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ABSTRACT

Gender is central to the organization and functioning of Guatemalan society. In many Guatemalan communities, men work within the public and political domain while indigenous women's participation in highland communities is usually identified in the context of community development. Spanish-language illiteracy, family power relations, and a machismo culture have in the past restricted public or political participation of women. In the department of Huehuetenango, Guatemala, the organization Asociación de Desarrollo Integral de las Mujeres Huehuetecas (ADIMH) is working towards the inclusion of women into the public domain for the betterment of their communities through literacy, education, health, and production projects. In this thesis, I document the struggles and successes of Huehuetenango women, Huehuetecas, as they work towards community rebuilding after the 36-year internal armed conflict. My research was conducted during a graduate internship with ADIMH (March 21 to May 19 2004) which included implementation of empowerment projects, interviews with ADIMH staff and participants and participant observation in Huehuetenango of ADIMH’s practices. Based upon my observations I argue that women’s empowerment, as a form of community development, is integral for the future of their communities.
# Table of Contents

Abstract ii  
Table of Contents iii  
List of Tables v  
List of Maps and Photographs v  
Acknowledgments vi  
Acronyms vii  
Introduction 1  
Chapter 1: Literature Review 11  
  1.1 The Internal Armed Conflict 14  
  1.2 Guatemalan History through Interdisciplinary Literature: 1930s to 1970s 23  
  1.3 Liberation Theology and Popular Education 26  
  1.4 Feminist Literature—1970s to Present 28  
  1.5 Violence Studies 31  
  1.7 Conclusion 33  
Chapter 2: Guatemalan Context 35  
  2.1 Problems Affecting all Guatemalans 36  
  2.2 Women and Contemporary Guatemala 42  
  2.3 The Effects of Cultural Isolation 50  
  2.4 The Concept of Power 54  
  2.5 Conclusion 58  
Chapter 3: Field Methods and Methodology 60  
  3.1 Field Site Location 62  
  3.2 Resources 63  
  3.3 Constraints 63  
  3.4 Ethics 66  
  3.5 Preliminary Theory: Feminism and Participatory Action Research 68  
  3.6 Field Methods 72  
    3.6.1 Participant Observations 73  
    3.6.2 Interviews 73
LIST OF TABLES

Table 1 Effects of Empowerment 108
Table 2 Poverty Alleviation Strategies 127

LIST OF MAPS AND PHOTOGRAPHS

Figure 1 Political Map of Guatemala 7
Figure 2 Example of Clothing Trends between Men and Women 51
Figure 3 Map of Huehuetenango Department with interview locations 75
Figure 4 “Welcome to Learning”, Banner Hung at ADIMH Workshops 93
Figure 5 Women during an ADIMH Workshop 93
Figure 6 Mother’s Day Celebration 96
Figure 7 Women’s Weaving Co-operative 98
Figure 8 Brainstorming Thoughts on Women’s Domestic Obligations 117
Figure 9 Women’s Legal Rights and Obligations Workshop 117
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First, I would like to thank my parents and sister for their continued support throughout the last three years (and the previous 4 ½ years of my B.A.). Without your emotional support I never would have made it through. As well, I would like to thank Heath for his continued patience and editing expertise.

On campus I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr. Catherine Nolin, for her continual guidance in all things Guatemalan, and the rest of the UNBC geography professors for their support. As well, I wish to thank my committee members; Dr. Angèle Smith of the Anthropology program for her guidance right from the start and Dr. Jacqueline Holler of the Women’s Studies and History programs for her helpful insight into Latin American women. Additionally, I would like to thank Lyn Benn from the Learning Skills Centre for her help in improving my writing.

Finally, a very special thank you is extended to people in Guatemala. I wish to thank Oscar from Educación para Todos for his patience and help in learning Spanish and my host families for taking me in. As well, I wish to thank the women from ADIMH who introduced me to empowerment programs and the ADIMH participants who shared their stories with me.

Estoy agradecida por toda su ayuda
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
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<tr>
<td>ADIMH</td>
<td>Asociación de Desarrollo Integral de las Mujeres Huehuetecas (Association for the Integral Development of the Women from Huehuetenango)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CEDFOG</td>
<td>Centro de Estudios y Documentación de la Frontera Occidental de Guatemala (Center for the Study and Documentation of the Western Border of Guatemala)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CEIBA</td>
<td>Asociación para la Promoción y el Desarrollo de la Comunidad (Association for Community Promotion and Development)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIA</td>
<td>Central Intelligence Agency (United States)</td>
</tr>
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<td>CIDA</td>
<td>Canadian International Development Agency</td>
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<tr>
<td>CONAVIGUA</td>
<td>Coordinadora Nacional de Viudas de Guatemala (National Coordination of Guatemalan Widows)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EGP</td>
<td>Ejército Guerrillero de los Pobres (Guerrilla Army of the Poor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FAR</td>
<td>Fuerzas Armadas Rebeldes (Rebel Armed Forces)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GAD</td>
<td>Gender and Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GBV</td>
<td>Gender-based Violence</td>
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<tr>
<td>GCSN</td>
<td>Guatemala Canada Solidarity Network</td>
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<td>GNIB</td>
<td>Guatemala News and Information Bureau</td>
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<td>ICCHRLA</td>
<td>Inter-Church Committee on Human Rights in Latin America</td>
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<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-governmental Organization</td>
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<td>OMCT</td>
<td>World Organization against Torture</td>
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<tr>
<td>ORPA</td>
<td>Organización del Pueblo en Armas (Organization of the Peoples in Arms)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAR</td>
<td>Participatory Action Research</td>
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<td>RA</td>
<td>Rights Action</td>
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Informe del Proyecto Interdiocesano de Recuperación de la Memoria Histórica (Recuperation of Historical Memory Inter-diocesan Project) of the Human Rights Office of the REMHI

United Fruit Company

United Nations

University of Northern British Columbia

United Nations Development Programme

United Nations Children’s Fund

Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca (National Revolutionary Unity of Guatemala) Umbrella Organization comprised of the four guerrilla factions and founded in 1980

United States

World Bank

Women’s Empowerment

Women in Development

Young Women’s Christian Association
I took my first authentic Guatemalan chicken-bus ride into the highlands on a Sunday. It was a bizarre experience for me. Everyone drives with one hand on the wheel and the other on the horn as automobiles have the right-of-way and the bigger the vehicle the greater the right-of-way. As the bus started moving our driver made the sign of the cross and kissed his rosary — not a promising beginning! Then we passed every automobile, person and animal in sight while driving narrow and windy mountain roads. At one point we even raced another bus around a corner. Adding to this chaos is the loud music playing continually. Sometimes it was traditional music with some Latin thrown in, sometimes it was North American, and my favourite — music from the 1960s and 1970s recreated as marimba music and sung in Spanish with an English chorus. As I listened to the music and watched the scenery change I wondered if I was ready for what lay ahead for me in Huehuetenango.

The 36-year internal armed conflict, which officially ended in 1996, is the most significant factor in the recent history of Guatemala, effectively defining contemporary Guatemala. In this post-conflict era, more women find themselves working outside of the home and many women are the sole supporters of their families. Unfortunately, many of these women have not acquired the skills necessary to fulfill their new roles outside of the home. Gender roles in Guatemalan culture can be characterized as machismo-based, with an enforced divide between male and female roles resulting in a gendered imbalance of power. This divide between male and female roles often prevents women from obtaining necessary skills that previously were considered part of the male domain.

Traditional development policies are critiqued for not effectively targeting women, and only recently have women and progressive organizations been challenging this inequality. Development policies that focus on a male head of household do not address the gendered imbalances of power and exacerbate the
divide between men and women, often facilitating the continuation of negative perceptions towards women. As well, development literature shows that planners have assumed that men and women were affected by development projects in the same way. Further, this lack of recognition for the significant role of women in community development has resulted in the failure of numerous projects worldwide to fulfill their economic goals. Planners have ignored the social and family structures in which development takes place.

Consequently, new development initiatives such as empowerment programs and life skills training are necessary for women to become recognized and valued participants in community development. In Guatemala, empowerment programs and life skills training are referred to as capacitación development and organizations such as Asociación de Desarrollo Integral de las Mujeres Huehuetecas (Association for the Integral Development of the Women from Huehuetenango), Asociación para la Promoción y el Desarrollo de la Comunidad (Association for Community Promotion and Development), and Coordinadora Nacional de Viudadas de Guatemala (National Coordination of Guatemalan Widows) are facilitating these programs for women.

My field-based research examined the benefits and challenges of women's capacitación development programs in the department of Huehuetenango, in northwest Guatemala, between March and May 2004 (see Figure 1). These programs facilitate the development of people's ability to enhance their lives and the quality of life in their communities. Specifically, the objective of my thesis is to bring together history, gender and policies to examine women's roles in post-conflict
community development. Gender-based societal roles may be considered as pre-
conflict and post-conflict as defined by the work of Green (1999, 1995) and Zur
(1998, 1994) with war widows in Guatemala. My focus is on post-conflict gender
roles in Guatemala, as they pertain to the creation and management of development
programs. Two research goals guide my work: first, to examine women’s new post-
conflict societal roles that need to be addressed in development planning; and
second, to examine how women are involved in community development with the
organization Asociación de Desarrollo Integral de las Mujeres Huehuetecas
(ADIMH) in Huehuetenango. Further, I argue that women’s capacitación
development programs are a crucial component of community development
initiatives.

This thesis consists of a literature review and uses the words of the
interviewed women to highlight the similarities and differences found between my
fieldwork and the literature. Whenever possible in chapter 4 and 5 I use the
women’s own words to emphasize the successes they are experiencing with
capacitación development. All of the women who constitute a workshop (20 to 40
women) are representatives for their aldeas (small villages) and many of the women
I spoke with are midwives (ten women) and teachers (three). The women attending
the workshops are between the ages of 30 and 60, married and have large families.
The average number of children for the women I interviewed was six with four
women having nine children. There were a few exceptions of younger women
approximately the age of 20 (seven) with smaller families of two or fewer children
and over 50 percent of the older women are widows. The women I spoke with had
been involved with ADIMH from one month to two years and all of the women who are able to attend workshops regularly stay with ADIMH for several years. As well, all the women I spoke with had not participated in development initiatives prior to ADIMH, but now over 60 percent of the women are members of other organizations such as agricultural organizations or cultural organizations as the women usually do not join another capacitación development program. In contrast to the older participants, the eight ADIMH facilitators that I interviewed are younger women in their 20s with a higher level of education; three of these young women are attending university. Six of them are unmarried, without children and are planning on finishing school and having careers instead of having a large family.

One of the greatest obstacles for women and development organizations to overcome in Guatemala is the machismo-based society. As discussed by Gutmann (2003, 1996) and Soong (1999), the defining characteristics of machismo are exaggerated aggressiveness, arrogance and sexual aggression in male-to-female relationships, and the ability of a man to “completely dominate his wife and children”. Machismo inside the family unit is the husband’s ability to control and subjugate his wife. This subjugation can take the physical form of spousal abuse or it can be subtler, in that machismo influences the way men think about and their general attitudes towards women (Soong 1999). This attitude is played out in the family unit and in men’s interactions with women in general. This domination can take the form of economic deprivation or the violation of women’s human rights through mental and physical abuse. This control is also reflected in the general attitude and
behaviours of men towards women and women towards themselves as well as other women.

Although gender is the focus of my thesis, “race” and class also play an important role in defining Guatemalan society. “Race" and class are also important to consider for the study of societies because they are “the framework of ranked categories segmenting the human population ... developed by western Europeans” (Sanjek 1996: 1). As well, Jaimes (1996: 41) states that “race” is important to study in Latin America because before the “European conquest there is no evidence that indigenous peoples of the Americas had in their societies any concept of race”. She (1996: 42) further states that:

these indigenous cultures perceived diversity in physical characteristics but were more concerned with cultural differences among themselves and ... the European newcomers. It was not until after the conquest and the introduction of Eurocentric racist pseudoscience that the proliferation of such racialized mixed blood categories ... were imposed.

For example in Guatemala the population is comprised of three different ethnicities – Spanish descent, mixed heritage or Ladino and Indigenous with the majority of indigenous people found in the ex-conflict zones of the northwest. As well, wealth is concentrated in select urban areas and the distribution of land and wealth is skewed towards a small elite (UNICEF 2004a, CIDA 2002b). Consequently, the areas most affected by poverty and inequalities are the ex-conflict zones of the northwest, comprised of Huehuetenango, El Quiché and Alta Verapaz. These areas also contain the highest concentration of indigenous peoples (CIDA 2002a, Archdiocese of Guatemala 1999, Carmack 1988). As “race”, class and gender intersect in Guatemala, Maya women often carry a double or even triple
burden of labour because they are women, indigenous and underprivileged. Therefore, I chose to focus on gender in order to paint a picture of how women are involved in community development. I wanted to focus specifically on women's roles as they have been neglected in development literature in the past but need to be included for sustainable community development. Thus, I focused on gender as my underlying theme while acknowledging the importance of "race" and class in Guatemalan society.

In addition to concerns about "race" and class, researchers are also concerned about categorizing the people they research. Researchers such as Sundberg (2004) advocate a shift in the process of defining social identities. She (2004: 46) argues that researchers need to move away from fixed identities towards "understanding how identities are constituted", by decreasing categorization and embracing a more descriptive method. Further, Sundberg (2004: 44) argues that some research approaches "tend to assign individuals and collectives coherent identities prior to their entry into the social relations". In the case of Maya women in Guatemala, women's roles were "traditionally" more centred on the family and the home while contemporary women are taking a more active role in community development. Although I use the terms private and public to refer to women's roles in Guatemalan society, women have always been active outside of their home with activities such as weekly markets and family resource management (Sundberg 2005, Sundberg 2004).

Unfortunately though, women have not always been considered as economically important by development workers or as knowledgeable as men in
community development and management (Sundberg 2005, Sundberg 2004, Parpart, Connelly and Barritteau 2000, Rosario 1997, Escobar 1995). Recently, women have been acknowledged as head of household and as important aspects in community development work (Sundberg 2005, Sundberg 2004, Datta and McIlwaine’s 2000). Thus, for descriptive purposes, I refer to the movement towards public acknowledgement of Guatemalan women as head of households as entering the public domain and refer to their previous role as centred in the private domain.

Figure 1 Political Map of Guatemala
http://worldpolicy.org/globalrights/guatemala/maps-guat.html downloaded and modified 20/08/05
Chapter 1 provides an overview of the literature available on these topics. The literature review begins with an examination of the history of community studies in Guatemala. This overview highlights the changes to community studies and how these mirror what was occurring in the country as well as providing a brief history of Guatemala including the internal armed conflict (1960 – 1996). Chapter 1 then summarizes how the popular education movement and liberation theology in Latin America interacted with the women's movement resulting in empowerment programs for women. I will discuss popular education, liberation theology, feminist literature and violence studies to provide the context for empowerment programs in contemporary Guatemala, as empowerment programs have emerged and evolved out of these studies and social movements. As I am in an Interdisciplinary Studies program I draw from a variety of disciplines including Anthropology, Geography, Psychology, Gender Studies, and Community Development.

In Chapter 2 my first research question, examining women's new post-conflict societal roles that need to be addressed in development planning, is explored through discussion of contemporary Guatemalan women's circumstances. The first section provides an overview of development challenges as outlined by development organizations such as the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) that affect the whole country. The second section focuses on development problems that affect Guatemalan women in particular. For instance, Guatemalan women are negatively affected by gender-based violence, racism and discrimination. As well, these first two sections reveal how the internal armed conflict challenged women's roles, both within the family and the community. The last section of Chapter 2
illustrates the types of power at play in Guatemala, as development problems result from and are exacerbated by the power structures that exist in Guatemala. Furthermore, development programs with the objective of empowering women also work within these power structures and will be discussed in Chapter 4.

Chapter 3 overviews the methodology employed to address my two research questions. This chapter outlines preliminary theory as well as details my fieldwork in Guatemala. Fieldwork consisted of four months in the department of Huehuetenango, Guatemala. I spent the first six weeks in an immersion language school learning Spanish and local customs. The last ten weeks of my fieldwork I spent interning with the local women's organization Asociación de Desarrollo Integral de las Mujeres Huehuetecas (ADIMH), assisting with delivering empowerment programs and interviewing women about their development experiences. ADIMH, with the assistance of local women as monitors, delivers empowerment programs to local women to enhance their abilities to actively participate in the community.

The final two chapters, Chapters 4 and 5, present the results of my fieldwork and address my second research question, examining women's involvement in community development with the organization Asociación de Desarrollo Integral de las Mujeres Huehuetecas (ADIMH). In Huehuetenango many women are involved in community development through participation in empowerment programs; therefore, Chapter 4 starts by defining empowerment and providing a description of its various uses. The second section explains how empowerment utilizes three types of power to overcome the power of domination, which subordinates women. This section
draws on examples from my interviews and participant observations as well as relevant literature. Finally, Chapter 4 ends with an overview of ADIMH and how they facilitate the empowerment of women. Chapter 5 is divided into two sections. The first section discusses the literature about women and community development. By joining development programs such as ADIMH, women are overcoming three gender sensitive concerns: (1) women are breaking their isolation by attending workshops; (2) through skills development they gain the necessary skills to change negative gender perceptions; and (3) women-specific health concerns are starting to be recognized and met. The last section of Chapter 5 demonstrates how empowering women leads to appropriate and successful community development. This section outlines how empowering women leads to a sense of community for all members and enhanced education. These benefits, education and sense of community, then improve a community’s economy and general well being.
Chapter 1: Literature Review

Students from my language school went on a fieldtrip to Zunil to see the Mayan-Catholic saint, San Simón. We took a chicken bus and walked through town until we reached the house that had the honour of hosting him for the year. After paying five Quetzales (approximately one Canadian dollar) we watched a fire sacrifice of a freshly-killed chicken. We then entered the room containing San Simón where people were praying to the idol. Prayers and offerings were given in exchange for blessings and extra influence behind their prayers. As well, families brought candles to be blessed which are then used in their own homes for good luck. The San Simón idol was a life size mannequin dressed in a brand new, Western style, three-piece suit and some Maya clothing. As well, he wore a cowboy hat, a sparkly glove on one hand, lots of gold jewellery, a bandana covering the bottom-half of his face and big sunglasses. He was sitting in a lawn chair with hundreds of candles and flowers, that have been brought as offerings, before him on the floor. As well, he was sitting under Christmas lights and plastic pompoms (the sort found on cars during weddings). To me, he strongly resembled Michael Jackson from the cover of his album, 'BAD'. After observing the respect given to San Simón and the seriousness with which this religious tradition was enacted, I realized how different this culture was from my own.

Chapter 1 provides an overview of the literature available regarding Guatemala’s post-colonial history and the internal armed conflict. The literature review begins with an examination of the events leading to the internal armed conflict followed by events that occurred during the conflict (1960 – 1996). The second section gives an overview highlighting the changes to community studies literature and how these changes mirrored changes occurring within Guatemala. As well, I discuss popular education, liberation theology, feminist literature and violence studies to provide the context for empowerment programs in contemporary Guatemala, which have emerged and evolved out of these studies and social movements. As I am in an Interdisciplinary Studies program I draw from a variety of disciplines including Anthropology, Geography, Psychology, Gender Studies, and Community Development.
This chapter begins with an historical overview of the Guatemalan internal armed conflict. This overview is especially important because it provides the context for Chapter 2, which discusses the contemporary problems women in Guatemala deal with on a day-to-day basis. The second half of the chapter examines changes in Guatemalan community studies, popular education and liberation theology, which have evolved into empowerment programs helping to address problems faced by women. The internal armed conflict is discussed through a range of interdisciplinary research because the literature discussing Guatemala evolved alongside the internal armed conflict, providing an understanding of contemporary Guatemala. This thesis draws on a range of interdisciplinary research to provide an understanding of contemporary Guatemala.

Guatemala’s history as discussed by Lutz (1997) and Lovell (1995) reveals a tradition of military domination and ethnic and class conflict, which can be traced back to the Spanish Conquest of 1524. In the early days of Spanish rule, settlers destroyed Maya towns and resettled populations while persecuting political and religious leaders. During this time a system of that developed into dependent capitalism\(^1\) was put in place that subsequently funded world capitalist development. This system initially centred on Europe, and later the United States (US) through the use of cash crops and peasant labour (Green 1999, Wearne 1994, Wright 1992, Carmack 1988, Herbenar Bossen 1984).

\(^1\) Dependent capitalism is a term that has been adopted to draw attention to the fact that underdevelopment and poverty in the Developing World are not products of isolation, but of dependent relationships with developed nations, the “development of underdevelopment” (Herbenar Bossen 1984).
Herbenar Bossen (1984: 321) states that:

through [five] centuries of changing forms of political domination, land and labour control, foreign intervention, and export production, Guatemala has remained a society organized to harness an impoverished, segmented rural labour force for the production of exports that a small landowning elite, in partnership with foreign commercial interests, turns into profit in world markets. A consistent feature is that the majority of the Maya are still found concentrated among the rural poor, while the ruling elite is a composite of Euro-American and Guatemalan [Spanish descent] wealthy families.

This pattern of military domination and cash cropping, according to Wearne (1994) and Wright (1992), persisted unchallenged until the ‘revolutionary’ period of 1944 to 1954. During this decade, the democratically-elected presidencies of Juan José Arévalo and Jacobo Arbenz established a new constitution guaranteeing basic democratic freedoms and human rights (Herbenar Bossen 1984). The Guatemalan elite and US businesses established in Guatemala (especially the United Fruit Company) reacted to this break from military rule with hostility as documented by authors such as Lovell (1995), Wearne (1994), Landau (1993), Wright (1992), Fagen and PACCA (1987). In addition, between 1950 and 1954, Arbenz pledged to carry out a sweeping land reform to provide land for the benefit of landless peasants. This reform would nationalize some of the United Fruit Company’s (UFCO) vast and unused landholdings that dominated the landscape and economy (Herbenar Bossen 1984: 334). This land reform was detrimental to UFCO and, therefore, the American investors who held significant government positions in the US. In the Cold War atmosphere of the 1950s, Guatemala’s land reform gave sufficient reason for the US government to strike out against this potential ‘communist threat’ (Lovell 1995: 140).
1.1 The Internal Armed Conflict

The struggle for dominance between foreign powers and the local Guatemalan elite since colonization is well documented by Schlesinger et al. (1999), Chomsky (1987), Fagen and PACCA (1987) and LaFeber (1984). According to Landau (1993), an internationally-known scholar, there were two main causes of the Guatemalan internal armed conflict. The first cause, as discussed in the previous two pages and laid out by Abell (1999), Wright (1992) and Smith (1991), is a skewed distribution of wealth and property that for centuries had deprived the majority of access to land or social justice.

