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ANNEX 5.6

COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

GUATEMALA HEALTH SECTOR ASSESSMENT

November 1977

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## Annex 5.6

### COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

#### PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this component of the Health Sector Assessment is to describe the Guatemalan experience in community participation; to assess obstacles to and the likely consequences of expanding such participation in future health programs; and to suggest possible forms such participation might fruitfully take. The principal rationales for the exercise is: 1) the heavy emphasis in health programs under consideration on community participation as both philosophy and methodology; and 2) a widely-shared impression that in past programs where the involvement of the community in planning and implementation has been lacking, continuing utilization and maintenance of health facilities has been at unproductively low levels.

Methodology of the Study. The basic methodology for this section of the assessment was to have been a mix of literature review, interviews with key personnel involved in a variety of programs with a community development component, and field research. The methodology ultimately used consisted mainly of the first two approaches; the field research was limited by lack of time and personnel and by the knowledge that both the already initiated Rural Health Services Evaluation<sup>1</sup> and the possible CARE/Agua

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<sup>1</sup> Separate contract with the Guatemalan Academy of Science for 5 years (1975-1979) to do an in-depth of the Rural Health Care Delivery System in Guatemala.

del Pueblo<sup>2</sup> evaluation would provide more precise and detailed data on the degree of effective community participation in two major health-related programs.

The difficulties in measuring the "success" or "failure" of community development have been amply discussed for years--problems of definition, quantitative and qualitative measurement, time lag in impact, durability of change, and so forth--elaborate on the basic research done in this areas (see numbered item 1,2,3,4,6, 7,10,11,12,13,16 in bibliography).

What follows is a simple summary, in abbreviated form, of some of the positive and negative commonalities in major programs selected from key development sectors, prefaced by some general ethnographic findings relevant to community participation. There has been no attempt to do an exhaustive assessment of the programs discussed.

Some Basic Findings Important to Community Participation\*

- While the municipality continues to be the primary social and cultural unit in Guatemala, there is vertical variation and

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\* Based primarily on the ethnographic work of Adams<sup>1</sup>, Appelbaum<sup>2</sup>, Carmack<sup>5,6</sup>, Colby<sup>7</sup> and Van den Berhe, and McIntosh,<sup>12</sup> and from field research on environmental sanitation carried out in May, 1977 as part of the Sector Assessment.

horizontal stratification which crosses municipal boundaries. The vertical variations are those among cantons, hamlets, clans, lineages, and associations; these variations, often reinforced by distance and topography, serve to divide the indigenous population and to focus loyalties inward so that in many instances peasant farmers are deeply divided into competitive small groups based on kinship and territory. The effect of this is lack of national and regional political unity; however, if the fragmentation within communities is not too microscopic, the vertical divisions do not necessarily impact unfavorably on group action, and the sense of community at the local level may actually favor such action.

The horizontal stratifications are those of caste and class, in large degree coinciding with each other and marked generally by division between ladinos and indians. These stratifications cut across all vertical division yet do not do so in any constructively unifying way.

- The key characteristics of ladino/indian relationships are ambivalence and mistrust. Ladinos, in the main, consider indians inferior yet somehow more moral and pure. Indians are respected for their capacity for hard work. They also anticipate, in somewhat contradictory fashion, deceit on the part of indians which is indeed sometimes the case and is generated by the indian expectation of potential exploitation.

Indians, on the other hand, do not necessarily consider themselves inferior; see ladinos as less honest, trustworthy, and hard-working, and as essentially seeking their own rather than community well-being. Yet indians also may envy and admire certain aspects of ladino competence, power, and affluence. It is a paradoxical but important feature of this perception that ladinos who do not share their knowledge and advice with indians are resented. At the same time, there is not a mass plunge by indians to ladinoize themselves and more evidence of a selective adaption, a picking and choosing among technologies and behaviors which seem useful, while simultaneously the indian cultural core and group membership is retained.

What seems to persist is the expectation, if not the desire, by both groups, for a basically paternalistic mode of interethnic relations rather than an egalitarian or competitive one.

In fact, both ethnic groups do value community cooperation. What differs is the origin of the valuing, which together with political and economic realities, produces different effects. Indians have great pride in community and community tradition, and acquire prestige from passing through the grades of the civil-religious hierarchy; although this hierarchy has deteriorated or changed its orientation in many instances, it endures as at least an ideal and at most a major institutional structural element.

