Radio in Rural Guatemala

Three Case Studies

by

Wilson Hugh Lowrey

The Cox Center
for International Mass Communication
Training and Research
The Henry W. Grady College of Journalism
and Mass Communication

The University of Georgia

Athens, Georgia, U.S.A.

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Preface

The James M. Cox, Jr., Center for International Mass Communication Training and Research is pleased to be able to publish this study by Wilson Lowrey concerning efforts at developmental communication being made in rural Guatemala. We feel that it is a down-to-earth contribution about how small radio stations with very limited resources are attempting to be of service to their listeners.

Mr. Lowrey's interest in Latin America was whetted in a graduate seminar on international mass communication issues at the University of Georgia, and this book is based upon his master's thesis completed in 1990. Against considerable odds, involving problems in translation, in access to station personnel and in traveling in areas full of guerrillas, Mr. Lowrey accomplished a great deal. He and I are both conscious of quite a few shortcomings in his study, but that he was able to conduct research on-site is a real accomplishment. There are lessons to be learned from the attempts of these small radio stations in a poor and strife-ridden country.

When Mr. Lowrey planned his project, he had no idea of the difficulties he would encounter. I think the problems hit home especially hard when he was on a country bus on the way to visit one of the radio stations he was studying. Anti-government guerrillas stopped the bus. "I really wondered what I was doing there," Mr. Lowrey said. Fortunately, the guerrillas only passed out leaflets for their cause and let the bus go on its way peacefully.

We should like to take this occasion to thank the many persons who gave Mr. Lowrey help, including station staff members, government officials and everyday citizens who were involved. The Cox Center congratulates the radio stations for their efforts against daunting obstacles. Perhaps others may learn from the experiences recounted here.

Dr. Al Hester
Director, Cox Center
Athens, Ga.
October, 1990

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Introduction 1

Visitors to the Central American nation of Guatemala are struck by the richness, diversity and complexity of the people and their traditions and customs. Everywhere is bright and vivid color—in the clothes of the indigenous population as well as in the lush natural surroundings. Almost paradise? Hardly. One need only scratch the surface (and barely that) to reveal another type of diversity and complexity—that of the socio-political an cultural problems of the country and its Maya indigenous population.

One may find another type of richness, as well, but not in the indigenous community—the nation's monetary wealth is highly concentrated in the hands of the ladino[1] military, government and business communities (Painter, xvii). This disparity between the races can take on racial dimensions at times. A Guatemalan newspaper, *The Independent*, reported on March 3, 1987, "In a conversation with a European diplomat, a wealthy Guatemalan explained that the Indians were really just part of nature. 'Like plants and animals?' ventured the diplomat. 'Exactly! Exactly!,' the wealthy Guatemalan replied." In the researcher's own experience, the matron of the family with whom the researcher lived during his stay in Guatemala

[1] This term which refers to Spanish-speaking Guatemalans who tend to participate in North American/European culture and wear North American/ European dress – they are typically of mixed blood – European and Indian — but Indians who adopt North American/European culture are also referred to as ladinos. This term's other meaning in Latin America—"sephardic jew"—does not apply here.

described the Indians as "cute, but not very intelligent," and several other experiences with ladinos indicated that a degree of discrimination existed in the population.

Half of the population of Guatemala is indigenous (Estadísticos de Poblacíon, 1987). The vast majority of Indians live around or below the subsistence level. In 1984, the wealthiest 20 percent (nearly all ladino) received 57 percent of the national income, and the poorest 50 percent had 18 percent (Inforpress, 13). Ministry of Education figures show that in the early 1980s, 83 percent of the rural population (who are mostly Indians) received 35 percent of the total rural income, while the wealthiest 2 percent received 40 percent (Painter, 13).

It would seem to be in the government's interest to loosen some of the restrictions on land, capital and information so that both the indigenous population and the country as a whole might become more prosperous. Guatemala's four-crop economy (coffee, sugar, beef and cotton) is shaky at best on the international market. To encourage diversity within its population, and to encourage self-motivation among all its people so that agriculture and industry might become more diverse—could only strengthen the country in the long run. Yet Guatemala has initiated few efforts to really address this inequity of wealth in the last 30 or 40 years (Painter, 1). To do so ruffles the feathers of the military and the business community. The overthrow of the Arbenz government in 1954 is an example. President Jacobo Arbenz and President Juan José Arévalo before him initiated the only comprehensive land reform programs in Guatemala in the Twentieth Century. However, after a prolonged fight with the conservative military and business sectors, Arbenz, accused of being a communist, was finally toppled from power, with the help of the Eisenhower administration and the CIA (Handy, 133 - 147). Land reform has not been mentioned in public again by a government official for fear of violent reprisal from right-wing "death squads" (Painter, 1). Chap-

ter 2 discusses land ownership and human rights abuses in more detail.

Within the last 30-40 years, there have been some organizations outside the government which have tried to be more sensitive to the situation of the rural population in Guatemala—in particular, to the situation of the Indians—and which have tried to initiate development[2] programs based on the perceived "true" needs of the indigenous population. Most of these organizations have been related to the "Catholic Action" groups, which have in many ways carried on the spirit of the reform programs of Arbenz and Arévalo (although they originally opposed many of the anti-Church legislation during these administrations). These groups "promoted literacy through courses, parties that reflected peasant concerns, and perhaps more importantly, organized an impressive series of native cooperatives (Handy, 240). This book focuses on three small-scale development projects, two of which are in the vein of the Catholic Action groups, and one of which is government sponsored. These projects purport to be sensitive to the needs of rural Indians, and all three use radio as a tool for effecting improvements in the Indians' lives. A treatment of mass media and its application for development is given in Chapter 3, and a rationale for focusing on radio as an area of study is given later in this chapter.

The three stations chosen for study are all in the Central and Western Highland regions of Guatemala. Radio

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[2] The definition of 'development' here is similar to the definition provided by communications researcher Everett Rogers. Rogers redefines 'development' as "...a widely participatory process of social change in a society, intended to bring about both social and material advancement (including greater equality, freedom, and other valued qualities) for the majority of the people through their gaining greater control over their environment" (Rogers, 133). This study argues that 'development' must come from the bottom-up rather than the top-down. The Indians must ultimately decide their direction for change.

Zamaneb is a government-operated station (under the Ministry of Non-formal Education) in San Jerónimo, a town in the administrative department of Baja Verapaz. Radio Tezulutlan is operated and funded by a Catholic Church organization and the local parish in Coban, the capital of Alta Verapaz. These two stations are in the Central Highlands, while Radio Voz de Atitlán, in Santiago Atitlán, in the department of Solola, is in the Western Highlands. La Voz de Atitlán is a "Radio School" operated by a Latin American-wide association of radio schools which is funded by European corporations (the identities of which it's parent organization, The Federation of Guatemalan Radio Schools, or FGER, would not disclose).

All three stations broadcast programming which they describe as non-formally educative and developmental in nature. Non-formal education centers on practical issues of daily life, such as agricultural information for the indigenous farmer, and health information for the indigenous families. Non-formal education typically takes place outside of the classroom and in a location of the daily environment of the student—e.g., a field for men, or a washing area for women. (McAnany and Jamison, 62). Each station has a different way of looking at the concept of development, and of course each operates under different organizational structure and with varying budget restraints. These differences offer an opportunity to compare and contrast the program contents, the station philosophies, and the organizational structures of these stations. This study makes these comparisons in light of recent development and developmental communications theory and in light of recent socio-economic and political change in Guatemala. In the end, the purpose of the study is to arrive at some clearer meaning of the development process in Guatemala. What does "development" mean for these cultures, and how should change agents (those who would effect change) in the Highlands region of Guatemala approach the process of development through the use of radio?

The lack of prior research in development communications in Guatemala is one of the major justifications of this study. The United States Agency for International Development has performed some research projects and followed them with evaluation, and the Guatemalan government has performed some scattered evaluations, but it is very difficult to find research and evaluation on efforts in non-governmental local developmental radio. In light of the lack of success that the Guatemalan government has had in the area of developmental radio on a national scale (interviews with Gilberto Mendez and Richard Martin at USAID), it seems reasonable to study the methods and goals of local radio efforts. A discussion of some of these unsuccessful Government projects appears in Chapter 3.

The role of small, local radio in developing nations has gained attention in recent years. Shri K. Anjaneyula, who helped to set up one of India's first local radio efforts, offers some guidelines on local radio which set it apart from nationwide, government directed radio:

> ". . .its aim should be to reach right into the heart of the community of people it is expected to serve. A local radio station must be flexible and spontaneous to enable itself to function as the mouthpiece of the community. It should endeavor to use its microphone to reflect and enrich the life of the society. Its programs should satisfy the local aspirations of the people whom the station serves. In short, local radio should identify itself so completely with the interests of its local population that the heart of the people beats in every pulse of the programs it broadcasts."
>
> (Anjaneyula, dcr, 1)

Although these are guidelines for Indian radio, there are indications that this would be a useful approach in Guatemala. Both India and Guatemala are multi-lingual and multi-cultural and therefore have a variety of communities which have a variety of needs. Paying attention to the unique

particulars of each different community through local radio may be what is needed.

The researcher has visited several libraries in search of evaluative study of local radio in Guatemala, including the Clearinghouse on Development Communication in Arlington, Va., which is the major holder of development communications studies in the nation. It seems these evaluations are scarce to non-existent. Most of these stations do not evaluate themselves, either. One explanation for the lack of research is the legacy of political violence in the country. For example, the Radio Nederland Training Centre, which is a leading trainer of Third World broadcasters and has projects in a number of countries, initiated a program to evaluate and assist the "Escuelas Radiofónicas," (radio schools) in Latin America. Guatemala was to be one of the target countries—however:

> "During the first semester of 1980, conflicting news about the internal situation in Guatemala raised doubts about the possibilities of executing the course there as planned. As a precaution, alternatives were analyzed and set up. The best option seemed to be the Dominican Republic."
>
> (Epskamp, C., 40)

The Guatemalan government has gained a better reputation in the area of human rights since the 1985 election of Vinicio Cerezo, head of the Christian Democratic Party. Many feel, however, that this civilian government is merely a puppet of the military, or at least only a brief time-out until international attention turns away and the military can once again take full command. As Eduardo Galeano says:

> "The President of Guatemala does not wear a prison uniform, but he is a prisoner. The military, his gaolers, the country's gaolers, have given him permission to enter the National Palace. He has given them a promise of impunity for their killings

> and has assured them that he will not commit agrarian reform or any other sin."
>
> (Galeano in Painter, False Hope, i)

This view seems to be born out by Colonel D'Jalma Domínguez, a former army spokesman:

> "For convenience sake a civilian government is preferable, such as the one we have now; if anything goes wrong , only the Christian Democrats will get the blame. It's better to remain outside: the real power will not be lost."
>
> (Domínguez in Painter, False Hope, 79)

The civilian government has, however, taken some minimal steps toward improving the lives of the indigenous population. It has tried its hand at development efforts, mostly with the help of the United States Agency for International Development, but many of these efforts have fallen apart, due to mismanagement or lack of commitment (USAID interviews). The development efforts of the government have been of the top-down variety. In other words, what is good for the nation is also good for the individuals and the individual communities. It is a trickle-down theory. Most of these efforts have been toward increasing agricultural production nationwide and improving literacy on a national scale (the emphasis is on teaching Spanish, although indigenous languages are taught as well, but less intensively). The government and USAID have set up a national bilingual literacy project called PRONEBI, and they continue to fund non-formal radio projects which focus on agricultural production. Most of these radio projects are not in the most desperately poor areas of the country. Radio Zamaneb is one such project—the town of San Jerónimo to which it broadcasts is a relatively wealthy farming community.

The government and USAID have experimented and continue to experiment with radio as a medium for

communicating developmental and educational information. These efforts have not been very successful, especially when compared with some of the non-government sponsored local developmental radio efforts in communities around the country (USAID interviews). Recently the government has begun to take heed of these other local radio efforts and to borrow techniques from them. Radio Zamaneb is an example of this. And even the military is taking heed of the bottom-up approach to dealing with the Indians. In a 72-page military document, authored by Captain Juan Fernando Cifuentes and published by the Military Academy in late 1982, Cifuentes admits that the Catholic Action Groups and the guerrillas are winning the hearts of the people. Cifuentes calls for a policy of "understanding the Indians" so that they may then subdue them (Minz, 27).

There is, and has been, a strong movement in development communications research away from the "top-down," large-scale development efforts and toward development efforts on a smaller scale. An example of a large-scale development project is USAID's Basic Village Education Project in Guatemala in the late 1970s. It involved teaching agricultural and health techniques to thousands of indigenous and ladino farmers, in different villages, and with different treatments. Its level of success under USAID was debatable, but it fell apart when the Guatemalan government took it over. It was too expensive and complex (and perhaps too progressive) for the government to handle (USAID interviews, and AED report). Many researchers now emphasize keeping things simple. They emphasize ascertaining the specific needs of the people in specific communities and tailoring developmental information to fit these needs (Sonaike, Rogers and Diaz-Bordenave are three of these researchers. Their views and the views of other researchers are discussed in Chapter 3). This new emphasis further justifies studying the so-called "bottom-up" methods of local developmental radio.

One of the major issues that these stations address, and therefore that this study addresses, is the problem of acculturation. National development efforts have promoted acculturation—they have tried to homogenize Guatemalan society by bringing the Spanish language, ladino culture and modern technology to the Indians. This has not always been done gently. Captain Cifuentes, while calling for increased understanding of the Indians also says that "ladinoization" must begin with:

> ". . .the imposition of the Spanish language, eliminating the distinctive dress and other visible signs of the group. . .they must cease to think of themselves as such and accept all the abstractions that constitute the concepts of nationality, the fatherland, etc.,. . .once ladinoized, the Ixiles [an Indian group] will enjoy the benefits of our civilization."
>
> (Minz, 27)

Yet as these local stations are aware, sudden loss of culture, tradition and world-view has been devastating to the mental and spiritual well-being of the Indians. One example of this is what is happening to the traditional structure of civil-religious hierarchy of Indian villages. Today, the young man who has knowledge of ladino law and of the Spanish language is just as likely to attain a position of prominence within a village as the "village elder," who has spent his life working his way up through all the traditional levels of community service (Wauchope, 296). Also, forced service in the Guatemalan military takes away many of the young men, so that they are not able to serve the community (Wauchope, 295).

Acculturation and the problems associated with it is a world-wide phenomenon. What better place to study the problems associated with the forced interaction of different cultures than in Guatemala? Guatemala is a country that is 50 percent Indian. Among the indigenous persons there are 23 different languages spoken, and within

these languages there are a multitude of dialects. And, of course, Guatemala has a dominant, more Westernized and modern culture—the ladinos—which seeks some sort of homogeneity between its culture and other cultures (mostly through domination by the ladino culture) in the country. For these reasons, Guatemala provides a excellent case study of the effects of modernization on richly diverse and traditional cultures.[3]

Several development communications researchers have argued recently that scholars in the area have too long ignored important institutional, class and structural characteristics in analyzing developmental communications efforts (Fair, 135). While this is not meant as a structural study, the context of the individual radio stations—their organizational structure, funding and the characteristics of the broadcast community is explored in some depth.