The second cause, laid out by the Archdiocese of Guatemala (1999), Schirmer (1998) and Landau (1993), was President Eisenhower's 1954 decision to overthrow the elected government of President Arbenz. This decision and the ensuing internal armed conflict has been written about extensively by authors such as Kobrak (2003), Doyle (1997), Smith (1996), Lovell (1995), Wearne (1994), Warren (1993), Wilson (1991), and Carmack (1988). Landau (1993: 148) explains that prior to 1945 “Guatemala was ignored by Washington” but this focus changed when the newly elected government of Juan José Arévalo announced a series of reforms. These reforms included an agrarian property redistribution program (Nelson 1999: 88) that would affect the assets of the United Fruit Company. This reform clashed with the interests of powerful Americans who held investments in UFCO property. As well, Landau (1993) argues that the idea of expropriating property for any reason was linked to communism in the view of American government.
By 1948 United States Embassy officials were already sending cables to Washington about the ‘red danger’ in Guatemala (Landau 1993: 149). By 1951 these reports warned that communists were being appointed to minor posts in the Guatemalan government. Doyle (1997: 34) argues that these appointments ran counter to Cold War rules and regulations as set out by the United States. These Cold War tenets stated that communists were not allowed to participate in the government and if they did then those governments would receive no aid from the United States and would encounter strong American animosity. Then Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, threatened diplomatic officials of the poor countries of Latin America to back the American government’s mission “to prevent the spread of atheistic communism and support the American way of life for those countries civilized enough to understand it” (Landau 1993: 150). Doyle (1997) documents that the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) was paying scores of torturers, kidnappers, and murderers to produce information in a part of the world where no apparent threat to America existed. Lovell (1995:140) believes that the “United Fruit’s response [of using political connections to convince the US government that a communist threat existed from Guatemala, initiating the CIA led overthrow of the Arbenz government] constitutes one of the most repugnant acts in Latin American history”.

This coercion did not receive widespread support, as many Latin American countries understood the Guatemalan reform process as both necessary and indigenous. Lacking any backing from other countries, Fagan and PACCA (1987) state, the United States had their State Department lawyers interpret the Monroe
Doctrine (established in 1823) to empower Washington to move unilaterally when it perceived a foreign threat. This doctrine, defined by Hughes (2000: 79), declared the Western hemisphere off-limits to European powers and was reinterpreted to give the United States the ability to act alone when it perceives a threat to the hemisphere. As well, the Truman Doctrine of 1947 “enunciated intent to support any country resisting communist pressure” (Hughes 2000: 79), in this case Guatemala.

As mentioned by Abell (1999), Wright (1992) and Smith (1991), centuries of Guatemalan historical processes had established an unequal distribution of wealth badly in need of reform. Unfortunately, President Eisenhower was uninformed and uninterested in this past. According to Landau (1993: 151) between his ignorance, urgent security briefings from the CIA, and complaining from close associates owning parts of the target property (UFCO), he was easily convinced that Arbenz was a communist and ordered the CIA to plan a covert operation to overthrow him.

According to Costello (1997) radicals like Dr. Ernesto ‘Che’ Guevara traveled to Guatemala in 1953 and offered their services to the new government. As Guatemala desperately needed trained and educated people, Guevara easily secured a position at the Ministry of Health, a move which worried Washington even more. The CIA and UFCO staged a dress rehearsal for a coup, paying disgruntled Guatemalan army officers to instigate revolts (Costello 1997: 4). Schirmer (1998) notes that the Guatemalan army, upset over military spending cutbacks, now had the backing of the United States military for training, money, and weapons.

On June 18, 1954, a group 150 men supported by the CIA attacked Guatemala sending the Arbenz government into confusion (Kobrak 2003, Doyle
Arbenz and Guevara hastily formed militia groups and organized union members to repel the invading force. Landau (1993: 158) states that the majority of Guatemalan officers rebelled against the new militia because they considered it to be a military rival and so the majority refused to fight against the CIA. Hearing this, Arbenz resigned and the CIA-backed Colonel Castillo Armas took over the presidency (Schirmer 1998). As Guevara and other revolutionaries desperately tried to set up resistance, Doyle (1997: 35) shows that Castillo solidified his right to rule by setting up firing squads to kill hundreds of union and peasant leaders (Landau 1993: 158). He also returned the appropriated land back to UFCO, in the process killing as many as 3,000 peasants (Landau 1993:159). This slaughter set the tone for the next 36 years (Doyle 1997).

Kobrak (2003), Archdiocese of Guatemala (1999) and Wearne (1994) document the guerrilla context. As the Guatemalan army and the United States military were fighting to contain 'communism', Guatemalan guerrillas were fighting for basic human rights such as the right to own property. Spurred on by guerrilla success in Cuba, revolutionary war was declared against the military and government utilizing resisting power.

Consequently, in late 1960, two former army officials led a group of union members, student leaders, and peasants into the mountains and opened a guerrilla foco² (Landau 1993: 161). Wearne (1994) argues that while the American forces instructed their new Guatemalan army in modern army routine, the guerrillas in the eastern mountains were organizing the peasantry as part of their forces. The

² This is a strategy of basing the fighters in remote and defensible areas from which they can choose the time and place to attack enemy outposts. This strategy was popularized by Fidel Castro and 'Che' Guevara in Cuba (Landau 1993).
guerrillas would avoid the army by using volunteer peasant spies and guides. Unfortunately, they underestimated the determination of Washington to prevent another Cuba and by the 1970s had been forced underground by the CIA.

Celebrating this victory over guerrilla forces, the military disposed of the civilian façade and installed a new military leader, General Carlos Arana Osorio (Archdiocese of Guatemala 1999: 206). He brought a new style of government — that of self motivation. Under Osorio's presidency, death squads gained legitimacy and the army became the “only worthy institution” in the country (Landau 1993: 166). The army alone now controlled Guatemala. Zur (1994: 13) argues that this military campaign not only worked to eliminate guerrilla fighters but also any Maya who had the potential to become a guerrilla.

Under the name Fusiles y Frijoles, ‘Bullets and Beans’, and later Techo, Trabajo y Tortilla’, ‘Shelter, Work and Food’, the army installed surplus centres where peasants could find food and supplies and the army provided doctors to the rural sectors (Wearne 1994: 22). This tactic helped instill the belief that the army was the sole provider, but this system quickly became corrupt as army officials stole land and supplies for themselves (Wearne 1994, Landau 1993). It was a plan of attack that allowed no neutrals — “If you’re with us we’ll feed you; if not you’re dead” (Wearne 1994: 22).

As documented by Schirmer (1998), Costello (1997), Wearne (1994) and Wilson (1991) this ‘development plan’ hid a cultural attack on the Maya. Not only were Maya to be killed and driven out of their villages, but the subsequent ‘development’ was to be an extension of counterinsurgency (Doyle 1997: 39) with
the emphasis on absorption and assimilation (Allen 2003a, 2003b). Referred to in the National Plan as “changes in the basic structure of the state”, the words indigenous and Indian were to be eliminated (Wearne 1994: 22).

Reacting to the new brutality, a new guerrilla movement in 1972 emerged calling themselves the *Ejército Guerrillero de los Pobres* (EGP), or the Guerrilla Army of the Poor (Wearne 1994: 19). This group situated themselves in the northwest jungles of El Quiché and viewed the indigenous population as the key to Guatemalan nationalism. This group was joined by two more guerrilla movements: the *Organización del Pueblo en Armas* (ORPA), the Organization of the Peoples in Arms, and Guatemala’s oldest guerrilla group *Fuerzas Armadas Rebeldes* (FAR), the Rebel Armed Forces (Wearne 1994: 19). Wearne (1994: 19) illustrates how these factions knew that the support of the Maya would determine the outcome of the war and so set out a basic village support base that organized peasants into sub-committees responsible for logistics, political education, operations, and mobilization.

According to Wright (1992), revolutionaries began to re-examine Guatemala’s history and the entire story of Latin America, including the periods before the Conquest of 1524. The Maya had always been the core of the labour force. Maya culture was unappreciated and regarded as less developed. As the class position of the Maya was re-examined by the revolutionaries, the Maya rose from being neglected to becoming the central focus of their plans (Landau 1993: 185). Because Maya were recruited into the guerrilla ranks, the counterattack strategy of the government targeted Mayan culture as village, land, dress and language were
banished. In this fashion, the war turned into more than an effort of genocide (killing the people) against the Maya (Sanford 2003, Archdiocese of Guatemala 1999); it became ethnocide (killing the culture) through killing the culture by killing the people (Ryan 1990), meaning that traditional values and Maya villages were targeted by the army to eliminate the Maya culture.

In February 1982, the United States Embassy released press handouts in Guatemala speculating that eight out of ten guerillas were Maya (Wearne 1994: 19). They put guerilla strength, including the vast network of supporters, at 500,000 (Wearne 1994: 19). Wearne (1994), Warren (1993) and Wilson (1991) show that despite these high numbers, participation by Maya varied greatly by region. In areas where viable economic alternatives had been developed, where repression had been less intense, and where village structures were unsympathetic, active support for the guerillas remained minimal or non-existent. In the areas of Huehuetenango, El Quiché, and San Marcos the guerillas had a strong foothold and controlled significant sectors of these departments (Landau 1993).

As guerilla forces grew, the government became even more brutal (Archdiocese of Guatemala 1999: 217). According to Landau (1993: 174), counterinsurgency units coached by Americans with years of Vietnam War experience, slashed through the jungle, used helicopters to look for guerilla movement, and dropped napalm bombs over jungle areas. As their only goal was to completely destroy the opposition, counterinsurgency units trained by United States and Israeli specialists speculated that up to 150,000 civilians would have to die (Landau 1993: 174).
The United States taught the Guatemalan army new methods of technical repression and the basics of finding and eliminating guerrillas. Green (1995) also states that as well as employing counterinsurgency units, the government also revived death squads with the help of the wealthy sectors. These squads systematically murdered the organizers of strikes and protests and cut off any form of subversive leadership from the majority of the population. A significant part of this strategy was the removal of the urban support structure used by revolutionaries. Smith (1996), Wearne (1994), Warren (1993), Wilson (1991) and Carmack (1988), all document that by relying on information gathered by foreign intelligence advisors, the government began to murder or 'disappear' (kidnap) suspected opponents. The Roman Catholic Church estimates that between 1981 and 1982 over 14,000 people were 'eliminated' (Archdiocese of Guatemala 1999: 134).

By the middle of the 1980s the armed forces had won a strategic victory over the guerrilla forces. Although the number of guerrilla casualties was low, these revolutionaries lost their social base. According to Sanford (2001: 29), civilian losses total "more than 200,000 people killed or disappeared, 1.5 million displaced, and more than 150,000 driven to seek refuge in Mexico". The army had set out to deprive the guerrillas of support by destroying the villages and relocating or killing the villagers and they succeeded. Landau (1993: 193) notes "as human rights groups were calling it genocide, the United States advisors viewed the war effort as a successful military campaign".

The ongoing military campaign in Guatemala had three stages as laid out by Green (1995): first, to break up Maya communities using violence; second, to
encourage those remaining to abandon their dress, language and customs and assume ladino (non-indigenous) identities; and third, to ‘recruit’ village men to ‘defend’ their village against the guerrillas (Green 1995: 73). As villages were destroyed, men were interrogated, tortured and killed. The women and children were relocated to strategic hamlets along with the few men who had ‘turned’ during questioning (Archdiocese of Guatemala 1999, Green 1995, Wearne 1994).

This military campaign continued unchecked until the late 1980s and early 1990s. It was during this period that international attention grew as Rigoberta Menchú, a young revolutionary, traveled to Paris and told her story. Her book (Menchú 1984) brought the general public’s attention to the internal armed conflict. This testimonio consists of Menchú narrating the crises of a traditional Maya family and community networks in the late 1970s. It also goes into detail about the life of an activist and organizer on behalf of her community. As summarized in Lincoln (2000), Tierney (2000), Rus (1999) and Zimmerman (1991: 31), Menchú’s personal history ties her to most of the major events of the ‘Indian’ resistance movement. This testimonio was narrated to an anthropologist in the midst of genocide to draw sympathetic attention to the plight of the Maya. Nolin Hanlon and Shankar (2000) consider this book to be the first contemporary testimonio by an indigenous women in Guatemala and responsible for bringing international attention to the ongoing atrocities.

Putting a halt to military procedures did not go smoothly according to Holiday (2000), Jeffrey (1997) and Warren (1997), but peace negotiations began in 1990 between the government and the Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca
(URNG), a coalition of the previously mentioned guerilla forces. On December 29, 1996 representatives from the military, government, and guerrillas signed the “Accord for a Firm and Lasting Peace” (Warren 1997: 26). During this negotiation period, human rights workers, grass roots organizations and activists saw the chance to broaden the issues discussed as they fought to address the root cause of the violence. The “Accord on Identity and the Rights of Indigenous Peoples” was passed in 1995 (Warren 1997: 26) as one of several accords leading up to the signing of the Final Accord. It called for a public acknowledgement of the discrimination that the Mayan peoples had suffered. The accord consists of four parts that address: (1) the formal recognition of Guatemala’s indigenous peoples; (2) the struggle against discrimination; (3) constitutional reforms in civil, political, social and economic rights; (4) and identifies key cultural rights for Mayan communities as the ‘authors’ of their own cultural development (Warren 1997). It is within this context that development workers and Mayan communities now struggle to succeed.

1.2 Guatemalan History through Interdisciplinary Literature: 1930s to 1970s

As armed conflict escalated in Latin America, and in particular Guatemala, so did the variety of research and literature. Researchers evolved from having a passive and often patriarchal view to taking more of an activist role. Therefore, this thesis draws on a range of interdisciplinary research to provide an understanding of contemporary Guatemala. Guatemalan history can be further understood through an overview of early community studies as well as a discussion on the domains of popular education, liberation theology, feminist literature, and violence studies.
I chose to use these domains in order to develop a holistic understanding of contemporary Guatemala because they have all contributed to the current situation in Guatemala. Early community studies are relevant to my research as they document the beginnings of long-term research in Guatemala and they established many of the methods used today. Popular education and liberation theology focus on community needs for social and economic well-being. For Guatemala, these two social movements were a significant part of the beginnings of social change as the Catholic Church and public educators laboured on behalf of the poor and oppressed. Also, feminist literature and violence studies are central to understanding the literature used in my research as they provide explicit views into the lives of Guatemalan women, while documenting the hardships that women faced both before and after the internal armed conflict.

Early community studies literature employed qualitative methods with a holistic approach (Chambers 1979). This overview starts in the 1930s because the works of Tax (1953, 1952, 1937), Redfield (1941, 1930) and Parsons (1936) exemplify early community studies literature. Most importantly in the 1930s these authors, especially Redfield, established the community studies method of research with a focus on long-term processes of change (Chance 1996). Therefore, according to Sol Tax’s (1953, 1952, 1937) fieldwork in Guatemala, the municipio (municipality) was recognized as the ethnic unit of ethnological inquiry. This thinking was reinforced by the “classical ethnography” (Nolin Hanlon 1997: 9) or the historical particularism tradition of anthropological thought that stressed a holistic approach and a commitment to learn the local language. Thus, community studies in
Guatemala, according to Nolin Hanlon (1997), were influenced by the works of Tax and Redfield and were characterized by qualitative methods used in rural highland areas.

The 1940s and 1950s saw local, particular, and circumstantial ethnology that began to incorporate community residents into broader, more complex understandings of cultural continuity and change (Nolin Hanlon 1997: 10). Community studies critiques of this era argue that by conceptualizing the community as the largest unit of analysis, studies were bounded methodologically and theoretically (Nolin Hanlon 1997: 11). This approach was modified when Mesoamerican ethnographers began to realize that understanding long-term processes of change required knowledge of history. Foremost in this process is Eric Wolf's (1957) contribution in the field of comparative studies of cultural change (Nolin Hanlon 1997, Chance 1996). Wolf diminished the disciplinary border that separated history and anthropology and showed how "modern Indian communities could be seen as the outcome of history, rather than a timeless island of cultural survival or a product of superficially defined stages of acculturation" (Chance 1996: 383).

These early works are steeped in positivist tradition as researchers "other" their studies. Researchers were trained to distance themselves from their subject matter and many of these studies were focused on the macro social and exogenous factors that shaped life in Mesoamerica, including government and national and multinational economic institutions that affect rural Maya (Chance 1996). Therefore, women in these early studies are restricted to an occasional mention within the
context of traditional gender roles in brief chapters about family households and marriage.

While major changes occurred in community studies as a research approach, revolutions also occurred in the forums of education and religion. In these areas new social movements developed such as liberation theology and popular education, both of which are based on a grassroots ideology. Both of these movements emphasize the importance of working within marginalized populations to improve education and quality of life. As well, both movements utilize a basic core consisting of either clergy or educators working and living within communities to achieve the previously mentioned goals.

1.3 Liberation Theology and Popular Education

During the 1960s two major social movements began in Latin America, popular education and liberation theology. Popular education and non-formal education arose in response to the failures of the formal school system to make education available to poor and marginalized populations (Fink 1992: 171). Fink (1992: 172) defines non-formal education programs as “any organized, systematic educational activity carried on outside the framework of the formal system to provide ... learning to particular subgroups in the population”. As well, non-formal education programs place an emphasis on the mode of learning and focus on each individual’s specific and technical needs (Fink 1992).

Popular education stems from the work of Paolo Freire (1970) and his efforts to teach peasants in Brazil (Fink 1992: 175). Popular education programs build on
the premise of non-formal education with a further need to target marginalized populations. However, popular education is also identified as an instrument of social change (Walters and Manicom 1996). Popular education programs, in contrast to non-formal education, look at community and organizational training needs that benefit the community for improvements in social and economic well-being (Rogers 1992). Fink (1992: 174) states that popular education is egalitarian, participatory, designed to eliminate unequal power structures and value traditional skills and knowledge. Most importantly, popular education provides new opportunities for women to learn outside the traditional education system which reinforces traditional gender roles (Stromquist 1992).


members of the religious orders are committed to the vow of poverty and do not own property individually, nevertheless they enjoy a standard of living and security that separates them from the daily agony of the poor ... the question then arose ... where most are suffering dehumanizing poverty what should the Church and Christians do about it?

Therefore, liberation theology interprets the Bible through the experiences of the poor and helps the poor to interpret their own faith in a way that affirms their dignity and self-worth. Consequently, liberation theology stresses the human right to struggle for better living standards (Hillar 1993: 36, Rhodes 1991). In Latin America,
liberation theologians believe that their “poverty-stricken have been oppressed and exploited by rich capitalist nations” (Rhodes: 1991: 8).

Two contradictory modes of thought arose in liberation theology – some theologians believed violence was not a sin when used to overthrow or resist oppressors, while others such as Gustavo Gutiérrez believed in peaceful revolutions, (Berryman 1997, Lernoux 1991 and Rhodes 1991). Gutiérrez (1993, 1988) believes that the church should be involved in revolutionary action on behalf of the poor and oppressed, and that theologians must be immersed in the struggle for transforming society. Through his writings, Gutiérrez emerged as Latin America’s spokesperson for Third World Theology (Lernoux 1991: 29). In Guatemala, Falla (1993), one of only two Guatemalan anthropologists at the time, became the leading spokesperson for liberation theology (Falla 1993: xiii). His revolutionary work documented the labour of the Catholic Church on behalf of the oppressed and subsequent violence perpetrated by the Guatemalan military government against the Maya, the poor and the Catholic Church.

1.4 Feminist Literature– 1970s to Present

Community studies evolved to incorporate diverse views and changes within Guatemalan society. As well, literature is drawn from feminist studies and violence studies to provide a more holistic framework to examine the lives of women in Guatemala. Economist Herbenar Bossen (1984) shed light on the sexual stratification of Mayan culture in the context of globalization and development. Sexual stratification was considered to be a new subject in Latin American ethnology.
during the 1970s and 1980s and coincided with the early feminist movement within Anthropological/Geographical/Sociological theory. Influenced by the modern women's movement, female anthropologists began to question the male centered assumptions within anthropology and focus their research specifically on women's status and role(s) within their societies. Feminist research, such as Herbenar Bossen's (1984), led to an increased interest in the study of sex roles and gender, questioning the validity of basic anthropological assumptions such as those linked to early community studies. Feminist anthropologists Morgan (1989) and Moore (1988) document the failure of anthropologists and associated social scientists to fully explore the human experience and their neglect of women and gender as significant dimensions of social life.

According to Herbenar Bossen (1984), two main themes emerge in the history of feminist scholarship in Mesoamerican studies. The first focuses on the social construction of gender as it is expressed in the roles of motherhood, kinship, and marriage. The second theme focuses on gender as it relates to class, the social relations of power, and changes in the mode of production. New studies in the 1980s and 1990s saw critical feminist anthropologists bring attention to community rights in Guatemala and the fight for change (Nolin Hanlon 1997: 14). As well, feminists such as Moser (1989), Young (1988) and Molyneux (1985) began critiquing women's roles within development leading to new perspectives on women's involvement and the formation of women's empowerment programs.

More recently, female scholars such as Green (1999) and Zur (1998) have started to document the lives and roles of Mayan women through traditional
ethnographic practices of extended fieldwork or through compilations of testimonios such as compiled by Hooks (1993). Most of this 'gender research' is concentrated on war widows within the context of refugee studies. This research genre is especially important as it encourages a comparative analysis of gender roles in transition. In particular, Blacklock's research (1999) illustrates women's active involvement in popular organizations — a phenomenon rising out of the conflict and the search for disappeared family members.

Godinez (1999: 6) also acknowledges the role of women in organizing indigenous and human rights groups and women's groups involved in the religious and revolutionary sectors. Blacklock (1999) discusses how democratization and the growth of women's organizations are related. She argues that the overall impact of feminism and democratization is the creation of conditions that allow for the mobilization of women, especially around issues of gender identity. According to the Archdiocese of Guatemala (1999: 85), "women who long have been invisible members of society must now be recognized as protagonists of change, and respected and valued as examples of dignity and defence of life".

