

Austrian Development Agency

Thematic Evaluation: The Relevance of Culture and Cultural Heritage in ADC

Desk Review Report - Guatemala

August 2007

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List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

ADA	Austrian Development Agency
PLSM	Santa María Linguistic Project
ADC	Austrian Development Cooperation
ASDECO	The Community Development Association
ATS	Austrian Shillings
AMUTED	The Women's "Weavers of Development" Association
AVANCSO	Asociación para el Avance de las Ciencias Sociales en Guatemala (Association For the Advancemnet of Social Sciences in Guatemala)
BANCAMPESINO	Name of Bank which lends money to small faremers
CADISOGUA	Coordinadora de Asociaciones de Desarrollo Integral del Sur Occidente de Guatemala
CARE	International NGO
CBO	Community Based Organisation
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CONIC	Coordinadora Nacional Indígena y Campesina (National Indigenous and Peasant Co-ordinator)
CONTIERRA	Dependencia Presidencial de Asistencia Legal y Resolución de Conflictos (Presidential Office for Legal Aid and Conflict-Resolution)
ECAP	Equipo de Estudios Comunitarios y Acción Psicosocial
ECEP	Estudio Cualitativo sobre la exclusion y la pobreza
EIB	Educación Intercultural Bilingüe (Intercultural Bilingual Education)
EMAX	Empresa Municipal de Aguas de Xelajú (Quetzaltenango) (Municipal Water Company of Quetzaltenango)
ENCOVI	Encuesta Nacional de Condiciones de Vida (National Living Conditions Survey)
EU	European Union
FLACSO	Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales
FUNDESOR	Fundación para el Desarrollo del Sur y Oriente de Guatemala (Foundation for the Development of South and East Guatemala)
FY	Financial Year
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus / Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
Horizont 3000	Austrian Organization For <u>Development</u> Co-operation (an Austrian NGO)
IDP	Internally displaced person
IFI	International Financing Institutions
IIZ	Institute of International Cooperation
ILO	International Labour Organisation
INE	Instituto Nacional de la Estadística (National Statistics Institute)
INGO	International Non Governmental Organisation
INS	North South Institute
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
KFS	An Austrian NGO
MABELI	A Guatemalan credit organisation
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation
MINEDUC	Ministry of Education, Guatemala
MINUGUA	United Nations Mission in Guatemala
MIRIAM	Women's Support Programme in Nicaragua and Guatemala

NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
NIS	Newly Independent States
ODA	Overseas Development Assistance
ODHAG	Oficina de Derechos Humanos del Arzobispado de Guatemala (Human Rights Office, Archbishopric of Guatemala)
O&M	Operation & Maintenance
ÖNSI	The Austrian North-South Institute for Development Cooperation
OXFAM	Name of an NGO
PAC	Patrullas de Autodefensa Civil (Civil Defence Patrols)
PLSM	The Santa María Linguistic Project
PNSL	Parque Nacional Sierra Lacandón (National Park of the Lacandon Sierra)
PPP	Purchasing Power Parity
PRS	Poverty Reduction Strategy
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
RBM	Reserva de la Biosfera Maya (Reserve of the Mayan Biosphere)
RDP	Rural Development Programme (ADA Project number Guatemala 1080-00, 2003-2006)
TA	Technical Assistance
TBW	Name of an Austrian company
TROCAIRE	Name of an Irish NGO
TOR	Terms of Reference
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
USD	United States Dollar
WATSAN	Water and Sanitation
WID	Women in Development
ZAM	Zona de Amortiguamiento (Buffer Zone)

Executive summary

This report contains the findings from the Guatemala desk study carried out by David Moore for COWI A/S as part of the thematic evaluation of the relevance of culture and cultural heritage in Austrian Development Cooperation (ADC). The desk study concentrated on the following four projects which had been proposed as case studies: (i) Rural Development Programme (RDP) in the Western Highlands, 2003-2006; (ii) Legal and Administrative Support Programme for the Indigenous Population, 2004-2007; (iii) Promotion of the Legal Rights of the Indigenous Population in the Western Highlands, 2000-2002; and (iv) Water Supply Project, Xelaugua.

The Guatemalan context

Guatemala's social structure has been based on a fundamental inequality since its conquest by Spain in the sixteenth century. Unequal access to land and other natural resources continues to be one of the main causes of poverty and exclusion of the majority indigenous populations today. The indigenous population, which comprises approximately 55% to 60% of the total population, includes 23 ethno-linguistic groups, of which 21 are Mayan. Guatemala's ethnic diversity has been historically accompanied by conflict and schism. After five centuries of violence, Guatemala reached a cease fire in 1996. The Peace Process was reached by means of several landmark Peace Accords which guide Guatemala's development, and which aim to end indigenous exclusion. The Peace Accords describe the concept of Mayan culture, and describe the steps needed to rescue Mayan cultures and norms in the fields of material culture, languages, dress, weavings, dance, songs, poetry, Mayan religions, Mayan cosmovision, Mayan traditional community organisation, and Mayan food and art.

The ADC programme in Guatemala

Austrian aid to Guatemala started in the 1980s in the Western Highlands, through the Institute for International Cooperation (IIZ) and other NGOs. The early ADC-supported RDP helped create the Centre for Peasant Research and Training. After the 1996 Peace Accords these organisations had, in a sense, done their work and, as they could now operate openly, they were transformed into other development-oriented indigenous organisations, several of which received ADC support in several sectors covering culture, cultural rescue, and support of Mayan cultural norms and institutions. The average budget for Guatemala has been approximately EUR 1.9 million per annum for the last four years (2003-2006). The ADC Guatemala portfolio is administered from

Managua. The ADC is preparing a programme for the Central American Region. This programme will also include the engagement in Guatemala. The ADC bilateral support falls into one of three sectors: the Rural Development Sector, the Social Sector and the Water and Sanitation (WATSAN) sector.

Main findings

The Main findings are organised according to the five dimensions of the evaluation matrix: relevance, effectiveness, sustainability, effects and responsiveness.

Relevance of overall approach and programme

Austrian assistance when it commenced in the 1980s was highly relevant to protecting the human rights and culture of the repressed Mayan majority in the 1980s. The ADC portfolio is consistent with the Peace Accords which aim to restore Mayan cultural integrity and to Mayan inclusion in social, economic and political life.

Relevance in relation to ADC policies concerning support of culture in poverty reduction programmes

The Guatemala project portfolio is relevant to the stated aims of the ADC, the main goal of which is poverty reduction. The Guatemalan aid projects support “intangible culture” and cultural areas such as protection of languages, dress, material culture, and forms of community association, and are thus relevant to ADC’s wish to develop a better understanding of the role of culture in development.

The RDP initially supported human rights and cultural heritage of Mayan peoples in the Western Highlands, supporting repressed groups working for Mayan rights and freedom of expression. The RDP now focuses on promoting Mayan women’s rights, gender equity, and improved income for Mayan women’s groups, thus addressing cultural support from a rights-base perspective. The Legal and Administrative Support programme trained Mayan communities in their legal rights and enabled them to teach other Mayan communities about indigenous rights and cultural values; thus cultural support in this programme focused on supporting Mayan democratic rights and democratic processes. The Promotion of the Legal Rights Programme led to a significant improvement in the quality and growing acceptance of Intercultural Bilingual Education (EIB) and interculturality, to such a degree that the Ministry of Education is using the model to replicate this success in EIB elsewhere in Guatemala.

Relevance of selected ADC projects

RDP: Since the poverty suffered by the inhabitants of the project area is caused by past state repression and historical processes of land alienation and political exclusion, attempts to empower the indigenous population, to strengthen local municipal, indigenous organization, and to diversify agricultural production in impoverished, subsistence-based Mayan communities, are highly relevant as solutions to poverty problems. Legal and Administrative Support Programme:

The main objective of this Project has been to “Contribute to Supporting Local democracy in order to make improvements in Indian Village associations in Guatemala”. The project is relevant, mainly because centuries of exclusion of Mayan community structures have left many villages unable to confront the challenges of poverty and development with identity. Participatory monitoring confirms that programme aims are 100% congruent with Mayan citizens’ desire to learn about the new laws and democratic institutions.

Promotion of the Legal Rights of the Indigenous Population: Relevance is innate in (i) the programme’s goals of giving priority to increasing the self-esteem of indigenous Mayans; (ii) the programme’s aim to reduce the fear of indigenous Mayans as they learn to become assertive political subjects; (iii) the relevance of empowerment of organizations, and the necessity to increase confidence in the validity of Mayan culture as a starting point for their human development and for the construction of an inclusive society based on respect of their multi-ethnicity. The Water Supply Project is relevant to the needs of people who suffer ill health due to lack of potable water; indigenous Guatemalans suffer from high morbidity / mortality levels associated with lack of potable water. The project has contributed to developing the water sector policies in Guatemala and beyond in the Central American region.

Effectiveness of selected ADC projects

RDP: It has not been possible to fully evaluate the degree of achievement of objectives of the current phase, because the programme is ongoing and has not yet been fully evaluated. Earlier phases of the RDP are judged to have achieved their objectives, namely to have helped strengthen indigenous community organisations, and foster socio-economic development with identity. The Legal/ Administrative Support Programme achieved its main objectives, viz (i) training contributed to reducing indigenous villagers’ fear concerning their right to participate in organizations; (ii) villagers learned about the Laws and Rights protecting indigenous people, and this improved the capacity of indigenous villagers to demand services from authorities; (iii) indigenous village organization has got stronger; (iv) women have become more liberated.

The Promotion of the legal rights programme (i) surpassed its goals in the EIB component; (ii) considerably surpassed its goals both regarding its educational processes in the ASDECO component; and (iii) the AMUTED component achieved its target of a social base of 250-300 women, including some 70 “literacy leaders;” and it managed to broaden its reach to national level. Water Supply Project : Horizont 3000 staff’s execution was efficient; ownership has been established by the municipal authorities; management and monitoring are satisfactory; the project actively participates in exchange of accumulated experiences at the national level; but there are some technical and financial sustainability problems. One negative aspect is the absence of a sewage treatment component.

Project design and project management

RDP: The RDP was designed based on findings of a detailed FLACSO study into poverty conditions and the cultural background of the target group,

indigenous Mayans, and used participatory methods together with intended beneficiaries to make the project design in the project design phase. The Legal/Administrative Support Programme presented problems of project design; after more than three years of implementation, a new log frame had to be made: this reflects the fact that the initial log frame was designed by an international consultant who did not liaise closely enough with CONIC and other beneficiaries. A favourable aspect of the project was the use of local consultants and participatory methods in programme monitoring.

Supporting the Consolidation of Indigenous Rights programme was well designed and managed. Design reflected Peace Accord and PRSP priorities to reduce indigenous poverty and promote Mayan intangible culture (EIB linguistic project) and tangible (weaving component) culture. The three components have been managed well within the budget and all targets have been reportedly met so far. Water Project: Project design strengthened decentralised management of the WATSAN sector. Although the project has done well to improve access to piped water, the omission of sewerage/drainage from project design does not represent good practice. Financial sustainability is a problem as it is politically difficult to raise water tariffs to sustainable levels. Project management was executed by municipal authorities, which received financial and institutional capacity- building. The project has been managed well within the budget and all targets have been met.

Sustainability of selected ADC projects

The RDP is ongoing, and no conclusive statements can be made yet about sustainability. The upcoming evaluation will enable empirical statements to be made in 2007. Legal and Administrative Support Programme: CONIC is financially sustainable, and is owned and funded by peasant groups. Being a base organization, it does not have expensive organizational structures. Through its membership in 300+ communities, CONIC is institutionally sustainable and is a changing organization able to reflect the needs of the growing voices of Mayan women.

Promotion of the legal rights of the indigenous population: The self-management dynamic of the three counterpart organizations is a positive sign of financial and institutional sustainability. AMUTED has a confirmed and increasing ability to access funding sources, although PLSM is less good at attracting funding. The three counterpart organizations have strong programmatic sustainability, and social and organizational cohesion. Regarding sustainability in terms of long term viability, the articulation of the three organizations is promising and they have an increased autonomous capacity to capture resources.

Water Supply Project: There are problems concerning financial sustainability concerning the political difficulty of raising water tariffs to cover O&M and to pay staff salaries high enough to attract technically-competent staff. This led to the equipment and transport means being insufficient to operate and maintain the water network. Despite these problems, the income of EMAX has increased by about 20-25%. With its current income, EMAX can cover all its operation costs and achieve small reserves for future investments in the network. The

creation of EMAX made possible the good management, training and increasing staff levels and raising to more sustainable levels the price of drinking water. The creation of village-level and municipal-level water authorities with cultures of good management made institutional sustainability more feasible than in the past.

Effects of selected ADC projects

The Legal and Administrative Support Programme helped improve the knowledge of indigenous people about their rights, and has led to a significant strengthening of indigenous base organisations. The Promotion of the legal rights programme (i) increased the number of schools successfully using EIB; (ii) improved the quality and level of EIB; (iii) achieved more acceptance of the value of Mayan languages and culture and of the need to teach Mayan languages and intercultural subjects in the classroom. The ASDECO and the AMUTED components enabled Mayan lands to be recuperated, women's education projects to be strengthened and their quality increased, and the creation and functioning of a grass roots educational centre teaching Mayan traditions and weaving. Water Supply Project: The health of between 150,000 and 200,000 people was improved; previously insolvent municipal water authorities have been turned around and are functioning in a much more improved way from a financially sustainable and managerial standpoint.

Responsiveness of ADC, participation, ownership, and empowerment aspects of the ADC portfolio

RDP: The design in the period 1988-1990 responded to the needs of the indigenous/Ladino peasants who were fighting for their human rights and democracy. ADC financed a series of RDP phases over the period 1989 to 2006 based on anthropological studies using participatory dialogue methods with indigenous institutions. This responsive approach led to good degrees of participation, ownership, and empowerment among beneficiaries.

Legal and Administrative Support Programme: In the period 1995-1997, ADC support to CONIC was responsive, flexible, needs-based, and timely, and helped empower CONIC. The original CONIC project started in 1998, and the current 5-year programme is fully responsive to, is owned by, and reflects the expressed needs of the Mayan and Ladino peasantry and – to a fair extent, though not yet fully – Mayan women.

Promotion of the legal rights of the indigenous population: The design of the programme responded to the needs of the indigenous peoples who were attempting to recuperate their intellectual, linguistic, telluric, socio-economic, and textile patrimony. The design of the three components and the choice of the three partner organizations showed ADC's responsiveness to the realities of Mayans' development needs in the field of "culture". Thus, because the choice of partner was based on participation and ownership of Mayan peoples and their Mayan institutions, the implementing organizations are open to interculturality, and are intrinsically "Mayan cultural organizations". In conclusion, the three organizations are responsive to the needs of Mayan children, women, and men. The Water Supply Project represents a best practice in responsiveness, since it is premised on participation with municipal

authorities and townspeople, and because beneficiaries' wishes were accommodated in improving their water supply. Similarly, the participation and ownership of the beneficiaries has been assured by a process of open meetings and dialogue about how to improve the water utilities, and by the practice of having functioning consumer affairs units in the water entities.