This exploration of these three stations should point out some future avenues for research on local developmental radio—especially non-governmental local radio in nations with traditionally oppressive military-style governments. These recommendations for further research appear in the final chapter.

Furthermore, radio is still the main source of communication in rural areas of developing nations. While many current research projects in development communications are focusing on the possibility of using television and even computers as tools for development, radio use still constitutes the present reality. Radio is relatively cheap and

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[3] It its interesting to note that the Maya were themselves one of the most developed cultures in the world at the height of their empire. According to a recent *National Geographic* article on the Mayans, "Early travelers compared them to the Greeks because of their science, to Romans because of well-drained, paved roads, and to Egyptians because of their pyramids...one scholar estimates that perhaps 4000 Maya canoes were at sea at any one time at the height of their culture, trading such diverse products as wax, honey, furs, feathers, jade, cotton and slaves" (Garrett, 440).

easy to operate in comparison to other types of media. It is portable and less technologically complex (Surlin, 459). As McAnany said in 1978:

> "We believe the evidence suggests that although continued technological innovation will make television broadcasting increasingly available to audiences in low-income countries, the constraints of cost and technical training for television will leave radio dominant in these countries for at least another decade, and probably through the end of the century."
>
> (McAnany and Jamison, 9)

Many governments of developing nations want television rather than radio, despite the fact that radio is cheaper, because television is a status symbol of sorts. Still these governments usually end up using radio. "Local radio will remain low man on the symbolism totem pole until it is recognized as a sign of the growing sophistication of a country's array of media," one researcher said (Laflin, dcr, 16). Radio has three major cost features that will keep it competitive: it requires few staff compared to other systems; it puts out so many hours of programming that, even if the audience is small, the number of listeners per year is large; and its costs can be gradually reduced across all sectors (Laflin, dcr, 16).

One reason radio flourishes in developing nations is because it is a verbal and not a literal medium. It transcends illiteracy. Rosalynde Ainslie, in her study of communications in Africa maintains that "No development programme. . . would be possible without radio. Villagers depend so much upon radio as a bearer of (development) news and as instructor, they listen with attention almost forgotten in Europe, where the medium has largely degenerated into a casual background for other activities" (Ainslie, 152).

Demographics, Culture & Development

This chapter details some of the pressing problems and demographics of the Maya indigenous population which are pertinent to a discussion of avenues of development for these communities. We cannot begin discussing what developmental steps through the use of radio the Mayans, the radio station organizations, or the Guatemalan government should take until we look at the nature of the culture, and the problems and needs of the communities. We can not arrive at a normative definition of development for these communities until we make these assessments. Here the researcher will detail and assess common problems of the indigenous of the Central and Western Highland regions. Later chapters will focus on the particular broadcast communities of the three stations under study, all three of which are in the Highlands region. The stations under study try to address, in different ways, each of the issues detailed in the section below.

One of the major problems, as mentioned earlier, is land loss. The inequity of wealth between the nation's ladino business/military sectors, and the poor Mayan indigenous communities is most readily apparent in the distribution of land. Seventy-five percent of the nation's farm holdings have an average of only 3.25 acres, while some 100 large farms occupy 15 percent of all available agricultural lane with an average of 12,500 acres each (O'Sullivan, 71). Half of these subsistence farms are located in the Central and Western Highlands of the country. While about 50 percent of the population is indigenous (see Table 1), the large farms are typically owned by wealthy ladinos (Painter, 9-12).

Table 1

DEMOGRAPHICS OF THE BROADCAST REGION

Radio stations and region	*Radio Tezulutlan: the Alta Verapaz region*	*Radio Voz de Atitlán: Sololá*	*Radio Zamaneb: the Baja Verapaz*
% of Indians in population	89% (in Cobán: 80%)	94% (in Santiago: 95%)	57% (in San Jeronimo: 22%)
% of men who farm for a living	79%	50% (in Santiago: 18%)	81%
literacy rate	19% (in Cobán: 30%)	27% (in Santiago: 18%	30% (in San Jeronimo: 46%)
% of increase in births 1981-1986	29%	42%	49%
% of babies born outside of hospitals	93%	97%	93%
% of residents with insufficient land	No report	98-99% as of 1972	No report
% with running water	32% in Cobán	19% in Santiago	55% in San Jeronimo

Indigenous farmers have been forced off their land by the government, military and the business community, and out of the only way of life they have known for centuries (Painter, O'Sullivan). Military death squads have killed or "disappeared" (kidnapped, and jailed or killed—or both) many Indians who protested their loss of land. In the town of Panzos, in Alta Verapaz, the military opened fire on Kekchí Indians demonstrating peacefully against the government's refusal to award them land titles. More than 100 Kekchí were killed (Lovell, "Mayan Survival in Guatemala," 45; Handy, 222).

Marxist guerrillas occasionally raid the indigenous population's land and homes for supplies, and so the Indian often finds himself caught in the middle, between the military and the guerrillas. An Indian home near Antigua, Guatemala, where the researcher was based in 1989, fell victim to guerilla raids. The guerrillas would come on the land every day and demand food and other supplies, but the family said it could do nothing but consent. To tell the military would be to risk retaliation from the guerrillas or violent confrontation between Indians and the military on the farmer's land. To not tell the military is to risk the military finding out later anyway and having them brand the Indians as communist sympathizers with the guerrillas. Today, many Indians voluntarily leave their land in the Highlands to work as migrants on big coastal plantations because they have no alternative for survival—they are threatened with death by hunger as well as by the death squads (Atitlán interview).

These large plantations grow mainly coffee (the number one cash crop in Guatemala), cotton and sugar. In 1979, the average size of a Guatemalan cotton finca (large farm) was 638 acres, whereas for Central America it was 25-40 acres, and for the rest of Latin America even less (CEPAL, 87). Beef production has also increased. A coffee-growing oligarchy has come to power since the 1800s when Europeans began to develop a taste for coffee, and today large coffee

estates in all 21 Guatemalan administrative departments use Indian migrant labor (Painter, 10). In 1980, due to loss of land to these large plantations, nine out of ten Indians in the Guatemalan Highlands were living on plots of land too small to provide income sufficient to meet their basic needs, according to a USAID study (AED, 14).

Several hundred thousand farmers are landless in the Highlands region. Half a million families, or 60 percent of the Highlands rural population earn wages comparable to the levels of family wages in the poorest countries in the world (O'Sullivan, 72). O'Sullivan believes the problem lies in the system of production, and not only in the areas of overt political oppression, or in a lack of education and information. He says the improvement in technology and modern means of production have proved too much for the poor Maya farmers who cannot keep up, and who therefore lose their land and their market to big farm industry. The fact that they must then work as migrants on ladino or foreign-owned plantations causes them to question themselves. This loss of land as well as the ensuing cultural imposition of the ladinos on the big plantations causes feelings of inferiority among the indigenous. In this way, the cultural domination of the European-descended ladinos, which began so many centuries ago, continues unabated today (O'Sullivan, 76).

To the Mayan, loss of land means much more than financial hard times. The land and the corn grown on the land form a basis of the Mayan's self-identification and his concepts of the universe. From birth, Mayans instill in the male the importance of working the land to raise corn. One representation of this importance is a ritual in San Pedro Laguna (in the broadcast region of Radio Voz de Atitlán). The umbilical chord is cut off the male baby and hung in the granary (Atitlán interview). In San Cristóbal Verapaz, Alta Verapaz, a hoe is put in the hand of the male child, and later, when the male is looking for a wife, the family of the potential spouse scrutinizes the male's farming success

(Early, 74). Removal of land leaves the Mayan feeling he has no place in the universe. He begins seriously to question his self-worth (Early, 74-77).

The use of chemicals to aid crop production is a dilemma for the Maya farmer (as is the encouragement of it for the development worker). The Mayan does not trust the chemical. In many rural "pueblos" like Santiago Atitlán, the farmer believes that the patron saint looks after the fields if the residents provide a home for him (one of the resident's homes, or a church). If the farmer abuses the land in any way, he is punished by the patron saint. He fears he may be abusing the land by using the chemicals on it (Atitlán interview).

The farmers also do not trust the government. Many have been witness to, or have been affected by, military death squad activities of the early 1980s. And although this brutal oppression is well-documented by international human rights organizations[1], not so well documented are the economic hardships to follow—oppression can take many forms. The forced reorganization of campesinos (poor Indian farmers) off their land by government and military officials in the mid-80s, and just plain indifference to the problems of the indigenous population leave the campesinos with little reason to respect government opinions on development.

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[1] The United Nations Commission on Human Rights reports that during the years 1986 - '87 between 80 and 100 "involuntary disappearances" occurred. There is significant disparity between this figure and the figures of other reports. According to the Mexico-based Guatemalan Commission for Human Rights, CDHG, there were 126 politically-related disappearances and 463 extra-judicial assassinations in 1986. The Mutual Support Group (GAM, which is made up of the relatives of the disappeared) claims there were 128 disappearances during 1986, up to November 15. According to *Inforpress*, using press figures, there were at least 224 killings and 110 disappearances in the first ten months of 1986 (CDHG and GAM figures obtained from Painter, 89).

A campesino from the Central Highlands gives his impression of government aid:

> "When anyone comes to visit, the people do not like it because of all the times they have been deceived by institutions and others who are always asking many questions. For this reason, one day when the people from the Ministry of Health came, they were rejected, for they have often come here with promises and then do nothing.
>
> "The people fear anybody who comes from another place for two reasons: because of ignorance and because they fear they may be robbers, because many things have happened in these communities, caused by people who come here in jeeps—particularly by night. The people get very worried, because they have suffered many serious consequences."
>
> (Indian in O'Sullivan, 85)

Most government agricultural extension agents do not know the Indian languages, and many will not physically visit the villages. The campesinos do not see the information as relevant, anyway, and they do not understand it (O'Sullivan, 77).

The indigenous population, as well as some of the ladino population, also faces over-fertility, high infant mortality rates, illiteracy, and a shortage of health-care facilities. According to a 1982 UNICEF study, no other Central American country is poorer than Guatemala. The Guatemalan-based independent weekly, *Inforpress*, used government figures to estir vate that nearly 40 percent of Guatemalans "could not afford a basic basket of food sufficient to provide an adequate protein and calorie intake. Another 36 percent could afford the basket but not other essentials like proper clothes, shelter and transport" (Painter, 3). Guatemala had the lowest 'physical quality of life' index in Central America and the third lowest in the whole of Latin America after Haiti and Bolivia (UNICEF). This index combines

infant mortality, life expectancy and literacy rates.

In 1986, the head of UNICEF for Central America visited the country and concluded that Guatemala had the worst infant mortality rate in Central America. Eighty infants per 1,000 died in 1984. Comparative figures in the United States are 12 per 1,000. Seventy percent of these deaths were from easily preventable diseases like intestinal infections, influenza and pneumonia, and the whooping cough (Painter, 4).

On the flip-side of the infant mortality problem is the problem of over-fertility. Maya families have traditionally had large families for a number of reasons. Three of these are, (1) families need high birth rates to compensate for the high rate of infant mortality, (2) the larger the family, the more hands in the field, and (3) the larger the extended family, the greater the provisions from the children for the parents' old age. The extended family is the cornerstone of the "peasant system," as John Early calls it (Early, 134). The campesino who has no brothers (or few brothers) is in a greatly weakened position in this patrilineal society. He has great difficulty obtaining loans, and he has no one to reliably watch his field for him when he is away at market (Atitlán interview). In the view of some, the decreasing opportunity of land ownership has made these reasons obsolete (Early, 134-36). Yet some feel that birth control is unjustifiable acquiescence to the selfishness of the wealthy landowners. They say that the government is promoting the diminishment of the Maya people and therefore the diminishment of their power (interview at Atitlán).

Government and some outside development organizations have introduced contraceptives to the Highlands indigenous population, but the people do not often use them. Mistrust of government and of outsiders in general is again a factor. Maya women tend to be very shy, and they do not feel comfortable discussing their sexual habits with male doctors—or even with female doctors (Early, 141-43). There is evidence that the Mayans sometimes attempt to

control their own population. If a child is sickly, sometimes the family withholds food and general care, especially if the child is a girl (Early, 139).

Illiteracy rates are very high among the Maya. The 1981 National Census found that 46.5 percent of the national population over seventeen were illiterate. In the Central Highlands administrative departments of Alta Verapaz and Quiché, illiteracy was at 78 percent. These are percentage of those who read neither Spanish nor indigenous languages. For many years the government forbade the speaking of Indian languages in government schools. The national policy was to punish Indian children (punishment included beatings) who spoke their native languages during school periods (Martin, USAID interview). Today these harsh practices have abated, and the government is pushing bilingual education, but almost all of the textbooks and many of the government publications are only in Spanish.

Some researchers believe that past developmental and educational efforts taught only in Spanish have attributed to deep feelings of inadequacy and estrangement among the Maya languages makes the Maya question his traditions and even his own relevancy (Froman 23-25). In this way, language loss is very similar to land loss.

Although around 50 percent of the population speak only indigenous languages, Spanish is the language of power in Guatemala. It is the language of commerce, the language of politics, and the language of mainstream education. The Guatemalan government has found it very difficult to "nation-build" in this fractured nation which seems much less than the sum of its culturally rich parts. The Mayan has clung to his languages. Froman, Gersony and Jackson offer reasons why:

> "One factor seems to be the relation of Mayan languages to the concept of self and group identity. Defining oneself as a Mayan is intimately linked to

> speaking one of the languages. Mayans belong to a culture which has been under siege since the time of the conquest. One way of defending that culture has been to maintain the languages which are the only media through which the Mayan culture can be expressed. Related to this is the fact that Mayan languages better express rural values and ways of life than the more urbanized Spanish language. . ."
>
> (Froman, 7)

From this it would seem that the bilingual approach is a better approach raising literacy levels than only teaching Spanish, and indeed, most development efforts are pursuing bilingualism today. Froman, et al.:

> "Until Mayans are creatively involved in the thought process leading to a development strategy, there can be no assurance that the ideas underlying such a strategy will be comprehensible and relevant to their communities. To involve Mayans, the thought process must begin in their languages."
>
> (Froman, 26)

The Maya sees education less as an opportunity for personal advancement (as it might be seen in the United States) and more as a means of defense, according to anthropologist Norman Schwartz, who conducted an ethnographic study of a Guatemalan rural population. The Mayan is less likely to get cheated by an unscrupulous government official, farm contractor, etc. if he can communicate orally and verbally in Spanish. An illiterate is considered "backward," and is more likely to feel embarrassed in encounters with literate urban merchants, officials, etc., and encroaching ladino culture is making such encounters increasingly likely. Functional literacy is the end goal for the rural campesino—and the men are probably the only ones who will feel the need for literacy, as the women are very likely to stay near the household (Schwartz, 244-255). In general,

men change customs quicker than the women, as they are more exposed to the outside world.