Many women became leaders in the struggle for human rights and developed strong international voices. According to MacNabb (2003: 2) the women's movement in Guatemala is complex and multifaceted:

the women involved in political change were not necessarily within the 'women's movement.' Indeed, the majority of women working for political change in Guatemala were human rights leaders, indigenous women, and guerrilleras — women who did not categorize themselves as feminists.

Rigoberta Menchú and Helen Mack (sister of murdered anthropologist Myrna Mack) work to raise awareness of the situation in Guatemala. As well, groups such as the
National Coordination of Guatemalan Widows (CONAVIGUA) draw attention to the plight of widows as a large social sector affected by the violence. Additionally, many refugee women began to organize in refugee camps to reflect on women’s situations in Guatemala (Archdiocese of Guatemala 1999: 85). The guiding principles of a multifaceted Guatemalan women’s movement are human rights, stopping violence against women, promoting education and opposing the military (MacNabb 2003: 2). The organization of the women’s movement in Guatemala as well as other women’s movements in Latin America, was influenced by the international women’s movement (Blacklock 1999: 203), as Blacklock (1999: 204) states that:

feminist ideas and popular Latin American feminist literature gained a growing audience...these influences were further reinforced by resource support made available by international agencies operating in Guatemala...reflecting on their own policy mandates to promote women in development, these organizations began to encourage popular awareness of gender issues.

1.5 Violence Studies

Political violence as a research area increased as violence in Guatemala escalated in the 1980s and researchers were forced to flee. Studies by Smith (1996), Ebel (1988), Manz (1988), and Stoll (1988) among others are influenced by international human rights discourse and the findings are conveyed in realist narratives (Warren 1993: 27). These works document the abuses of power by the state and the systematic ways that basic human rights are violated. According to Warren (1993: 27), as anthropologists returned to Guatemala in the early 1990s, the research goals evolved to examine the impact of violence on Mayan communities,
explore the internalization of violence; reveal patterns in the killings, document the escalating personal character of intercommunity violence, and expose the social characteristics of the perpetrators and the victims of violence (Warren 1993: 27). One of the most revealing works about the internal armed conflict, edited by Carmack (1988), documents the impact of violence on a variety of Guatemalan communities.

*Testimonios*, which are first hand narratives of peoples' lived experiences, are highly effective ways to document the impact of violence on communities, families and individuals. What makes the *testimonio* stand out from the rest of qualitative research, Tierney (2000: 106) believes, is that the context is explicitly “value-laden” and even though the story is that of the narrator’s, the reader is asked to believe that it is generally applicable (Tierney 2000: 104). Nolin Hanlon and Shankar (2000) consider Menchú’s (1984) book to be the first contemporary *testimonio* by an indigenous woman in Guatemala and that it was responsible for bringing international attention to ongoing atrocities. These geographers (2000: 267) believe it is necessary to see the connection between gender, memory, *testimonio*, impunity, state terror and assault as *testimonio* literature places attention on the abusers and challenges their impunity.

The most important feature of the *testimonio* is that, if used correctly, the process can be empowering to the speaker. In Guatemala, this process is even more important when taken in the context of the internal armed conflict, as it took away the rights of the Maya to voice opinions or speak out. The most influential of these works is *Guatemala: Never Again! The Official Report of the Human Rights*
Office of the REMHI (1999). Commonly referred to as REMHI (Recovery of Historical Memory Project), this book is a compilation of thousands of testimonios collected and analyzed by outreach workers that provides an alternative history, from the Maya survivors’ perspectives (Jeffrey 1997). As Mons. Próspero Penados del Barrio, Archbishop Primate of Guatemala (Archdiocese of Guatemala 1999: xxixi) said:

the purpose of this report is to conserve the historical memory of political violence, of the egregious human rights violations suffered by indigenous people and communities over the past thirty-six years of fratricidal struggle, which left incalculable social polarization.

The importance of the testimonio as demonstrated by the Archdiocese of Guatemala (1999) is the ability for women to reveal their experiences, which previously were unacknowledged in literature pertaining to Guatemala. Sanford (2001: 17) writes that testimonios, especially Rigoberta Menchú’s, “obliged the world to recognize Maya women as agents of their own history”.

1.7 Conclusion

Through a literature review of Guatemala we see that the history of Guatemala has been filled with violence, uncertainty and a gender bias against women, particularly Maya women. Ethnic and class conflict can be traced back to the Spanish Conquest and continues to one of the major problems faced by Guatemala (Anderson 2003, CIDA 2002b, Green 1999, Wearne 1994, Wright 1992, Carmack 1988, Herbenar Bossen 1984). The internal armed conflict led community studies to evolve into testimonios and violence studies. The goals of these studies
were to document the abuses of power by the state and human rights violations. The evolution of community studies into testimonios and violence studies is important as these forms of research empower the speaker and put the current development situation in Guatemala into context.

The 1970s saw the introduction of feminist literature. Researchers such as Herbenar Bossen (1984), who were interested in Latin America, introduced knowledge on the sexual stratification of Mayan culture in the context of development and globalization. These feminist researchers focused on women's roles within their own societies and placed an emphasis on women and gender as significant dimensions of social life. This feminist movement revealed that gender was an important analytical concept. Corresponding with early feminist research in Guatemala and, emerging out of popular education, liberation theology and the internal armed conflict, was the involvement of women in human rights groups and the organization of indigenous organizations.

In Chapter 2 gendered-power imbalances are shown to be the root of the development problems affecting Guatemalans, specifically women. As well, it is shown that the long-term effects of the internal armed conflict make empowerment programs necessary. Therefore, development efforts need to overcome powerlessness and oppression for the creation of healthy and sustainable communities. Thus, Chapter 2 provides an explanation of the contemporary situation in Guatemala.
Chapter 2: Guatemalan Context

During the bus ride from Antigua to Quetzaltenango my backpack was broken into and my wallet stolen. My Visa card was then promptly used until the credit limit was reached. By the time I reached Xela (Quetzaltenango) and a phone booth, the bank was already aware of the unusual purchases and had contacted my family in Canada. In order to have the fraudulent purchases waived, the credit company required that I file a local police report. Thus, I spent all of Monday afternoon in the Xela police headquarters trying to convince the police to file a theft report using my broken Spanish. I was forced to play a mixture of pictionary and charades with several police officers, which of course quickly attracted a larger audience. Thankfully, from the back of the station came a doctor that was visiting prisoners who spoke some English. He acted as translator and more, he used his influence to ensure that a report was filed properly. Unfortunately, the report was only available at another office across the city the next day. Picking up the report required a second round of charades in a larger office with even more officers to convince of my need for assistance. Walking away with my police report in hand, I pondered the difficulties that other women must face in Guatemala, knowing that as a foreigner or 'tourist' I was treated better than the average Guatemalan woman.

As shown in the previous chapter, the people's history of Guatemala was characterized by internal armed conflict and economic instability. Women have had to deal with political and military domination, internal armed conflict, changing gender roles and abusive relationships while striving to keep their family together and caring for children. At present, nine years after the signing of the Peace Accords, the situation for women and development has not significantly improved and there are several significant factors affecting development in Guatemala. As well, power imbalances in Guatemala have hindered development on two levels. The first level consists of problems affecting the whole country such as constant instability, political and military domination, continuous effects of the internal armed conflict and unequal gender roles. In addition, the country faces problems including widespread poverty (Valente 2004, CIDA 2002a, CIDA 2002b), discrimination (UN
2004, Grandin 2000) and the impunity of corrupt officials (Amnesty International 2002) that community development programs are forced to work around. Further, in 2002, the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA 2002a, CIDA 2002b) identified several problems that need to be addressed before significant progress can be made: discrimination against indigenous populations; poverty; social services; economics; and environmental degradation.

The second level of problems is experienced by women specifically. Women face the added hardships of discrimination, *machismo* and gender-based violence (GBV) within relationships and from the internal armed conflict; feminization of poverty; and crimes targeting women. This chapter first identifies and provides an analysis of the factors affecting development for Guatemalans and specifically for women. Lastly, this chapter describes the existing power context in Guatemala and its effects on development activities. As well, this chapter will discuss the power structures that women’s empowerment and community development programs must work within.

### 2.1 Problems Affecting all Guatemalans

Guatemala has a population of 11.3 million, one of the largest populations in Central America (Cerezo 2003: 1). The majority of Guatemalans live in rural areas with only 40 percent living in urban areas (United Nations Children’s Fund [UNICEF] 2004a). Guatemala’s population is comprised of three different ethnicities – Spanish descent, mixed heritage or *Ladino* and indigenous. The majority of indigenous people can be found in the ex-conflict zones of the northwest.
Wealth is concentrated in select urban areas and the distribution of land and wealth is skewed towards a small elite (UNICEF 2004a, CIDA 2002b). According to CIDA (2002a, 2002b), Guatemala has the third highest level of income inequality among low to middle income countries worldwide. CIDA (2002a, 2002b) states that the poorest sectors of the population receive only 3.8 percent of the total income while the wealthy elite segment of the population receives 60 percent. The areas most affected by poverty and inequalities are the ex-conflict zones of the northwest, comprised of Huehuetenango, El Quiché and Alta Verapaz. These areas also contain the highest concentration of indigenous peoples (CIDA 2002a, Archdiocese of Guatemala 1999, Carmack 1988). For example, Herrera (1999: 2) states that the department of Huehuetenango’s population of 634,374 is 65.9 percent indigenous.

CIDA (2002a) believes that as a result of the unequal distribution of wealth and limited access to agricultural land and to education, Guatemala has one of the highest poverty levels in Central America and the Caribbean (CIDA 2002a). Union Fenosa (2004:1), a South American company operating education programs in western Guatemala, notes that 80 percent of the population live in poverty with 60 percent living in extreme poverty. Mayan populations are twice as likely to be living in extreme poverty as the non-indigenous populations, and rural dwellers are three times more likely to be living in extreme poverty than those in urban areas (CIDA 2002a, CIDA 2002b). As well, women earn less than one third the estimated average incomes of men (CIDA 2002a, CIDA 2002b) and 16 percent of the population earn below USD$ 1 per day (UNICEF 2004a). Thus, with a large percentage of the population living below poverty levels and women earning as little...
as one third that of men, women have a particularly difficult time providing for their families as the head of household. Cerezo (2003: 2) reports that although the average monthly family income is USD$ 227, almost 70 percent of the population lives on only USD$ 2 per day.

The country's social indicators are among the worst in the hemisphere after Haiti (CIDA 2002a, 2002b). Poor educational indicators in Guatemala are due to a prolonged lack of educational and monetary resources and poorly trained teachers (CIDA 2002a, 2002b). In 2000, the total adult literacy rate was 76 percent for men and only 61 percent for women, while secondary school enrolment was only at 39 percent for men and 35 percent for women (UNICEF 2004a). UNICEF (2004b) states that “five out of 10 students who enter primary school in urban areas complete primary school, as opposed to only two out of 10 in rural areas”. UNICEF staff (2004b) believe this low enrolment rate occurs because 60 percent of school aged children live in rural areas, yet only 24.5 percent of the schools are located in these areas, and eight municipalities do not have a middle school. Consequently, adult literacy among Mayan women is estimated by the World Bank (2003: 1) to be as low as 30 percent and the average number of years of schooling for an indigenous woman is 0.9, while that of a non-indigenous man is 4.5, and that of a non-indigenous woman is 4.0. School enrolment rates are low and both repetition and drop out rates are high (World Bank 2003).

Martin and Juarez (1995) argue that the significance of low education levels is apparent in their effects on the living conditions for women. The Guatemalan women with whom I conversed believe that higher education levels will lead to more
sustainable and safer agricultural practices providing economic, environmental and health benefits. They also believe that higher education levels lead to employment that is not dependent on world prices for cash crops such as coffee and bananas and will help combat the necessity for migration to plantations to work. As well, Martin and Juarez (1995) believe that more education that includes family planning for women translates into smaller families and lower mortality rates due to complications in childbirth. In addition, this early education will help reduce the prevalence of *machismo* attitudes that currently prevail. Therefore, with higher education come healthier women and children.

Women's views and beliefs also can change as demonstrated by The New Hope Foundation Rio Negro — a non-profit organization that runs a bilingual school in Rabinal. Guillermo Chen Morales (2004), a school representative, stated at a University of Northern British Columbia (UNBC) presentation that the girls who attend their school in Rabinal are more likely to work outside of the home and have children at an older age. The girls themselves say they plan to wait longer before marrying and having children and they wish to have jobs outside the home. The aim of organizations such as the New Hope Foundation Rio Negro and ADIMH is to enable educated women to pass on what they know to their children therefore enhancing children's education at an earlier age. ADIMH provides empowerment programs that foster the belief that an early education that includes knowledge of their women's rights helps to combat the violence and exploitation that women experience. Guatemalan women are almost completely responsible for the
socialization process of children (van der Hoogte and Kingma 2004); therefore, men will be better educated in women’s rights as children.

Of extreme importance is the link between education, sanitation and health (Marini and Gragnolati 2003). The women of Huehuetenango stated that the more educated their community, the healthier the community. They believe that health care and good sanitation need to expand beyond urban areas to benefit the majority of the population living in rural Guatemala. Several factors associated with health care problems can be found in CIDA reports (2002a). These show that limited coverage of health services, low levels of spending on healthcare (one percent of Gross Domestic Product), concentration of medical treatment resources in urban areas and limited safe water supply coverage (only serving 40 percent of the population) together create a lamentable health situation.

CIDA (2002a, 2002b) and World Bank (2003) reports show how a lack of acceptable sanitary conditions and potable water results in high indices of gastrointestinal diseases and skin infections, especially in young children. As well, fewer than half of rural Guatemalans have access to running water and fewer than one tenth have access to modern sanitary facilities (World Bank 2003, CIDA 2002a, 2002b). According to the UN World Food Program (2005: 1), poverty in Guatemala is strongly associated with malnutrition and under-nourishment, especially in Maya children where 47 percent of children under five years suffer from this condition. This condition gives Guatemala the highest rate of chronic malnutrition in Latin America (UN World Food Program 2005: 2).
Economic growth, according to CIDA (2002a, 2002b), is limited by an excessive concentration of wealth, an ineffective public sector, poor public investment programs, a poorly educated population, and rising crime. Guatemala has a high level of underemployment, unemployment and an extremely unequal access to the means of production between men and women and between Maya and non-Maya. During the mid 1990s, Guatemala experienced a slowdown in productive output, which has affected levels of both foreign and domestic investment (World Bank 2003, CIDA 2002a, 2002b). This slowdown in production has been exacerbated by continual low world prices for coffee, which is one of Guatemala’s primary exports (World Bank 2003, CIDA 2002a, 2002b).

Lastly, CIDA representatives (2002a: 6) recognize that environmental degradation is a major threat to Guatemala. Agriculture, forestry, and fishing industries, which provide more than half the jobs and export earnings, are exerting tremendous pressure on the environment. The heavy use of pesticides — among the world’s highest — is increasing pollution and pest resistance as well as poisoning agricultural workers. Conversion of tropical forests to farmland, especially in the western highlands, is causing degradation caused by soil erosion. Chemical pollution is threatening the fishing industry, as are inappropriate fishing methods and the destruction of mangroves.

Consequently, Guatemala is plagued by a combination of social, economic, and environmental problems. These problems include: discrimination against indigenous populations; poverty; social services; taxation; economics; and destruction of the environment. In addition to the previously listed problems are
concerns specific to women that need to be addressed as part of the development context. This female-specific double-burden is exacerbated because Guatemala is a machismo-based society, characterized by a man’s domination of his wife and children.

2.2 Women and Contemporary Guatemala

In addition to the above-mentioned problems, as categorized by CIDA, there are several intertwined factors that perpetuate violence and disempowerment specifically against women. These factors include gender-based violence, racism, machismo, the continuing effects of the internal armed conflict, rising poverty levels, and rising crime levels. These sources of disempowerment are non-independent factors and are extremely difficult to separate. As well, international law professor Chinkin (1995) believes that gender bias exists because of invisibility, culture and power.

According to the Pan American Health Organization (2003) and Chinkin (1995), violence against women remains largely unreported so the true level of global violence against women remains unknown. Economic and social dependence also prevent women from reporting occurrences of violence. In many cases, legal officials regard domestic violence as a private matter and do not respond to the women's charges (The World Organization Against Torture [OMCT] 2001, Chinkin 1995). Traditional and cultural customs such as machismo create assumptions about gender roles and are used to "justify continued oppression and subordination of women" (Chinkin 1995: 24). This often derogatory attitude towards
women illustrates how gender violence is an expression of the power imbalance between men and women (Chinkin 1995: 24) making women's issues and needs invisible in this gender-biased cultural context.

Awareness of gender violence entered into the development discourse in the late 1990s. Sen (1998), a researcher on violence against women, points out that gender-based violence (GBV) limits women's ability to participate in the development process because women's participation in development initiatives may in fact be the cause of interfamily violence. Sen (1998: 11) believes that “increased activity outside the home, activity in mixed company, or women's acquisition of a separate income may trigger bouts of domestic violence”. This increase in domestic violence is in part due to the beliefs that as women work and participate outside of the house they are influenced by new people and opinions forcing men to change to keep up or be left behind (Gutmann 1996). Fear of domestic violence arose on several occasions during my conversations with women from Huehuetenango between March and May 2004. In each of the ADIMH workshops that I attended, approximately half of the 40 women participants were unable to stay for lunch due to the fear that their husbands would arrive home before they did, possibly triggering an incident of domestic violence.

Green (1999), Zur (1998), Warren (1993) and Rich (N.D.), a researcher for the Guatemalan Human Rights Commission/USA, believe that women in Guatemala represent the centre of the family and the community. This cultural position, however, “provides no actual respect or physical and emotional protection ... gender specific exploitation, discrimination, violence and oppression exist in laws, cultural
and moral norms and daily behaviour of the society" (Rich N.D.: 1). In Guatemala, violence towards women is sanctioned through the blatant impunity that exists for perpetrators of violence and by making violence against women invisible or seen as a source of shame for the female victims (Rich N.D.).

Grandin (2000) and Crosby (1999) argue that racism and discrimination are a prevalent part of Guatemalan society and have existed since the beginning of colonialism. The United Nations issues regular reports indicating that the indigenous peoples in Guatemala still face racial, ethnic and cultural discrimination (UN Foundation 2001a). The UN (UN Foundation 2001a) states that most of the country’s Mayan population, which comprise most of the country’s population, live in extreme poverty. As well, Guatemala’s 10 poorest districts, including Huehuetenango, have the highest percentages of Mayan populations. Of the children between the ages of 7 and 14 who do not attend school, 62.3 percent are Mayan (UN Foundation 2002a). Consequently, discrimination against the Maya and women is part of the fabric of everyday life and is “apparent in the attitudes of the authorities” and “not in its [Guatemala’s] laws but in its practices” (UN Foundation 2002b). Therefore, political and structural discrimination has become part of the Guatemalan culture.

Discrimination against women is exacerbated given the prevalence of machismo in Guatemalan society. In 2001, UNICEF (OMCT 2001: 1) estimated that 76 percent of violence against women in Guatemala was intrafamily and that one fifth of women in Latin America is the victim of violence (UN Foundation 2001b). Violence causes five percent of deaths among women of reproductive age in Latin
America (UN Foundation 2001b). Chinkin (1995) states that women in danger of violence or who have experienced violence have very few resources to turn to for help. The insensitivity and indifference of local police, the failure to define violence as a criminal act and a gender bias in the legal system create major obstacles for women to overcome in seeking protection or redress (Chinkin 1995). In 2000, the UN (UN Foundation 2000) published the findings that only one in 200 women in Guatemala understands methods of contraception and has had access to sexual education. According to this study, the lack of education has increased the transmission of sexually transmitted diseases including acquired immune deficiency syndrome, unwanted pregnancies and abortions.

During the internal armed conflict women faced state-sponsored gender related violence which, according to Leslie (2001: 51), embodies power imbalances. This type of violence, Leslie (2001: 51) states, is “consciously designed to violate women’s dignity and identity ... [and] ... acts to disempower women by terrorizing them into submission and instilling in them the impossibility of struggling for social change”. Specific forms of violence were used against women (Archdiocese of Guatemala 1999: 73). According to Leslie (2001: 51-52), Nolin Hanlon and Shankar (2000: 272-280), Archdiocese of Guatemala (1999: 73-83) and Green (1995: 111-124), violence against women during the height of the internal armed conflict included ridicule as the perpetrators dehumanized their victims, the use of their children against them, and psychological torture such as being made to cook and dance for the army before being sexually assaulted, tortured and murdered. Women also had a unique role in the internal armed conflict as they were more likely than
men to survive the conflict. Women are forced to live with the memories of violence, with the uncertainty of what happened to their family and/or husband and in some cases to live with the effects of rape.

The army's strategy to cause family members to disappear also attacked women's roles as wives and mothers. While the internal armed conflict may have abated, this phenomenon continues as women are prevented from performing the rites that are involved in the mourning process. As well, women experience long-term psychological effects from the internal armed conflict. These effects include diminishing self-esteem and self-confidence, limited capacity for problem solving, high levels of disempowerment, terror, depression, self-disgust, powerlessness, inability to function in everyday life, loss of identity and chronic mental and physical illness (Leslie 2001, Nolin Hanlon and Shankar 2000, Green 1995). In some cases women have also been prevented from inheriting their family's land and have little control over resources. These problems stem from the lack of a proper death certificate to prove women's rights to their land (Robinson 2004).

Amnesty International (2005) demonstrates that in recent years, the number of women murdered annually in Guatemala has increased. Between 2001 and the end of January 2005, 1,300 women have been murdered (Davis 2005) with 424 women murdered in 2003 and only 22 of these cases investigated (Tuckman 2004). In the first half of 2004, 225 women were found murdered (Guatemala Human Rights Commission/USA 2004) with the victims primarily between the ages of 16 and 35, poor and primarily Mayan (Glaister 2004). Rising numbers of reported murders places Guatemala ahead of the rest of Latin America when considering the
number of women murdered annually (Mora 2005). For example, during the month of January 2004, 22 women were killed while in January 2005 this number had increased by 64 percent (Davis 2005).

