the great need in the Landivar-CAPS program. In analyzing, in 1985, the successes and failures of the credit program funded by IAF, he saw the continuing problems of reorienting key roles in this new emphasis on socioeconomic projects: income-generating loans to village groups, financed with money from a revolving fund. "[Landivar] CAPS extensionistas had come to define themselves as educators and felt very uncomfortable with the responsibilities and implications of arriving in communities bearing, not only messages, but also specific resources," wrote Murray. "It was especially threatening because the extensionista had to deliver these resources in a way that the groups would return them -- they were for the most part loans, not grants."**

Murray did verify that the Landivar CAPS credit projects truly reached out to the disadvantaged and predominantly indigenous population in the most remote highlands of the Antiplano. By 1985, 45 credit projects had loaned money to communities for the following types of activities: agricultural production (34 projects); animal production (5); other projects (6).***

His recent analysis, combined with the current views of the Director of the Landivar Center, highlight major themes in present-day operations of the Center: (1) the need (and search) for tangible resources for community projects of development; (2) the (apparent) shift to practical skill training and away from generalized leadership training.

C. Assessment of Important Features

1. Selection Process

Initially, selection for the Loyola program was done by AID officials in the various Central American countries (each of six

*Ibid., p. 9.

**Ibid., p. 10.

***.Ibid., p. 36.

countries sent five trainees to each course). Dr. Armifana (who directed Training and research for the Loyola Program) said: "The AID officials were usually education or program officers, and the trainees were people they knew or that were known to the AID staff or by a labor, community or civic group." Loyola did participate to some extent, in that AID would send resumes of the applicants for review and recommendation by the Center. "We looked at their backgrounds and potential," said Dr. Ghini (who headed the program for four years), "and communicated on preferences to USAID, and the final decision was made by them." Trainees were selected from various sectors, including: public health and welfare; cooperatives and credit unions; university students; rural community and civic affairs leaders; teachers, administrators, and planners.

"We were not receptive to suggestions of candidates by Central American governments," Dr. Keller (on the Loyola staff) maintained, "but some local government officials were selected. At one point Tachito Somoza, son of the dictator in Nicaragua, suggested we select people from his party and he would see they promoted the program in the evaluation. We laughed at him." Dr. Keller said that Loyola tried to restrict government intrusion in the selection process as much as possible. He indicated that the selection process changed, for the better (he felt), through time. A group of participants who completed the program were asked to suggest others. And people in the Embassy who had contacts in Guatemala, such as the labor attache, were quizzed about candidates. Then after Oscar Guerra completed the program and began to work in Guatemala to assist the program and eventually head the Landivar Center, he helped with selection and recommended all levels of education and age. Thus it appeared that selection of Guatemalan candidates became more democratized than was the case with the other countries sending trainees to the Loyola program.

A report on the first six Loyola courses, prepared for AID in November 1965,* contained information on trainee characteristics that provides a profile of the results of the early selection process. Based on findings on 172 trainees, major characteristics included:

Sex

Male	-	86.6%
Female	-	13.4%

*"Leadership Training Course for The Youth of Central America and Panama," Loyola University, New Orleans, Louisiana, November 1, 1965.

Marital Status

Married	-	45.3%
Single	-	54.7%

Education Level

University	-	50.6%
Normal/Tech School	-	22.7%
Secondary	-	21.5%
Elementary	-	5.2%

Age

Under 20	-	2.9%
20 - 30	-	62.2%
31 - 40	-	32.9%
Over 40	-	2.9%

Employment

Education	-	31.4%
Government Service	-	20.3%
Student	-	18.0%
Agriculture	-	6.4%
Cooperatives	-	5.8%
Law	-	4.75
Business	-	4.7%
Clerical	-	2.3%
Communications	-	1.7%
Engineer	-	1.7%
Finance	-	1.2%
Medicine	-	.6%
Labor Union	-	.6%
Social Work	-	.6%

In the Landivar program, selection reached much more to the rural and disadvantaged populations in Guatemala. An assessment by Creative Associates (reported in September 1987) stated:

"Selection of participants and instructors was done with the cooperation of the Government of Guatemala's Rural Development Agencies and with private institutions in Guatemala. In this process, the [Landivar] Center's method of selecting participants was different and more effective than Loyola's. This was because private and public local agencies aware of individual's capabilities were providing suggestions to the Center for Training Social

Promoters and trainees selected had comparable educational backgrounds. Most trainees were campesinos from the rural areas."*

Assessing the recent Landivar efforts to provide credit loans to individuals and groups in the Guatemala Altiplano, Dr. Gerald Murray concluded (in 1985) that Landivar did truly target and reach the remote Indian villages and within the villages worked with those villagers who were not among the wealthier. He wrote:

"The beneficiaries of this revolving fund all live in aldeas, many of which are served by no other development institutions. In the Altiplano, the villages served are all Indian. And within communities I found that the credit is being channeled, not to the wealthier sectors, but to the middle and lower sectors. In short, [Landivar] CAPS must be judged as doing an outstanding job at channeling the funds to those sectors that are most in need of the funds."**

2. Political Climate

The Loyola program was initiated at a time "before the great repression in Guatemala," according to Dr. Keller. But beginning in 1967, and during the late 1960s to the later 1970s, insurgent activity increased and extremists took brutal measures that in many cases fell on agents of peaceful social change. It was a time when there were many dictatorships in Latin America. Dr. Keller said that this was the period of the Mano Negra Death Squads, "where they listed in the newspapers people that would be killed." Some 750, or about half, of the Guatemalans trained in the AID-supported Loyola and Landivar programs were the victims of political violence --assassinated by extremists of both the political right and left.***

*Creative Associates, op. cit., p. V-6.

**Murray, op. cit., p. 71.

***Our research never completely clarified how many who attended the Loyola Program were assassinated. The impression obtained was that most victims were persons trained in the Landivar Program. However, the assessment by Creative Associates speaks to the "deaths of many Loyola graduates in Guatemala ..." (p. v-8).

Evidence of continuing sensitivity about association with AID-supported leadership training because of the violent results was identified by Creative Associates in difficulties in locating individuals in Guatemala willing to discuss the Loyola or the Landivar Center programs. The report by Creative Associates says:

"Only one interview was conducted on the topic of leadership training in Guatemala and under very guarded circumstances. The interviewee indicated that even the certificate that the trainees received stating that they were future leaders and change agents for the youth of Guatemala was dangerous for them because others were suspicious concerning the types of changes the returned trainees would have instigated."*

Dr. Murray in his 1985 assessment of the credit loan programs of Landivar, although referring at one point to "the violence in the 70s," goes on to speak of the military and political events which have disrupted life in rural Guatemala during the past decade. He writes:

"During my trip [1985] I heard hundreds of references to 'la situacion de ahora,' the euphemistic label applied by Guatemalans to the guerrilla activities and to the preventive and retaliatory actions taken by the army and by civilian-dressed death squads against thousands upon thousands of villagers and townspeople. This situation has profoundly affected social organization in rural Guatemala, and has set clear parameters to the types of activities which an organization such as [Landivar] CAPS can safely carry out."**

Thus Dr. Murray indicates that the violence of "a period of several terrible years"*** (apparently now ended) continues to influence rural social organization and the activities the Landivar program can safely carry out. He hastens to add that Landivar-CAPS personnel "are amused and occasionally irritated by the constant questioning they get as to whether 'one can do development under conditions of violence.' The major barrier to development, they say,

*Creative Associates, op. cit., p. V-10.

**Ibid., p. 14.

***Ibid., p. 10.

is not the violence, but rather the pre-existing land scarcity that sabotages most real hopes of development in highland communities."* Murray also states that none of the Landivar-CAPS salaried extensionists has been a victim of the political violence (although some have been interrogated about their activities).

It should be noted that our own interviewing to explore the predecessor programs did not encounter the same fears or sensitivities cited by Creative Associates. Informants contacted by us (January 1988) spoke freely and proudly of their association with Loyola and Landivar and the far-reaching effects of those programs. Most pointed out, as did the Creative Associates researchers, that the tragedy of the assassinations cannot be linked directly to the victims' association with the specific AID-supported programs: the victims were visible leaders and active agents of change who were targeted because of their roles in their society, and were the types of persons selected for the training. Still Creative Associates in its report did cite comments by the one interviewee that the certificate of training program completion was dangerous, and the report by that firm saw fit to set down as a lesson for the future: "A.I.D. has to recognize the potential risk to participants for having been involved in a leadership training program. The political climate in the host country needs to be monitored carefully to determine the level of risk involved."** We should also caution that even though there has been a great deal of improvement in the repressive aspects of the political situation in Guatemala, the Creative Associates' statement of caution should hold even at this time of democratic change.

Another aspect of "political climate" with respect to the Loyola program needs to be considered. A number of our interviewees indicated that the Civil Rights Movement in the United States, at its peak as the Loyola program began, had an influence both on the origin of the program through Father Twomey's efforts and on the curriculum and the trainees. Dr. Armiñana said:

"In the early 1960s, during the heyday of the Civil Rights Movement, Father Joseph Twomey, who had a very strong sense of social justice and became very close to the U.S. Labor Movement and an active worker in the Civil Rights Movement, felt that one of the ways to stop communism was to improve life in Latin America through a

*Ibid., p. 11.

**Creative Associates, op. cit., p. VI-8.

leadership training program. He was a close friend of Congressman Boggs of Louisiana who had a brother who was a Jesuit. Father Twomey asked Boggs for help, and got it."*

Originally the program was conceived to develop labor leaders, but that goal conflicted with an existing AFL-CIO program in Latin America. An alternative conceptualization focused on social, political and economic change and the training of youthful leaders in those areas.

The U.S. Civil Rights influence was cited, both positively and negatively, by several informants. The Civil Rights Movement presented many opportunities for communicating the message that the United States still had many problems to solve and that Americans were free to address those problems (and the trainees were free to discuss them). Thus the Civil Rights Movement in the U.S. became a major theme in many of the trainees' formal classes and discussions. This helped to overcome trainee suspicions of "whitewashing" American democracy and of "brainwashing" through teaching a closed ideology. At the same time, however, some Loyola graduates felt that preoccupation in the curriculum with U.S. Civil Rights themes sometimes precluded more relevant discussion and case studies focused specifically on Central and Latin America and their distinctive problems of peaceful social change.

It should be noted that "political climate" should be considered both in Central America and in the United States in designing training programs sensitive to Central American realities and to possible biases introduced by a current sociopolitical climate in the United States.

3. Influences in Guatemala Political and Leadership Structure

Our report has already indicated how the Loyola Program and Landivar have had far-reaching and (apparently) enduring effects on Guatemalan leadership and politics. Let us review and summarize our findings in this regard.

- The current President of Guatemala is a graduate of the Loyola Program; and some of his current program pronouncements -- especially regarding the "social debt" of government to the disadvantaged -- were cited to us as echoes from the Loyola experience and its basic concepts.
- The current President of the Banco de

Guatemala was a professor-lecturer in the Loyola program and currently writes books about the cooperative movement; and this man was chosen to represent the "organizations having a popular base" on a committee appointed by the President to direct national reconstruction after the earthquake in Guatemala. Moreover, the President of the Banco has been given the mandate by the President of the Republic to implement the goals of the national program for the repayment of the social debt of the country.

- The manager of the Center for the Study of Cooperatives in Guatemala is a graduate of the Loyola Program; and he, along with other prestigious graduates, gives great credit to Loyola for the vigor of the cooperative movement since the principles taught at Loyola regarding social responsibility, the dignity of man and the development of liberty are complementary to the principles of the cooperative movement.
- Oscar Guerra, the Loyola graduate who helped the program greatly after returning to Guatemala, directed the Landivar Program, was a Congressman in Guatemala, and is still highly regarded as a leader in a private sector social development organization, said that he personally had trained 13,000 or more persons using the principles taught at Loyola.
- In addition, all three are very close friends of the President of Guatemala.

As indicated in our earlier description of the Loyola program, it was the inspirational words and visions of these men as much as the evidence they pointed to that convinced us of the enduring and pervasive influence of the Loyola and Landivar programs on the Guatemalan political and leadership structure. The President of the Banco de Guatemala, citing the Loyola-influenced approach to priority programs proclaimed by the President of Guatemala, saw a future role for the Central Bank in these programs. He said, "I have a mandate from the President to look for those mechanisms that can effectuate the payments of our social debt to our least favored brothers." Also, he said, "It might be that the Central Bank could assume a leadership role in directing efforts toward bettering the condition of life in the least developed sectors of the country." With a history of having been called upon to represent "people's organizations" during

reconstruction following the earthquake, a future leadership role for the President of the Central Bank in "the development of liberty" and paying a "social debt" to the least advantaged in Guatemala clearly indicates the influence of Loyola reaching into the economic and political realms to foster democratic leadership. That leadership stands ready to work together to attack problems on a number of fronts.

Hearing this enthusiastic chorus from Loyola graduates, we were surprised at the current views of the present Executive Director of Landivar's Center. That Center, he said, no longer trains social promoter generalists, nor, he implied, does it utilize the sensitivity training (refined for the Latin American perspective by earlier leaders at Landivar). Moreover, Mr. Azurdia (the Executive Director) made it clear that the Loyola goals are not now involved in the Landivar CAPS and his Center no longer has any relationships with the Loyola Program or its graduates.

Thus, while we detected far-reaching effects of Loyola in the present high-level leadership structure in Guatemala, and much interest there in reviving Loyola-type leadership programs, at Landivar today we found strong dissociation from the Loyola heritage and its current disciples. This bifurcation is important because it reflects a possible chasm between higher levels of leadership -- still proclaiming and advocating democratic goals and processes -- and those who presently, at Landivar, perform much of the developmental outreach at the grassroots level, particularly in rural areas and among the disadvantaged. Can future leadership training build bridges across this (possible) chasm and between these levels? Father Twomey saw democratic leadership being developed first at the local community level and carrying forward to the broader perspectives of subregion and nation. Can the new wave of locally-cultivated leaders come to a meeting with the current higher echelons to promote further social progress and greater participation by the least advantaged groups in Guatemalan society?

4. Involvement of Participants in Current Community Activities

The preceding discussion has shown how many participants in the Loyola Program have become high-level leaders in Guatemalan society and have trained many local community leaders in the ideas of conscientious democratic action -- much of it now manifested in the operations of cooperatives. Oscar Guerra said he could show us hundreds of communities where people have a feeling for change and how leaders of their groups in those communities are having a multiplier effect, working for liberty and democracy and for development and growth and influencing others to follow this path. Miguel Gaitan's description of grass-roots organization that inspired and produced local reconstruction after the earthquake is another example of

effects of Loyola and Landivar seen in local involvement. And Creative Associates wrote of Landivar and the campesinos it trained from the rural areas: "Records show that campesinos trained at the Center returned to their communities to work voluntarily on a wide variety of self-help projects at the local level."* AID reports reveal that, during the time of AID funding for Landivar, the promised number (435) of social promoters had been placed in development by 1974.

But the nagging question remains, particularly at the local level and with regard to the less advantaged: "Are resources being provided so that leaders can have a chance to achieve objectives of a local development project?"

"The graduates of [Landivar] CAPS courses were (and still are) simply sent back to their communities. They were given a diploma, and the honorific title of 'Promotor Social.' But ... it was totally up to the individual, on his or her own initiative, to become leaders in their own social promotion activities -- which, of course, only a fraction of the graduates ever succeeded in doing."**

So, again, there is a different impression of "involvement" depending on perspectives. Graduates of Loyola (and involved in earlier operations of Landivar) see, from a high-level perspective, the penetration of basic democratic ideas all across Guatemala and its local communities and can point to the evidence of local democratic energies in the cooperative movement and in the experience of earthquake reconstruction (when, it is presumed, most material resources for reconstruction came from outside local communities). But those closest to the current Landivar Program view the picture of program participant involvement in current community activities far more critically. Dr. Murray said of the "consciousness raising" by social promoters: "...villagers were quite blunt to [Landivar] CAPS extensionists about the futility of preaching development without providing any material resources."*** And this reaction has led Landivar CAPS to seek ways to channel resources through extensionists who attempt to support and assist trainee graduates while also seeking other persons and groups who can be assisted in development. For in the past extensionists were to be catalyzing agents, linking up promoters and villagers to resources held by other institutions.

*Creative Associates, op. cit., p. V-6.

**Murray, op. cit., pp. 8-9.

***Ibid., p. 9.

They rarely, if ever, brought resources to the communities -- nor did the social promoters themselves.

But this problem of the resources needed to enable meaningful community involvement to occur has troubled the leadership training programs since their inception. It was addressed very early, and still is today, as the problem of "follow-on."

5. Follow-on and Reinforcement Activities

There are varying views among the Loyola "old hands" about the adequacy of follow-on activities.

Toth, in his 1967 evaluation of the Loyola Program, said that "Loyola can condition people for popular participation alone, it cannot guarantee it."* He absolved Loyola from responsibility for follow-up with graduates, saying "this should be the task of the Missions benefitting from Loyola's services." The training was only a potential investment for development. Follow-up should come from the Missions attempting to integrate the training into other development projects and their objectives. Toth wrote: "If the trained individuals are not given the opportunity to practice what they are committed to do and if programs do not exist to harness into concrete accomplishment the energies emanating from their motivations, the impact of the training might eventually be lost."* At the same time, he congratulated USAID/Guatemala as being the only Central America mission attempting to integrate Loyola with the Mission's overall programming.

Apparently Toth was able to detect, in 1967, the AID plans for the Landivar Program and perhaps also the work of Oscar Guerra in assisting with in-country follow-on. Indeed, according to Dr. Keller, from the outset (or at least very early) the Loyola program was aware of the problem of defeatism and took steps to overcome it. Thus the practical projects component of the Loyola course attempted to give trainees experience in planning and implementing specific projects in their communities; and efforts were made to see that projects succeeded so the trainee would be seen (and would see himself) as a successful leader.

As described earlier in this report, mini-grants were arranged and AID/Guatemala would be approached by the trainee for additional support and even, at times, more money for the mini-grant. As the trainee worked on his project, he was to develop a local

*Ibid.

committee including persons who could be tie-ins to the business sector; and progress reports were to be prepared by the trainee. Dr. Keller indicated that Oscar Guerra played a major role in the follow-on. He did follow-ups for AID in Guatemala and, as the Loyola Program (and its Landivar counterpart) proceeded, he became a principal identifier and definer of in-country community problems that should be addressed by Loyola trainee projects. Keller also indicated that, through time, the Loyola Program sought ways to have trainees identify their own practical projects before they came to New Orleans -- since insufficient information for realistic project planning was available in New Orleans.

Dr. Keller, and others, also cited a newsletter, "Francamente," which was sent every month to all trainee graduates, informing them about what other graduates were doing. Moreover, individual correspondence was maintained with as many graduates as possible. The 1965 report (summarizing the first six Loyola courses) stated, pridefully, that 62 percent of the 146 graduates of the first five groups corresponded with Loyola personnel after graduation, and a total of 288 letters were received from participant graduates between November 1964 and September 1965.

Other Loyola principals were highly critical of follow-on and of a selection policy which did not lead to the development of a "critical mass" in a trainee group. Dr. Armiñana, who directed Training and Research in the Loyola Program, said that although all trainees went home with a purpose, many of their projects did not get done. He said: "There was a lack of follow-up, and when they went home they lost control. There was no plan to utilize these people." He added: "If there is no network to follow you, you are left very vulnerable -- because as a change agent you have been 'packaged for failure.'" "What failed is the system," Armiñana said. "When you throw a rock into the water, it makes a big splash but the ripples dissipate little by little. With our program returnees, after the first few ripples there was a block wall and their ripples crashed against a powerful structured system and were destroyed.

Dr. Armiñana's major criticism, and idea for change in a future program, revolved around the need to create a "critical mass." "In our program we had too many different kinds of people and functionaries who were never connected and could not easily develop an 'old boy network' back home. The participants were very different professionally." "What is needed," he said, "is to concentrate training in a specific geographic area or profession and to promote the creation of an old boy network." Training should be part of a plan, with trainees prepared to work in a plan, linked to the AID Mission, such as training public administrators or clerks in municipalities. According to Armiñana, the critical elements for success for the trainee are:

- A plan

- A critical mass
- A support system.

As previously noted, the Landivar Program has suffered from follow-on problems too, although Creative Associates commended its achievements of numeric goals for placing projected numbers of the social promoters in local development projects during the AID-supported years; and Landivar did create and staff the role of "extensionista" whose assignment was to link up social promoters and villagers to the resources of other institutions. While this approach has clearly taken a step beyond leaving trained change agents hanging out alone and unassisted, according to Dr. Gerald Murray, it still does not respond sufficiently to the pressing need for bringing material resources to the local communities that can be used by newly motivated and skilled leaders utilizing creative techniques and forms of organization.

6. Similarities to and Differences from CAPS

Some similarities of the predecessor training programs to the current CAPS in Guatemala can be listed briefly:

- A training experience for Guatemalans conducted in the United States.
- Held at training centers operated by institutions of high learning in the U.S.
- Emphasis is on developing problem-solving leaders trained through use of a case study method (at least partly used by Loyola and Landivar; but Loyola stressed ideas in an academic program and new self-consciousness and enhanced social consciousness in the sensitivity training experience).
- Both old and new programs have utilized a newsletter as a follow-on to the training experience.

Differences are far more numerous than similarities, although recently the Landivar Program (and perhaps earlier Landivar) had more similarities to the current CAPS than the one at Loyola. Differences include:

- Selection in the current CAPS seeks the socially and/or economically disadvantaged and indigenous persons from rural areas; and major efforts are also made to select

sizable proportions of women. The needs of geographic areas for leaders-organizers in various content areas (health, education, etc.) are considered.

- The selection process reflects more differences than similarities. Initially, community leaders knowledgeable in specific areas of work recommended candidates for the current CAPS. Now recommendations come from community leaders and returned becarios. Individuals then apply to CAPS. (The universities providing training make no inputs to selection.)
- In the selection process, CAPS does the initial screening. Then the candidates passing this review are screened by different committees whose members know the candidates' fields of study and their home geographical areas. (The CAPS Director makes sure that screening committee members are people who know training needs of areas and the needs of potential becarios.) Names of the successful candidates are forwarded to CAPS which sends the candidates' files to AID Washington. AID-Washington selects the becarios.
- Thus selection seeks to meet needs identified by geographic areas and subject or skill areas.

Another difference for this latest training-in-the-U.S. program is in the preparation of the becarios. Considerable time is spent in preparatory orientation of becarios. They are given verbal and then written accounts of what is expected of them regarding: passport application, medical examination, luggage requirements, flight information, money exchange and other details regarding the journey. Much time is spent reducing anxiety. "Walk-throughs" are carried out regarding the trip, and becarios are assisted in filling out required forms. They are also given a pretest, a name tag and a carry-on bag with the AID emblem on it. Thus considerable articulation of the group occurs as preparations are made for the trip. Moreover, some effort is made to achieve sufficient group-homogeneity to maximize group support for the learning experience. A given group is being prepared for a given type of training -- as workers in one of numerous fields like health, education, cooperatives, business development, etc. An abbreviated list of the becario groupings in 1985 indicates the different types of training provided different groups of becarios:

- Health Promoters
- Small Rural Enterprises
- Bilingual Promoters
- Health Managers
- Non-Traditional Exports
- Cooperatives Administration
- Non-Formal Education

There are also major differences in training content and methods. Current CAPS does not use the sensitivity training technique. The case study method predominates while academic lecturing is minimized. Short-term becarios are trained for five weeks (compared to six weeks in the Loyola course) and spend their fifth week in Washington, D.C. for an experience in American government (also a departure from the Loyola program). Becarios are trained in their chosen field and exposed to American society and culture. They live with American families (rather than merely being exposed to families through brief, hosted social affairs as in the Loyola program).

Curricula for the current CAPS program are prepared by the schools contracted to host the becario groups. These schools send staff to different regions of Guatemala to survey needs and problems. From information gathered, the staff of a training center develop case studies. These case studies are used to provide trainees with realistic models of problems within their own communities. The becarios are then asked to develop their own case studies based on real life issues or problems in their communities. The training centers train from "within"; they do not superimpose theories and/or materials that the becarios consider irrelevant. The becarios themselves bring the content to the training and are assisted in working it through in models of problem situations relevant to their own communities.

Follow-on activities of current CAPS include a newsletter (as was used in the Loyola program) and other activities to maintain linkages among an alumni organized formally into an Alumni Association. This association provides screening committee members for future selection and helps to identify needs of communities and regions that can be addressed through future training. It publishes the newsletter that provides an outlet for continued communication among becarios.

Other follow-on in current CAPS not seen in the Loyola program includes:

- A continuing education component: four months of study extended over a two-year period; and four seminars and four correspondence courses which are a part of the after-return training.
- At the end of two years and upon satisfactory completion of the continuing education work becarios are awarded a "Diploma Technica."
- Regular reunions of alumni serve further to facilitate sharing of after-return experiences, promote cooperation and mutual support, and bolster morale.

The current CAPS is groping for ways to develop reinforcing networks among returned trainees and to promote continued identification by becarios with the training experience and their associates in it. At present, the locus of this effort and its orchestration remains centralized at the CAPS headquarters in Guatemala City. Thus the fabric for trainee relationships that, it is hoped, can be strengthened through time to support and reinforce individual and group efforts in many subregions and communities of Guatemala, is presently being woven through activities at a central location.

7. Lessons Applied to Present CAPS Project

In the preceding description of current CAPS procedures and their differences from the Loyola Program, several "lessons" are reflected. The major ones are:

- a. More of the disadvantaged, women and the less educated needed to be reached. Training needed to reach across more levels and echelons in society -- especially to those not presently in higher echelons or more advantaged positions and socioeconomic conditions.
- b. Clustering of trainee groups was needed to achieve greater homogeneity for the learning experience.
- c. Training should address more specifically identified priority problems and needs in Guatemala.
- d. Training should be tailored more to the realities of Guatemalan communities.

- e. Greater, purposive efforts should go into follow-on activities to support and reinforce returned becarios in their local development efforts.
- f. Effort should be made to achieve numbers and "mixes" in becario groupings that can achieve "critical masses" of trained people working together with greater chances to bring about change.

Points (e.) and (f.) are closely related; and while the current CAPS has taken new steps under (e.) to provide continuity and reinforcement in follow-up, at present the current CAPS leadership seems more aware of and concerned about "critical mass" (point f.) than it is addressing this problem directly. For example, we did not detect that "selection" now sought clusters of local persons, perhaps from different fields, who could work together and interdependently on identified local/subregional problems; nor did we detect that training itself now attempted to prepare such problem-solving teams that could return and form a "critical mass" in their local community. Moreover, present actions under point (e.) (follow-on) were still orchestrated from a central location although they seemed intended to promote mutual support and networking "out in the territory" in myriad local communities and subregions.

Perhaps lessons learned in the current CAPS will point the way to improvements on both points (e.) and (f.) while suggesting how these two problems can be solved (or at least addressed) together. Achieving "critical masses" may call for experiments in training (and rewarding) teams as much as individuals. It may at least require facilitating the formation of teams once becarios return. As we continue with this report and its analysis we will be looking for ways to move the locus of networking and reinforcing activities outward to local and subregional problem settings and in so doing to contribute to the development of "critical masses" for developmental action.

Chapter Three: Congressional Interest, Direction and Intent

This special study of the CAPS program in Guatemala also has a responsibility to assess whether the current training program is fulfilling the desires of the United States Congress. Is CAPS fulfilling its original intent? What are the greatest concerns regarding shortcomings from the vantage point of Capitol Hill?

In exploring these and other questions, eight interviews were conducted on Capitol Hill. Informants contacted were key Congressional staff members serving on important relevant committees in both the House and Senate and/or serving as aides to important members of the Congress who had a particular interest in this type of legislation. Committees represented include: the Committee on the Budget; the Foreign Operations Sub-Committees of both the House and Senate; the House Committee on Foreign Affairs; the Senate Committee on Appropriations; and the House Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs.

Although five other staff members of the House and Senate were contacted, they refused to be interviewed because they claimed that they did not know enough about the program to be able to answer our questions (which were mailed to them beforehand).

An interesting byproduct of this exploration of Congressional views and current interest was the discovery that most informants had very little information about the CAPS Program and few could speak to the Guatemala CAPS with any knowledgeability whatsoever. Only three of the eight informants seemed relatively comfortable in their knowledgeability of CAPS and one of these proclaimed a special interest in such training programs because she is Legislative Assistant to Senator Bob Graham of Florida who started his own Central America training program when Governor of Florida, using funds of that state along with those from the private sector. (Most of her comments were about the Florida Program, and beyond that, she was familiar only with the Panama Program.)

Two interviewees stated, simply, that they received no information on CAPS and could not speak intelligently about it. Two said they received information basically from AID testimony before Congress and would have difficulty answering questions about CAPS. One said he relied on Charlie Flickner and Jim Bond (the two Congressional staffers whose views will be relied upon in this discussion) for information on CAPS. And the assistant to Senator Graham said she became familiar with the program through assisting Graham on his program and, therefore, now asked about CAPS when she talked to AID.

The less informed respondents, groping to recall the consensus view on the will of Congress, tended to agree that Congress was most interested in insuring that the program reached down to the less advantaged, women, and varied ethnic groups (and some were not sure it

did). One commented that CAPS should be publicized more. He said: "The USIA which has 240 scholarships gets good press, while AID has 10,000 scholarships and we do not hear anything about it." Another felt that arrangements should be made to have the CAPS trainees visit Congress and perhaps have a meeting with key staffs and Senators and Congressmen when they visit Washington during their trip to the United States.

Several of the staffers interviewed expressed an interest in AID keeping the Congress informed about the program, its successes, progress and problems on a periodic basis. One of them stated that he wanted to be better educated about the program, how it is different from other participant training programs, "... either through a briefing paper a telephone call or some form of explanation about the program and how it is faring."

Charlie Flickner (International Affairs Analyst, Committee on the Budget, United States Senate) has kept on top of CAPS and was completely comfortable in speaking to all facets of the program and Congressional intent and current satisfaction. He receives most of his information from senior officials of AID/Guatemala, the Mission Director and current Ambassador ("Who is a close personal friend"). He also receives periodic updates from the AID/Washington Office, the LAC Bureau and Joe Carney. Charlie pays visits to the missions on occasion, and he knows most about the Guatemala and Costa Rica CAPS.

Flickner received special instructions from Senator Domenici (a member of the Kissinger Commission) to monitor the CAPS program; therefore, it has been one of his prime areas of interest. He wants it to be a balanced program: "Big enough to have an impact but not so big it cannot be managed." Was the program presently fulfilling the original intent of Congress? "Yes, after being given a 'jump start' at the Santo Domingo LAC Mission Directors' meeting. However, the Guatemala and Costa Rica projects are closest to that original intent, which was to be original and reach out to various segments of the society, especially to those not benefitted by other types of U.S. scholarships and who otherwise would not be able to get to this country." But Flickner said he also emphasized that the missions should not exclude middle-class youth and highly motivated individuals who cannot come to the U.S. on their own.

The aspects that concern the Congress most, he said, are:

1. The integrity of the selection process.
2. Follow-through when the scholars return to their communities.
3. How to get the scholars to continue to obtain information -- stay in touch with the Mission people and the other scholars.

As to the most essential parts of the trainees' experiences in the United States, Flickner said: "We want them to experience the variety and diversity of American culture, including urban ethnics and rural populations. We want them to obtain a broad view, see more than one aspect and not just campus life. We would like to see, for example, rural Central American potters connecting with potters here and discussing such things as marketing strategies. And we think it's a useful balance to have them go through Washington. But they shouldn't be trained here."

Mr. Flickner had seen some practices by contractors he would not condone, although most (he felt) did a good job. The becarios should never be treated like cattle, he said, but with dignity and concern -- in effect, like VIPs. He was not confident that AID did a consistently good job in overseeing how the scholars were treated.

What were the key values of American society and culture that Congress wished to see communicated to the trainees? "Especially those values that have to do with diversity and tolerance of differences. We don't want them to be given a snow-job," he said. "They should see our society as it is, warts and all. We should not try to hide anything." He also felt the program should reach out and be innovative, allowing trainees to interact with American counterparts as much as possible. "For example, journalists from Costa Rica, here as scholars, were exposed to their counterparts and also visited TV stations and other media facilities," Flickner said.

"Congressional direction has been mostly informal and not very strict," he said. Oversight has been left up to the Missions for the most part. And Congress has been trying to bring about cost-sharing, seeking matching funds to match AID as is currently being done in the State of Florida. "In fact," Flickner stated, "Senator Bob Graham is trying to institute such a system legislatively at the Congressional level."

Summing up, Charlie Flickner returned to the main points to be emphasized in the program as trainees had experiences in this country and returned to their own:

- Experiences with diversity and our relatively fluid class structure.
- A "good" experience while here and being treated with respect and in a caring manner.
- Follow-through upon their return to encourage continued contacts with the Missions and one another -- remaining a part of the program and not forgotten.

And as a lead-in to all the experiences, integrity of the selection process must be maintained.

Jim Bond (Committee on Appropriations, and Assistant to Senator Kasten) also was able to speak knowledgeable about CAPS although he had no formal charge from his Senator (as did Flickner) to monitor the program. His main source of information is professionals within AID, persons with whom he has working relationships; and he also receives considerable information from other staffers in the Senate who are interested in the program and who work in formulating foreign policy. Bond felt he knew a lot about CAPS in general but knew very little about specific Mission projects. He critiqued the program in general from a greater distance than Flickner and offered some criticisms (which he felt were shared by many in Congress) not cited by Mr. Flickner.

Bond approved of the CAPS effort to reach disadvantaged youth, which (he said) was an intent of Congress. "In the past," he stated, "there has been a lot of concentration on professionals and on certain disciplines associated with AID projects." The new approach moved away from this emphasis.

But Mr. Bond maintained that "Congress is critical of the short-term training. AID emphasizes numbers, but we are not interested in funding vacations for a few weeks in the U.S." He also felt that the trainees "should be brought to the U.S. for at least two years so that they can experience America in all its aspects." His view was that the short-term trainees were "fed a lot of propaganda," and this was not the way to enable such persons to truly see our society "warts and all."

He elaborated his viewpoint: "I am firm on having a two-year period, but there is some justification in short-term training although it should be no less than six months and not three or four weeks. No, I can't name any specific values I want them to pick up in our society. They will pick up the things we want them to pick up if they are brought to stay for two years. They should be exposed to everything about us; I wouldn't emphasize anything in particular they should see."

A long-term scholarship would provide three things, in Jim Bond's view:

1. A worthwhile education that can improve their lives, their families and their communities.
2. A positive attitude toward us and the U.S.