Religion In The Lives Of The Maya

Spanish missionaries first appeared in Guatemala in the 1500s. The first priests in Guatemala had as their primary goal to baptize the Indians and to destroy any remnants of "paganism" and "idolatry" in the Maya culture. They initially tried to convert the leaders, reasoning that the others would follow. Initially, there were few converts (Orellana, 195). And today it can be argued that there have been few *full* converts to pure European Catholicism among the Indians. Catholicism in the Highlands is a hybrid of Catholicism and ancient Mayan religious beliefs. Patron saints have taken the place of the village deities of Mayan culture. Many of the representations of the saints are kept in houses of the traditional village elders, and paraded around the village on religious holidays, as were the Maya deities on their sacred days.

The Spanish, experienced imperialists by the time of the conquest of Meso-America, had learned the policy of "congregación," which involved forcibly resettling the Indians in Spanish-style towns. These towns had streets running north and south, and typically the Indians were forced to build a large, ornamented Catholic Church in the center of the town. This policy of congregación was designed to make easier "civil official tasks" like counting the Indian population, conscripting forced labor and extracting the payment of tribute from the Indians. This policy was also designed to "expedite the Indians' instruction of Christianity" (Lovell, *Conquest and Survival*, 30). Today the government's policy of resettling the Indians is very similar to the policies of the Spanish conquerors. Lovell says: "The policy remains the same. . .to dismantle and destroy existing forms of [Indian] community organization (Lovell, "Mayan Survival in Guatemala," 47)."

Religious brotherhoods, called "cofradías" emerged

among the Indians as a way to continue practicing ancient customs and still abide by Spanish Catholic guidelines. The cofradía became "a vehicle for the ongoing process of confrontation and adjustment of native and Spanish culture" (Orellana, 210). There are official and unofficial cofradías, and the official ones are sanctioned by the Church. Usually a cofradía is composed of all the young adult males of one lineage in a village, and their main function is to organize celebrations of the various patron saints (Orellana, 210 - 211). In organizing these celebrations, the cofradías helped to organize communal life as well. In some instances they became the "village elders".

Traditionally, the cofradías were only one level, or "cargo" (office) of the civil-religious hierarchy of indigenous society. The first level were the alguaciles. They were usually adolescents who were used as "errand boys" for the other cargo holders. The cofradías were the young married men. They sponsored fiestas and cared for the saints. The "regidores" (aldermen) were the civil administration connected with the national government, and the "alcades" (mayors) were the traditional authority on which the ladino government called for contact with the Indians. It is an expensive process to go through all the cargos (Wauchope, 286 - 87). Today, due in part to Protestant influence in indigenous villages, many members of indigenous society choose to use their money for themselves or their own families rather than for communal ritual and celebration (Annis, 75).

During the first centuries of Spanish domination, the cofradías and the cargo system rationalized subsistence living for Indians, who lived like serfs on the lands of the Spanish Catholic conquerors:

> "Through the escalation of religious expenditures, the cofradía acted to level wealth within the village. To the extent that any surplus product was formed and not externally appropriated, it was consumed

> locally in celebration. . . If legal, class, military, and ethnic constraints operated at the national level to prevent Indians from seizing wealth and power, so, too, at the village level, the cofradía enforced—but legitimized—a life of material poverty. . . , Indian religion reversed external ladino values: poverty became purifying and good; material riches were a result of evil."
>
> (Annis, 61)

Wauchope echoes this point:

> "Given the essential poverty of the community, the hierarchy helps to maintain socio-economic homogeneity. . .internal social and economic differentiation which the hierarchy tends to check would disrupt the corporate structure of the community."
>
> (Wauchope, 289)

The cofradía's administrative and to a lesser extent, their moral authority, began breaking down during the presidency of Jacobo Arbenz in the early 1950s, whose reforms encouraged the diversity of political parties, many led by young men. This undermined the cofradía structure which conferred authority to the aged. (Annis, 62 - 63). Development projects in the 60s and 70s favored the young, better educated and outward looking, and further undercut cofradía prestige. Today cofradías are rapidly fading from Guatemala, and have power in only the most traditional villages, like Santiago Atitlán. (Radio Voz de Atitlán is in Santiago Atitlán, and the village will be discussed in more detail in later chapters.) However, village communalism has managed to hold on as a valid concept for the most part. (Annis, 62 -63).

The advent of Protestantism in Guatemala has also taken its toll on Indian traditions and Catholic/Mayan hybrid customs like the cofradías. Protestant missionaries have

been in Guatemala since the 1800s, but they had not made serious headway among the indigenous population until the last few decades. Today Protestantism is spreading rapidly. Roughly one-fifth of the Central Highlands population consider themselves Protestants (Annis, 79).

The increase in Protestantism can be said to correlate with an increase in fear and instability among the general public. Increasing misery from loss of land, starvation and events like the earthquake of 1976 (which killed 20,000 and injured 100,000), and the political violence of the early 80s.

> "The physical fracturing of villages, the primary units of Indian cultural integration and economic activity, dramatically disoriented rural life and increased the number of 'dispossessed peasants.' At the same time, it provided the missionaries an opportunity to enter new communities, to preach on God's wrath, and to build new churches. . . The 'hot' apocalyptic religion offered by the Protestants—a gospel of tears, shouting, and speaking in tongues —was sustaining and seemingly appropriate for the times."
>
> (Annis, 79)

Political violence by rightists has been directed against the Catholic Church in recent decades, because of the efforts of many young priests to bolster the self-confidence, practical education and political awareness of the indigenous population. "Liberation theology," as it is called, encourages the campesino to take responsibility for his own life here on earth, and not just wait for an after-life, even if it means confronting government authority (Sontag, 96-98; Montgomery, 28-35). The government considers liberation theology to be almost synonymous with communism, but more importantly, it considers this theology a threat to its power base (Annis, 71). The government leaves Protestants alone. During the 1982-83 regime of General Ríos Montt, who considered himself a Protestant,

Catholics—especially indigenous Catholics—were persecuted (Handy, 271-278).

Protestantism is often equated with the entrepreneurial spirit, and this seems to be the case in the Maya villages. Annis feels that whereas the traditional economic base has been a shared, communal poverty, in which everyone contributed excess wealth to the community for sustenance, religious celebration, etc., Protestantism has encouraged entrepreneurialism—the idea that one gains from following a harsh Protestant work ethic. Those who wish to sell surplus products elsewhere, instead of giving it to the community, "refuse to pay the cultural tax" (Annis, 75).

Many in the Catholic faith feel the Catholic Church has not done enough tangible good for the campesino. Isabel de Corado, who works with The Federation of Guatemalan Radio Schools (FGER in Spanish), believes that the Catholic Church has hurt itself and the campesinos by not offering the campesino anything but ritual and subsistence stability. She says the "Evangelicals," as she calls the Protestants, essentially buy the faith of the campesinos by giving them food, clothing, etc., in exchange for the campesino 'accepting Christ as his personal saviour.' The Protestant campesino must also swear off the following: drinking, smoking, dancing and gambling; worshipping of artifactual representations of saints and demons; the cofradías; and the communal cele-brations of saints' days and parading religious images through the streets (Annis, 80). While Corado does not agree with purchasing faith or banning customs, she wishes the Catholic Church spent less on ritual-related activity and more on tangible goods for the poor. She also agrees with the Protestants' positior against drinking alcohol—a behavior which the cofradías have traditionally encouraged.

As the number of Protestant/evangelical churches grows, so grows the number of evangelical radio stations. Usually the broadcasts are powerful in wattage, and these stations are financially backed by relatively wealthy ministries in the United States. The most powerful of these

stations is TGNA (Radio Cultural) in Guatemala City. With 10kw of power on AM, 10 kw on short wave, and 5 kw on FM, TGNA covers the country, and even a great deal of the world. By comparison, Radio La Voz de Atitlán broadcasts with 3kw, only on short wave; and the Catholic Station Radio Tezulutlan broadcasts 4 kw on AM. TGNA station director Stephen Sywulka says listenership is growing steadily, and the station receives hundreds of favorable letters a day. One interesting service the station provides for its listeners is a job referral network. Listeners can call in with job availabilities or with job needs and these messages can be broadcast over the air to aid listeners in their search for employment and for employees (interview with Sywulka). This service reflects the Protestants' commitment to the work ethic and to the business community.

TGNA AM programming includes Bible teaching, "micromessages" of inspiration (short phrases from the Bible), "sacred" and soft music, and church news. FM programming is directed at a secular audience and includes classical music, which Sywulka hopes might "bring some culture to the people."

TGNA is a wealthy and powerful station and is able to provide clothing, food, and monetary relief for the poor. Sywulka says that they expect the recipient of this aid "to accept Jesus into their lives." They also discourage the use of Indian languages, and in a rural literacy training effort by the station in 1988 (which was not a success—he blames the government's lack of organized support), only Spanish was taught to the Mayans.

It is a matter of opinion as to whether the preservation of customs and the payment of a "cultural tax" is a better system than the breaking down of traditions, encouragement of entrepreneurship and distribution of material goods for the poor indigenous population. Whereas the Protestants see the yearly Catholic ritual expenditure as wasteful and sinful, the indigenous have at least not been totally without hope and resources through this

traditional system. One investigator puts it this way:

> "Apart from the spiritual rewards and psychological security derived from firm beliefs, the family also knows that the system will eventually work to improve t ıeir fortune. . . In the meantime, life has a sense of orderliness—the family can accept the present and feel a certain assurance about the future. No shame or social stigma is attached to their poverty. It would not occur to this family that their privation is caused by sloth or moral turpitude or that they are not good people."
>
> (Annis, 97-98)

Life for the traditional Indian is not measured by material gain. Self-identity with the community transcends the needs of the individual, rendering individual needs somewhat irrelevant, and in celebration, the minutes of the day and the trivialities of life have a rich, symbolic meaning.

One example of the break-down in tradition due to the influx of Protestantism is the decreasing worship of the idol Saint, "Maximon" in the Santiago Atitlán community. Maximon is a mixture of ancient Maya deity and Catholic saint. He has been described as cross between a "Judas" figure and a "trickster" god in the Maya pantheon. The people of Santiago Atitlán made Maximon from the wood of the sacred pito tree, which is reputed to be able to speak (Orellana, 98). The residents dress him in local clothing, which "appears to be a continuation of a pre-Hispanic ritual" (Orellana, 99). An American whom the researcher met (who said he consistently travels back and forth to Guatemala for business reasons) said that he visited Santiago Atitlán during the Holy Week celebration in 1987. At that time, many people of the town ran from the image of Christ and flocked around Maximon's image, which was being carried a ound in the streets. During the

American's visit to the town in 1989, however, very few people left the image of Christ to flock around the image. The cofradía members instead ran Maximon quickly through the town and then put him back into the house-shrine where Maximon "lived." The American said he questioned the cofradía members, and they responded that Maximon was ill this year (interview with American businessman).

As evidenced by this conflict of religious ideas, the needs of the indigenous take on various meanings depending on context. Development efforts which aim to address the specific needs of these communities must be cognizan of these different contexts and meanings so that these efforts are relevant to the people and their communities. This study will look at the needs of individuals in three different indigenous communities, how the importance of these needs might differ between the contexts of different religious and societal structures, and what the radio stations are doing to meet these needs. Before discussing the specifics of these three stations and their communities, however, we must have a theoretical framework within which to ground these discussions. The next chapter briefly addresses trends in development communications theory—in general, and in specific relation to Latin American and Guatemalan development.

Related Theories

The theory of development communications has progressed from a fairly unified consensus to a highly splintered melee. In the 1950s and early 1960s, many researchers believed in the "dominant paradigm" of development communications. They believed that mass media influence in developing nations could and should lead to Western-style development. Researchers set off for the "Third World," radios and transmitters in hand, and with high expectations for quick development. They felt sure that advancement would come much quicker for developing nations than it did for present-day Western industrialized nations when they were developing nations. Whereas Western nations had to discover all of the correct answers for themselves, developing nations of today would have all the answers already, thanks to the hard work and rational enlightenment of the developed nations. With mass communications, these correct ways of life could be immediately disseminated throughout any culture.

Today, in the wake of countless disappointments from failed development projects, many theorists and researchers are abandoning some of the original ideas. The "top-down" development project is less and less popular, and theorists are starting to look more closely at the unique needs of the particular culture before making any generalities about development and the role of communications.

Any discussion of development communications theory must begin by paying homage to Lerner, Pye, Schramm and Rogers. These are among the forefathers who introduced the main ideas of the dominant paradigm in early

years of development communications theory. In the 1950s and 1960s, these men, and other social scientists saw the route to development for developing nations as a linear one with the Third World on one end and the Western 'developed nations' on the other. "Traditional societies" could evolve by following the instructions provided by developed nations. There was one standard for proper development, and it was represented by the technological might and material culture of the Western nations. Lerner, Pye, Schramm and Rogers saw the role of mass communication as one of preparing developing nations for modernization by effecting changes in behavior, attitude and values. It was widely felt that the mere exposure to Western ideas and to Western-style education would bring about these changes in a short time.

Daniel Lerner believed that man in the developing world must experience "empathy" through the mass media in order to change their behavior and ideas about the world. Empathy, for Lerner, is a person's ability to truly feel a foreign way of life before he or she lives it:

> "Empathy endows a person with the capacity to imagine himself as proprietor of a bigger grocery store in a city, to wear nice clothes and live in a nice house, to be interested in "what is going on in the world: and to "get out of this hole." With the spread of curiosity and imagination among a previously quietistic population come the human skills needed for social growth and economic development."
>
> (Lerner , 342)

Public mass communication would be able to promote "psychic mobility," more choices, and eventually a democratic lifestyle.

Lucian Pye believed that mass communication in developing nations would bring about the advent of "world culture," a term that is synonymous with Western modern culture. World culture is based on ideas of

rational thought, the spirit of the enlightenment, and democratic values:

> " It is based on a scientific outlook and the application in all phases of life of even higher levels of technology. It is a reflection of urban and industrial society in which human relations are premised on secular rather than sacred considerations. . . It implies a strong need to pay deference to democratic values."
> (Pye, 19)

If men in developing nations only had choice and the rational, logical mind processes with which to make the correct choices, they would be able to emulate the way of life of the developed world. Pye saw the need for an integration of mass media on an impersonal, national scale with more personal, face-to-face, patterns of "social communication"—as it is exhibited in the developed world (Pye, 10).