In fact, there is still a tendency for farmers to receive greater respect than merchants simply because they remain at home and are available for public services. One of the facets of seasonal out-migration that is deemed deplorable by indian alcaldes is that so many men cannot, as a result, fulfill their community obligations. Most alcaldes consider it an honor, as well as an obligation, to serve the community, and the poor pay\* does not appear to affect the manner in which they perform their duties.

Fiestas, in addition to being obvious examples of the capacity of local groups to cooperate, organize, and handle modern technology, also symbolize the importance of sacrificing for the community. The financial costs, and the long portage of the heavy icon platforms are described by one analyst (Carmack, 1975) as a demonstration of "ritualized asceticism" displayed in joint activity which has come to be as commercial, political, and non-theological as it is religious.

Ladinos, on the other hand, value community cooperation more as a means than an end. It is a potential road to leadership positions, public recognition, and thus prestige, as well as a reinforcer of ladino identity if not dominance.

The difference in value orientation does not necessarily mean that either ethnic group is by definition superior to the

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Sometimes as little as Q15.00 a month, often in arrears.  
Alcaldes Auxiliares are not paid at all.

other in terms of potential for community action. What may indeed matter more is that ladinos tend to be more family-oriented and to prize individual strength and uniqueness, while indians value internal consensual decision-making and a certain degree of independence from outsiders. Either of these may be more crucial to the outcome of community development programs than the variance in rationales for participation between the two major ethnic groups.

- The indian alcaldes,\* with the elders (principales) at the ward or cantonal levels, continue to be crucial politically, legally, and ritually. Their power may vary but their importance as nodes in networks of access and communications appears relatively constant.

The secretaries (secretarios) and treasurers (tesoreros) are salaried and generally better educated. Because they possess skills often scarce in rural areas, they tend to persist in office and become in many cases more strategic than the alcaldes who serve only two years and cannot succeed themselves.

- Because of the unhappy synergy among population growth, land fragmentation, and land deterioration, the economic position of the highland agriculturalist has degenerated in terms of self-sufficiency if not in terms of absolute standards of living. To compensate, there is increasing dependence on out-migration (usually to commercial agriculture areas) with greater frequency

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\* Varies referred to as the alcalde auxiliar, indian alcaldía, or the auxiliatura.

and/or for longer periods, and a concomitant increase in commercialization and proletarianization of the peasantry. The community effect of this periodic out-migration is both negative and positive. The negative effect is that at any given time, there is a reduced number of able-bodied men in many highland communities; this ranges from one-fifth absent in any given month to 95% during harvest peaks which to some extent coincidence unfortunately with the dry season, the best time for rural infrastructural activity. The positive effect is that the out-migration brings cash back into highland communities, both through wages and the cash advances (anticipos) paid by labor recruiters which generally come at the most depressed point in the highland annual economic cycle. Some of this cash accrues directly to local governments, and its mere existence frees men to some degree to make labor or material contributions to community development programs. It further permits the highland indians to maintain much of their traditional way of life, though it has also led to some permanent out-migration and ladinoization. Thus migration both supports and competes with community needs.

- Recent field research\* has turned up indications - fee but consistent enough to merit further investigation -- that

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\* Harrison, Polly, Environmental Sanitation Attitudes and Behavior study, May 1977. (See Annex I3 of the HISA).

there may be increasing feeling in both the ladino and indian sectors of the population that labor for community projects should be in some measure reimbursed, preferably in cash, although there is some evidence from the CARE-Cáritas experience that certain types of food, particularly corn, wheat flour, and oil, can constitute acceptable compensation.\*\* It has become almost ritualistic community development methodology to demand increasingly larger community contributions of cash, materials, and especially labor as a sine qua non for projects, the assumption being that if the participant must be paid, he or she does not truly perceive the project as a benefit. This may be both naive and unrealistic. It is possible to see very real and immediate personal benefit from a project, to even want to make any kind of donation, and yet to have an urgent need to eat. The demands of a community project may conflict with real personal limitations of time and money, despite positive attitudes. Furthermore, one has to ask if there is not some inconsistency in the almost relentless expectation that the least advantaged sector of the population be the major source of volunteer effort.

This is not to suggest that the philosophy of a voluntary component in community development projects must be discarded.

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Since fewer and fewer highland farmers can produce enough corn to satisfy a full year's family needs, corn would seem to be both culturally and economically satisfactory compensation.