3. Experience of our values and way of life which will affect their views of our society.

Like Charlie Flickner, Jim Bond would encourage alumni associations -- particularly as a mechanism for helping choose other candidates. But he had one other major criticism (or caveat) that seemed to reflect a suspicion that AID desires might reflect a narrowed perspective on the scholarship program. He felt strongly that CAPS should not be tied to specific AID projects. "Congress is all for the trainees working for their communities," he said, "but if we give them assistance in specific projects then we go back to the old AID posture of tying them to AID projects. And CAPs should not promote AID projects."

Interestingly, this position is just the opposite of the one now advocated by the former Director of the Loyola Program, reflecting self-critically today on the shortcomings of his own program fifteen years ago. Thinking about improvements in a revived Loyola-type program, he criticized lack of sufficient tie-in to AID projects in the old program and felt that such tie-ins were critical for the achievement of a "critical mass" for effecting change in future training programs.

Also interesting is the fact that while "selection," "the disadvantaged," "experience of diversity," "treatment with respect and dignity," and "follow-through" (to maintain contacts) all came up in interviews on Capitol Hill, the term "critical mass" was not heard in any of the interviews seeking to explore the interest and intent of Congress regarding CAPS.

PART II. DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS

In this section of the report we undertake a concentrated focus on a sample of the becarios and the "significant others" they identified for us. Before an intensive analysis of the impact of CAPS on our representative samples begins, we will describe the total universe from which our becario sample was drawn, and then present characteristics of the sample.

Chapter Four: The CAPS Population: A Backdrop

The following materials, presented in bar graphs, pie charts and tables, provide a picture of the total Guatemala CAPS population as a backdrop for the impact analysis. Information in tables and charts is aggregated for the country of Guatemala as a whole and for the three departments (Guatemala, Quetzaltenango and Solola) from which our sample was drawn.

These background materials serve several purposes:

1. They show how (and whether) the Guatemala CAPS program is fulfilling its mandated guidelines regarding representation and emphasis in selecting becarios.
2. They provide a basis for comparison with our sample (enabling us to examine the representativeness of our random sample).
3. Beyond mandated "emphasis" and/or "representativeness," they simply give a picture of the characteristics of those who have been selected for the program.

All information was obtained from a CAPS Data Bank on becarios maintained by AID in Guatemala. As of August, 1987, the Data Bank contained information on 1,723 participants, with 84 variables of information maintained pertaining to each of these people. This base of information represented becarios selected in Fiscal Years 1985, 1986 and 1987. For our purposes, those variables that could provide important information on participants' statuses were selected. The analysis and plotting is designed to obtain a general conception of the participants.

The criteria selected cover six main topics:

1. Distribution of participants by sex and age.
2. Distribution of participants by academic background and sex.
3. Distribution of participants by occupation or type of work.
 - 3.1 Distribution of participants by occupation or type of work and sex.

4. Distribution of monthly income by ethnic group.
 - 4.1 Distribution of the monthly income by ethnic group and sex.
5. Distribution of participants by fiscal year, sex and ethnic group.
6. Distribution of participants by marital status, sex and number of children.

These six main topics were developed for the Republic of Guatemala as well as for the three Departments selected.

A. Topic 1. Distribution of Becarios by Department and by Sex and Age

The Republic of Guatemala has 22 Departments. Graphic 4.1 shows the distribution of becarios by department and Table 4.1 breaks down this distribution further by sex. Highlights of the graph and table include:

- Solola has the most CAPS participants (319) followed by Guatemala (290) and Quetzaltenango (132).
- Sex distribution of participants for the country as a whole is male 62.4 percent and female 37.6 percent.
- Sex distribution for our three departments are:

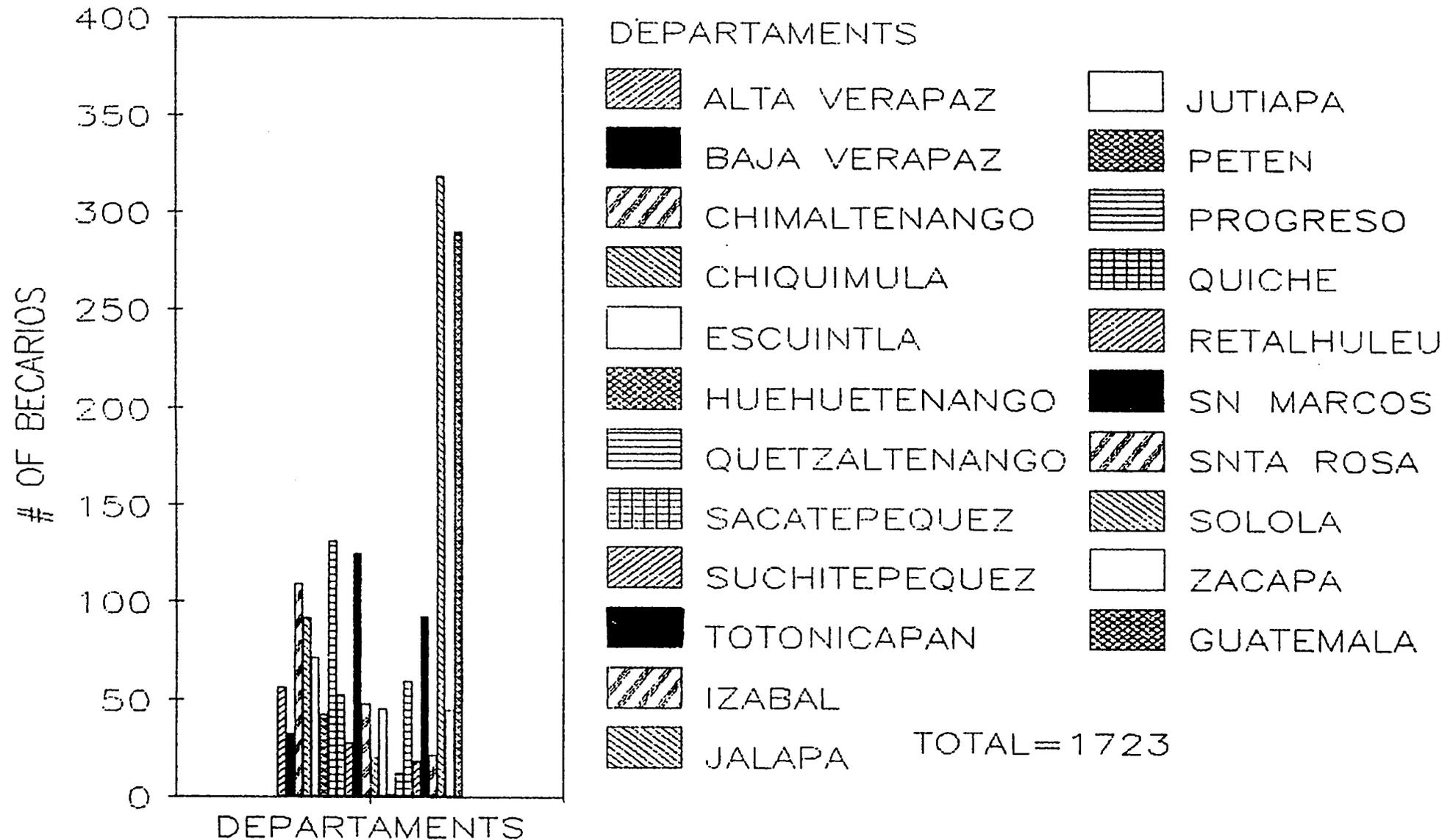
	<u>Male (%)</u>	<u>Female (%)</u>
- Guatemala	47.9	52.1
- Quetzaltenango	63.6	36.4
- Solola	83.1	16.9

GRAPHIC 4.1

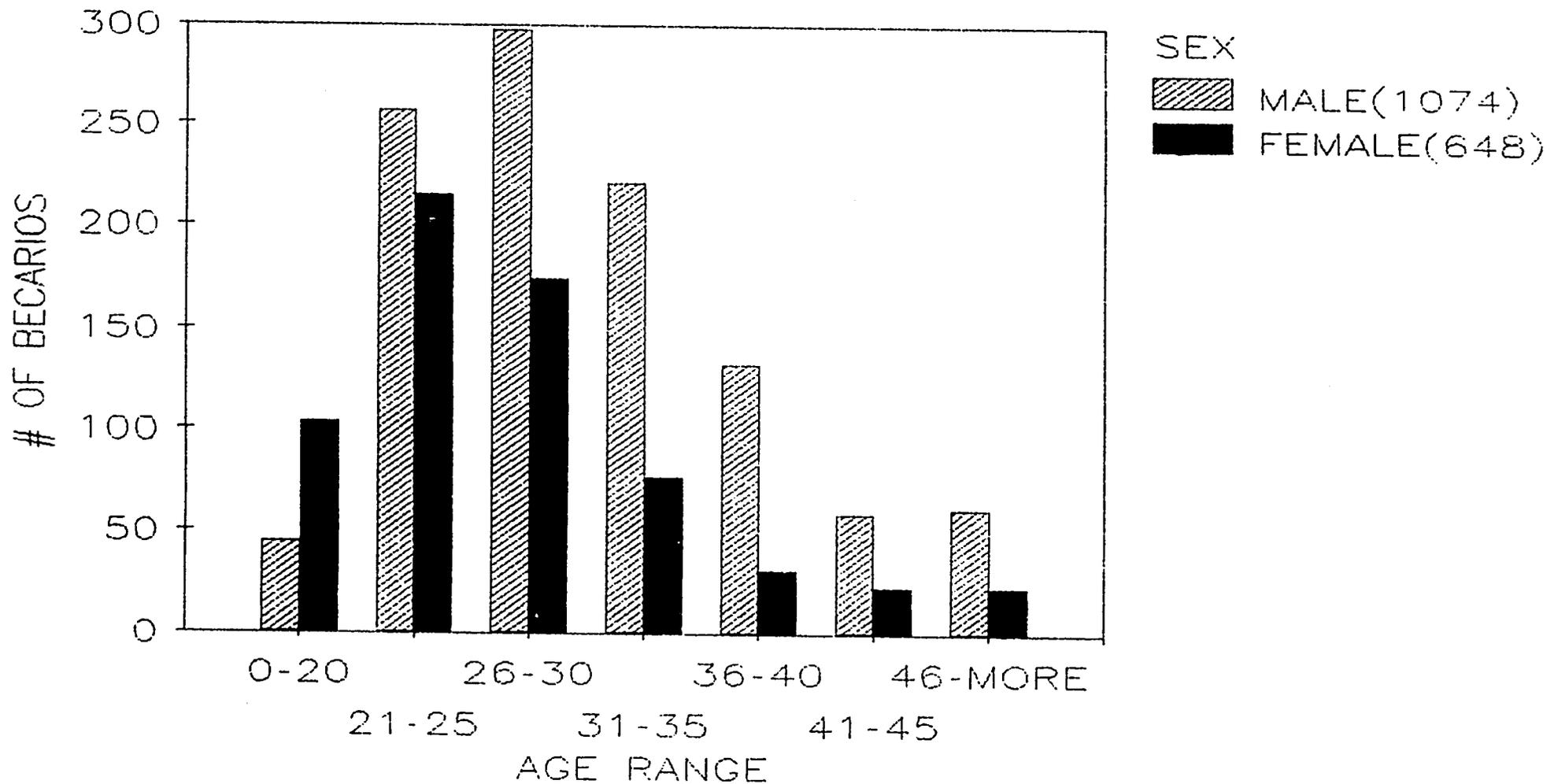
COUNTRY GUATEMALA

OF BECARIOS PER DEPARTAMENT

-49-

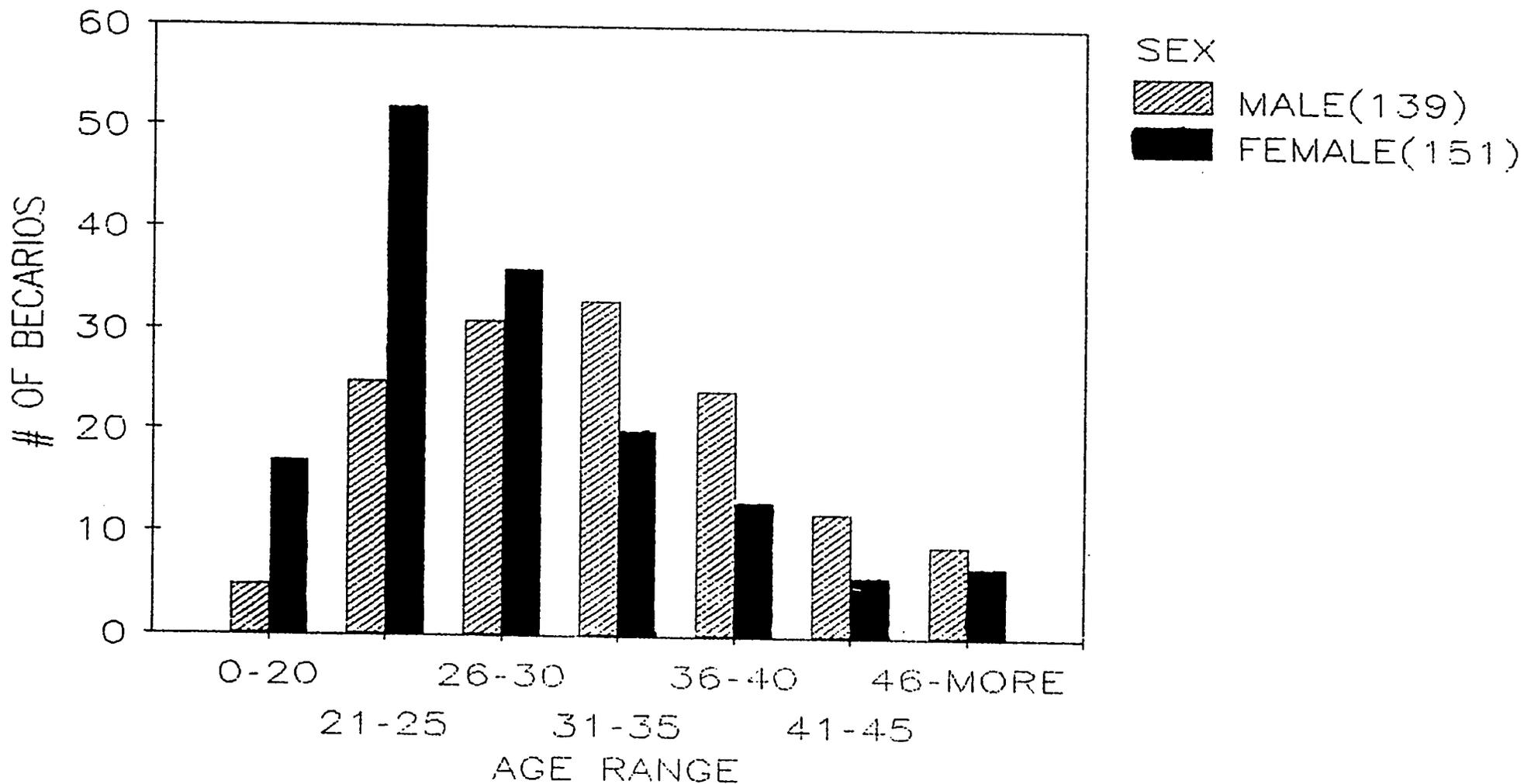


GRAPHIC 4.2
 COUNTRY GUATEMALA
 DISTRIBUTION BY SEX AND AGE
 OF CAPS* SCHOLARS



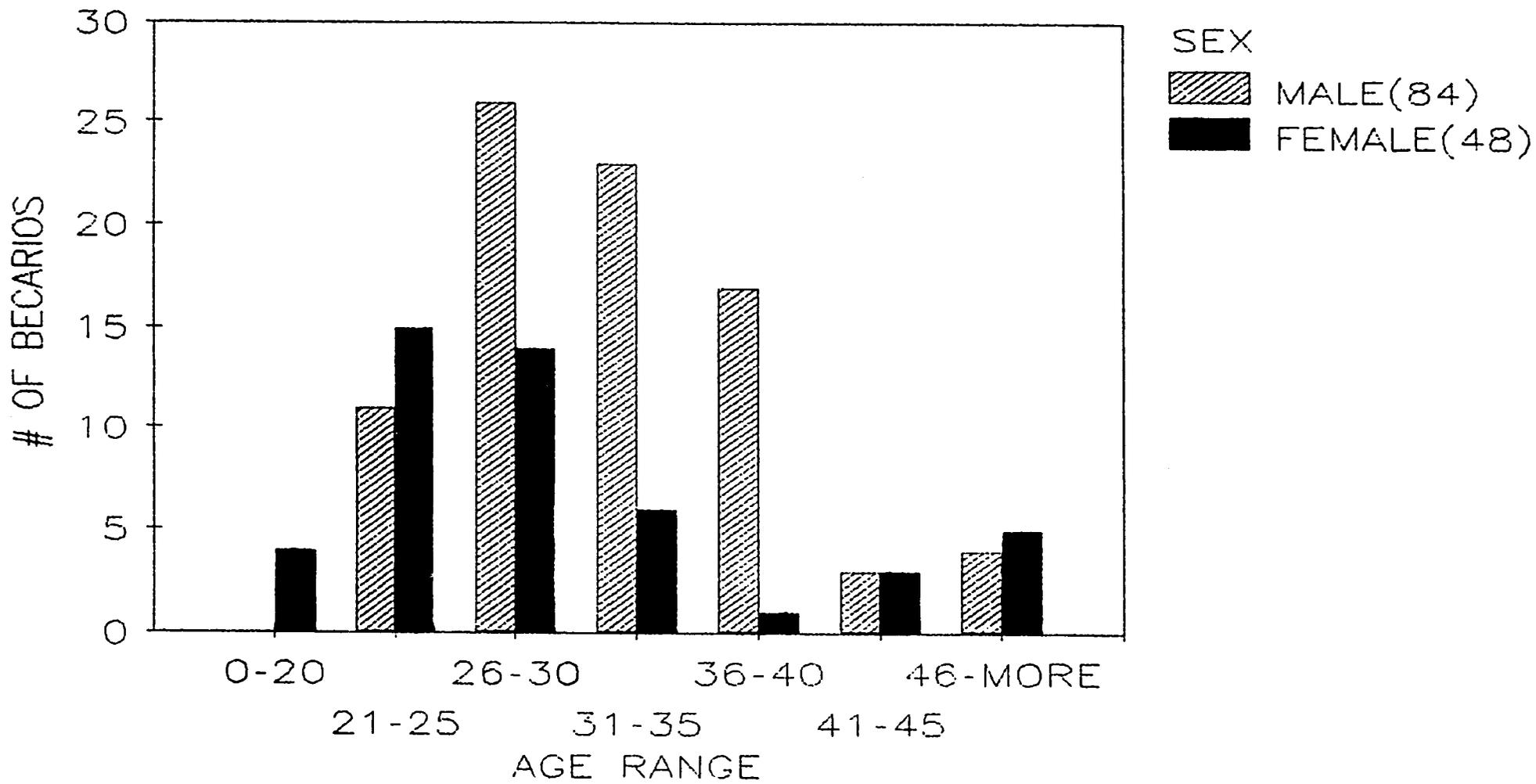
*CENTRAL AMERICAN PEACE SCHOLARSHIP TOTAL 1723

GRAPHIC 4.3
 DEPT. GUATEMALA
 DISTRIBUTION BY SEX AND AGE
 OF CAPS* SCHOLARS



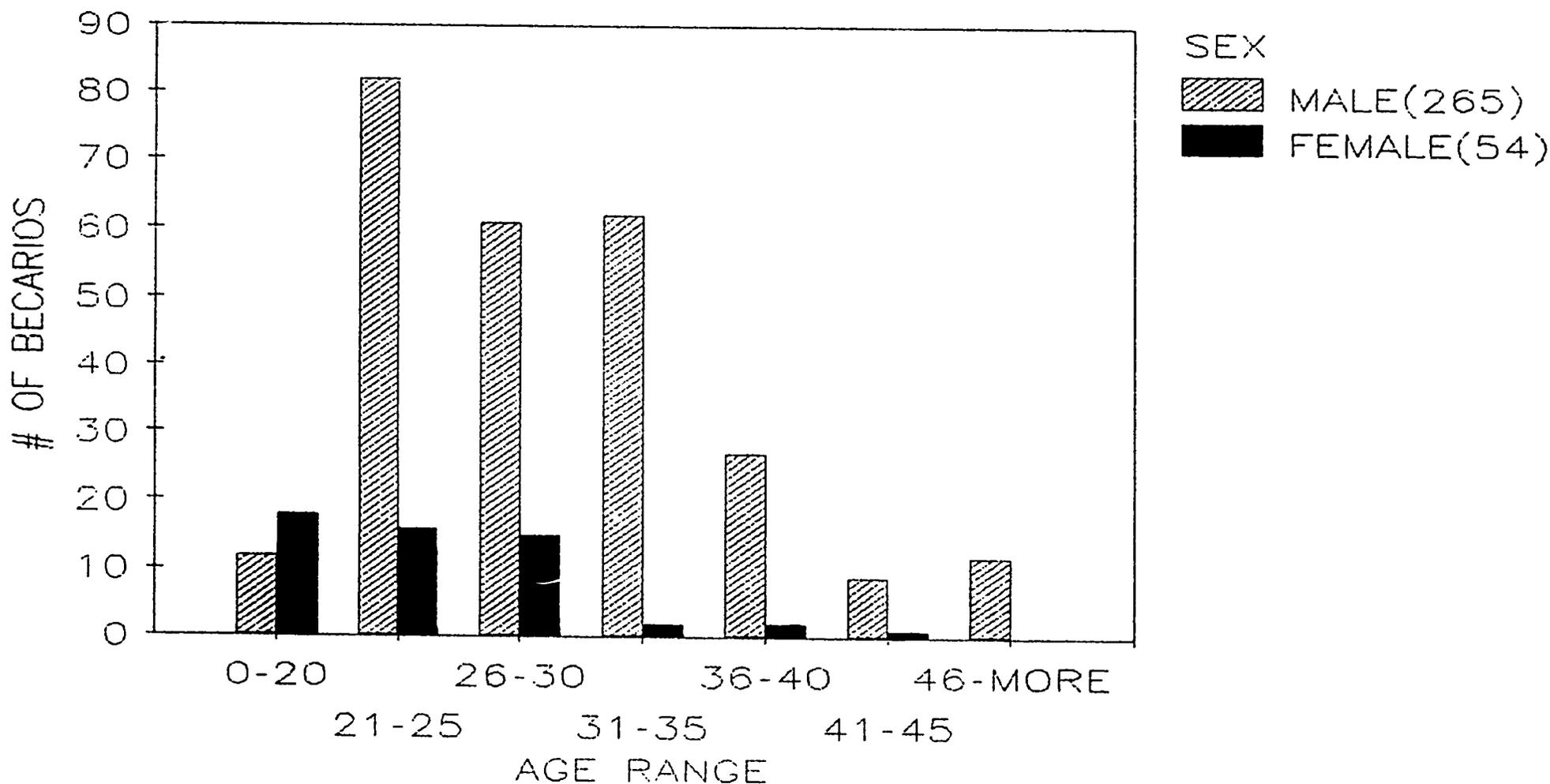
*CENTRAL AMERICAN PEACE SCHOLARSHIP TOTAL 290

GRAPHIC 4.4
 DEPT. QUETZALTENANGO
 DISTRIBUTION BY SEX AND AGE
 OF CAPS* SCHOLARS



*CENTRAL AMERICAN PEACE SCHOLARSHIP TOTAL 132

GRAPHIC 4.5
 DEPT.SOLOLA
 DISTRIBUTION BY SEX AND AGE
 OF CAPS* SCHOLARS



*CENTRAL AMERICAN PEACE SCHOLARSHIP TOTAL 319

Table 4.1

Country of Guatemala: Numbers of Becarios
and Percentage Sex Distributions in Each
Department

Department	Male (%)	Female (%)	Total #	% of Total
Alta Verapaz	68.4	31.6	57	3.3
Baja Verapaz	33.3	66.7	33	1.9
Chimaltenango	64.5	35.5	110	6.4
Chiquimula	52.2	47.8	92	5.3
Escuintla	34.7	65.3	72	4.2
Guatemala	47.9	52.1	290	16.8
Huehuetenango	69.8	30.2	43	2.5
Izabal	50.0	50.0	48	2.8
Jalapa	47.6	52.4	21	1.2
Jutiapa	63.0	37.0	46	2.7
Peten	33.3	67.7	3	.2
Progreso	46.7	53.3	15	.9
Quetzaltenango	63.6	36.4	132	7.7
Quiche	71.7	28.3	60	3.5
Retalhuleu	52.6	47.4	19	1.1
Sacatepequez	77.4	22.6	53	3.1
San Marcos	60.2	39.8	93	5.4
Santa Rosa	36.4	63.6	22	1.3
Solola	83.1	16.9	319	18.5
Suchitepequez	36.0	64.0	25	1.5
Totonicapan	72.6	27.4	124	7.2
Zacapa	75.6	24.4	45	2.6
Total	62.4	37.6	1722	100.0

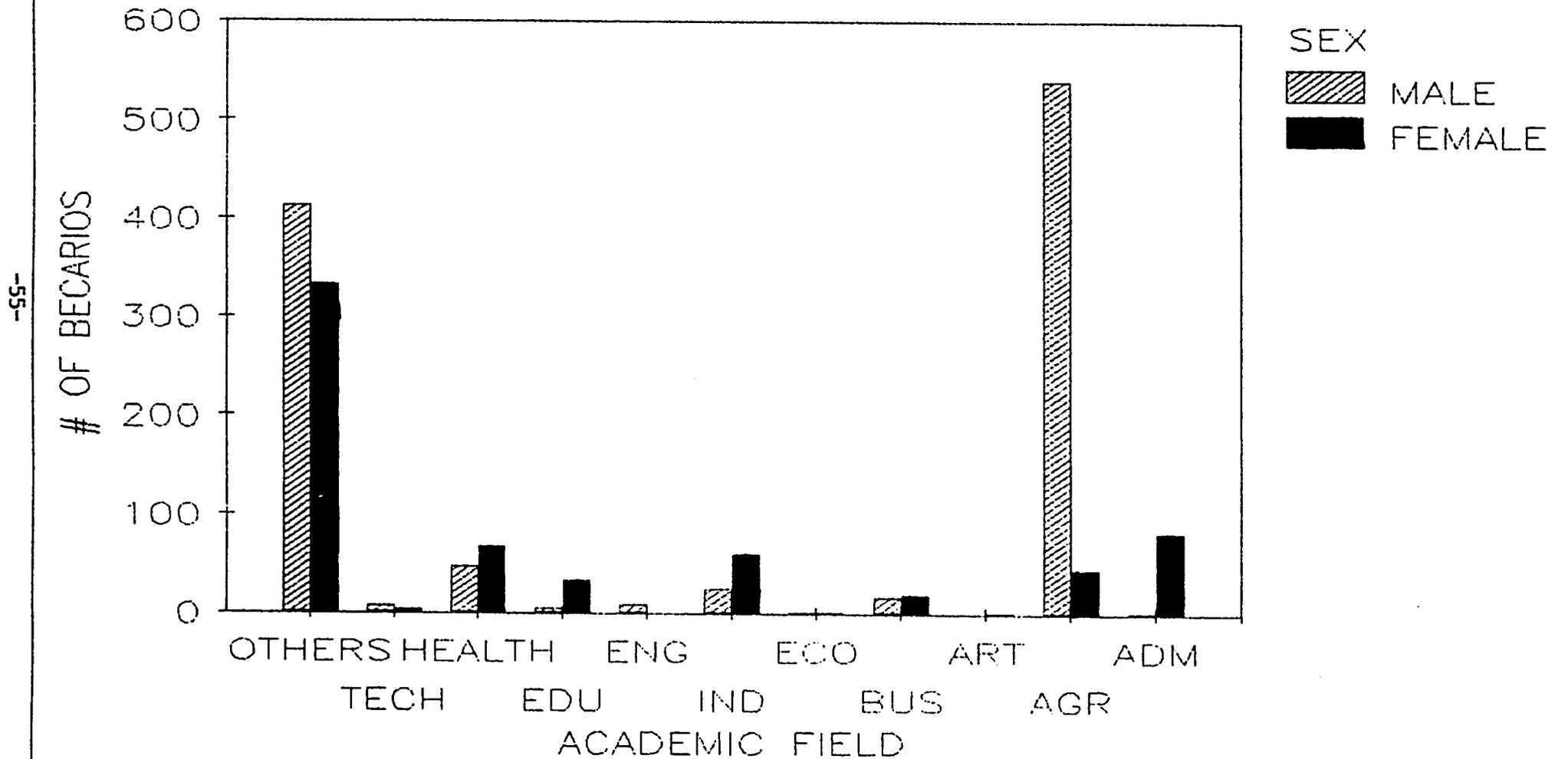
Our three (sampled) departments contribute a total of 741 participants or 43.0 percent of the grand total.

Graphics 4.2, 4.3, 4.4 and 4.5 show age and sex distributions of becarios for Guatemala as a whole and for our three departments. Note that most becarios are in the younger age groups (26-30 or 21-25) although variations appear by department and by sex. Very few are over 40.

B. Topic 2. Distribution of Participants by Academic Background

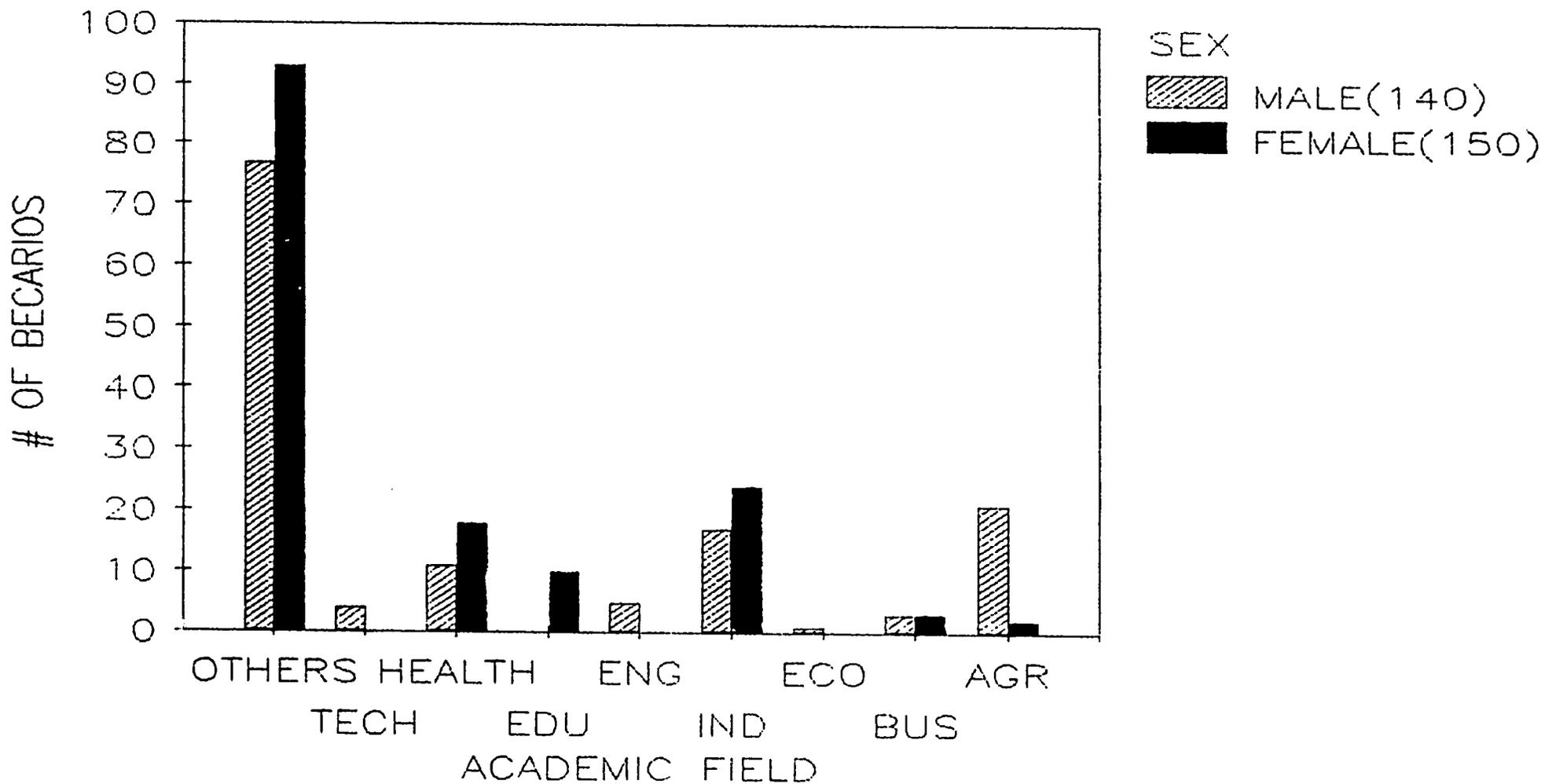
Graphics 4.6, 4.7, 4.8, and 4.9, show the areas of academic preparation of the becarios. The category "Others" appears with great frequency and actually indicates lack of formal academic preparation. Our analyst utilizing and interpreting the data base and its categories reports that "Others" indicated no academic preparation or