Wilbur Schramm hailed mass communication as handling the "cognitive business of society" (Schramm, 34). Schramm was very sure of the ability of mass communication to handle the work of development, as he understood the term. Schramm saw six essential functions of communication as it relates to de eloping nations:

1) ". . .*must be used to contribute to the feeling of nation-ness.*" Schramm felt that without being a truly unified nation, no nation could hope to face up to the economic challenges awaiting it in the free market of the developed world. Radio could play the role of bringing the nation's news into even the most remote villages, and eventually people would begin to feel the "teamwork" of working for a unified cause in a unified country to confront the problems of development.

2) ". . .*must be used as the voice of national planning.*" Mass media must widely communicate the plans and goals of the national government for the people. Schramm

emphasizes the need for feedback from the people, in meetings, through government officials, and through "write to the editor" opportunities.

3) *". . . must be used . . . teach the necessary skills."* Literacy, health, and agricultural techniques must be taught in order to urbanize and therefore modernize the culture. He uses the need for agricultural skills as an example. These must be taught so that "a sufficient proportion of the population may be freed from agriculture to live in cities and work in industry, so hunger can be banished."

(4) *". . .must extend the effective market."* Communication must be directed to the ends of building a country's national industry and foreign trade.

(5) *". . .Must be used to help people play their new parts."* Future orientation, Schramm says, stimulates people to greater and stronger efforts and "helps them endure hardships" that may be necessary today in order to achieve a higher standard of life.

(6) *". . .must be used to prepare the people to play their role as a nation among nations."* Horizons must be widened from local concerns to international concerns.

(Schramm, 38-42)

Many of the ideas of Schramm, Lerner and Pye have come under challenge during the last couple of decades. In fact all three of these men have acknowledged problems with the dominant paradigm since. One of these problems was "the revolution of rising expectations," as Lerner called it. People in developing nations were led to expect rapid economic development by development workers, only to have their hopes dashed. Lerner saw this problem early on in his research in Turkey, and he anticipated another problem there, as well. The urban areas were becoming overcrowded at an alarming pace, mostly by young men who were leaving their families' fields in the rural areas to seek quick and easy wealth. As a result,

agricultural production was suffering (as were the families who farmed), and many young men were left jobless and discontented, wandering the city streets. The crime rate skyrocketed as well (Lerner, 349). Schramm's third point emphasizing urbanization seems less convincing in light of these revelations.

A developmental radio effort in Cameroun has been found to have significantly contributed to "rural exodus" and urban crowding. Initially radio efforts had promoted nationalism and independence, and Domatob feels this led to unrealistic explanations and a destructive alteration in social order (Domatob, 135). It began to seem that imposing Western industrialized ideas of what development was did not necessarily result in this type of development, and in many cases this imposition might backfire.

Everett Rogers, who had been a believer in the dominant paradigm, was one of the more notable researchers to first break ranks. Rogers recognized that followers of the dominant paradigm, by defining development needs only in terms of what the industrialized West had achieved, failed to address the particular and widely varying needs of the nations, cultures and peoples being targeted with mass communication. Rogers believed that the "dominant paradigm of development" had falsely assumed that human development could be measured in terms of national economic wealth. Man was assumed to be an economic creature who responded automatically to the profit motive that existed in an industrialized economy. Followers of the dominant paradigm believed national unity was absolutely necessary to this economic development. Rogers believes little attention had been paid to the equality of distribution of wealth or to the fact that often, in the rush for national stability, governments trampled upon individual freedoms (Rogers, 124-25). Guatemala is a case in point.

Rogers called for a more equal distribution of information throughout the world. He believed that developing nations had much to offer the West in the way of ideas and

values, and that mass communication should travel two ways. After all, many of these developing nations had civilizations centuries older than any of the developed nations (especially older than the United States). The Mayan Empire is considered by historians to have been one of the most advanced civilizations at that time. [Much has been made of the problems of international information flow in the debates over the proposed New World Information Order between The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and industrialized, Western nations. However, the subject of media/news flow between nations is outside of the scope of this book. Those interested should refer to *Many Voices, One World*, the compiled papers of the MacBride Commission, Paris: UNESCO, 1980.]

As mentioned in the introduction, Rogers redefines 'development' as ". . .a widely participatory process of social change in a society, intended to bring about both social and material advancement (including greater equality, freedom, and other valued qualities) for the majority of the people through their gaining greater control over their environment" (Rogers, 133). Rogers called for popular participation in self-development planning and execution. The idea that the people themselves might take control of their own development was new, as was the concept of "decentralization" which Rogers said was necessary in order to get away from tightly controlled development efforts which derived from other cultures (Rogers, 130).

The role of the media in this scheme of self-help deveopment is to merely provide technical information about development problems and possibilities and to suggest ways of improvement in response to local needs. The media can also circulate information "about the self-development accomplishments of local groups so that other groups may profit from others' experiences and perhaps be challenged to achieve a similar performance." (Rogers, 140 - 41).

The question remains, 'what is the role of the government in "self-help de\ elopment"? McAnany believes that government must still play a role, but that it must be a less

active one. He says that scholars in the development field should consider the constraints placed on development communications efforts by the local government, or by technological and institutional complications (McAnany, 10-14). This concern over political constraint becomes acute when one begins to consider self-development as a paradigm for development. Christine Ogan believes that the government's active involvement in development at the local level is a necessity, and she feels government and local development efforts can work together for better solutions. But she warns: "As long as government and mass media representatives fail to reveal their actual motives in the debate, as long as neither side is willing to give a little to the needs and concerns of the opposing group, then little progress will be made in. . .bringing the news of development to the deprived peoples of the world" (Ogan, 11).

Laflin also voices concerns about development efforts and governments, especially in regard to local radio efforts:

> "Governments regard national unity and integration as a priority. Legitimization, local languages and identities often seem destructive to that end... Most governments sustain, control and protect national broadcasting systems at the expense of local radio stations unless there is a conscious policy to promote the expression of local opinion and to mobilize local communities."
>
> (Laflin, dcr, 16)

By the mid-70s, many more scholars were questioning the methods and theories of traditional development communications efforts. They questioned whether the media were adequate agents for change and whether mere exposure to the media would cause change, even if the planning were largely done by the local people, as Rogers suggested.

Researcher Nkwelle Ekaney harkens back to Rogers'

ideas in calling for echniques which are less fraught with "empirical weaknesses and ethnocentric bias" (Ekaney, 117). Other researchers have called for a more simple, adequate, accurate and relevant message for these audiences which are usually of low socio-economic status (Melkote, 18; Diaz-Bordenave, 15-20).

S. Adefemi Sonaike goes one step beyond researchers who question the relevance of technique and message. Sonaike begins one article by questioning whether using communications for development is a viable concept. He comes to the conclusion that the general concept is still valid, even if the paradigms to date have been invalid (he does, however, pay deference to Rogers' ideas). Sonaike lays out what he feels are some of the more valid thoughts about development communications and involvement by the national government in these development efforts to date (1988):

> "a. There may in fact be no universal model of development. Because countries differ in their cultural diversity, size of national wealth, etc., each country may have to pursue a path to development that best suits its particular circumstances.
>
> b. . . .In spite of the good intentions of the change agent, some changes may lead to more problems than they alleviate.
>
> c. Development is multi-faceted, implying that all the facets of life—economic, social, political, cultural, etc.—must be considered together in planing for change. It may be necessary to pursue central planning by the state rather than rely on the laissez-faire, decentralized system favored by the industrialized countries of the West.
>
> d. . . .Third World nations must pursue programs that reduce their dependency on other nations. They must promote self effort and inner-directed strate-

gies for economic and political development.

> e. . . .Above all, a country must not compare itself with other, more developed examples for its development policy but must tap the strength that comes from within to move its citizens in the direction it deems appropriate."
>
> (Sonaike, 101)

Sonaike also has suggestions about appropriate technology for Third World development. Developing nations should try to use technology that can be easily understood, maintained, controlled and afforded. These criteria apply to basic local radio. The technology, Sonaike says, should be manned by local labor and should be labor intensive, rather than capital intensive. Also, technology should not be used primarily for profit, but instead for the opportunity to work collectively for community improvement.

Finally, Sonaike comes out in support of local radio developmental efforts as opposed to nation-wide efforts. He claims that the nation whose only goal is unifying the people often overlooks the diversified interests of various small communities within the country—especially, he says of rural, traditional communities (Sonaike, 102 - 3). Guatemala is an example of a nation with many diversified traditional, indigenous groups, and the radio stations under study are just such local community development efforts.

Despite the passing of the dominant paradigm, many researchers and development officials argue that a nation would need to achieve some degree of unification first, before the government could be organized and powerful enough to effect change, or even to direct change in the self-help development paradigm. Doesn't increase in national wealth mean anything? How can encouraging diverse groups within a country further the process of economic development?

This question assumes a concept of development which

can be operationalized in quantitative terms: GNP, income per person, literacy levels, or the like. One may also look at development in terms of quality. Professor Han Park uses the old analogy of apples and oranges to explain the potential pitfalls of quantitative development standards. In his analogy, apples are the fruit of the Western industrialized nations:

> "When we eat apples, we tend to take it for granted that everyone else is and should be eating apples, and that we are better off than others, depending on the size or amount of apples we possess. We ignore the fact that there are fruits that can provide us what apples can. Yet pitiable is the undeniable fact that many people in the "non-apple eating" societies think that they need to change their dietary habits to achieve and maintain what the "apple eaters" have, even if their physical metabolism is not prepared for apple consumption."
>
> (Park, 30)

Park says that while the Third World inhabitants are scrambling for the "apples" of the industrialized West, serious social and cultural dislocations are occurring in these countrie. The Third World offers cheap labor and abundant resources, and as the frantic transfer in technology continues, the Third World will become increasingly economically dependent on the West.

Everett Rogers agrees with Park and says that developed nations should share the blame for the condition of developing nations:

> "It was less obvic :s that the industrially advanced nations largely controlled the 'rules of the game' of development. That most of the scholars writing about development were Westerners. That balances of payment and monetary exchange rates were largely determined in New York, London, and Washington.

> And the international technical assistance programs sponsored by the rich nations, unfortunately, made the recipients even more dependent on the donors."
> (Rogers, 125)

This is not to say that industrialization and modernization have been all bad for the developing world. Park points out that improvements in health care have led to longer life expectancy and lower infant mortality in some areas, and improved literacy has presumably bettered the quality of life. The problem is the tendency toward homogenization of cultures. The universal quantitative yardstick of the West is not only irrelevant—to the point of inflicting harm—to developing nations, it encourages cultural uniformity (Park, 30-31). Park argues that this homogenization is regressive development—that it reduces the quality of life in a developing nation as it has come to be known in that nation over its history. The advent of nation-wide commercial radio broadcasting and even of cable TV in Guatemala has certainly eroded much of the traditional lifestyle of the indigenous population, according to several respondents in the research of this study.

Park wants to bring the concept of development to the human level. Development is not for societies or systems, Park argues, but ultimately for the individual. Societies and systems were created by and consist of human beings, and it should be the job of the development agent (in fact of all humanity) to discern human needs and define development in terms of satisfying these needs. Tinkering with economic policies, media systems, and other various man-made societal processes has its place, but these efforts should not be seen as ends in themselves. The ultimate end must be the human being:

> "No matter how development may be defined, its primary beneficiary should be the development of humans themselves, not those instrumental

> means by which life may be made more enjoyable. I for one would define development in terms of *communicative* capability among members of the community. A person becomes more capable of communication by. . .being more knowledgeable about the life world. But more importantly, human communication begins with compassionate feelings toward others and empathy for divergent life situations. In the process of industrial development, humans have voluntarily restricted their understanding of the life world in the name of efficiency; institutions have effectively curtailed human contacts and education has mercilessly sliced human minds into isolated pieces in the name of specialization. . . . And in the end, society has become little more than a network of functions devoid of any overriding sense of community to guide the further evolution of functional matrices."
>
> (Park, 261)

This idea that the concept of development might run deeper than traditional manifestations of progress: the improvement of literacy, health and agricultural techniques—that development might also mean the improvement of human communication and the strengthening of traditional communities—is an idea that this study brings up in later discussions of the three radio stations and their methods and concepts of education and development.

It is also one of the ideas central to the concepts of Brazilian educator Paulo Freire and Latin American communication specialist Juan E. Diaz-Bordenave. Freire's ideas are central to the ideology of the Latin American Radio Schools, like Radio Voz de Atitlán, in this study. Both men go beyond the bottom-up approach by defining development only in terms of how the individuals in the particular "community in development" define it. "Bottom up" implies to these men that there is an "up" which is presently outside of, and alien to, the community in development and which must

be reached through a process like Lerner's "empathy."

The "peasant," as Freire calls the individual in a developing community, must believe in his own abilities to solve problems. "Almost never do they realize that they, too, 'know things' in their relations with the world and with other men. . . . Not infrequently, peasants in educational projects begin to discuss a generative theme in a lively manner, then stop suddenly and say to the educator: 'Excuse us, we ought to keep quiet and let you talk. You are the one who knows, we don't know a thing'." (Freire, 50) The peasant must have "conscientization." Conscientization is the ability to think critically coupled with the ability to take action on the results of this critical thinking (Freire, 52 - 53). Conscientization should take place through meaningful dialogue between member of the peasant community (this process is similar to Park's "communicative ability"), and cannot take place as a result of top-down mass mediated "propaganda."

Freire says there must be a life-affirming humanization in all communities. To be fully human, to Freire, means more than merely having enough to eat.

> "They cannot enter the struggle as objects in order later to become men. Propaganda, management, manipulation—all arms of domination—cannot be the instruments of their rehumanization. The only effective instrument is a humanizing pedagogy in which the revolutionary leadership establishes a permanent relationship of dialogue with the oppressed."
>
> (Freire, 55)

In development efforts, teacher and student must enter into "co-education." They are partners in coming to know their reality critically and in liberating themselves and their concepts of the world. Liberation for Freire means "the action and reflection of men upon their world in order to transform it" (Freire, 56). Teacher and student must "name

the world" (Freire, 82) The peasant must rid himself of meaning imposed from the outside and must discover his own meaning before he can change his situation.

> "Authentic education is not carried on by "A for "B" or by "A" about "B," but rather by "A" with "B," mediated by the world—a world which impresses and challenges both parties, giving rise to views and opinion about it."
>
> (Freire, 82)

Whereas Freire speaks of "co-education," Diaz-Bordenave speaks of "co-orientation" in development communication efforts. Co-orientation takes place when the receiver and the emitter have similar perceptions and interpretations of the object or concept being emitted. The greater the similarity, the more efficient the communicative process (Diaz-Bordenave, 16). To encourage co-orientation, people should have access to the communications media, not as receivers, but as sources and as actors. Already, Bordenave says, changes are taking place in development communications: media must become more accessible to the participation of the rural populations in programming decisions; government agents, "technocrats and elites" are learning to become receivers as well as sources; message content is becoming more relevant to rural peoples' needs; rural people are learning to articulate their ideas and feelings about matters important to them; and the government is learning to communicate less paternalistically (Diaz-Bordenave, 22 - 23).