Conclusion

Taken as a whole, the projects are judged to have been successful, to have promoted interculturality between dominant Ladino society and repressed Mayan culture. In the crucial period of 1988 to 1996, the Austrian aid to Guatemala was a beacon of light during the state repression of indigenous Mayans. The "Austrian model" in the WATSAN sector and regarding support to Mayan intangible and material culture, Mayan cultural institutions, and restoration of Mayan land rights, has been successful and irreplaceable.

In general, the projects reviewed here have dealt with intercultural communication and dialogue in a balanced and thoughtful way. The EIB component of 2151 promoted Mayan culture by supporting intercultural education, and by promoting the K'itche language. 2151's other two components also fostered improved intercultural communication and dialogue. By supporting traditional Mayan laws and institutions, and the participation of Mayan women in public life, the programme has fairly certainly increased the integration of the local intercultural education initiatives in the education system, the legal system and municipal organizations; and thereby has fostered better intercultural communication and understanding. The Legal / Administrative support programme (1540-02) was successful in promoting intercultural communication and dialogue. Its main areas of strength have been to improve indigenous women's knowledge of their rights, to the extent that they are reportedly "no longer fearful" of demanding their citizenry rights in the municipalities.

In general, the four programmes take especial regard for gender in the sense of (i) aiming to foster Women in Development (WID) and (ii) promoting gender mainstreaming in governance and grass roots institutions. The Legal and Administrative Support Programme (1540) benefited women by promoting gender mainstreaming in municipal government, by training equal numbers of female as well as male promoters and village educators, and by using a grass roots organization which is representative of Mayan women. Nevertheless, a 2004 Gender Assessment for project 1540 is somewhat pessimistic about the quality of the participation of women in the CONIC project. E.g., one of the structures of CONIC is the Ixoq'ib Noj Council ("wise women"), a forum where women can be trained. The Gender Assessment states that the organizational changes to promote women in CONIC have not been matched by qualitative changes in practice, especially as regards CONIC's way of operation: it remains male-dominated in other words. In view of the problems of domination of women by men in Guatemala, the CONIC Project is strategically important in trying to break down barriers to women's participation, although more progress is needed.

Supporting Consolidation of Indigenous Rights: Through its three sub-components, this programme supports the promotion of WID. In the linguistic project, the aim is to help girls and women reach improved literacy rates, and reduce girl school drop out rates. In the ASDECO sub-component, the aim is to empower indigenous youth and women; and in the AMUTED sub-component, the aim is socioeconomic support to Mayan women via technical and financial assistance to women weavers, thereby enhancing Mayan tangible culture of which women are the main knowledge repository.

Water Project: Supporting improved water supply and improved water quality is directly relevant for women and WID concerns. This is because women are care-givers and because women and girls spend a lot of time carrying water in settings where there is no piped supply. Furthermore, improving water supply and quality can have a direct positive effect on women's health.

1 Introduction

This Report is part of the "Thematic Evaluation: The Relevance of Culture and Cultural Heritage in Austrian Development Cooperation" carried out by David Moore for COWI A/S on behalf of the Austrian Development Agency (ADA). The Report is based on a desk analysis of relevant documentation received from ADA and data and information obtained by means of telephone interviews in December 2006.

1.1 Objectives of the Evaluation

The objectives of the evaluation are to:

- Assess the relevance of culture and cultural heritage projects with the aim of developing lessons learned and recommendations, including:
 - Identification of synergy and the creative potential of cultural cooperation for the practical work of ADC in partner countries; and
 - Identification of examples of good practice with regard to working with the cultural context and the process of intercultural communication in partner countries.

During the evaluation process, the evaluation team will also aim to:

- Contribute to increasing the sensitivity and understanding for the cultural dimension in development cooperation with the aim of improving strategies, programmes and management in ADC and increasing mutual respect and understanding;
- Contribute to the discussion of “culture and development” in ADC and through the evaluation report provide recommendations on positions and guidelines for this cross-cutting issue.

Further details concerning objective and scope of the evaluation are provided in the Terms of Reference and in the Inception Report.

1.2 Methodology

The applied methodology, the choice and use of assessment criteria (including relevance, effectiveness, sustainability, effects and responsiveness), and the rationale for the choice of key case projects and reference projects is presented in the Inception Report. The evaluation framework that was used to guide the screening of documents and to conduct telephone interviews with various stakeholders is presented in Appendix 2.

The Evaluator has only been able to interview project staff by telephone, and only a few of the direct beneficiaries, and has not been able to conduct field work or interviews on the ground with project beneficiaries in Guatemala. Since the points of view expressed concerning the projects are mainly of the project staff and not of more than a few of the beneficiaries¹, the evaluation is in one sense skewed and not representative of all points of view.

Despite this challenge, however, several of the available documents (especially the participatory evaluations² carried out by the National Indigenous and Peasant Coordinator, CONIC, and the recent Evaluation report made by Macleod and Grünberg³) provide the viewpoints of beneficiaries.

1.3 Selection of Projects for Evaluation

The COWI Inception Report⁴ mentions how i) with regard to measures to preserve and promote intangible cultural heritage, projects for the indigenous peoples of Guatemala were pre-selected and ii) that special focus will be given to projects that promote the rights of indigenous peoples and rural development (including land rights for indigenous peoples, economic initiatives, bilingual education, legal counselling, and water supply).

The following three projects were proposed in the Inception Report as case study projects:

- Rural Development Programme (RDP) in the Western Highlands, Project no. 1080-00, 2003-2006;
- Legal and administrative support programme for the indigenous population, project no. 1540-02, 2004-2007;

¹ Appendix 2 lists the beneficiaries interviewed by telephone.

² Sistematización de la experiencia vivida en la ejecución del proyecto, “Apoyo a la Gestión Jurídica y Gerencial a Comunidades Indígenas en el Occidente de Guatemala”, CONIC, Guatemala City, 2004.

³ The Evaluation was carried out in January-February 2006, Morna Macleod and Georg Grünberg, “Evaluation of Austrian development Programmes in Guatemala”. Unpublished report, ADC Office, Managua.

⁴ ADC. Thematic Evaluation: The Relevance of Culture and Cultural Heritage in ADC. Final Inception Report. COWI. September 2006, p. 24.

- Promotion of the legal rights of the indigenous population in the Western Highlands, project no. 2151, 2000-2002.

In addition, reference will be made to a recent project evaluation of the water supply project, Xelaugua. The Inception Report also mentions that the evaluation team will conduct a desk review of the available documentation of the above-mentioned projects.

2 Background

2.1 Country Context

Guatemala's social structure has been based on a fundamental inequality since its conquest by Spain in the sixteenth century. Within decades of the original conquest which began in 1524, the Mayan populations of Guatemala had been forcibly subjugated and dispossessed of their land. The Spanish land tenure system of *latifundismo*, whereby large estates or haciendas were given to Spanish conquistadors and their descendants, has characterised the land tenure system of Guatemala for the last five centuries (as well as large parts of similar Central American countries, such as Honduras and El Salvador). The haciendas, whether Guatemalan- or foreign-owned, have always depended on a plentiful supply of cheap labour, and the indigenous communities have been locked into semi-feudal or quasi-feudal relationships with land owners to this day⁵. Unequal access to land and other natural resources continues to be one of the main causes of poverty and exclusion of the majority indigenous populations of Guatemala today⁶.

Guatemala suffers from high levels of poverty and vulnerability to poverty and inadequate social risk management. The country belongs to the group of lower-middle-income countries (GDP per capita of USD 3,630 at PPP in 2000), with a high incidence of poverty (56 per cent in 2000). The vulnerable groups within the population are those that suffer from structural inequalities and from a pattern of exclusion and inequality that has characterized the country for decades. In addition, many Guatemalan households and communities have been hit by man-made or natural shocks, including internal repression and wars over several decades, illegal intervention by the USA in the 1960s to the 1990s, worsening terms of trade for coffee (the country's main export product), Hurricane Mitch, earthquakes, and mudslides.

⁵ A vivid example of how some Ladinos steal by stealth and force the lands of indigenous communities in the well-known Indian town of San Antonio Aguas Calientes is provided in S. Annis, "Story From a Peaceful Town: San Antonio Aguas Calientes", in R. M. Carmack (ed.), *Harvest of Violence; The Maya Indians And The Guatemalan Crisis*. Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1988 (1992), pp 155-173.

⁶ Examples of exclusionary processes, of semi-feudal communities and the mistreatment of indigenous and Ladino peasants are provided in the COWI report, D. Moore et al., *Estudio cualitativo sobre la exclusión y la pobreza en Guatemala*, 2001, World Bank.

Overall, the country has little capacity to reduce or mitigate the social risks that the poorest and most vulnerable households face, due to both micro and macro factors. At the micro or household level, poverty is high, formal insurance and credit markets only reach a minority of the population, and social safety nets are inadequate. At the macro or national level, social risk management is hampered by high inequality and the government's low revenue generating capacity (central government tax revenue of 9.6 per cent of GDP in 2000), and this situation is exacerbated by the relatively undiversified structure of the economy. A large share of export receipts is derived from primary commodities with volatile prices, like coffee and bananas. Over the last decade, worsening terms of trade for coffee triggered increasing trade deficits at the macro level and reduced demand for people to work on the *fincas* (coffee plantations) at the micro level. However, export earnings have recently picked-up because of an increased demand for high quality coffee, particularly in the US and European markets.

Ethnic Profile

The indigenous population includes 23 ethno-linguistic groups, of which 21 are Mayan. The four biggest Mayan groups are the K'iche (22%), the Kaqchikel (21%), the Mam (20%), and the Q'eqchi (15%).⁷

Guatemala's ethnic diversity has been historically accompanied by conflict and schism. The *Acuerdo sobre la Identidad y Derechos de Pueblos Indígenas* (Accord On the Identity and Rights of the Indigenous Nations, March 1995) was the first legal vehicle permitting the definition of Guatemala as a multiethnic, multicultural and multilingual state. Furthermore this Accord recognised that the identities of indigenous peoples in Guatemala are fundamental to constructing a national unity. Nevertheless, the overarching ethos of the State is still Hispanic, discriminatory, and exclusionary towards its majority indigenous citizens who have been straight-jacketed into Hispanic culture, customs, and exploitative economic modes of production for centuries. Recent positive moves to redress this imbalance include the Intercultural Bilingual Education (EIB) programme, introduced with UNICEF support in the late 1990s, under which children whose first language is not Spanish, are supposed to be educated in their mother tongue until around the age of 9 or 10 years. The programme is encountering many challenges, mainly a lack of trained staff who speak Mayan languages fluently who are prepared to work in rural areas, and lack of materials and resources in Mayan languages to make the EIB programme work in practice⁸.

Approximately two thirds of Guatemala's population are rural⁹. Malnutrition is very high: 44% of all children suffer chronic malnutrition, the highest level in all of Central and South America¹⁰. Infant mortality is very high, 33,4 out of

⁷ INE, *Encuesta nacional de condiciones de vida 2000* (ENCOVI).

⁸ See COWI Report, D. Moore et al., *Estudio cualitativo sobre la exclusión y la pobreza*, chapter 7.

⁹ INE, *Encuesta nacional de condiciones de vida 2000* (ENCOVI).

¹⁰ INE, *Encuesta nacional de condiciones de vida 2000* (ENCOVI).

1000 live births¹¹. Male and female literacy rates are the lowest in the Americas: 75,4 per cent / 63,9 per cent. Progress in literacy for women is about twenty years behind the male rate¹². One reason for indigenous female illiteracy rates being high has been the Mayan traditional practice of keeping girls at home to look after siblings, do household chores, or work on plantations with the rest of the family during some months of the year¹³. Another reason why illiteracy rates affecting indigenous males and females are high in Guatemala is the exclusionary state education system which has been framed within the Hispanic, Graeco-Judaeo-Christian mode of thought, and which has not included the Mayan traditional world view and which, therefore, has not been relevant to Mayan children over the centuries.

Historical Sketch: Export Crops, Serfdom, and the Question of Land

Landmark studies on Guatemala¹⁴ show that the land in Guatemala has become concentrated in the hands of very large *fincas* or estates. The distribution of land has become more skewed in the last thirty years: between the agricultural censuses of 1964 and 1979, the number of *minifundios* (tiny farms) increased while continuing to lose land, and at the same time the *latifundios*, or large estates, grew in number, amount, and size of land owned¹⁵.

Approximately 40% of the Guatemalan rural population has no land¹⁶. This forces rural families including the children - to become wage labourers and to migrate nationally or internationally to chase poorly paid jobs on plantations at high risk to health and to the detriment of their children's education and health. The following table from Deere and León¹⁷ shows the distribution of farms by size. In 1979 (the year of the latest available agricultural census), 2.5% of farms owned 64% of agricultural land.

Table 2-1 Land Tenure Patterns in Guatemala

Farm size	Percentage of farms	Percentage of land
Less than 0.7 hectares	31.4%	1.4%
0.7->7.0 hectares	56.8%	15.1%
7.0-<45 hectares	9.3%	19%
45->902 hectares	2.4%	44.2%
More than 902 hectares	0.1%	20.3%

¹¹ ADA, "Basisinformation Guatemala", Overview of key development indicators, 2007.

¹² United Nations (2001). *Indicators of Economic and Social development in the Caribbean*.

¹³ D. Moore et al., *Estudio cualitativo sobre la exclusión y la pobreza en Guatemala*, 2001, COWI / World Bank, chapter 7.

¹⁴ E.g., Bulmer-Thomas, V. *The Political Economy of Central America since 1920*. Cambridge University Press (1987); and Brockett, C., *Land, Power, and Poverty*. Westview / Boulder, 1998.

¹⁵ Deere, C. and León, M., *Mujer y tierra en Guatemala*, FLACSO, Guatemala City, 1999, page 6.

¹⁶ Deere, C. and León, M., *Mujer y tierra en Guatemala*, FLACSO, Guatemala City, 1999, page 6.

¹⁷ Deere, C. and León, M., *Mujer y tierra en Guatemala*, FLACSO, Guatemala City, 1999, page 6.

TOTAL	100% (n=531,623)	100.0% (n= 5,875,317 hectares)
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Source: Guatemala, III Censo nacional agropecuario (Nacional Agricultural Census), 1979, Vol. 1, quoted in Deere & León, 1999.