GRAPHIC 4.6
 COUNTRY GUATEMALA
 DISTRIBUTION OF ACADEMIC PREPARATION
 BY SEX OF CAPS* SCHOLARS



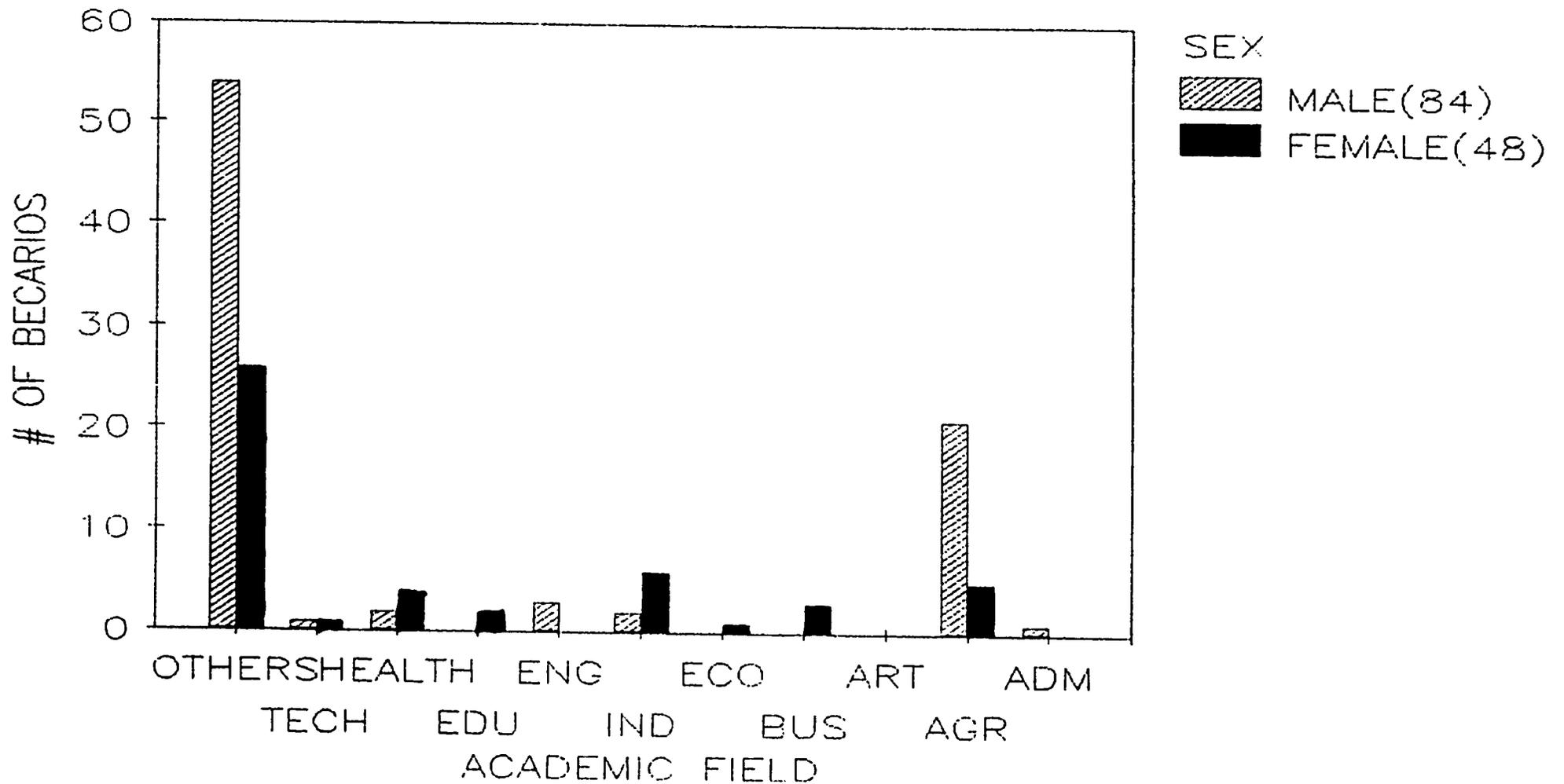
*CENTRAL AMERICAN PEACE SCHOLARSHIP TOTAL 1723 BECARIOS

GRAPHIC 4.7
 DEPT. GUATEMALA
 DISTRIBUTION ACADEMIC PREPARATION
 BY SEX OF CAPS* SCHOLARS



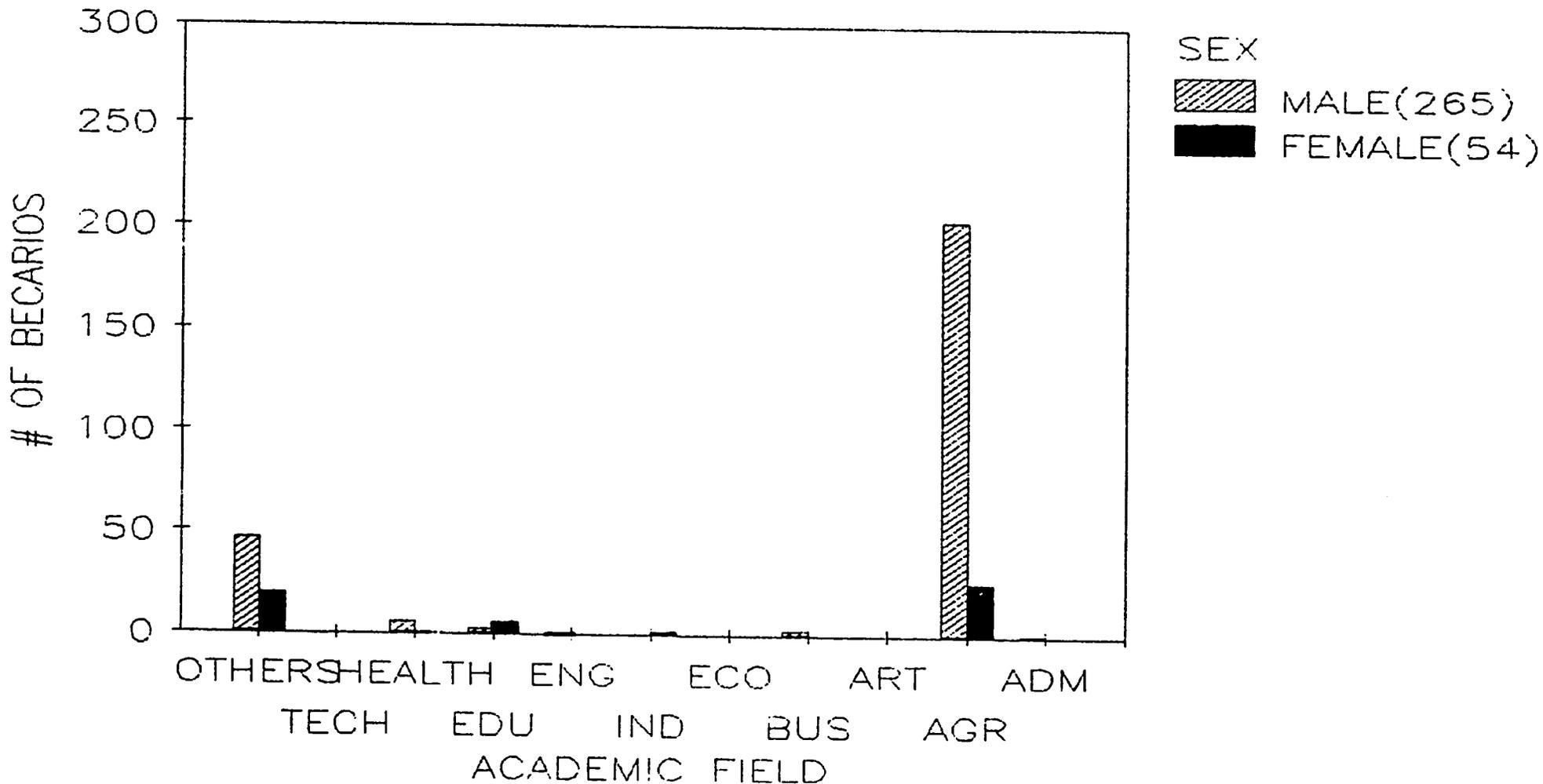
* CENTRAL AMERICAN PEACE SCHOLARSHIP TOTAL 290 BECARIOS

GRAPHIC 4.8
 DEPT. QUETZALTENANGO
 DISTRIBUTION OF ACADEMIC PREPARATION
 BY SEX OF CAPS*SCHOLARS



*CENTRAL AMERICAN PEACE SCHOLARSHIP TOTAL 132 BECARIOS

GRAPHIC 4.9
 DEPT. SOLOLA
 DISTRIBUTION OF ACADEMIC PREPARATION
 BY SEX OF CAPS* SCHOLARS



*CENTRAL AMERICAN PEACE SCHOLARSHIP TOTAL 319 BECARIOS

that the becarios had just a "primary level" of preparation and worked as housewives, masons, dressmakers, hair stylists etc., that do not require any academic preparation. Thus 745 (43.3 percent) of the 1,723 participants fit this description and 44.4 percent of the 745 are women. Moreover, the category "Agriculture" (appearing with great frequency for males) indicated skills learned through the family, and 591 participants (34.3 percent) fell in this category and 7.7 percent of the 591 were women working in agriculture. Clarifying the display for the country of Guatemala as a whole:

Sector	<u>Academic Preparation</u>		Percent (of total in category) who are Women
	Total #	Total %	
Health	116	6.7	58.6
Industrial	87	5.1	70.1
Business Administration	83	4.8	98.0

Thus more women than men fell in the "formal preparation" categories.

Variations on the total picture appear in the three departments. Numbers in "Industry" and in "Health" pick up in the Department of Guatemala and also in Quetzaltenango (particularly for women); while "Agriculture" predominates in Solala (notably for men) and is actually the most visible category for men (except for "Others") in Quetzaltenango.

C. Topic 3. Distribution of Participants by Occupation or Type of Work

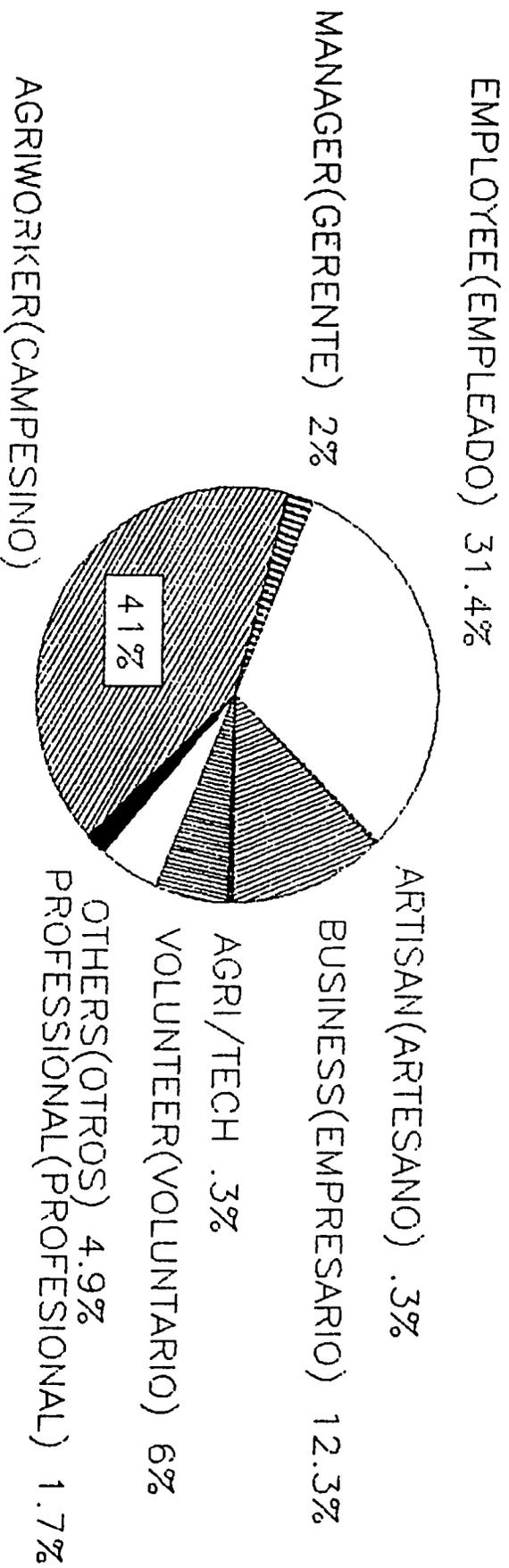
The five graphics that follow (4.10, 4.11, 4.12, 4.13, and 4.14) provide a picture of the occupations of the becarios. Again, the meaning of the different categories shown is extremely important to the picture. According to the definitions in the CAPS data base, the nine categories identified here can be described as follows:

Businessmen: people working in commerce, sale and purchase of commodities.

Artisan: people working in textiles manufacturing or handicrafts.

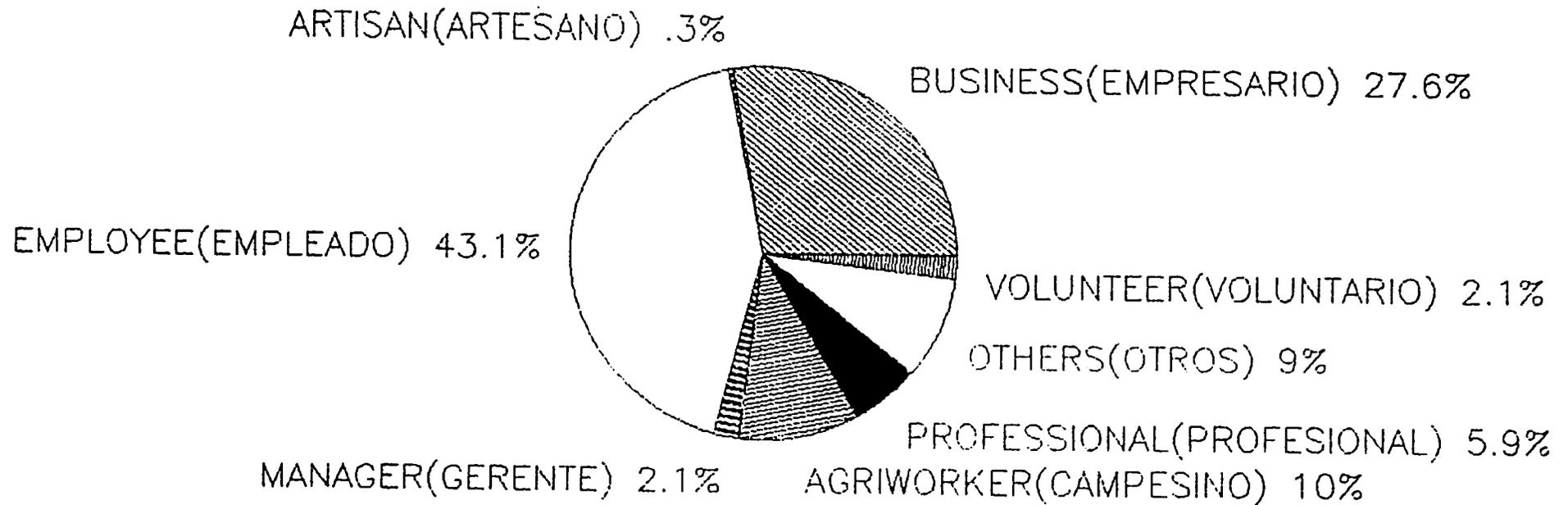
Employee: people working for a governmental or private institution, receiving a salary for their services.

GRAPHIC 4.10
 COUNTRY GUATEMALA
 DISTRIBUTION BY OCCUPATION OR TYPE OF
 WORK OF CAPS* SCHOLARS



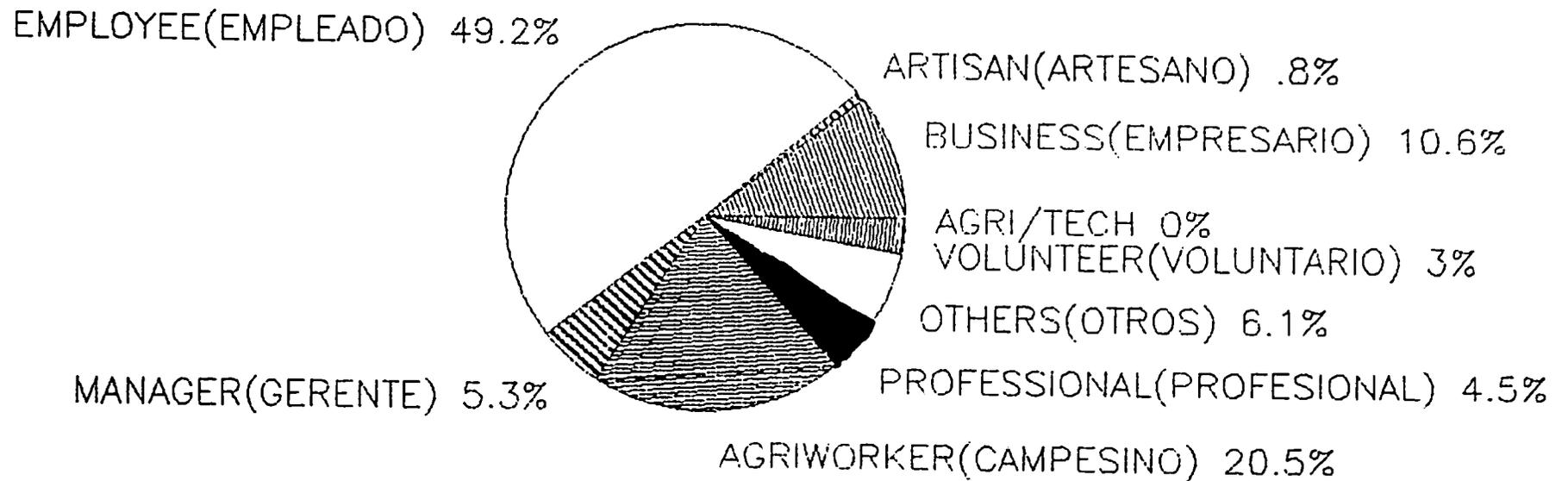
*CENTRAL AMERICAN PEACE SCHOLARSHIP TOTAL 1723

GRAPHIC 4.11
DEPT GUATEMALA
DISTRIBUTION BY OCCUPATION OR TYPE
OF WORK OF CAPS* SCHOLARS



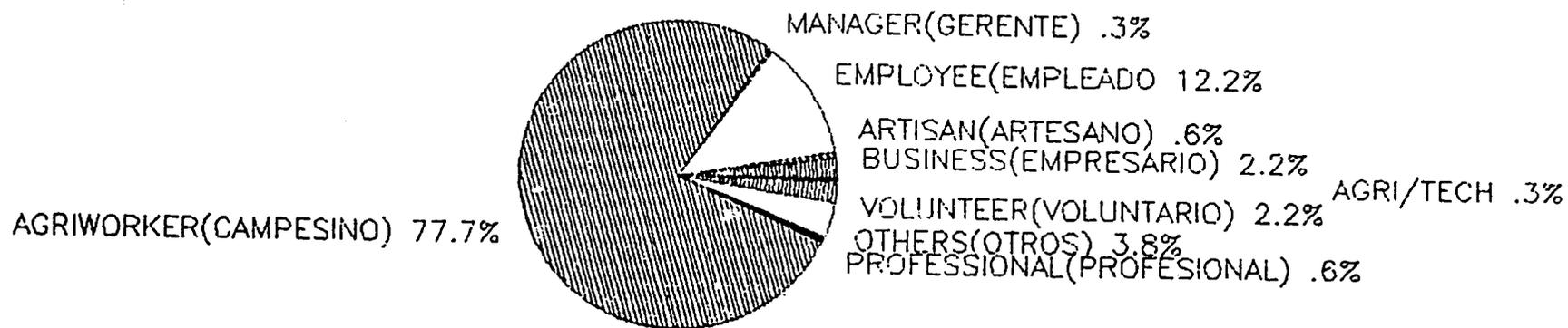
*CENTRAL AMERICAN PEACE SCHOLARSHIP TOTAL 290

GRAPHIC 4.12
DEPT. QUETZALTENANGO
DISTRIBUTION BY OCCUPATION OR TYPE OF
WORK OF CAPS* SCHOLARS



*CENTRAL AMERICAN PEACE SCHOLARSHIP TOTAL 132

GRAPHIC 4.13
DEPT. SOLOLA
DISTRIBUTION BY OCCUPATION OR TYPE OF
WORK OF CAPS* SCHOLARS

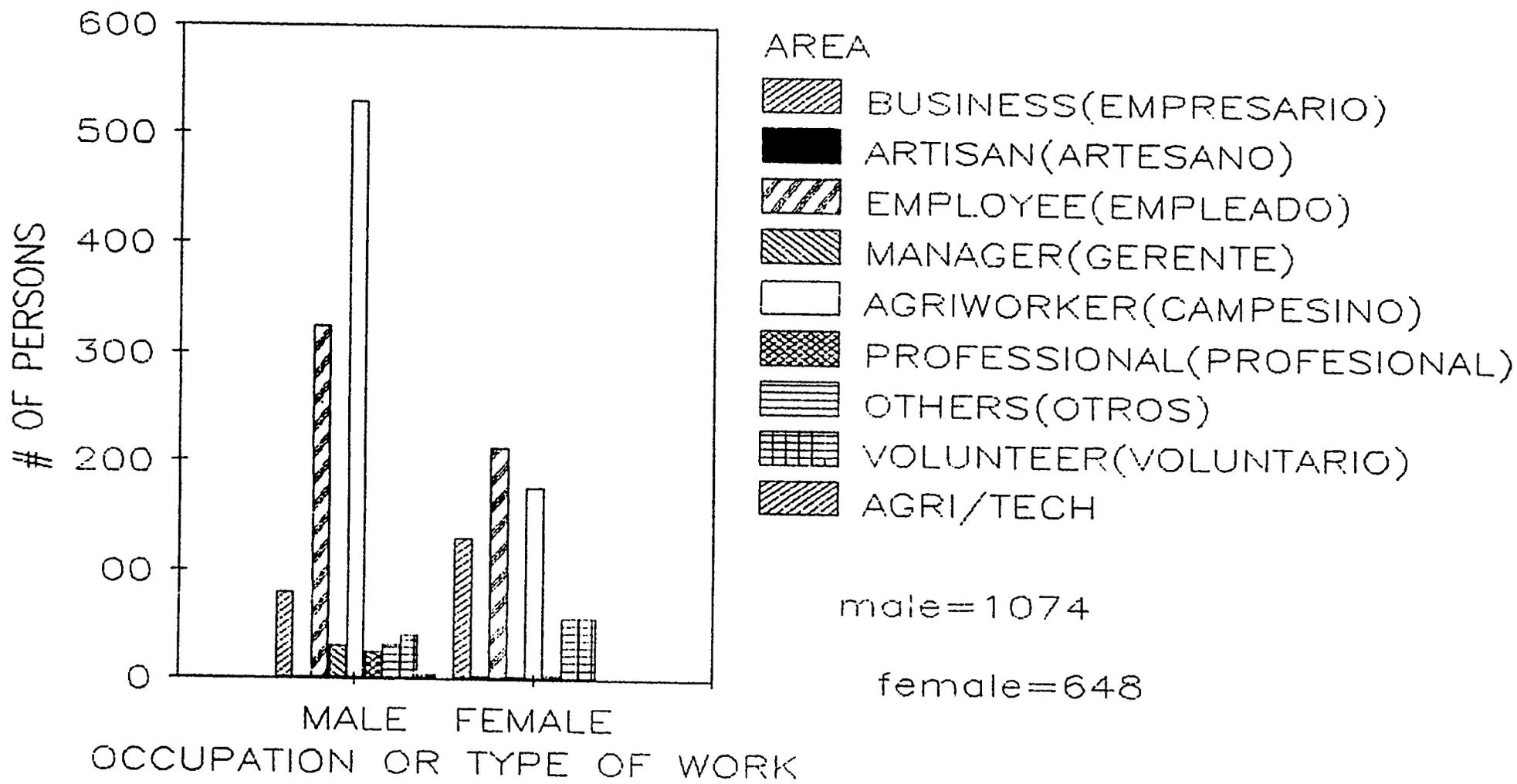


*CENTRAL AMERICAN PEACE SCHOLARSHIP TOTAL 319

GRAPHIC 4.14

COUNTRY GUATEMALA

DISTRIBUTION BY OCCUPATION OR TYPE OF WORK AND SEX OF CAPS* SCHOLARS



*CENTRAL AMERICAN PEACE SCHOLARSHIP TOTAL 1723

Manager: people working with personnel under their supervision in the top management of an institution.

Agriworker: people working the ground in an independent or cooperative fashion.

Professional: people with superior education, working for a governmental or private institution.

Agritechnician: people with formal training or superior education, working in areas different from the ones already mentioned, such as, housewives, hair stylists, or any other non-technical work.

Volunteer: people working as a volunteer for institutions such as Peace Corps, fire departments, hospitals, etc. (firemen, nurses, social workers, etc.).

For Guatemala as a whole, it is clear that Agriworkers and Employees are, by far, the most frequent categories, followed by Businessmen. These three categories account for 85 percent of the becarios. The pattern varies however in our three departments:

- In Guatemala (Department), Employee (43 percent) becomes the top category with Business (28 percent) second.
- In Quetzaltenango, Employee (49 percent) accounts for almost half of the becarios with Agriworker (21 percent) second.
- In Solala, one category, Agriworker (78 percent) overwhelms all others.

Graphic 4.14 breaks out becario occupations for Guatemala as a whole by sex. Data for this bar graph enable us to give specific numbers to the graphic estimates. Interesting findings regarding contributions of each sex to major occupation categories include:

- Among the 707 Agriworkers:
 - 530 (75 percent) are men.
 - 177 (25 percent) are women.
- In the Employee category (541 persons total):
 - 327 (60 percent) are men.
 - 214 (40 percent) are women.
- In the Business group (totaling 212):

- 81 (only 38 percent) are men.
- 131 (fully 62 percent) are women.

In smaller categories women predominate (59 percent) among the 103 volunteers; while men predominate (89 percent) among the 35 Managers and among the 30 Professionals (83 percent).

The CAPS program is to tap both Indians and Ladinos in Guatemala but is to stress and ensure sufficient participation by the Indigenous (Indian) population. It is also to ensure representation of women.

Our next two topics examine the variables of ethnicity and sex and their representation in CAPS. They also provide insight into some of the differences between the two identified ethnic and the sex groups as they are represented in CAPS.

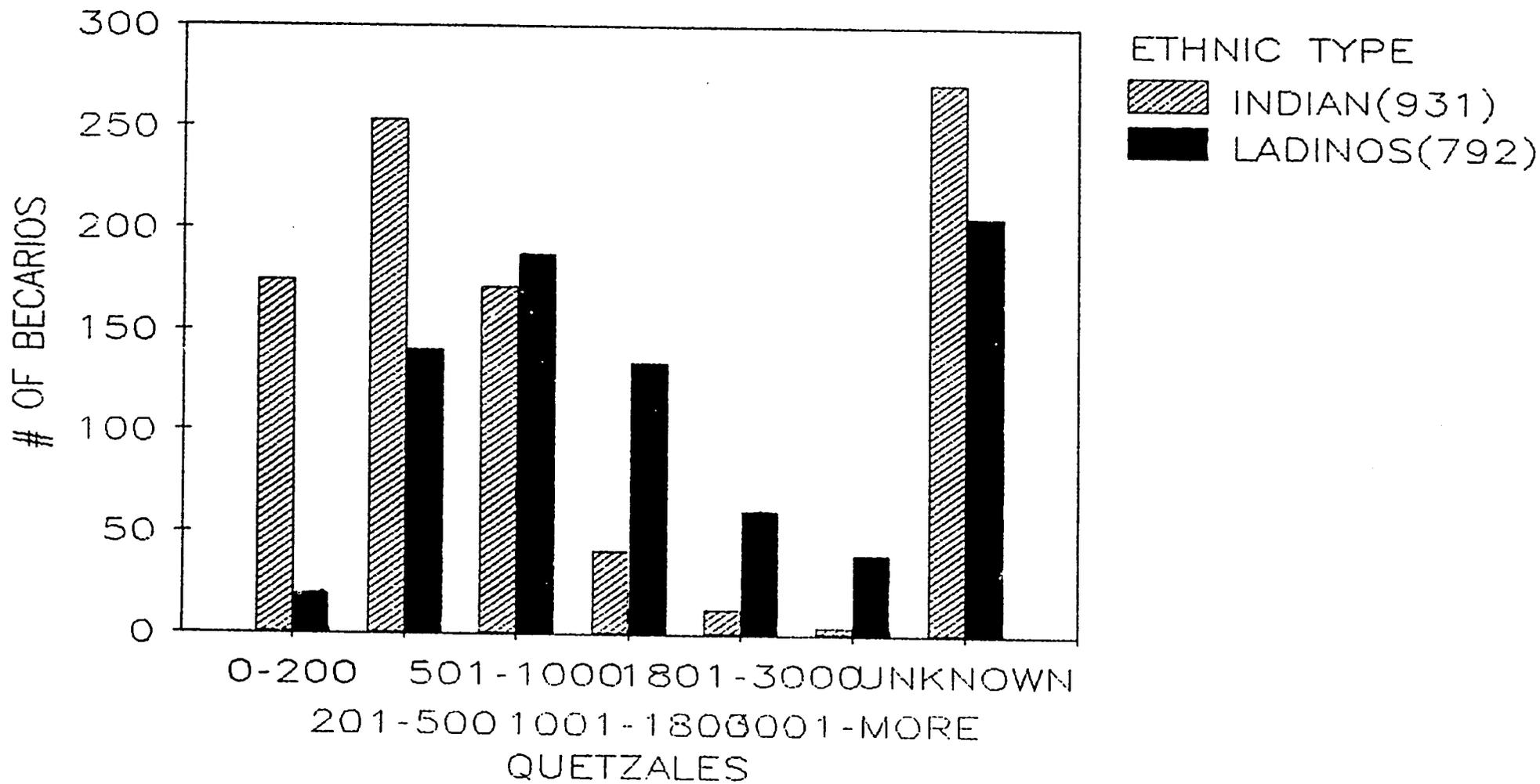
D. Topic 4. Distribution of Participants by Monthly Income, Ethnic Group and Sex

How well has CAPS obtained representation of Indians and women? What are the economic differences between Indians and Ladinos and between men and women among becarios in the CAPS program?

Graphic 4.15 shows how Indians have surpassed Ladinos in numbers participating in CAPS. It also shows how this ethnic representation reflects representation across a considerable income range, with Indian becarios clearly clustering in lower salary groups. (Salary plottings are by Quetzales with an exchange rate of Q1.00 = U.S. \$2.50.) Summarizing significant salaries/ethnic differences (for the total population of becarios countrywide):

- Indigenous Becarios:
 - 429 (46 percent) have a monthly income of Q500 (US \$200) or less;
 - 58 (6 percent) have a monthly income over Q1000 (US \$400);
 - 272 (29 percent) did not report income.
- Ladino Becarios
 - 161 (20 percent) have a monthly income of Q500 (US \$200) or less;
 - 236 (30 percent) have a monthly income over Q1000 (US \$400);

GRAPHIC 4.15
 COUNTRY GUATEMALA
 SALARY BY ETHNIC TYPE
 OF CAPS* SCHOLARS



*CENTRAL AMERICAN PEACE SCHOLARSHIP TOTAL 1723

- 207 (26 percent) did not report income.

Graphic 4.16 shows how males still surpass females in numbers participating in CAPS. It reveals less disparity between the sexes than between the ethnic groups in income levels.

- Male Becarios:

- 397 (37 percent) have a monthly income of Q500 (US \$200) or less;
- 206 (19 percent) have a monthly income of over Q1000 (US \$400);
- 252 (23 percent) did not report income.

- Female Becarios:

- 193 (30 percent) have a monthly income of Q500 (US \$200) or less;
- 88 (14 percent) have a monthly income of over Q1000 (US \$400);
- 214 (33 percent) did not report income.

The graphics (4.17, 4.18, 4.19) showing ethnicity and income for our three departments separately reveal several interesting patterns:

- Ethnic Representation in 3 Departments:

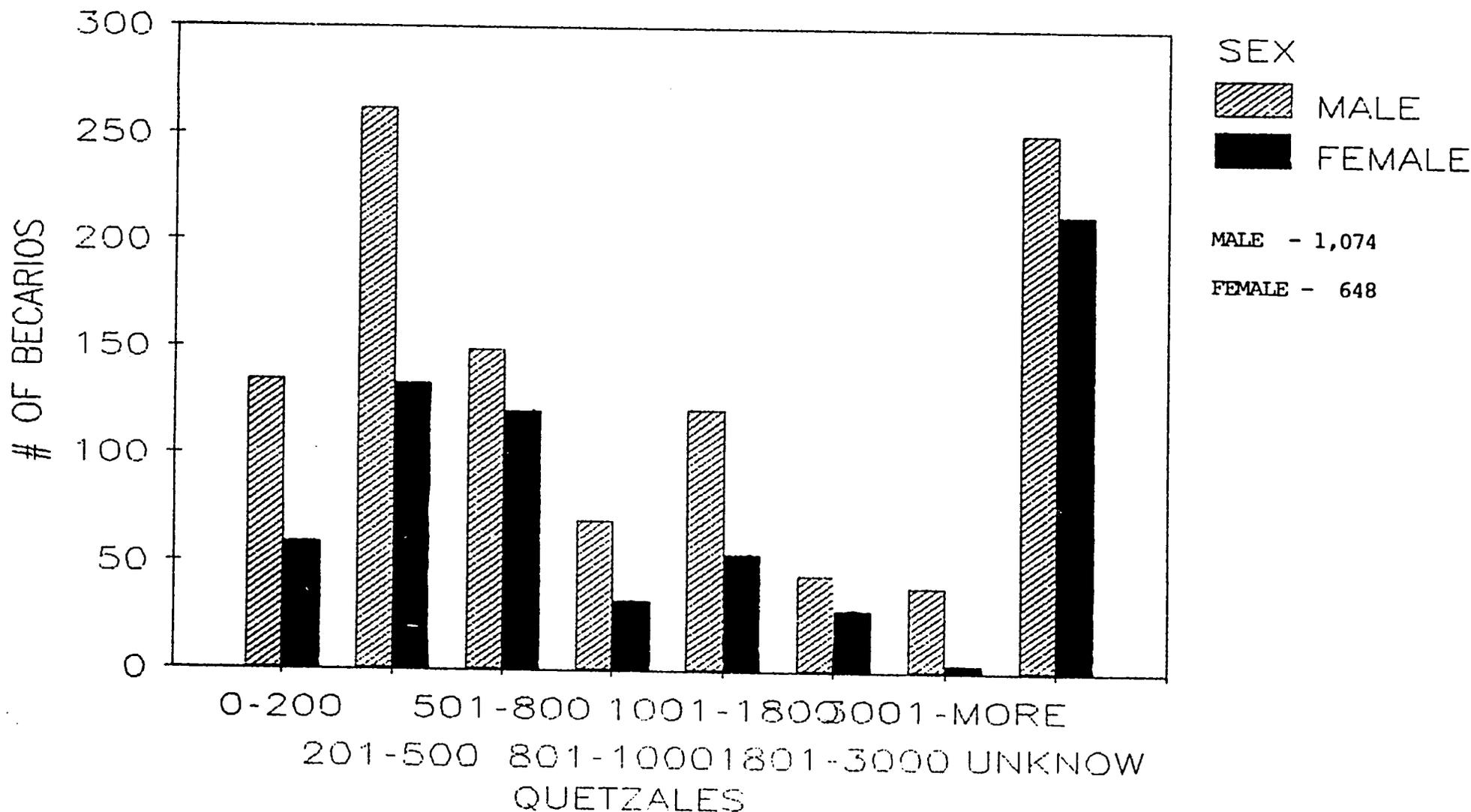
- Guatemala (Department) has sent more than two Ladinos for every Indian (71 percent Ladino becarios).
- Quetzaltenango has come closest (of our three departments) to sending equal numbers of Indians and Ladinos (58 percent Ladinos).
- Indians clearly predominate in the Solala becario group (93 percent Indians).