Although the government blames local youth gangs known as maras and downplays the number of women being murdered, local human rights activists argue that the scale and methods suggests otherwise as many of the methods of torture and killing are reminiscent of tactics used by the army during the internal armed conflict (Glaister 2004, Lloyd 2004). According to Davis (2005), there is an increasing brutality to the murders as more women show signs of rape, torture and mutilation. Additionally, Lloyd (2004) points out that evidence suggests police involvement in some of the murders. As well, Davis (2005) documents that in mid January 2005 the Guatemalan police force cut the special unit that investigates these murders from 22 officers to five. Furthermore, Cevallo (2004: 1) indicates that the Latin American and Caribbean Committee for the Defence of Women’s Rights and the Collective for the Defence of Women in Guatemala pointed out that “of the 19,000 reports of domestic violence received by prosecutors in 2002, just 10 were fully resolved in favour of the women.” Conflict, coupled with machismo, has created for women a culture of disempowerment. Along with this powerlessness, conflict results in “the shattering of the social fabric of society” (Leslie 2001: 54). Taken in this context, interventions and development policies need to re-establish a sense of community.

Datta and McIlwaine’s (2000) unique study on people’s attitudes towards single mothers in Guatemala reports that those women face further cultural
discrimination as single mothers. The study’s comparison of female headed households in Guatemala and Botswana shows that the idea of a woman in charge of the household still remains an undesirable irregularity in Guatemala. Women are subject to disapproval stemming from the belief that a female head of house is harmful to children. Men and women, including other single mothers, have negative perceptions of women headed households. Included in these perceptions is the belief that female leadership is responsible for high rates of violence and crime. As well, single mothers are thought to be immoral and incapable of caring for their children, thus contributing to their children’s delinquency. Datta and McLlwaine (2000: 43) believe that this discrimination stems directly from *machismo*, to the extent that women themselves believe the negative stereotypes. However, this same study shows that children raised in female headed households experience healthier ideals relating to gender roles, a more egalitarian socialization process, improved nutrition and better education (Datta and McLlwaine 2000). This healthier socialization is a product of a family environment that lacks the previously mentioned gendered-power imbalances and does not correlate with household income. As well, the improvement in nutrition and education is a result of a greater portion of the family’s resources directly benefiting the children.

Datta and McLlwaine (2000: 40) further suggest that 25-45 percent of households in Latin America are headed by women and that female headed households fall into the two categories of ‘de jure’ and ‘de facto’. De jure households have no resident male partner on a permanent basis through processes of divorce, separation and widowhood. De facto households are households with no
male partners resident in the household but where men contribute to the upkeep. The most common reason for de facto households is migration or widowhood, although the common assumption is that women headed households are created through the process of abandonment. Datta and McIlwaine (2000: 41) believe many women choose this de jure or de facto lifestyle to take control of their own and their children's lives.

There has been a rising rate of poverty amongst women and their families. This feminization of poverty (Bridge Institute 2001) is especially important in a development context because it shows women are not benefiting from previous development initiatives. A study completed by the Bridge Institute (2001: 1), a gender and development research and information center with the Institute of Development Studies in the United Kingdom, reports that poverty reducing programs are shown to be missing women due to “their lack of command over productive resources and control over output, as well as (particularly for poor women) lack of time”. Development policies that are socially based acknowledge the culture of fear and violence that exists in Guatemala. Consequently, participation in social movements, such as empowerment programs in Guatemala, form part of the reconstruction and healing process.

The situation in Guatemala consists of disempowerment processes and any approach to community development must focus on the notion of empowerment as a process of healing and advancement. Gender-specific approaches to community development such as women's empowerment programs, “enable women to heal themselves and their communities in ways that will contribute to the breaking down
of the very same patriarchal structures from which their disempowerment has arisen” (Leslie 2001: 57) and create strong communities in which future generations of women will not experience this same sense of powerlessness. Guatemalan women have acknowledged a fear that their daughters will experience the same sense of disempowerment that they have. In 18 of my 22 interviews, which will be discussed in future chapters, women responded that the motivation to attend or lead “empowerment programs” or workshops held by ADIMH, stemmed from the need to teach their daughters how to be strong and to teach their sons how to treat women. Although there is a demonstrated need for gender specific community development, cultural isolation acts as an inhibiting factor.

2.3 The Effects of Cultural Isolation

Some researchers and the women I interviewed believe that cultural isolation hinders their participation in Guatemalan society and community development. Guatemala is home to the majority of the world’s indigenous Mayan population. To protect their language, religion and culture and to shield themselves from systematic oppression by the European and mixed heritage Ladino population, a form of cultural isolation developed within Maya society through limited contact with the non-Maya world (Wilson 1995, Wright 1992). As men are forced to interact in the public domain, they become more westernized. For example, men who are hired for work are often fired if they show up in traditional clothing (Fabri 1999: 297). Therefore, as a survival mechanism many men have adopted western clothing. As women work in the private domain and, therefore, have little contact with outside influences, they
tend to retain the more traditional ways (Wilson 1995, Wright 1992). Many women in Huehuetenango still wear the *traje típico* (traditional clothing) and are encouraged by their family and community not to wear western clothing, jewellery or makeup (Nelson 1999: 56, 1994). For an example of clothing differences between men and women refer to Figure 2 which shows a young girl and her mother wearing *traje típico*, while in contrast their male family members wear western clothing.

![Figure 2 Example of Clothing Trends between Men and Women](image)

As well, many women are not fluent in Spanish and are only able to speak one of the nine Maya languages indigenous to Huehuetenango such as Mam, K'iche' or Q'anjob'al (Kobrak 2003:16). In Mayan culture it is important that women speak their traditional language because they are the ‘conservers of tradition’
Women have the task of raising children and socializing them within Mayan culture (Crosby 1999, Nelson 1999). As Warren (1993: 46) notes:

> Women are powerful metonymic representations of community because they are felt to be central to the continuity of Mayan culture in their roles as the bearers of the next generation and the socializers of children in Mayan culture. They stand for the essentialist construction of identity in the face of rapid social change and it is more important for women to wear traditional dress than men because women perpetuate the culture.

This cultural isolation strategy has protected them from some of the negative aspects of cultural loss but the Mayan communities' cultural solitude has hindered access to the supposed benefits of community development (CIDA 2002a, 2002b, Wilson 1995, Wright 1992). As there are 22 Maya languages, most development meetings are conducted in Spanish, preventing indigenous women from participating. Women are prevented from participating due to a lack of development professionals who speak the indigenous languages. Although some meetings are translated into the appropriate Maya language, working with translators hinders participation levels. Through my conversations with ADIMH participants, it became clear that the frustration caused by waiting for translations caused many participants to leave early or to stop attending altogether. This situation is slowly changing through basic literacy training of the participants in the Spanish language. Some organizations such as ADIMH, are training local Maya women, fluent in at least one of the Maya languages and Spanish, in development techniques to combat the above-mentioned problem.

As well, many development meetings are held during the day in the larger urban centres, which women in particular have difficulty attending. The women I
worked with in Huehuetenango stated that their husbands and fathers controlled the family finances and therefore they were unable to pay bus fare to reach the meetings. Many of the women that participated with ADIMH are placed in the private domain of their households and communities; therefore, attaining permission to attend workshops from male family members can also be difficult. The *machismo* way of thinking also influences whether Maya women interact with strangers from other communities or whether they can travel unaccompanied away from their community.

Meeting times also affect the ability of women to participate, as meetings held during the day can be difficult to attend. For most women the daily workload does not leave enough time to travel and attend the meetings. Many of the women who attend ADIMH workshops attend only once a month because of time constraints, mainly because of the need for childcare for younger children. Women struggle to find balance between the time needed to grind enough corn to feed their families and finish chores, with the need to attend the workshops; “if it comes down to taking care of the *milpa* and grinding the corn or learning how to speak Spanish, I’ll make sure my family eats” (Julia Fabian Perez, Malacatancito 2004). As well, many of the women I spoke with spend their free time weaving and making food products to sell to help out the family finances. A morning spent sitting in a meeting is a morning not spent selling tortillas or producing handicrafts to sell.

The women I conversed with spoke of one last reason for the hindrance of women’s access to development programs by cultural isolation. Indigenous women have little experience in the conducting of public matters and are unsure of their role.
Compounding their unknown role, the women that I conversed with feel that women are less likely to participate and have their voices heard when the meetings are held in mixed company. Reflecting the attitudes of *machismo* these women feel their voices are repressed by the male voices in the crowd. Many other women do not have the confidence to speak up in front of men. This inequality of voices represented in development meetings is the very essence of power imbalances.

### 2.4 The Concept of Power

All of the above mentioned issues are occurring within a power struggle. Power, according to psychologist Hillman (1995: 33), is the agency to act; not the doing itself but the capacity to do something. Hillman (1995: 2) believes that “power does not appear nakedly as such but wears the disguises of authority, control, prestige, influence, fame, etc.” and that all ‘power’ actions involve the control over and the manipulation of people, things, and the environment (1995: 98). When power and domination work together they tend to follow the structures of class, wealth, education, birth, and gender to empower the ‘privileged’ and dominate the less fortunate.

According to Allen (2003a), Hillman (1995), Lips (1991) and Agnew and Duncan (1989), power and subordination are closely tied together and that the superior position has to define itself in terms of someone or something else becoming subservient. Hillman (1995: 97) demonstrates, through a historical look into the meaning of the word power, that hierarchy and subordination are built into
the notion of power and that we are conditioned to accept this preconceived notion:

the root of the word [power] is poti meaning husband, lord, master; Greek posis, husband, from which des-potes, 'lord of the house' from domos (Greek), domus (Latin), and posis, master. Dominus (our dominate, dominant) is the lord, the master, the possessor, and Roman slaves called their master dominus as slaves in Greece called their master despotes.

In the Guatemalan context, machismo directly reflects the root meaning of the word power in that the male dominates the household and this domination is reflected throughout the society. The dominus aspect of power when applied to machismo implies both lordship (subjugation) over and ownership of women. Therefore, female subordination is deeply ingrained into language and culture and often goes unquestioned.

Traditionally, there are two types of power — the power to dominate and the power to resist (Allen 2003a, Hillman 1995). Dominating power, according to Allen (2003a), in these ways, becomes an attempt to control, coerce, or impose its will upon others. These circumstances may involve domination, exploitation, and subjugation at the material, symbolic, and psychological levels. Sharp et al. (2000: 2) argue that “dominating power engenders inequality and asserts the interests of a particular class, caste, race, or political configuration at the expense of others”.

Allen (2003a) focuses on power as a relational effect of social interaction and how geography makes a difference to the exercise of this power. He (2003a) draws on research by Foucault (2001a, 2001b) and Latour (1999a, 1999b) to show how it is possible to dominate others at a distance. Latour (cited in Allen 2003a: 130) referred to ‘circulating traces’ which is any element or piece of documentation that can be re-presented in some way as to hold the ‘mobile world’ constant. In this way,
the far-off world is no longer remote as objects and ideas are transferred back and forth. Latour (1987 cited in Allen 2003a: 130) believes these circulating traces bridge the gap between here and there. The concept of power at a distance can be applied to Guatemala in the development context.

Allen (2003a) and Pearce (1998) argue that in contemporary Guatemala, 'economic power' and instrumental power are widely exercised through 'tied aid' programs and non-governmental organizations. Therefore, economic and instrumental powers are similar as instrumental power is power that is held over you and used to obtain leverage (Allen 2003a: 5). International governments exert power over the people of Guatemala by donating money to programs and stipulating which programs will be completed. The 'power at a distance' notion of control is also effective 'close to home' through a government's control over its own people (Allen 2003a: 136). "This sense of power as out there ready to be used is deeply ingrained in our lives" as Allen (2003a: 4) believes we are preconditioned to believe in authority and dominating power. One example of this domination by the Guatemalan government is through the maintenance of a 'sweat shop economy' where the government keeps wages artificially low. This works in conjunction with keeping a surplus of workers, specifically in the agricultural sector, to safeguard the interests of plantation owners.

In one sense, Guatemala has remained unchanged since the beginning of the internal armed conflict as the root causes of it — insecurity, lack of justice, racism, and widespread extreme poverty — still remain problems in contemporary Guatemala. This situation is documented by authors such as Freeman and Hayner
the terror inflicted on the population during the internal armed conflict has metamorphosed in post-war society, but it has not disappeared. It remains intact in the operations of dozens of crime rings as well as urban youth gangs and rural bandits.

These realities, according to Green (1995) and Zur (1994), demonstrate how dominating power in Guatemala is still in the hands of the army, government and the elite social classes and the power is expressed through acts of impunity such as human rights violators maintaining positions of power in the national and municipal governments.

In contrast to dominating power, associational power, is power that acts like a "collective medium enabling things to get done and facilitating a common aim" (Allen 2003a: 5). Where the first type of power is always used against someone else, associational power is enabling so that all taking part benefit in some way, such as through empowerment programs. It is important to mention that power is only a relational effect of social interactions that is always constituted in space and time (Allen 2003a: 8). This notion is important to recognize because a change in social relations will change the accompanying power structure as shown in the Guatemalan internal armed conflict and women’s movements.
2.5 Conclusion

It is within this context of power relations that development workers and Mayan communities now work to succeed, as power continues to involve the control and manipulation of people and the environment. Power is aligned with class, wealth, education, and gender to empower the elite of Guatemala’s society. The general situation of Guatemala involves the majority of the population living in difficult rural conditions with the elite of Guatemalan society holding most of the wealth and land. Due to this inequality, CIDA (2002a) supports programs that are designed to combat development problems of discrimination, poverty, social services, taxation, economics, and the environment, which must be addressed for significant progress to be recognized.

In Guatemala, the situation is worse for women than for men. Women in Guatemala face an added burden because they are women. *Machismo* facilitates gender stereotypes that society uses to oppress women. Due to the influence that *machismo* has on society, women face GBV from both their family and society. As well, women are still dealing with the after-effects of the internal armed conflict. During the war, women faced state-sponsored GBV that disempowered them and tried to negate their ability to enact social change. In the last few years crime levels have risen dramatically, with women targeted and the police force not adequately staffed to handle many of the cases.

As will be discussed further in Chapter 4 and 5, *capacitación*, or integral development is needed to strengthen individual women’s self-esteem and self awareness before more Maya women can participate in decision making at the
community level so that productive decision making can be achieved to benefit communities. Through empowerment programs and women's organizations, associational power acts to enable all those taking part. Empowerment programs are especially important because when women have more influence over the raising of children, the children are healthier, better educated, and have a more egalitarian understanding of gender roles.
CHAPTER 3: FIELD METHODS AND METHODOLOGY

I attended language school for six weeks to learn Spanish, during which I participated in several field trips. One field trip was impromptu to see the carnival that set up at the cemetery. We toured through the cemetery and saw the wall that was used for executions during the war (internal armed conflict) and the grave of a gypsy that people come and pray to for luck-in-love. The story goes that nobody brings flowers to the grave but there are always fresh flowers. On another occasion we went to a professional soccer game. People cannot drink inside the stadium so they sit on the outside stadium wall and throw money over the side as vendors throw back cans of beer. The fans are fanatical about the sport and their home team. Thus, I learned a lot of new and interesting Spanish, none of which were verbs. When Xela (the home team) scored they set off fireworks, which they aim at the visiting teams players. When we left I noticed that riot police ringed the entire stadium. The language school also took us on a trip to Los Vahos, a volcano-heated sauna that we were told was “a small walk up the hill”. I now know that a small walk means climbing for an hour-and-a-half up the side of a mountain through fine dust in the sweltering heat. The view was worth the hike and the sauna was fun. After changing in a large, dark communal room we walked into small caverns and cement rooms that fit about three or four people standing up. When we could not take any more heat we jumped out - the Guatemalan way - which involves making noise and bursting through the door to run under the coldest shower possible. These field trips helped me to develop my language skills and cultural awareness, preparing me for an internship with ADIMH.

My field-based research examined the benefits and challenges of women’s capacitación development programs in the department of Huehuetenango, in northwest Guatemala between March and May 2004 (see Figure 1). These programs facilitate the development of people’s ability to enhance their lives and the quality of life in their communities. Specifically, the objective of my thesis is to bring together history, gender and policies to examine women’s roles in post-conflict community development. Therefore, for comparison purposes, gender-based societal roles may be considered as pre-conflict and post-conflict as defined by the work of Green (1999, 1995) and Zur (1998, 1994) with war widows in Guatemala. My focus is on post-conflict gender roles in Guatemala, as they pertain to the
creation and management of development programs. Two research goals guide my work: first, to examine women's new post-conflict societal roles that need to be addressed in development planning; and second, to examine how women are involved in community development with the organization Asociación de Desarrollo Integral de las Mujeres Huehuetecas (ADIMH) in Huehuetenango. Further, I argue that women's capacitación development programs are a crucial component of community development initiatives.

I achieved my research goals by arranging an internship with a women's organization in a country where women were participating in capacitación development programs. This internship provided me with the credentials, access and hands on experience that, as a researcher, I needed in order to gain the trust and cooperation of women participating in these programs. I assisted with the workshops run by ADIMH facilitators on the subjects of self-esteem and women's legal rights and obligations from March 21 to May 19, 2004. My involvement was in the capacity of assisting the workshop facilitator by helping with setup, registration, taking notes during group discussions and takedown. By assisting with the workshops I was able to interact with the women in an informal setting and learn from both the workshop participates and the facilitator. The internship also provided me with the opportunity to interview ADIMH's female employees and female workshop participants. This chapter outlines the field methods that I used as an intern with ADIMH in the department of Huehuetenango, Guatemala. In this chapter, I present my research questions, preliminary theory and interview questions and describe the constraints of working in a foreign country.
3.1 Field Site Location

I conducted fieldwork in Guatemala from January 29 to May 19, 2004. I chose to focus my research here because I was interested in examining women and development in a post-conflict situation. Guatemala is a perfect fit for my research objectives because the signing of the Guatemalan Peace Accords in 1996 officially ended the internal armed conflict allowing development programs to flourish. As well, rural women still live in deplorable living conditions that need to be addressed.

Within Guatemala, I chose the Huehuetenango department for several reasons. Huehuetenango has a large Mayan population and the department was severely affected by the internal armed conflict and these factors contribute to the high poverty levels that Huehuetenango now experiences. Due to these conditions, ADIMH operates in this department and has their head office located in the city of Huehuetenango. Additionally, the city of Huehuetenango contains Centro de Estudios y Documentación de la Frontera Occidental de Guatemala (CEDFOG), a local research centre and library specific to the Huehuetenango department, and my thesis supervisor, Dr. Nolin, has contacts in this department. While several departments fulfill the first three requirements, Huehuetenango fulfilled all of the above listed factors.

I interned with ADIMH because this organization was created by women for women and, furthermore, is run by women. ADIMH was created in 2000 to promote capacitación development, the integral development (the development of the person) of its members and non-members and to continue to support political actions that result in benefits for the women of Huehuetenango. This organization
will be used as a case study to represent the work of capacitación development organizations and will demonstrate the function of this type of development. During my internship, I was also able to interview ADIMH fieldworkers who deliver the programs and women from various communities participating in the workshops. I attended and assisted with several of these workshops as we travelled to the different municipalities of Huehuetenango.

3.2 Resources

My fieldwork required few resources because I relied on interviews and participant observation for data collection. To maintain accuracy and capture the context of my interviews and observations I used a digital camera and tape recorder, both of which I already owned. In addition, I used an iPAQ (pocket pc) for transcription of interviews, taking field notes, as well as for mass storage of data for the duration of my fieldwork. My only purchases were cassettes, batteries, and storage cards for the iPAQ. While in Huehuetenango, my room in my host family’s house doubled as office space and I used an internet café for messaging and printing. As well, I was able to use office space at ADIMH's headquarters and conduct background research at CEDFOG.

3.3 Constraints

My fieldwork had several possible limitations including issues of gender, race and language which have been identified by many other researchers including Anderson (2003), Wilkinson (2002), Smith (1996), Kobayashi (1994) and Nast
I anticipated that setting up interviews would be a challenge in a patriarchal society where *machismo* is prevalent, but because I interviewed during ADIMH workshops gender issues were not a problem. Instead, because I met women and interviewed them in a women-only space they felt confident talking with me. In many cases I had more women interested in being part of my research than I had time to interview.

Another limitation that could not be fully addressed was my status as a foreigner during the interview process. This limitation has also been discussed by authors such as Green (1999), Smith (1999) and Zur (1998). After living through thirty-six years of internal armed conflict, communities and individuals are leery of strangers asking detailed, personal and political questions. I partially overcame this problem through two months of volunteering with ADIMH. I established good working and personal relationships with staff and program participants by helping facilitate the workshops and working in ADIMH's head office, which made me more readily accepted as an interviewer. Thus, workshop participants did not seem suspicious of my interest. Instead they were quite open and welcoming, even delighted by the fact that I was interested in their efforts and goals. The ADIMH staff and the younger generation of women participants were especially excited.

Unfortunately, because I was travelling to different municipalities to attend the workshops, often I was only able to interact with the participants I interviewed for the day of the interview. As discussed by authors such as Denzin and Lincoln (1998) and Jorgensen (1989), the amount of time spent with participants was insufficient to ensure their full trust and cooperation; therefore, the answers may have been
guarded and only partial truths for fear of reprisal. This suspicion was especially noticeable amongst the older women. As well, the inability to spend longer periods in the communities did not easily allow for many follow up interviews. However, many of the women felt more open towards the interview questions because I did not live close by and would not be mingling with other community members or their family. They were confident that I would not divulge any of the information they shared with anyone they interacted with on a daily basis.

Researching and interviewing in a foreign country can introduce a new set of problems revolving around language proficiency as mentioned by Green (1999), Smith (1996) and Herbenar Bossen (1984) amongst others. Thus, language difficulties were the most significant limiting factor that I experienced. According to Gade (2001: 370), language acquisition is the critical hurdle standing in the way of cultural competence. So, language proficiency should be the top priority of any research agenda. Spanish is the language of business in the larger cities, but in Guatemala there are 22 separate Mayan languages. On three occasions my interviews were conducted in Spanish and then translated by ADIMH staff into Mam, the local language for the region of Huehuetenango where we were holding the workshops, while the other 19 interviews were conducted in Spanish. Even with the help of facilitators and my language training there were instances of miscommunication and mistranslation that we had to work out during the interviews.