From the early sixteenth century, the indigenous peoples of Guatemala were enslaved by the Spanish conquistadors and their descendants, their lands stolen from them, and forced to live as serfs on *reducciones*¹⁸. In Alta Verapaz, in the Q'eqchi area, for example, from the early sixteenth century onwards, the *reducciones* provided slaves for cotton and cochineal production¹⁹. The economic model of the modern plantation, introduced in the 19th century, was based on the large-scale production of coffee and bananas for the US and European markets. This economic model, which reigned supreme in the period 1871 – 1944, depended on foreign plantation owners introducing modern technologies of production on large-scale plantations but depending on forced, indigenous cheap labour²⁰.

Violence and the Guatemalan State

The economic strategy of the Guatemalan state to concentrate on export-based tree crops based on large scale plantations and forced, cheap indigenous labour allowed the creation of minority elites that became very powerful in the last three hundred years or so, and a majority, landless, indigenous population which was excluded by a state that unleashed unrestrained violence upon them each time they rebelled and fought for basic human, cultural and labour rights²¹. The massacre of Panzos is one of the most powerful symbols of the fascism of the Guatemalan dictatorships that ruled in the 1960s to the 1990s. In May 1978, Q'eqchi peasants demonstrated in the town square of Panzos, demanding title deeds to land. Soldiers, estate owners, and local landowners fired onto the crowd of demonstrators, killing more than one hundred Q'eqchi boys and men. Many shot their guns from the balconies of the *alcaldía municipal*, the town hall. No memorial plaque or stone to the murdered Q'eqchi has yet been set up in the town square (as is mandated under the Peace Accords).

The general period of violence, which lasted from around 1960 to about 1995, and which was known as the *Violencia*, began with the US-backed invasion of Guatemala in 1954, and the deposing of the democratically elected president, Jacobo Arbenz, who had attempted to carry out land reform and who managed to distribute land to some 100,000 landless families. The coup of 1954 accelerated into a thirty year dirty war lasting till 1996. 53% of the victims of

¹⁸ “*Reducción*” means “Village of American Indians converted to Christianity” (Maria Moliner, *Diccionario de Uso del Español*, Madrid, 2000).

¹⁹ Wilson, R. *Mayan Resurgence in Guatemala. Q'eqchi Experiences*. Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1995, pp 30-63.

²⁰ Cambranes, J. 1985. *Coffee and Peasants in Guatemala. The Origins of the Modern Plantation Economy of Guatemala, 1853-1897*. South Woodstock, VT. CIRMA / Plumstock Mesoamerican Studies.

²¹ McCleary, R. *Imponiendo la democracia. Las élites guatemaltecas y el fin del conflicto armado*. Artemis Edinter, Guatemala City, 1999, pp 11 -21.

the *Violencia* were Mayan, 11% were Ladino, and 30% were not registered²². At least 400, or by one estimate, 440²³ Mayan villages were destroyed by the Guatemalan Army in the period 1980-1984, and about 1 million Mayan peasants fled the country's scorched earth policy²⁴.

Under the military dictatorships of the 1960s to the 1990s, the Guatemalan state again attempted to destroy the culture and indigenous modes of being and indigenous livelihoods of the Mayans by constructing model villages atop the ruins of the villages its army had destroyed and whose inhabitants it had killed or forced to kill one another^{25 26}. The model village system was based on the forced recruitment by the army of about 900,000 peasants in the Western Highlands, Huehuetenango, El Quiché, and other Mayan indigenous areas of Guatemala²⁷, many of whom were Mayans, into PACs, or Civil Defence Patrols (*Patrullas de Autodefensa Civil*²⁸).

After five centuries of violence, which culminated in three decades of perhaps the worst, most brutal violence ever recorded in the Western Hemisphere, perpetrated against Guatemala's Indian populations by its own government and army, Guatemala reached a cease fire and the signing of the last Peace Accord in 1996²⁹. The Guatemalan Indians refer to the *Violencia* of the 1960s-1990s as the *Tercer Genocidio*, the Third Genocide, having suffered, in their perception, two earlier genocides by the Spanish conquerors and their Ladino descendants. Anthropologists such as Carol Smith³⁰ believe that the Guatemalan Mayans suffered ethnocide, the deliberate policy of attempting to kill all of the ethnic groups of Mayans, a policy which was American-sponsored and carried out by the Guatemalan army and state-sponsored death squads with CIA support.

²² *Guatemala Nunca Más*. Vol. 4. Víctimas del Conflicto, p. 484, 1998, ODHAG, Guatemala.

²³ S. Jonas, *Of Centaurs and Doves: Guatemala's Peace Process*. Univ. of California Press, 2000, p. 24.

²⁴ Perera, V. *Unfinished Conquest: The Guatemalan Tragedy*. Univ. of Cal. Press, 1993, pp 9, 17.

²⁵ Zur, J. *Violent Memories: Quiché War Widows in Northwest Highland Guatemala*. PhD. Thesis, LSE, Dept. of Anthropology.

²⁶ C. Smith, "The Militarization of Civil Society in Guatemala. Economic Reorganisation as a Continuation of War". In *Latin American Perspectives* vol. 17 (4), 8-41, 1990.

²⁷ S. Davis, "Introduction: Sowing The Seeds of Violence", in R. M. Carmack (ed.), *Harvest of Violence; The Maya Indians And The Guatemalan Crisis*. Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1988 (1992), pp 3-36, at p. 27.

²⁸ A tactic also used by the Peruvian army in the Ayacucho area in the 1970s to the 1990s in its fight against *Sendero Luminoso*, during which about 70,000 peasants, a majority of whom were Quechua Indians, were murdered / disappeared.

²⁹ *Acuerdos de Paz: firmados por el gobierno de Guatemala y la Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca*, MINUGUA, 1977, Guatemala City.

³⁰ Carol Smith, "Destruction of the Material Bases for Indian Culture: Economic Changes in Totonicapán", in R. M. Carmack (ed.), *Harvest of Violence: The Maya Indians and the Guatemalan Crisis*. Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1988 (1992), pp 206-231, at p. 206.

The Peace Process was reached by means of the following Accords:

- Accord on Strengthening Civilian Power and the Function of the Army in a Democratic Society
- Global Accord on Human Rights
- Accord for Relocating Populations Uprooted by the Armed Confrontations
- Accord on Identity and Rights of the Indigenous Nations
- Accord on Socioeconomic Aspects and Agrarian Situation
- Accord on Constitutional Reforms and Electoral Regime

The Peace Accords foresee the carrying out of a series of fundamental activities aimed at transforming Guatemalan society and ending exclusion and repression of Guatemala's majority indigenous population.

Current challenges to peace and the phenomenon of violence against women

Considerable challenges obstruct the path towards full enactment of the ideals enshrined in the Peace Accords, not least the resistance of the landed elites who still control power and the political system and who therefore continue to successfully stymie land reform, political reform, and inclusion of the indigenous populations of Guatemala.

Furthermore, several hundred massacres have taken place in indigenous and Ladino villages throughout Guatemala, in the period after 1996 and the signing of the Peace Accords (often over the settling of old scores, fighting over land or other resources, or due to religious schism in formerly united communities), demonstrating that the psychological aftermath of the decades of *Violencia* is still not expunged from the body politic of Guatemala. In the urban areas of the larger cities, a form of gender violence, known as *femicidios*, has led to the murder, rape, and dismemberment of more than one thousand five hundred young girls and women, many of whom are poor indigenous girls working in *maquiladoras* –factories making clothes and shoes for Western markets - in urban slums. Many of the murders are believed to be committed by police or death squad activists associated with the government and anti-indigenous movements³¹. With the exception of one or two international organisations (including ADA and the UNDP³²) very little assistance is being provided to counter femicides in Central America.

³¹ R. Grais-Targow, "Femicide in Guatemala", <http://marxsite.com/Femicide%20in%20Guatemala.pdf>. "In the past three years (2001-2004) nearly 1,500 young women in Guatemala have been murdered. Already this year (2004), 257 women have been murdered, with the perpetrators going unpunished".

³² ADC staff in Managua are currently supporting, in partnership with UNDP, projects in the media and other areas that aim to reduce gender violence, in particular femicides.

2.2 Austria's Cooperation with Guatemala

2.2.1 History of Austrian Support

Central America has been a priority region of the Austrian Development Cooperation (ADC) since the early 1990s. In recent years cooperation efforts have focused on Nicaragua as a *priority* country, as well as Guatemala and El Salvador as *partner* countries. Austria opened a Coordination Office in Managua in 1986, which has become the focal point for dialogue between the ADC and partner countries in the region as well as for planning and monitoring of Austrian programmes. In its endeavours in Central America, the ADC is for the most part committed to areas such as rural development, the promotion of micro, small and medium enterprises, as well as the social sector (health, education and water supply)³³.

In order to support the efforts of Central American countries on their way towards integration, ADC is working on a new regional programme. Within this framework trans-national measures will be implemented to mitigate potential negative impacts of the processes of integration on discriminated and marginalised population groups. Furthermore, projects in the production sector will contribute to increasing the regional and international competitiveness of small enterprises and agribusiness in particular³⁴.

In many Central American countries juvenile delinquency poses a special challenge. In this context the ADC intends to contribute to social cohesion through measures such as ensuring access to education and basic health care for the poor and marginalised populations, as well as by strengthening the rights of indigenous peoples. Parts of the regional programme will continuously be devoted to Guatemala and El Salvador as partner countries, with the Nicaragua programme being implemented in parallel³⁵.

Austrian aid to Guatemala started in the 1980s in the Western Highlands, through the Institute for International Cooperation (IIZ), the Austrian North-South Institute for Development Cooperation (ÖNSI), and the NGO Horizont 3000³⁶. Other Austrian development partners have included Initiative Dritte Welt, TBW (an engineering company), MIRIAM, and Association Guatemala.

The Austrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs believed in the late 1980s that if the peace process failed, Guatemala would revert to civil war and genocide again. In 1988, ADA carried out a study of peasant and indigenous organisations that would need support on the road to peace. The study was used to design a programme to help consolidate the peace efforts then underway. The RDP which was implemented helped create a key institution at the time: the Centro de Capacitación e Investigación Campesina³⁷, which was created in

³³ Source: http://www.ada.gv.at/view.php3?f_id=9118&LNG=en&version=

³⁴ Source: http://www.ada.gv.at/view.php3?f_id=9118&LNG=en&version=

³⁵ Source: http://www.ada.gv.at/view.php3?f_id=9118&LNG=en&version=

³⁶ HORIZONT 3000 stands for "Austrian Organization For Development Co-operation".

³⁷ Centre For Peasant Research and Training.

Quetzaltenango. A number of similar indigenous institutions were built up in San Marcos. After the 1996 Peace Accords these organisations had, in a sense, done their work and, as they could now operate openly, they were transformed into other development-oriented indigenous organisations.

ADA decided to move out of the Peten and to refocus Austrian support in the Western Highlands³⁸ at the beginning of 2000. ADA contracted two consultants to carry out an Analysis of Human Rights, Indigenous Rights, and Participation in Guatemala (presented on May 15, 2001), as well as the identification of potential counterparts. Based on this study, ADC selected three organizations: the Santa María Linguistic Project (PLSM), the Community Development Association (ASDECO), and the Women's "Weavers of Development" Association (AMUTED) to implement its ongoing, flagship programme, the Förderung Der Rechte³⁹ Programme (First Phase September 2002 - December 2005), now in its second Phase (2006-2008).

Austrian aid to Guatemala is co-ordinated partly from the ADA HQ in Vienna and to a greater degree from the ADC Regional Office in Managua. Austrian aid to Guatemala is divided into two types: i) the bilateral aid programme and ii) the co-financing programme. The bilateral aid programme is directly managed – with the support of implementing partners – by the technical support staff in Managua, who travel three to four times (or more) a year to Guatemala for project visits, M&E visits, etc. The individual projects under the co-financing programme are funded from Vienna direct to the implementing NGOs or Austrian firms, but the Managua-based technical staff have little involvement in design, M&E or project management of this portfolio. Up to 2004, there was also a fund for small embassy grants, typically used to fund action-based research, small women's groups and NGO projects in Guatemala, and elsewhere in Central America, but Vienna ADA has frozen this fund since 2004 because, according to the Managua-based technical staff, Vienna felt it did not have sufficient control over the choice of sector and modality of support of these mini embassy projects.

The perception of some key Managua-based technical staff is that the Austrian bilateral aid programme is currently too small, and should i) either be substantially increased, given the nature of the development problems in Guatemala, or ii), become more streamlined so that more impact could be achieved in more focused geographical areas. The following table shows the Guatemala programme budget in the years 2003-2006.

Table 2-2 ADA Budget Guatemala, 2003-2006

³⁸ The Western Highlands is one of the areas that suffered most from the genocidal state repression of the 1960s through to the 1990s.

³⁹ Förderung der Rechte der indigenen Bevölkerung im westlichen Hochland von Guatemala (Support to the Rights of the Indigenous Population of Western Highland Guatemala).

Year	Total Amount (EUROS)	Guatemala Budget Line (EUROS)	Co-Financing Programme Budget Line (EUROS)
2006	2,300,000	1,600,000	700,000
2005	1,645,000	1,050,000	595,000
2004	2,526,000	1,420,000	1,106,000
2003	1,132,000	460,000	672,000

Source: data from ADA Vienna

The table shows that the average budget including both the Guatemala budget line and the co-financing budget line has been approximately 1.9 million EURO per annum for the last four years. The ADC (this includes the ADA and the Austrian Foreign Ministry) is currently planning to reduce the funds in the Guatemala budget line in order to increase funds in the Regional budget line. The overall result will be that the budget for Guatemala will not be reduced. The Guatemala programme will be integrated in the future regional programme.

The bilateral programmes typically fall into one of three sectors: the Rural Development Sector, the Social Sector and the Water and Sanitation (WATSAN) sector (detailed below). The co-financing programme portfolio, some twenty or more small projects, range across all of these sectors, in addition to which are human rights projects (including psycho-social support and exhumation and reburial services of victims of genocide); women's group projects (trades training, promotion of women's rights, anti-gender violence projects), credit projects, and other types of social sector projects (detailed below).

Finally, a very recent ADC document provides a short overview of the priorities for Austrian Aid in Central America and Guatemala. This document stresses the Austrian commitment to fight against "the social, economic and cultural discrimination against the indigenous population in the Western Guatemalan Highlands. The {ADC-supported} projects contribute to strengthening Mayan institutions and the Mayan traditional legal system and support bilingual education in two languages. Furthermore, ADC supports projects in rural development, drinking water supply, and support to small and medium enterprises"⁴⁰.