It only means that some thought should be given to the possibility of minimal labor payments in cash and kind as part of such projects, on perhaps a carefully monitored trial basis, and that under continually worsening economic conditions and increasing commercialization and proletarianization of the peasantry, increased demand for payment or greater government contributions in community development projects might be forthcoming.

- A variety of legal, fiscal, and sociocultural realities at the municipal level conspire to limit the role of local government as a mechanism in community development:

- 1) A general lack of municipal funds due to uneven distribution of monies by the central government among the various municipalities; limits on the types, rates, and utilization\* of tax revenues generated by and for the municipalities; unwillingness of much of the citizenry to pay local taxes and often of the municipality to aggressively collect them; a poor tax base in many areas; and budgetary disproportions.\*\*
- 2) Public apathy, expressed in that unwillingness as well as

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\* E.G., funds distributed to the municipalities by the central government from taxes on gas, coffee, beer, and liquor are restricted largely to community public works projects but cannot be used, for instance, to pay a doctor.

\*\* In 1971, the average municipality spent 42% of its budget on salaries and employee benefits, 23% on loan repayment, and 22% on maintenance and purchase of equipment, leaving 13% for public works, a national average of Q0.62 per capita per municipio.

in the indisposition to form the local citizen-councilman committees required by law, at the same time that public demand for government services mounts.

3) Centralization and lack of municipal autonomy, combined with an unwieldy, uncoordinated, unresponsive central bureaucracy with an unwieldy, uncoordinated, unresponsive central bureaucracy and the inability of most municipalities to fulfill their fiscal, technical, and leadership responsibilities due to inadequate numbers of qualified personnel whose limited terms of office do not in many cases provide suitable motivation.

4) Lack of articulation between the various local levels of government and the central bureaucracy, absence of sufficient accessible pressure points <sup>\*\*\*</sup> and of local pressure groups, and lack of knowledge about where pressure should be applied.

5) A resulting distrust between local and national government, each seeing the other as inefficient, inept, and corrupt. The best image of the effectiveness of central government is held by the most populous indian municipios, particularly in El Quiché department. The poorest image is held by ladino municipalities with small populations, especially in the East. A "good" image of

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The picture of personal string-pulling, or palanca, as the dominating mechanism does not seem to apply in the Guatemalan national/local government relationship. The chief pressure point for alcaldes is INCOM, followed by approaches to the President and to the appropriate ministry. Channels of influence do not appear to include businessmen, local landowners, church leaders, or party officials in any major way.

central government included concepts of political efficacy,<sup>\*</sup> easy accessibility, moderate levels of expectations, and of development as going beyond infrastructure to technical assistance, employment sources, and need for group formation.

6) Little or no priority-setting by municipal authorities, nor the competence to determine priorities or carry them out. This condition is exacerbated by a desire by limited-term alcaldes to quickly build monuments or reputations as steps up to bigger things or, on the part of the more dedicated, to settle for the most feasible in lieu of the most needed.<sup>\*\*\*</sup>

All of the studies mentioned above also referred to particular projects or general government development activities involving some form of community participation, and all commented on what seemed to be factors which elicited participation or engendered success,<sup>\*\*\*</sup> and those which created problems or contributed to failure. The programs discussed in these studies included: Acción Conjunta, Acción Católica, Ministry of Agriculture programs (e.g., BANDESA, DIQUSA, CEMAP), individual cooperatives (Rey Quiché, a Western highland weaving cooperative, among others), Ixcán

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<sup>\*</sup> This factor explained 23% of the variation in the image of the central government held by the alcaldes interviewed.

<sup>\*\*</sup> The core of the information on local government is from McIntosh (1974), but there is no indication of dramatic change in the past three years. Thus his description, based on a careful survey of 108 randomly-chosen municipios, may be considered still generally valid.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> "Success" is harder to define in community development than is failure, since it is more various in its manifestations and takes longer to reach a point at which it can fairly be identified, defined, and evaluated. "Success" here is ascribed according to criteria of enduring institutional identity, constant or increasing

resettlement, Centro Campesinal Agrícola Choquí, World Neighbors/San Martín Jilotepeque, and government community development activities. Programs examined specifically for this assessment, in varying degree of profundity, included: national cooperatives (FINACOAC, FECOAR, Fundación del Centavo, and miscellaneous DIGESA cooperatives), Maryknoll/Huehuetenango program, Clínicas Behrhorst, CARE/El Quiché water and latrine program, earthquake reconstruction in general and the AID lámina program in particular, the CAPS/Universidad Landívar promotor program, Desarrollo de la Comunidad, the TSR experience, Educación Escolar, and the ICAPE fertility study which surveyed levels of community participation in urban and rural ladino and indian communities.