- Income Distribution in 3 Departments:

Indian becarios are poorer than the Ladinos in each department; and the numbers and percentages of becarios with monthly income over Q1000 (US \$400) for each department are:

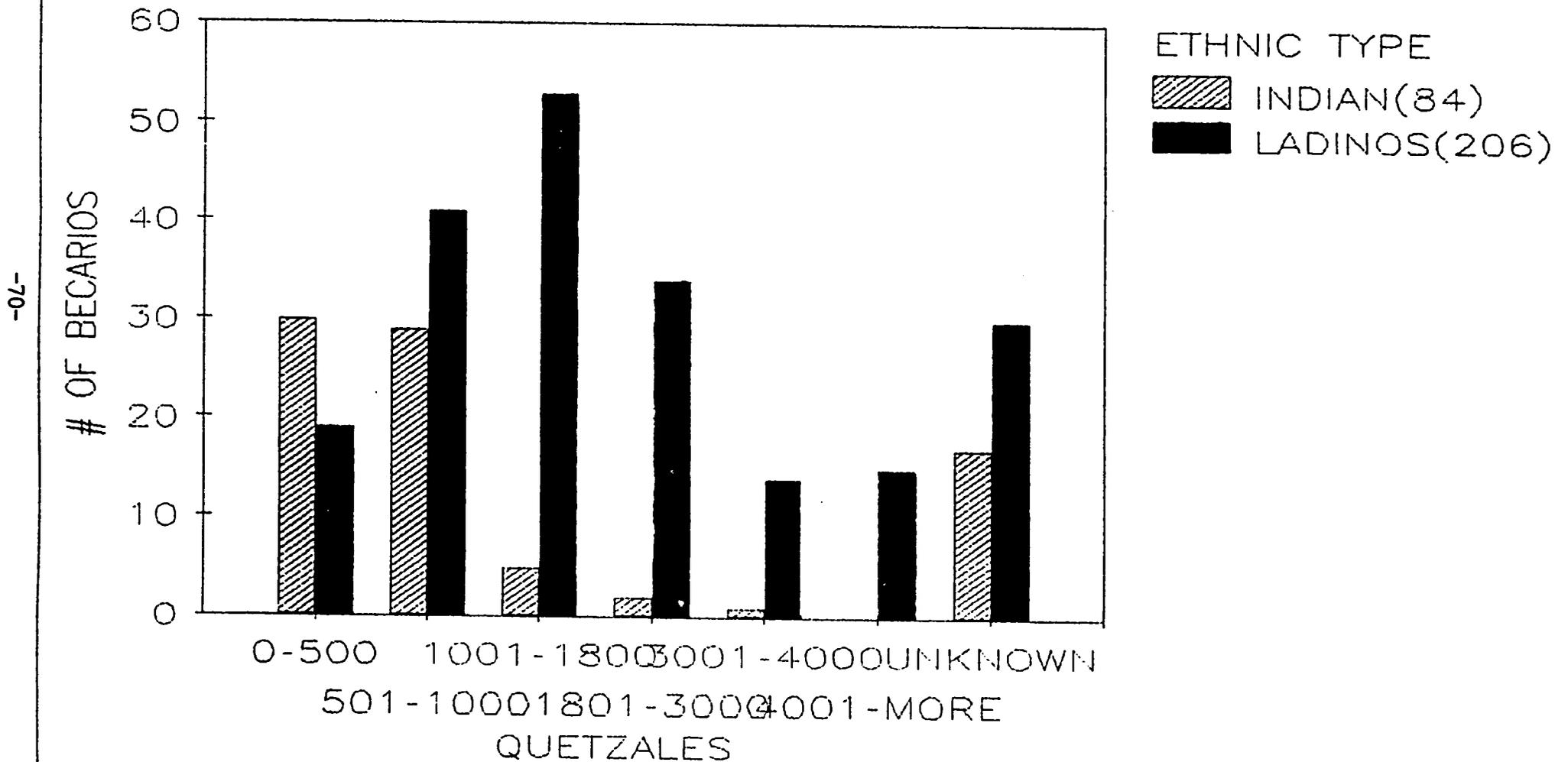
- Guatemala: 124 (43 percent)

GRAPHIC 4.16
 COUNTRY GUATEMALA
 SALARY BY SEX OF CAPS* SCHOLARS



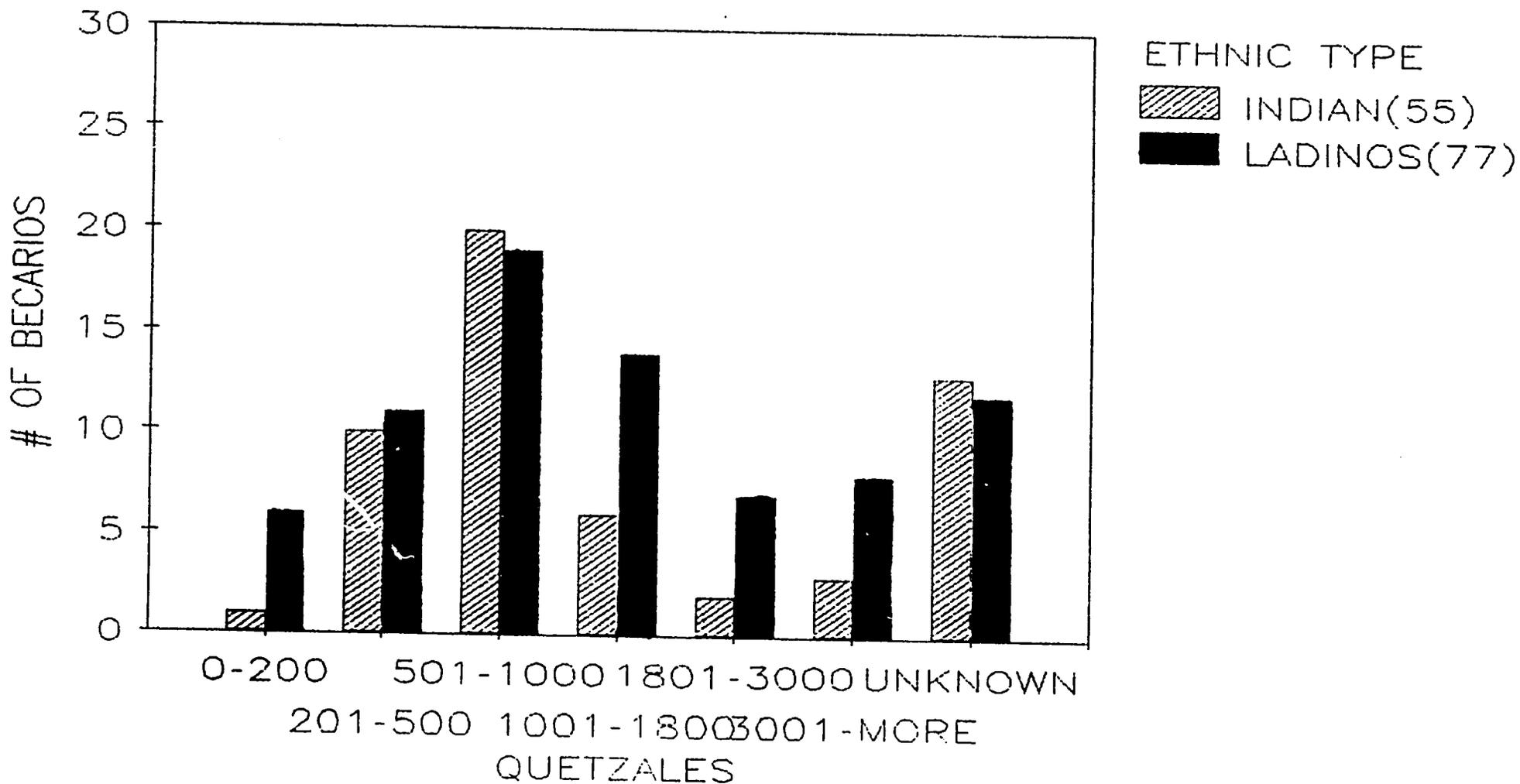
*CENTRAL AMERICAN PEACE SCHOLARSHIP TOTAL 1723

GRAPHIC 4.17
 DEPT. GUATEMALA
 SALARY BY ETHNIC TYPE
 OF CAPS* SCHOLARS



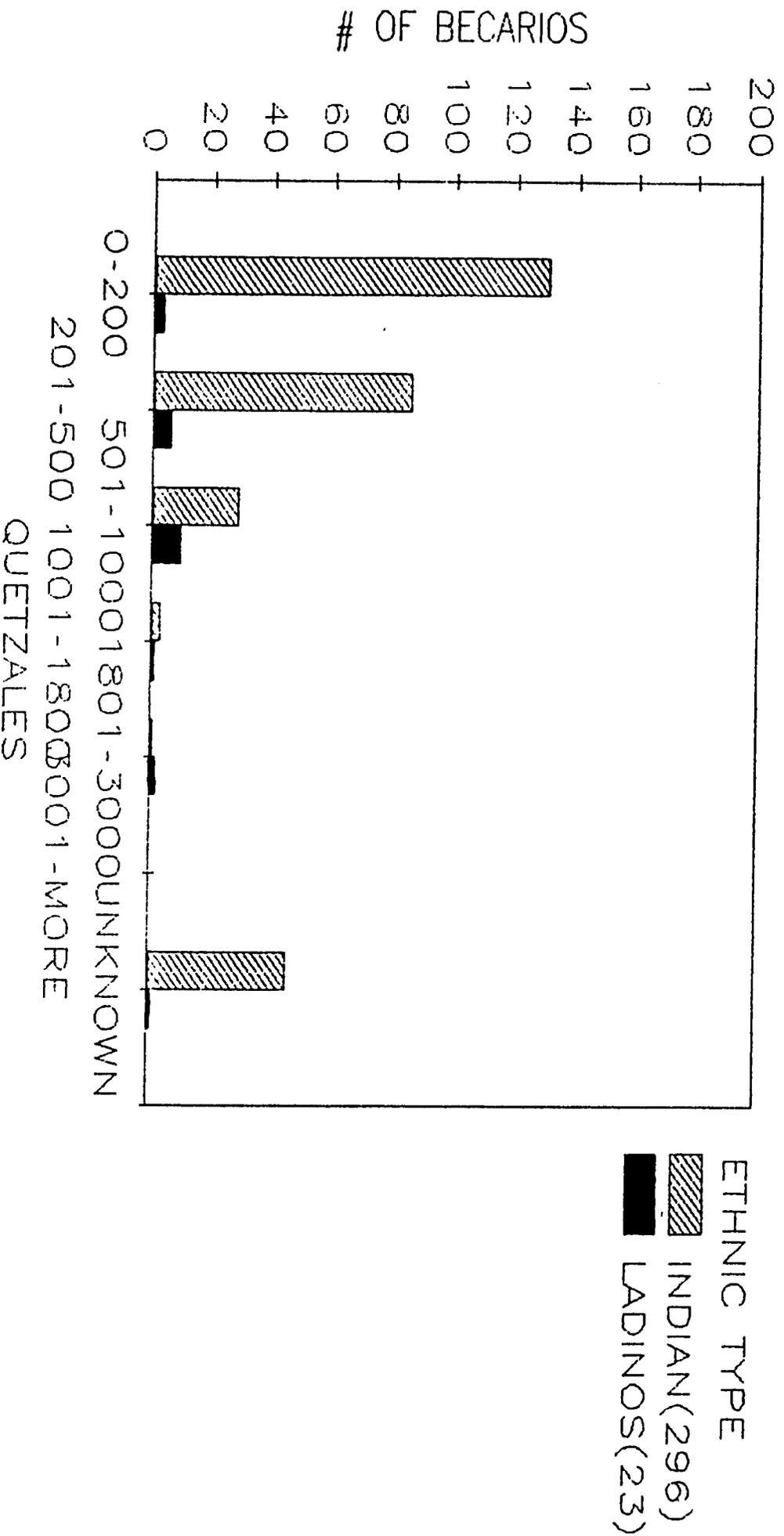
*CENTRAL AMERICAN PEACE SCHOLARSHIP TOTAL 290

GRAPHIC 4.18
 DEPT. QUETZALTENANGO
 SALARY BY ETHNIC TYPE
 OF CAPS* SCHOLARS



*CENTRAL AMERICAN PEACE SCHOLARSHIP TOTAL 132

GRAPHIC 4.19
 DEPT. SOLOLA
 SALARY BY ETHNIC TYPE
 OF CAPS* SCHOLARARS



*CENTRAL AMERICAN PEACE SCHOLARSHIP TOTAL 319

- Quetzaltenango: 40 (30 percent)
- Solala: 7(2 percent)

E. Topic 5. Distribution of Participants by Fiscal Year, Sex and Ethnic Group

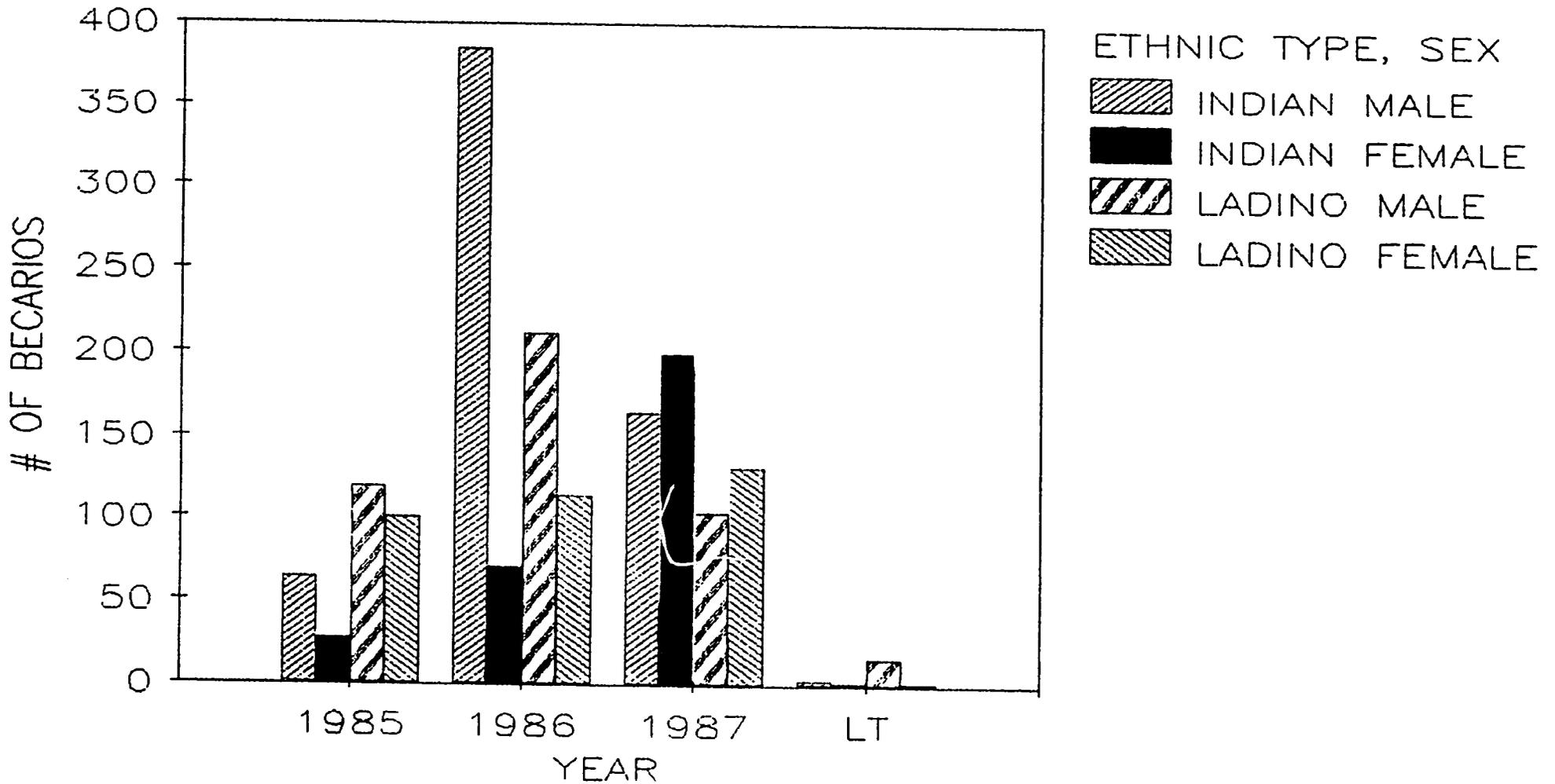
What has been the pattern during the three program years (1985, 1986 & 1987) of sex and ethnic representation in the CAPS program? The four graphics that follow (4.20, 4.21, 4.22, and 4.23) present the picture.

The country-wide pattern clearly reveals a tremendous upswing in numbers of Indian Males in 1986 and an emphasis on Indian Females in 1987.

Trends in the individual departments that stand out:

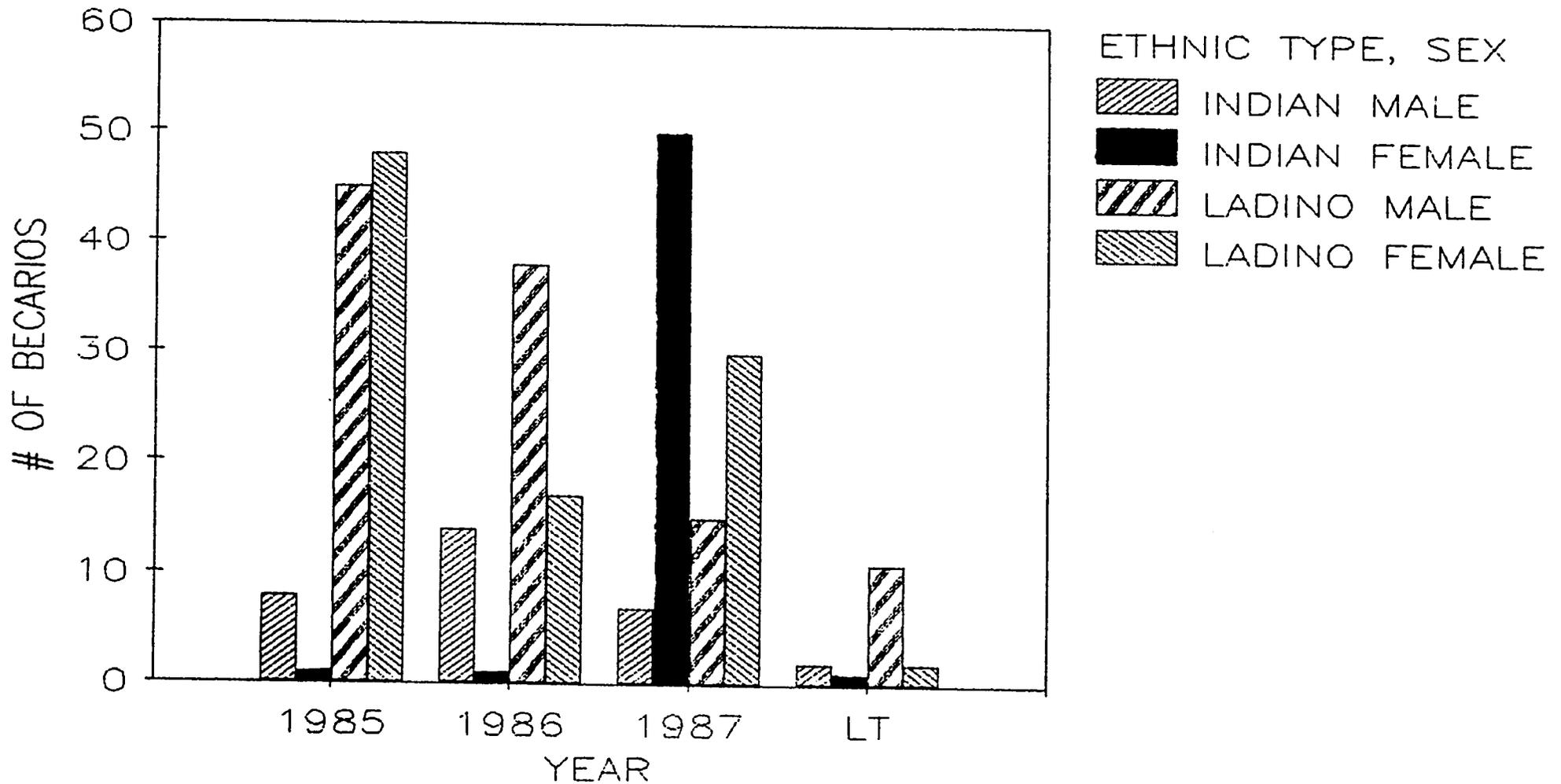
- Guatemala (Department): A major contribution of Indian Females occurred in 1987, while Ladino Males and Females (in almost equal numbers) dominated the 1985 contingent of becarios and Ladino Males were by far the largest group in 1986.
- Quetzaltenango: A preponderance of Ladinos (Male and Female) appeared in 1985 but Indian Males were the largest group in 1986; and finally, strong representation of Indian Females occurred in 1987 (when Indians/Ladinos and Males/Females were represented in the CAPS program in almost equal numbers).
- Solala: Indians have always been the largest group each year in the Solala contingent and most participants have been males. Most becarios from the department came to the CAPS Program in 1986. Very few women becarios have come from Solala.

GRAPHIC 4.20
 COUNTRY GUATEMALA
 # BECARIOS TRAINED BY SEX
 AND ETHNIC TYPE OF CAPS* SCHOLARS



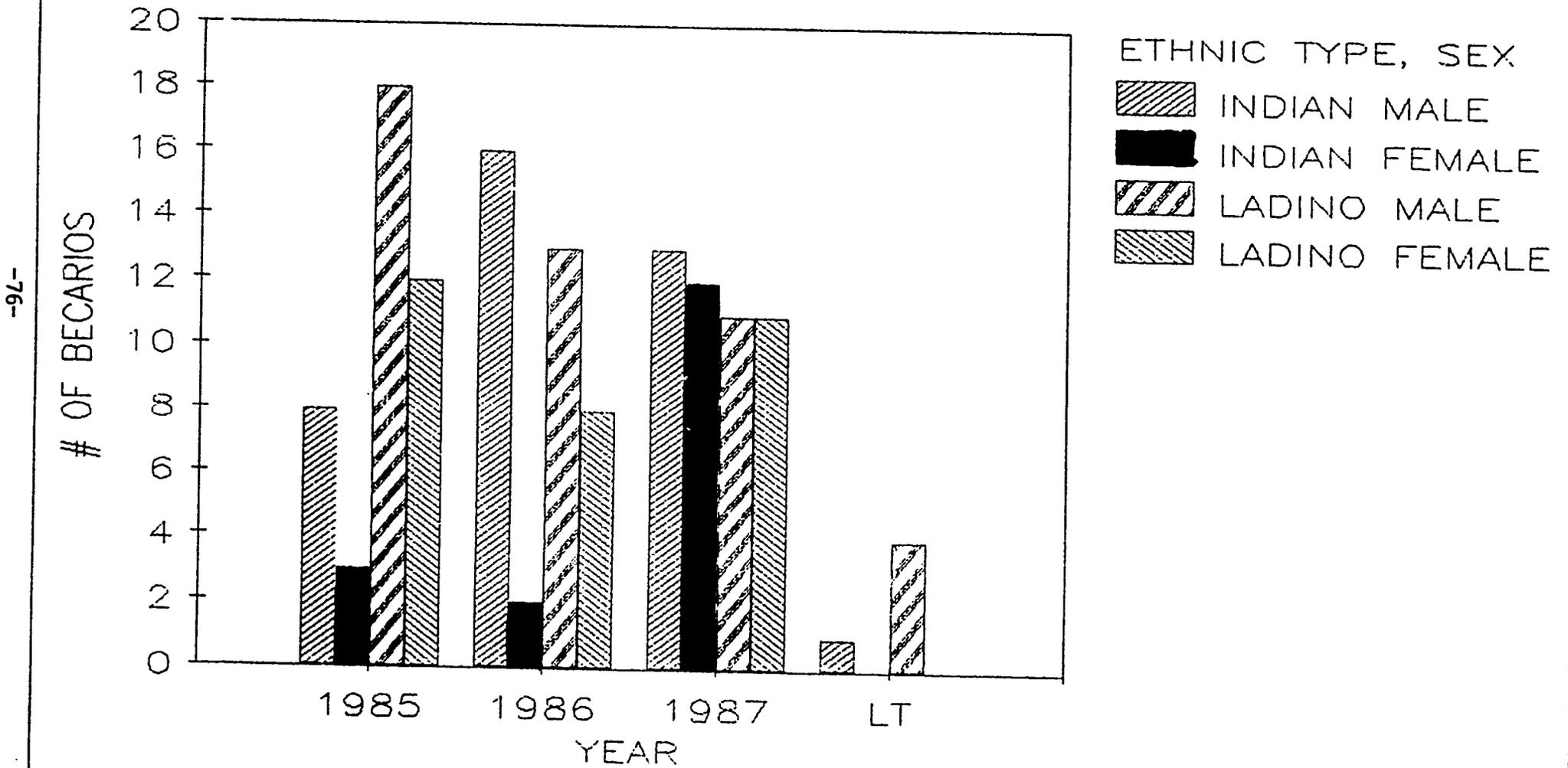
*CENTRAL AMERICAN PEACE SCHOLARSHIP TOTAL 1723

GRAPHIC 4.21
 DEPT. GUATEMALA
 # BECARIOS TRAINED BY SEX
 AND ETHNIC TYPE OF CAPS* SCHOLARS



*CENTRAL AMERICAN PEACE SCHOLARSHIP TOTAL 290

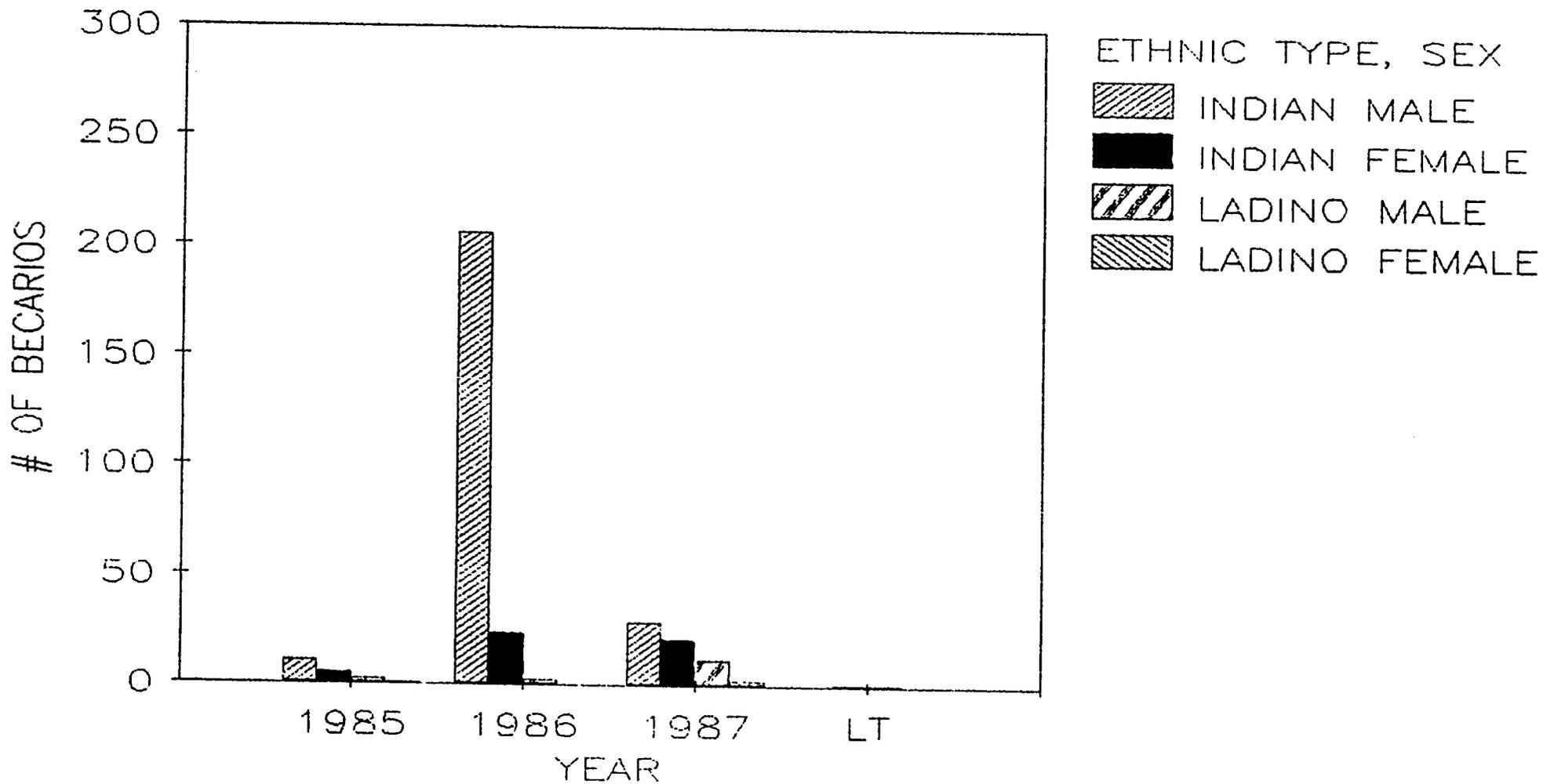
GRAPHIC 4.22
 DEPT. QUETZALTENANGO
 # BECARIOS TRAINED BY SEX
 AND ETHNIC TYPE OF CAPS* SCHOLARS



*CENTRAL AMERICAN PEACE SCHOLARSHIP TOTAL 132

GRAPHIC 4.23
DEPT.SOLOLA

BECARIOS TRAINED BY SEX
AND ETHNIC TYPE OF CAPS* SCHOLARS



*CENTRAL AMERICAN PEACE SCHOLARSHIP TOTAL 319

F. Topic 6. Distribution of Participants by Marital Status, Sex and Number of Children

A final set of graphics (4.24, 4.25, 4.26, 4.27) depicts family (marital) characteristics of the becarios.

The largest numbers of becarios appear in the following statuses:

	#	<u>% of All Becarios</u>
● Married Males	786	46
● Single Females	412	24

The graphics also show the large numbers of becarios who have no children (although "having 3 children" is the most frequent status of the "married males").

The complete picture of marital status of males and females is presented in Table 4.2.