Whether co-orientation and co-education is actually taking place is partly a subjective question. In Guatemala, it seems to be taking place in some developmental radio efforts and not at all in others. The radiophonic schools emphasize these concepts in their ideology—whether they practice it is another matter. There is no doubt that the ideas of Freire, and Diaz-Bordenave and others have definitely had an impact in Guatemala. But developmental radio in Guatemala and

Latin America has a history of community participation and top-down approach, as does all of Latin America. The dominant paradigm may have passed as a model, but the top-down way of thinking is still very influential. The next section traces some of the major developmental radio efforts in Guatemala. Projects conducted both by international aid agencies and grass-roots organizations are explored.

Developmental Radio in Guatemala: A Brief History

The Highlands region of Guatemala is a region particularly suited to the use of radio as a tool for educating rural populations. Radio can transcend the barriers of poor roads, mountainous terrain, and guerilla/military conflict, all of which make travel on land across the country-side of the Highlands area difficult and treacherous. It is also a good medium for transcending cultural barriers. In the Lake Atitlán region, for example, Radio Voz de Atitlán is able to broadcast to all the villages around the lake and facilitate a communication between them which did not previously exist at such a level. Finally, because the campesino and the campesino's family do manual labor all day, he or she can listen to the radio and it will not inte fere with the job.

Initially the major developmental radio efforts in Central America were run by the Catholic Church, which, over the centuries, has traditionally been the major agent for social change in the region (McAnany and Jamison). Today's "Escuelas Radiofónicas" (Radiophonic Schools) were once owned and operated by the Catholic Church, but today these schools are largely financed by international corporate backers. There have been two organizations in Guatemala which have been connected with the Radiophonic Schools of Latin America: the Institution of Guatemalan Radiophonic Schools, which was initiated with USAID money and today is run by the Guatemalan government; and the Federation of Guatemalan Radiophonic Schools, which is of the more traditional vein—financed primarily by the Church until European corporate backers

recently became involved.

The Radiophonic Schools were probably the first significant Latin American and locally supported radio development projects (projects without international agency support). Father Salcedo, a Catholic priest started the first school taught by radio in Sutatenza, Colombia, in 1947. He built the school on the precept that while basic education of literacy and numeracy was essential for the progress of the "peasants," this basic education had to embrace health, communal, vocational and spiritual needs (Mcanany and Jamison, 35). This school was the seed for the first crop of radio-taught schools in Latin America—the Acción Cultural Popular Radiophonic Schools in Colombia. ACPO was the first, and still operates today. A network of Latin American Radiophonic Schools has appeared since, and these have all fallen under the central administration of the Association of Latin American Radiophonic Schools (the Spanish acronym is ALER). These schools are for non-formal education. Each school is run by the members of a particular local family, and are supported by monitors, supervisors and support teaching "in the field"—e.g., on the farm, in the home, etc. (McAnany and Jamison, 36).

Roman Catholicism is probably the single most powerful driving force in ALER. The local parish priest is the driving force in each school. He infuses energy and enthusiasm into the projects.

> "Groups are more successful where the parish priest is sympathetic, and where he is relatively young. If he is too old he cannot easily climb the mountains to visit nearby schools."
>
> (Young, Perraton, 98)

Isabel de Corado at FGER spoke about the importance of the local village priest to the success of these schools. Traditionally these priests have been at risk from right-wing death squads who suspect that the priests' efforts to educate and organize the indigenous rural population is a

dangerous, subversive activity. The parish priest at Radio Voz de Atitlán was killed in 1979, and Juan, the station director, says that death squads were suspected by the community.

Evaluative studies of these radiophonic schools have been few and far-between, which is one of the major complaints that international aid agencies have of radiophonic school projects. One such study was conducted by Robert White on Honduras' Acción Cultural Popular, the largest Radiophonic School organization in Honduras. White drew a sample of 595 students and ex-students from ACPH and tested them in literacy and numeracy. He also tested them on their consciousness of the world around them in order to get at Freire's "conscientization," which is an import ant, driving force in the Radiophonic School movement. Formal and non-formal education are important to these schools, but without conscientization, they believe, these subjects cannot be effectively communicated and acted upon:

> "...generally they (the radio schools) have attempted to integrate adult basic education through radio schools with a system of leadership training and community organization which is intended to serve, at least indirectly, as the basis for rural interest-group formation. The learning of specific skills such as literacy is seen not as an objective in itself, but as the medium through which there is created an awareness of community problems or social and political injustices that are assumed to be the real factors in underdevelopment. The general objective is also frequently described as desarrollo integral, integral development, an emphasis on balanced growth which takes into consideration all major dimensions of the human personality: social, economic, religious, cultural, and political."
>
> (White, 201)

White found that while ACPH benefitted only 10 percent

of the population in literacy attainment, students showed a higher consciousness of the world around the radio villages. However, this consciousness did not necessarily lead to political organization. White also found that societal structural change is more important for promoting adult education than is adult education for promoting this structural change. Generally he concluded that "consciousness-raising" is only effective with solid bases of power, in increased economic productivity and with campesino organization.

McAnany lists what he considers to be the positive and negative aspects of the Radiophonic Schools. One positive aspect is the group-learning aspect of these schools. Each student should have as much or more to contribute to the learning process as the teacher. Another positive aspect is the multi-media instructional methods, which usually means radio and some printed material. Also, the lead instructor is someone who has grown up in the area, and who knows the people well. Finally, the radio schools have been built upon an already existing socio-cultural and religious foundation—the local parish church. The schools are sponsored by the Church and by private institutions, and these efforts are seen as being free of the government and its policies—a positive factor in the minds of the rural indigenous.

On the down-side, McAnany believes many of the staples of radio-school education have become stale. The importance placed on literacy training, McAnany believes, is unwarranted in light of other, more immediately practical educational necessities in the areas of agriculture and health—non-formal education. McAnany also suspects that the radio schools may have lost their appeal for real change in rural life and may be seen as only another half-hearted attempt to give campesinos the minimum of social services so they are satisfied with their position in society. (This critique harkens back to Annis' discussion of subsistence living as rationalized by the cofradías.) Finally, the radio-

phonic school movement has never been known for strong evaluations of their own programs (McAnany, 83-84). This lack of evaluation has brought skepticism down upon the radiophonic schools from international aid agencies like USAID. Clifford Block, who works in Washington, D.C., as an associate director of development communication at USAID, described these local development efforts as "basket-cases" which have no real direction because of lack of evaluative feedback (telephone inter-view with Clifford Block).

AID's feelings toward radiophonic schools are not cut and dried, however. Richard Martin, the director of AID communications efforts in Guatemala, says that in the mid-80s, AID gave a grant to an affiliate organization—the Institute of Guatemalan Radiophonic Education (mentioned earlier). IGER was essentially a radiophonic school organization, and AID agreed to fund it because the radio school organization it was based on in the Dominican Republic, had been so successful (according to AID research). The Dominican Republic station, Radio Santa María, has become financially self-sufficient and now conducts its own self-evaluations. Martin says the IGER project "was not a success story." IGER's director, Father Tattenbach—a Catholic Priest of German origin, "did not want to run with it, did not make use of the grant." "Financially, it was a real nightmare," says Gilberto Mendez of AID. Martin said that AID had learned a hard lesson about supporting organizations like IGER which were grass-roots and not affiliated with the government (interview at USAID in Guatemala).

Martin, however, does not have kind words for the development work of the government, either. The Basic Village Education radio project in Guatemala was turned over to the Guatemalan government in the early 80s after almost ten years of operation by AID. Today, Martin says, the program is in disarray, with most of the objectives as laid out by AID to the government upon transfer of the project having gone by the wayside. Before this transfer, Martin

says, the Basic Village Education Project had shown clearly that radio worked in educating rural audiences.

BVE was an experimental program of non-formal education which did not require literacy for participation. The Project's program content stressed information that subsistence farmers might need to help their production and income from "basic grain crops" (Ray, i). BVE began in 1973 among Ladinos and among the indigenous in 1975. The project was funded by AID and the Guatemalan government, and controlled and conducted largely by the Academy for Educational Development. The researchers intended to discover the combination of radio and support teaching (in-person, and on-location teaching which backs up the radio messages) that most effectively increased crop production in the studied areas: (1) villages of Ladinos in Southern Guatemala and (2) villages of Indians in the Western Highlands. In each of the areas researchers randomized villages into four groups: those receiving radio messages only, those receiving radio and support monitors (who answered questions about the programming), those receiving radio, monitors and a field agronomist, and those receiving only the monitors. There were also control groups. The researchers measured overall BVE impact, the differential effectiveness of the four groups, impact on knowledge, attitudes and practices, and the different historical, cultural, and geographical variables in relation to program impact (AED).

Results of this ambitious project were, like the results of so many development communications projects, largely inconclusive. One of the more conclusive results was that developmental radio broadcast without visual support of some type—whether printed material, or drawn charts—cannot be truly effective. Educational radio classes without this support have traditionally had high drop-out rates in other projects. Also, BVE showed that radio needed some sort of in-the-field human teaching support to be effective. "The relatively short time of the experiment

may account for some of the variations in the results under different treatment conditions" (AED). The short, two-year term of the program may not have been long enough to wait for measurable effects. Also, credit access from the Guatemalan government was a problem, and this lack of credit may have constrained how far subjects could progress (Hornik, 77). Once again, we see the effects of politics. Juan Diaz-Bordenave says, "if there is one thing we are learning in Latin America, it is that studies of the communication of innovations cannot exist as ideologically free and politically neutral research" (Diaz-Bordenave, 55). The fact that the Guatemalan government has for so long been antagonistic toward development efforts for or by the indigenous probably played a part in the scarcity of credit. In reference to this query, Martin says, "let's just say the government was sometimes less than helpful."

Martin says AID is directing its present development communications efforts at promoting Spanish as a second language. It has retreated from confronting agricultural problems head on (as well as the problems of land reform) to promoting bilingualism as a "tool" for advancement. Without an understanding of Spanish, Martin says, the indigenous are locked out of mainstream business, government and education. AID and the government are promoting bilingualism through a program called PRONEBI. PRONEBI is responsible for a daily radio program on bilingualism which broadcasts on the national radio station Nuevo Mundo, as well as on smaller local developmental stations like Radio Tezulutlan, one of the stations in this study. Subject matter is taught with the aid of songs, jokes and rhymes—AID and the government are viewing the program as an experiment.

As of October of 1989, AID was working on two other models for developmental radio. One, called social marketing, would adapt successful techniques from advertising to developmental broadcasting in an effort to

battle the popular flashiness of commercial stations. The other is called AVANCE and involves the use of interactive radio, which is a technique proving to be increasingly popular and effective. The concept is based on the success of a radio math project in Nicaragua in the early 70s. Rather than straight lecture from a teacher for 30 minutes, AVANCE would create a program in which students would be asked to respond to answers during intentional pauses following questions. AVANCE has the Guatemalan government's backing and the AVANCE board of directors are leaders of the business community. The private sector is "able to provide a protective umbrella of status for AVANCE in general—protecting it from political and press criticism" (Booth, 1-2). Accessories like teachers' guides, wall charts and student notebooks were subsidized by major U.S. corporations. Through AVANCE, development communications is entering the computer world as well, as desk top publishing capabilities will be used to aid in evaluations. Both AVANCE and the social marketing technique would not teach non-formal education, which Martin says "just doesn't seem to work." Instead they emphasize formal education—literacy, math, etc.—in the hopes that this will provide the campesino the ability to enter "mainstream" ladino society.

Several local development radio efforts have been made in Guatemala by other outside aid organizations. One of these, the Pila Communication Project, sponsored by the Pan American Health Organization, was an interesting adaptation of the non-formal education format. Researchers played audio cassette tapes at local "pilas," which are outdoor laundering centers found in Guatemalan villages and cities. Tape content consisted of health, nutrition and related development information and was directed at women, who are "in a key position to influence family food and health habits" (Colle, 2-4). Message format consisted of a mixture of radio novelas (developmental soap operas), talk shows and quizzes,

interrupted by "cuñas" (Public Service Announcements) and music. Researchers claim that the efficiency, flexibility, an entertaining nature of the messages made the project fairly successful. The women enjoyed the programming and would discuss the messages at the pilas during the broadcasts. Many of the recommendations broadcast were adopted by the women. The Pila project is one of many recent radio projects aimed at women, as researchers are finding that it is the women who make many of the decisions about health and nutrition in the home.

One other project worth mentioning was the 1977-78 Information-Education-Communication Program, which was backed by international aid agencies and the Guatemalan government. IEC was supposed to educate the indigenous population about family planning through radio spots and posters. Information was broadcast and printed in both Spanish and in the Indian language Kekchí, but, although the ladino population was not the intended audience, more inquiries about the inform-ation was received from ladinos than from the indigenous population. The Kekchí do not believe in family planning, and in the end researchers were unable to claim cause and effect between lack of media exposure and lack of increased family planning concerns. In the context of other development communications projects, this failure to be predictive is common place. F.D. Colburn, author of the IEC article makes a couple of interesting observations about the Indians' reactions to the IEC project:

> "Villages are not one big happy family. Villages do not necessarily share a consensus of opinion and are not necessarily willing to help one another. . . . The villages have a fear of participation in any sort of community organization of activity—even if such activity is only for improving the health of villages.
>
> "Villagers have suffered greatly from activities of guerrillas and the Guatemalan army: as a result of the violence, there is a general fear of anything that

resembles politics."

(Colburn, 21)

Non-formal education efforts like IEC have met with some disappointment all over Latin America. And in a political environment like Guatemala's, development efforts run other risks as well. Even the high-powered Basic Village Education Project was, for the most part, inconclusive in its results. Non-formal education is less controlled and therefore more demanding on the researchers than formal education, and with an organization like USAID which must show results, it is tempting to leave the campesino in the fields and retreat to broadcasting literacy training.

Isabel de Corado, with the Guatemalan radiophonic school organization FGER, disagrees with USAID's present "literacy-only" approach. She believes that while formal education has its place (and indeed is very important in radiophonic education), non-formal education also serves a necessary role. It addresses the present needs of the campesino while formal education addresses the long-term needs. Literacy attainment is crucial, but the teaching must also actively involve the campesino's lifestyle (farming, for instance) to be of relevance to him.

Beyond Bordenave's skepticism about "politically neutral research," Corado objects to what she sees as AID's preference for sophisticated technology over true understanding of the indigenous radio audience. While she believes the higher quality in production is a positive development, she believes AID is mistakenly basing correction of the treatment on factors which are not intrinsic to the audience and its specific, unique problems. Rather than increase the campesino's exposure to slick North American type of broadcasting—rather than reinforce a dependency on this type of highly produced, foreign entertainment—development broadcasting should explore the richness of the campesino's own culture.