Since there is no desire in this section of the assessment to point fingers of either blame or praise at any particular project or program, the findings from examination of those listed above are simply summarized below without specific attribution. To repeat, the goal is only to cite those factors which seem, with some consistency, to hinder or help community participation.

Factors Conducive to Problems or Failure\*      Outreach personnel who are inadequately trained, not only in community development techniques but, most importantly, in their own supposed field of expertise.

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\* All the factors listed appeared, in various combinations, in relation to a number of projects and project types. They should not be considered one-time aberrations.

Lack of funds adequate to properly educate or aid the target population.

Politicization.

Poor or inadequate instruction from outreach personnel, particularly in management skills and rights and duties of members.

Highly limited service areas, so that programs initiated outside bases of operations tend to lack continuity, a problem exacerbated by rapid personnel turnovers.

Opposition, based on fear of competition, from other villagers not members of group in question, particularly if economically oriented.

Improper handling of joint funds .

Emphasis on departmental cabeceras.

Truncation of programs before possible to reach fruition .

In many instances, orientation toward ladinos or ladinoized indians, particularly in loan programs or at leadership levels.

Projects poorly planned, inadequately supervised, not carried to completion .

Erratic or one-time recruitment patterns, conducive to ignoring of out-migrants or residents of remote areas infrequently in town .

Ignoring of random local officials, often deceptively crucial as gatekeepers, channels of communication.

Little attempt to contact more conservative or poorer members of the community/emphasis on most progressive elements and, sometimes, accompanying politicization.

Local factionalism.

In capitalization programs, uneconomically limited scope and continuity.

Indian/ladino disjuncture.

Financing, largely deriving from inability of essentially poor people to maintain a solvent budget.

Random avoidable disasters (e.g., crop advisor leaves at crucial point in agricultural cycle) which are, in effect, "over-remembered".

Lack of fulfillment of commitments by promoters (e.g., not showing up for meetings), especially in indigenous population which has self-image of honoring commitments.

Sense on part of indians that ladino professionals and technicians disdain them, are ignorant of their culture, give advice that is too abstract and theoretical, or give it in a patronizing manner.

Similar programs and project types operate in same geographical areas in an independent, parallel fashion, guided by different philosophies and goals, without overall planning and, usually, with little or no integration even at the level of the individual outreach worker.

Lack of managerial skill and aggressiveness in organization

In capitalization projects, poor systems for monitoring funds and delinquencies, which enhances the probability of error

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E.g., cooperatives and random community development efforts. The same observation is made elsewhere in the Health Sector Assessment with regard to rural health delivery programs.

or corruption, and thus generating an image of the latter.

Inadequate stress on selection and training of indigenous organizational staffs.

Capitalization projects which are so oriented to the center that local participants feel conflicts of loyalty in promoters and lack of intimate relationship with the entity in question. Memberships stagnate or dwindle, an atmosphere of hostility involves, and, in the case of capitalization projects, loan repayment is poor.

Mode of delivering assistance which is essentially paternalistic, not so much in the fact of assistance but in decision-making and management, so that outside ideas are imposed, however benignly, and local officials are involved only as tokens, weakening whatever administrative muscle might have developed or that might have been formed.

The very fact of the difficulty in evaluating the success of community participation programs and perhaps undue haste in tagging them as failures, makes temperance and delicacy in project adjustment difficult.

Low communication among communities so that project replication, dissemination of new techniques, and healthy competition among communities gets slowed down. This is not helped by low levels of communication among community development workers in all sectors.

Insufficient involvement of women in community groups and as either paid or volunteer promoters, or of more traditional groups of which women may be a part.

Lack of local-level "micro-planning"<sup>\*</sup> and insufficient preliminary research.

An apparently widespread tendency to define community development or community participation as "acceptance" of a program and real involvement only in its implementation. The definition per se delimits beforehand the degree and quality of community participation and may, corollarily, also predetermine levels of success in the long term.