Despite the ADA's rhetorical support of Guatemala, the aid portfolio to Guatemala has been considerably wound down, and Guatemala is no longer seen as a strategically-important country. Although it is positive that this evaluation of culture in Nepal, Bhutan, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Guatemala has taken place, ADA's decision not to provide funds to carry out an in-country evaluation of the Guatemala portfolio would appear to reflect the underlying Austrian Government reduction in commitment to Guatemala in the long term.

⁴⁰ *Centroamérica. Desarrollo y Cooperación. Relaciones y Perspectivas*. Viena, May 2006, page 26.

2.2.2 Earlier Country Programme and Project Portfolio

The Austrian Institute for North South Cooperation has been one of the primary partners for the ADC in Guatemala over the past 10 years. A few other co-financed NGO projects have been implemented by the NGOs, Horizont 3000, MIRIAM, CARE, and others.

ADC has supported indigenous people's rights and ethnic development since the mid 1980s in Guatemala. Austrian support gained momentum and crucial importance after the signing of the Peace Accords in 1996 (whose objective was to heal a deeply wounded, fractured and schismatic society long divided along racial and class lines).

The main objective of the Austrian support has been to reduce discrimination against ethnic Mayan groups, to reduce exclusionary processes by supporting improved civil society institutions, improved governance, improved basic services (including WATSAN services) and to support indigenous revivalism, rescue, and reaffirmation of cultural institutions (Mayan languages, Mayan weaving, Mayan cultural rights, Mayan legal institutions, Mayan women's institutions). The basic premise of the Austrian support has been that it is morally obliged to support the historically repressed and excluded Mayan majority of Guatemala in order to allow Mayan linguistic and cultural groups in Guatemala to finally take their rightful place in society.

Some four or five large projects and programmes, and about a further twenty small projects, were supported / are being supported in the period 1990 to 2003 by ADC, in the broad area of support to culture, cultural survival, and rescue of indigenous languages and modes of livelihood, viz.

- Proyecto de Asesoría en Tenencia de Tierra, Áreas Protegidas y Participación Indígena en Guatemala y Centroamérica, Fase I⁴¹. CARE – Austria & CARE – Guatemala. 1 April 1997 - 31 December 1998, 21 Months. Budget: ATS 3,922,310 (100% BMfaA) (Tierras I, El Peten).
- Tierras II. Full title, “Proyecto de Asesoría en Tenencia de Tierra, Áreas Protegidas y Participación Indígena en Guatemala y Centroamérica, Fase 2⁴²” (CARE – Tierra II – proyecto complementario 2), 01/1999 to 12/2000.
- “Proyecto de identificación, documentación, demarcación y legalización de tierras comunales del pueblo Maya - Ch'orti’ en Guatemala y Honduras (6 months, January 1999 – June 1999).

⁴¹ German title, Projekt zur Beratung zur Landsicherung, zum Ressourcenschutz und zur Stärkung von Interessensvertretungen der indigenen Landbevölkerung in Zentralamerika Projektträger.

⁴² In English, “Project to Support Land Tenure, Protected Areas, and Indigenous Participation in Guatemala and Central America, Phase 2”.

- Proyecto de Etnodesarrollo del Pueblo Maya Ch'orti' en Guatemala y Honduras, primera fase. 1 Jan. 2001 to 31 Dec 2003. Budget US\$ 622,220.
- Apoyo a la gestión jurídica y gerencial en comunidades indígenas y campesinas en Guatemala (CONIC). Project number, 1540-02/04.

Several of the larger projects are co-financed, between EU and ADC. For example, the Tierras II - Project in North Peten, was implemented by CARE-Austria since 1994. Financing was 80% European Union, and 20% ADC. The Ch'orti Project had a duration of one year. ADC financed the pilot phase (year 1), after which the project was financed – and has been continuously financed up till now- by an Austrian NGO. The project was based on an anthropological study by a combined team of Coordinadora Maya Ch'ortí' (Guatemala), Consejo Nacional Indígena Maya Ch'ortí' (Honduras), FUNDESOR, FLACSO, AVANCSO and Defensores de la Naturaleza and an ADC consultant anthropologist⁴³.

Tierras II, an extension of the Phase I, Tierras I, is a Project targeting land tenure, protected areas, and indigenous participation in Guatemala and Central America is part of a regional program of ADC support that ADC considers a top priority. Tierras II is also framed within the recommendations in the European Union's document "Los pueblos indígenas y la cooperación al desarrollo de la Comunidad Europea y de los Estados miembros", dated 30/11/98. Tierras II is a natural resources conservation project that emphasises the setting up and management of buffer zones by means of legalization of land tenure and TA in agro-forestry, in order to stop incursions into Mayan lands, to stop environmental degradation of Mayan lands, and to stop further land alienation at the hands of Ladino colonizers. The target group is Mayan and Ladino communities in the buffer zone of the Parque Nacional Sierra Lacandón (PNSL) and other zonal areas of the Mayan Biosphere Reserve (RBM). The Project aims to contribute to conserving resources via stabilization of the agricultural frontier in the buffer zone. Tierras II works with Q'eqchí and Ladino communities that existed before the RBM (which includes the PNSL) was established in 1990.

Tierras II aims to benefit a target population of 1,200 families (282 are Q'eqchí families which participated in Phase I of the Project); roughly 7,200 people in total will benefit from Tierras II. Before coming to Peten, the beneficiary populations came from rural areas and were landless, or near landless, and were characterized by high levels of poverty and low and irregular income levels.

The Project has two main areas of work:

- Legalization of lands for peasants occupying areas of the buffer zone in the Mayan la Biosphere Reserve; and

⁴³ Informe del proyecto de tierras comunales ch'ortí'. Hacia el etnodesarrollo y la consolidación socioambiental del territorio maya ch'ortí' en Guatemala y Honduras. Guatemala, March 2000,

- The agro forestry component which introduces sustainable agricultural and agro forestry practices.

With funds from ADC and the EU (and USAID supplementary funding), the Tierras Project to legalize tenure began implementation in 1994. The project included components of TA and environmental training. The project aimed to i) involve the communities in the area that predate the declaration of the RBM and ii) to obtain legal land tenure and iii) train them in agro forestry and sustainable agriculture. Up till October 2000, work with about 4000 peasant land holders has been carried out (families with about 5 people in each HH) in more than 50 communities over a total surface area of approximately 300,000 hectares of the 500,000 hectares covered by the (Buffer Zone) (Zona de Amortiguamiento, or ZAM)).

Tierras II has been evaluated by several institutions and individuals, one report being compiled by Grünberg⁴⁴. Grünberg's report agrees with the previous evaluation of Tierras II, namely that the project managed to stabilise the agricultural frontier by means of legalization of tenure for families living in the national Park, in Petén and in other areas prone to colonization. The report of the Final Evaluation of the Project, carried out in September 2000 claims that the "project has achieved an effective contribution in the Buffer Zone around the Parque Lacandón by stabilizing the agricultural frontier. All project beneficiaries interviewed by this evaluation coincided that the activities have been positive. The major problem in execution concerned the agro forestry component that basically failed and was not implemented."

Involvement in the Water Sector in Central America

ADC involvement in the water sector has focused on projects in Nicaragua and Guatemalan, around 0.5 MEURO annually invested. As a whole, the water sector has accounted for about 15% of the ADC engagement in Central America. In Guatemala the percentage is higher. The main focus of the ADC Water Sector support in Central America is:

- The area of Community Hygiene (disposal of sewage and Anaerobic technology) in Nicaragua
- The area of municipal Water Supply, especially the institutional strengthening of municipal public utilities, in Guatemala.

The origins of these water sector interventions, and thereby the shape of the current WATSAN project, go back at least to the years 1996/97 (Sewage Treatment Plant, Masaya, Canal Network, León, Xelagua / Quetzaltenango

⁴⁴ G. Grünberg, "Informe final de las actividades del " Proyecto de Asesoría en Tenencia de Tierra, Áreas Protegidas y Participación Indígena en Guatemala y Centroamérica, Fase 2 " (CARE – TIERRA II – proyecto complementario 2), del 1º de enero de 1999 al 31 de diciembre de 2000.

Project in Guatemala); in the case of the cooperation with the Technical University of Managua, back to 1990⁴⁵.

2.2.3 Current Country Programme and Project Portfolio

The current ADC aid portfolio to Guatemala appears in the following table.

Table 2-3 Current Project Portfolio Guatemala, 2006

Project Number	Status	Project Partner	Agreement Title
Rural Development Sector: 1080-00/2003 (Guatemala budget line)	IB	TBW	Ländliche Entwicklung im westlichen Hochland, Guatemala
Social Sector: 1080-02/2003 (Guatemala budget line)	IB	Horizont 3000	Guatemala - Verbesserung der Wasserversorgung im Hochland von Guatemala Local counterparts: Municipalities of San Marcos & San Pedro
Social Sector: 2439-00/2006 (Central America budget line)	IB	ÖNSI	Förderung der Rechte der indigenen Bevölkerung (Schwerpunkt Guatemala) Local counterparts: 1. PLSM – Xela 2. ASDECO – Chichicast. 3. AMUTED – Xela
Social Sector: 2327-00/2006 (Central America budget line)	IB	MIRIAM Austria	MIRIAM - Frauenförderungsprogramm in Nicaragua und Guatemala Contraparte local: MIRIAM Guatemala y Nicaragua
Social Sector: 1540-02/2004 (Guatemala budget line)	IB	ÖNSI	Juristisches und administratives Förderprogramm für indigene Bauernbevölkerung, 2004-2007 (Abschlußphase) Local counterparts: Coordinadora Nacional Indígena y Campesina (CONIC)
Social Sector: 1930-01/2004 (Guatemala budget line)	IB	ÖNSI	Psychosoziale Betreuung und Forschung im Kontext von Exhumierungen in Guatemala Local counterpart: Equipo de Estudios Comunitarios y Acción Psicosocial (ECAP)

Source: Managua Regional ADC Office

In addition there are a number of smaller projects broadly supporting culture and cultural rights of the Mayan peoples of Guatemala.

⁴⁵ Reinold Seidelmann, Wassersektor-Review Zentralamerika. Beitrag zum Programmierungsprozess für die Schlüsselregierung Zentralamerika. Missionsbericht Nicaragua / Guatemala. 22 Mai – 1 Juni 2005, p.8.

A number of studies have been commissioned by ADC. These studies have been used to form the basis for making development plans in coordination with indigenous municipalities and indigenous communities in the Western Highlands. One example of a study commissioned by ADC and carried out by FLACSO is “Challenges to Regional Development (in the Western Highlands) (2002⁴⁶)). This Study comes up with a number of important recommendations, viz.:

- Attack the conditions causing exclusion:
- Attack exclusion in the labour market, in access to land, to education, and in political and citizen participation.
- Strengthen Indigenous Identity as a key to Rural Development (following the Peace Accords and ILO 169 which state that indigenous culture and language must be prioritized by the state)
- Promote and prioritize gender equity in development
- Transform and modernize the agrarian system (including land reform) as a pre requisite for development. No development can take place without land reform and a change to the agrarian system.
- Environmental and legal protection of Indigenous Lands as the basis of ethno-development
- Improve the capacity of indigenous people to empower themselves: By training and forming of indigenous leaders it will be possible to break the mould of top-down, Hispanic-dominated government models that have subjugated indigenous peoples for centuries in Guatemala ⁴⁷

It is important to note that the majority of the Austrian-supported projects in Guatemala do indeed follow these recommendations. The Austrian portfolio seeks to strengthen indigenous culture (e.g., the support to bilingual Maya education), and thereby raise indigenous self esteem, help women empower themselves (e.g., the weaving project), and promote indigenous leadership (by, e.g., supporting the first indigenous mayor in Guatemala).

2.3 Overview of Cultural Heritage and Reference Projects

This section provides an overview of four projects:

- Rural Development in the Western Highlands (Desarrollo Rural En El Altiplano de Guatemala), Project no. 1080-00, 2003-2006;
- Legal and administrative support programme for the indigenous population (Apoyo a la Gestión Jurídica y Gerencial en Comunidades Indígenas y Campesinas en Guatemala), project no. 1540-02, 2004-2007;

⁴⁶ S. Elías, Los desafíos del desarrollo regional en el altiplano occidental de Guatemala. Insumos para la elaboración de una propuesta de desarrollo para la región, Guatemala, Agosto de 2002, FLACSO, Guatemala.

⁴⁷ S. Elías, Los desafíos del desarrollo, pp 30-31.

- Promotion of the legal rights of the indigenous population in the Western Highlands, project no. 2151, 2000-2002 (Apoyo al Fortalecimiento de los Derechos Indígenas en el Altiplano Occidental de Guatemala);
- Water Supply Project Xelaugua (Mejoramiento del Abastecimiento de Agua Potable en el Altiplano de Guatemala/ Improving Potable Water Suplly in the Guatemalan Highlands).

1. Rural development programme (RDP)

The seven component projects of the rural development programme are:

1. Empowerment Strategy and Strategy for Integrated Women's Development
2. Integrated Support to the Communities of Cuilco Municipality, Huehuetenango
3. Making BANCAMPESINO Operational
4. Positioning MABELI in the National Market
5. Strengthening Synergies Towards Gender Equity Between Organizations in the Western Region of Guatemala
6. Institutional Strengthening of the Environmental Circle In Order to Promote and Facilitate Processes that Contribute to Sustainable Management and Conservation of the Environment and Natural Resources in the Western Region of Guatemala
7. TA to Make Operational BANCAMPESINO in Managing and Administering Credit Services TA to the Association For the Promotion and Development of the Community.

The programme under review is in its final phase (2004-2007) of a fourteen year-long programme (1991-2007). When the original RDP began in 1989-1990 the indigenous leaders and peasant leaders of the project area had to work clandestinely, because death squads still killed indigenous and peasant leaders at this time. The original objective of the RDP was to “support indigenous and peasant organizations that were being persecuted and that were working clandestinely”. ADA at the time wished to support the faltering peace process “through the back door”.

The Austrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs believed in the late 1980s that if the peace process failed, Guatemala would revert to anarchy again. Thus the RDP – which targeted the areas suffering most repression and with the highest indigenous concentrations – was a bulwark in the struggle to consolidate the peace process. “Culture” in this context – and in the context of the ADA support to culture -- was an intangible cultural ethos; culture was the restoration and rehabilitation of contemporary Mayan civilization which was suffering

“ethnocide” (Smith’s term⁴⁸) and persecution at the hands of a racist, fascist state. Since the indigenous and peasant organizations at that time had to work clandestinely, the ADC chose the Catholic Church (*La Pastoral Indígena*) as the implementing agency because it was able to operate fairly effectively in the climate of repression⁴⁹.