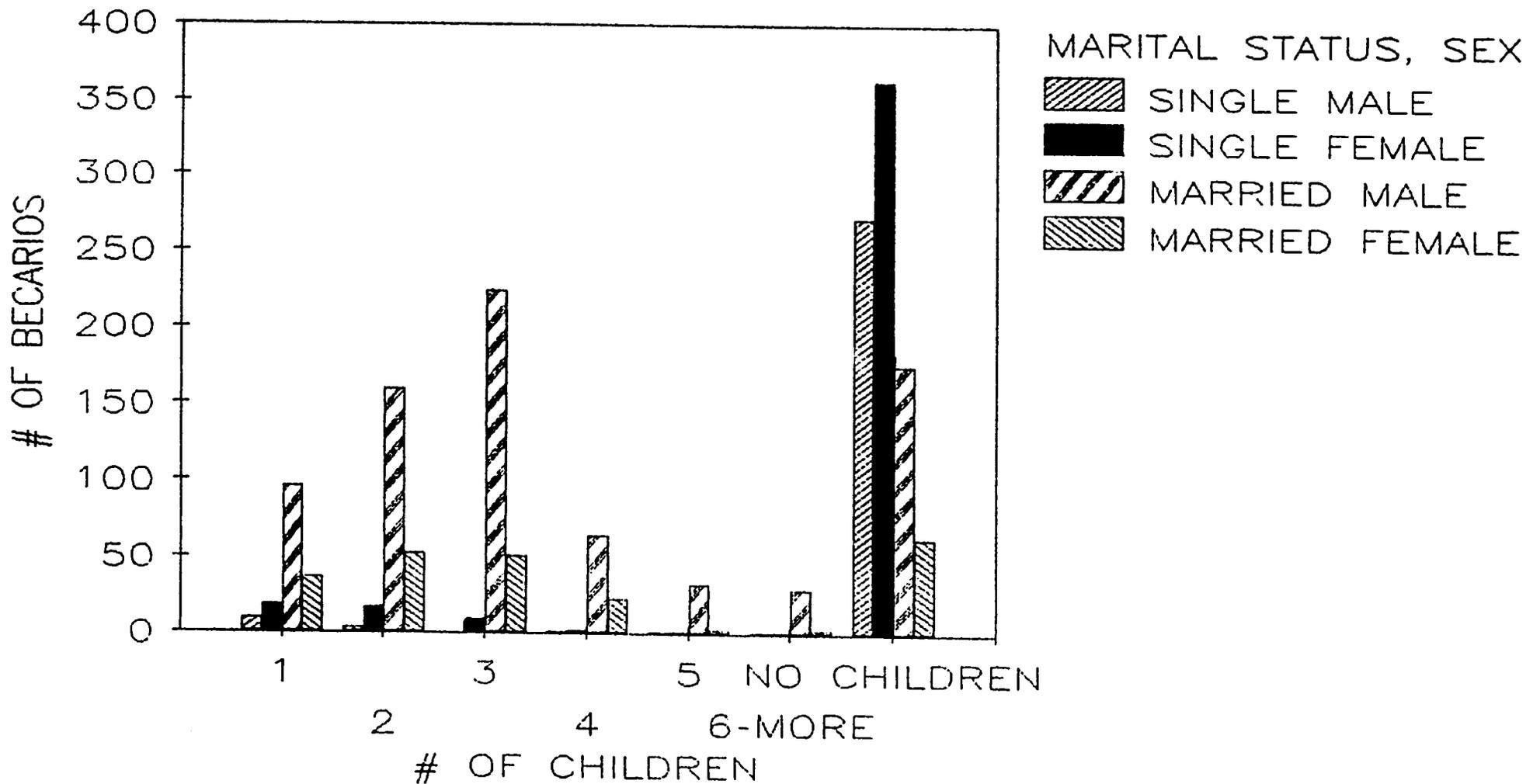
Table 4.2

Percentages of Male and Female Becarios Single or Married in Country of Guatemala and in Three Departments

	<u>Single</u>	<u>Married</u>	<u>Total Numbers</u>
<u>Guatemala (Country)</u>	(%)	(%)	
Male	27	73	1076 (100.0%)
Female	64	36	646 (100.0%)
<u>Guatemala (Dept.)</u>			
Male	32	68	140 (100.0%)
Female	63	27	150 (100.0%)
<u>Quetzaltenango</u>			
Male	18	82	84 (100.0%)
Female	67	23	48 (100.0%)
<u>Solala</u>			
Male	23	77	265 (100.0%)
Female	80	20	54 (100.0%)

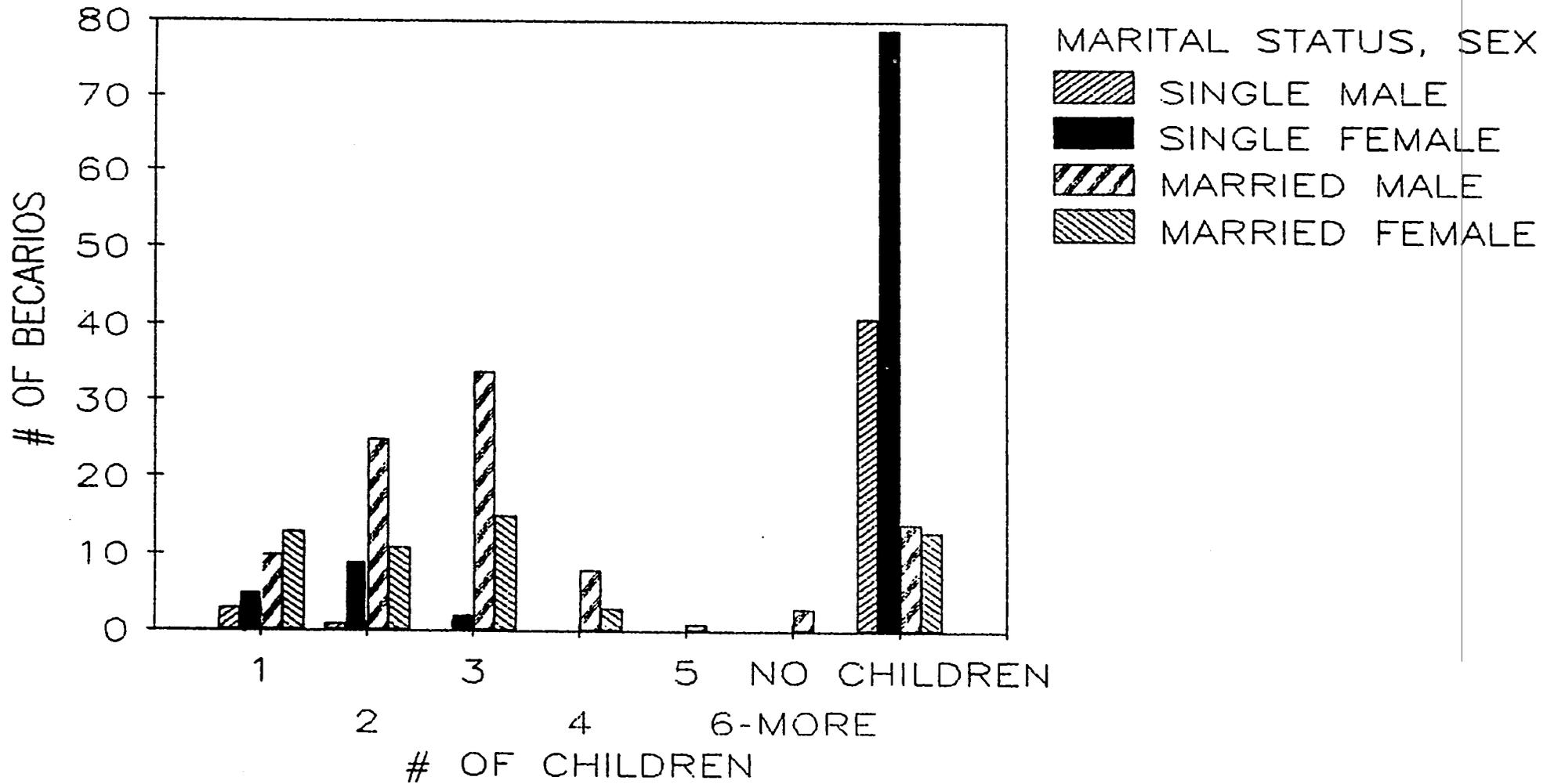
Clearly, most male becarios are married and most female-becarios are single. With male becarios outnumbering women becarios by considerable numbers, it is indicative of the preponderance of the nonmarried status among the women that "Single Females" outnumber "Single Males" 412 to 290.

GRAPHIC 4.24
 COUNTRY GUATEMALA
 DISTRIBUTION BECARIOS BY MARITAL STATUS
 SEX, # CHILDREN OF CAPS* SCHOLARS



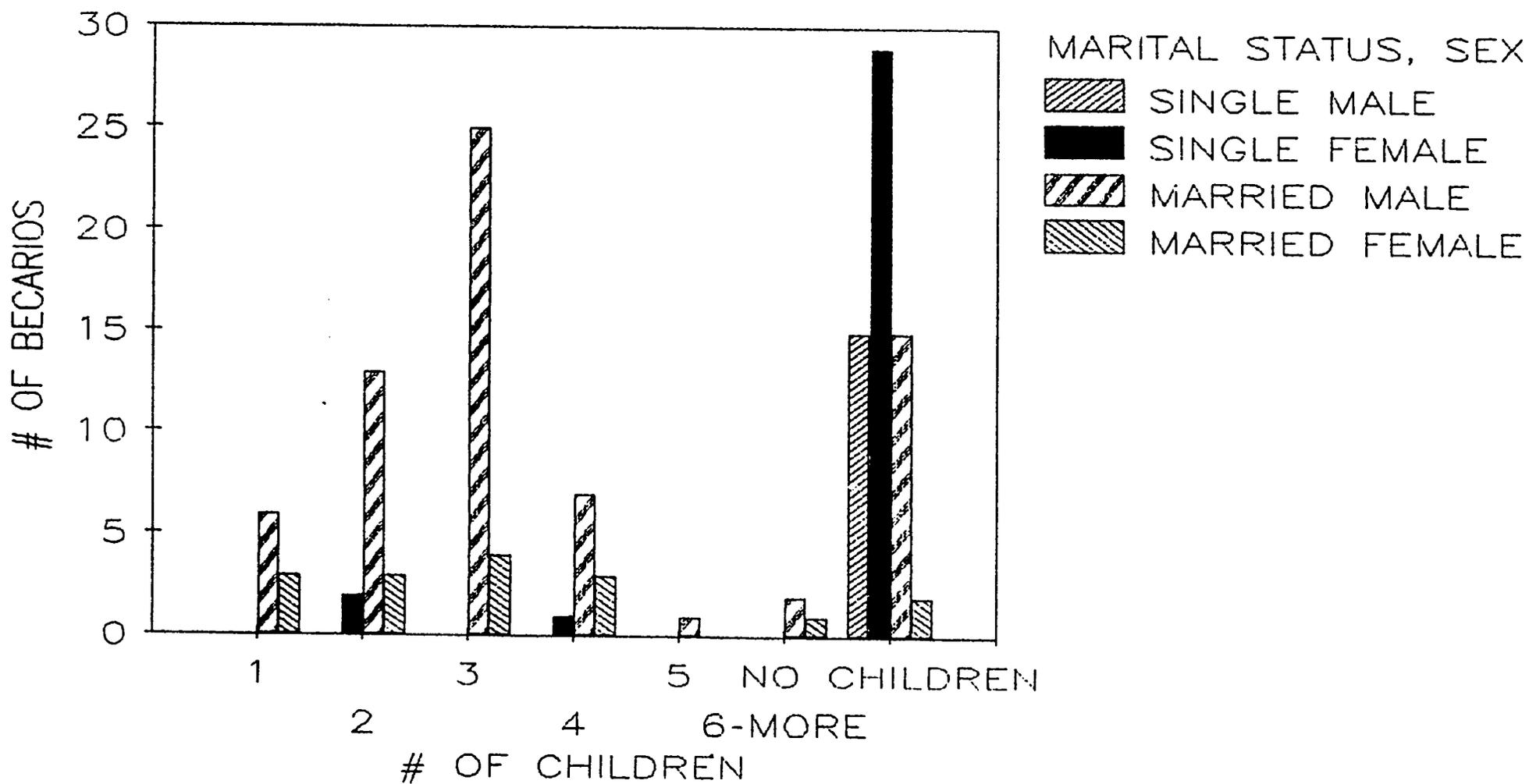
*CENTRAL AMERICAN PEACE SCHOLARSHIP TOTAL 1723

GRAPHIC 4.25
 DEPT. GUATEMALA
 DISTRIBUTION BECARIOS BY MARITAL STATUS
 SEX, AND # OF CHILDREN



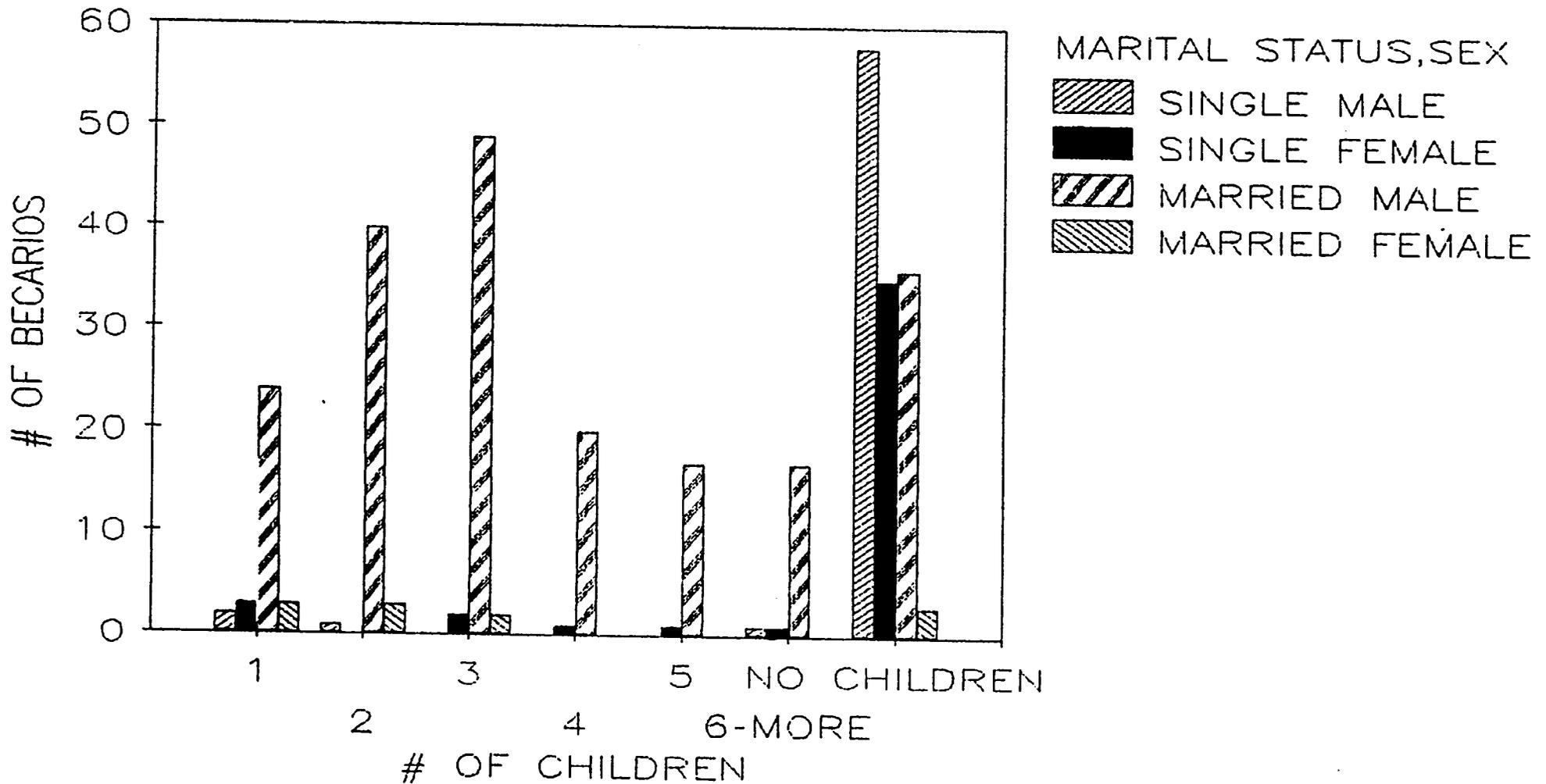
TOTAL 290

GRAPHIC 4.26
 DEPT. QUETZALTENANGO
 DISTRIBUTION BECARIOS BY MARITAL STATUS
 SEX, # CHILDS OF CAPS* SCHOLARS



*CENTRAL AMERICAN PEACE SCHOLARSHIP TOTAL 132

GRAPHIC 4.27
 DEPT. SOLOLA
 DISTRIBUTION BECARIOS BY MARITAL STATUS
 SEX, # CHILDS OF CAPS* SCHOLARS



*CENTRAL AMERICAN PEACE SCHOLARSHIP TOTAL 319

It is highly probable that married women in Guatemala, particularly at the socioeconomic levels now being tapped by the CAPS Program, are much less likely to be available for the beca trip than married men at these levels.

Chapter Five: The Study Samples

The sample for the study was taken from three departments of Guatemala:

Guatemala
Quetzaltenango
Solola

(Three persons of the total sample now lived in Quiche or Sacatepequez. Since the numbers in the sample were relatively small, no comparisons were made by department.)

The basic sample was of becarios, taken randomly from separate rosters of becarios for the three departments. Each roster was composed of all becarios participating in the CAPS program in the years 1985, 1986 or 1987.

The becarios selected and contacted then identified two "significant others" they felt they had influenced since returning from the becario experience and the trip to the United States. One of these "others" was identified as a family member; one was identified as a friend.

The sample numbers and percentages, by type of respondent and by department, are presented in Table 5.1 (showing also the few from Quiche and Sacatepequez).

Table 5.1

TOTAL SAMPLE:
NUMBERS AND PERCENTAGES
BY TYPE AND DEPARTMENT

Type	Department										Totals by Type N
	Guatemala		Quetzal- tenango		Solola		Quiche		Sacate- pequez		
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	
Becarios	41	40.6	20	19.8	39	38.6	1	1.0	0	0.0	101
Family Members	41	41.0	19	19.0	38	38.0	1	1.0	1	1.0	100
Friends	41	40.6	20	19.8	40	39.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	101
All Types	23	40.7	59	19.5	117	38.7	2	0.7	1	0.3	302*

*One questionnaire contained no identification of "department." Shortfalls in counts appear on other response variables as well.

By design, greater numbers were selected from Guatemala and Solola than from Quetzaltenango.

The same questions were asked of all the persons contacted -- becarios, family members, and friends. However, for the latter two groups -- the "significant others" -- questions asking about the impact or influence of the becario experience were reworded to ask about the impact or influence (on the respondent) exerted by the becario since he or she returned from the beca trip.

A. A Basic Profile

A number of characteristics provide a profile of the sample and its three basic groupings.

Sex distribution for the three categories of respondents is shown in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2

PERCENTAGE SEX DISTRIBUTIONS
FOR THE TYPES OF RESPONDENTS

Type	Percentage Male	Percentage Female	N
Becarios	64.6	35.6	101
Family Members	44.6	55.4	101
Friends	64.4	35.6	101
All Types	57.8	42.2	303

Females predominated only in the family members group. They also appeared in the majority (53.7 percent) in the department of Guatemala, while males were in the great majority in Quetzaltenango (61.0 percent) and in Solola (70.1 percent).

Age distribution of the sample is shown in Table 5.3

Table 5.3

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTIONS BY AGE
GROUPINGS FOR THE TYPE OF RESPONDENTS

Age Groupings

Type	0 - 20 (Percentage)	21 - 30 (Percentage)	31 - 40 (Percentage)	40 & Older (Percentage)	N
Becario	4.4	42.2	37.8	15.6	90
Family Member	19.4	38.8	27.6	14.3	98
Friend	13.5	52.1	21.9	12.5	96
All Types	12.7	44.4	28.9	14.1	284

The sample of becarios and "others" reveals a youthful group, with the "others" appearing even more youthful than the becarios. This youthfulness, especially among the "others," appears most clearly in figures on those age 20 and younger, as highlighted below:

Percentages
Age 20 and Younger

<u>Becarios</u>	4.4
Family Members	19.4
<u>Friends</u>	13.5
<u>All Groups</u>	12.7

The sample covered a broad range of occupations: over 20 individual categories of occupation were identified.

Among the becarios, the following occupations appeared with greatest frequency:

<u>Most Frequent Becario Occupations</u>	<u>Percentage of Total (N = 100)</u>
Farmer	18.0
Teacher	14.0
Health Technician	10.0
Laborer	7.0

A fairly equal distribution of technical/professional occupations and non-technical/professional occupations was discovered when occupations readily classifiable into these two categories were clustered. Representation in these two categories by becarios was as follows:

<u>Becario Representation in Two Occupation Categories</u>	<u>Percentage of Total (N = 100)</u>
Technical/Professional	46.0
Non-Technical/Professional	34.0

Considering the others (combining family members and friends), most frequent occupations identified were as follows:

<u>Most Frequent Occupations of Others</u>	<u>Percentage of Total (N = 202)</u>
Teacher	18.8
Domestic	13.4
Laborer	8.4
Accountant	8.4
Farmer	7.9

Again clustering occupations clearly identifiable as technical/professional and non-technical/professional, the picture for the others reveals an almost equal representation in these two categories:

<u>Other Representation in Two Occupation Categories</u>	<u>Percentage of Total (N = 202)</u>
Technical/Professional	39.1
Non-Tech/Professional	35.1

Thus the samples of both becarios and others represented a broad spectrum of occupations and reflected almost equally the more technically and professionally trained and the non-technically and professionally trained.

Two other characteristics help us identify the degree of activism of the persons selected for the sample. While we would expect the becarios to be persons active in work at the community level and in volunteer programs in their communities, the others selected by them also tended to be active in this way -- with the men more active than the women.

Table 5.4 presents the picture of community activism for the becarios; Table 5.5 reveals this pattern for the others (combining family members and friends).

Table 5.4

PARTICIPATION BY BECARIO
IN COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES

	Work at Community Level	Participate in Community Volunteer Program
	(N = 98) Percentages	(N = 98) Percentages
Males	76.6	68.3
Females	61.8	42.9
Total Group	71.4	59.2

Table 5.5

PARTICIPATION BY OTHERS
IN COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES

	Work at Community Level	Participate in Community Volunteer Program
	(N = 199) Percentages	(N = 202) Percentages
Males	55.6	52.7
Females	36.3	33.7
Total Group	46.7	44.1

The CAPS program provides a number of different scholarship "courses," and each becario is assigned to a distinctive course. The representativeness of our sample of becarios is further revealed in the number of different courses identified by the persons in the becario sample. The men identified 10 different beca courses; the women 8. Greatest numbers and percentages appeared for the following courses:

<u>Courses</u>	<u>Percentage of Male</u> <u>Becarios Receiving</u> <u>Course</u>
	<u>(N = 59)</u>
Business Management	20.3
Production & Marketing	20.3
Community Leadership	16.9

	<u>Percentage of Female</u> <u>Becarios Receiving</u> <u>Course</u>
	<u>(N = 36)</u>
Education and/or Qualification	30.6
Business Management	27.8
Community Development	16.7

B. Summary: Comparison to the Total Becario Population

Our sample of becarios was chosen randomly from three separate rosters which listed all becarios from each of three departments. We relied on the randomly selected becarios to identify to us family members and friends and had no control over their selections. Therefore, "representativeness" can only be assessed in relation to the universe of becarios (and not with regard to universes of "others"). Moreover, we can only compare our becario sample with the becario universe on a few variables. Furthermore, we performed a stratification in choosing just three departments and then randomizing selection in them; but since numbers selected are so small in the individual departments, it is appropriate to use only our total aggregated sample in making comparisons to the becario universe. In any event, let us examine how our sample looks against the backdrop of the universe of becarios in Guatemala.

How well have we selected a sample that looks like the total universe? How well does our sample reflect major tendencies in that universe?

First of all, we can say that we selected our sample from the three departments having the most becarios, as shown below:

Numbers from Different Departments

	Universe	Sample
Solola	319	39
Guatemala	290	41
Quetzaltenango	132	20

With limited resources constraining the size of our sample, we selected (manageable) numbers proportionate to those reflected in the comparative contributions of the three departments to the total universe. These departments contributed 741 becarios to the universe - some 43 percent of all becarios.

The sex distribution of our sample closely resembled the distribution in the total universe, as shown below:

Percentage Sex Distributions

	<u>Universe</u> (Percentage)	<u>Sample</u> (Percentage)
Male	62.4	64.6
Female	37.6	35.6

It is interesting to note that the predominance of males did not hold for the family members selected by becarios, although it did hold for friends selected (see Table 5.2). Becarios selected more female than male family members but more male than female friends when they identified "others" for our study.

Age distributions were quite similar, comparing our sample to the becario universe. Graphic 4.2 contains the relevant universe information, to be compared with Table 5.3. Over 80 percent of all becarios in the universe were between the ages of 21-40; approximately 9 percent were under age 21 and 10 percent were over age 40. Our sample was right on target in predominant age-group representation: 80 percent were between ages 21-40. However, the sample had only 4 percent under age 21, while 16 percent were over age 40.

Contrary to our expectations, the becarios selected a number of persons younger than themselves, so that almost 1 in 5 family members selected were younger than 21 years old and over 1 in 8 friends selected were under age 21 (see Table 5.3).

The Occupation variable offers another opportunity for comparison (although both the CAPS data base and our own questionnaire encountered many problems in identifying and classifying

occupations). Our questionnaire asked respondents to write down their occupation, and classification was attempted from these recordings although many persons did not record an occupation. Thus many categories are not comparable for recordings on occupation in the data base and for our sample.

We obtained 18 percent recording "Farmer" and 7 percent recording "Laborer"; while 41 percent in the data base were classified "Agriworker" (explained as "Campesino") and the next largest category in the data base was "Employee" (31 percent) -- a category which, we suspect, would also encompass many in our sample. Moreover, while we recorded 14 percent "Teachers" and 10 percent "Health Technicians," neither of these categories is used in the data base and only 1.7 percent in the data base are classified as "Professional."

We must conclude, even considering problems of non-comparable classification categories, our sample did not clearly reflect the profile in the data base on occupation. We can say, however, that our sample definitely represented both "Technical/Professional" becarios and "Non-Technical/Professional" ones (as revealed when we clustered occupations identifiable in the two group categories). Moreover, the "others" identified by our becarios can be divided almost equally into these two major types of occupations.

Given the close approximation of our sample to characteristics of sex distribution and age distribution in the becario universe, and the fact that we sampled in the departments which, combined, provided 43 percent of all becarios, we feel confident that our stratified random procedures produced a good representation of that universe, including the broad range of occupations and other tendencies embodied in it.

Resource constraints prevented obtaining a larger sample. The sample taken and then used as a vehicle for accessing "significant others," served its purpose adequately.

Chapter Six: The Impact Analysis

A. Overview: A Basic Format Comparing Becarios, Family Members and Friends

As we begin our intensive look at the views and attitudes of a sample of becarios and their "significant others," let us describe the general format of our presentation.

Our basic comparisons will be between becarios, family members and friends. We shall explore the views of these groups on:

- Priorities for improving aspects of their personal lives and of life in their communities.
- Change and the change process in society.
- Impressions of the United States and how they obtained them.
- Attitudes (in general) toward democracy, and (specifically) toward democracy in the United States.

Throughout we shall be looking for the impact on those expressed views and attitudes of the beca experience (in the case of the becarios) and of associations with the becarios (in the case of family members and friends). We shall then examine variables that might account for differences in findings within the three groups. And finally we shall make an effort to detect influence of individual becarios on the specific others they have identified to us, examining our findings as 101 "cases" composed of becario/family member/friend.

One major purpose of our study is to attempt to quantify information obtained from CAPS participants and "significant others" in their lives in assessing impact of the program. Therefore, our presentation is weighted heavily with numeric data. We have chosen to display large amounts of the quantified findings rather than just selecting the few findings that appear most significant and warrant comment. In this approach, we are inviting the reader to share with us the search for patterns while also observing the response tendencies of our groups on most questions asked of them. However, we will also guide the reader's eye to response tendencies that stand out and which contribute to "patterns."

The work is exploratory in many respects. In a future effort, one would hope for the opportunity to obtain a larger sample; and certainly a future evaluative study could improve on instruments and

methods of obtaining the views and attitudes of becarios and others.

In addition, a future study would have the baseline measurements provided by our study to use as reference points for the assessment of attitudinal change, and it should seek to discover objective measures of actions and behaviors that can be associated with reported attitudes.

Moreover, any effort building on the present one should be able to capitalize on the additional structure and articulation our study has given to a small subgroup of becarios stretching across three departments of Guatemala. But perhaps more important are the potentials for structure and articulation our initial effort has given to "significant others" who could make future contributions to the flow of evaluative information regarding the ripple effects of the CAPS program.

B. Life Priorities

How do becarios and others in their communities view their world as they anticipate bringing about change? What are the most important areas of life in which they desire to see changes made?

Provided with a list of six aspects** of life, our respondents revealed the following priorities when asked to rank*** these aspects in order of their importance in their personal lives:

Ranking by Becarios:

1. Work Situation
2. Economic Situation
3. Education Situation
4. Health Situation
5. Living Situation (condition)
6. Social Situation

*Problems encountered in the present effort and how they were resolved are discussed in Appendix A.

**The six aspects were identified in preliminary discussion sessions with becarios (persons who were subsequently excluded from the study sample).

***Rankings are for the groups as wholes, computed by averaging the rank numbers and ordering them from smallest average rank number (i.e., highest rank) to largest average rank number (i.e., lowest rank).

Ranking by Family Members:

1. Education Situation
2. Economic Situation
3. Work Situation
4. Health Situation
5. Living Situation (condition)
6. Social Situation

Ranking by Friends:

1. Economic Situation
2. Work Situation
3. Education Situation
4. Health Situation
5. Living Situation (condition)
6. Social Situation

Work ranked first with becarios; education was most important to family members; and economics was the prime factor for friends. But these three aspects were ranked 1, 2 or 3 in priority by all three groups.

How much did conditions in these six aspects of their personal lives improve during the past year for our groups of respondents? And how much were any of these improvements due to the beca experience or to associating with the becario? The responses to these questions are plotted in Tables 6.1 and 6.2.

Although explanations on the tables indicate that the highest and lowest possible scores respectively are 5.00 and 1.00, the full scale should be spelled out so that the reader knows the response being selected by the respondent in choosing a given number on a 5-point scale. The terms associated with each number were:

- 5 - Very much
- 4 - Much
- 3 - A little
- 2 - Very little
- 1 - Not at all

In neither Table did average scores for any group reach 4.00 ("Much" improvement; "Much" due to the beca experience). But some average ratings were considerably higher than the mid-point on the scale (3 or average score 3.00) where one would expect most answers to fall unless persons were clearly negative and disenchanted or distinctively positive and upbeat.*

*Another possibility, of course, is that responses were heavily influenced by desires to please the questioners. We were constantly aware

Table 6.1

AVERAGE SCORES* IN RATING HOW MUCH IN THE PAST YEAR "CONDITIONS IMPROVED" IN EACH OF SIX ASPECTS OF THEIR PERSONAL LIVES

Ratings by Becarios, Family Members and Friends
 Highest Possible Score ("Very Much") = 5.00
 Lowest Possible Score ("Not at all")= 1.00

Group	Aspects of Personal Life					
	Economics	Work	Living (Conditions)	Health	Education	Social
Becarios	2.95	3.32	3.14	3.28	3.77	3.62
Family Members	3.06	3.23	2.90	3.39	3.45	3.43
Friends	2.89	3.16	2.42	2.92	3.25	3.23
**"Scores" are averages for the groups on a scale of 5 - 1 rating how much "Conditions Improved"						

Table 6.2

AVERAGE SCORES* IN RATING HOW MUCH ANY IMPROVEMENT IN EACH OF SIX ASPECTS OF THEIR PERSONAL LIVES WAS DUE TO EXPERIENCE AS (OR IN ASSOCIATING WITH) A BECARIO

Ratings by Becarios, Family Members and Friends
 Highest Possible Score ("Very Much") = 5.00
 Lowest Possible Score ("Not at all")= 1.00

Group	Aspects of Personal Life					
	Economics	Work	Living (Conditions)	Health	Education	Social
Becarios	3.08	3.71	2.46	2.98	3.93	3.78
Family Members	3.05	3.00	2.77	3.19	3.53	3.58
Friends	2.52	3.04	2.20	2.74	3.07	3.22
**"Scores" are averages for the groups on a scale of 5 - 1 rating "How Much Improvement Due To Becario Experience"						

Highest scores for each group are circled. The improvement in "Education Situation" and "Social Situation" (influenced considerably by the scholarship experience) reported by becarios doubtless reflects directly the sense that the beca experience itself was an educational improvement and, perhaps, opened the way to improved social relationships with others in the community. The tendency for family members and friends to report greatest improvement in "education" and "social" situations, and to give credit to their association with the becario for the slight improvements in both these aspects, may reflect their identification with the becario and his or her beca opportunity more than improvements that person has brought about in their lives.

Note that only the becario group reported considerable improvement in their "work situation" as a result of the scholarship experience.

The same ranking and rating exercise was requested of the respondents with regard to life situations in their community. What are the most important areas or aspects of community life in which they desire to see changes made?

Our groups revealed the following priorities when asked to rank the six aspects in order of their importance to community life and its improvement:

Ranking by Becarios:

1. Education Situation
2. Economic Situation
3. Health Situation
4. Work Situation
5. Living Situation (conditions)
6. Social Situation

Ranking by Family Members:

1. Work Situation
2. Health Situation
3. Education Situation
4. Economic Situation
5. Living Situation (conditions)
6. Social Situation

of this possibility but found throughout the questioning process that respondents were not afraid to be negative and critical. Moreover, the fact that the indicators on our instruments did move (even if only slightly) and in consistent ways, seems to reflect conscientious efforts by our respondents to make distinctions and answer thoughtfully.

Ranking by Friends:

1. Work Situation
2. Economic Situation
3. Education Situation
4. Health Situation
5. Living Situation (conditions)
6. Social Situation

Orders of priority shifted somewhat when the respondents were asked to think about their community's situation. The becarios moved health up into the top three areas of concern; and family members moved health to top priority (along with work). Friends stayed with the same top three priorities for the community as in their personal lives but now moved work to top priority.

Perceived improvements in community life during the past year and how much they were due to the becario and his scholarship experience are recorded in Tables 6.3 and 6.4.

Speaking to community conditions, the respondents perceive less improvement than in their personal lives. The total display indicates, basically, only "A Little" improvement (approaching "Very Little" especially in the responses of friends rating influence of association with the becario on community improvement). Again, greatest improvement is seen in "education" and "social" situations and also in "work" and "health"; but all perceived gains are slight. Clearly, improvements perceived in personal situations by becarios, family members and friends have not extended very far into the community (in the views of persons in those groups).

One interpretation of the personal and community patterns of perceived priorities and improvements is that the CAPS experience is still quite specific to the historical event of the beca trip: the excitement of it and the glow of its immediate aftermath for the participant and his or her close associates. Perhaps all we are recording now is a baseline from which future measurements of perceived improvements will either regress or advance, depending on future reinforcement.

C. Views on Change

What are the basic attitudes toward change of the becarios and their "significant others"? What are their philosophies of change?

One would expect that at least the becarios, who have sought the opportunity to visit the United States and learn about a "developed" society, would all be committed to attempting to effect change and would hold a philosophy that change is important and possible and can be brought about by the actions of people like themselves. But do

Table 6.3

AVERAGE SCORES* IN RATING HOW MUCH IN THE PAST YEAR "CONDITIONS IMPROVED" IN THE RESPONDENT'S COMMUNITY IN EACH OF SIX ASPECTS

Ratings by Becarios, Family Members and Friends

Highest Possible Score ("Very Much") = 5.00

Lowest Possible Score ("Not at all")= 1.00

Group	Aspects of Community Life					
	Economics	Work	Living (Conditions)	Health	Education	Social
Becarios	2.74	3.06	2.65	2.96	3.14	3.10
Family Members	2.90	2.99	2.93	3.00	3.19	2.99
Friends	2.75	2.90	2.56	2.80	3.05	2.86
**"Scores" are averages for the groups on a scale of 5 - 1 rating how much "Conditions Improved"						

Table 6.4

AVERAGE SCORES* IN RATING HOW MUCH ANY IMPROVEMENT IN EACH OF SIX ASPECTS OF COMMUNITY LIFE WAS DUE TO EXPERIENCE AS (OR IN ASSOCIATING WITH) A BECARIO

Ratings by Becarios, Family Members and Friends

Highest Possible Score ("Very Much") = 5.00

Lowest Possible Score ("Not at all")= 1.00

Group	Aspects of Community Life					
	Economics	Work	Living (Conditions)	Health	Education	Social
Becarios	2.66	2.94	2.48	2.92	3.16	3.10
Family Members	2.76	2.86	2.57	2.94	3.16	3.17
Friends	2.36	2.77	2.32	2.78	2.99	2.84
**"Scores" are averages for the groups on a scale of 5 - 1 rating "How Much Improvement Due to Becario Experience"						

their family members and friends hold such a philosophy? Indeed, what are some of the component beliefs in the philosophies of each group which may or may not be compatible with "development" as it is known and practiced in developed countries? And might there be beliefs held by our persons from the less developed world which, while seeming incompatible with human action for change from the perspective of developed societies like our own, are held by people in the less developed world who still are attempting to be active agents of change and who see no contradiction between their beliefs and this quest?

Our exploration into beliefs regarding change is preliminary, and it needs to be open and alert to biases (like our own) coming from the developed world. We have been counseled to such humility by the words and ideas expressed earlier by leaders in Guatemala inspired by the Loyola Leadership Program, who carried forward basic principles, ideas and techniques of that program but, in their view, improved on them for the context of Latin America. One of those leaders, envisioning a new integration of indigenous and Ladino groups and their heritages, implied that progress and development in Guatemala -- including (in fact, carried forward by) the "development of liberty" -- would not see a tearing away from old roots of identity (a process so manifest in the historical panorama of development in the United States). Instead, a new synthesis would be achieved in which heritage and roots would be more pridefully asserted and would be the sources of new energies for change.