Broadcasters should deliver the developmental message

in a form which is consistent with the traditions and customs of the particular indigenous group. According to Corado, this sensitivity to local tradition is vital for the success of the message and the developmental process, as well as for the preservation of the traditions and customs that *are* the campesino. Sonaike says, "no information can be effective unless it is acceptable or close to the cultural norms, practices and functioning of the cultural channels of communication" (Sonaike, 69).

As we embark now on an exploration of three local developmental radio stations in Guatemala, we have some theoretical concepts with which to frame our discussion. These have been detailed in a sequence—the top-down approach of the dominant paradigm; full community participation and relevancy of message, as detailed by Rogers, Sonaike and Park; and the conscientization process as described by Freire and Bordenave. We also have a history of developmental radio in Guatemala, which should help further in frameworking the explorations of the following chapters. The method of these explorations is detailed in the next chapter.

Research Method & Questions

In the spring of 1989, the researcher of this study sent letters to six radio stations deemed likely to broadcast developmental and educational information. Included with each letter (which was written in Spanish) was one dollar for each station's return mailing expenses. The letter requested an interview with the station director of each station and explained the researcher's general interest in developmental broadcasting. Three stations responded: Radio Tezulutlan, the Catholic-owned station, in Cobán; Radio Voz de Atitlán, the radiophonic school in Santiago Atitlán; and TGNA Radio Cultural, the evangelical station in Guatemala City. Each agreed to meet with the researcher during his upcoming trip to Guatemala in the fall, and each revealed a little about their broadcasting in the letter (station frequency, power and general format). Only Tezulutlan and Voz de Atitlán, however, broadcast in what the researcher considered a developmental format, but the researcher wrote all three stations back and agreed to meet with each. Dr. Richard Martin at USAID in Guatemala was also contacted and agreed to an interview during the upcoming trip.

The researcher visited Guatemala from August 15 to September 16, 1989. The town of Antigua was used as a base, and the researcher attended Spanish language classes at Escuela Maya and lived with a family there for part of the time. During the first week the researcher contacted USAID and the evangelical station TGNA (the one station of the three that had a telephone) and arranged interviews with each on the same day of the following week. Also during the

first week, the researcher obtained the services of an interpreter to accompany him on the interviews in which only Spanish would be spoken. The interpreter was one of the teachers at the language school.

At the USAID interview in Guatemala City the following week, it was discovered that there was another developmental station located en route to Radio Tezulutlan in Cobán. This station was the new government-run station Radio Zamaneb in the village of San Jerónimo. Radio Zamaneb had no telephone, and so contact would have to be made by walking up to the door and taking a chance. Essentially this would be the "method" for contacting the other two developmental stations as well. Although the station directors at Tezulutlan and Atitlán knew the researcher would come by during the four week period, a specific time could not be arranged. La Voz de Atitlán in Santiago was a three-and-a-half-hour, uncomfortable bus ride from Antigua, and Radio Tezulutlan in Cobán was eight hours away—by bus as well.

The researcher and the interpreter visited Santiago Atitlán on August 25 to try to arrange an interview with the station director at Voz de Atitlán. After a long bus ride and a 45-minute boat ride across Lake Atitlán, the researcher arrived at the indigenous village of Santiago. Upon arrival, an interview was arranged for later that day with the station director. The researcher would return to this station on September 9, after the other interviews, to get a little more information. Interviews at Zamaneb and Tezulutlan took place September 6 and 7, respectively, and luckily the station director was available at Tezulutlan and the assistant director was available at Zamaneb. Finally, the researcher travelled to Guatemala City to interview Isabel de Corado at the Federation of Guatemalan Radiophonic Schools (FGER) and to obtain demographic statistics on the broadcast areas of the three stations (Zamaneb, Tezulutlan and Atitlán—not TGNA).

Data Gathering Techniques

The major source of information was the interviews. The researcher interviewed the station director at TGNA (in English); the station directors at Atitlán and Tezulutlan, with the aid of the Spanish-speaking interpreter; the assistant director at Zamaneb, with the aid of the interpreter; the accountant/co-director of FGER, also an interview in Spanish; both the Director and the Assistant Director of Development Communications for Guatemala at USAID; and several employees and village residents at the different locations. The interpreter spoke a little Tzutujil, the Indian language of the Santiago Atitlán residents, and so some contact could be made with the audience of this highly traditional Indian village. Contact could not be made with the Indian language-speaking audience of Zamaneb or Tezulutlan, as the interpreter did not know the local languages of Achi, Kekchí, K'anjobal or Pokomchi.

Printed material was obtained at each interview. A printed program log was obtained whenever available, and if it was not, this information was obtained orally. Other information obtained included a few radio scripts, newsletters, and booklets of general information on the stations. Radio Voz de Atitlán offered a printed station program log and several newsletters about FGER, while Radio Tezulutlan supplied a general booklet of information and a program log, and Radio Zamaneb provided some scripts. Detailed, printed evaluations of programming were not to be had from any of the stations.

Hours of broadcasting of each station were tape-recorded as well. The original plan was to record five hours of broadcasting for each station during the same time slots of the day, and to compare each recording. However, for Radio Zamaneb and Radio Tezulutlan, the researcher was unable to stay in the broadcast area long enough to record five hours of broadcasting, once the frequency was located. The researcher was able to record two hours of Radio Voz de Atitlán's broadcast. Also, almost all of the

broadcasting was in an indigenous language—in fact all of the broadcasting of interest to the research was in indigenous language—which made comprehension of content impossible within the limitations of the project. However, one can tell if the program is music, monologue, dialogue, play-acting, etc. At least these tapes can be used to verify the program schedule, as well as to obtain some limited knowledge about the broadcasts.

Also, demographic statistics on the broadcast areas were obtained from the Guatemalan National Institute of Statistics in Guatemala City. These included statistics on land and home ownership, birth rate, literacy, population (indigenous vs. ladino), and other quantitative indicators of development in each of the three broadcast areas—the administrative departments of Alta Verapaz (Tezulutlan), Baja Verapaz (Zamaneb), and Sololá (Atitlán). These will be used in following chapters to indicate how relevant the developmental and educational messages are to the broadcast population.

Finally, the researcher's own observations of the station environment, broadcast community and in some cases, field projects of the stations, are valuable in assessing and comparing these stations.

This pilot research is not highly quantitative. Time, money and language restrictions prevented a more in-depth analysis which may have shown cause and effect between station broadcasts and community development. Rather, the research is an attempt to get at the question of "what is development," and "what should development be" currently for these radio stations and their communities, as well as for Guatemala in general. A comparison of stations' philosophies, organizations and methods is made and then held up to the light of prior research in development and development communications. The nature of the three stations makes comparison particularly apt. One is a government station, another a Catholic Church station, and the third is funded and organized by private and Church funds.

The concept of development takes on different meaning for each station, and the different ownership and organizational structures reflect these differences (although not always in expected ways). It is hoped that the concept of development in general may take on some deeper meaning through this study.

Research questions

Earlier in the book it was brought out that a normative definition of development was needed in order to have some set criteria by which to judge the developmental programs of the three stations. A discussion of the characteristics of the Central Highlands Mayans, and a review of the literature on theory and projects in the area ensued in order to discern this criteria. It seems that recently many researchers are championing the following ideas: that development should be defined in terms of human needs; that these needs vary from culture to culture; and that the community and the development agent—in this case a radio station—should work closely together to determine these needs and appropriate courses of action. In other words, there should be a high degree of interactiveness between the station and the community. Our "working normative definition" of development then will include these ideas.

A stations' level of "interactiveness" with members of the indigenous community will be assessed for each station by the following criteria: the number of hours each station broadcasts in the local indigenous languages; how appropriate the non-formal educational content (e.g., agricultural and health information) is to the developmental needs of the community; the number of hours that each station broadcasts local community events; how accessible the physical station building and operations are to the members of the community; and how the station meets the needs of the community in alternative, unique ways (e.g., as a location for town meetings, etc.). Level of community interactiveness is not a strict predictor of

success in this study. Its level will not be measured quantitatively. Its presence, however, can be suggested by the contextual data and description, and the literature has suggested that community participation and station interactiveness is an indicator that community needs are being successfully addressed.

More specifically, the following ideas, which come from the literature review should be included in normative criteria for the use of radio in development: equipment should be simple to operate and easy to maintain; radio messages should receive on-location teaching support; in expensive radios should be made available to the community; the broadcast signal should be strong enough to reach the intended audience; broadcast content should be in the language of the listening audience; and the community should have access to the station and to the decisions about program format and content.

All three of these stations see their main purpose as being to help the indigenous population in their broadcast areas. The research question becomes, what do these organizations mean by "to help?" How do they view the concept of development in their own communities? What do they see as their role in the community? What do they broadcast, and why do they broadcast what they broadcast?

To get at these broad questions, a series of more specific questions were asked of the station directors (the broader questions were asked as well):

- What is the station purpose and inspiration?
- How is the station funded and what is the ownership and organizational structure?
- What is the history of the station and the station's developmental and educational efforts?
- From where did the equipment come, and how old is it? How often does the station have problems with it, and how is it maintained?
- What is the source for the programming? Do

the stations or their affiliated organization create the programming?

- Has the station had any political trouble—from the government or the rebels—and if so how did it or does it affect broadcasting and developmental efforts?
- What are the characteristics of the local indigenous population?
- What are the major developmental educational needs of the communities?
- What are the major agricultural issues and problems among the population? Land loss? Poor technique? Under-diversification of crops? Other?
- What are the major health-related issues and problems? Nutritional problems? Overfertility? Infant mortality? Disease? Other?
- In what language(s) does the station broadcast? What are the literacy rates?
- What is the content of the broadcast? The program schedule? Content and format description of each show? Intended audience? Format of audience listening? (as group, as individuals in homes, etc.)
- How successful does the director estimate the stations have been in effecting change, or how well do they feel specific programs have been accepted? How well do they feel their efforts as a whole have been received?
- What role does audience feedback play in creating or selecting program content and format? How are audience needs assessed?

Station frequency, power and listenership information was also requested. Other questions were asked as well, as new and unanticipated questions and concerns would crop up from one interview to the next.

The researcher derived the above questions from the review of literature on development communications theory and literature on previous developmental communications projects in Guatemala and Latin America. The researcher tried to assess the major social, economic and political

problems of the indigenous of the Central Highlands before travelling to the region, and questions about the indigenous sprang from this research and from knowledge gained during the trip.

The next chapter discusses each station in terms of the research and interview questions. Chapter 6 assesses each station in terms of the normative criteria for development, interactiveness, and for use of the medium of radio, as given above. The final chapter also discusses new revelations about development and the use of radio that emerge from looking at the collected information.

Case Studies: Three Radio Stations

Radio Tezulutlan

The director of Radio Tezulutlan, in the town of Cobán, knows that the traditions and customs of the station's listeners are inextricably intertwined with the Catholic Church. The giant, imposing 16th Century San Pedro Cathedral in the middle of town serves as a daily reminder of the importance of the Church in the lives of the people here. Radio Tezulutlan sits inside one of the upper halls of the Cathedral. The station director, Juan José Ventura, says that the priest of the Church has the final word on what programs are broadcast. In his homily during the Mass, the priest advises the congregation to listen to Radio Tezulutlan, and the Mass itself is broadcast every Sunday. Ventura says: "The priest decides what is good and what is bad for the people of Cobán." The priest has an important influence on the inside operation of Radio Tezulutlan and also influences the programming schedule, especially when it conflicts with the schedule of Church functions which the priest deems important enough to broadcast.

Radio Tezulutlan began broadcasting in Cobán on January 15, 1966. Its transmitter in the town of San Pedro Carcha, about 15 minutes away by bus, began transmitting in 1980. Tezulutlan has one more transmitter in the town of San Cristóbal, which is a 30-minute bus ride from Cobán. In the beginning, the local Catholic Church, in conjunction with an international Catholic aid organization and Catholic Action Group—Catholic Relief Services, based in the United States—set up the format of Tezulutlan. Broadcasting was

aimed at improving the material life of the campesino through non-formal education and at improving the spiritual life of the campesino as well, through religious broadcasting. Radio equipment came from the United States and was provided by Catholic Relief Services. The same equipment is in use today. Funding came from Catholic Relief Services and from the Catholic Church. As of the time of the interview with Juan José Ventura, funding came primarily from the Catholic Church and an international Catholic aid organization called Educational and Motivational Service Organization (SEVEMO). The Arch-Bishop of the Diocese of Alta Verapaz guides Radio Tezulutlan in spending. Once a year, SEVEMO and representatives from the Diocese meet with the directors of the station, review the operation and recommend changes. On a more regular basis during the year, three appointed persons from each parish—in Cobán, San Pedro Carcha, and San Cristóbal—meet with the programmers and the priest in Cobán to discuss programming and projects in their particular regions.

Tezulutlan programmers create their program tapes at the station in Cobán, but SEVEMO supplies some of the programming. Agricultural information comes from the government extension service DIGISEPE.

Ventura says that Tezulutlan is due to join the Guatemalan radiophonic school organization FGER in 1990. FGER would take over the responsibilities of SEVEMO, and the Diocese of Alta Verapaz would continue to play its role in station operation and funding. Ventura believes that by joining the radiophonic school network, the station would be able to tap into a wealth of innovative programming designed primarily for poor indigenous populations.

Ventura says the purpose of Radio Tezulutlan's programming is to inform and "to overall get the rural indigenous people of Alta Verapaz conscious of educational programs directed toward the community," whether these

programs originate with Tezulutlan or from other service agencies. So the station not only brings education to the audience through the radio, it also brings news and awareness of educational projects. Ventura sees the objective is to study the community and to direct the programming and projects toward the needs of the people. Ventura says that actual full-scale evaluations are rarely done because of prohibitive cost, but that programmers ascertain community needs through letters (from those who can write) and through feedback from the appointed representatives of each parish.

Ventura says that the inspiration for broadcasting comes from the lack of educational opportunities in Alta Verapaz. The government does not provide enough money for education in the region, and that there is an acute shortage of schools for the indigenous. Roads are so poor and the region's terrain is so rough and mountainous that many of the Mayans cannot reach the few schools that are available. Also, families would rather keep their children home to help in the fields, and many times the whole family must leave the area to work on the larger plantations for months at a time or longer. Ventura says he sees the role of the station as being similar to the role of the old Catholic missionaries/ teachers of rural Alta Verapaz who had been in the area for centuries. These teachers would travel for miles, over rough terrain to reach the the most remote areas and spread Catholic beliefs and education. The Catholic Churches served as the first "schools" (in the Western sense of the word) that the Indians had. Education in rural areas has traditionally been inextricably intertwined with the Christian religion (Orellana, 196-197).