2. *Legal and administrative support programme for the indigenous population (Apoyo a la gestión jurídica y Gerencial en Comunidades Indígenas y Campesinas en Guatemala), project no. 1540-02, 2004-2007.*

In the period 1995-1997, CONIC was supported by ADC – via the INS – with two small projects covering technical and legal technical assistance for the peasant populations; the focus was on land tenure problems, organizational assistance and legal aid. Part of the training components of both projects included producing training materials on citizen rights in Mayan languages (Q’eqchi, Kaqchiquel, Tz’utuhil, and Ixil). The experience of implementing these two projects showed CONIC that there was a much greater need for expanding the legal and administrative support work in indigenous and Ladino villages Ixil Triangle, Verapaces, Western Highlands, and other areas with large indigenous populations, especially as regarded making known the content and implications of the peace Accords and the new laws passed to help cement peace and reconciliation in “post-conflict Guatemala”. In particular, peasant and indigenous leaders, and women leaders, needed to be apprised of the laws and Peace Accords.

CONIC originally wrote a project proposal called “*Jurídico Gerencial*” (Legal Management / Administration), which reflected the framework and goals of CONIC. CONIC presented the proposal to the INS, which put the document into a Log Frame format which would fulfil ADC aid and project-design stipulations. This project started in 1998, and was designed with two phases in mind: (i) A pilot Phase I consisting of an Educational Diagnostic in beneficiary communities, based on which the training-needs plan was designed, including pilot workshops to test the proposed approaches and curricula, and finally an external evaluation which was carried out in late 1999; and (b) a Phase II which carried out the three-year training activities (2000-2002).

During the implementation of the pilot phase of the project, INS expressed, according to CONIC, certain worries about the (lack of) capacity of CONIC to implement the training activities in a large number of communities in a sustained way. Another risk to attaining project objectives was the low formal educational levels of the trainees who were supposed to become trainers of other villagers afterwards; and who were struggling themselves with the appropriation of knowledge.

⁴⁸ C. Smith, “Destruction of the Material Bases for Indian Culture: Economic Changes in Totonicapán”, in R. M. Carmack (ed.), *Harvest of Violence: The Maya Indians and the Guatemalan Crisis*. Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1988 (1992), pp 206-231, at p. 206.

⁴⁹ Source of this information: Interviews with ADC consultants and staff.

For this and other reasons the INS project manager – having considered the original objectives against the results attained – redesigned the Log Frame in 2000 together with CONIC representatives in a workshop; during which the CONIC staff made it clear they believed a five-year project extension would be needed due to the problems that had arisen in the first phases. Note that the reformulation of the Log Frame was done when the final phase of the project had already begun. External consultants were hired to work with CONIC in a participatory way; over two years (2000-2002) they reformulated the project. CONIC hired five consultants to implement the redesigned project; this was problematic, as there were several staff changes which disrupted progress in implementation.

Objectives

The objectives are to ‘contribute to the promotion of local democracy and to the socio-economic improvements of the indigenous communities of the Western Highlands in Guatemala’. The strategy is based on: (i) Training male and female promoters in citizenry rights and community development in 29 indigenous villages in the departments of Quetzaltenango, San Marco, Solola, and Quiché; (ii) strengthening local organisations in these villages to increase inclusion and participation of indigenous citizens in local governance; (iii) promoting the respect and recognition of indigenous communities on the part of the government agencies which collaborate in the defence of, promotion of, and respect for citizen rights, by providing communities with tools to help them demand these rights⁵⁰.

3. Apoyo al Fortalecimiento de los Derechos Indígenas en el Altiplano Occidental de Guatemala (Supporting the Consolidation of Indigenous Rights in the Western Highlands of Guatemala) 2151 – 00/02

This programme is framed within the objectives of the Peace Accords under which the identity and rights of Guatemala’s indigenous peoples are to be encouraged and strengthened. The approach is to make a contribution to making concrete the premise that Guatemala is a multiethnic, multilingual, and multi cultural country. The Programme received EUR 1,091,250 in ADC funding. The Austrian Institute for North-South Cooperation (ÖNSI/INS) manages the Programme from an office in Quetzaltenango set up after the INS won its bid for the programme, as well as from a regional office in Nicaragua. The program has three components with Mayan K’iche’ partners in the west of Guatemala: (a) the Santa María Linguistic Project (PLSM) that works on bilingual-intercultural education with ten cooperative institutes (covering the first three years of secondary education); (b) the Community Development Association (ASDECO) working in the area of indigenous law and in promoting the participation and empowerment of women and youth; and (c) the Women “Weavers of Development” Association (AMUTED), dedicated to individual and collective advancement for women (70% K’iche’s, 30% Ladino), with a focus on rights.

⁵⁰ Source: Leistungsbeschreibung / Projektdokument zu EZA-Vertrag 1540-02/2004. Juristisches und administratives Förderprogramm für indigene Bauernbevölkerung, 2004- 2007, Abschlussphase, p. 1; and CONIC, *Sistematización*, pp 19-21.

The project Document underlines the two lines of approach followed in all of the three projects: (i) Supporting traditional Mayan laws and institutions in civil life, and supporting the participation of Mayan women in public life, should lead to greater self sufficiency and a reaffirmation of indigenous civil society⁵¹; (ii) In addition, the target groups as well as the agencies of the programme counterparts would be supported to assume more influence in local and regional policy. This would be accompanied by a recognition and integration of the local initiatives in the education system, the legal system and municipal organizations.

4. *Water Supply Project Xelaugua*⁵²

The following table⁵³ provides the overview of the project as well as an overview of achievements and results.

Table 2-4 1080-02/2003 – Improving Potable water Supply in Guatemala’s Highlands

Executing Counterpart	Horizont 3000
Budget	EUR 1,999,496
Duration	1.11.2003 – 31.10.2007 Follow-up Project of the Xelagua Projecto (City of Quetzaltenango)
Status	Diagnostic has been finished in two communities Change of counterpart community: Community of San Pedro Sacatepéquez has replaced community of Concepción Chiquirichapa.
Project Goals	General objective: Improve quality of life and reduce poverty in two communities Project objective: Improvement of quantity and quality of water supply with adequate management of water resources in the two communities
Specific objectives and results	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. A legal, institutional and organizational framework has been created & approved by each community’s council to improve sustainably the supply of water in these two communities 2. The newly-independent water bodies are capable of fulfilling the requirements of providing sufficient water of quality. To this end, the departments of administration and financial management, consumer affairs, planning and projects, and O&M are functioning. Personnel in charge of these functions are equipped to carry out their tasks. 3. High levels of quality in the management of economic operations, as well as consumer relations, are being achieved and maintained. 4. Technical planning & operation are being carried out with high levels of

⁵¹ Im lokalen Raum werden Maßnahmen zu einer direkten Veränderung im Themenschwerpunkt induziert, die mehrsprachigen Unterricht, Anwendung des Maya-Rechts, Beteiligung der Frauen am öffentlichen Leben praktisch einüben, zu einem neuen Selbstverständnis der Akteure führen und ihre Organisationsformen stärken.

⁵² Xelagua refers to the city of Quetzaltenango.

⁵³ Source: Seidelmann, Evaluation Report, p. 8.

	quality.
	5. The population and others involved in the community councils are apprised of the project and manage the project with a feeling of ownership

2.3.2 Synthesis of project-specific issues emerging from the above discussion as they relate to intercultural communication and support to culture

In the portfolio reviewed above, there is an overall focus that links all the projects together; on (i)empowerment; (ii)the promotion of gender equity; (iii)poverty reduction (via training and credit-provision) and (iv)support to Mayan tangible and intangible culture by enhancing intercultural communication.

All these four themes are evident in the RDP; and in project 1540 as well, where the emphasis is on solving land tenure problems as a way to strengthen indigenous people's access to resources and thereby fight indigenous poverty.

The RDP, projects 1540 and 2151 use grass roots peasant organisations and NGOs to implement and deliver services. In 2151, the major emphasis is on enhancing and rescuing tangible (weaving) and intangible (language) Mayan culture. Again, like the RDP's credit components and training, 1540's objective is practical poverty alleviation (and long term poverty reduction) via the component "Women Weavers of Development".

Like 1540, 2151 focuses on strengthening and supporting traditional Mayan laws and institutions in civil life: this is simultaneously a way of supporting intangible (as well as tangible) cultural modalities and a way of enhancing intercultural communication (socially by means of the EIB component and its emphasis to teachers and the general public on the practical use of Kitché).

Finally, of the four projects, the Water Project stands out as a primarily technical project, focused on improving health by improving sustainable water supply services. But, like the other three projects discussed above, the support is targeted to help indigenous people primarily.

2.3.3 Other positive results in the field of culture as a result of the support of Austria

In addition to the specially-commissioned studies which formed the basis for planning and designing the above-reviewed projects, Austrian development funds also very importantly led to the collection of research and publication in fields that have been generally ignored in Guatemala. The following works were researched and published on various ethnographic topics and directly resulted from Austrian aid in Guatemala:

- Hostnig, Rainer (compiler) 1994, *Nab'ab'l Qtanam. La Memoria colectiva del Pueblo Mam de Quetzaltenango* (with Luis Vásquez), Quetzaltenango.

- 1997a /b *Esta Tierra es Nuestra. Compendio de fuentes históricas sobre denuncias, medidas y remedidas, composiciones, titulaciones, usurpaciones, desmembraciones, litigios, transacciones y remates de tierra (años 1555 – 1952). Tomos I y II: Área Mam de Quetzaltenango*. CCIC / IIZ; Guatemala.
- 1998, *Esta Tierra es Nuestra. Compendio de fuentes históricas sobre denuncias, medidas y remedidas, composiciones, titulaciones, usurpaciones, desmembraciones, litigios, transacciones y remates de tierra (años 1567 – 1993). Tomo III : Municipio de San Miguel Totonicapán y sus parcialidades*. IIZ; Guatemala.
- Hostnig, Rainer, Rosana Hostnig y Luis Vásquez, 1998, *Etnobotánica mam – La cultura agrícola y material del pueblo mam de Quetzaltenango y su relación con el mundo vegetal*. Austrian Cooperation, Guatemala.
- Grünberg, Georg, 2003, *Tierras y territorios indígenas en Guatemala*. Volumen 6 de “*Dinámicas agrarias en Guatemala*”. FLACSO/MINUGUA/CONTIERRA; Guatemala.

These documents are of great value to Mayan peoples and to ethnographers and historians because they record historical and legal battles concerning the land and land-alienation processes among the Mam, and because they record the ethno-botany and material culture which are intrinsic parts of Mam and pan-Mayan cultural knowledge.

3 Assessment of Culture in Austria's Cooperation with Guatemala

From COWI interviews with ADA staff in Vienna who have worked in Guatemala, one or two key themes emerged in the ADA staff's perceptions regarding support to culture, and indeed, the concept of culture itself. Namely, that the key focus of ADC in Guatemala has been to focus on human rights and participation with regard to the Mayan population. For this reason, the sample of Guatemalan projects provided to the evaluator probably contains those that deal closest with culture through focusing on participation in society and also on emancipation. Finally, the discussions in Vienna revealed the idea of a "culture of cooperation", which has been an important issue in the implementation of the ADC interventions in the country.

It is important to remember when reviewing the Guatemalan portfolio that, paradoxically as it may seem, there is no formal country-to-country agreement between ADA and the Guatemalan government regarding the ADC. The "culture of cooperation" has taken place very much at the grass roots level! All of the aid projects in the ADC portfolio have been negotiated and implemented by means of dealing with i) departmental level institutions (popularly elected mayors or councils running the Departmental Administrations); (ii) municipal-level institutions (mayors and mayoral staff in municipalities) and (iii) private sector institutions such as women's groups or NGOs.

ADC decided some time ago not to press for a formal country-to-country agreement between ADA and the Guatemalan government, in order to permit ADC to work specifically with NGOs and indigenous target groups in the Western Highlands. ADC feared that, if a formal country-to-country agreement existed, the Guatemalan government might want to redirect ADC projects towards direct cooperation with the central government; whereas ADC's policy wish is to "continue working in a decentralized way with the municipalities and NGOs".

3.1 Relevance of Project Portfolio

Austria's development objectives and priorities are combating poverty, peace and human security, protection and conservation of the environment, gender, socially compatible economic development and fair trade. The partner country's realization of fundamental principles of democracy is a precondition for

Austria's development assistance: respect of human rights, attention to refugees and minority groups. Furthermore, Austrian assistance requires the partners' will to participate actively in the reform process and commitment to long-term support to the projects realized with Austria's assistance.

When Austrian assistance to Guatemala began, in the 1980s, there was – on the part of the then Guatemalan dictatorships – very little respect for human rights, attention to refugees and minority groups. At this time, the Guatemalan regimes were systematically attacking their indigenous and Ladino rural populations and murdering thousands of people. Seen against this background, the Austrian assistance at this time was even more invaluable and far-sighted than it is now, in the post Peace-Accords era.

Since the signing of the Peace Accords in 1996, there has been a significant change in the Guatemalan government's attitudes and policies, perhaps the most important of which is the recognition that the challenge of poverty reduction and the construction of peace in Guatemala are linked and that there will be no lasting peace and democracy without eradication of poverty, equality for all citizens, and significant changes to the structural imbalances, especially as regards land distribution, that are at the root of poverty in Guatemala.

The introduction of the Agreement on Socioeconomic Aspects and Agrarian Situation, signed in 1996, states that “...firm and lasting peace should be based on a socioeconomic development oriented toward the common good which responds to the needs of all the population ...this is necessary to overcome situations of poverty, of extreme poverty, inequality, and social and political marginalization that have hindered and distorted the country's social, economic, cultural and political development and that have constituted a source of conflict and instability”. In order to achieve the aims of the Agreement on Socioeconomic Aspects and Agrarian Situation, several objectives were proposed and commitments set in areas such as social services, rural development, fiscal policy, and economic growth with equity.

For its part, the introduction of the Poverty Reduction Strategy (PRS) states that “...poverty and political and social exclusion have been identified as the main factors that unleashed the armed conflict in the sixties. The present institutional period, initiated in the eighties with the return of the democratic system, was built after the country suffered the ravages of an armed conflict which was generated in part as a consequence of the great political, economic, social and cultural exclusions in which lived a majority of the population. The return of democracy, the aim of constructing a regime that responds better to the aspirations of the population and which ratifies the social rights of all Guatemalans, in the nineties led to a formal process of negotiations between representatives of the State and of the armed insurrection. From that negotiating process emerged a set of commitments to eradicate those economic, political, social and cultural factors that had made of the State a managing institution, that excluded and scarcely responded to the aims for which it was established.”

The PRSP appears to be still in draft form and not to have been finalized. Nevertheless, the strategy is not only congruent with the peace agreements, but

also complements them. The Peace Accords and the PRSP provide a general framework for the modernization of the public sector and the reassignment of public expense. There are two especially important goals: to increase funding in social sectors and basic infrastructure, and to improve the efficiency and equity of public services. In light of the PRSP, ADC aid to Guatemala is therefore highly relevant, as it follows the policies and objectives of the Peace Accords and of the draft PRSP.