As well, many of the women who attend ADIMH workshops spoke at the same proficiency level that I do and in some cases women are in the process of attending Spanish literacy classes. Because we spoke at the same level, both the
research participants and I were more comfortable during the interview process although our limited language did restrict our discussion topics to development work and women’s roles. As well, language barriers also kept us from speaking eloquently about issues as we looked words up in dictionaries, drew pictures and in a few cases requested assistance from women fluent in Spanish.

To prepare for my internship I attended Spanish classes in Quetzaltenango for six weeks. The Guatemalan language school, Educación para Todos, provided an effective learning experience by immersing the student in the language and culture of Guatemala. This school appealed to me because of the emphasis on learning the local culture as well as the language. Immersion is achieved through an intensive one-on-one study program, volunteering with local organizations, living with a Guatemalan host family, and participating in weekly organized cultural, social, and political events that focus on the realities in which Guatemalans live.

3.4 Ethics

As a graduate student in Anthropology and Geography my research conforms to the guidelines set by UNBC, the American Anthropological Association (1998) and the Association of American Geographers (1998). Following the UNBC guidelines, my proposal was reviewed by the UNBC Ethics Review Board before fieldwork commenced. My research at all times respected the privacy and dignity of those involved and took into account their knowledge and experience. Interviews and participant observations were completed in such a way as to ensure respect for language, traditions, and community standards (LeComte and Schensul 1999, Hart
1995: 82). Unfortunately, due to time constraints I was unable to learn any Maya languages, but I was able to offer women the choice of being interviewed in Spanish or their language of choice through the help of an ADIMH facilitator. Through ADIMH’s literacy programs, many of the women I interviewed spoke Spanish, therefore, my statement of consent and understanding were translated into Spanish (Refer to Appendix 1 for the English Version).

Interviews did not start until I explained the project to each participant in Spanish (or translated into Mam) and the interviewee signed a consent form if they were literate in Spanish. When it was not appropriate for a consent form to be signed, oral consent was requested and included as part of the transcripts (Ervin 2000). Nineteen of the women I interviewed were relatively fluent in Spanish and signed the consent form; only three women gave oral consent and required that the interview and research explanation be translated into Mam. Through explanation and review of the consent forms I that supplied, participants were made aware of the purpose of the study, all data gathering techniques to be used, and uses of the material. Participants chose the option of remaining anonymous and all names in my thesis are pseudonyms as requested. Many of the women felt that their husbands would be upset if their names were used, but all were comfortable with the location of the interview being included, as interviews took place during a large workshop. In the next two chapters I have tried to use the women’s words by providing quotes from interviews and conversations. Each quote is followed by a pseudonym, the location of the interview and the year the interview took place. As well, the women could withdraw from the study at any time. Additionally, all
transcriptions, cassettes, and notes will be kept confidential and in a secure location for five years, after which all identifying information will be destroyed.

As knowledge collected belongs to the community, the information given will be accessible to the participants at any time. Copies of my interviews with people and place names removed and my preliminary findings were left with ADIMH. My contact information was left with the ADIMH head office and each women facilitator with the understanding that any participant could reach me through the ADIMH head office. I presented my preliminary findings at the Conference of Association of Latin Americanist Geographers in Antigua, Guatemala in May 2004 (Reade 2004a) and at the Canadian Association for Latin American and Caribbean Studies Conference held in Guelph, Ontario in October 2004 (Reade 2004b). I also held a public presentation on the UNBC campus in November 2004 (Reade 2004c) and gave two guest lectures (Reade 2004d, 2005) over the academic year. As well, a copy of my thesis will be given to ADIMH and CEDFOG.

3.5 Preliminary Theory: Feminism and Participatory Action Research

I used two guiding principles for my field methods while completing fieldwork in Huehuetenango, Guatemala. My field methods and methodology were guided by work in feminist geography and key principles of participatory action research (PAR) to guide my interview questions and participant observations. These theoretical approaches also defined the way I chose to address my content analysis and the writing of my thesis.
As a feminist, Nast (1994: 57) believes that the field is a social terrain that can be identified by political factors that “exist throughout time and space”. The concept of the social terrain is important because the concept of space can be used to study the everyday lives of everyday people within the female domain. For example, it can be used to show the traditional isolation of Guatemalan women within the private domain and show the forces behind the move to the public sphere.

According to Katz (1994: 67), the most important factor of the research field is the “space of betweenness” that occurs between the researcher’s “research and everyday life; between the fieldwork and doing fieldwork; between the field and not”. Ethnographers still rely on displacement and exoticizing their fieldwork to differentiate between research objects and home and to clearly see the objects of intended research (Gupta and Ferguson 1997a, 1997b, England 1994, Katz 1994: 68, Abu-Lughod 1991). It is the job of the researcher to enter into the field as a stranger and draw upon this status to ask questions that would not be acceptable under other cultural circumstances. Therefore, ethnographers define their field “that is necessarily artificial in its separations from geographical space and the flow of time” (Katz 1994: 67). Despite this, the most important aspect to remember about the field is that it is determined by our positions within it; hence, it is important to remember that the field or site of inquiry created by the researcher can only ever be a partial picture situated within a particular context (Madge et al. 1997: 101).

The introduction of feminist research methods provided a critique of non-feminist methodologies, especially quantitative methods. Specifically, feminist research methods provide three main critiques. The first is the presence of pre-
existing categories based on male experiences that influence the types of data collected and the topics selected. Second, methodologies revolve around the role of the researcher and third, that there is a need for the contextualization of data (Madge et al. 1997: 91).

As well, feminists such as Madge et al. (1997: 92) have “developed more humane and less exploitive relationships between researchers and research participants”. Within this relationship, feminist researchers consider the relevance of their research and whether the research has potential for harm (Madge et al. 1997, Staeheli and Lawson 1994). Feminist methodologies also place gender in a central role and insist that it “positions people in different ways” (Madge et al. 1997: 100). As well, Domosh (2003: 108) argues “what we commonly understand to be individual experiences...are always socially constructed out of particular ideological configurations”. Finally, feminist researchers such as Opie (1992) believe in empowering and giving voices to the voiceless through the writing of multi-voice ethnographies (Madge et al. 1997: 107). Feminism is clearly an important research tool, but my research was also informed by the principles of Participatory Action Research (PAR), which includes long term field work and community participation. Time and language constraints means that my thesis could not be conceptionalized as a PAR research project, although my research is guided by the key principles of PAR.

PAR is research that is conducted to enact social change (Williams and Lykes 2003, Morris 2002 and Theis and Hammond Ketilson 1994). According to Morris (2002), this type of research takes place with the collaboration of the research
participants. Berg (2004) believes that it is a process that develops reflective thought and action in ordinary people to solve problems that they may have in common. This reflexive thought is especially important because PAR works for the "empowerment and emancipation of people" who are working towards improving their social situations (Berg 2004: 196).

PAR’s importance for my research is that everyone involved, both the researcher and participants, are actively involved in the formulation of the research project and the research design. During the development of my research proposal, I was in contact with several organizations such as la Promoción y el Desarrollo de la Comunidad (CEIBA) and Rights Action (RA), a Canadian/Guatemalan development organization partnered with CEIBA but once in Guatemala ADIMH was most appropriate for my research needs. Once I started my internship I discussed my research proposal with ADIMH’s head co-ordinator for her input. After meeting with them and the rest of the ADIMH staff I redesigned my interview questions with their input and presented them at a staff meeting. Researchers who use PAR have to be "aware of the inevitable effect of intervention and the subsequent potential for change" (Berg 2004: 198). This idea fit well with the principles of ADIMH as they are working towards creating social change with the participating women. Although my short time frame did not allow for the use of PAR’s long-term and extensive research requirements, PAR was the guiding principle I used during my fieldwork.

Feminist theory and PAR work well together because the motives and concerns that guide the research process coexist and work together to create an environment that is reflective and empowering for everyone involved in the research
process. Also implicit in these strategies, is the hope that the outcome creates a positive social change for the research participants. PAR, like feminism, works to develop non-exploitive relationships between the researcher and the research participants; therefore, researchers consider the relevance of their research minimalizing harm towards the participants.

3.6 Field Methods

There are three main stages to my research project. The first stage is the preparatory research and literature review which I completed before leaving for the field as I conducted a thorough literature review through my course work and the preparation of my research proposal. The second stage was comprised of fieldwork including an internship with ADIMH, participant observation and interviewing. Analysis and interpretation of data undertaken the summer of 2004 was the final stage of my research.

To ensure that validity through replication is built into my research I used a multi-method approach (Ervin 2000: 170). This approach included content analysis of secondary text, participant observation, and ethnographic interviews (LeCompte and Schensul 1999: 139). Content analysis of secondary texts included studies of books, journal articles, internet sources, and ‘Urgent Action’ calls from solidarity organizations. This secondary text research created the basis for my fieldwork and has been in progress for the last two years through my course work at UNBC.
3.6.1 Participant Observations

Participant observation is a technique used to record situations as they occur and the meaning that these events have for the study participants (Bogdewie 1999: 48, LeCompte and Schensul 1999: 128, Jorgensen 1989: 12). I used this observation method to examine the daily regimes of the development organization with which I interned. The rationale for use of participant observation during my internship was to gain an understanding of what indigenous women in Guatemala face on a day to day basis. By working with a women’s development organization, I had the opportunity to learn about the challenges that women in rural Guatemala face and to witness how the women are working to overcome them.

The objectives of my internship were to learn if and how women are included in the development process, to participate in the work completed by a women’s organization in the area of capacitación or integral development and to see first hand what type of impact this work has on women’s lives. Prior to participating as a workshop facilitator with ADIMH, I worked in the organization’s office on the development of a workshop geared towards conflict resolution (Reade 2004f). Involvement in this process allowed me to experience both the organizational and the teaching aspects of empowerment programs.

3.6.2 Interviews

According to Hay (2000: 52), interviewing is important for four main reasons: (1) it fills knowledge gaps left by quantitative research; (2) “investigates the complex behaviours and motivations” of a person or society; (3) allows the researcher to
"collect a diversity of opinions and experiences by providing insights into differing opinions within a group and between groups"; and (4) is a method that "shows respect to and empowers" the interviewees. There are three interviewing forms: structured, unstructured and semi-structured (Rubin and Rubin 1995: 5, Jorgensen 1989: 88). According to Hay (2000) structured interviews follow a predetermined-standardized list of questions called an interview schedule. This interview schedule ensures that questions are asked in the same way and in the same order in each interview with infrequent use of open-ended questions. This lack of open-ended questions tends to overlook the emotional dimension of interviewing (Dunn 2000: 52). Closed-ended questions do not allow the interviewee to introduce topics or fully explain concepts of importance to them.

As the traditional type of questioning is an open ended ethnographic interview (Ervin 2000: 149, Schensul et al. 1999: 121), unstructured interviews provide a greater breadth of knowledge (Fontana and Frey 2000: 57). The essence of an unstructured interview is to understand the issues raised by the interviewee, not to describe them. In this form the content and conversation are set and directed by the interviewee (Fontana and Frey 2000: 61, Schensul et al. 1999: 121).

I interviewed 22 women in total of which, 13 are ADIMH participants and nine are staff members, including the head coordinator. I chose these participants through my intern work with ADIMH. The main criteria for eligibility were their willingness to be interviewed, that they attended ADIMH programs or worked for ADIMH and that they were women. I chose to engage in sampling to determine who I would interview. Schensul et al. (1999: 231) state that sampling is "the process of
identifying from a large population a smaller group which not only shares the former's characteristics but is more manageable to study. Therefore, I was interested in interviewing only women to understand how they were involved in the Guatemalan development process. As well, I made contact with interviewees through my internship and ADIMH is a women-only organization. Although interviewing men would have provided more of a holistic picture about women's involvement in community development, the focus of my research was on women's perceptions about their involvement in community development. However, knowing how men feel about women's participation could improve the efficiency of women's empowerment programs as they could target specific concerns.

I interviewed 13 workshop participants in the municipalities of Huehuetenango, Jacaltenango, Malacatancito and San Sebastian Huehuetenango during the monthly workshops held in each place.

Figure 3 Map of Huehuetenango Department with interview locations
http://www.rainbowtravelcenter.com/assets/images/map-huehuetenango.jpg
downloaded 24/10/04
I conducted confidential one-on-one interviews with women participants while the workshops were being run, usually in a back corner of the room. The nine interviews with ADIMH staff took place in the organization's head office in Huehuetenango. Interviews were taped with permission of the interviewee to allow for an accurate record of the interview, for direct quotes to be used and to lessen transcription errors. Additionally, taping was necessary due to language barriers. Having a taped version of the interview allowed me to go over it several times with my dictionary to increase the accuracy of transcribing.

My interview format is considered semi-structured because I used a predetermined set of questions for each participant and each question was open-ended allowing the women to introduce new topics (Rubin and Rubin 1995: 122). As well, many of the women's responses to the interview questions led to informal conversations where the women expanded on the interview topics. My questions for the participants were focused on the reasons why women wanted to participate with ADIMH, if they saw any results or problems from the program or if their family had any problems with her attending sessions. My questions for the facilitators focused on the results they noticed with the women and within the communities, the type of programs each facilitator ran, and the types of problems ADIMH faced in providing empowerment programs.

A funnel approach was used to develop questions, starting with easy questions to make the interviewee comfortable with the process (Ervin 2002: 152). The questions were designed so that there were three different sets of 10 to 12 questions. One set of questions was written to ask the head co-ordinator, one set
for ADIMH staff and the third set for ADIMH participants. I discussed these questions with ADIMH staff prior to the interview process to ensure they were culturally sensitive and appropriate. My host mother, who runs a Spanish language school, reviewed the Spanish grammar as did ADIMH’s head co-ordinator. The following list contains my interview questions:

Questions for ADIMH’s Co-ordinator

1. How was ADIMH formed?
2. How is funding secured? Do the funders have any influence over which programs are run?
3. What programs are run? Where?
4. How and why do you promote the participation of women? Why is it important for women to be involved?
5. What hardships do development programs face?
6. What role are women taking in the development process?
7. Do the individual aldeas participate in the selection of projects and/or the planning stages? Do women identify their own needs and request topics and programs?
8. What has been the impact of ADIMH in women’s lives?
9. How does machismo factor into the development work? What are men’s reactions to the programs?
10. How are projects initiated in the aldeas?

Questions for ADIMH Staff

1. What communities do you work in?
2. What programs do you run?
3. Why and how do you promote the participation of women? Why is it important for women to be involved?
4. What problems does ADIMH face in implementing programs? You?
5. What role(s) are women taking in the development process?
6. Do the individual aldeas participate in the selection of projects and/or the planning stages? Do women identify their own needs and request topics and programs?
7. What has been the impact of ADIMH in women’s lives?
8. How does machismo factor into the development work? What are men’s reactions to the programs?
9. How are projects initiated in the aldeas?
10. What topics are covered? How often are they taught? How do women respond to them?
11. Why are women interested in attending?
12. What changes do you notice after a project has started?

Questions for ADIMH Participants

1. What made you become involved? How long have you been and in what capacity?
2. In what ways are communities and women working towards development?
3. How did you find out about ADIMH?
4. What changes (outcomes) have you noticed because of development programs?
5. Do you have any problems participating with ADIMH?
6. Are you involved with any other organizations? Were you during the internal armed conflict?
7. How have you benefited from participating in women’s organizations?
8. What work do you do around the house?
9. In the community?
10. How have women’s roles changed since the internal armed conflict? Since the end of the internal armed conflict?
11. How have your duties around the house and in the community changed since you started attending ADIMH programs?
12. What would your community be like without women’s development programs?

3.7 Data Interpretation

The last stage of my research was to interpret the data collected in the interviews and from participant observation. Crabtree and Miller (1999) outline five phases to the interpretive process including: describing, organizing, connecting, corroborating, and representing the account. Describing is a reflective phase that allowed me to step back from the field work and review what occurred during the interviews and how it influenced my interpretation of the data gathered. This phase allowed me a chance to ask reflective questions that helped me to determine if
additional information was required. I performed this step throughout the fieldwork phase in Guatemala and during the post fieldwork phase.

The organizing method that was most appropriate for me was the use of an organizational chart. The chart allows me to interpret the data, by identifying the information most pertinent to the research question and to identify common themes between interviews and connecting the information. The organizational chart allowed me to categorize information gathered in the field and link it to the secondary text analysis, thus corroborating the data gathered. This cross referencing was used to confirm the internal consistency of my interpretation. The last step to analysis is to represent the account which is encompassed in this thesis and conference presentations I gave based on my research.

3.8 Conclusion

The principles of feminist theory guided my field work in Guatemala. I chose this methodological theory because of the motives and concerns that guided my research process and my hope that the outcome creates positive social change. Feminist research works to develop non-exploitive relationships between the researcher and the research participants. As well, researchers guided by these principles consider the relevance of their research to ensure no harm will arise towards the participants.

These principles guided my participant observations, content analysis, and interviews while I examined women's roles in community development. My internship with ADIMH and the subsequent research into women's empowerment
programs was especially interesting. While I was working on my literature review and arranging my internship I thought that I would be working on a "traditional" economic-community development project such as a women's weaving cooperative. Instead I found myself working with a women's empowerment project, a crucial part of community development that is often overlooked in the Latin American community development literature.

Through my research, I use ADIMH as a case study representing a capacitación development organization. I will demonstrate how this type of empowering development functions to enhance community development in the following two chapters. This demonstration will occur through a discussion on what empowerment entails and how this form of development empowers women to work towards community development.
CHAPTER 4: WOMEN’S EMPOWERMENT AND ADIMH

My best day of interviewing occurred when I went along to a workshop held in the small town Malacantancito. In the morning I met with the workshop facilitator and we took a chicken bus to Malacantancito. To my surprise, we got on a charter bus with the workshop participants soon after arriving. Initially I thought that we were traveling to another town to use a meeting facility, however, it turned out that the workshop participants had arranged a field trip on their own to celebrate Mother’s Day. We rode the bus for another two hours which included a prayer session complete with hymns much to the confusion of the road construction workers we passed. We arrived at La Democracia close to the Mexican border. I had wanted to swim in a swimming pool since I arrived in Guatemala and we were visiting one in this town. However, since this trip was a surprise to me I had not brought a bathing suit and had to borrow shorts and a shirt from another woman. When I came out from changing most of the women were sitting on the side of the pool soaking their feet. For my part, I was really hot and jumped straight in the pool. I was swimming around the pool cooling down when I heard, “¿Sabes nadar?” (You know how to swim?). Suddenly, all these women were stripping down to their bras and slips for an impromptu swim lesson. To my surprise, within minutes I was in a wading pool surrounded by 40 Maya women who wanted me to teach them how to float and swim. This enthusiasm to learn new skills characterizes the strengths and attitudes of the women attending ADIMH workshops.

Women’s roles in Guatemalan society have changed a great deal over the last 50 years. The loss of family and community support-ties and the loss of male relatives have forced women to enter further into the public domain. Therefore, women have begun to take control of their lives and their children’s lives in roles previously held by men. Women have organized to form support groups for themselves such as CONAVIGUA and Asociación de Desarrollo Integral de las Mujeres Huehuetecas (ADIMH) to enhance the status of women and to work towards equal opportunities within the home and community.

Discussions held with ADIMH facilitators revealed that women need to be included for sustainable development because women form the backbone of their communities. ADIMH workshop facilitators reported that women usually remain to
take care of their children and their communities while men migrate for work. As women form the stable population in the community they are more likely to be involved in efforts to produce improved living conditions. As Chapter 2 outlined, female-headed households tend to produce children with more egalitarian ideas about gender roles because women are more likely than men to pass on beneficial qualities to their children (Datta and McIlwaine 2000). Women need to be empowered in order to empower the next generation because they are the major influence on the youth in Guatemala.

During my fieldwork, I observed Guatemalan women’s involvement in community development. Many women are members of organizations that deal primarily with women’s issues such as the need for equality. These organizations are working towards the inclusion of women at the political level, for equality in a machismo culture, and for better community futures.

Through ADIMH and other organizations across Guatemala, women are presently involved in community development through various women’s empowerment projects. These organizations facilitate the enhancement of women’s abilities including organization and communication skills. Capacitación development is especially important because women can then use their newly acquired skills to improve their lifestyles and living conditions of their community. The first section of this chapter discusses some definitions of empowerment present in the literature and provides the working definition of empowerment as defined by ADIMH. The second section demonstrates the process of empowerment through a discussion of the four types of power involved in empowerment and disempowerment and by

- 82 -
presenting examples from my fieldwork. The last section focuses on how ADIMH facilitates the empowerment process.

4.1 Women, Development and Empowerment

Internationally, the "development debate" has advanced considerably since the United Nations' Development Decade in the 1960s which emphasized economic growth and the 'trickle down' approach to reducing poverty (Alba 2000). Ostergaard (1992: 1) states that "more often than not, development projects sponsored and implemented by Western organizations reflect ethnocentric bias about the sexual division of labour and the family-sharing of income and resources". Consequently, the lack of recognition for the significant role of women in community development has resulted in the failure of numerous projects worldwide to fulfill their economic goals. Planners have ignored the social and family structures in which development takes place.

Prior to 1970, development planners assumed that men and women were affected by development projects in the same way. Productivity was equated with the cash economy, thereby ignoring women's work (Henshall Momsen 1991: 3). In the 1970s, researchers and feminists began to realize the widespread underestimation of women's roles in development theory (Alba 2001). Braig (2000: 15) illustrates that this realization coincided with the re-emergence of women's movements in Western Europe, Canada, the United States and in developing countries such as in Latin America. As well, in the early 1970s Ester Boserup's work initiated a debate about the underestimation of women's roles in development and
her book argued that disadvantages faced by women were often reinforced or created by development projects (Braig 2000: 14).

These new realizations and debates led to the first International Women’s Conference in 1975 (also the United Nations’ Year of the Woman) in which the following 10 years were declared the International Decade of Women (Braig 2000: 13). Prior to this conference, the inequality in distribution of land and income, patronage, and corruption had scarcely been recognized in connection with patriarchal gender relations (Alba 2001). Therefore, the first step to recognizing the importance of women by international research centres was the development of the “Women in Development” (WID) perspective.