The town of Cobán is the cultural, political and economic center of the Central Highlands region of Alta Verapaz. The area around Cobán used to be a very wealthy farming community. In the early 1900s, there was a heavy German investment and presence in the community, and today many of the buildings in Cobán from this period have a

German architectural flavor. Occasionally a head of blond hair can be spotted among the community. The Germans were kicked out of Guatemala when the Guatemalan government joined the side of the allies in World War II, and when the Germans left, so did their wealth. Today, the general impression a visitor might have of Cobán is one of lost splendor.

Of course this wealth did not necessarily translate into wealth for the indigenous community, who were run off of much of their land by the Germans and Guatemalan government in the early-to-mid 1900s, and who worked like indentured servants on the farmland of the Germans. When the Germans left, the government took over their land and sold it to other investors.

Ventura said the station had experienced no interference with the government, the military, or with the rebels, even during the tumultuous years of the late 70s and the early 80s. He said the only interference the station had received was in its transmission, and the interference came from a near-by Baptist evangelical station with a much stronger signal. There also used to be interference from a near-by educational station called Radio K'ekchi, which is no longer in operation. Radio Tezulutlan broadcasts on two AM shortwave frequencies—60 and 90 meters—and on an FM channel as well. Tezulutlan broadcasts with 4 kw of power.

Community characteristics and station response:

The population of Alta Verapaz was 89% indigenous as of 1986, and the population of Cobán in the same year was 81% indigenous. As of 1981, 79% of the men in the Alta Verapaz region were farmers. No later figures could be obtained, but Ventura indicated that "almost all" of the men in the broadcast area were farmers as of late 1989. The predominant tribe among the indigenous are the K'ekchi. The other three tribes in the broadcast area are the Pokomchi, the Achi, and the K'anjobal.

One of the most important functions that Ventura sees the station performing is in the area of language. Upon the demise of Radio K'ekchi, Tezulutlan is the only station in the area that broadcasts regularly in Indian languages. Radio Nuevo Mundo broadcasts 30 minutes a day in Indian languages, and a few evangelical short wave stations broadcast in Indian languages (mainly K'ekchi), but none in the area broadcasts all day in the indigenous languages. Ventura claims that 80% of the Alta Verapaz residents listen to Tezulutlan. He did not have the written figures available, and given the competition from commercial stations in the area, this figure seems high. However, the figure could be accurate given the high percentage of indigenous residents. Another factor which might push up listenership is that the Church buys radios in bulk and sells them back to the population at reduced rates to ensure that as many people as possible have the opportunity to listen to the broadcast. Ventura says that residents who do not have radios will get together with others who do have them and listen. The Church and the station encourage this "group listening."

The AM broadcasts are in the Indian languages of K'ekchi, Achi, Pokomchi and K'anjobal. About 65% of the daily broadcasting is in K'ekchi, which is the language of the Cobán area. The rest is split almost evenly between the other three languages. The station in San Cristóbal broadcasts in Pokomchi and sends 40-minute taped messages to the central Cobán station every day. The San Pedro Carcha station broadcasts in K'ekchi. An hour a day from the Cobán station is in Spanish and in K'ekchi.

One way the station addresses the language barriers between the population and the rest of the country is by translating news of the outside world from the Guatemalan newspapers into the Indian languages and reading it over the air. Ventura says the news show, "Esil Laj Ula'," is one of their most popular programs.

Another attempt to bridge the language barrier is the broadcasting of the government and USAID created program, "PRONEBI," a show which teaches Spanish literacy, but has instructions in the indigenous language. As of 1986 only 19% of the Alta Verapaz population were literate in Spanish and/or in indigenous languages. In Cobán the rate was 24%. In the 70s and early 80s, Spanish was taught during a gov-ernment produced show called "Castellanización," which aired on Radio Tezulutlan. It was the government position at this time that no Indian languages be spoken during or as part of government operated educational efforts, and this show reflected this policy.

The programmers at Tezulutlan try to meet the needs of their largely agricultural population by broadcasting a program called "Aj C'alom Cuink," or, "The Farmer" (See Table 2 for Radio Tezulutlan program schedule). This show consists of agricultural extension information from DIGISEPE translated from Spanish into K'ekchi. Farmers can make their questions or problems known through their local parish, and the three-person representative body from each parish makes these questions known to the central station in Cobán. From here, questions are sent to DIGISEPE and information comes back to Cobán from DIGISEPE, and is either read over the air in K'ekchi or distributed to the other two stations in San Cristóbal and San Pedro Carcha to be read over the air there. Here one can see the importance of involvement with the local parish for the campesinos. This involvement goes beyond spiritual needs and into physical and financial needs as well.

Ventura says the station is aware of the problem of land loss among the indigenous population. Ventura says he thinks the size of farms in the Alta Verapaz region has decreased by a third over the last nine years that he has been with Tezulutlan. He relays a recent story in which a campesino was duped by a near-by large farm owner into believing that the campesino's crops are not doing well this year because "Zulta," (an agricultural god in the Mayan

RADIO TEZULUTLAN PROGRAM LOG

Monday through Friday

TIME	PROGRAM	DESCRIPTION	LANGUAGE
4:40 a.m.	Promocion,Saludando a los K'ekchis del Oriente y Norte	Good morning to the K'ekchi of the Highlands and of Coban	K'ekchi
5:00	Aj Chakunel	?	Achi
5:00	Etamaxic jay utzil wuachil', pachatem achi	Good morning to the Achi	Achi
5:20	Tzijonik re'uch'atem ri Dios pachatem achi	Inspirational religious reading	Achi
5:30	San Cristobal Verapaz	Letters, messages from San Cristobal	Pokomchi
6:00	Oracion del Angelus... Cabina Central	Religious reading	K'ekchi
6:05	Transmiciones centro Radial Carcha	Letters, messages from San Pedro Carcha	K'ekchi
7:30	Saj Poyonam	Programming for youth; advice, calendar of events	K'ekchi
7:45	Xsahil xch'ol lin C'alebal. Saludos	Music and letter reading	K'ekchi
8:50	Dios Kiq'uin	Message from the priest	K'ekchi
9:05	Cacuilal reheb chix-junil	Religious bulletin: service of the local parish — upcoming activities	K'ekchi
9:25	Li sumcuanc	Promotion of the family -advice, inspirational stories about families and their worship of family saints	K'ekchi
9:40	Cantos	Songs in Spanish - marimba, tradional music - religious in nature	Spanish
10:00	Promocion para la tarde y cierre	Promotion of afternoon's programming and closing of the morning broadcast	

RADIO TEZULUTLAN PROGRAM LOG

Monday through Friday

TIME	PROGRAM	DESCRIPTION	LANGUAGE
2:55 p.m.	Musica, Promocion para el dia de hoy	Music and promotion of day's broadcasting	
3:00	Centro Radial de San Cristobal		
3:30	Tenk' ajhib sa 'Comonil	Emphasizes health, treatment for alcoholism, schools, cooperation, and customs	
4:00	PRONEBI	Bilingual education	
4:30	Centro Radial de Carcha		
5:00	Laj Calom Cuink	Agricultural advice	
5:25	Centro Radial de San Cristobal		
6:40	Radio Esil Laj ula	National news translated from national newspapers	
7:05	Dios Kiq'uin		
7:20	Bichanko chiru li Kacua	Program aimed at cheering up the campesino after work	
7:40	Li Sumcuanc	Programming for the family — emphasizes togetherness	
7:55	El Saj Poyonam	Youth programming	
8:10	Identificacion, Cuñas (PSAs) and the hour		
8:15	Cutan Saken Espacio para Reportes	Final reports from San Cristobal and San Pedro Carcha	
9:00	ID, oracion, promocion pasra maana		

RADIO TEZULUTLAN PROGRAM LOG

Saturday

TIME	PROGRAM	DESCRIPTION	LANGUAGE
4:55 a.m.	Identificacion y promocion del dia	Station ID and promotion of the day's programming	K'ekchi
5:00	Aj Chakunel		
5:10	Etamaxic jay utzil wuachil', pachatem achi	Good morning to the Achi	Achi
5:20	Tzijonik re'uch'atemri Dios pachatem achi	Inspirational religious reading	
5:30	San Cristobal Verapaz		Pokomchi
6:00	Oracion del Angelus		K'ekchi
6:05	Transmiciones centro Radial Carcha		K'ekchi
7:30	Saj Poyonam	Youth show	K'ekchi
7:45	Xsahil xch'ol lin C'alebal	Letter reading	K'ekchi
8:50	Dios Kiq'uin	Message from the priest	K'ekchi
9:05	Cacuilal reheb chixjunil	Religious bulletin	K'ekchi
9:25	Li Sumcuanc	Family programming	K'ekchi
9:40	Cantos		Spanish
10:00	Promotion of the afternoon's programming and closing		
2:50 p.m.	Opening and promotion of afternoon programs		K'ekchi
3:00	San Cristobal Verapaz		Pokomchi
3:40	Ex Saj Poyonam	Program for youth	K'ekchi
4:00	Tenk' ajhib sa 'Comonil	Themes of health, alcoholism, schools, cooperation and customs	K'ekchi

RADIO TEZULUTLAN PROGRAM LOG

Saturday

TIME	PROGRAM	DESCRIPTION	LANGUAGE
4:30	Centro Radial Carcha Chabil Esilal	News from San Pedro Carcha	K'ekchi
5:00	Xtenamit li Dios	Calendar of Coban's activities	Bilingual
5:30	Centro Radial San Cristobal		Pokomchi
6:30	Programming	Music, letters, advice (health, nutrition, upcoming activities)	K'anjobal
7:00	Centro Radial Carcha	Prayer	K'ekchi
8:00	Saken Cutan Saludos	Report from San Pedro Carcha and San Cristobal	K'ekchi
8:30	Dios Kiq'uin	Message from the priest in Coban	K'ekchi
8:45	Cantos		Spanish
9:00	Promocion y oracion hasta mañana	End of the day	K'ekchi

pantheon) did not want the campesino on the land. So the campesino sold the land owner his land for almost nothing and for the promise that the campesino could farm some of the land on the large farm. The owner of the large farm, of course, broke the promise. Ventura says this sort of trickery is common and that many times the campesino is simply removed from his land by force. Without the resources of literacy, money or a true government advocate, the campesino can do nothing short of using violence himself, which Ventura says is rare—and always a mistake.

Tezulutlan broadcasts information aimed at making the campesino aware of this type of trickery. While the programmers do not follow the highly political Freirian ideology of conscientization, Ventura says they do try to "help the campesinos by educating them." They also try to help the campesino get the most out of the land that the does have. The radio station would, for instance, tell the campesino in the above example that Zulta did not want him to leave his land, but rather to treat the land better. By telling him in this way, the station can encourage agricultural change without running roughshod over cultural and religious beliefs. There are also agricultural tips from the government in the show "The Farmer," but the programmers at Tezulutlan sometimes screen this information. They feel that the government emphasizes the use of chemicals and machinery too much. [A 1978 study showed that Guatemala had the highest reported levels of DDT contamination of mother's milk in the entire world (INCAP, in Painter, 15).] Ventura says Tezulutlan's broadcasts emphasize using "what comes naturally to the region—the kind of advantages that are natural to the area." Rather than chemical fertilizers, the station emphasizes the use of farm animal manure and "separating the garbage"—compost piles.

Irrigation is not as necessary for the region because rainfall in the area is adequate. Indeed, any visitor would be struck by the abundance and diversity of plant life in the region. Ventura says that many of the listeners are now taking their advice about the recommended use of natural

fertilizers. He also says that they continue to use the programs provided by the government because they do not have enough money to use alternative programming which might be more relevant to their purposes and to the people of the region. He says that joining FGER will allow Tezulutlan access to more relevant programming created by the radiophonic school organization. Isabel de Corado at FGER also indicated that Tezulutlan wanted to join FGER because of "problems with working with the government."

The Tezulutlan organization makes a real effort to reach all of its potential broadcast audience. If some families do not have radios, the broadcast encourages families to group together to listen. He says this advice is working and that one can find two or three families crowded around one radio listening to the programming. Also, employees of the station will carry audio tape players to the fields to allow those who cannot listen to the broadcast (because of timing or because they cannot pick up the transmission) access to the farming information from the government (or from the station itself). These "field monitors" give visual demonstrations of the taped information.

Health and nutrition is a major concern for Radio Tezulutlan. The station broadcasts morning and afternoon programs which answer listeners' health questions. The station answers specific questions, with the help of information from the government health department, and the broadcast refers people to the nearest health services. The station realizes, however, that many of these people cannot reach hospitals. So the employees of Tezulutlan offer courses over the radio, with back-up from station field monitors, which are aimed at teaching local villages' "curanderos," or "medicine men," in the practice of simple medical procedures, like cleaning wounds and giving injections. The villagers respect the curanderos, and more importantly, they do not have far to go for simple medical aid. The curandero does not mind learning the techniques—it just gives him more power in the village. Field monitors

from the station or from the government have been periodically checking the curanderos' procedures.

Preserving the culture and traditions of the indigenous population, especially as they relate to the Catholic Church, is very important to the programmers. A few Catholic cofradías still exist in the Cobán area, and the station, the Church and the cofradía leaders are closely intertwined. Ventura speaks fearfully about such technological intrusions as powerful commercial radio and cable television. He believes that these "foreign cultural influences" will hurt the people of Alta Verapaz because the cultures are so different. The Tezulutlan broadcast includes a good bit of traditional Indian and ladino music—the marimba (a tonal percussion instrument), the chirimia (a flute with a thin pipe that slides back an forth inside of it), the tambor (a drum)—as well as some traditional non-Indian instruments, i.e., the harp (a Catholic influence).

He and the station are very traditionalist. They are very much interested in maintaining the traditional ties between the indigenous population and the Catholic Church. The Mass is broadcast every Sunday, and the station covers fully the events during the celebration of Holy Week (parades with the representations of the saints, etc.). There is some evidence that Tezulutlan may be "loosening up," however. For many years, much of the money that had been collected from the community for operation of the station was given directly to the Church to pay for its rituals and traditions instead of funneled directly back into community development. While the Archbishop still controls the money flow, Ventura says a larger percentage now goes back into the community—the station has increased its transmission range, and there are more field monitors for support teaching. The fact that Tezulutlan is joining FGER shows that it is questioning the idea that 'what is good for the Church is always good for the people.' While FGER is close to the Church, it does recognize a difference between community needs and Church needs.

Radio Tezulutlan's emphasis on community feedback and on ascertaining community needs is a relatively new emphasis as well. Whereas previously, all educational information had come as rote learning from the government for all people regardless of sex, age or of any other particularities, today the station is recognizing that it needs different programming for women, children and men. Letters from listeners and feedback from the appointed representatives of each parish allow the possibility of a two-way flow of information, even if this is not on the level of Freire's "co-education."