The strengthening and networking of institutions within the education sector is a central aim of Austrian assistance⁵⁴. Austria's development approach also emphasizes supporting economic development at the lowest possible level, through micro and medium enterprise development⁵⁵. The Guatemala project portfolio is relevant to the stated aims of the ADA, as well as those of the Guatemalan government, as expounded in the Peace Accords and in the Strategy for Poverty Reduction⁵⁶, to combat exclusion of Guatemala's indigenous nations, to promote national reconciliation, and to promote Mayan language, Mayan culture and Mayan social mores.

3.2 Relevance, Sustainability and Effect of Support of Project Portfolio

3.2.1 Relevance

Relevance for Cooperation Country and Population

Rural Development in the Western Highlands (1080-00 Desarrollo Rural En El Altiplano de Guatemala), Project no. 1080-00, 2003-2006

ADC staff see the RDP project as relevant, given the depth of poverty in the Western Highlands. Since the poverty suffered by the inhabitants of the project area is caused by past state repression and historical processes of land alienation and political exclusion, attempts to empower the indigenous population, to strengthen local municipal, indigenous organization, and to diversify agricultural production in impoverished, subsistence-based Mayan communities, are highly relevant as solutions to poverty problems. The programme has a significant gender mainstreaming component, as well as an alternatives-to-agriculture component, and components for improved soil conservation.

⁵⁴ More information on ADA education policies is found in "Educational Development/ Vocational Training" (<http://www.bmaa.gv.at/eza>).

⁵⁵ Information on ADA micro enterprise development policies is found in "Micro, Small and Medium Enterprise Development", and "Promoting Trades and Crafts" (<http://www.bmaa.gv.at/eza>).

⁵⁶ Estrategia de la reducción de la Pobreza: un Camino para la Paz. Secretaría General de la Planificación, September 2001.

It will become easier to conclusively evaluate relevance of the overall programme when the RDP (current phase) has been evaluated. This will happen in 2007.

Legal and administrative support programme for the indigenous population (1540-02 Apoyo a la gestión jurídica y Gerencial en Comunidades Indígenas y Campesinas en Guatemala), project no. 1540-02, 2004-2007.

The main objective of this Project has been to “Contribute to Supporting Local democracy in order to make improvements in Indian Village associations in Guatemala⁵⁷”. Interviewed ADC staff see the project as highly relevant, mainly because the many years of exclusion and repression of Mayan Indian village and community structures has left many villages in a state of disarray, and unable to confront collectively the challenges of poverty and development with identity. In the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, hundreds of indigenous and Ladino mayors, municipal office-holder, teachers, lawyers, unionists, anthropologists, and representatives of peasant organizations were murdered and disappeared. In model villages organized by the army, ancient Mayan traditions were disrespected, and even destroyed. The ruptures and breaches of confidence within such communities did not heal however (evidenced by the continuing number of conflicts, and violent actions such as massacres in this type of community).

The two thematic areas of the project, Administration Support and Legal Support, applied in communities in four departments of the Western Highlands (Quetzaltenango, San Marcos, Solola, Quiché), were chosen precisely because these departments had suffered in the war and because their Mayan indigenous community structures, social capital and structural organizations had been deliberately attacked and weakened for decades.

Among the indicators for this project are⁵⁸ 200 village associations with improved organizational levels, strengthened identity and self-confidence, co-management procedures improved and strengthened, 30% increased participation of women and youth in community associations, and improved ability for problem-solving in the Mayan communal organizations. This type of project goes to the root causes of poverty in Guatemala and, by attempting to assist the indigenous community organizations, aims to make community life more harmonious, and improve conflict-resolution mechanisms, so that

⁵⁷ Beitrag zur Förderung lokaler Demokratie sowie zur sozialen Besserstellung indianischer Dorfgemeinschaften in Guatemala.

⁵⁸ 200 Dorfgemeinschaften mit verbessertem Organisationsniveau, gestärkter Identität und Selbstbewußtsein; 70% der Führungskräfte nehmen ihre Aufgaben und Funktionen wahr; 20% höhere Beteiligung der Mitgliedern der Dorfgemeinschaften an kommunalen Aktivitäten; Anteil der Frauen und Jugendlichen an den Instanzen, die auf den verschiedenen Ebenen an Entscheidungen treffen, beträgt je 30%; Mechanismen und Handlungsspielräume zur Beteiligung wurden geschaffen und gestärkt; Fähigkeit von Führungskräften zur Gesprächsführung und Interessenvertretung in den Entwicklungsräten der Municipien und Departements sowie in anderen Instanzen; befriedigte Bedürfnisse und gelöste Probleme in den Dorfgemeinschaften.

communities can once more come together and plan development in collectivity.

Importantly, CONIC – Coordinadora Nacional Indígena y Campesina⁵⁹ – was invited to implement this programme (together with the (now defunct) North South Institute, INS). CONIC represents more than 100,000 members from 306 communities in the Mayan, Xinca, and Ladino ethnic groups of Guatemala. CONIC's objective is to fight for the rights of peasants and indigenous peoples in Guatemala, as well to train leaders and base organizations so that peasant and indigenous rural communities can develop with identity.

CONIC carried out a series of participatory evaluations⁶⁰. These evaluations suggest that the programme is highly relevant to the expressed needs of indigenous and Ladino communities in the Western Highlands. In particular the evaluation appears to show the high appreciation accorded to the INS methodology that allowed villagers to learn about the Peace Accords and the laws affecting the lives of indigenous and rural peasants such as the Law on Decentralization, the *Código Civil* and other key legal and administrative texts.

Promotion of the legal rights of the indigenous population in the Western Highlands, project no. 2151, 2000-2002 (Apoyo al Fortalecimiento de los Derechos Indígenas en el Altiplano Occidental de Guatemala)

This evaluator concurs with the statement of the evaluation team of this programme, viz: “The goals of the Program – and of the organizations involved – have been met in large measure despite the diversity of the four counterparts’ organizational nature and work styles. The most significant achievements include their integration in and relevance to the western highlands socio-cultural context and the broadening of their coverage in relation to the target population, both in content and in geographic reach”⁶¹.

The evaluation team also wrote that: “Relevance is understood to mean the appraisal of this programme’s importance for the involved parties and for Guatemalan society as a whole.... What stood out for the majority of persons interviewed... was the importance of giving priority to increasing collective and individual self-esteem of Mayan citizens, the necessity of overcoming fear in their transformation into fully assertive political subjects, the pertinence of empowerment of organizations, and the necessity to increase confidence in the validity of their culture as a starting point for their process of human development and for the construction of an inclusive society based on respect of their multi-ethnicity.

⁵⁹ National Co-Coordinator For Indigenous People and Peasants.

⁶⁰ Sistematización de la experiencia vivida en la ejecución del proyecto. “Apoyo a la Gestión Jurídica y Gerencial a Comunidades Indígenas en el Occidente de Guatemala”, CONIC, Guatemala City, 2004.

⁶¹ Morna Macleod and Georg Grünberg, Evaluation of Project 2115-00/2002, Apoyo al Fortalecimiento de los Derechos Indígenas en el Altiplano Occidental de Guatemala, p. 1.

Emphasis was also given to the importance of promoting the K'iche' language, signalling the loss that it has meant for many K'iche's in the urban Quetzaltenango area who do not speak their language. The programme has also stressed gaining equity and democracy rooted in Mayan culture and, through its consolidation, gaining greater capacity to achieve symmetric relations between existing Guatemalan cultures. As long as the level of conflict and discrimination remains as high as it is now this theme will continue to take priority in Guatemala.

There is a generalized recognition, both among the counterparts and those persons interviewed, of the relevance of the program supported by ADC. However, the short time of its implementation does not enable us to measure its impact except for some indicative aspects. What can be pondered is the usefulness of the programme for meeting the general goals of the ADC in the process of reconstruction of the social fabric...⁶²

Water Supply Project Xelaugua

The 2005 water sector evaluation report states that the Project is highly relevant to the needs of the Guatemalan people and to the Central American region, on the following grounds:

- Two successful, stand-alone water companies are being created
- The project is attaining a relevant contribution to the development of the water sector policies in Guatemala and beyond in the Central American region
- Three out of five decentralised independent water companies in Guatemala have been set up with ADC support, so that one can talk of an Austrian model of support in the water sector for the whole region⁶³
- The model has been developed in the area of conflict between the inefficient, centralised model (Nicaragua) and the decentralized model (municipalities administering water – Guatemala), and the widespread fear of privatizing water. However, between these different models, the “Austrian model” has shown itself to be a more viable, effective, and sustainable one.
- The experiences of the ADC-supported water project are relevant for the current European Union water supply programme, which consists of support and setting up an independent water company (Observatorio de Agua)⁶⁴

A criticism levelled at ADA in the 2005 water sector evaluation report is the fact that no components for sanitation, drainage, and sewerage were included in the project design. Lack of sanitary drainage in the context of increased or

⁶² Morna Macleod and Georg Grünberg, *Evaluation of Project 2115*, p. 11.

⁶³ This is another reason why it would be a great shame for the ADA to phase out ODA to Guatemala.

⁶⁴ R. Seidelmann, *Wassersektor-Review Zentralamerika. Beitrag zum Programmierungsprozess für die Schlüsselregierung Zentralamerika. Missionsbericht Nicaragua / Guatemala*. 22. Mai – 1. Juni 2005.

improved water supply is known to increase health risks in urban and rural populations, so this criticism seems warranted⁶⁵.

3.2.2 Synthesis of project-specific issues emerging from the above discussion on relevance as they relate to intercultural communication and support to culture

The project portfolio is highly relevant to the concerns of the Peace Accords, the PRSP, and the Austrian Development principles. The projects aim to enhance intercultural communication by strengthening Mayan civil society, by training Mayan women and men in their new civil rights (as established by the Peace Accords and the *Código Civil*), and by enhancing and promoting Mayan language and culture in the classroom. Supporting Mayan tangible and intangible culture in the various projects has shown itself to be very relevant to the ongoing struggle to promote intercultural communication, reduce racial profiling and racial discrimination and make Mayan culture more acceptable and more understandable.

The RDP, projects 1540 and 2151 all support gender projects and gender initiatives that are relevant to the concerns of enhancing the role of women in intercultural communication in Guatemala.

Finally, the Water Project, being primarily a technical project with an emphasis on engineering and sustainable business management of a public utility, can arguably be seen to promote intercultural understanding by improving the water supply of a primarily Mayan city (Quetzaltenango) and, arguably, showing that a Mayan municipal administration can successfully manage municipal services.

Relevance of Austrian expertise

Rural Development in the Western Highlands (1080-00, 2003-2006)

According to ADC Managua-based staff, the Austrian expertise provided has been relevant and timely. In particular, the Austrian expertise contributed, in collaboration with FLACSO, and other academic institutions, to making high-quality diagnostic studies of the situation of the indigenous peoples and poverty levels in the Western Highlands in the original design phase for the RDP in 1988-1989. These studies were used to plan and design this and other projects aiming to improve livelihoods and social inclusion of indigenous Mayan groups. Among the expertise has been the work over two decades of anthropologist Georg Grünberg and his collaborative work done with FLACSO.

Legal and administrative support programme for the indigenous population,, project no. 1540-02, 2004-2007.

⁶⁵ The evaluation report suggests that sanitation and drainage components will be included in likely future components and phases of the current water sector programme.

The expertise of the INS staff was initially, according to the CONIC participatory evaluation, rather lacking, although after some months the staff gained experience and “learned the ropes” of the communities they were working in. Nevertheless, some of the training had to be re-done, mainly because by the time the training had taken place certain key laws had been updated / modified, necessitating the redesigning of the original training materials⁶⁶.

Promotion of the legal rights of the indigenous population in the Western Highlands, project no. 2151, 2000)

The support of the Austrian Institute for North-South Cooperation (ÖNSI/INS), which manages the programme from an office in Quetzaltenango set up after the INS won its bid for the programme, as well as from a regional office in Nicaragua, has been highly relevant and timely. The recent evaluation report concludes that “the North-South Institute, through its offices in Quetzaltenango and Managua, contributed substantially to the Programme’s positive development. It enjoys the recognition of its three counterparts as an entity for consultation, accompaniment, and coordination. Its participatory style respects group processes that, combined with thematic and methodological competence, has advanced ownership and empowerment, and contributed to the process the sustainability⁶⁷”.

Water Supply Project Xelaugua

It has not been possible to ascertain an assessment of the quality of the staff provided by HOROZONT 3000 on this project. Sector specialists in Managua stated that it is too early to assess the relevance of the consultants seconded to the project, which has however been evaluated. ADC sector staff in Managua said that the consultants supplied under the programme had generally had relevant expertise.

As a final remark, Austrian expertise is relevant in other specialist “sectors”, or areas, of the ADC support to Guatemala. For example, the ongoing project (number 1930-01/2004), “Psychosoziale Betreuung und Forschung im Kontext von Exhumierungen in Guatemala“, draws on the expertise of an Austrian psychologists who has lived ten years in Guatemala and who is able to provide psychological counselling and train counsellors in the project.

3.2.3 Effectiveness

Achievement of objectives

Rural Development in the Western Highlands (1080-00 Desarrollo Rural En El Altiplano de Guatemala), Project no. 1080-00, 2003-2006.

⁶⁶ CONIC, Sistematización, p. 38.

⁶⁷ Morna Macleod and Georg Grünberg, “Evaluation of Austrian Development Programmes in Guatemala”. Unpublished report, ADC Office, Managua, p. 10.

ADC sector specialists in Managua were unwilling to make definite statements about effectiveness of this programme, mainly because the programme is ongoing and has not yet been evaluated⁶⁸. However, staff stated that as regards two of the seven sub-components, there are significant problems that make it unlikely that the objectives will be achieved. These comments concern the third (Operationalization of BANCAMPESINO) and the seventh sub-projects (Technical Assistance for making BANCAMPESINO operational in managing and administering credit services). According to the sector specialist, the NGO (Pastoral de la Tierra) charged with training the villagers in credit management and accounting, lacks the capacity to do so. This problem is reportedly exacerbated by the illiteracy and lack of numeracy of the villagers, rendering the adoption of the credit projects very problematic⁶⁹.