People of strong ethnic heritage and with great pride in culture, land and community may presently confound the readings on some of our instruments for measuring attitudes and beliefs and assessing their compatibility or incompatibility with developmental change. Which means we must have better instruments and that the subjects of our inquiry should join us in the effort to devise better instruments for measuring beliefs regarding change and their consequences for development.

Our current exploration into beliefs regarding change utilized 16 statements (items) on which respondents were to express their degrees of agreement or disagreement. Our list of items needs much refinement: first, to discover which items cluster together in varied belief tendencies; and second, but most important, to discover additional items, most relevant to the culture and sociopolitical realities (and conditioning) of Guatemalans and their distinctive subgroups, that express important beliefs that are most relevant to developmental change in Guatemala.

Our study cannot pause to undertake and report on efforts to improve its instruments. Suffice it to say that improvement of instruments is high on our own future agenda. And in reporting our findings on beliefs and attitudes regarding change we are more selective. In Tables 6.5, 6.6 and 6.7 we display only those statements which received "Most Agreement" and "Least Agreement" in

Table 6.5

ATTITUDES TOWARD CHANGE:
STATEMENTS REGARDING CHANGE RECEIVING
"MOST AGREEMENT" AND "LEAST AGREEMENT"
BY BECARIOS

<u>Highest Agreement Statements</u>	<u>% Responding Agree "Much" or "Very Much"</u>
1. United, we can make changes.	96.0
2. Each person controls his or her own life; anyone can make the changes he or she wants.	81.7
3. Change in a person's personal situation is very important, because as one advances the community advances.	76.2
4. True change requires profound structural change in society.	64.7
<u>Lowest Agreement Statements</u>	<u>% Responding Agree "Very Little" or "Not at all"</u>
1. For changes to occur, they must be rough, even violent.	78.0
2. One can't change destiny.	68.3
3. He who has luck can change the situation.	65.0
4. The poor will always be poor.	64.0
5. Generally, change is not good; the previous situation (even 'though hard) was better.	63.6

Table 6.6

ATTITUDES TOWARD CHANGE:
STATEMENTS REGARDING CHANGE RECEIVING
"MOST AGREEMENT" AND "LEAST AGREEMENT"
BY FAMILY MEMBERS

<u>Highest Agreement Statements</u>	<u>% Responding Agree "Much" or "Very Much"</u>
1. United, we can make changes.	96.0
2. Each person controls his or her own life; anyone can make the changes he or she wants.	84.2
3. Change in a person's personal situation is very important because as one advances the community advances.	83.2
4. True change requires profound structural change in society.	66.3
<u>Lowest Agreement Statements</u>	<u>% Responding Agree "Very Little" or "Not at all"</u>
1. The poor will always be poor.	67.0
2. One can't change destiny.	64.4
3. The state produces the important changes.	62.3
4. For changes to occur, they must be rough even violent.	60.4
5. He who has luck can change the situation.	58.4

Table 6.7

ATTITUDES TOWARD CHANGE:
 STATEMENTS REGARDING CHANGE RECEIVING
 "MOST AGREEMENT" AND "LEAST AGREEMENT"
 BY FRIENDS

<u>Highest Agreement Statements</u>	<u>% Responding Agree "Much" or "Very Much"</u>
1. United, we can make changes.	99.0
2. Each person controls his or her own life; anyone can make the changes he or she wants.	78.2
3. Change in a person's personal situation is very important, because as one advances the community advances.	73.3
4. True change requires profound structural change in society.	69.0
<u>Lowest Agreement Statements</u>	<u>% Responding Agree "Very Little" or "Not at all"</u>
1. The state produces the important changes.	69.3
2. One can't change destiny.	69.0
3. The poor will always be poor.	65.4
4. For changes to occur, they must be rough even violent.	62.4
5. There's only one chance in life to make changes; if you don't take advantage, the chance is lost forever.	61.4

the responses of our three groups; that is, the statements where responses piled up at the high (4 & 5) end of the scale; and the statements where the greatest percentages of responses at 1 and 2 on the scale appeared. Most of the other statements presented to respondents elicited moderate and inconclusive response tendencies.

Although the size of the percentages on the items varies somewhat between the three groups, there was unanimity on the four statements agreed with most. "United we can make changes" may be a truism -- almost the slogan -- of the CAPS Program; and nearly everyone strongly agreed with that statement. The second and third most agreed with statements, however, are more revealing: they indicate that the becarios and those they selected as persons in their close personal circle of relationships all tend to believe that:

- it is up to the individual to act to bring about change;
- personal strivings to improve one's own situation contributes to improvement in the community (implying that altruism is served by self-assertion).

The last most agreed with statement (shown in the tables) seems to indicate that each of our groups envisions that change must be reinforced by many forces in the very structure of a society, and that those structures must change if true change is to occur.

Are these the beliefs largely of only a select group of Guatemalans -- community leaders and their close associates? Or do most Guatemalans hold these views about change? We do not know. But our findings do indicate that the becarios and their "significant others" are activists who believe in individual action and striving for improved conditions for self which will lead also to positive changes in the community; and that persons with such beliefs can work together to bring about change.

On the disagreement side of the scale, the unanimity among our respondents is not as great. Some points to be highlighted:

- Becarios seem most desirous (among our three groups) of asserting that violence is unnecessary in effecting change. They also dissociate themselves from the view that luck is an important element in change. And they clearly disagree with the three statements that we (with our "developed-world" perspective) would have preclassified as most (or at least highly) indicative of a "fatalistic, non-hopeful" view of the world, i.e.

- One can't change destiny.
 - The poor will always be poor.
 - Generally, change is not good
- Family members dissociate themselves most strongly also from violence and luck and (especially) from the first two of the (in our view) beliefs of the "non-hopeful"; but they do not as strongly disavow that "change is not good." (Doubtless, many would wish to explain their conflicts in responding to this question with its possible harsh overtones toward the past). Added to their five least agreed with statements is one regarding the role of the state in producing change: they strongly disagree that the "state produces the important changes."
 - Friends strongly disavow two of our "fatalistic three" (those regarding destiny and the poor). They join becarios in disavowing violence; and join family members in being negative about the role of the state in change. They introduce one other item missing from the least agreed with lists of becarios and family members: they more strongly disavow that "there's only one chance in life to make changes."

How long have our respondents held these beliefs and how deeply are they ingrained in their philosophies of life? We do not know. But in response to the question "Have your ideas regarding change been changed as a result of the beca experience (or association with the returned becario)?" the "Yes" responses from our three groups were:

Becarios	-	90.1 percent
Family Members	-	67.0 percent
Friends	-	61.0 percent

Later in our analysis we shall return to this theme of attitudes and beliefs regarding change to go a step further with an effort to discover concomitants of certain beliefs. Given the present primitive state of our instrumentation for examining this problem, we shall use just three items, the can't change destiny, poor always poor and the few always decide on change items, to identify subgroups strongly agreeing with at least one of these statements. Then we shall explore their characteristics and some of their other response patterns.

At this point in our analysis we feel it appropriate to indicate that the subgroups so identified, both among becarios and among others, are not highly homogeneous in their other characteristics.

D. Impressions of the United States

"What are the sources of information you consider most reliable for obtaining impressions of the United States?"

This question produced the patterns of response from becarios, family members and friends shown in Table 6.8. The findings on reliable sources are presented in descending order of reliability as perceived by becarios, with responses from the other two groups listed to associate them with the becario response list. "Highest" and "Lowest" percentages of family members and friends responding "Reliable" or "Very Reliable" are circled to facilitate their identification.

All three groups find fellow Guatemalans the most reliable sources except when information is obtained in "casual conversations." But family members and friends rate any source considerably lower than becarios rate "Guatemalans who have worked with Americans." Family and friends rate highest "Guatemalans who have lived in or visited the U.S." (while that source rates second in reliability with becarios).

All groups rely very little on "Films made in the U.S." for reliable information about the United States. Guatemala media and "Various magazines and newspapers" also do not fare well on perceived reliability. "Books about the U.S." are notably rated low in reliability by the friends of the becarios.

"Have your ideas on reliable sources changed as a result of the beca experience (or association with a becario)?" This question was answered "Yes" much more frequently by becarios than by their "significant others," as shown below:

	Percentages Responding "Yes" (<u>ideas on sources changed</u>)
Becarios	82.0
Family Members	49.5
Friends	52.0

Regardless of how impressions of the United States are obtained, what are the qualities and characteristics most strongly associated with the U.S. by becarios, family members and friends? A list of characteristics was presented to the respondents and they were asked to use a scale of 5 - 1 to rate how much, in their view, the United States has various characteristics.

Results are presented in Table 6.9. Again, we have reduced answers to "scores" and present the average scores revealed by multiplying frequencies of respondents choosing given values on the scale by those values and dividing the resulting total by the total

Table 6.8

PERCEIVED RELIABILITY OF DIFFERENT
SOURCES OF INFORMATION FOR
OBTAINING IMPRESSIONS OF
THE U.S.

(By Becarios, Family Members and Friends)

Sources of Information	Percentages Responding Source is "Reliable" or "Very Reliable"		
	Becarios	Family	Friends
1. Guatemalans who have worked with Americans.	76.1	52.5	46.5
2. Guatemalans who have lived in or visited the U.S.	64.0	66.3	60.6
3. Guatemalans who work in U.S. Gov't. agencies.	53.5	44.5	44.6
4. U.S. personnel who work with U.S. Government agencies.	50.5	44.5	48.0
5. American tourists in Guatemala.	50.5	50.5	41.0
6. Books about the U. S.	45.3	46.9	33.6
7. Various magazines and newspapers.	41.0	48.5	39.6
8. Notices in the Guatemala press and other media.	38.0	48.5	32.7
9. What I hear in conversations with Guatemalans.	36.4	40.6	38.6
10. Films made in the U. S.	35.0	34.0	33.7

Table 6.9

AVERAGE SCORES* IN RATING VARIOUS
QUALITIES AND CHARACTERISTICS
OF THE U.S. AND ITS PEOPLE

Ratings By Becarios, Family Members and Friends
Highest Possible Score (has Characteristic "Very Much") = 5.00
Lowest Possible Score (has Characteristic "Not at all")= 1.00

Impressions of Characteristics	Scores* of the 3 Groups:		
	Becarios	Family	Friends
1. Powerful	4.46	4.46	4.43
2. Rich	4.55	4.61	4.59
3. Many people and crowded	4.49	4.64	4.59
4. Always in a hurry	4.18	4.45	4.34
5. Compassionate	3.33	3.41	3.31
6. Land of Opportunity	4.03	4.19	3.86
7. Justice in human treatment	4.02	3.80	3.62
8. Materialistic	3.52	3.78	3.53
9. Organized	4.71	4.72	4.44
10. Clean (neat and tidy)	4.60	4.52	4.25
11. Punctual	4.74	4.75	4.54
12. Orderly	4.77	4.61	4.47
13. Honest	4.35	4.12	3.90

*" Scores are averages for the groups on a scale of 5 - 1 rating characteristics of the U.S. and its people.

number of respondents. To clarify the actual response that a given score approximates, the numbers on the complete scale were identified with the following responses:

The United States has this characteristic:

- 5 - Very Much
- 4 - Much
- 3 - A little
- 2 - Very little
- 1 - Not at all

We have circled the highest and lowest scores in each column. Clearly, all three groups tended to rate the U.S. "4" or "5" on characteristics related to wealth, power and organization and those qualities that are concomitants of being "developed" and "organized".

The U.S. was rated lowest by all groups on "compassion," although the respondents perceived at least "a little" compassion in our society. And if compassion seemed somewhat lacking, it is noteworthy that the word "materialistic" did not receive as much agreement as a characteristic of the U.S. as the terms clearly identified with power and organization. Moreover, the quality of being "honest" was associated quite strongly with our society; and "justice in human treatment" received a rating closer to "4" than to "3" as a quality found in the United States.

In the total pattern, the friends of the becarios tended to see less "justice," "honesty" and "opportunity" in our society than did the becarios and family members; while family members were higher in the rating of our society as a "land of opportunity" than either of the other two respondent groups.

An open-ended question asked the respondents to volunteer their comments on what they "liked most" and "liked least" about the United States. Not everyone provided comments; but from those who did several strong impressions were obtained (from specific comments that ranged over a broad spectrum):

1. The qualities of organization in our developed society (as indicated too in the patterns of responses to the preset list of statements) were most admired.
2. All groups were highly conscious of the beca trip (satisfaction with it or desires to make it) in responding to our questions.
3. Negative impressions of the U.S. were most likely to be identified with a different culture (a bustling, agitated lifestyle).

The pattern of volunteered comments as we classified them was as follows (showing percentages volunteering various types of comments):

<u>Liked Most</u>	<u>Becarios</u>	<u>Family Members</u> (Percentages*)	<u>Friends</u>
Organization	46.0	32.0	32.0
The beca trip	10.0	31.0	30.0
U.S. culture	14.0	10.0	-
Tech. development	-	-	14.0
<u>Liked Least</u>			
Nothing	15.2	37.9	29.4
Food	12.7	8.0	12.9
Agitated lifestyle	-	12.6	14.1
Beca too short	-	-	15.3
Family divisions	10.1	-	-
Language barriers	10.1	-	-

*Percentages are based on an N of all comments volunteered by each group.

It does seem obvious that the scholarship situation, and possibilities of obtaining a scholarship, loomed large in the responses of family members and friends. Note that some friends even saw fit to say that the "beca (was) too short" in their anticipatory view. Thus "impressions of the U.S." in the response patterns might more appropriately be stated as "impressions of the U.S. as provider of scholarships" under the CAPS Program.

E. Attitudes Toward Democracy

A list of "democratic practices" was generated for presentation to the respondents. Like other components of our questionnaire, this list too benefited from discussion sessions with becarios during which an earlier version of the questionnaire was critiqued. In the final questionnaire, the list was presented to the respondents twice and they were asked to respond: first, to indicate "how important" a given practice was in their concept of democracy; and second, to indicate "how much [in their view] a practice appears in U.S. democracy." Results are shown in Table 6.10, with rating scores, computed from all responses, used to show the patterns. Highest and lowest ratings are circled for each group.

The values on the scale rating importance of practices are:

- 5 - Very important
- 4 - Important

Table 6.10

ATTITUDES TOWARD DEMOCRACY AND
IMPRESSIONS OF U.S. DEMOCRACY

Average Scores* in Rating Importance of
Various Democratic Practices and the
Degree Practices Appear in U. S.
Democracy

Democratic Practices	Importance of Practice ("Very Important" = 5.00)			Degree of Appearance in U.S. ("Very Much Appears" = 5.00)		
	Becario	Family	Friends	Becario	Family	Friends
1. Free and clean elections	(4.71)	4.74	4.68	(4.64)	4.63	4.35
2. Equal legal treatment	4.35	4.48	4.40	4.34	(4.04)	(3.82)
3. Army under civilian control	(4.16)	(4.31)	(4.13)	4.33	4.06	3.91
4. Promotion of economic opportunities by government	4.23	4.55	4.38	4.34	4.37	4.28
5. Interest in health and education by government	4.47	4.65	(4.69)	4.57	(4.66)	(4.51)
6. Freedom of association in groups	4.42	4.60	4.44	4.34	4.27	3.99
7. Freedom of transit	4.31	4.52	4.37	4.30	4.10	3.95
8. Free expression of thought	4.70	4.62	4.68	4.54	4.35	4.27
9. Representation of all groups in public and private life	4.49	4.58	4.26	(4.24)	4.12	3.91
10. Freedom of worship and religion	4.66	(4.86)	4.68	4.63	4.59	4.45

*"Scores" are averages for the groups on a scale of 5 - 1 rating importance of democratic practices and degrees of their appearance in U.S. democracy.

- 3 - Somewhat important
- 2 - Not very important
- 1 - Not at all important

All of the practices listed are considered more than just "important" by all of our groups. Having the "Army under civilian control" is not as important in the views of all groups as other practices (but still is quite important). "Free and clean elections" and "Free expression of thought" are rated very highly in importance by all groups. If there are "surprises" in the ratings, at least from the standpoint of outsiders looking for expressions of strongest feelings in the respondent groups on what democracy should insure, they are:

- Family members rate highest of all "Freedom of worship and religion" among democratic practices.
- Friends rate "Interest in health and education by government" highest (or at least equal in importance to practices like "free elections," "free thought," "freedom of religion").

To what degree did the respondents see the various democratic practices in the U.S. democracy? Results of these ratings on the appearance of various practices in the U.S. are juxtaposed in Table 6.10 to the ratings on the importance of the practices.

One can only speculate on "pattern" on the right side of the table. Ratings on all practices are relatively high -- well above "4" ("Much appears") in the views of becarios and always at least "4" in the responses of family members. The following general tendencies are noteworthy:

- Friends tend to give lower ratings than the other groups (falling below "4" on five items).
- Comparatively lower ratings by each group fall at times in areas that speak to civil rights issues e.g., "Equal legal treatment," "Freedom of association," "Representation of all groups...").
- Perhaps surprisingly, all groups rate the U.S. high on "Interest in health and education by government" -- rated highest of all in U.S. democratic practices by family members and friends. (Could this reflect, in part, acclamation and approval by those groups of the CAPS Program itself and possible educational opportunities it offers?)

Asked to single out the one practice they consider to be the most important item on the list, the respondents (in the percentages shown) chose the following:

<u>Single Most Important Practice</u>	<u>Becarios</u>	<u>Family Members</u> (Percentages)	<u>Friends</u>
Free expression of thought	25.0	-	18.0
Interest in health and education	20.8	21.4	22.0
Promotion of econ. opportunity	14.6	21.4	18.0
Free elections	14.6	20.4	10.0
Freedom of worship	-	16.3	-

One of the benefits of computing "scores" on items where a rating scale is used* (rather than reporting all or some of the percentage responses) is that it makes possible certain comparisons. This is particularly true when we consider the juxtaposed findings in Table 6.11 and ask ourselves: "How well did U.S. democracy manifest the characteristics (practices) desired in a democracy?" in the views of respondents. Table 6.11 compares the scores for each group on "Importance of Practices" to their scores on "Appearance [of practices] in U.S. Democracy."

We have deliberately subtracted "Importance" scores from "Appearance" scores so that the resulting positive or negative "difference" values will indicate how much U.S. democracy is falling short, reaching, or surpassing the degrees of a practice (expressed as "importance") desired by our respondents. Negative values indicate shortfalls in U.S. democracy perceived by becarios, family members and friends.

Before looking for patterns in the plottings of Table 6.11, it should be noted that there is nothing sacred or mysterious about our scoring system and the difference values produced by comparing scores. Scores and difference values represent a convention we have adopted, reducing multiple answers on a question to a single number and using these numbers and comparisons between them to facilitate the search for patterns. How much is "a lot" of difference in this schema? We cannot say. But we can detect where differences are larger or smaller and note which groups manifest the larger difference scores.

Fascinating patterns appear in the plottings of Table 6.11. In effect, the findings should be welcomed by the sponsors of CAPS. For they show that the recipients of the peace scholarships saw in the

*Recall that our "scores" on items that use a 5-point scale are computed by: multiplying the frequencies for each response times the numeric (1-5) value of that response; summing the resultant products for the given question and its five possible answers; dividing that sum by the total number of responses.

Table 6.11

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN RATED IMPORTANCE OF
VARIOUS DEMOCRATIC PRACTICES AND RATED
DEGREES OF THEIR APPEARANCE IN
U.S. DEMOCRACY

Expressed as Differences in Rating Scores
Provided by Responses of Becarios, Family Members
and Friends: "Appearance in U.S." Scores Minus
"Importance of Practices" Scores

Democratic Practices	Differences in Scores*		
	Becarios	Family Memebers	Friends
1. Free and clean elections	-.07	-.11	-.29
2. Equal legal treatment	-.01	(-.44)	(-.58)
3. Army under civilian control	-.17	-.25	-.22
4. Promotion of economic opportunities by government	(+.11)	-.18	-.10
5. Interest in health and education by government	(+.10)	+.01	-.18
6. Freedom of association in groups	-.08	-.33	-.45
7. Freedom of transit	-.01	(-.42)	(-.42)
8. Free expression of thought	-.16	-.27	-.41
9. Representation of all groups in public and private life	-.25	-.46	-.35
10. Freedom of worship and religion	-.03	-.27	-.23
Totals of Differences	-.57	-2.73	-3.23
Mean Differences Per Item	-.06	-.27	-.32

*"Scores" compared are averages for the groups on a scale of 5 - 1 rating importance of democratic practices and degrees of their appearance in U.S. democracy. "Differences" are expressed as negative values where "Appearance in U.S. Democracy" on a practice is scored smaller than "Importance of a Practice."

U.S. much of what they hope to see in a democracy and even (on items 4 and 5) more than they deemed necessary regarding certain democratic practices; while those not having had the beca experience perceive, from a distance, less in the U.S. of most of the democratic practices cited than they would like to see in a democracy. Particularly noteworthy are perceived shortfalls by the U.S. in the eyes of family members and friends in such basic practices as:

- Equal legal treatment
- Freedom of association in groups
- Freedom of transit
- Representation of all groups in public and private life
- Free expression of thought

The upside to this picture is that becarios seem to have been convinced that the U.S. adequately manifests most of these features (although, perhaps it is [seen as] a bit weak on the latter two).

Finally, the three groups were asked how much their ideas about democracy in the United States had changed after the becario experience or through association with the becario. In Table 6.12 we present the complete array of responses (in five categories) to this question.

Table 6.12

HOW MUCH IDEAS ABOUT
DEMOCRACY IN THE U.S. CHANGED
AFTER THE BECARIO EXPERIENCE

<u>Responses</u>	<u>Becarios</u> (%)	<u>Family Members</u> (%)	<u>Friends</u> (%)
Very Much	31.0	19.8	20.8
Much	46.0	41.6	30.7
Somewhat	16.0	27.7	33.7
A little	4.0	5.9	5.9
Not at all	3.0	5.0	8.9

The general tendency in different degrees of influence on the three groups is revealed in percentages of responses "Very Much" or "Much":

- Over 75 percent of becarios say they were influenced to this high degree (to change their ideas).
- Over 60 percent of family members report this degree of influence on their views.

- Over 50 percent of friends say they were influenced to this degree.

F. Special Insights

1. Response Differences Associated With Sex

The smallness of our samples made it unfeasible to break out response patterns in each of our three groups by sex. However, separate calculations were made on all the question items to compare the two sexes while combining the three groups. At this point we will look back across our areas of questioning to examine differences in response patterns that can be associated with the sex variable (reminding the reader at the same time that the becario, family member and friends groups are now pooled so that contributions of these group statuses to observed differences will be obscured).

The sample base for this analysis is:

	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>
Males	175	57.8
<u>Females</u>	<u>128</u>	<u>42.2</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>303</u>	<u>100.0</u>

Note that by combining our three groups we now have a higher proportion of females than appeared in the becario group alone (which was 35.6 percent female). Each of our three groups contributes the following numbers and percentages of males and females to this total aggregation:

	Numbers			Percentages		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Becario	65	36	101	64.4	35.6	100.0
Family	45	56	101	44.6	55.4	100.0
<u>Friends</u>	<u>65</u>	<u>36</u>	<u>101</u>	<u>64.4</u>	<u>35.6</u>	<u>100.0</u>
<u>All Groups</u>	<u>175</u>	<u>129</u>	<u>303</u>	<u>57.8</u>	<u>42.2</u>	<u>100.0</u>

Table 6.13 represents a search for differences in response

Table 6.13

A SEARCH FOR RESPONSE DIFFERENCES ASSOCIATED WITH SEX: MALE/FEMALE COMPARISONS

(Selected Findings in Each Area of Questioning)

<p>LIFE SITUATION/PERSONAL:</p> <p><u>Ranking of "Aspects" (top 3):</u></p> <table border="0"> <tr> <td><u>Male</u></td> <td><u>Female</u></td> </tr> <tr> <td>1. Economic</td> <td>1. Work</td> </tr> <tr> <td>2. Work</td> <td>2. Economic</td> </tr> <tr> <td>3. Education</td> <td>3. Education</td> </tr> </table> <p><u>Aspect Improved "Much" or "Very Much" due to beca:</u></p> <table border="0"> <tr> <td></td> <td><u>%</u></td> <td></td> <td><u>%</u></td> </tr> <tr> <td>1. Social</td> <td>52.1</td> <td>1. Education</td> <td>67.5</td> </tr> <tr> <td>2. Education</td> <td>48.3</td> <td>2. Social</td> <td>64.5</td> </tr> <tr> <td>3. Work</td> <td>45.7</td> <td>3. Work</td> <td>53.5</td> </tr> </table>		<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	1. Economic	1. Work	2. Work	2. Economic	3. Education	3. Education		<u>%</u>		<u>%</u>	1. Social	52.1	1. Education	67.5	2. Education	48.3	2. Social	64.5	3. Work	45.7	3. Work	53.5	<p>LIFE SITUATION/COMMUNITY:</p> <p><u>Ranking of "Aspects" (top 3):</u></p> <table border="0"> <tr> <td><u>Male</u></td> <td><u>Female</u></td> </tr> <tr> <td>1. Health</td> <td>1. Work</td> </tr> <tr> <td>2. Education</td> <td>2. Economics</td> </tr> <tr> <td>3. Work</td> <td>3. Education</td> </tr> </table> <p><u>Aspect Improved "Much" or "Very Much" due to beca:</u></p> <table border="0"> <tr> <td></td> <td><u>%</u></td> <td></td> <td><u>%</u></td> </tr> <tr> <td>1. Education</td> <td>33.1</td> <td>1. Social</td> <td>45.3</td> </tr> <tr> <td>2. Health</td> <td>32.6</td> <td>2. Education</td> <td>39.8</td> </tr> <tr> <td>3. Social</td> <td>32.6</td> <td>3. Health</td> <td>34.9</td> </tr> </table>		<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	1. Health	1. Work	2. Education	2. Economics	3. Work	3. Education		<u>%</u>		<u>%</u>	1. Education	33.1	1. Social	45.3	2. Health	32.6	2. Education	39.8	3. Social	32.6	3. Health	34.9
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Ideas on U.S. democracy changed since beca.	58.6	69.6																																																	

patterns associated with the sex variable. It illustrates patterns of sameness while highlighting where differences appear.

The picture revealed is one of amazing (to us) similarity. For as the findings were arrayed in two columns comparing male responses to female responses (usually comparing response percentages at the high end of the 5-point scale), in each area of questioning the samenesses were so striking that one might have thought that the total group had simply been split in half, with random assignment of individuals made to one half or the other regardless of sex. The "highs," the "lows" and the "middles" in both groups were almost always the same, although variations up to 10 percent (in the extreme positive responses) on given items within these general tendencies often appeared. (It should be noted that such small differences would not be statistically significant -- beyond chance occurrence -- in our small samples.) This sameness is dramatized even more by the previous analysis of our three groups which clearly showed that the status of being either a becario, a family member or a friend did lead to many differences in response patterns.

Still, a few differences did appear in comparing responses of the two sex groups. They can be summarized briefly (with dramatic samenesses also cited):

- Life Situation Priorities: Women ranked "work" as first in importance for improvement in both their personal and in the community situation. The men's priorities were somewhat different although both sex groups had the same "top 3" priority aspects regarding the personal situation; and "education" and "work" appeared in the "top 3" for both groups in both the personal and the community situations.
- Improved Situations Due to Beca: The women tended to be more positive than the men in seeing improvements (due to CAPS) in both the personal and community realms. Their perceptions regarding their personal situations (and improvements in the "education" and the "social" aspects) represent significant differences from male responses on improvements due to the beca experience.
- Beliefs Regarding Change: Our list of statements revealed no differences in male and female responses.
- Reliable Sources of Information About the U.S.: The only difference in male/female

responses that stood out was the greater reliability perceived by women in "What I hear about the U.S. in casual conversations with other Guatemalans."

- Impressions of Characteristics of the U.S.: Our list of qualities or characteristics revealed no differences in male and female responses.
- Attitudes Toward Democratic Practices and Impressions of the U.S.: Almost no differences appeared. Two items that stood out (but were only "borderline" in statistical significance of difference) were "Army under civilian control" and "Freedom of transit." The women tended to see less of those features in U.S. democracy than did the men.
- Ideas on U.S. Democracy Changed Since Beca: Reported because of its primacy (although the response difference between the sexes was "borderline") the women tended to report more than the men that their ideas on U.S. democracy had changed since the beca experience.

2. Differences Associated With Occupation

If sex made little difference in response patterns, were there socioeconomic differences that would influence those patterns?

We did not gather income data on our sample but we did ask about occupation. And after reviewing how respondents recorded their occupations, we were able to classify most of them into two groupings that roughly indicated different socioeconomic levels (perhaps "blue collar" and "white collar"). Our Guatemalan data reduction/data processing experts, who helped to classify specific occupations into the two clusters, labeled our two groupings "Manuales" and "Tecnicas" and we shall use these terms in our analysis of differences in response patterns that can be associated with occupational differences.

The two occupational clusters have been identified within both the becario group and the "others" group (combining, in the latter case, family members and friends). So unlike our examination of the sex variable, in looking for differences associated with type of occupation we are able to conduct our search separately within the becario group and the others group.

Among the 101 becarios, we identified the following numbers for the two occupation clusters (and the indicated percentage

distributions between the two clusters):

	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>
Manuales	34	42.5
Tecnicas	46	57.5
Both Groups	80	100.0

Among the 202 others, we identified:

	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>
Manuales	72	48.3
Tecnicas	77	51.7
Both Groups	149	100.0

Only selected items in each subtopic area were examined. They were items that had elicited our interest and curiosity most as we made the comprehensive comparisons of the three groups (becarios, family members and friends) and which, in some cases, had revealed greatest differences between those three groups. In all, 53 items were examined, about one-half of all items in the total questionnaire.

We begin with a look at differences in response patterns associated with occupation within the becario group. Table 6.14 provides a comprehensive summary. Let us highlight from that summary:

- Life Situation: Manuales and Tecnicas both gave the same three aspects of their personal life the highest rating as having improved most due to the beca experience. And both groups gave the highest ratings to the same three aspects of community life as having improved most due to the beca experience. Some differences appeared in the magnitudes of these "highest" ratings:
 - Tecnicas reported greater improvement in their personal "work" situation (as a result of the beca) than Manuales.
 - Manuales reported greater improvement in the community "health" situation (as a result of the beca) than Tecnicas.
- Beliefs Regarding Change: Very few differences were noted, but the following were interesting:
 - Although neither Manuales nor Tecnicas

Table 6.14

A SEARCH FOR RESPONSE DIFFERENCES ASSOCIATED
WITH OCCUPATION: MANUALES/TECNICAS COMPARISONS
AMONG BECARIOS

(Selected Findings in Each Area of Questioning)

LIFE SITUATION/PERSONAL: Top "Aspects" Improved "Much" or "Very Much"				LIFE SITUATION/COMMUNITY: Top "Aspects" Improved "Much" or "Very Much"			
Manuales	%	Tecnicas	%	Manuales	%	Tecnicas	%
1. Education	69.7	1. Education	74.0	1. Health	42.4	1/2. Education	41.3
2. Social	63.6	2. Work	71.1	2. Social	41.2	Social	41.3
3. Work	50.0	3. Social	69.6	3. Education	39.4	3. Health	28.8

BELIEFS REGARDING CHANGE: More similarities than differences. Responses on "familiar" items on those showing greatest differences are:		
Percentages agree "Much" or "Very Much"		
Statements Regarding Change	Manuales	Tecnicas
United we can make changes.	94.1	97.8
Change in one's personal situation is important.	73.6	76.1
One can't change destiny.	20.6	15.2
The poor will always be poor.	29.4	15.2
Each person controls his or her own life.	68.8	88.9
Ideas on change changed due to beca ("Yes")	97.1	89.1

RELIABLE SOURCES OF INFORMATION ABOUT THE U.S.: More differences than in comparisons on the sex variable. Examples:		
Percentages "Reliable" or "Very Reliable"		
Sources of Information	Manuales	Tecnicas
Films	42.4	26.1
Books	48.4	32.6
Guatemalans who have lived in ...U. S.	60.6	74.0
Guatemalans who have worked with Americans	64.7	52.2

IMPRESSIONS OF CHARACTERISTICS OF U.S.: Some very interesting differences on "human" qualities.		
%s "Much" or "Very Much" has characteristic		
Characteristics of U.S.	Manuales	Tecnicas
Compassionate	69.7	33.3
Materialistic	64.5	48.9
Honest	78.1	91.0

ATTITUDES TOWARD DEMOCRATIC PRACTICES AND IMPRESSIONS OF U.S. DEMOCRACY: More differences than in sex variable comparisons, especially noted when the most extreme positive answers are cited.				
Democratic Practices	% "Important"/"Very Important"		% "Very Impt."	
	Manuales	Tecnicas	Man.	Tec.
Free and clean elections	85.3	95.6	70.6	82.6
Free expression of thought	85.3	100.0	58.8	81.8

Appearance in U.S. Democracy	% Appears "Much"/"Very Much"		% "Very Much"	
	Manuales	Tecnicas	Man.	Tec.
Equal legal treatment	87.6	80.5	43.8	60.9

were strong in affirming any of the "fatalistic" statements regarding change, the Manuales were somewhat stronger than Tecnicas in agreeing that "the poor will always be poor."

- Tecnicas were very strong -- and considerably stronger than Manuales -- in affirming that "each person controls his or her life."
- Almost all the Manuales said their ideas on change had been changed "much" or "very much" by the beca experience; some 10 percent less of Tecnicas reported having changed their ideas that much.
- Reliable Sources of Information: Both Manuales and Tecnicas (like all the other groupings we have examined) felt that fellow Guatemalans were the most reliable sources of information about the U.S. The Manuales tended to see greater reliability in "films" and "books" than did Tecnicas.
- Impressions of Characteristics of the U.S.: The greatest differences appeared in impressions regarding human qualities. The Manuales saw considerably more "compassion" in the U.S. than did the Tecnicas, but they also saw more "materialism" in our society. Conversely the Tecnicas saw more "honesty" in the U.S. than did the Manuales.
- Attitudes Toward Democratic Practices And Their Appearance in U.S. Democracy: Several "practices" received considerably different ratings by the occupation groups:
 - "Free and clean elections" and "Free expression of thought" were rated somewhat higher in importance as democratic practices by Tecnicas compared with Manuales.
 - "Equal legal treatment" was perceived as manifest in U.S. democracy "Very Much" by 61 percent of Tecnicas but by only 44 percent of Manuales.