The WID perspective argues that overlooking the productive role of women is the key cause of the failure of development initiatives and that exclusion of women resulted from the dominance of certain theoretical assumptions (Alba 2001) such as equating productivity only to a cash economy. Henshall Momsen (1991: 3) states that this early model of ‘integration’ was “based on the belief that women could be brought into existing modes of benevolent development without a major restructuring of the process of development”. Unfortunately, Goetz (1997) and others identify two main problems with WID. First, WID policies are still ineffective in improving women’s social and economic power relative to men in development contexts as WID initiatives only integrated women into the programs and did not consider the differences between men and women. Second, WID fosters the political marginalization of women’s views in the development process, especially in development planning (Goetz 1997: 2).
These two problems led to the shift from WID to a Gender and Development (GAD) approach in the late 1970s and 1980s. The GAD perspective goes one step further than WID to state that gender specific needs are a direct reaction to problems that are based on social conventions, such as the sexual division of labour (Braig 2000). As well, GAD focused not only on the nature of women’s roles (as WID did) but also the interactions of those roles with men (Rowlands 1998). Therefore, GAD is concerned with the dynamics of power structures between men and women and between women themselves (Rowlands 1998). This theory argues that women need to move from the role of “problem” in development issues to a role of requiring different gender-relevant remedies. One way GAD researchers facilitated this process was through research and activism. GAD research and activism involved hiring women development workers to collect and provide information on women’s situations globally to promote change in development strategies (Goetz 1997). In response to the entrenched resistance by men to women specific needs, GAD advocates have produced training packages, guidelines and methodological tool kits for development decision makers. These instruments work to change the sexist attitudes that were deeply entrenched in development work (Goetz 1997: 4). Most importantly, GAD researchers believe that gender relations are central to the social processes and social organization of a community and, therefore, should be central to development initiatives (Rowlands 1998: 15). Increasingly, empowerment strategies have become a part of the gender and development discourse.
Since the mid-1980s the term ‘empowerment’ has become the buzzword regarding development involving women (Batliwala 1994). According to Batliwala (1994) an expert on women’s empowerment (Hauser Center 2004), the concept of women’s empowerment (WE) emerged out of the Women’s Movement and critiques by third world feminists. This movement is in contrast to the WID and GAD approaches to development that evolved in developed nations. WE can be traced to the interaction between feminists and the concept of popular education that was occurring in Latin America (Batliwala 1994) and from criticisms that development was “homogenising the women of the South, thus creating a Third World Woman, and of the victimizing and functionalising of them that went with it” (Braig 2000: 17).

The most important part of WE, Braig (2000: 17) believes, is that it takes into consideration the causes of women’s repression “which were rooted not only in patriarchy but also in colonial … dependencies” and according to Batliwala (1994: 128), WE strategies “build awareness … toward organizing the poor to struggle actively for change”. Ristock and Pennell (1996: 3) state that in the history of women’s movements “the primary means of empowerment has been women’s telling of their own stories”. In other words, WE’s methods have been to encourage women to share their life experiences to begin changing oppressive living conditions.

Presently, the term empowerment is used in many different academic fields such as education, social work, psychology, community development and feminist literature from both the North and South. Much of the understanding of the term has

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4 Srilatha Batliwala has been working in the field of ‘social change’ for the past 33 years. She co-founded SPARC in Bombay, India, is the founder of a Government of India women’s empowerment project and has been influential in operationalizing the concept of empowerment in grass roots work and in contributing to international, national (India) and local policy initiatives aimed at women’s empowerment (Hauser Center 2004)
derived from individual women’s ‘life skills training’ (Young Women's Christian
Association [YWCA] 1998), such as anger management, assertiveness training and
raising self-esteem (YWCA 1998, Ristock and Pennell 1996). Thus defining
empowerment presents a challenge because of the widespread use of the term.

Empowerment is a widely used and misused term (Ristock and Pennell
1996). In general, Ahmed (2001) and Young (1994: 48) believe that to empower is
to enhance a person’s ability to control their own life or to “develop a sense of
collective influence over the social conditions of one’s life”. Ristock and Pennell
(1996: 2) expand this definition to define individual empowerment as the drawing of
inner strength to assert oneself and control a situation, while collective
empowerment is described as the sharing of resources and working co-operatively.
As well, Ahmed (2001) believes that empowerment is to have the ability to express
opinions in personal relationships. On a societal level Ristock and Pennell (1996)
believe that empowerment includes individual acts of political resistance and mass
political mobilization with the purpose of changing the distribution of power in a
society. They also believe that empowerment can be an approach to community
research where the researcher critically examines power relations in the cultural
context to change the conditions of people’s lives.

empowerment as people participating in development initiatives and therefore the
decisions that influence their lives. This report equates empowerment to
development (UNDP 1995: iii) and states that development initiatives must be
“designed by the people” it targets, not only implemented for the people (UNDP
1995: 12). The reasoning behind this policy is that people must “participate fully in the decisions and processes that shape their lives” (UNDP 1995: 12). Application of the UN policy to women’s issues means that investing in women’s capabilities and empowering them to make choices is the most reliable way of contributing to economic growth and therefore sustainable economic development.

While the UN focuses on the economic development aspect, Oxfam (1995) focuses on the idea that empowerment is actually about challenging forms of oppression to fight inequalities. Another definition put forward by feminist activists, such as Batilwala, (1994), stresses to avoid replacing one power structure with another. In other words, women’s empowerment is about liberation from male ideologies of oppression. Therefore, empowerment is about creating equal opportunities between those who have power and those who do not. This creation of equality is not about taking power. In the context of Guatemala, empowerment is not about taking power from men and societal elite and giving this power to women but instead enhancing women’s capabilities. In this definition, empowerment is focused on the role of power as a social relationship. Patton (2002: 13) believes that “increased power of women will be reflected in their increased decision making authority in the family and in community affairs”. Therefore, Anastasakos (2002: 113) states, “empowerment is defined as a process by which oppressed persons gain some control over their lives”. This notion will be discussed in further detail in the following section.

According to social workers Busch and Valentine (2000), empowerment practices over the past 20 years have addressed the issues of structural oppression
and economic deprivation, racism and stereotyping, sexism and the marginalization of minority groups. They believe that the “theory of empowerment is based on the assumption that the capacity of people to improve their lives is determined by their ability to control their environment, namely, having power” (Busch and Valentine 2000: 83). As well as empowering those in subordinate positions, empowerment must develop new behaviours (Patton 2002: 13) and ways of living in a society so that the community as a whole is empowered in their thinking about those previously subordinate.

Regardless of how you define empowerment it must be considered within a cultural context. In the context of Guatemala, empowerment has to take into consideration a long history of gender imbalances, poverty and violence. For development efforts to overcome notions of powerlessness, they need to work against machismo-based oppression as well as incorporate a development context for the creation of healthy and sustainable communities. In Guatemala, capacitación development is needed to strengthen individual women’s self-esteem and self-awareness so that productive decision making can be achieved to benefit communities. I learned, through interviews with the staff of ADIMH, that this type of development is the development of women’s capabilities through empowerment programs. Empowerment programs, therefore, in the Guatemalan-ADIMH context, are programs and workshops aimed to enhance the abilities of women such as literacy campaigns and self-esteem workshops. These workshops then act as agents that empower women to challenge their conditions as subordinates.
4.2 How Empowerment Works

The concept of empowerment, as explained by Oxaal and Baden (1997) and by Williams et al. (1994), is based on the three elements of power, powerlessness and oppression. This concept expands the idea of creating activities that reduce the sense of powerlessness that is created by negative valuations placed on a person from other members of the community. Reducing the sense of powerlessness helps marginalized (disempowered) people gain control over their lives. This treatment of power is the key notion of empowerment.

Rowlands (1998) and Williams et al. (1994) describe power using the four aspects of power over, power to, power with and power within. 'Power over', Williams et al. (1994) believe, involves a relationship of subordination and domination. 'Power over' is based on culturally endorsed threats of violence and intimidation such as spousal abuse, either physical or mental, and requires constant awareness to maintain. 'Power to', according to Williams et al. (1994) relates to having decision making authority and problem solving ability as well as the ability to enable others to help themselves. 'Power with' involves people organising with a common purpose to achieve collective goals. The last type of power, 'power within', refers to self-confidence, self-awareness and assertiveness. 'Power within' is the ability of people to analyse how power works in their own lives and to have the confidence to change it (Williams et al. 1994). For me, the process of empowerment can be witnessed through the enhancement of 'power to', 'power with' and 'power within' to create capable women able to combat the 'power over' them.
Rowlands (1998), a researcher with a history of NGO work in Latin America, builds on Williams et al. (1994) explanation of the four types of power by relating the empowerment of women to the understandings of the four types power. Rowlands (1998: 12-17) believes that the common understanding of power is ‘power over’, where one group of people are trying to control the actions of another group. Rowlands (1998: 12) states that this type of power “can be overt, such as through the use of physical coercion, or hidden, as when psychological processes are influenced in such a way as to restrict the range of options perceived, or to lead someone to perceive the desired option as being their own desire”. Through the process of ‘power over’, women who are denied power and authority internalize this message of subordination until they believe it to be true. Therefore, Rowlands (1998: 12) refers to this process as “internalised oppression” and believes that it is originally adopted as a survival mechanism but becomes so ingrained that is it mistaken as reality.

My conversations with women during ADIMH self-esteem workshops drew attention to this “internalized oppression” – “We live in a culture that does not accept women participating outside of the home, this equals a low life for women...women have no value because they have been taught to believe they have no value” (Suseth Orealia Felix, Malacatancito 2004)\(^5\). I asked the women why they participate in capacitación development and their answers reflected the need to overcome aspects that I believe to be a part of “internalized oppression”.

\(^5\) As discussed in Chapter 3, each quote from a women interviewee is followed by a pseudonym, the location of the interview and the year the interview took place.
All 13 women deemed education as the most important factor in overcoming ‘internalized oppression’ in the Guatemalan context. These women believe that women need to learn more, both in education and life skills, and that attending empowerment workshops helps achieve these goals. They feel learning balances who possesses the knowledge in their communities and thereby decreases the inequality in power. As well, they believe that learning about their rights as women, about voicing their opinions and about participation in public meetings, combined with the high education levels will help women avoid being manipulated and taken advantage of.

Many women are isolated because they are illiterate in Spanish and confined, by their family and traditions, to work within the home and are living in small remote aldeas. Workshop participants believed that the empowerment programs provided by ADIMH combat problems of isolation. Attending monthly workshops, even though they had to ask permission to attend, is a chance to interact with women experiencing the same conditions and enhance their understanding of their living conditions. Therefore capacitación development works to increase a women’s opportunity to become part of a community. Refer to Figures 4, 5, 8 and 9 for photographs of ADIMH workshops.
ADIMH facilitators network within the community to determine interest levels in attending workshops and what topics would be beneficial to women. This networking and word of mouth advertises the workshops that will be offered within a
community. These workshops allow women to experience new concepts and ideas. For example, workshops were offered that taught Spanish, that addressed women's legal rights and obligations and self-esteem. During the workshops I attended several women mentioned that they had started participating with ADIMH in order to learn to make better decisions for themselves, their families, and their communities. As well, these women mentioned the need to "gain the confidence to speak out without fear because women do not know if what they are saying is correct and this fear stops women from sharing their ideas" (Julia Sales, Malacatancito 2004). Workshop participants also stated that they participate in empowerment programs because they want more interaction outside of the home. After attending workshops many women go on to participate in community development initiatives. For example, many women join weaving co-operatives, recycling programs, campaigning for medical facilities, learning about agriculture and childcare co-operatives that enable other women to attend workshops and other forms of formal education.

To create a feminist model of power, Rowlands (1998) draws on the work of Foucault and his understanding of resistance as a form of power. This model incorporates "power to", "power with" and "power within" while integrating a gender analysis of power relations. This gender analysis includes an understanding of how 'internalised oppression' forms internal barriers to women's use of power and contributes to the inequality that women face (Rowlands 1998: 14).

The second type of power 'power to', Rowlands (1998: 13) states, is the power of leadership and "the wish to see a group achieve what it is capable of ... a
form of power which can persuade or open up new possibilities”. This type of power then becomes the power to seek out and partake in empowerment programs. ‘Power with’, according to Rowlands (1998:14), is the power that comes from acting as a group. Where one person acting alone can not always create social change, one person acting as part of a larger group can create said change. Thus ‘power to’ combined with ‘power with’ becomes the mobilizing factor behind capacitación development in that they enable women to participate.

This notion of synergy between ‘power to’ and ‘power with’ is demonstrated through the actions of the Guatemalan women I interviewed. They have experienced the power and the strength of working as a group to enact change in their communities. For example, as a group, the women from the Malacatancito municipality have organized cultural activities within the community including a Mother’s Day celebration. Figure 6 is a photograph of this event. In all four of the municipalities that I visited with ADIMH, their workshop participants have formed new women’s groups and community organizations locally to serve their municipalities and communities.

These workshops and new community groups have developed into a forum for women to express their wants and needs. The workshops and groups also provide a chance for women to interact because “working together creates a better community as we learn from each others’ experiences” (Julia Andrea Pablo, Malacatancito 2004). During community meetings, ideas and concepts from ADIMH workshops are passed on and often new organizations are formed based on the needs identified during the workshops. For example, these organizations

- 95 -
“encourage young girls to attend school and play sports ... to become more than a wife” (Silvia Carillo, San Sebastian Huehuetenango 2004), “teach men how to bathe a baby and clean the house” (Ruth Martinez, Jacaltenango 2004) and “teach young boys about equality early on” (Suseth Orealia Felix, Malacatancito 2004).

Figure 6 Mother’s Day Celebration

Through the creation of these forums, women have created a safe space to discuss problems they face within their family and community. Sharing their problems with each other and workshop facilitators trained in conflict resolution and women’s rights, women “learn how to deal with problems in a healthy manner and how to work them out in the community” (Juanna Lorena Perez, San Sebastian Huehuetenango 2004). As well, these women have learned that they are not alone
in dealing with household problems and draw strength from knowing that they are not struggling alone. All of the women interviewed were working to overcome the challenges that come from raising a family in their circumstances. These women are striving to attain equality because at present they have to ask permission to attend workshops and they must be home before their husbands to prepare lunch. Although they believe men have the ability to change, “it is a slow process teaching men how it should be, that they should help around the house and with the kids” (Josefa Santos Sales, Huehuetenango 2004).

The last type of power discussed is ‘power within’. ‘Power within’, as discussed by Rowlands (1998: 14), is “the spiritual strength ... that resides in each one of us”. This spiritual strength allows an individual to face overpowering odds and take risks. In many cases, the women I interviewed are using this ‘power within’ to face daily challenges in order to create social change to benefit themselves and their communities. To attend most workshops and meetings women must both leave their home and travel, sometimes great distances alone, often against their husbands’ wishes. These women place themselves outside their comfort zones by taking risks associated with attending workshops. They also take risks by opening themselves up to new ideas and by teaching these ideas to their children and other community members.

Several of the women I spoke with now lead community organizations and are working to have women’s needs placed on the agendas of their municipal governments. As well, women I spoke with had recently started their own small businesses such as selling tortillas, making handicrafts or opening a small restaurant.
in their house to raise money for themselves and their families. Figure 7 is a photograph taken at a women’s weaving co-operative.

![Image of women weaving](image)

**Figure 7 Women’s Weaving Co-operative**

Some of the women I interviewed also answered that they are working to overcome “women’s suffering, the suffering of seeing your children go without food or proper schooling and clothing” (Suseth Orealia Felix, Malacatancito 2004). Women have also “found the strength to be a single mom and not rely on a man” (Julia Andrea Pablo, Malacatancito 2004). These women keep working for their communities in spite of the obstacles they face. “We [my community group] do not have a president or a secretary, we don’t even have a car to travel to meetings but we do what we can and keep working slowly, bit by bit, to participate in the community” (Damarias Cardona, San Sebastian Huehuetenango 2004).

It is important to note that empowerment is about the development of ‘power to’, ‘power with’ and ‘power within’ and is concerned with “generative power rather than controlling power” (Rowlands 1998: 15). Empowerment, then, is not about
placing women into positions of power over men or lowering the power that men hold. It is about generating the power needed within for women to create equal opportunities and eliminate existing forms of subordination. Unfortunately, “men’s fear of losing control is an obstacle to women’s empowerment” (Rowlands 1998: 13).

During five of my interviews issues regarding men’s fear about women’s advancement were described. Damarias Cardona (San Sebastian Huehuetenango 2004) mentioned that “many problems exist because then men in the community believe that women are being taught bad things” and Juanna Lorena Perez (San Sebastian Huehuetenango 2004) stated that her husband repeatedly mentions that “women are learning too much and it is not good for them”. On a community scale, “negative attitudes of male leaders are influencing the thoughts of the community making it difficult for women to succeed ... those in the government need a conscience about how they treat women” (Suseth Orealia Felix, Malacatancito 2004). ADIMH acknowledges this fear and welcomes men to watch workshops and see first hand what the women are being taught:

In the second group I have a little problem, there are some men, husbands of the women, who are coming here to receive the workshop. They, the husbands, only let them [their wives] attend one workshop and after that they avoid the [workshops] and not let their wife attend because they [the men] don’t like it. Some of these men go to see what kind of training they [the women] receive, that way they can see and continue to let women attend. In the base team, I saw one man change because there are several parts to the workshops like self-esteem and now the women, they start to get in good shape and take care more and learn how to have self-esteem (Teresa Carolina Hernandez, ADIMH facilitator 2004).

As well, many of the women felt that valuation by men of women’s roles is necessary so that women can feel the work they do in the house (the oficio doméstico) and with the children is worth their efforts. They feel that men purposely
undervalue the ‘women’s work’ to keep women from thinking they can achieve anything greater. In order to overcome obstacles and develop the capacity of women to empower themselves, capacitación development must create a safe space for women and enable them to use ‘power to’, ‘power with’ and ‘power within’ to change their subordinate situations in regards to ‘power over’.

4.3 ADIMH

During my internship, I witnessed this empowerment process through the ‘power to’ work of ADIMH. Unlike organizations such as CONAVIGUA (Switzer 2004), which were created out of trauma (Garrard-Burnett 2001), ADIMH was created out of the Peace Accords and is funded by international donors; the European Commission, the Austrian Government, the Austrian Co-operation for Development, and CARE Austria. On December 29, 1996, representatives from the military, government, and guerrilla groups signed the “Accord for a Firm and Lasting Peace” (Warren 1997: 26). During this negotiation period human rights workers, grass roots organizations, and activists, saw the chance to broaden the issues discussed.

The “Accord on Identity and the Rights of Indigenous Peoples” was passed in 1995 (Warren 1997: 26). It called for a “public acknowledgement of the discrimination” (Warren, 1997: 26) that the Mayan peoples had suffered. The accord consists of four parts that addresses: the “formal recognition of Guatemala’s indigenous peoples, the struggle against discrimination, constitutional reforms in civil, political, social and economic rights ... and identifies key cultural rights for
Mayan communities as the ‘authors’ of their own cultural development” (Warren, 1997: 26). As well, several relevant Peace Accords were signed that benefited women. Most important for my research is the “Agreement on Socio-economic Issues in Rural and Urban Settings” which seeks to “recognize the undervalued contribution of women in all aspects of economic and social activity, particularly her work in favour of improving the community” and the “Agreement on the Strengthening of Civil Power and the Rule of the Military in a Democratic Society” which works to “strengthen women’s organizations in rural and urban settings” (Garrard-Burnett 2001: 75).

According to CIDA (2002: 6), Guatemala’s development context is defined by the agreements set out in the 1996 Peace Accords and “all groups, governments, civil societies and donors, use the Accords as a framework for development programming”. This accord lays out how organizations are to meet the needs of the population in regards to social and cultural development. It requires the participation of the Maya in decision-making and for “basic services to reach the constantly neglected segments of the population” (CIDA 2002: 6). It is within this context that development workers and Mayan communities now struggle to succeed. But before many Maya can participate at the decision making level capacitación development is needed to strengthen individual’s self-esteem and self-awareness so that productive decision making can be achieved to benefit communities. As part of the 1996 Peace Accords, in 1997, the National Forum for Women was created (ADIMH 2003), and ADIMH was then created out of this forum.
ADIMH's (2003) mission statement is to “facilitate training and education processes that enhance women’s ability to analyse, propose, and participate, supporting the creation of women leaders in their communities”. This facilitation process is accomplished through a “network of municipal organizations” (ADIMH 2003) including development organizations, human rights workers and law officials. Through the interviews I conducted it became apparent that facilitation is also accomplished by utilizing local women who are knowledgeable in the processes of training and in the field of women’s rights.

Currently, ADIMH (2003) executes four projects that include: (1) a literacy program that teaches Maya women how to read, write and speak Spanish with lessons taught in their own communities; (2) training workshops including conflict resolution, self esteem and women’s rights and obligations; (3) institutional empowerment activities to strengthen women’s organizations; and (4) political impact activities aimed at increasing the participation of women in political activities. These four projects are all directed at women of the different linguistic and ethnic groups that coexist in Huehuetenango. Work within ADIMH takes the form of workshops conducted in the communities.

During 2004, training events took place in 17 municipal districts within Huehuetenango. At these training events women leaders from 220 communities meet for workshops and to discuss ideas. These women then return to their communities and teach what they have learned to women in their own communities. In 2004, 591 Maya women and 233 non-Maya participated in 97 ADIMH workshops dealing with matters such as self-esteem and women’s rights.
and obligations. As well, ADIMH promotes the participation of women in their civic duties through civic fairs and campaigns. This focus on political participation is aimed to ensure, especially in rural areas, that women are issued their ID cards and electoral ID registry for participation in the national elections.

Changes within the community are noticed immediately. Women facilitators report noticing that the women exhibit more self-esteem, express themselves more clearly and are better able to express themselves to authorities. In addition, women themselves report that they have healthier relationships within their families and they have started to delegate chores and responsibilities around the house, lowering their daily workload. As well, women from the communities have come forward to request productive projects such as potable water. During the last national election, a group of women presented their needs to the local candidates at an open forum – for the first time coming forward and speaking for themselves.