Legal and administrative support programme for the indigenous population (1540-02 Apoyo a la gestión jurídica y Gerencial en Comunidades Indígenas y Campesinas en Guatemala), project no. 1540-02, 2004-2007

The CONIC evaluation⁷⁰ shows that the programme achieved its main objectives, namely:

- Training supplied contributed to exercising rights and participation as indigenous communities and as women
- Reduction of fear on the part of indigenous villagers: now they know it is their right to participate in an organization
- Villagers learned about the Law of decentralization and that villages can make their own development plans
- Women learned about the Law of Intra-family Violence and that this has taught women to fight for personal development / development of their communities
- Improved capacity of the indigenous villagers to conduct dialogue with municipal authorities and with other organizations
- Villagers have learned about the Civil Code and have learned to question candidates for mayor and to demand to review their development plans
- Village organization has become strengthened and villagers have managed to make an exchange of ideas with other communities⁷¹
- Training has promoted different relations and practices between women and men
- Women have become more liberated: now women can leave the home (without men's permission)
- Now women can express opinions in village meetings

⁶⁸ An Austrian consultant is reportedly currently in Managua designing the evaluation of the seven components.

⁶⁹ According to the sector specialist, "Los comuneros no tienen la formación académica para poder manejar un programa de micro crédito".

⁷⁰ Sistematización de la experiencia vivida en la ejecución del proyecto. "Apoyo a la Gestión Jurídica y Gerencial a Comunidades Indígenas en el Occidente de Guatemala", CONIC, Guatemala City, 2004.

⁷¹ Sistematización de la experiencia, obra citada, p. 39.

- The training has taught women their rights; women now know how to demand equality
- Local – municipal organization has been strengthened
- The capacity of villagers as teachers, facilitators, and evaluators as been strengthened as a result of the training
- Villagers have learned to ask for cadastral and legal services from the authorities (as a way of gaining more protection against land alienation)
- Villages have an improved capacity to analyze and make known the analysis of their development problems⁷²

These are significant achievements. The programme appears to be quite successful.

Promotion of the legal rights of the indigenous population in the Western Highlands, project no. 2151, 2000-2002

The recent evaluation report shows that the “effectiveness of the programme was facilitated by monitoring and inspection of the goals achieved in the three components, and that:

- Bilingual Intercultural Education Project: The PLSM surpassed its goals in teacher-training education (annual average 44), with regard to students incorporated in the institutions (1,500 a year), in the production of school texts (27), in school legalization, and in the formation of a second level coordinating associations... that include 14 PLSM Secondary School Cooperative Institutes. Comparing the per capita and per annum subvention for secondary education students (7th – 9th grades) in Guatemala for the year 2004, we see the following ratio: for pupils of the official sector, Q. 1,963; from the cooperative sector, Q. 574; and from the PLSM schools, Q. 578. This signifies a satisfactory ratio and shows that there is not an excessively high subvention in the EIB schools. A resolution through the regional authorities of the education ministry (MINEDUC) was also achieved, which made the K'iche' language an obligatory course in the institutes' curriculum.
- Community Development Association: ASDECO works directly with 14 of the 84 communities of the municipality of Chichicastenango, and indirectly with all the communities through a community radio station and through providing training and accompaniment to 225 communal mayors in the region. It considerably surpassed its goals both with respect to geographic outreach as well as in its educational processes. The case of the recuperation of some land of the indigenous mayoralty, legalized in 1905 and usurped by the privatized telephone utility TELGUA S.A., has been emblematic and demonstrates a consolidated capacity to win support and legal counselling.
- Women's Weavers of Development Association: AMUTED achieved its target of a social base of 250-300 women, including some 70 “literacy

⁷² Sistematización de la experiencia, obra citada, p. 40.

leaders.” It has functioned as an education centre for an area that includes city neighbourhoods and K'iche' rural communities of the Pinal Plain in the municipality of Quetzaltenango, as well as a group in the San Martín Sacatepéquez Mam-speaking area. Through its broad outreach capacity and its alliances with other women's organization, it has managed to broaden its reach to national level.

The INS has sustained an ongoing presence in consulting and accompaniment, gaining a profile as a promoter of different thematic and consulting services for the three counterparts, and through its administrative supervision⁷³.

Water Supply Project Xelaugua

The evaluation of the water Project states that Horizont 3000 staff's execution is efficient; that the diagnostic documents are of high quality; that ownership has been established on the part of the municipal authorities; that the goals of the project are clear and are being completely supported by the project counterpart (the municipalities). This is demonstrated by the fact that the latter has accepted to raise the price of water to make the financial sustainability of the inchoate municipal water company more likely. The evaluation also states that management and monitoring of the Project are fairly satisfactory; that the local media are well used, so that the townspeople know about the Project and the attempt to improve water supply, quality and financial sustainability; and that the project actively participates in exchange of accumulated experiences at the national level. Despite the general success, there are some fairly serious problems. One negative aspect is the absence of a sewage treatment component⁷⁴. The other problems of the water project, highlighted by the evaluation are:

- The installations, equipment and transport means are insufficient to operate and maintain the water network
- The training of water workers and job descriptions for them are insufficient
- The salary levels (set by municipality wage level standards) for technical staff on offer are too low to attract suitably qualified staff
- Operational costs cannot be covered (water tariffs are still too low and need to be raised in San Marcos and in San Pedro
- Illegal connections still negatively affect cost returns to the municipal water corporations⁷⁵.

The creation of an independent water authority in the city of Quetzaltenango (at 150,000 inhabitants, one of the largest cities in Guatemala) (EMAX)), made possible the good management, improvement in infrastructure for monitoring water quality, training and increasing staff levels and raising to sustainable levels the price of drinking water. With the elimination of many of the illegal connections EMAX's income increased by about 20-25%. With its current income, EMAX can cover all its operation costs and achieve small reserves for

⁷³ Morna Macleod and Georg Grünberg, “*Evaluation*”, p. 12.

⁷⁴ Reinold Seidelmann, Wassersektor-Review Zentralamerika.. 22. Mai – 1. Juni 2005.

⁷⁵ R. Seidelmann, Wassersektor-Review Zentralamerika. 22. Mai – 1. Juni 2005, p. 10.

future investments in the network. In the near future EMAX is planning to include sewage treatment in its ambit.

The project has now ended, but it represents an example of what a decentralized municipal water company can achieve and can look like in Guatemala (there are only four such successes in the whole of Guatemala). Another impact of the Project is the fact that the Water Master Plan financed by ADC, and done by Horizont 3000, is now being executed by JICA (total budget of US\$ 17 million). A key point for obtaining the JICA funding was the good functioning of EMAX, which was 100% due to the ADC project⁷⁶.

Project management

In general, the interviewed staff report being pleased with the Project management, reporting skills, speed of communication, and professionalism of the implementing agencies involved in the programmes under review. Note that the ADC policy is that as large a share as possible of budget funds for individual projects should go to local organizations and NGOs, rather than Austrian (or other “international” NGOs or firms). Furthermore, in the case of international NGOs (Horizont, CARE, MIRIAM, the North South Institute etc.), these have either regional offices in Managua as well as project offices in Guatemala.

While the established presence of implementing agencies does not guarantee good project management, it does make it more likely. Managua-based ADC staff report having good communication channels with the implementing NGOS (Horizont, MIRIAM, CARE, INS), and express satisfaction in general with project management skills and performance.

Rural Development in the Western Highlands, Project no. 1080-00, 2003-2006

According to sector specialists in Managua, at least one of the NGOs charged with training and implementing the two projects dealing with credit and BANCAMPESINO, has insufficient capacity to do its job properly. Since monitoring reports are not available, and the RDP has not been evaluated yet, it is not possible to make more conclusive statements on this matter.

Legal and administrative support programme for the indigenous population, project no. 1540-02, 2004-2007.

The participatory evaluation (done by CONIC) suggested that management has been successful and goal-oriented, that it has responded to problems in the project and been able to change strategies to respond to problems. Interviewed sector specialists were unable to provide concrete details or opinions on this matter; it is not possible to make more conclusive statements.

Promotion of the legal rights of the indigenous population in the Western Highlands, project no. 2151, 2000-2002)

⁷⁶ R. Seidelmann, Wassersektor-Review Zentralamerika. 22. Mai – 1. Juni 2005, pp 9-10.

The recent evaluation report⁷⁷ suggests that, “given that the Program brings together three counterpart organizations with no previous relationship and only some points in common with respect to their work, the INS wanted to move forward very cautiously with the integration of its program in order to avoid acting in an imposing manner.It is only in 2005 when more contact and exchange took place between the three organizations. Consolidation of program integration has been achieved through: invitations to participate in joint training, for example with the Colom Argueta Foundation and its diploma course on Interculturality; with the Círculo de Género (Gender Circle); a Social Research course organized by INS and the Rafael Landívar University; meetings to discuss context and topical issues; and meetings on Mayan cosmovision and glyphs.

Especially important was the Intercultural Festival held in San Cristóbal de las Casas in August 2005. Twenty members of ASDECO, AMUTED, PLSM, INS and other organizations in Quetzaltenango took part. This trip promoted greater contact, communication and sharing between counterparts. INS also organized a first moment of exchange between counterparts in the first half of 2005 and then more formally a first workshop in July 2005 in AMUTED and a second workshop in November 2005.

This form of gradual integration has been successful. The three organizations recognize that they “can’t do it on their own, joining forces is good” (ASDECO) and have found points in common, or of interest and learning, in the other organizations. Among the aspects most emphasized are: ASDECO’s Radio Swan Tinamit experience and its work with women and youth; the civic participation of AMUTED women; the PLSM pedagogical-methodological proposal and its production of teaching materials, as well and the advisory role PLSM was able to offer AMUTED with regards to their literacy processes. It is interesting to note that in the interviews the greatest identification is with ASDECO, as the organization closest to the other two, although the three organizations see the convenience of deepening interchange between each other in the future”.

An important aspect of management is the management of technical expertise brought into the project. The recent evaluation report⁷⁸ shows that “the modality for contracting consultants has been successful and is highly valued by the counterparts. Despite its high cost, it constitutes an effective and efficient form of support to the counterparts, as it provides “expertise” to the organizations..... At the same time, it also helps to bridge knowledge and processes between communities, NGO teams, and professionals. This is beneficial to all, as it is precisely those channels of communication that are often lacking between research, development and social mobilization processes. Consultants hired ... understand the Mayan system, Mayan law.... It is important to rely on consultants because they impart their knowledge and we take the decisions. The consultants, both men and women, are not entrenched in their positions, they do not impose. They ask us whether this is what we want.

⁷⁷ Morna Macleod and Georg Grünberg, “Evaluation,” pp 14-18.

⁷⁸ Morna Macleod and Georg Grünberg, “Evaluation,” p. 16.

This is also thanks to the fact that all the consultants are indigenous, not Ladinos, some are from other communities ... but all are Mayans...”

This is a very important lesson learned for relevant and effective project management of projects dealing with interculturality and the restoration and protection of culture: that indigenous Mayan consultants are highly valued by Mayans because they understand and share Mayan culture, cosmovision, and cultural and religious viewpoints.

Water Supply Project Xelaugua

The Evaluation report⁷⁹ states that some aspects of the project should have been better and that some of the technical (network hardware) and managerial aspects could have been improved on. There is a ‘deficient administration, lack of planning, lack of income, and a deficiency in infrastructure. Even though 90% of the population of Quetzaltenango is connected to the potable water supply network, the quality of the water is below international standards⁸⁰. Nevertheless, it is important to note that state-of-the-art studies⁸¹ on the links between water and disease show that even if quality of water is not optimal, the presence of water in households has a very great disease-reduction effect (and that it is better to have water than no water at all). In general however the project as a whole is deemed as a success and therefore project management is also judged to be overall satisfactory.

3.2.4 Synthesis of project-specific issues emerging from the above discussion on effectiveness as they relate to intercultural communication and support to culture

Achievement of objectives

The above section’s review shows that the achievement of objectives in terms of enhancing intercultural communication and support to culture has by and large been very successful, measured as an indicator of effectiveness. In project 1540, effectiveness can be measured in terms of enhancing intercultural communication. E.g., the Mayan villages have learned about the Law of Decentralization, and indigenous women have been apprised about gender violence. Thus communication between indigenous Mayan villages and primarily Ladino municipal authorities has been improved in terms of interculturality. Additionally, the *Código Civil* -originally an instrument of Roman Law- and primarily a Ladino legal document, has become more understood by indigenous villagers who studied it under the project.

Likewise, the Water Project can also be viewed as strengthening interculturality – (this is indeed the view of interviewed project staff) - between Ladino and

⁷⁹ R. Seidelmann, Wassersektor-Review Zentralamerika. 22. Mai – 1. Juni 2005, p.8.

⁸⁰ R. Seidelmann, Wassersektor-Review Zentralamerika, p. 9.

⁸¹ S. Cairncross, “Water Supply and the Urban Poor», in J. Hardoy et al (eds), (1990) *The Poor Die Young: Housing and Health in Third World Cities*, London: Earthscan Publications, pp 109-26.

indigenous townspeople and the Ladino and indigenous municipal water administration.

Similarly, in project 2151, which is a legal rights project like project 1540 (and to a large extent also the RDP project), under the EIB Santa Maria Linguistic component, intercultural communication has been effectively promoted by increasing the numbers of rural teachers trained in EIB: - a training enabling them to “bridge two words” and to act as cultural mediators for school children who move in and out of Mayan and Ladino societies. Similarly, the AMUTED sub-component has forged links with and between women’s associations, both Ladino and indigenous ones. The latter two views are the opinions of project staff in Quetzaltenango.

3.2.5 Sustainability

Rural Development in the Western Highlands (1080-00, 2003-2006).

The RDP is ongoing, and no conclusive statements can be made yet about sustainability, financial sustainability, institutional sustainability, responsiveness, participation, ownership and empowerment. The objectives of the overall RDP aim to promote participation, ownership, and empowerment of indigenous Mayans in their rural development, especially of women; the upcoming evaluation will enable empirical statements to be made on this score.

Legal and administrative support programme for the indigenous population (1540-02, 2004-2007).

Financial Sustainability

CONIC is fully financially sustainable. With over 100,000 peasant indigenous and Ladino members it is cemented in the base of Guatemalan rural life and is an institution owned and funded by peasant groups; because it is a base organisation, it does not have top-heavy, expensive organisation structures such as office complexes and boards of directors. It is able to in any community in the village hall, school, or under a tree.

Institutional sustainability

Through its huge membership in over 300 communities, CONIC is institutionally sustainable and a changing organisation able to reflect new needs and the needs of the growing voices of Mayan women as they gain more equity in their institution.

Responsiveness, Participation, Ownership, Empowerment

In the period 1995-1997, when CONIC was supported by ADC – via the INS – with two small projects covering technical and legal technical assistance for the peasant populations, CONIC, which represents thousands of peasants in over 330 villages, made it clear that its needs were in the problem area of land tenure, organizational assistance and legal aid. CONIC’s intimate knowledge of the needs of the Mayan peoples led to part of the training components of both projects producing materials on citizen rights in Mayan languages.