Now we turn to differences in response patterns associated with occupation among the others group -- a pooled group of family

members and friends whose occupations could be classified either Manual or Tecnica. The comprehensive plotting of findings appears in Table 6.15. Again we shall point out highlights in the Table.

- Life Situation: As with the Becario-Manuales and Becario-Tecnicas, the same aspects were rated in the top 3 by Others-Manuales and Others-Tecnicas as most improved by the beca experience (and the aspects so rated, in the personal realm and for the community, were the same ones rated highest by becarios in both occupation groupings). As for degrees of improvement:
 - Tecnicas among the others saw more change than Manuales in their personal "social" and "education" situations (while for Becario-Tecnicas the greater improvement was in their personal "work" situation).
 - In the community realm, as with Becario-Manuales, the Manuales who were others saw greater improvement in the "health" situation than was reported by Others-Tecnicas.
- Beliefs Regarding Change: Manuales and Tecnicas among the others responded almost the same on the "fatalistic" items, while among the becarios, occupation groupings turned up a noteworthy difference on the "poor always poor" item. The same difference between Manuales and Tecnicas seen among becarios appeared on the "each person controls his ... own life" item, with the Tecnicas considerably more strongly agreeing with that statement. New differences, not seen in comparing occupation clusters among becarios, should be noted:
 - Others-Tecnicas believed more strongly than Others-Manuales that "certain persons, by their personal characteristics, can bring about change" and that "true change requires ... structural change."
 - Others-Manuales believed more strongly than Others-Tecnicas that "it is necessary to have 'connections' to effect changes." The "Much" or "Very Much" agree percentages for all our occupation subgroups on this interesting item were:

Table 6.15

A SEARCH FOR RESPONSE DIFFERENCES ASSOCIATED
WITH OCCUPATION: MANUALES/TECNICAS COMPARISONS
AMONG "OTHERS"

(Selected Findings in Each Area of Questioning)

LIFE SITUATION/PERSONAL:				LIFE SITUATION/COMMUNITY:			
Top "Aspects" Improved "Much" or "Very Much"				Top "Aspects" Improved "Much" or "Very Much"			
Manuales	%	Tecnicas	%	Manuales	%	Tecnicas	%
1. Education	42.3	1. Social	58.5	1. Health	38.8	1. Social	35.5
2. Social	40.8	2. Education	53.8	2. Social	36.1	2. Education	33.3
3. Work	40.3	3. Work	44.3	3. Education	34.8	3. Health	27.7

BELIEFS REGARDING CHANGE: In addition to comparisons on the "familiar" items, a number of differences are interesting.

Statements Regarding Change	Percentages agree "Much" or "Very Much"	
	Manuales	Tecnicas
United we can make changes.	97.2	97.5
One can't change destiny.	21.2	19.0
The poor will always be poor.	25.3	24.1
Each person controls his or her own life.	69.4	89.9
Certain persons by their personal capabilities can bring about changes in their lives...	39.4	60.0
True change requires profound structural change...	54.2	70.6
It is necessary to have "connections" to effect changes	50.0	27.9
Ideas on change changed due to boca ("yes")	52.9	69.6

RELIABLE SOURCES OF INFORMATION ABOUT THE U.S.: Very few differences. Only the following are noteworthy.

Sources of Information	Percentages "Reliable" or "Very Reliable"	
	Manuales	Tecnicas
Notices in the Guatemala press...	51.4	38.0
Guatemalans who have lived in U.S.	67.6	59.5
Guatemalans who work in U.S. agencies	34.7	50.6
Guatemalans who have worked with Americans	44.5	57.0

IMPRESSIONS OF CHARACTERISTICS OF U.S.: Some interesting differences.

Characteristics of U.S.	% "Much" or "Very Much" has characteristic	
	Manuales	Tecnicas
Compassionate	63.9	31.2
Land of Opportunity	83.1	58.9
Justice in human treatment	70.9	59.5
Honest	82.0	68.3

ATTITUDES TOWARD DEMOCRATIC PRACTICES AND IMPRESSIONS OF U.S. DEMOCRACY: Almost no differences on attitudes; some differences on perceived features in U.S. democracy are noteworthy:

Appearance in U.S. Democracy	Percentages appears "Much" or "Very Much"	
	Manuales	Tecnicas
Equal legal treatment.	79.1	60.8
Freedom of association....	72.2	83.6
Representation of all groups....	65.3	79.7

Becario-Manuales	-	39.4
Becario-Tecnicas	-	37.0
Others-Manuales	-	50.0
Others-Tecnicas	-	27.9

Thus the Others-Tecnicas denied this belief most and the Others-Manuales affirmed it most.

- Both Others-Manuales and Others-Tecnicas reported considerably less change in their ideas on change as a result of associating with a becario than becarios in either occupation cluster reported changing their ideas due to the beca experience.
- Reliable Sources of Information: Again, fellow Guatemalans were reported as the most reliable sources of information by both groups. And whereas greatest differences in reliability ratings among becarios in the two occupation clusters appeared on items like "films" and "books," among the others it was "notices in the Guatemala press" that were trusted somewhat more by Manuales than Tecnicas.
- Impressions of Characteristics of the U.S.: Differences in rating the human qualities, but also in rating certain basic socio-political characteristics, appeared when comparing Manuales and Tecnicas among the others. In this instance, like the comparisons within the becario group, Manuales were more positive on all the characteristics where differences appeared and Tecnicas were more skeptical. Others-Manuales saw more "compassion" and "honesty," and also more "opportunity" and "justice" in the U.S. than did Others-Tecnicas.
- Attitudes Toward Democratic Practices and Their Appearance in U.S. Democracy: The only differences appearing in this area of exploration were in perceptions of the U.S. democracy, where Others-Manuales saw more "equal legal treatment" than Others-Tecnicas, but the Tecnicas perceived more "freedom of association" and more "representation of all groups" in U.S. society than did Manuales.

Thus, more differences did appear when two occupation clusters were compared than when the two sexes were compared. In general, Tecnicas saw their personal situations changed (especially their

"social" and "work" situations) by the beca experience more than did Manuales; considerably more such influence on change was seen by Becario-Tecnicas than by Others-Tecnicas. Consistently, becarios said their views had been changed by the beca experience more than others reported such change due to association with a becario; but this influence was reported most strongly by the Manuales in the becario group but by the Tecnicas in the Others group. In addition, Manuales seemed to see more "compassion" in American society and to view it more as a land of opportunity than did Tecnicas, although Tecnicas frequently saw more manifestations of basic democratic features (free elections, free association, group representation) in U.S. democracy than did Manuales. But Manuales, in turn, saw more "equal legal treatment" in the U.S. than did Tecnicas.

It appeared that, whether they had been on the beca trip or had merely associated with someone who had, Tecnicas still had to be shown more to be convinced of the positives in American life while Manuales (while asking a little less of democracy) held a rosier view of the U.S. At the same time, Tecnicas clearly felt that their personal situations had improved due to the beca experience considerably more than Manuales held this view of improvements in their personal situation.

3. Differences Associated With Philosophies of Change

Earlier we indicated that our present study merely opens a window of opportunity for analyzing beliefs of Guatemalans regarding change and the consequences of those beliefs for perceptions and actions contributing to or inhibiting developmental change in their society. We are far from having an adequate tool for measuring philosophical proclivities to and inhibitors of change in our study population. But we wish to take a small step toward assessing the compability of different beliefs about change and the association of various beliefs with other attitudes and perceptions in the areas we examined.

Our curiosity was stimulated to begin this effort when we noted that sizable numbers of our respondents -- a population considered at least candidates for being change agents in their society -- agreed strongly with the statements "One can't change destiny," "The poor will always be poor," and "A few others...always decide on...change." These statements, possibly considered "fatalistic" views by persons in developed societies, were introduced among our items on beliefs regarding change to see whether anyone would agree more than mildly with them. For our analysis, we must admit that in order to expand the "fatalistic" group we have accepted into it anyone who responded they agreed "Much" or "Very Much" to either the "Can't change destiny" item or the "Poor will always be poor" item or the "Few always decide..." item. We then decided to label this group the "Resistantes al Cambio" group.

Who were these persons -- almost all of whom agreed strongly, too that "United we can make changes"? Did the responses mostly reveal ambiguities in our statements in the views of the respondents and conceal the nature of the reasons for those ambiguities?

We will not be able to answer the latter question here but we can lay groundwork for its future exploration and for discovering statements about beliefs that more nearly express the nuances in Guatemalans' views of the past, present and future. In beginning to address the first question, we present the following initial information about the "Resistant" groups -- who were identified within our becario sample and also within our others sample (combining family members and friends).

The numbers discovered, and their percentage representations in our total sample, were:

	<u>#</u>	<u>% of Total Group</u>
Resistant <u>Becarios</u> -	46	45.5
Resistant <u>Others</u> -	97	48.0

A first fact to be explored about them is their distribution across many occupations and their strong representation in both our clustered-occupation categories, Manuales and Tecnicas. Their appearance in the two occupation clusters is as follows:*

*Note that, as in the total sample, not all the Resistant-to-Change persons could be classified as "Manual" or "Tecnica."

	<u>Manuales</u>		<u>Tecnicas</u>		<u>Both Clusters</u>	
	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>
All <u>Becarios</u>	34	42.5	46	57.5	80	100.0
Resistant <u>Becarios</u>	17	45.9	20	54.1	37	100.0
All <u>Others</u>	72	48.3	77	51.7	149	100.0
Resistant <u>Others</u>	42	56.8	32	43.2	74	100.0

We begin by noting that the Resistant becarios are distributed among Manual and Tecnica occupations in the same proportions as all becarios are represented in those occupation clusters. The Resistant others are disproportionately Manuales compared to distributions of all others in the two occupation groupings. What patterns in the responses to our questions stand out as differentiating the Resistant from all becarios and from all others? Our initial profile showing occupational heterogeneity is a good clue to what is found in examining responses in our several areas of questioning. The basic findings are:

1. There are almost no differences across all our areas of questioning.
2. Differences appear almost exclusively in our list of statements on beliefs regarding change.

To provide back-up to these two statements, we have developed Tables 6.16 and 6.17.

In 6.16 we have examined each area of questioning to search for differences in the response patterns of Resistant-to-Change respondents compared to all respondents. The differences, as noted, are very few, and many of those displayed are not significant beyond chance (in the statistical sense). If there is pattern it is:

- The tendency for those more fatalistic about change to see greater impact of the beca experience. And this tendency is actually revealed significantly only among Resistant Others (compared to All Others) in evaluating change in their personal work situation.
- The tendency for Resistant Becarios (compared to All Becarios):
 - To place less faith in fellow Guatemalans who have worked with Americans as sources of reliable information about the U.S.
 - To believe it less important in a democracy for the government to promote economic opportunity.

We cannot speculate about the meaning of these observed differences, differences which are overwhelmed by the strong similarities between all respondents and those agreeing strongly with one or more "fatalistic" statements about change.

More -- actually most -- differences that further differentiated Resistant respondents from All respondents appeared in the list of questions that explored beliefs regarding change. This picture is shown in Table 6.17.

Of course our findings, with primitive instruments, may indicate that such philosophies and beliefs make little or no difference in influencing perceptions and actions of those who have been called upon by a developed society to prepare to be agents of

Table 6.16

A SEARCH FOR RESPONSE DIFFERENCES ASSOCIATED
WITH BELIEFS REGARDING CHANGE

"Resistant-to-Change" Groups Defined as Those
Responding Agree "Much" or "Very Much" To State-
ments "One Can't Change Destiny" or "The Poor
Will Always Be Poor" or "A Few Always Decide
On Change"

(Comparisons are: between All Becarios and "Resistant" Becarios; and between All Others and "Resistant" Others. Comparisons use: the percentages of responses combined for the two highest values on a 5-point scale provided for responses.)

All ← BECARIOS → Resistant		All ← OTHERS → Resistant	
<u>INFLUENCE OF BECA ON PERSONAL LIFE</u>			
No differences. All response comparisons within 5 percentage points on "Much/Very Much" influence.		Only one strong difference: Work Situation	
		24.4	44.4
<u>INFLUENCE OF BECA ON COMMUNITY LIFE</u>			
Only one difference greater than 7 percentage points on "Much/Very Much" influence: Education Situation		No differences greater than 7 percentage points on "Much/Very Much" influence. At 6 percent: Social Situation	
		36.7	47.7
<u>RELIABLE SOURCES OF INFORMATION ABOUT U.S.</u>			
No differences over 5 percentage points on "Reliable/Very Reliable" except: Guatemalans who have worked with Americans		No differences greater than 7 percentage points except: Books	
		76.1	63.0
Identical response percentages within Becario and Others groups re "ideas changed since beca"			
<u>IMPRESSIONS OF THE U.S.</u>			
Most differences less than 2 percentage points on has characteristic "Much/Very Much" except: Compassionate		Only one difference reaches 5 percentage points: Materialistic	
		42.5	47.8
<u>ATTITUDES ON IMPORTANT PRACTICES OF DEMOCRACY</u>			
No differences of 5 percentage points on "Important/Very Important" practice except: Govt. promotion of economic opportunity		No differences of 5 percentage points on any items.	
		81.3	69.8
<u>PERCEPTIONS OF APPEARANCE OF PRACTICES IN U.S. DEMOCRACY</u>			
No differences of 5 percentage points on practice "Much/Very Much" appears. Most differences less than 2 percent.		Only one difference of 5 percentage points: Equal legal treatment	
		70.3	65.0

Table 6.17

COMPLETE RESPONSE PATTERNS ON 16
"BELIEFS REGARDING CHANGE" STATEMENTS

Comparing "Resistant-to-Change" Respon-
dents to All Respondents in Becario and
Significant Others Groups

(Percentages shown indicate those responding agree "Much" or "Very Much" with a statement.)

Statements Regarding Change	BECARIOS		OTHERS	
	All	Resistant	All	Resistant
1. One can't change destiny.	17.8	39.2	20.4	42.9
2. The poor will always be poor.	21.0	46.6	24.9	52.1
3. Each persons controls his or her own life....	81.7	86.4	78.2	81.5
4. Other persons (e.g., ladinos, the rich, etc.) al- ways decide on matters regarding change.	25.3	55.6	32.8	68.8
5. The state produces the important changes.	16.8	19.5	12.4	19.5
6. Certain persons, by their personal capabilities, can effect change in their lives; others can't.	64.4	76.1	53.7	60.8
7. Changes in one's personal situation are not very important, but changes in the community are very important.	47.5	65.3	49.0	64.9
8. Change in one's personal situation is very import- ant, because as one advances the community advances.	76.2	80.4	78.2	81.4
9. Generally, change is not good; the previous situa- tion (even 'though hard) was better.	16.2	31.1	24.9	35.4
10. True change requires...structural change in society.	64.7	69.6	67.7	72.9
11. For changes to occur, they must be...violent.	8.0	8.9	17.8	18.5
12. United, we can make changes.	96.0	100.0	97.5	97.9
13. One has to have "connections" or influence to ef- fect changes.	38.0	46.7	37.5	53.6
14. There's only one chance in life to make changes; if you don't take advantage, the chance is lost forever.	28.0	44.5	23.8	32.0
15. It is possible to make only very small changes but not large ones.	33.0	53.3	21.4	27.1
16. He who has luck can change his situation.	17.0	22.2	19.8	26.8

change in their own less developed society. We are not ready to reach this conclusion. But we do conclude that the major value of our exercise in detecting beliefs about change is in discovering our lack of comprehension of the belief systems of becarios and their significant others.

We have begun to analyze correlations among the 16 items in our beliefs-about-change list. But even as we do this we are highly aware of the inadequacies of our list and the need for more insightful statements in light of Guatemalan history and current Guatemalan realities. Here we shall merely highlight the statements that most set apart the Resistant group (bearing in mind that that group is first identified by the high agreement with statements (items) 1 or 4). Below we list the numbers of the items where the greatest percentage differences in strong-agreement responses between the two Resistant groups compared to All Becarios and to All Others appeared.

Item's Rank in Combined % Differences	Item #	Differences in Percentages	
		All B's/Resist. B's	All O's/Resist. O's
1	4	30.3	36.0
2	2	25.6	27.2
3	1	21.4	22.5
4	7	17.8	15.9
5	15	20.3	5.7
6	9	14.9	10.5
7	13	8.7	16.1
8	14	16.5	8.2
9	6	14.9	7.0

Note that while in other areas of questioning (shown in Table 6.16) only 4 comparisons produced a difference of 10 percentage points or more, on the statements regarding change, 14 differences of at least this magnitude appeared (among 9 items where at least one of the two comparisons produced a difference greater than 10 percentage points)

Our findings indicate that persons in the population we sampled do hold strong views on change and that in those views there are beliefs about the past and its importance and value that go hand in hand with beliefs favoring action to change the present and the future. In this population, some who are ready to affirm certain features of a "non-hopeful" view of change are still ready to join with others to play an active role in bringing about change. They believe in personal striving and improving their personal situations but also have strong feelings about the community and the importance of making changes in the community. Viewing some of their other response tendencies (e.g., regarding advantages of "the few," the importance of "connections" etc.), perhaps they are more "cynical" -- or more "realistic" -- about what it will take to influence change. But neither of those terms adequately denotes the essential orientation of their beliefs regarding change.

Thus our findings do indicate that distinctive groupings of persons in the population we sampled can be made based upon consistent sets of interrelated beliefs (or at least on relative strengths of such "sets" or "factors"). We have scarcely begun to discover those consistencies. But future knowledge of these subgroupings can contribute to improved strategies for reaching and motivating becarios and their significant others.

We will not speculate further. It should be noted, however, that some apparent inconsistencies in responses doubtless revealed problems in the questioning process itself -- and may suggest the existence of desires of respondents to explain their answers.

Future efforts to detect belief systems and assess their significance for strategies for motivating and communicating with becarios and significant others should begin by better capturing essential aspects of beliefs of this population. Then they should discover consistencies among the various beliefs. They should then analyze carefully more of the background characteristics of those who score highest on the various factors reflected in these consistencies.

G. Tracing Becario Influences on "Others"

All of the foregoing analyses have compared groupings of our population samples without regard to associating individual becarios with the particular others they identified to us. We have compared the becarios, family members and friends as groups and noted differences in their responses as groups; and we have broken out subgroupings of these groups (and of combinations of the basic groups) to make comparisons based on varied characteristics. But we have not made an effort to analyze pairs of becarios-family members and becarios-friends to discover samenesses and differences in responses on individual questions and sets of questions.

At this point, we shall make such linked-pair comparisons. Since we are not preparing detailed case studies, but are aggregating our findings for statistical presentation, we shall report on comparisons of the linked pairs in the aggregate. We actually made these comparisons on about one-half of the questions (as with the sex, occupation and other special comparisons) using items from each area of questioning. How frequently did the becarios and their particular family members (and the becarios and their particular selected friends): Answer exactly the same on items that used a 5-point scale? Differ in their answers by 1 or 2 or 3 or 4 points on the 5-point scale?

In exploring this question, we are opening up a number of additional questions which cannot be directly answered by our analysis. Throughout the questioning process, we frequently asked the

others how much these answers were influenced by association with returned becarios, and response patterns on those specific questions have previously been reported. But we would like to be able to infer from samenesses or differences in responses something about the influence of a becario on the others he identified to us. Without other "controls" in the study situation, however, we cannot make this inference with great certainty.

The following presentation shows the observed samenesses and differences in responses in linked pairs of respondents. The findings leave open the questions:

How much influence did becarios have on their significant others regarding the perceptions and attitudes examined by the study?

How much did becarios and their significant others share common views regardless of their association with one another and regardless of the CAPS Program?

In our view, the analysis of our findings on linked pairs is most useful in detecting the topical areas examined where sameness and difference in views were most manifest (leaving for speculation whether family members and friends were more readily influenced by their becario in some areas than in others).

Table 6.18 shows sameness and difference in responses in the different areas of questioning comparing becarios and their family members. Table 6.19 shows sameness and difference comparing becarios and their friends.

In each table, the "areas of questioning" are presented in descending order of the highest percentages where "same responses" appeared. "Same response" means that in the linked-pairs, the becario and his or her family member chose exactly the same response category (1 or 2 or 3 or 4 or 5). In the case of the questioning area "Democratic Features of the U.S.," where 10 questions were posed, the table shows that (for some 101 linked-pairs), approximately one-half (or about 500 of some 1000) responses of becarios and their family member were exactly the same and over 80 percent of the responses did not differ by more than one point on the response scale.

Using our findings to examine differences in the topical areas and also between the two types of linked pairs, we can highlight the following:

- Greater sameness in response appeared in the becario-family pairs than in the becario-friend pairs.

Table 6.18

SAMENESS AND DIFFERENCE IN RESPONSES
IN THE SIX AREAS OF QUESTIONING:
COMPARING BECARIOS WITH THEIR OWN
SELECTED FAMILY MEMBERS

Percentage Distributions of "Same Responses"
and "Different Responses" in Linked Becario-
Family Member Cases*

<u>Areas of Questioning</u>	<u>Respon- es Same</u>	<u>Differ by + or - 1</u>	<u>Differ by + or - 2</u>	<u>Differ by + or - 3</u>	<u>Differ by + or - 4</u>	<u>Number of Observations</u>
Democratic Features of the U.S.	50.4	32.1	11.7	3.9	1.9	999
Beliefs Regarding Change	39.9	25.3	20.4	7.9	6.4	1611
Characteristics of the U.S.	35.6	38.9	15.8	6.5	3.2	506
Influence of Beca on Personal Situation	31.4	37.0	18.8	8.6	4.3	606
Influence of Beca on Community Situation	27.7	37.8	22.4	9.7	2.3	606
Sources of Reliable Information About the U.S.	27.0	35.4	21.3	10.6	5.7	1008

*Percentages are aggregated for all 101 linked-pair cases and for selected items within the different areas of questioning. For example: there were 10 items and 101 linked-pair cases (less "out-of-field" responses) to yield 999 observations on "Democratic Features..."; 16 items and 101 linked-pair cases (less "out-of-field" responses) to yield 1611 observations on "beliefs..." etc.

Table 6.19

SAMENESS AND DIFFERENCE IN RESPONSES
IN THE SIX AREAS OF QUESTIONING:
COMPARING BECARIOS WITH THEIR OWN
SELECTED FRIENDS

Percentage Distributions of "Same Responses"
and "Different Responses" in Linked Becario-
Friend Cases

<u>Areas of Questioning</u>	Respon- ses Same	Differ by + or - 1	Differ by + or - 2	Differ by + or - 3	Differ by + or - 4	Number of Observations
Democratic Features of the U.S.	42.3	37.4	12.6	5.1	2.6	1002
Beliefs Regarding Change	38.5	26.1	20.9	8.8	5.8	1611
Influence of Beca on Personal Situ- ation	28.5	38.0	20.8	8.9	3.8	606
Influence of Beca on Community Sit- uation	28.3	39.2	22.1	9.6	0.8	605
Characteristics of the U.S.	27.9	40.4	22.5	6.0	3.2	502
Sources of Reliable Information About the U.S.	24.5	35.1	24.7	11.2	4.6	1010

- For both pairings, the same two areas of questioning revealed greatest sameness and least sameness respectively:
 - "Democratic Features of the U.S." showed greatest agreement in the pairings.
 - "Sources of Reliable Information About the U.S." showed least agreement in the pairings.
- "Beliefs About Change" ranked second among the areas of questioning in sameness of responses among the pairs; but it also showed the greatest variability in "Same responses" among its 16 items.

"United we can make changes" was answered exactly the same by 84 percent of the becario-family pairs and by 79 percent of the becario-friend pairs.

- "The few (rich people etc.) control most changes" was answered exactly the same by only 25 percent of the becario-family pairs; while "One can make only small changes" was answered exactly the same by only 19 percent of the becario-friend pairs.

Display, item by item, of other findings could lead to many speculations. We prefer at this time to present merely the gross findings and to limit our speculations to the following (recognizing that we can only hypothesize and not verify "influence"):

1. Becarios have been able to influence their family members more than their friends in their views about democracy in the United States and their perceptions that change in their lives and in the community have resulted from the CAPS Program.
2. Becarios have been most successful in getting across to these others what they saw of democratic practices in the United States.
3. Some influence is manifested in the "we feeling" that linkage to the becario exper-

ience seems to inspire in both family members and friends, as when they join strongly in the view that "together we can make changes."

4. Becarios have been least successful in influencing others' views on other specific issues, notably, how and where to find verifiable information about the United States.

With these speculative conclusions, we look back across our exploration of impact, its methods, tools and findings, as a hopeful first step. We must admit that we are not sure of the meaning of many of our findings. However we do feel very confident that we have set down many baselines that will make future measurements more meaningful.

PART III. SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The final part of our report reviews all findings and points out the most important ones and their implications. It concludes with recommendations to AID/CAPS Guatemala that have been gleaned from all the findings. Our thoughts on the future actions that are suggested by our evaluative study are made without full knowledge of current AID [priorities and budgetary, constraints. Their implementation would be contingent on those factors as well as on the acceptance of our findings and their implications by AID.

Chapter 7: Important Findings and Their Implications

Our special evaluation of the CAPS Program in Guatemala covered a great deal of ground. While instrumenting and conducting a quantified impact analysis concentrated on a small sample of becarios and their significant others, it also explored, through interviews and the examination of documentation, leadership training programs that were forerunners to the current CAPS Program and it sought out current knowledge of and interest in CAPS on Capitol Hill where legislation and funding for the program originate and where eventual oversight takes place.

What did we learn in our attempt to develop a total picture of the program, its antecedents and current context, while applying instruments for quantifying the measurement of impact? How did the attempt to go beyond scholarship recipients themselves to measure impact on their "significant others" pan out? Does our undertaking show promise for continued efforts to monitor and assess "ripple effects" of the CAPS Program in Guatemalan society?

This review of important findings is guided by the following general questions:

- How did the forerunner programs set the stage for the current CAPS, and are the effects of those programs still felt?
- Is Congress interested in and knowledgeable about the CAPS Program?
- Does the current CAPS Program apply lessons learned from the experience of the forerunners and is it fulfilling its mandate in reaching Indians, women, and the disadvantaged?
- Is quantified measurement of impact feasible and possible with the scholarship population and others closely associated with them?
- What have been the major, measurable influences of the CAPS Program on becarios, and through them on their significant others?
- Can becarios and significant others contribute to a "ripple effect" in the very process of becoming involved as "agents of evaluation" as well as "agents of change"?

As we review our findings to address briefly these general questions, the reader is advised to turn to the more detailed findings contained in the relevant chapters to fill out the general answers that are presented here.

A. The Forerunner Programs

The spirit of the Loyola Leadership Training Program of the 1960s and '70s is very much alive in Guatemala. It is manifested particularly in the words and attitudes of distinguished current leaders who were involved in the Loyola experience under the inspired tutelage of Father Louis J. Twomey, S.J.

We were not truly prepared for this findings. But the enthusiasm we found for Loyola and its program was genuine. And the words that flowed from current Guatemalan leaders were filled with visions of future democracy in their country that could only have been formulated from within their own cultural and sociopolitical experience although they credited Loyola teachings as the wellsprings for these visions. Strongly credited with making the Loyola program successful was the sensitivity training included in the curriculum, and graduates spoke pridefully of having subsequently modified and perfected techniques of sensitivity training to make them most relevant to Latin America.

A great deal of interest was discovered in reviving a program like the early one at Loyola. This interest was expressed both by Guatemalan graduates of the program and by "old hands" who served on the staff of that program in New Orleans. As plans for such revivals were speculated upon, a key weakness to be overcome in the future was seen as reinforcement of the training experience on the home grounds of the trainee and the achievement of "critical masses" among groups of trainees and their close associates so that energies for change are strengthened instead of dissipated through time.

Our findings on the current Landivar program were quite different from those regarding Loyola.

Landivar was a direct descendant of the Loyola program, begun as an in-country program for training social promoters (under AID funding) even as the Loyola program was still operating. Its key faculty, originally, were Loyola program graduates. Moreover, many of the Loyola grads interviewed had strong words of praise for the Landivar Center as an institution which built on Loyola vision, principles and methods to achieve a curriculum more appropriate for and effective in Guatemala. Some spoke of the efforts of Landivar, reaching out to more people and to the campesinos, as contributing many people ready and able to promote and support change and popular democratic action in their communities throughout the length and breadth of Guatemala.

But the current director of Landivar offered quite a different present-day view. He said that the training program at Landivar had changed its orientation in recent years. From training generalists in social action Landivar has moved to training community people in very specific skills -- in agriculture, the care of animals, health, and community development. He indicated that the Loyola goals were no longer operative at Landivar; and he further maintained that the Landivar Center no longer has a relationship with Loyola or with any of that program's graduates. He was highly critical of the Loyola program and strove to dissociate the present Landivar efforts from those antecedents. He complained that too many Guatemalans confused the current AID/CAPS program with that of his own Center, and this placed a burden on Landivar in having to respond to inquiries about the scholarships that involve a trip to the United States. The current director at Landivar made clear his feeling that the money spent on the AID/CAPS Program could better be invested in his own program, training people in practical skills close to their home grounds.

This apparent schism between Loyola grads currently occupying high leadership positions in Guatemala and current leadership at Landivar needs to be considered carefully if efforts to revive Loyola-type programs go forward. The problem may be one of finding a middle-ground: guarding against a revised Loyola-type program that is too academic and too much oriented to the more educated sector of the population; and attempting to reinvigorate into a Landivar-type program some of the generalist features (including philosophic teachings that influence beliefs regarding change; and methods like sensitivity training) that clearly have greatly influenced the attitudes and behaviors of at least some in the high-level leadership structure of Guatemala. The answer may be in promoting communication and cultivating relationships between those who presently are at odds as they represent the "old Loyola" and the "current Landivar" points of view.

B. Congressional Interests, Knowledge and Concerns Regarding Current CAPS

If we were surprised by the strength and tone of feedback we received when inquiring about the old Loyola Leadership Training Program (which closed operations some 15 years ago), we were equally surprised by the paucity of feedback forthcoming from Capitol Hill about the currently operating CAPS Program. Is CAPS fulfilling its original intent? What concerns does Congress have about the Program?

Few on Capitol Hill can provide substantive answers to those questions. And few can speak to them knowledgeably.

Our search for Congressional views on CAPS took us to a number of

staff persons serving influential committees of Congress and to aides to influential members of both the House and Senate. The basic finding was that few of these persons and (accepting their statements about the Congress members they serve) few in Congress know very much about the CAPS Program and keep abreast of its operations. Several interviews were refused due to "lack of knowledge" or agreed to with the caveat that "I know very little about the program." And some who did discuss the program with us said they relied for most of their information on the one Congressional staffer, Charlie Flickner (International Affairs Analyst, Senate Committee on the Budget), and Jim Bond (Minority Staff, Foreign Operations Subcommittee, Senate Appropriations Committee) who were able to speak most knowledgeably to us about CAPS.

Flickner has kept on top of CAPS because of special instructions he received from Senator Domenici (a member of the Kissinger Commission) to continue to monitor that program. Speaking for Congress, he said that the most important features of the program are:

- The selection process and its integrity.
- Follow-through when scholars return to their communities.
- Getting scholars to continue to stay in touch with Mission people and other scholars.

He felt it was most important for the trainees to experience the variety and diversity of American culture and society.

In general, admitting that Congressional direction has been mostly informal and that oversight has, for the most part, been left to the Missions, Flickner and the others interviewed felt that the CAPS Program was fulfilling its purpose and following the desired guidelines. It was also reaching out to segments of society who are not benefitted by other types of U.S. scholarships. But discordant views were heard from among those less knowledgeable. For example, some felt that CAPS did not adequately reach the disadvantaged (although emphasis on rural and disadvantaged people and women has been strong in the current CAPS).

Jim Bond took strong issue with the emphasis on short-term scholarships, saying "Congress is critical of the short-term training." His view was that AID emphasizes numbers and ends up bringing large numbers to the U.S. for brief vacations when it should be bringing trainees here for no less than two years and only in exceptional cases for a short period of no less than six months.

Finally, one key Senate aide (Richard Collins, Staff Director Foreign Operations Subcommittee of the Senate Appropriations

Committee) went so far as to state that the program should be greatly expanded. He stated: "I think the program has been operating long enough and that there is sufficient information and experience so we could see a broadening and expansion of the program. I think there would be support in the Congress for a doubling and even a tripling of the number of scholars and that there is a readiness on the part of the Congress to support an increase in its size. Congress would like to see more of the existing resources channeled to this program."

Essentially, the predominant impression gained from interviews on Capitol Hill about CAPS was that little is known about the program on the Hill but more information is desired. A number of those interviewed expressed a strong interest in AID keeping the Congress informed on a regular basis about the program, its successes, progress and problems.

C. The Current Emphasis of CAPS

Has CAPS built on lessons learned from the previous programs? Does it presently reach rural populations, the disadvantaged and women as it has been mandated to do?

Our analysis showed that the current CAPS Program has been strongly influenced by the earlier programs in a number of ways. Notably:

- The CAPS Program has seriously addressed the problem of selection to inhibit "elitism" and "cronyism" and reach the disadvantaged. Recommendations come from community leaders and returned becarios and screening is done by committees whose members know training needs of geographic areas and the needs of potential becarios.
- It seeks in selection to meet needs identified by geographic areas and subject or skill areas; and over 10 different "courses" are delivered to becarios who are formed into groups for receiving given courses.
- The Program utilizes a case study method in instruction, with case study models formulated (after in-country study) to be relevant to Guatemalan problems and conditions. (It has not attempted to carry forward the sensitivity training of Loyola nor the Latin-sensitized version of this methodology developed at Landivar).

- It has carried forward some ideas like the newsletter and an alumni association. But a number of additional follow-up activities (including follow-on courses that can be completed in-country) are provided in the current CAPS, responding to ongoing problems of reinforcement and continuation of the energies for change.

Still, the current CAPS Program worries a great deal about support and reinforcement for returned becarios, and it seeks to discover ways for achieving "critical masses" for energizing change in the communities and sugregions of Guatemala. It has not yet experimented with forming becario training groups that would consist of teams of persons of interrelated skills and roles -- designed to be embryos for the generation of "critical masses" in instituting change in their communities.

But our findings clearly reveal that current CAPS is reaching the target populations considered under-represented in the past. Our examination of the current CAPS data base containing information on 1723 becarios who participated in the program in 1985, '86 or '87 showed:

- Females represented to a much greater degree than in the Loyola Program -- and increasing in their representation in 1986 and 1987 over 1985.
- Indian Guatemalans represented to a strong degree; with Indian males appearing as the single largest group trained in 1986; and with Indian females appearing as the single largest group trained in 1987.
- Many occupation groups and few classified as "professional," represented in the program.
- "Campesino" represented as the largest group among identified occupations.
- "Agriculture" appearing strongly in the program in "Academic Preparation" categories identified specifically and not classified as "Others").
- A mix of becarios in the three years that is 54 percent Indian and 46 percent Ladino.