Through empowerment programs women are involved in the development of their communities as they pass on what they learn to their families and people in their communities. Participants involved with capacitación development achieve noticeable and continuous results, although they do not fully identify the mechanisms that it uses. When asked how they have benefited from development, all thirteen of the women participants interviewed answered with examples of community development such as clean water, health services and electricity. None of the thirteen interviewed workshop participants mentioned the personal improvements of enhanced self esteem, ability to handle conflicts, or knowledge about rights, until asked specifically about these workshops. I believe this
discrepancy occurs because the women participants think of development in terms of their community and they focus on how to improve the living conditions of their family, putting themselves last. As well, women may have trouble identifying personal improvements due to the long-term effects of the internal armed conflict as mentioned in section 2.2. When asked why they participate in the workshops one woman replied that women participate because they have a greater fear of remaining silent and they need to learn how to have a voice.

Many of the women who constitute a workshop are representatives for their *aldeas* (small villages) and many are midwives and teachers. Usually, one to three women represent an *aldea* and the *aldea*’s women’s group at the ADIMH workshop that is held in a larger regional centre. These women are between the ages of 30 and 60, married and have large families. The average number of children for the women I interviewed was six with several women having nine children. There were a few exceptions of younger women around the age of twenty with smaller families and many of the older women are widows. Many of the younger women are involved with empowerment at the community level. They attend the workshops and meetings held by the local women’s group in their community that are taught by the women who attend the ADIMH workshops. The women I spoke with had been involved with ADIMH ranging from one month to two years. As well, all the women I spoke with had not participated in development initiatives prior to ADIMH. None of the women were involved with organizations during the internal armed conflict or are involved with CONAVIGUA. Several women are members of other organizations, but these are usually agricultural organizations or cultural organizations such as
Defensora Maya, Mayan Defence, a Guatemalan affiliate to the International Indian Treaty Council working for Human Rights for Indigenous people. In contrast to the older participants, the ADIMH facilitators are younger women in their 20s with a higher level of education; several of these young women are attending university. Many of them are unmarried, without children and are planning on finishing school and having careers instead of having a large family.

Through the case study of empowerment projects with ADIMH, Garba’s four stages (1999: 132) of empowerment are fulfilled. The first stage, “awareness” is achieved through acknowledgment of the need for empowerment. In this case awareness is achieved by education in the form of workshops in which women are made aware of their personal rights and abilities. “Capacity building and skills development” are also pursued through workshops such as conflict resolution or small business management, which focus on providing necessary life skills. These life skill workshops have produced positive results in Huehuetenango, such as weaving cooperatives, recycling programs, and bakeries (a more comprehensive list can be found in Table 1). The third stage, “participation and greater control in decision making” and the last stage, “action for change” are also apparent. The latter two stages are not as easy to discern as “awareness” and “capacity building and skills development”. However, the women and their communities are experiencing these steps now as women take an active role in community development.

Empowerment, as viewed through these stages, is not a transfer of power to those who were powerless but “is a technology seeking to create self governing and
responsible individuals" (Triantafillou and Nielsen 2001: 63). Empowerment then has no end but is a process that “strengthens the ongoing capacity for successful action under changing circumstances” (Staples 1990 cited in Carr 2003: 11). ADIMH sees women's empowerment as a continuing process. The process of empowerment is a personal journey that each woman progresses along differently, both in direction and time. The effects of empowerment as discussed in my interviews and in conversations and workshops can be seen in personal growth, relationships and community development. I have outlined the results of empowerment as reported by ADIMH in Table 1. Empowered women work within their communities to improve their own and others living conditions. Many highland communities now have improved medical and sanitation facilities, as well as women-run stores and bakeries, weaving co-operatives, schools and childcare. Furthermore, women are creating change within their families so that they experience less violence in relationships and more equality with their spouses. Inherent in these activities are the effects of personal growth such as enhanced self-confidence, self-esteem, and sense of community.

The information gained through my conversations with women during ADIMH workshops and as found in empowerment literature (Rowlands 1998), illustrates that the hardest area of power inequality for women to change is in their relationships with spouses and family members. Due to time constraints, I was not able to discuss this topic in depth with the women, although Rowlands (1998:23) believes personal relationships are hardest to change because “it is the place where the individual woman is up against it on her own, and where positive and negative
aspects of her life tend to be most closely intertwined”. Many of the women I spoke with reported some change within their home after participating in workshops. Some of their husbands have started helping around the house, some women no longer have to work in the corn and coffee fields, and one woman mentioned that her husband has started saying ‘thank you’. Unfortunately, the degree in changes to male attitudes and ways of thinking are not always as positive as the previous examples. Every woman that participated in the interviews revealed that at least one friend had been forced by her husband to stop attending workshops.

Empowerment then is a slow process that occurs through time as women are enabled through the three types of power previously discussed. This process or journey will take a form that is negotiated out of each woman’s individual cultural, ethnic, economic, geographic and social situations. While development organizations can use ‘power to’ to facilitate empowerment processes, women must use ‘power within’ to empower themselves.
Table 1  Effects of Empowerment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personal Growth</th>
<th>Relationships</th>
<th>Community Development</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>▪ Self-confidence</td>
<td>▪ Interpersonal Skills</td>
<td>▪ Weaving Co-operatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▪ Self-esteem</td>
<td>▪ Less Violent Relationships</td>
<td>▪ Recycling Programs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▪ Higher Education</td>
<td>▪ More Equality Between Spouses</td>
<td>▪ Medical Facilities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▪ Life Skills</td>
<td>▪ Greater Ability to Participate Outside the Home</td>
<td>▪ New Agricultural Practices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▪ Sense of Community</td>
<td>▪ Ability to Negotiate</td>
<td>▪ Child Care</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▪ Ability to Communicate</td>
<td>▪ Ability to Communicate</td>
<td>▪ Group Cooperation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▪ Ability to Lead</td>
<td>▪ Ability to get Support</td>
<td>▪ Bakeries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▪ Ability to Earn an Income</td>
<td>▪ Ability to Defend Rights</td>
<td>▪ Stores</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▪ Greater Inner Strength</td>
<td>▪ Dignity</td>
<td>▪ New Organizations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▪ Dignity</td>
<td></td>
<td>▪ More support of Young Children</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.4 Conclusion

Since the inclusion of the term empowerment into the women’s movement, there has been much confusion as to its proper meaning. Development discourse places an emphasis on women’s capability to partake in sustainable economic development and overcome forms of oppression. Feminist activists add onto this
definition because they stress that empowerment is not about taking power from one group to give to another. Empowerment, therefore, is about creating equal opportunities between marginalized groups of people and those holding the power in their communities. It is this aspect that ADIMH stresses – to enhance the abilities of women to better their subordinate living conditions.

As section two demonstrated, empowerment works through four types of power, 'power over', 'power to', 'power with' and 'power within'. 'Power over' creates 'internalized oppression'. 'Internalized oppression' occurs when women internalize a message of subordination until they believe it to be true. Through my interviews and conversations with ADIMH workshop participants, aspects of this process were revealed and are the main reasons that women are participating in capacitación development. 'Power to' is the power that facilitates the empowerment process and is the power behind the enabling work ADIMH does. 'Power with' is the power that occurs from working together in a group. 'Power within' is the spiritual strength that each woman draws on to face challenges and take risks. While ADIMH uses 'power to' to enhance women's capacities and facilitate the empowerment process, the women who partake in capacitación development use 'power with' and 'power within' to empower themselves. In this way, women are overcoming the 'power over' that has been used to keep them in a subordinate position within their communities.

ADIMH uses 'power to' to facilitate the creation of women leaders in their communities. This facilitation process is accomplished through the use of local women knowledgeable in the processes of training and women's rights. ADIMH currently has 97 workshops within four training programs taking place in seventeen
different municipalities within the Huehuetenango department. These programs are very successful as results with the women and within their communities are noticed immediately. Therefore, empowering women is the first step towards sustainable community development.
CHAPTER 5: WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT PROGRAMS AS COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

I accompanied my host-mother to an open-air market for Sunday morning shopping. Sunday is market day in Huehuetenango. As a treat, we had a breakfast of 'mosh' (a beverage of rice-porridge) and 'chuchitos' (corn pastry containing refried beans, all cooked in a corn husk). We purchased all the household supplies and food for the week including corn flour, black beans, rice, eggs, avocado, limes, tomatoes, cilantro, and bitter cheese. Every week my host mother demonstrated how commerce occurs among Guatemalan women with her interactions with the vendors. Making a purchase in the market is more than a simple financial transaction; haggling is required. However, haggling includes sharing of news regarding the country, the community, and the family as well as the lesser matter of arguing over the price of goods. The conversations held in the market are important social interactions for women providing a break from the isolation that can be part of their family life. As well, selling crafts and extra produce from home gardens at the market provides extra income for the women's family.

Women need to be included for sustainable development because women form the backbone of their communities. Unfortunately, development efforts have a history of not effectively targeting women (Parpart, Connelly and Barriteau 2000, Rosario 1997, Escobar 1995). As women are most often at risk, they are forming and joining women-only organizations. These organizations work to acknowledge gender specific needs such as skills training and leadership abilities. As demonstrated in Chapter 4, women joining women-only organizations and attending skills training programs are motivating further community development programs. As more women join development programs and participate at the facilitator level they motivate other women to join so that the programs are reaching more and more women.

There are several definitions of development. According to Ahmed (1999: 80), development can be a "set of efforts directed towards economic, social and
political change that takes place in a society as it evolves from a traditional state”. A second definition considers development a process, which leads to a rise in the capacity of rural people to control their environment (Ahmed 1999: 80). Sustainable development, therefore, according to the Brundtland Commission of 1987 (cited in Titi and Singh 1995: 7), is “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs”.

What these definitions do not take into account is humanity and the need of people to be seen as people and not as a commodity to be developed (Escobar 1995). Escobar (1995: 41) states that “development proceeded by creating ‘abnormalities’ (such as the ‘illiterate’, the ‘underdeveloped’, the ‘malnourished’, ‘small farmers’, or ‘landless peasants’), which it would later treat and reform”. Therefore, economist Sen (1999: 3) argues that development must be viewed as a way of providing people with freedom, even though this view contrasts with the “narrower views of development, such as identifying development with the growth of gross national product”. Sen (1999) states that development should be the removal of sources of unfreedom such as poverty that inflict the majority of the world’s population. As well, Sen (1999: 4) argues that freedom is essential for development for two reasons, first because “assessment of progress has to be done primarily in terms of whether the freedoms that people have are enhanced” and secondly, the “achievement of development is thoroughly dependent on the free agency of people”.

The first section of this chapter outlines the literature discussing women in community development. It describes how important women-only organizations are
as they target women's specific needs to combat isolation, health concerns and lack of knowledge through the use of community members and the creation of a safe space. The second section describes how empowering women leads to community development as empowerment programs work towards poverty alleviation for sustainable communities, thus, poverty alleviation must target women at risk. Therefore, for development to be successful in eliminating poverty, poverty planning must target the entire population. Women must be empowered for their participation in poverty alleviating strategies.

5.1 Women and Community Development

Fink (1992: 177) believes that low-income women in Latin America often lead an isolated social existence, and states that single women are bound to their families through traditions and married women “become locked into traditional household and childrearing obligations”. Women may also work outside of the home in the informal sector, either doing domestic work or with small street vending businesses (Buvinic et al. 1996, Bose and Acosta-Belén 1995). Unfortunately, this double burden of domestic duties combined with employment outside of the home leaves even less time for social interaction (Fink 1992). Capacitación development is one method of breaking the social isolation as workshops provide a meeting place for women, which offer support and provide a sense of community.

As discussed in Chapter 4 and by Fink (1992), isolation can cause women to blame themselves or their husbands for economic hardships. Organizations such as ADIMH provide facilitators to help women share their concerns and overcome
problems. Monthly or weekly meetings provide a chance for women to break from their daily routines and talk with people experiencing the same challenges on a regular basis. Fink (1992:177) believes that this process “helps women recognize that they are not alone, that their problems are shared, and upon further analysis, that the root causes go beyond individual fault or responsibility”. This process of recognition facilitates the prospect of women analyzing problems and identifying social causes (Murthy 2001).

One way to work against previously mentioned gender imbalances and negative perceptions is to use what Fink (1992: 179) calls ‘monitors’ or ‘promoters’; a concept borrowed from popular education. In this case, monitors are community members who work on the local level as educators, organizers and motivators. Monitors are especially important as Fink (1992: 179) states that:

knowledge should not remain the domain of a privileged minority. Rather, the attainment of information and skills is important as marginalized social sectors gain the requisite abilities and understandings to take the future into their own hands.

This idea makes monitors an imperative aspect of development in Latin America.

ADIMH uses monitors to achieve their development goals in the Guatemalan highlands. The facilitators who work for ADIMH are all women, local to the municipality in which they facilitate workshops. These women are passionate about their work and are knowledgeable about capacitación development. Their enthusiasm during the various meetings, workshops and outings greatly influences the women with whom they work. Additionally, many women attending workshops come away inspired and go on to form their own organizations in their respective communities. The workshops that ADIMH provides are specially designed to boost
self-esteem and self-confidence recognizing and validating the work that women do within households and communities.

A four-tiered approach to change was generally integrated into international development initiatives in the early 1990s (Titi and Singh 1995). As well as using monitors to enact social change, ADIMH integrates these four tiers into every workshop. The first tier is the individual level which takes into account individual strengths and weaknesses. The second tier is the group level which aims to enhance the understanding of group dynamics and leadership skills to foster decision-making abilities. The third tier is the institutional level, to identify significant institutions through which society can be transformed. The fourth tier is the wider society which involves an understanding of the societal forces which are operating at this particular time to thwart change (Titi and Singh 1995: 24). All of these tiers work together within workshops to strengthen the capabilities of women.

The first step of *capacitación* development is to build self-confidence and self-esteem – both essential to ensure healthy communities. In addition, this development of self-worth improves women's overall health (Pan American Heath Organization 2003, Fink 1992). According to Buvinic *et al.* (1996) and Yanni (1996), women's lives tend to involve three different types of work; housework (obligatory and unpaid), community work (voluntary) and paid work outside of the home. These double and triple workloads are a determinant for women's health because women come to accept multiple workloads as part of their 'natural' role as women (Yanni 1996). Yanni's (1996) research in Ecuador is similar to work in Guatemala that shows that women believe it is natural and normal for them to be entirely responsible
for their children and for the domestic duties of the home because women are responsible for giving birth. Yanni’s (1996: 40) work with an Ecuadorian women’s NGO in El Guasmo Norte documents women’s health problems, similar to Guatemala’s, to include:

severe varicose veins, back pain, renal problems, urinary tract infections, and vaginal infections ... headaches, muscular tension, problems with digestion, loss of weight, loss of appetite, depression, loneliness, and irritability.

These health problems, coupled with negative perceptions of themselves can exacerbate already chronically low self-esteem (Pan American Heath Organization N.D.). Women find it difficult to recognize their value as women separate from their identity as a mother or wife (Yanni 1996). Therefore, capacitación development must begin by addressing women’s lack of self-esteem and the negative image of women that is reinforced through machismo.

I questioned ADIMH facilitators about which types of workshops had the highest attendance and received the highest reviews. All of the facilitators agreed that the best-received workshops are a series of workshops on women’s rights and obligations. See Figures 8 and 9 for photographs from this workshop. This series of workshops has the women identify their own workload and then contrast it with the workload they should have (as determined in group discussion) and, further, to contrast it with the workloads of their husbands and sons. The women received great satisfaction when they realized their domestic workload was greater than that of their male family members. Yanni (1996) believes that women must acknowledge their heavy workload and come to realize that it is not “acceptable” because beliefs about what is normal for women exist at the household level and are perpetuated through community activities.
Figure 8 Brainstorming Thoughts on Women's Domestic Obligations

Figure 9 Women's Legal Rights and Obligations Workshop
Community development needs to address gender specific health issues because conventional health services tend to fail women (Yanni 1996, Pan American Heath Organization N.D.). Beliefs about what are normal, *machismo* attitudes for Guatemala, are reflected and perpetuated within community activities and therefore within health services. Women are socialized to believe they should be passive and dependent thus they are the first to believe the stigma that they are inferior and that their work, because it is unpaid, is not true work (Buvinic *et al.* 1996, Bose and Acosta-Belén 1995). Community development must differentiate between the needs and interests of the community as a whole and the needs and interests of women and children in particular (Marini and Gragnolati 2003).

One way to acknowledge women’s needs is the creation of women-only organizations. Murthy (2001) and Fink (1992) argue that women-only organizations are necessary as they challenge sexism and gender subordination and provide a safe environment for women to speak freely and express themselves without fear of reprisal. When men and women form organizations together, men tend to assume leadership roles. In mixed organizations, even when present in large numbers, women tend to be underrepresented. As well, women are relegated into supportive roles such as providing food for the meeting or fundraising positions (Fink 1992). Many of the women I spoke with said that when they attend mixed meetings they are not comfortable expressing their opinions and that men often speak for their female family members without consulting them first.

Fink (1996: 184) cautions that “an all-women orientation runs the risk of setting up small isolated women’s groups”. As well, women-only organizations may
not be taken seriously and thus may be summarily dismissed (Murthy 2001). However, Fink’s (1996) research demonstrates that even with this negative stigma, women develop more effective participatory and leadership skills in women-only settings. ADIMH addresses these concerns by inviting men to observe workshops in order to better understand what the women are learning. As well, ADIMH believes that organizations created specifically for women create a safe space where women can learn skills that are traditionally reserved for men, especially leadership and public speaking skills. Valdes (1992) believes that these educational opportunities for women, that specifically address women’s needs, work against the subordination that is reproduced for women in the social practices of everyday life.

Alternatives to formal education, such as ADIMH’s workshops, focus on developing the skills and capabilities of women so that they become active participants in their lives (Murthy 2001, Titi and Singh 1995). Alternative education also facilitates the processes of gender equal participation in decision making (Titi and Singh 1995). This education is especially important to combat women’s subordinate role(s). Longwe’s (1998) research in Africa shows that formal education is grounded in the ideals of patriarchal society; women then are schooled into subordination from a young age. Alternative education then, is a substitute to formal education as it emphasizes working collectively to change women’s subordination and unacceptable living conditions (Longwe 1998). As well as investing in human resources, education (formal or alternative) brings direct economic benefits to individuals and communities through increased productivity and income (Murthy 2001, Goodale 1995). Education also provides non-economic benefits such as

5.2 Empowering Women Leads to Community Development

In the early 1990s development discourse began to focus on the concept of empowerment for poverty alleviation in rural areas (Titi and Singh 1995). This shift occurred in part because investing in human resources has been, and still is, recognized as essential for the creation of sustainable community development (UN Millennium Project 2005, Goodale 1995). Another contributing factor to this shift was the increased occurrence of people living in absolute poverty in spite of global economic growth (Titi and Singh 1995: 6).

Increased poverty in the face of economic growth demonstrates a failure in the fundamental assumptions of the previous development methodologies (UN Millennium Project 2005, Black 2002, Ellwood 2001, Buvinic et al. 1996), namely the trickle-down approach. The trickle-down approach is a top-down approach, focusing on strengthening the economy of a country by strengthening businesses and corporations through privatization loans or other means (Black 2002, Sweetman 2002, Murthy 2001). This approach assumes that an increase in economic resources will filter downwards through the socioeconomic levels to reach the poorest and marginalized populations (Black 2002, Sweetman 2002, Murthy 2001).
The assumptions of the trickle-down approach defy the intent of development by failing to alleviate poverty for those most in need (Sweetman 2002).

Increasing poverty is compounded for women and indigenous people through discrimination (Sweetman 2002 and Buvinic et al. 1996). Sharma (2001: 1), the co-founder and executive director of Women's EDGE, states that "the discrimination against women and girls in education, health care, financial services, and human rights dampens overall economic output, productivity, and growth rates". A people-oriented approach to development that is gender sensitive not only avoids perpetuating existing problems but works against the effects of discrimination (Sweetman 2002). As well as affecting the economic output of a community, empowering women enhances child health, food production and lowers population growth rates resulting in a better quality of life for women and, therefore, their families (Marini and Gragnolati 2003, Sharma 2001).

In the 1990s, women's grassroots organizations successfully petitioned to include women's rights as human rights (Kaplan 2001: 191). These grassroots organizations included in their definition of human rights the equal distribution of resources, access to influence in decision making and having food, clothing, shelter, health care and housing readily available (Kaplan 2001: 191). Most importantly, women in grassroots organizations work not only for their individual rights but also for the protection and rights of their communities (Kaplan 2001: 201).

Even with an expanded definition of human rights, development still ignores half the population (Sweetman 2002). Traditionally development initiatives have worked under several assumptions, primarily that women benefit equally from
initiatives whose target is the domain of male community members such as business loans. Thus, development does not always target women as a marginalized population because they have little chance to directly receive the benefits of development initiatives (Buvinic et al. 2003). Therefore, women are identified as a sector at risk and within this sector Buvinic, Gwin and Bates (1996) and Wetzel (1993) identify several sub-groups of women at higher risk. These include: women and children in areas affected by armed conflict; elderly women; young women; abused women; destitute women; women deprived of traditional ways of livelihood; women who are the sole supporter of their families; and minority and indigenous women. During discussions with women at ADIMH workshops it became apparent that they are concerned with four of the above-mentioned women-at-risk groups. Women who are young, sole supporters, indigenous, or impoverished were specifically mentioned. Although their list is shorter, the women interviewed believed that these groups are not separate but that the issues represented by these groups overlap. The women with whom I spoke believe that you cannot work to change the circumstances of one group without working to change them all.

According to Wetzel (1993: 187), "young women should be assisted to develop their potential and protected from abuse and exploitation". She, and many organizations such as the Pan American Health Organization (2003), believe that girls need to be given equal access to education and employment opportunities and that economically disadvantaged young women should receive access to educational and vocational training. Women and girls who are self-employed should receive help in forming co-operatives and in attending training programs.
Cooperative and training program initiatives will improve both marketing and production skills. As well, steps need to be taken to eliminate the exploitative treatment of young women and the elimination of sexual harassment.

Women who are the sole supporters of their families are among the poorest people (Sweetman 2002, Wetzel 1993). Unfortunately, a large portion of governmental regulations and household surveys identify only men as heads of household, skewing the actual number of women heads of household versus men heads of household (Sweetman 2002, Buvinic et al. 1996). This assumption hinders women's access to resources. Therefore, more attention should be focused on the provision of services to make sure these women's issues are addressed and that they have the ability to adequately provide for their families (Sweetman 2002, Buvinic et al. 1996). As well, quality childcare should be provided so that women with young children are not left out of the development initiatives (Wetzel 1993) that take place during the workday.