The experience of implementing these two projects showed CONIC that there was a much greater need for expanding the legal and administrative support work in indigenous and Ladino villages, especially as regards making known the content and implications of the Peace Accords and the new laws passed to help cement peace and reconciliation in “post-conflict Guatemala”.

CONIC thus wrote a project proposal called “Jurídico Gerencial” which reflected the framework and goals of CONIC. CONIC presented the proposal to the INS, which forwarded the proposal to ADC. This project started in 1998, and, over time, and with many adjustments based on reading the reality on the ground, the current 5-year programme which is being implemented is fully responsive to, is owned by, and reflects the expressed needs of the Mayan and Ladino peasantry and Mayan women.

Promotion of the legal rights of the indigenous population in the Western Highlands (project no. 2151, 2000-2002)

Financial Sustainability

The evaluation⁸² states that even though the programme has now run for three years, it is (i) still difficult to evaluate its impact in terms of material sustainability; but that (ii) in view of the self-management dynamic of the three counterpart organizations, AMUTED has a confirmed and increasing ability to access funding sources; but that (iii) PLSM is not good at attracting funding.

Institutional sustainability

The evaluation⁸³ found that “the three counterparts have strong programmatic sustainability, and social and organizational cohesion; and, with regards to sustainability in terms of long term viability, the articulation of the three organizations seems promising; they each have strong self-identities and complementary visions in their search for “coherent adaptations” between themselves and increased autonomous capacity to capture resources.

The evaluation team⁸⁴ analysed the strengths and weaknesses of the counterparts. They found that the “strength that characterizes the three counterpart organizations is their clarity and the coherence between their mandate (mission/vision), objectives, goals, and expected results. Each organization has a clear “distinctive competence.” They are organizations that know who they are, what they want, and how to get it, although each organization is quite different from the other... One is an association that relates to the educational system and promotes the strengthening of K’iche’ language and culture. Another uses its professional character to promote participation, empowerment and social-community movement, rooted in K’iche’ culture. The

⁸² M. Macleod & G. Grünberg (2006), “Evaluation of Austrian Development Programmes in Guatemala”, p. 18.

⁸³ M. Macleod, & G. Grünberg (2006), “Evaluation of Austrian Development Programmes in Guatemala”, p. 18.

⁸⁴ M. Macleod & G. Grünberg (2006), “Evaluation of Austrian Development Programmes in Guatemala”, p. 18.

third has a more rank-and-file character and focuses on the individual and collective empowerment of women, above all indigenous women”.

Responsiveness, Participation, Ownership, Empowerment

The evaluation team⁸⁵ showed that the “three organizations are open to interculturality and show “resilience” in their relations with others, whether State or civil society entities. They do not run the risk of becoming self-absorbed or of acting in a closed and defensive manner. The PLSM’s deepening of its methodological and pedagogical approach, despite the high rate of rotation of teachers (that is beyond its control), merits special mention. Likewise, its capacity for self-criticism regarding its products and the recognition that what is involved is an ongoing process of deepening and improving (for example, textbooks and research processes). In conclusion, the three organizations are rooted in, and responsive to, the needs of Mayan children, women, and men in the planning and executing of the three components of this important project.

Water Supply Project Xelaugua and in the Guatemalan Highlands

Financial Sustainability

There are some problems concerning financial sustainability, mainly due to the political difficulty of raising water tariffs to sufficiently high levels to cover optimal O&M and to pay staff salaries high enough to attract technically competent staff. This has led to a situation where the equipment and transport means are insufficient to operate and maintain the water network; and where operational costs cannot be covered totally. And illegal connections still negatively affect cost returns to the municipal water corporations⁸⁶. With the elimination of many of the illegal connections (although this problem still continues) EMAX’s income has increased by about 20-25%. With its current income, EMAX can cover all its operation costs and achieve small reserves for future investments in the network. In the near future EMAX is planning to include sewage treatment in its ambit.

Institutional sustainability

The creation of an independent water authority in Quetzaltenango (EMAX), made possible the good management, training and increasing staff levels and raising to more sustainable levels the price of drinking water. The creation of village-level and municipal-level (San Marcos, San Pedro) water authorities with cultures of best practices and good management practices has made institutional sustainability much more feasible than in the past. Political interference (in the selection of candidates for top posts) is still a problem, as merit and technical expertise rather than political affiliation are obviously more portent for intuitional and technical feasibility of water entities.

⁸⁵ M. Macleod & G. Grünberg (2006), “Evaluation of Austrian Development Programmes in Guatemala”, p. 18.

⁸⁶ R. Seidelmann, Wassersektor-Review Zentralamerika. 22. Mai – 1. Juni 2005, p. 10.

Responsiveness, Participation, Ownership, Empowerment

This project represents a best practice in responsiveness, since it is premised on participation with municipal authorities and townspeople, and because the wishes of townspeople and the villagers have been listened to and accommodated in improving their water supply. Similarly, the participation and ownership of the beneficiaries (municipal water supply staff, householders connected to the system) has been assured by a process of open meetings and dialogue about how to improve the water utilities, and by the practice of having functioning consumer affairs units in the water entities.

3.3 Inter-cultural Communication and Dialogue

In general, the projects reviewed here have dealt with intercultural communication and dialogue in a balanced and thoughtful way.

The EIB component of project 2151 aimed to promote Mayan culture by supporting intercultural education, and by promoting the K'itche language. The Ministry of Education, seeing the success of the Santa Maria linguistic project, has adopted the project activities in other intercultural programmes.

The Legal and administrative support programme (1540-02) has been successful in promoting intercultural communication and dialogue. Its main areas of strength have been to improve indigenous women's knowledge of their rights, to the extent that they are reportedly "no longer fearful" of demanding their citizenry rights in the municipalities; and to the extent that the mutual understanding between Ladino and Mayan people has been somewhat improved, although there is still a long way to go.

The project, Promotion of the legal rights of the indigenous peoples (2151), in the other two components (additional to the Santa Maria linguistic project), has also fostered improved intercultural communication and dialogue. The project as a whole stressed gaining equity and democracy rooted in Mayan culture and gaining greater capacity to achieve equitable relationships between indigenous and non-indigenous cultures in Guatemala.

As mentioned in 2.3 above, project 2151 is framed within the Peace Accords under which the rights of Guatemala's indigenous peoples are to be strengthened. The approach is to contribute to making concrete the premise that Guatemala is a multiethnic, multilingual, and multi cultural country. The project objective, then, is to foster intercultural dialogue and communication. By supporting traditional Mayan laws and institutions in civil life, and supporting the participation of Mayan women in public life, the evaluation by Macleod and Grünberg shows that the programme has increased the recognition and integration of the local initiatives in the education system, the legal system and municipal organizations; and thereby has fostered better intercultural communication and understanding.

3.4 Gender in the Project Design, Management and Implementation

In general, the four programmes take especial regard for gender in the sense of (i) aiming to foster Women in Development (WID) and (ii) promoting gender mainstreaming in governance and grass roots institutions

- *Rural Development Programme*: Two of the seven sub-components of the project are directly targeted at promoting the interests of women, by empowering women and by promoting efforts towards gender equity in organizations in indigenous areas of the Western Highlands. Furthermore, the BANCAMPESNO and credit component target women in an effort to help women out of income poverty. Within the seven sub-components of the RDP, there are several women working as project coordinators or persons responsible for the gender component.
- *Legal and Administrative Support Programme (CONIC)*: This programme benefited women by promoting gender mainstreaming in municipal government, by training equal numbers of female as well as male promoters and village educators, and by using a grass roots organization which is representative of Mayan women. Among the results relevant for gender analysis are the reported reduction in fear of women who are reported as saying that they are less afraid now of demanding their rights when they go to the municipality, and of speaking up in male-dominated meetings.
- *Supporting Consolidation of Indigenous Rights*: Through its three sub-components, this programme supports the promotion of WID. In the linguistic project, the aim is to help girls and women reach improved literacy rates, and reduce girl school drop out rates. In the ASDECO sub-component, the aim is to empower indigenous youth and women; and in the AMUTED sub-component, the aim is socioeconomic support to Mayan women via technical and financial assistance to women weavers, thereby enhancing Mayan tangible culture of which women are the main knowledge repository.
- *Water Project Xelaugua*: Supporting improved water supply and improved water quality is directly relevant for women and WID concerns. This is because women are care-givers and because women and girls spend a lot of time carrying water in settings where there is no piped supply. Furthermore, improving water supply and quality can have a direct positive effect on women's health.

3.4.1 Data from the gender assessments

The gender assessment (GA) for 1540⁸⁷ is somewhat pessimistic about the quality of the participation of women in the CONIC project. E.g., one of the

⁸⁷ G. Grünberg, 2004, Informe sobre un estudio preliminar de impacto ambiental y equidad de género (EIAG), 2004, 3 pp, ms.

structures of CONIC is the Ixoq'ib Noj Council ("wise women"), a forum where 16 women can be trained. Citing an external evaluation done in 2002, the GA states that the organizational changes to promote women in CONIC have not been matched by qualitative changes in practice, especially as regards CONIC's way of operation: it remains male-dominated in other words. In view of the problems of domination of women by men, the CONIC Project is strategically important in trying to break down barriers to women's participation.

Among the recommendations of the GA for 1540, figure:

- (i) Always introduce in training sessions topics that touch on equality issues between men and women, in relation to women's rights and the division of labour and domestic chores, and in the management of natural resources.
- (ii) Create fora in training sessions that permit discussion of the problems hindering women's empowerment and their participation in decision-making in CONIC.

This example of project 1540 shows that despite introducing training to promote gender equity and despite introducing institutional changes to do the same, that traditional patriarchal, male-dominated structures persist and are difficult to challenge, remove, and finally transform to women's benefit.

Appendix 1: Evaluation Question Areas for Telephone Interviews

Please consider the question areas for the following projects.

Completed programmes, projects

- Tierras II. Full title, “ Proyecto de Asesoría en Tenencia de Tierra, Áreas Protegidas y Participación Indígena en Guatemala y Centroamérica, Fase 2 ” (CARE – TIERRA II – proyecto complementario 2), 01. 1999 to 31 December 2000.
- Identification, documentation, demarcation and legalization of communal lands of the Mayan - Ch’orti’ people in Guatemala and Honduras. Title in Spanish, “Proyecto de identificación, documentación, demarcación y legalización de tierras comunales del pueblo Maya - Ch’orti’ en Guatemala y Honduras (6 months, Jan. 1999 – June 1999).
- Project for Ethno-development for the Mayan - Ch’orti’ people in Guatemala and Honduras – Proch’orti
- Apoyo a La Gestión Jurídica y Gerencial a Comunidades Indígenas en el Occidente de Guatemala (1998-2002, (2 phases)), Phase I, Educational Diagnostic Studies in indigenous villages; Phase II, 2000-2002, 3 years of training.

Current or recent Programmes, projects.

- Asociación Mujer Tejedora del Desarrollo. Proyecto Mujer Indígena y Ciudadanía.
- “Institucionalidad Maya y Sistema De Justicia En Chuwila”, counterpart, Asociación de Desarrollo Comunitario –ASDECO-Agreement 2151-02/02, situated in Municipality of Chichicastenango, Departamento of Quiché.
- Educación Bilingüe Intercultural en la Cuenca Alta del Río Samalá, 2151-‘00/02-04.

The main issues I wish to discuss with you are

Relevance of Project Portfolio.

- To what extent does the individual project and overall programme relate to Government policies and Peace Accord priorities for action?
- To what extent does the individual project and overall programme relate to the priorities of indigenous men and women in Guatemala (and Honduras)?

Relevance, Sustainability, and Effect of Support

- Assess the project’s relevance for Guatemala’s policies and for its population
- Assess the project’s relevance for Austrian development goals and policies

Effectiveness

Achievement of objectives. To what degree have these been achieved, and how do we know empirically that the objectives were achieved?

Project management. How has this functioned? Have there been delays, blockages in communication? What could have been done better with the benefit of hindsight?

Sustainability

Financial sustainability of actions. Are project activities that are supposed to continue in the future financially and technically sustainable? Evidence for assertions?

Institutional sustainability of actions carried out. Are the institutions involved in the project sustainable and able to carry out their work in the future without further assistance?

Effects

Effects on Human, Social, and Economic Development

Please concentrate in your oral assessments on the following points

- Improvements in socio economic status as a result of improved land tenure regularization, improved weaving training and marketing assistance to women weavers.
- Improvements in Mayan literacy rates, more Mayan children going to school and attending EIB curricula
- Improvements in reducing exclusionary mechanisms (improvements to justice system, improvements to municipal Indigenous Government, reduced illnesses associated with poor water and sanitation services, etc.)
- Improvements in cultural pride and assertiveness of Mayans in Guatemalan society
- Strengthened Ch'orti indigenous consciousness, etc.

What effects have been achieved, and how have they been measured?

Responsiveness

- Participation
- Ownership
- Empowerment

If you wish, you are welcome to write a few comments to each major question, and send me your comments.

Preguntas adicionales para personal en Guatemala

1. ¿Cómo valoras el apoyo austriaco a la recuperación de los derechos indígenas y la recuperación de la cultura maya?
2. Es posible que un donante como ADA entre en este espacio y que un donante apoye a indígenas y la cultura maya?
3. Cómo y en que sentido ha apoyado ADA la interculturalidad y la comunicación intercultural en Guatemala / en la zona de influencia del programa? (también el programa CONIC si quieres discutir este programa también)?
4. Género: ¿Ha habido un mejoramiento de los derechos de la mujer (hay más equidad de género ahora) como consecuencia del programa (y el programa CONIC): en qué sentido? Y hasta qué grado de profundidad?
5. Género: Han cambiado las relaciones de poder expresados en términos de género como consecuencia del proyecto?
6. En el proyecto CONIC se sabe que la mujer ahora tiene mas voz y mas participación política, pero indica esto un cambio en las relaciones de poder expresados en términos de genero?

Appendix 2: List of Persons Interviewed

Organisation	Name	Unit	Position / responsibility
ADA	Michaela Ellmeier	Coordination Office, Managua.	Head of Coordination Office, (Nicaragua/Guatemala/Honduras).
ADA	Nelson López	Coordination Office, Managua.	Specialist on Rural Development
ADA	Christina Hoernicke	Coordination Office, Managua.	Social Sector Specialist
ADA	Till Sussdorf	Coordination Office, Managua.	In charge of the Water Sector Programme in Nicaragua and Guatemala
Instituto Austriaco para la Cooperación Norte,	Angeles Rodríguez	Quetzaltenango, Guatemala	Coordinadora Oficina en Guatemala
ADA	Gottfried Traxler	Vienna	Guatemala Desk Officer
Austrian Institute for Latin America	Georg Grünberg	Consultant / University of Vienna, Anthropology Department	Social Anthropologist, Adviser to ADA and project coordinator (Guatemala).