D. Quantified Impact Measurement: Is it Possible and Feasible?

One of the purposes of our study was to attempt to quantify findings and move away from impressionistic evaluation judgments made by experts and reported in qualitative terms. For our primary focus we adopted the methods of sampling and the use of a questionnaire; and most of the questions on that instrument were precoded for obtaining responses on a scale of 1-5 representing intensity of a response (expressing a feeling, attitude, or belief).

There were many problems in administering a questionnaire with the population identified for the sample. Moreover, we would have preferred to have been able to draw and reach a larger sample. Some of the problems encountered in our methods are discussed more fully in Appendix A. But our basic conclusions on the question of quantification are:

- Quantification is highly feasible.
- It is greatly facilitated by the use of numeric scales for anchoring responses.
- Numeric scales can produce composite scores for comparing the response tendencies of groups (while percentages of responses can also be readily compared where responses are anchored to points on a scale).
- The population studied, of varied schooling and ethnicities, did appropriately comprehend and use the instrument provided: the indicators on our instrument did move in consistent ways; respondents did (with apparent care and reflection) make discriminating judgments in arriving at and indicating their answers.

Our faith in our instruments and methods should not cover over a basic problem our study faced in attempting to measure impact. We had to rely on the reports of the respondents that an attitude or perception they were recording was influenced by the beca experience or by their post-beca association with a becario. We measured reported attitudes and perceptions only. And we had no external criteria for assessing the validity of the attitudinal responses. Moreover, we had no baseline measurements with which to compare our findings, other than the "baselines" implied by the respondents who reported, on most questions, that they were recording a change in perception and/or attitude from a previous situation.

It is our hope that our pioneering efforts to measure and "score" attitudes and perceptions can provide baselines for future quantified measurement of impact, and that such future measurements can associate attitudes and perceptions with behaviors (and with external criteria of change in both attitude and behavior). At the same time, we hope that methods for obtaining quantified measures of impact can be greatly enlightened and improved through joint work of instrument development that closely involves, and listens to, indigenous becarios and significant others.

E. Measurable Impacts of CAPS in the Selected Areas of Focus

In presenting our methods in the main body of this document, we describe how the initial charge given us was to go beyond becarios to significant others in their lives and obtain impact information from those others. Were becarios, as a result of the experience, influencing others with whom they closely associated? Were they influencing the views of others about changes in personal lives and in the community and about democracy and the United States? Could the impact on these others be detected as a ripple effect of the CAPS Program and preparations made for continuing to trace such ripples, their diminution and/or reinforcement?

We quickly discovered that to reach a population of significant others we would have to work through the population of becarios. Thus our study first selected a sample of becarios and through these becarios identified a sample of family members and friends. We then proceeded to ask the same questions (about the beca experience provided by CAPS) of the persons in our three sampled groups.

In Chapter Six (pages 92-136) we invite the reader to join us in a search for patterns that reveal the attitudes and perceptions in the various areas explored and to search also for distinctive differences between our three groups and between subgroups defined by certain characteristics. The displays for this search are presented in 19 tables that record comparative findings on:

- Life priorities
- Beliefs regarding change
- Impressions of the United States
- Attitudes toward democracy and impressions of U.S. democracy

These findings are subjected further to examinations that attempt to discover differences in response patterns that can be associated with sex, occupation and philosophies of change. A final search

examines how much sameness and difference in response patterns can be found when becario responses are compared specifically to the particular family member and the friend they identified to us for the study.

Although the findings in Chapter Six are the meat of the impact study we will not attempt a comprehensive summary here; and in speaking briefly to tendencies we will avoid the presentation of many numbers. The following review of important findings is intended to prompt the reader to examine the tables in Chapter Six and to think critically about the findings highlighted and the inferences made in that chapter.

1. Life Priorities

Rating how much conditions improved in the past year in varied aspects of their personal lives due to the beca experience, only the becarios, as a group, clearly said that an aspect had changed "very much." They reported that their "education" situation had improved to this degree (perhaps making this judgment in light of the educational beca experience itself). They also reported that their "social" situation had improved considerably, and this also may reflect directly an impact of the scholarship experience, perhaps making them more popular with or "sought out by" others in the community. Family members reported more improvement in their personal lives due to associating with a becario than did friends, notably in "education" and "social" situations, but few responses by these latter groups approached "Much" alone "Very Much" considering improvements in their personal lives. And neither becarios, family members nor friends reported "Much" improvement in any aspect of community life due to the beca experience.

Thus we found that whatever improvements any of the groups saw in their personal lives due to the beca experience, those improvements had not extended very far into the community situation. The historical event of the beca trip itself, its excitement and immediate aftermath, may have been the chief determinant of any reported improvements in personal or community situations influence by the scholarship program.

2. Beliefs Regarding Change

It was thought important to discover the basic beliefs regarding change of the becarios and their significant others. A list of 16 statements was prepared and respondents were asked how strongly they agreed or disagreed with each statement.

There was near unanimity in all the groups that "United, we can make changes." And each group tended to agree strongly that the individual can control his or her own life and bring about changes.

Most agreed also that change in one's personal situation was very important because "as one advances, the community advances."

Strong disagreement was expressed with such statements as "One can't change destiny" and "The poor will always be poor." But enough persons agreed strongly with these latter statements, along with the statement "The few (the rich etc.) always make the decisions on change," to cause us to take a special look at persons "resistant" to change or perhaps more skeptical about what will be required of people like themselves attempting to change their life situations and their society.

Apart from this "special look," reported below, our initial findings on beliefs regarding change pointed up (to us) the inadequacy of our instruments for exploring this subject with a Latin American population that has stronger ties to the past than most people in our own developed society have. We found response patterns that seemed inconsistent but which probably reflected: our inability to capture essential elements in beliefs and feelings about the past, present and future held by Guatemalans; ambiguities in our questioning process (in the eyes of the respondents).

We can state, based on our findings, that the becarios and their "significant others" are activists who believe in individual action and striving for improved conditions for self which will lead also to positive changes in the community; and that they believe persons holding such beliefs can work together to bring about change. We can also state that ideas about change were reported to have been changed by the beca experience (or by association with a becario) most definitely by the becarios. The three groups responded "yes" to a question asking whether their ideas on change had been so influenced in the following percentages:

Becarios	-	90.1 percent
Family Members	-	67.0 percent
Friends	-	61.0 percent

3. Impressions of the United States

Asked to judge sources of information about the United States they considered most reliable, all three groups gave their highest ratings on reliability to "other Guatemalans" (either those who have worked with Americans or those who have lived in or visited the United States). All three groups rated "films made in the U.S." lowest in reliability. Had their ideas on reliable sources changed as a result of the beca experience (or association with a becario)? Again, more becarios responded "yes" regarding this influence than family members or friends. Percentages responding "yes" were:

Becarios	-	82.0 percent
Family Members	-	49.5 percent
Friends	-	52.0 percent

Regardless of how impressions of the United States are obtained, what qualities and characteristics did our respondent groups associate most strongly with the United States?

Characteristics related to wealth, power and organization were rated highest (closer to 5 than to 4 on a scale of 1-5) by all three groups. The quality rated lowest by all three groups as characterizing the United States was "compassionate," where ratings were slightly above 3 (i.e., "Somewhat" manifest in U.S. society). However, the quality of being "honest" was associated "Much" (but not "Very Much") with our society; and "Justice in human treatment" also received a rating closer to "4" than to "3" as a quality found in the United States.

In general, becarios tended to rate U.S. society higher on positive qualities (in addition to those associated with organization and orderliness) than the other two groups. Notably, friends of the becarios tended to see less "justice," "honesty" and "opportunity" in our society than did the becarios and family members; but family members were highest of all three groups in rating our society as a land of "opportunity."

An interesting insight was found in responses to an open-ended question asking respondents to volunteer comments on what they "liked most" and "liked least" about the United States. The qualities of organization were most admired; and negative impressions of the U.S. were most frequently identified with a different culture (a bustling, agitated lifestyle). but consciousness of the beca trip (satisfaction with it or desires to make it) came through clearly in the volunteered responses. The "beca trip" was volunteered as something "liked most" about the U.S. by some 30 percent of both family members and friends who volunteered comments; and this response was forthcoming from persons who had not yet made such a trip. Moreover, some friends even saw fit to say that the "beca (was) too short" in offering an anticipatory view on what they "liked least" about the United States.

4. Attitudes Toward Democracy

An exercise that asked respondents first to rate how important they felt certain practices were in a democracy and then to rate the degree to which they saw these practices in U.S. democracy produced particularly interesting findings. All of the practices listed were considered highly important by all three groups, and most were reported by all three groups as appearing "Much" if not "Very Much" in U.S. democracy. (One slight surprise appeared in the rating by family members of "Freedom of worship and religion" as the most important feature of all in a democracy.) But our scoring system, used to reduce all answers on a question to a single mean score, made possible discernment of the most interesting patterns of all. We were able to measure how much, comparatively, each group saw U.S. democracy

falling short on various practices. Comparing the scores (which could range from 1.00 to 5.00) for each group on "Importance of Practices" to their scores on "Appearance [of practices] in U.S. Democracy," interesting differences in perceived "shortfalls" appeared. On two practices,

"Promotion of economic opportunity by government," and

"Interest in health and education by government,"

becarios actually rated U.S. democracy higher on the practices than they rated these practices important in a democracy. But the pattern on all ten items was revealing. Most item comparisons, where "appearance" scores were subtracted from "importance" scores, produced negative values -- which could be interpreted as perceived "shortfalls" in U.S. democracy. For our three groups these mean shortfall values (i.e., averaged for the 10 items in the list) were:

Becarios:	-	.06
Family Members:	-	.27
Friends:	-	.32

The findings indicate clearly that the becarios, who have been to the United States and received the scholarship training, see far less shortfalls in U.S. democracy than significant others who have not had the beca experience.

Another finding in this exploration of attitudes toward democracy and impressions of U.S. democracy bears out previous patterns concerning how much perceptions and attitudes were changed by CAPS and the beca experience. Considering their impressions of U.S. democracy, the three groups said those impressions had been changed (by the beca or by associating with a becario, "Much" or "Very Much" in the following (approximate) percentages:

Becarios	-	75 percent
Family Members	-	60 percent
Friends	-	50 percent

5. Special Searches

After comparing the three basic groups in all the areas focused upon, several special searches were performed. They looked for differences in response patterns that could be associated with:

Sex
Occupation
Beliefs regarding change.

And finally our special searches culminated in an examination of:

Samenesses and differences in response patterns comparing linked pairs of becarios and their own specific family members; and becarios and their own specific friends.

The sex variable. When our three groups were pooled and then divided into males and females, a startling picture unfolded as the two sexes were compared, item by item, to discover differences in response patterns based on sex. In each area of questioning, the samenesses were so striking that one could almost have assumed the total group had been split in half, with random assignment made to one half or the other regardless of sex. The only response differences that could be observed were:

- Women tended to report slightly greater improvements than men in their personal and the community situation (due to the beca), especially in their personal "education" and "social" situations.
- Women reported greater faith than men in "What I hear about the U.S. in casual conversations with other Guatemalans" as a reliable source of information about the United States.
- The women tended to report very slightly more than men that their ideas on U.S. democracy had changed since the beca experience.

The Occupation Variable. Myriad occupations were reported by the respondents, and a comparison was attempted between those who could be classified "Manuales" and those classifiable as "Tecnicas." These comparisons were made separately within the becario group and within the others group (pooling family members and friends). In these comparisons, greater differences were found that could be associated with these occupation clusters than were found in examining the sex variable. Differences that stood out clearly included:

- In the becario group:
 - Tecnicas reported greater improvement (as a result of the beca) in their personal work situation than Manuales.
 - Manuales tended to see greater reliability (as sources of information about

the U.S.) in "films" and "books" than did Tecnicas.

- Manuales saw more "compassion" in U.S. society than Tecnicas; but Tecnicas saw more "honesty" in U.S. society than Manuales did.
- In the Others group:
 - Again Tecnicas reported greater improvement (due to the beca) in their personal situation than Manuales; in this instance improvement was in their "social" and "education" situations.
 - Regarding impressions of characteristics of the U.S., Manuales saw more "compassion," "honesty," "opportunity" and "justice" in the U.S. than Tecnicas.
 - Considering features found in U.S. democracy, Manuales saw more "equal legal treatment"; but Tecnicas perceived more "freedom of association" and more "representation of all groups in public and private life" than Manuales.

Thus, in general, Tecnicas saw their personal situations improved by the beca experience more than did Manuales. And it appeared that whether they had been on the beca trip or had merely associated with someone who had, Tecnicas still had to be shown more to be convinced of the positives in American life while Manuales (asking a little less of democracy) held a rosier view of the U.S. and its democracy.

Philosophies of Change. Pursuing a hunch that much was being lost or overlooked in our examination of beliefs about change, an effort was made to find consistent differences between those who had strongly affirmed at least one of three "fatalistic" statements about change and the total study sample.* A "resistant-to-change" subgroup

*Note that differences would be watered down by the fact that the "resistant-to-change" group also appeared in the total group with which it was compared.

was identified separately within the becario group and again within the others group (combining family members and friends). The distinctive finding was that almost no differences appeared in these comparisons across all but one of our areas of questioning. Differences appeared almost exclusively in the list of statements on beliefs regarding change.

On the statements regarding change, 14 differences of at least 10 percentage points in strong-agreement responses appeared (while in the other areas of questioning only 4 comparisons produced this great a difference in response). It might be concluded that beliefs regarding change have little or no relationship to perceptions and attitudes in these other areas. But we must also conclude that our questioning failed to capture important features in Guatemalan beliefs about the past, present and future and that apparent inconsistencies in responses are the result of ambiguities and the difficulty of expressing a consistent pattern of beliefs through our pre-packaged statements and pre-categorized responses. For example, the "resistant" group joined the total group in affirming that "change in one's personal situation is very important..." but then strongly affirmed in the majority that "changes in one's personal situation are not very important ..." (because community change is more important).

While looking to future efforts to improve our instrument tapping beliefs about change, we can still deduce from our findings that persons in the population we sampled do hold strong views on change and that in those views there are beliefs about the past and its importance that go hand in hand with beliefs favoring action to change the present and the future. We found that some who are ready to affirm certain features of a "non-hopeful" view of change are still ready to join with others to play an active role in bringing about change. They believe in personal striving and improving their personal situations but also have strong feelings about the community and the importance of making changes in the community. Some of the other affirmations of the "resistant" group -- that "the few" have advantages in effecting change; that "connections" are important for making changes -- may identify them as more "cynical," "skeptical," or perhaps more "realistic" as they prepare to exert influence for change.

The "resistants" warrant further attention at the same time that instruments for detecting the nuances in Guatemalan beliefs about change are being improved.

The Linked Pairs. How frequently did the becarios and their particular family members and their particular selected friends answer exactly the same on questions that provided a 5-point scale for responses; and how much did answers of the pairs differ by 1 or 2 or 3 or 4 points on the 5-point scale? This search for sameness and difference added another dimension to comparisons made in the study.

Acknowledging that "sameness" may reflect similarity in perception and attitude regardless of the influence of one member of the pair on the other, we still present the patterns of response of our becarios paired with their particular significant others as providing insight into impact and influence. We make the further inference that what is enlightened most in this picture is the areas we focused upon in which influence was greatest and least.

The pattern revealed in plotting sameness and difference findings for both types of linked pairs leads to the following conclusions:

1. Becarios have been able to influence their family members more than their friends in their attitudes and perceptions.
2. Becarios have been most successful in getting across to their significant others what they saw of democratic practices in the U.S.
3. Becarios have been least successful in influencing others' views on other specific issues, most notably regarding how and where to find verifiable information about the United States.

These conclusions, however, need to be seen in light of our finding that very distinctive differences appear in perceived shortfalls in U.S. democracy (as revealed in Table 6.11). Those findings indicate that while becarios seem to have been "convinced" a great deal that the U.S. fulfills their hopes on most democratic practices, their family members and friends still need considerable convincing.

F. Becarios, Significant Others, and The Ripple Effect

Our findings verify the assumption that becarios do, as a result of the beca experience, influence their close associates' attitudes and perceptions regarding democracy, change, and other matters related to developmental change in Guatemalan society. Further, this impact is measurable in quantitative terms and could be traced through time via future measurements. Such future measurements need not necessarily involve the specific persons contacted as the sample for our study but could be taken with other samples which, like our own, "represent" the total becario universe -- and the universe of close associates or significant others.

Those future measurements would seek to discover "ripple effects" and whether strengths of various attitudes and perceptions are diminishing or increasing. They could use our current findings as baselines, not only for future measurements taken with the persons in our sample, but for future measurements with other representative

samples. But while acknowledging that other stratified-random samples could serve adequately for the monitoring of ripple effects in the future, we would like to make a pitch for continuing to use our own sample in a special way in the immediate future.

It is granted that another sample, perhaps an expanded one could also serve the purposes we have in mind. But the experience of persons in our own sample in contributing feedback and evaluation, and especially the self-consciousness this has given to the significant others who participated in our study, argues for using the same persons as at least a nucleus for the future steps we envision. For example, our study forged certain linkages between the becarios we selected and the significant others they selected, and this "structure" was articulated to serve the process of evaluation. We sensed that our study itself contributed to "we-feeling" among the sampled becarios and significant others. And we feel a next step could further strengthen that fragile structure and sense of commonality and allow an ongoing evaluation process to contribute to development of change in general. Our preference, then, is to call on our sample in the next step outlined below. But our becarios and others could also serve as a model for future efforts (like the one outlined below) to create a structure and network for evaluative feedback which utilizes becarios and their others as agents of evaluation as well as agents of change.

The becarios and their significant others should help in future steps to monitor ripple effects of the CAPS Program. A first step would be to obtain their help in improving evaluation instruments. A conference of our sample of becarios and others could be held (under the auspices of current CAPS leadership in Guatemala) to address the problem of obtaining impact ("ripple effects") information. Such a conference could use as a basic stimulus for discussion our own questionnaire, examining its inadequacies and problems in its use. Clearly, input from the grassroots is needed to sensitize our instrument in its several subject areas to Guatemalan realities. But subject areas themselves need to be examined critically along with the problems of how best to explore and make measurements in various topical areas.

What is it most important to know, regarding attitudes and perceptions, in exploring impact of CAPS? How can this information best be obtained? Are there objective criteria of change related to impact that can be discovered in local communities and in subregions and that can be associated with attitudes and perceptions? How can a questionnaire or interview guide (or other instrument) best be administered or otherwise used at the local level? How can language and semantic barriers be overcome?

These are some of the questions a Conference on Evaluation should explore. Structure should not overwhelm insights and ideas, although conference coordinators should constantly propose structure for the

raw material provided by becarios and significant others. But the becarios/others themselves may have schemas as well as methods to recommend (for learning about feelings and attitudes) that are more appropriate to their culture. Follow-up to the conference should allow for further critique of newly-proposed methods by the grass roots people (individually and/or in group sessions).

The end-in-view is a network for obtaining "ripple effects" information that reaches "out into the territory" where the people reside. In this network, we envision that:

- Becarios and a first echelon (or first circle) of significant others are assigned roles in obtaining evaluative information on the impact of CAPS from their vantage points in their communities.
- A general framework of information fields and subareas of investigation is agreed upon, but considerable leeway is given to these local functionaries in sensing and recording the desired information.
- Periodic (perhaps quarterly) sessions are held in the localities where significant "nodes" in the network are located to summarize and codify findings. The becarios and others are given technical assistance at that time in transforming information they have obtained (by applying their modified versions of evaluative instruments) so that findings are recorded in a standardized format before being channeled to CAPS central headquarters. Thus key roles in the network are occupied by intermediaries, like the persons who administered our own questionnaire, who provide technical assistance to the information network.

It is our contention that such an undertaking to facilitate evaluation can also energize the very processes to be detected and measured. Concerned about and alert to "ripple effects," becarios and their close associates themselves invigorate the ripples even as they learn to detect and measure them. We also hope that this process of monitoring-while-reinforcing-change can soon be cut loose from concerns about its linkage to CAPS and be carried forward on its own momentum to promote democratic change in Guatemalan society.

Chapter Eight: Recommendations

The following recommendations are offered for consideration by AID/CAPS Guatemala and AID/DR/EST/Washington. Each area covered by the study is addressed in the recommendations that follow.

1. Take steps to revive the Loyola-type leadership training program based not only in one but in several U.S. universities.

Some of the features that should be given careful consideration in a new Loyola-type program are:

- a. Extend the training period to 6 months.
- b. Reinstate the sensitivity training component (utilizing and borrowing Latin-relevant revisions from old-Landivar, but also considering additional revisions most appropriate to Indians and the disadvantaged).
- c. Follow more of the current CAPS selection guidelines to obtain a trainee mix with more Indians, women and the disadvantaged.
- d. Seek to achieve a "critical mass" mixture as much as feasible.

2. Promote relationships with the current Landivar Program (in reviving a Loyola-type program) and seek a close working relationship between a new Loyola and current Landivar.

- a. Explore relationships whereby persons from the new Loyola-type program could follow-up with more specific skills-oriented Landivar training in-country.
- b. Seek cooperative relationships at the leadership and administrative level.

The basic issue in creative exchanges between the new-Loyola and current Landivar is how to wed some of the strong philosophical power of old-Loyola to the more practical approach of current Landivar. How can each, and perhaps both by working together enhance reinforcement of trainee experiences toward the achievement of "critical masses" for instituting change?

3. Maintain sensitivity (in all such plans for training) to socio-political realities in Guatemala and elsewhere in Central America.

No future plans should proceed without cognizance of concerns and fears regarding various "labels" and associations to lessen all possibilities of making trainees targets of terrorism.

4. Institute procedures for providing up-to-date information regarding CAPS periodically on Capitol Hill.

Some of these procedures could include:

- a. Provide regular briefings and correct current misperceptions (e.g., regarding reaching the disadvantaged).
- b. Arrange for at least some becarios to visit Congressmen and Senators on Capitol Hill during their visits to Washington, D.C.
- c. Institute regular procedures for hearing the views and concerns of Congress, and institute mechanisms for weighing and perhaps "piloting" some proposed revisions. (For example, a 3 to 6 month becario program might be tried, falling between the current short-term and long-term scholarships.

5. Continue current selection and recruitment procedures in CAPS.

One caveat offered, however, is that as becario graduates increase in numbers and become more involved in recommendations for selection, CAPS must guard against the creation of a new old-boy network that overly narrows the circle for recruitment. CAPS should continue to expand the circle of selectees, following the "ripple" of impact and making new selections to add energies to the outward flowing ripples.

6. Continue current follow-up efforts through such mechanisms as a newsletter, alumni association and periodic meetings of returnees.

At the same time, CAPS should experiment with ways to decentralize more of these activities so that networks of interested, involved becarios and their close associates take form "out in the territory."

7. Consider introducing a form of sensitivity training into the short-term CAPS curriculum.

The old-Landivar version (revised-Loyola) training should be

examined for its relevance, and additional revisions should be considered that orient the technique even more to Indians and the disadvantaged.

8. To foster "critical masses," consider selecting small "teams" for CAPS training -- becarios from the same community or at least sub-region who have different skills and roles that must be brought together in addressing a given problem area.

CAPS should experiment with modifying its courses so that the approach of clustering relatively homogeneous individuals becomes more a clustering of small teams of persons with closely related skills and talents. By addressing team training more than individual training, embryonic structures might more readily be formed around which critical masses can develop.

9. Also to foster "critical masses," take steps to make the becarios and a first circle of their significant others into "agents of evaluation."

This effort to encourage the development of a sensing and feedback network "out in the territory" should begin with steps that call for listening to the becarios and their close associates to obtain ideas regarding the detection and monitoring of the growth of democratic ideas and attitudes and the rippling outward of democratic processes. Occupying nodes in an evaluative information network, becarios and significant others should be given technical assistance for obtaining quantified, objective information on these processes -- information that can be aggregated in a standardized way as it is channeled to CAPS central.

10. Seek ways to bring together the reinforcing energies generated by embryonic teams (working on specific problems) and the networks energizing the flow of evaluative information.

Both the teaming approach and the decentralized evaluation network approach can work together to promote the formation of "critical masses" in localities and developing outward into subregional areas. The mandate of teams might be to focus carefully on a local community problem. The mandate of agents of evaluation, working in and developing a network for information flow, might better be subregional. And they might obtain much of their information on the growth of democratic attitudes and processes from locally-formed problem-solving teams.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Developing and Using the Questionnaire

Appendix B: A Note on Costs and Cost Containment

Appendix A

Developing and Using the Questionnaire

Major assistance in the Development of the questionnaire was given by Dr. Reyes Ramos and by Dr. Stephen O. Stewart and his staff at Stewart, Alvarez y Asociados, S.A. An early version, containing over 200 items, was tested with a group of becarios; and critique of that questionnaire led not only to shortening of the instrument but to changes in a number of the questions. The final version contained 121 items including 18 background items. Thus the respondents were asked to reflect on 102 questions regarding their attitudes and perceptions in six fields of inquiry. Questionnaires were in the Spanish language.

The plan worked out for administering the questionnaire also encompassed the strategy for identifying and contacting the significant others. Becarios who were selected by the sampling procedure were contacted by cablegram and asked to attend a session at an identified central location in their Department on a specified date and time. They were told they would be asked to share information at the meeting about the beca experience. They were further asked to bring one family member and one friend to the meeting and were instructed that these should be persons they had influenced in some way, as a result of the CAPS experience.

The becario contacts were made through the Guatemala CAPS/PAZAC Director who periodically holds follow-up meetings with returned becarios, and the Director's legitimization of the meetings was invaluable in promoting turnout. The plan for data collection was to administer the questionnaire in group sessions. Flip charts were prepared so that each field of questioning and each question (along with response methods) could be explained to the group. Questions from attendees could be asked and responded to both prior to the beginning of the response process and during that process. The questionnaire was administered by sections (or fields), and all respondents completed a field before the group moved on to the next field. The respondents filled out their questionnaire individually although assistance was available in the room to provide individualized clarification. Questionnaire administration was organized so that becarios, family members and friends met as groups in separate rooms. All of these conference type sessions to which becarios and their others were invited were scheduled for and held on Saturdays (discovered to be the best -- sometimes the only -- day) when the subjects could get away from work and/or field).

In spite of the Saturday scheduling and the assistance of the PAZAC Director, and in spite of over-sampling (drawing names and inviting persons from an alternate list as well as inviting all becarios on the primary sample list), each scheduled data gathering session fell short of reaching its numeric goals. Therefore, additional Saturday sessions were scheduled in each of our three

Departments and invitations sent out again until the targeted numbers of becarios, each identifying one family member and one friend, had been reached. In this process, our list of sample alternates eventually was almost used up completely. Moreover, it was found necessary, finally, to seek out becarios and significant others individually in their homes or workplaces, and to use the questionnaire as a guide for a one-on-one interview, before our samples were completed in the Departments of Guatemala, Quetzaltenango, and Solola.

Examples of problems encountered can be seen in the data collection experience in Solola. There the group session was held on a Saturday in a church building in a small village by Lake Atitlan. Invitees began arriving around 9:00 A.M. and the questionnaire administration sessions, separating becarios, family members and friends, began about 10:00. The sessions were completed shortly after noon, although some few persons were still arriving at that time and were attended to separately. Lunch was provided, and the project field staff continued to socialize with attendees until all had finally left by about 2:00 P.M.

Total attendance for that day (when 40 becarios, 40 family members and 40 friends had been targeted) was:

Becarios	-	32
Family Members	-	11
Friends	-	10

This was the general pattern in most sessions: the great shortfalls were in significant others. Moreover, in Solola many Indian attendees spoke and read languages other than Spanish; and special preparations had been made and were applied to meet this situation. Field staff (some of whom were from Solola) were able to assist some respondents one-on-one as they completed their questionnaires. In addition, among the friends in attendance, one especially motivated and bright young man volunteered (and was accepted) to assist in the one-on-one translations needed by some respondents.

Because of attendance shortfalls on the scheduled day, our field team returned to Solola the following week and spent that week searching out individually becarios on our sample lists and significant others they then identified. In this follow-up, questionnaires were used as interview guides in one-on-one data gathering sessions.

A very efficient job of data reduction and data processing was performed by Dr. Bruce Newman and his staff at DATAPro, S.A. who coded data from the questionnaires and performed the statistical analysts. A very compact data base of 101 linked cases and 303 respondents was established, and very few responses on any questions were absent or "out of field." Our data analysts were able to respond quickly and

efficiently to requests for new runs, as when (for example) the "special insights" were attempted. All printout produced was concise and relevant, and the data analysts also made valuable suggestions regarding the analysis.

Although the problems of instrumentation and data collection were many, we feel confident of the validity and reliability of the information contained in our compact data base.

Appendix B

A Note on Costs and Cost Containmentment

Originally, our study was to include a subfocus on costs that would seek out and report on objective measures of cost containment. Given time and resource constraints, such an effort was found unfeasible. However, we continued to attempt to gather, in the course of our interviewing and other data collection from second-hand sources, information on costs and cost containment. We feel compelled to at least add this note on costs to our report.

From the outset, CAPS has been alert to cost containment. Policy guidance for the umbrella Caribbean and Latin American program (CLASP) pointed out that cost-containment measures should include such procedures as group placements and seeking proposals from several universities before awarding contracts for short-term training or the tuition payments for long-term placements. The Guatemala AID/CAPS Program has taken steps to hold down costs, through such measures while remaining extremely conscious of the need for cost containment. The Guatemala program negotiates airline fares and was commended by the State Department for using a combination of in-country and U.S. training and follow-on as a "sensible approach" to cutting costs. The average dollars per month (excluding administrative costs) for short courses in Latin America and the Caribbean Region compares favorably with such costs in other regions, as shown below:

	<u>Average Dollar Per Month for Short Courses</u>
Africa Region	\$3,448
Near East Region	3,774
Asia Region	3,391
Latin America/Carib. Region	3,188

The costs per week per participant* of the various short-term group training programs contracted by Guatemala CAPS to various institutions are:

*These costs include training fee and participant maintenance allowances only.

<u>Institutions</u>	<u>Number of Participants</u>	<u>Cost</u>
New Mexico State U.	30	\$584
HURDI	40	745
ITD	40	831
ITD	40	749
Johnson Institute	9	640
Mendez England	20	838
Texas Southern U.	40	515
Iowa State U.	21	855
Louisiana State U.	20	632
Academy for State & Local Govt.	20	746
EIL	20	703
Ferris State College	40	600
FINCA	20	730
Essex C.C.	20	630

In meetings with spokespersons at PIET (Partners for International Education and Training), a private firm which handles making many of the training and education arrangements with American institutions for USAID and the CAPS Program, cost containment procedures were described to us.

Considering long-term placements, an effort is always made to get a lower tuition for a becario, and the universities are asked to assist by granting in-state tuition or even giving scholarships. While many universities want to internationalize their student bodies, the problem with CAPS becarios is that they are usually rural persons and need a lot of help in many ways.

With regard to short-term training, the clients are community colleges, universities, and consulting firms who specialize in specific training areas. They usually submit a budget that includes such things as: training fees, room and board, and miscellaneous allowances. Each submission is handled on a case-by-case basis and usually at least three bids are obtained. Contractors are always willing to negotiate. PIET cited the range of costs for 4 to 8 weeks short-term training as about \$500 to \$800 per student per week (including training, room and board, and miscellaneous expenses). Miscellaneous allowances are \$10 per day when room and board are provided and \$25 per day when no meals are included. Categories in a training budget are as follows:

- Staff
- Equipment and supplies
- Housing
- Food

- Transportation costs (rental of a van)
- Communications costs (phone bills and postage)
- Overhead

Mission costs are:

- Health insurance
- International travel (biggest cost)
- English language training
- Orientations

Ways that costs are cut or contained include:

- Cutting deals with hotels (especially possible in Washington, D.C.).
- Looking for the cheapest flights (working through a travel agency to discover and book at cheapest rates).

PIET takes on the job of negotiating costs directly with the contractors. It negotiates all line items, and because of its experience it has a pretty good idea about what costs of particular items should be. The rule established by AID (but sometimes violated by specific Missions) is that no blank check should be written to contractors for any contractual requirement. The current system in which the Missions rely on PIET to implement competitive contracting and perform financial management of contractors is good and reliable, but it does not include the entire field of options.

At the AID Mission in Guatemala, the view was expressed that, on a selective basis, some cost comparisons should be performed by the Mission itself. The Guatemala Mission also reported cost containment measures (cited below) to the State Department with regard to its CAPS Program.

CAPS trainees are normally programmed in groups of 40 persons. The following free support services and other benefits for each CAPS group are obtained from the travel agency and airlines:

- A printed itinerary for every Peace Scholar;
- Pre-printed labels for every Peace Scholar's luggage, imprinted with the USAID/Guatemala CAPS logo;

- Pre-printed identification tags for all luggage;
- A personal identification card for every Peace Scholar;
- A flight bag for carrying documents and small personal items, imprinted with the CAPS logo;
- Pre-printed travel papers (embarkation, immigration, etc.) filled out by the agency for the out-going and return portions of the trip for all Peace Scholars;
- Personalized service by special assistants at the airport and with customs at the time of exit -- a special window is opened which only deals with the CAPS Scholars;
- Special assistance at any airport where there are connecting flights -- the Scholars are met and escorted to their next flight;
- Seat selection for all flights, made in advance with all members of the CAPS seated together;
- Specific written information in advance for each Scholar about the flight, type of airplane, food, connecting flights, scenic attractions at final destination, etc.;
- Special namechecks by the airlines on each flight to make sure that all Scholars are present and accounted for; and
- Preferential airfare rates for all Scholars and a free ticket for every 15 tickets purchased.

CAPS spokespersons pointed out that these services "multiplied times 800 - 1000 trainees (our current training level per year) lift a substantial paperwork and monitoring load from our training office and serve to assure trouble-free travel for our Peace Scholars. The preferential airfare rates and the free ticket for every fifteen tickets purchased result in a substantial reduction in the annual cost of our training program.

They also pointed out that when one air carrier threatened to raise rates (which would have cost the Mission an additional \$500,000 for the year), USAID/Guatemala's training officer conducted

negotiations with the threatening (and other) carriers. AID/Guatemala proudly maintains:

"Her prompt action not only defeated the proposed fare increase but also resulted in the above-mentioned package of benefits and airfare discounts. The savings to the Mission financed a healthy increase in the number of Guatemalans traveling to the U.S. under our CAPS Program."