Maya women are doubly discriminated against by virtue of being indigenous and female. Wetzel (1993: 192) states that

because women have a history of domination, dispossession, dispersal and economic deprivation governments need to respect, preserve and promote their human rights. These rights need to address their ethnic, religious, cultural and linguistic identity and should facilitate full participation in societal change.

As well, indigenous women often face specific difficulties that need to be addressed. These can include dietary deficiencies, high rates of infant and maternal mortality, health problems, and lack of education, housing and child care (Wetzel 1993). Once these needs are met and indigenous women are able to access services in their first
language, then women will have a stronger role in sustainable community development (Wetzel 1993: 193).

One of the goals of development initiatives is to create an environment of sustainability. Titi and Singh (1995: 19) summarize empowerment for sustainable development as:

the capacity to access and utilize options such as cultural and spiritual space, recognition and validation of endogenous knowledge, entitlements to land and other resources, income, credit, information, training and participation in decision-making to meet today’s needs without foreclosing future options.

Titi and Singh (1995) expand on the previously mentioned definitions to include three components. First, Titi and Singh (1995) focus on the quality of life in communities. They believe that sustainable development must include self-sustaining improvements in productivity and quality of life in communities through access to basic needs, including education, health and employment. Second, Titi and Singh (1995) believe that production process must not overexploit the natural environment, limiting the options of the present and future generations. Third, they believe that people must have equal access to basic human rights including the right to participate in the political, economic and social domains of their communities.

The Guatemalan women I conversed with believe that this third component of sustainable development, equal access to human rights, should be undertaken initially through empowerment programs:

The purpose of this institution [ADIMH] is to get training to the women so that they can be prepared for obstacles, we do this through teaching workshops on very important topics like self-esteem, the obligations and rights of the women, law cases, conflict resolution and other things more important for women. Now they have been learning they can participate in the community. Once this has started, they [empowered women] want projects to improve the community. They request them faster than we can provide them (Anazela Palma Vasquez, ADIMH facilitator 2004).
ADIMH facilitators believe that empowered women will then improve the quality of life in their communities, as “they [empowered women] are part of the community and they are motivated and motivate the other teams in the community to get ahead” (Teresa Carolina Hernandez, ADIMH facilitator 2004). As well, Sweetman (2002: 5) argues that women are more likely than men to identify their needs as family needs. This attitude is essential to the well being of their families. Sweetman (2002: 5) states that “increasing women’s role in budgeting and decision-making is desirable, since evidence exists that improved nutritional status and family health correlates with female control of budgets”. Increased nutritional status of children increases future economic growth by increasing their intellectual levels (Marini and Gragnolati 2003). Therefore, empowering women to have a greater influence within the family is an effective sustainable development method.

A large part of sustainable development is overcoming poverty (Buvinic et al. 1996, Titi and Singh 1995). Overcoming poverty, especially for disempowered or marginalized populations can best be accomplished through empowerment practices. Titi and Singh (1995: 13) understand empowerment, in a development context, to have evolved simultaneously with a “bottom-up approach to development”. They believe empowerment must involve good governance, the “transformations of economies towards being self-reliant and human centered”, the promotion of community development through self-help with an “emphasis on the process”, methods for collective decision-making and collective action, and popular participation (Titi and Singh 1995: 13). Therefore, empowerment affirms the necessity of capacity building amongst community members “to respond to a
changing environment by inducing appropriate change internally ... through innovation” (Titi and Singh 1995: 13).

To overcome poverty it must be understood that poverty entails more than being economically poor (Buvinic et al. 1996). Poverty, therefore, includes notions of well being such as education, health, water and appropriate housing (Goodale 1995) so that poverty alleviation must occur for sustainable development. Therefore, Goodale (1995: 85) believes that strategies for overcoming poverty need to enable poor households to have access to productive assets and employment opportunities, increase the productivity of households through education and skills development, provide adequate access to basic services and infrastructure and protect disempowered people from exploitation.

Table 2 identifies my observations of how ADIMH is working with Titi and Singh’s (1995: 14) eight elements that empowerment must identify to be an effective process of poverty alleviation. For example in Row 7, Titi and Singh believe that access to skills training and problem solving techniques are needed to strengthen poverty alleviation strategies although they do not discuss in detail what should be taught. ADIMH is in full agreement and is providing life skills and problem solving workshops including conflict resolution, self-esteem and women’s rights and legal obligations. ADIMH believes that women must have the skills necessary to partake more fully in community development. Their work in Huehuetenango has demonstrated that when women have the confidence and skills to work outside of the house they are very effectively working for the betterment of their communities through co-operatives, bakeries and environmental programs like recycling.
Table 2 Poverty Alleviation Strategies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Titi and Singh</th>
<th>ADIMH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>local self-reliance and participation in decision making processes at both the local community level and in the national government</td>
<td>agree but think that women need to also be included at the household level which can be partially accomplished by teaching them their rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>provision of space for cultural assertion and spiritual learning, including recognition and use of indigenous knowledge</td>
<td>spirituality and indigenous knowledge is incorporated into workshops by incorporating prayers and religious songs into meetings, using culturally appropriate examples, and using local women as facilitators</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>access to land, basic necessities and other resources such as education and health facilities</td>
<td>provide alternative education including skills training and Spanish literacy; help women fundraise for access to land and other necessities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ability to achieve food and sustain self-sufficiency</td>
<td>they facilitate workshops teaching women on how to operate cooperatives; how to function as a sole provider</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>access to income and credit</td>
<td>teach that women have a right to their own income, teach skills women need to operate outside their homes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>access to environmental knowledge</td>
<td>do not specifically address environmental issues, however, women will take an interest in issues outside their home once they gain confidence and abilities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>access to skills training and problem solving techniques</td>
<td>provide life skills and problem solving workshops including conflict resolution, self-esteem, and women’s rights and legal obligations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>participation in decision-making processes by all people, particularly women and youth.</td>
<td>provide leadership and public speaking workshops and women take an active role in the administration of ADIMH</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As demonstrated, empowerment means more than creating favourable economic conditions. During my discussions with ADIMH staff, they stressed that empowerment needs to enable people to understand the reality of their social, political, economic and cultural environment. Once women are able to reflect on the
factors that comprise their living conditions, and consequently the sources of their suffering, they will be able to take the steps needed to improve their situations.

5.3 Conclusion

The first step of capacitación development is to build self-confidence and self-esteem, essential elements to ensure healthy communities. Capacitación development provides regular meetings allowing women to share their concerns and overcome problems with the help of trained facilitators. As well, it uses community members as monitors to work at the local level as educators, organizers and motivators. Women's needs are best acknowledged through the creation of women-only organizations as they challenge sexism and gender subordination and create a safe space for women to develop participatory and leadership skills. These methods are important as building self-esteem and self-confidence is needed to combat the isolation that rural women face from family traditions and from living conditions. The skills women learn through empowerment programs and capacitación development also improves their health, which is important, as conventional heath programs do not efficiently treat gender specific health concerns.

A healthier woman able to participate in community life is the first step towards sustainable communities. Empowerment creates healthier women which enhances child health, increases food production and results in a better quality of life for women and their families. Therefore, community development must not ignore half the population by focusing on men as the head of household. Sustainable development policies must target the marginalized populations, which are often
groups of women at risk such as women as sole supporters of their families, indigenous, young and impoverished. By increasing the capacity of women, empowerment becomes an effective process of poverty alleviation, which is an important part of sustainable development. Empowerment for sustainable development, therefore, is a shift towards a growing social awareness and higher levels of community participation by all community members.
CONCLUSION

The last few days of interviews have been enjoyable. I love chatting with older women attending the workshops because they are very direct. They are right to the point, asking a series of questions: “Are you married?”; “Why not?”; “How old are you?”; “How could your parents let you get this old without getting married?”; “Oh, you have a boyfriend — how come you’re not married?”; “Oh, you are waiting until you finish school — you finish this summer, so you are getting married this June?”. The conversations then entered a second phase in direct and logical progression. The next set of questions centred on children and my lack of them. These questions were asked in a good-natured manner and now several women are waiting for their invitations to my wedding. Overall, the women were very supportive of my decision to attend university instead of starting a family at a young age. These women also encourage their own daughters and grand-daughters to pursue an education prior to starting a family.

Overview of Work

My field-based research examined the benefits and challenges of women’s capacitación development programs in the department of Huehuetenango, in northwest Guatemala between March and May 2004 (see Figure 1). These programs facilitate the development of people’s ability to enhance their lives and the quality of life in their communities. Specifically, the objective of my thesis is to bring together history, gender and policies to examine women’s roles in post-conflict community development. Therefore, for comparison purposes, gender-based societal roles may be considered as pre-conflict and post-conflict as defined by the work of Green (1999, 1995) and Zur (1998, 1994) with war widows in Guatemala. My focus is on post-conflict gender roles in Guatemala as they pertain to the creation and management of development programs. Two research goals guide my work: first, to examine women’s new post-conflict societal roles that need to be addressed in development planning; and second, to examine how women are
involved in community development with the organization Asociación de Desarrollo Integral de las Mujeres Huehuetecas (ADIMH) in Huehuetenango. Further, I argue that women’s capacitación development programs are a crucial component of community development initiatives. These goals are important because traditional development policies have been critiqued for not effectively targeting women and it is only recently that women are challenging this inequality. As well, development literature shows that planners have ignored the social and family structures in which development takes place. Consequently, new development initiatives such as capacitación development in Guatemala are necessary for women to become recognized and valued participants in community development.

These goals are addressed through a literature review and four months of fieldwork in Huehuetenango, Guatemala. The literature review draws on sources from a variety of disciplines including anthropology, geography, psychology, gender studies, and community development. These sources revealed how the internal armed conflict renegotiated women’s roles, both within the family and the community, as well as the current living conditions that Maya women face. My fieldwork consisted of four months in the department of Huehuetenango, Guatemala. The first six weeks were spent in an immersive language school learning Spanish and local customs. The last ten weeks of my fieldwork I spent as an intern with the local women’s organization ADIMH, delivering empowerment programs and interviewing women about their development experiences. ADIMH, with the assistance of local women as monitors, delivers empowerment programs to local women to enhance their abilities to participate in the community. In this way,
indigenous Guatemalan women have begun to participate in community development initiatives.

**Guatemalan Women**

Scholarly literature on Guatemala has always reflected the changes occurring in the country. The contemporary Guatemalan tradition of military domination and ethnic conflict can be traced back to the beginning of the Spanish Conquest in 1524. Although this tradition was seriously challenged during the ‘revolutionary’ period of 1944 to 1954, by democratically elected presidents Juan José Arévalo and Jacobo Árbenz, the United States government lashed out in retaliation igniting 36 years of internal armed conflict directed against the Maya people. This internal armed conflict officially ended in 1996, through the signing of the Peace Accords by the Guatemalan Government and members of the URNG.

During the internal armed conflict women were targets of state-sponsored gender violence. Many women were widowed and/or lost male family members, limiting their options and collapsing the traditional support system that had been based on community and kin ties. The violence that women faced included both physical and psychological torture that often culminated in murder. In spite of this gender targeting, women were more likely to survive the conflict. Now, women live with the results of the conflict including memories, uncertainty of the fates of family members, long-term psychological effects, and the need to provide for their families without male family members. Through these renegotiated gender roles women are moving out of the private domain and into the public domain.
Today, Guatemalan women still face unstable living conditions as the entire country faces widespread poverty and racial and gender discrimination. In terms of wealth, Guatemala's population is characterized by unequal distribution of both capital and resources. As well, almost 70 percent of the population lives on approximately USD$ 2 per day (Cerezo 2003: 2). Poverty entails more than being economically poor. It includes notions of well being such as access to education, health, water and housing. Adult literacy among Maya women is estimated to be as low as 30 percent with 0.9 average years of schooling (World Bank 2003). Low enrolment rates occur because 60 percent of school aged children live in rural areas yet only 24.5 percent of schools are located in these areas (UNICEF 2004b). Additionally, lack of both health and sanitation services and potable water in rural Guatemala generates high indices of gastrointestinal diseases, skin infections and malnutrition, with rates of infection highest in children.

Maya women continue to face discrimination and gender-based violence. Traditional and cultural customs such as machismo facilitate gender stereotypes that disempower and oppress women. The prevalence of violence against women recently received substantial newspaper attention as the rates of indigenous women murdered continue to rise in Guatemala. Between 2001 and the end of January 2005 1,300 women were brutally murdered (Davis 2005) in ways reminiscent of the internal armed conflict. Due to these rising numbers, Guatemala now leads Latin America for rates of violence against women. In confirmation of these reports, fear of domestic violence arose on several occasions during my interviews and ADIMH workshops.
Consequently, many women say they do not want to marry or remarry and enter into potentially abusive relationships. There is also a rising occurrence of single mothers and women as the head of household; unfortunately, there is also a negative stigma attached to these women. Such interrelated issues are effectively renegotiating the roles that women are expected to hold in Guatemalan society. Thus, changing gender roles and the factors that influence them must be addressed in development initiatives for the creation of healthy sustainable communities.

**Empowered Development**

Development initiatives begin with the goal to produce an environment of sustainability for communities. For a development policy to create this environment of sustainability for everyone involved, the policy must include several components. Initially, development must focus on the quality of life in communities. Access to basic necessities including education, health and employment is crucial for communities to become self-sustaining. Secondly, everyone needs to have equal access to human rights, including the right to participate in the political, economic and social domains of their communities. The women who attend ADIMH workshops state that these components of sustainable development must be addressed at the initial stage of any development policy. For its part, ADIMH uses *capacitación* development to address these needs through empowerment programs.

Empowerment programs emerged out of the concept of popular education and its interaction with the women's movement. However, empowerment is a difficult term to define because organizations and disciplines all use it differently.
Empowerment can mean development and participation, challenging forms of oppression or liberation from male ideologies but most importantly, empowerment is about creating equality between those who have power and those who do not. For women, empowerment programs facilitate the enhancement of their capabilities to participate more fully in both family and community life and to have some control over their lives. Empowerment programs are necessary for disempowered and marginalized populations because a large part of sustainable development is overcoming all forms of poverty. Thus, strategies for poverty alleviation utilize empowerment programs to enable poor households to access resources, employment opportunities and basic services. Empowerment programs also increase the productivity of households through education and skills development.

Empowerment programs work through utilizing four types of power. ‘Power to’ is the power of leadership and the main type of power used by ADIMH to facilitate the empowerment of women. This power is utilized through ‘monitors’ who are local community members who work as educators, organizers and motivators within their communities. ‘Power with’ is the power that comes from working as a group. It is the power that comes from knowing one is not alone but is part of a larger group working together for social change. ‘Power within’ is the spiritual strength that is inherit in each person that allows her to persevere in the face of adversity. It is the strength that women draw on to join development programs and to change their individual subordinate positions. ADIMH facilitates the enhancement of these types of power through their empowerment programs by providing a forum for discussions, a safe place to voice opinions and by facilitating the enhancement of women’s self-
esteem and confidence. The last type of power is ‘power over’. This power occurs whenever one group of people controls the actions of another. This power can be overt through physical coercion or hidden through psychological processes. ‘Power over’ is what the women of Huehuetenango are working to overcome.

Empowered Women

Contemporary Guatemala does not appear to be prepared to deal with empowered women. Racism is still rampant in Guatemala along with gender-based discrimination. As well, the machismo attitude is still prevalent, comprising a major obstacle that women must face. High poverty rates also hinder the empowerment of women as women must focus their effort on more primary needs such as procuring shelter and food. Furthermore, there has been a documented rise in the murder of women in Guatemala that does not correlate with an increase in the murder of men. Many of the murders are perpetrated in a manner reminiscent of those that occurred during the internal armed conflict because most of the victims are young, poor and Mayan. The scale and methods used in the torture and murder of the young women are also reminiscent of tactics used by the armed forces during the internal armed conflict, indicating that the crimes may be an organized statement against women. A further indication of the state’s indifference towards women is highlighted by the reduction in the special police unit dedicated to the investigation of these murders from 22 to five officers for all of Guatemala.

Through empowerment programs, Guatemalan women from Huehuetenango have overcome many obstacles and continue to work towards the betterment of their
I believe the main result of the empowerment programs witnessed during my research will be an increased involvement of women in Guatemalan society. Currently, several women's organizations are politically active and are working to increase political awareness among women. By promoting a greater female awareness and involvement in politics and, very importantly, voting, the women's organizations are increasing the impact that women make politically as citizens. Previously, many women were unaware of their right to vote; therefore, their previous impact on the political environment of Guatemala was muted. In contrast, as shown in Chapter 4, women are working towards having their concerns addressed at a local political level. These empowered women are working within their communities to improve their own and others living conditions.

Higher education levels also have a large affect on women's involvement and impact in Guatemalan society. Through training workshops women expand their ability to communicate, to earn an income and their ability to lead. A key parameter for women's involvement in Guatemalan society is literacy. Literacy is necessary for full participation in elections as well as most aspects of civil society such as accessing police and judicial services. Furthermore, increased education will provide women with some of the tools necessary to succeed in the workforce either as employees or business owners. As well, increased education of women will provide additional community benefits such as increased use of potable water and other sanitary techniques and in consequence, many highland communities now have improved medical and sanitation facilities.
The personal outcomes of empowerment programs also have a positive effect on women's families, especially their children. Children, who are influenced more by their mothers than by male family members, have been shown to have healthier ideals regarding gender roles, are better educated and better nourished. Furthermore, women are creating change within their families so that they experience less violence in relationships and more equality with their spouses.

There are three questions that I feel are necessary to address in future research into empowerment development in Guatemala. These questions include:

1. **How do various organizations operating in Guatemala approach empowerment?**

   The main theme of this question is the comparison of men and women-combined organizations and women-only empowerment organizations. This thesis examined the organizational structure of just one women-only development organization, ADIMH. To develop a comprehensive perspective of the methods Guatemalan organizations use to implement development initiatives, specifically empowerment, it is necessary to observe other empowerment organizations. Furthermore, inclusion of organizations other than those that are women-only will provide needed information to understand men's relationship to and their roles in the empowerment process. Organizations that I believe should be examined for this research question include CEIBA, CONAVIGUA, agricultural cooperatives and refugee organizations.
2. What are men's responses to women's empowerment programs? Are there any organizations offering empowerment for men or education for men regarding women's empowerment programs?

These questions are intricately related and it may be difficult to draw separate conclusions for each one. While I did ask the women interviewees about men's opinions within their community, I was not able to adequately address either research question in my fieldwork due to time constraints. As well, my status as a young single female may have interfered heavily with the interview process for such interviews.

3. Why do the women participants not acknowledge the results of personal development but instead focus on the community benefits of development?

This question expands on comments I made earlier in the thesis, in which I postulated that women's perceptions of development tend to be community oriented and possibly affected by the long-term effects of the internal armed conflict. Examination of this question will help to understand the results of empowerment programs as well as help in the design of empowerment programs.

Although women's empowerment in Guatemala is only in a fledgling state, the recent results show that the outcome of empowerment development is promising. Guatemalan women need to become more empowered, but more importantly they want to be more empowered. The women I met have taken the first steps towards initiating change with modest but definite successes. I observed a variety of
successes including an increase in women's independence and self-worth and an increase in women starting small businesses, especially important for women head-of-households. Possibly the most important successes reported by some of the women I interviewed were changes in their husband's and children's attitudes towards them as women and towards their domestic responsibilities. Therefore, capacitación development in Guatemala has created opportunities for women to become a recognizable and valued part of community development.
REFERENCE LIST


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- 154 -


APPENDIX 1: STATEMENT OF CONSENT AND UNDERSTANDING

Community Development Study
Statement of Consent

Name of Interviewee: ___________________________________________________
Place: ___________________________ Date: ____________________

I, the undersigned, agree to participate in the research conducted by Jennifer Reade for the purpose of her masters research project at the University of Northern British Columbia on community development. ___________________________________ will be assisting with the interviewing in Guatemala.

The original information collected in our interview will not be shared with any other person other than my supervisor Dr. Catherine Nolin unless I provide an agreement in writing. I understand that the information obtained from our interview will be stored in a secure location for a period of five years, after which time audio cassettes and transcripts will remain on file while the identifying information will be destroyed.

I understand that I can choose anonymity in the presentation and publication of results from our conversations.

Yes, I want my name used in the forthcoming presentations and publications ☐
No, I do not want my name used in the forthcoming presentations and publications ☐

Furthermore, I can withdraw my participation at any time for the duration of this research project and have any information associated with my participation removed from the project.

I agree to have this interview tape recorded: YES ☐ NO ☐
If yes, I agree to allow direct quotes to be used from our recorded conversations: YES ☐ NO ☐
If I have any further concerns with the project or my participation I may contact the researcher at:

Jennifer Reade, Masters Candidate – Geography
University of Northern British Columbia, Canada
Phone/Fax 1-250-964-3499 Email readei@lycos.com

Supervisor – Dr. Catherine Nolin
University of Northern British Columbia, Canada
Phone 1-250-960-7877 Fax 1-250-960-7738 Email Nolin@unbc.ca

Vice-President of Research – Dr. Max Blouw
University of Northern British Columbia, Canada
Phone 1-250-960-7820 Fax 1-250-960-7746 Email Blouw@unbc.ca

Participant’s Signature: ___________________________ Date: ________________

Interviewer’s Signature: ___________________________ Date: ________________
Community Development Study
Statement of Consent

Do you understand that you have been asked to participate in a research study? YES □ NO □
Have you received and read a copy of the attached research information sheet? YES □ NO □
Have you had an opportunity to ask questions and discuss this study? YES □ NO □
Do you understand that you are free to refuse to participate or to withdraw from the study at any time? You do not have to provide a reason YES □ NO □
Has the issue of confidentiality been explained to you? YES □ NO □
Do you understand that you will have access to the information that you provide? YES □ NO □

This study was explained to me by: ______________________________________________

I agree to take part in this study.

Participant's Signature: ___________________________ Date: ________________

Printed name of participant: ________________________________________________

I believe that the person signing this form understands what is involved in the study and voluntarily agrees to participate.

Interviewer's Signature ___________________________ Date: ________________

Printed name of interviewer: ________________________________________________