Too narrow focus for the community entity which is formed, e.g., fertilizer distribution.<sup>\*\*</sup>

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This is the term currently being emphasized by Desarrollo de la Comunidad in its 1976-1979 Plan Operativo. As a correction to Desarrollo's previous emphasis on infrastructure and scant involvement of the community in research, project identification, and project planning, this entity now will stress the concept of infrastructure as an educational tool and involve the community earlier and more intimately in the total process.

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The Rusch team saw narrow focus as a flaw in the Guatemalan cooperative movement. Not all would agree. A recent study by Tandler (see PASITAM reference) of coops in Ecuador and Honduras suggest that coops are more likely to succeed in the long run when they are direct (organized around a concrete goal which can be achieved in a limited time); necessary (when they are focused on one task which could not be done unless individuals cooperated but which minimize needs for non-campesino skills and considerable outside talent); exclusive (when groups are small and insulated from other groups, permitting peer pressure, rivalry between groups to achieve, and resemble familiar arrangements); and simple. Organization is thus instrumental, not an end in itself, but may lay the foundation for expansion into other, more complex activities. There is nothing to suggest that this does not apply in the Guatemala case as well, the criticism of cooperatives as too narrow in focus would only be accurate if they did not expand in the future.

Promoters not natives of the area in which they work may be a limitation, but not necessarily fatal. The fatal limitation befalls community development activities generated by promoters not resident in their work area.

Educational activities which do not use local dialect have noticeably lower levels of impact.

Factor conducive to Success/Perceived Benefits\*

Apoliticalness.

Arrangements which permit the accumulation of personal capital or which collectivize economic activities for community welfare needs (indigenous/highland communities).

An open decision-making process.

Seeing any monies or supplies involved "stay in town."

Honesty in those promoting or managing projects.

Meeting schedules timed with market days (after market hours).

Dedicated, highly-motivated leadership in the first years of a project, together with close involvement and continuous interaction with the client population from the beginning.

Use of peasant promoters.

Obvious knowledge and competence on the part of any technician in own field of specialization. Ethnicity or national origin do not

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Not in any order of importance or prevalence. The reader will note that these factors vary from those of basic philosophical stance to very minor facets of interventions.

seem to matter in any widespread or consistent way; whether a technician or promotor is ladino, indian, or foreigner appears less crucial than attitudes of respect and a pedagogical posture of sharing rather than administering superior knowledge. Problems for outsiders are in general those of entrée.

A communication model based on or accounting for the demonstration effect, communication from neighbor to neighbor in casual conversation, use of local dialect, small-group rather than more massive meetings, use of culturally respectful and compatible communication techniques,\* and the "satisfied-user" approach.

Specific construction projects (e.g., introduction of potable water) elicit the highest levels of community participation. Within this, participation is greater in program implementation than in decision-making, research (data collection), and communication activities.

Use of existing institutional arrangements\*\* as basis for community development activities.

Outreach to peasant in more remote rural areas, as well as in more accessible and central locations (agriculture).

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A brilliant example was the use of photographs of the terracing at the Mahan archaeological site of Zaculeu to persuade highland agriculturalists to return to the fruitful methods of their very impressive ancestors.

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Either more modern entities such as coops, reconstruction committees, or municipal committees, or local-level civil and/or religious hierarchies.

Attention to organization and cooperative education of members at the "grass-roots" village level.

Efficient administration within national or regional parent agency.

No extension of due dates on loans in capitalization projects seems to elicit higher repayment rates than more flexible repayment policies. Peer pressure at the local level is also more effective in this regard than national-level regulations.

Enthusiastic and persistent promotion.

Group supervision of promoters more effective than supervision by a single individual who can be bluffed more easily. Such an approach contains useful elements of peer pressure, validation of concrete evidence or impressions, and reduction of "personalismo."

Success in a prior project or something valued and tangible achieved is the best foundation for continuing community participation, especially when elements of conscientization are gradually introduced and the sheer flow of communication in all directions is increased.

Visits by central government officials to discuss local development problems,<sup>\*</sup> with corresponding prompt responses to ensuing solicitations from communities for central government assistance.

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Anecdotal data support the widespread view among the 100 alcaldes interviewed by McIntosh that ignorance on the part of ministries and agencies leads to overblown, incorrect, or non-solutions to local problems.

RECOMMENDATIONS

THE FACTORS LISTED ABOVE AS CONTRIBUTING, WITH ENOUGH FREQUENCY TO BE MEANINGFUL, TO THE SUCCESS OR FAILURE OF PAST PROGRAMS INVOLVING COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION ARE IN THEMSELVES RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE PROGRAMS. OBVIOUSLY THOSE FACTORS WHICH IN THE PAST HAVE BEEN ASSOCIATED WITH PROBLEMS, RESISTANCE, OR DOWNRIGHT FAILURE SHOULD BE AVOIDED IN FUTURE PROGRAMS. THOSE WHICH SEEM TO HAVE HEIGHTENED COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION SHOULD BE REPLICATED, BUT WITH ADEQUATE MONITORING TO BE SURE THAT THEY ARE NOT ANECDOTAL AND THAT THEY CONTINUE TO BE VALID.

THERE IS NOTHING IN THE GUATEMALAN EXPERIENCE WITH COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION TO SUGGEST THAT IT IS A MODEL THAT SHOULD BE ABANDONED. ON THE CONTRARY, EXPERIENCE WITH COOPERATIVES, EARTHQUAKE RECONSTRUCTION ACTIVITIES,\* NATIONAL-LEVEL COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES, AND PRIVATE VOLUNTEER PROGRAMS,\*\* INDICATE THAT AT THE LEAST SOME INFRASTRUCTURE WILL BE GENERATED AND THAT AT BEST SUCH ACTIVITIES CAN PROVIDE THE BASE FOR FUTURE PROJECTS NOT ONLY IN INFRASTRUCTURE BUT IN LESS VISIBLE AREAS SUCH AS HEALTH AND EDUCATION.

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\* As of March 1977, the AID lámina distribution program had generated 228 community projects involving \$428,476 and 3,875 workers, with 173 communities in the decision-making stage. These projects employed a range of from 3 to 200 workers and expenditures of \$250 to \$47,725 in aldeas, caserios and municipios. The majority were for roads, with water and educational projects following in frequency, rather well behind.

\*\* E.g., Clínicas Behrhorst, Maryknoll projects, CARE water projects, Caritas Food-for-Work program.

FURTHERMORE, SUCH PROJECTS CAN NOT ONLY BE ECONOMICALLY FEASIBLE BUT CAN OFFER GOOD RATES OF RETURN ON DEVELOPMENT DOLLARS SPENT, ALTHOUGH THIS IS CERTAINLY NOT THE ONLY CRITERION OF SUCCESS NOR PERHAPS EVEN THE CORRECT ONE. AND, AT LEAST IN THE AREA OF HEALTH, IT APPEARS THAT WOMEN NOT ONLY CAN BE USED AS PRIMARY CARE PERSONNEL BUT MAY COME TO BE PREFERRED. FINALLY, PARTICULARLY IN THE EARTHQUAKE RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD, IT HAS BEEN MADE CLEAR THAT THERE IS ALREADY MORE LOCAL-LEVEL CAPACITY THAN PREVIOUSLY THOUGHT, TO MANAGE AND DELIVER COMPLETED PROJECTS AND TO DO SO WITH A SENSE OF COMPETENCE AND SELF-CONFIDENCE. THIS IS NOT TO SAY THAT THERE HAVE BEEN NO FAILURES OR THAT ABUSES HAVE NOT OCCURRED, BUT THIS COMMENT COULD APPLY TO NATIONAL-LEVEL ACTIVITIES AS WELL, PERHAPS EVEN MORE APTLY.

HAVING SAID ALL THIS, IT SHOULD ALSO BE SAID THAT THE AMOUNT OF OBJECTIVE, SYSTEMATIC, LONGITUDINAL QUALITATIVE AND QUANTITATIVE EVALUATION OF THE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT EXPERIENCE IN GUATEMALA IS MINIMAL. IT WOULD SEEM MOST IMPORTANT TO GO AHEAD WITH THE CARE/ AGUAS DEL PUEBLO EVALUATION, TO SCRUTINIZE WITH SOME CARE THE CARITAS FOOD-FOR-WORK PROGRAM, TO EMPHASIZE THE COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION AND RECEPTIVITY ASPECTS OF THE RURAL HEALTH DELIVERY EVALUATION, AND, GIVEN A REASONABLE TIME LAPSE, LOOK AT THE COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT AND RECEPTIVITY LEVELS IN THE PROGRAMA DE EDUCACION EXTRA-ESCOLAR.

IN THE MEANTIME, IT WOULD SEEM THAT THOSE PROGRAMS WHICH EMPHASIZE EARLY COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT IN A REAL RATHER THAN

## Annex 5.6

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