Radio Voz de Atitlan

TGDS Radio Voz de Atitlán (Voice of Atitlán), in Santiago Atitlán, broadcasts to the indigenous population around Lake Atitlán, which lies in the Western Highlands region in the administrative department of Sololá. The frequency is on 120 meters, short-wave. With 3 kw of power on short-wave, the broadcast can be heard outside of the country, but it is next to impossible to pick it up during the day unless the listener is at Lake Atitlán. The station does not broadcast at night. The signal is not strong enough to penetrate the capital city's web of commercial radio transmissions, which is a two-hour drive away. The Asociación de Voz de Atitlán is a radiophonic school and employs the methods of non-formal education by radio as well as formal education in the classroom. It is a member of FGER, a radiophonic organization based in Guatemala City which consists of six radiophonic schools spread out all across the southern half of Guatemala.

Voz de Atitlán (referred to as "Atitlán" on occasion from here on) began broadcasting in 1968 after the Catholic Diocese of Oklahoma had assumed the responsibility for staffing the parish in Santiago Atitlán, and the Diocese provided a budget of $50,000 per year, most of which went to other development projects in Guatemala. Almost $4,000 of this went for the radio station and for materials. August

Shown here are students in the classroom of La Voz de Atitlán.
—Photo by Wilson Lowrey

19, 1968, was the first day of broadcasting, and every year the station employees celebrate the station's birthday with community events, festivities, etc.

The station began as a "Freirian" educational institution. The Atitecos (indigenous residents of Santiago) no longer had sufficient land to feed themselves or their families at the time of station construction, and so many had been forced to leave Santiago and work in the large plantations, thereby forcing confrontation with the national ladino culture. This experience generated a felt need for literacy training. La Voz de Atitlán attempted to meet this need, and also aimed to create a "consciousness of the socio-cultural system of which this peasant group is a part" (Early, 224). The station adopted Freire's educational philosophy, in which literacy acquisition is more than the acquisition of a motor skill. It is seen as

a revolution in the world view of the peasant—a realization of the larger world of which the peasant is a part. Mathematics was also taught, and within the same ideological guidelines.

The station also served the purpose of providing alternative education for the Indians. Only about 10% of the indigenous population were attending the local government school. As far as the local indigenous population was concerned, the government school was for ladinos. Its courses were irrelevant to the farming lifestyle of the Indians, and the Indians were concerned that by sending their children to the government school, they would become ladinized. Parents were afraid that the children would grow up without farming skills and would even come to scorn the traditional lifestyles of their parents. The few Protestant Indians in Santiago (at the Central American Evangelical Church) were the only group of Indians to send their children to the government school.

The classes were set up to be taught by local Atiteco residents, and in these residents' homes. Three evenings a week, the teacher would convert his home into a classroom and recruit his own students. Later on, due to the success of the project, teachers would teach six times a week, and would be turning people away. The teachers would meet once a week with the station director, and three teachers would prepare tapes and printed support material for the lessons. These local teachers were at first only in Santiago, but later, toward the end of the 70s, these teachers were set up in little villages all around Lake Atitlan.

Voz de Atitlán taught five different courses to the Atitecos. Each course had objectives which were consistent with the needs of the community. There were three different Math course levels—Math I, II and III—counting, adding and subtracting were taught in each. Students are expected to know how to make a bill or expense account at the end of Math II, and to understand abbreviations and conversions of weights and measures, and to know how to make up an

expense account of corn production by the end of Math III. The course, "El Trabajador," ("The Laborer") was the beginning literacy course. Students were expected to master the reading and writing of informational documents in common use, and to overcome fatalistic attitudes toward nature and social order by the end of these courses. Although Freire's ideas about conscientization were prevalent in these courses, there was no attempt made to teach specifically revolutionary doctrine. If the Atitecos came to political decisions, they did it on their own. (The above material came from conversations with station employees and from Early's article, 221 - 228).

"X"[1] was one of the original teachers. In the late 70s the station was booming in popularity. There were 125 teachers around Lake Atitlán, teaching the five courses mentioned earlier as well as an agricultural course and a health course that had been added since. X had no figures on station listenership, he said the station received "many favorable letters" from listeners. However, events took a turn for the worst, says X, and he relayed the following information only after turning off the researcher's tape recorder. In 1980, the military tuned into Voz de Atitlán and after hearing the broadcast in the unfamiliar Tzutujil Indian language of the Atitecos, they grew suspicious. Apparently what the military did not understand it quickly mistrusted, and it quickly reacted to the perceived threat. Soldiers marched into Santiago Atitlán, ransacked the station, destroyed equipment and "disappeared" (i.e., probably killed, although the bodies have not been found) some station employees and radio club members. X says the military authorities gave as their reason that the station was full of communists. Miraculously X survived with only one month in jail. Two years later the station was back on its feet, and it had managed to secure a new

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[1] X refers to the major source for the material about Voz de Atitlan and the Santiago community. His identity has not been revealed for fear of reprisal.

license to broadcast through the government. One of the stipulations was that educational material prepared by the government should be used as some of the course material, and that the number of teachers be kept to 25. Since 1980, the station has had no trouble from the government and only limited interference from the rebels.

Atitlán joined FGER in 1976, and its commitment to Freirian literacy training and conscientization fits in well with the radiophonic school ideology of FGER. FGER consists of five stations: Radio Colomba in the Western department of Quezaltenango; Radio Mam, also in Quezaltenango; Radio Nahuala on Lake Atitlán; Radio Chortis, on the east coast in the department of Chiquimula (where many of the large plantations are); and Radio Voz de Atitlán. Colomba, started 32 years ago, is the oldest, and it and Chortis are operated by the local parishes in much the same way that Tezulutlan is operated. Atitlán, Nahuala and Mam are operated by local committees in these areas. Isabel de Corado says that Radio Mam and Radio Colomba have had periods of trouble with the government where the government would come in and take over the stations for a while and eventually the stations would return to FGER. The central FGER headquarters in Guatemala City has had no problems however. This could be partly because FGER has friends in high places. It receives the bulk of its funding from European corporate backers (whom Corado declined to name).

FGER's central creed, which it calls the "Marco Doctrinario," is very Freirian: "True education is acting in the community in order to build a common future of liberty and responsibility. Education ought to help a man to change his own situation." This is not merely education for education's sake. There is definitely a political motive, and Corado admits this. But, she says, the political motive does not come out didactically in the stations' broadcast messages. Specific political actions are not recommended, but it is hoped that education will enable the campesinos

to have access to national socio-political channels so that they may eventually change their own lives.

FGER has the following stated objectives:

- To offer permanent and liberating education to rural populations
- To create and coordinate programming and projects for all the stations
- To serve as a central planning and problem solving base for all the stations and thus to promote unity between them
- To interchange programs and services with other developmental groups of like philosophy
- To promote the diversity and richness of Guatemalan indigenous cultures and, at the same time to foment national unity and solidarity
- To train teachers and technical workers for the stations

The central FGER office is open to all of the various station employees at any time. It is open to the indigenous populations of these communities as well, and they may spend the night in the beds provided on the second floor of the building and cook in the kitchen downstairs. FGER wants to be "the campesino's organization" as much as possible, and this open access to its main office as well as to the radio stations furthers this goal. Once a year all of the stations meet formally to discuss various problems with each station or in each community, and to familiarize themselves with new educational techniques, and new materials and equipment.

Much of the new programming and educational ideas comes from the larger Latin American Radiophonic Schools organization (ALER) in Quito, Ecuador. Corado says that much of this material cannot be used because it requires technology or staff beyond the financial capabilities of FGER. Also, FGER may use some of the general program ideas but tailor it to meet the more specific needs of the particular Indian community which would

receive the broadcast. FGER also creates its own programs as do the individual stations. Whatever new programs are created are shared with representatives of all the stations, through meetings and through a bi-monthly newsletter called "El Sembrador," ("The Sower"). (FGER also sends "El Sembrador" to other radiophonic organizations in Latin America). Representatives from each station can go back and teach the course to teachers in their own communities. At each level of instruction there is a heavy emphasis on feedback. It is important to ascertain the fundamental concerns and needs of the community members on all levels. Having community members teach is essential to the ideals of self-help and Freirian "co-education."

Corado says FGER is presently recommending to the stations that they target women and childcare as a developmental concern. Over the last few years, each station has accepted or developed programming which "promotes the woman." Maya culture is so male-dominated that often developmental agents find themselves naturally working with the men to effect change, while the women, who tend to be more timid, stay in the home. It is the women, however, who are responsible for educating and otherwise raising the children, preparing the food, and treating minor illnesses.

Recently FGER's Commission for Promotion of the Woman has opened a rehabilitation center for children with emotional and physical problems which the local parish helps to operate and fund. Atitlán has done some broadcasting from the center and has been soliciting for funds to help run it. The center counsels mothers on ways to "entertain children and to provide children with medical attention." (El Sembrador, March-April).

Mother's Day is an important day for the Atitecos and for Voz de Atitlán. The station celebrated "El Amor de la Madre" on May 10 by inviting all widowed mothers to the station for a celebration of "the strength of the widows." Also children came to the station and read, over the air,

salutations to their mothers in the form of poems andsongs which commemorate their mother and the general idea of motherhood. The program, called "Celebremos el Dia de la Madre Con Amor" ("We Celebrate Mother's Day with Love") ran for a good portion of the day and preempted other programs. One of the poems, from an adult man to his mother, reads as follows:

> "Mother, whom man gives nothing but sadness,
> He rejects your love in foolish scorn and rejects your name,
> And you, for that wicked man, always have your pardoning prayer:
> 'Father, hear my oration. Have mercy for my loving son.'"

Many of the other poems recognized the women's role in food preparation and child-raising. The woman—especially the widow—is often treated as a second-class citizen in the Maya culture, but the station wants her to know that her role is a vital one.

Characteristics of the community and station response:

The Tzutujil Indian Atitecos are considered to be the most traditional group in Solola and some of the most traditional Indians in Guatemala. The population of Santiago was 95% indigenous as of 1986 (Estadísticas de Población). The Atitecos have been surrounded by natural barriers for centuries. A huge blue lake sits on one side and a range of towering volcanic mountains lie on the other. The outside, modern world began reaching the town of Santiago Atitlán several decades ago. Evangelical missionaries and tourists from industrialized nations are beginning to make their presence felt in this tiny indigenous village. Whereas 15 or 20 years ago, children would have spent most of their time at home or on the fields, today children fill the streets to sell crafts, clothes, fruits and vegetables to cooing, camera toting tourists. Of course many still work the fields—78% of the population consider themselves farmers (Estadísticos)—but land loss is a dire problem for the Atitecos, and even the money made from children's street sales is important for putting food on the table.

One of the major efforts of Voz de Atitlán is to promote traditional Tzutujil culture in Santiago. This tradition is very tied in with

the cofradías and the Catholic Church, and the Atitlán cofradías maintain some ties with the old Maya religious ritual. While there are not many cofradías left in Atitlán, and while 10 or 15% of the community has become Protestant, these cofradías still hold power over many Catholics in the community (especially the older ones, although the station tries to promote the cofradía culture to the younger community). Recently the station promoted, on the air, the traditional dances of the Atitlán cofradías. The men of the cofradía follow a statue of God out of the Church. The statue is a representation of God holding his dead son, Jesus, and tears have been painted on the statue of God. The group asks God why he is sad, and upon hearing that he is said because his son has been killed (this is immediately before Easter), the cofradías dance for the deity to cheer him up. The entire dance ritual is called "Aj Kjoj K'ak," or Dance of the Black Men," and within this ritual, they dance the Dance of the Horse, the Dance of the Deer, and the Dance of the Bull. The Dance of the Deer symbolizes human beings' control over the ani-mals. In this dance, the deer is told that it must submit to being hunted by dogs and killed and eaten by people (Orellana, 103). Much of the pre-Hispanic meaning of this symbolism may have been lost, given the context within which the dancers performed this dance in "Aj Kjoj K'ak." The Dance of the Bull originated in Spain. The researcher is unsure about the meaning of the Dance of the Horse, but it may also have its origin in Spain, in that the Spanish first brought domesticated horses to Meso-America. The broadcast carried some of the ritual and on Father's Day, in June, some members of the cofradías discussed the ritual.

Atitlán plays traditional Tzutujil music in between most of the broadcasts. The music is taped and live—there is a a small recording studio in the building in which local groups may play over the air, and record their music for future use by the station or the musicians. This music, X says, fosters a sense of community and reinforces identity with the Tzutujil culture among the Atitecos.

The station covers many community events in order to foster this sense of togetherness. On Saturdays, the station covers soccer games between different villages around the lake, and broadcasts of such community events as the cofradía rituals and Mother's Day celebrations also show this commitment to community activities. The station had just celebrated its 13th anniversary in August, a week before the researcher arrived, and various events were held and broadcast in celebration.

The station calls itself "la casa de todos"—"everyone's house." X emphasized that the broadcasting was for all in the community, including men, women and children, and that all were invited to participate in Atitlán projects or in Atitlán celebrations. Indeed, one gets the feeling upon visiting the station that the doors must never be locked. People of all sorts stream in and out at all times, or just come in to rest their feet and talk for a while. And the fact that the students, the town people, the station employees, and even the station director, all wear traditional Tzutujil clothing seems to bring them together even more. There is no feeling of "top-down" development ideology here.

The researcher spoke with a few of the member of the community through the interpreter (whose Tzutujil was evidently rusty). One older man, Diego Tzina Pop, said that he liked to listen to "the old music," by which he meant the Sunday broadcast of indigenous music. He also said knew the station director well and said he knew him to be a good man. The researcher tried to ask Pop if he thought the station had benefitted the community, but he did not understand the question. The researcher questioned a middle-aged man named Juan Damian, who said he sometimes listened to it for the agricultural show, but that he usually listened to "Nuevo Mundo," a national commercial station. He said he thought many of the older people listened to the music and that the station was doing a lot of good for the children in the community through the school and the hospital. He said he knew people who

were students at home from the radio broadcast and that he thought they benefitted from the classes.

The fact that the teachers in the homes and in the school building all are Indian reinforces the ideal of togetherness. Atitlán still teaches the math and literacy courses in the home. "Maestro en Casa," which runs from 6 p.m. to 7 p.m., teaches math and literacy classes similar to the classes which were taught in the first years of broadcasting. In 1986, 19% of the Atitecos were literate, demonstrating the dire need for these courses. Literacy was 16% in 1980, which might indicate some positive effect on the Atitecos from the Atitlan broadcast, which is the most comprehensive literacy training effort in the town, and arguably in the entire Lake Atitlán region. These courses still emphasize practical, applicable math and writing skills, and encourage the Atiteco to overcome his fatalistic outlook on nature and on his social situation.

As the outside world has encroached a little further into the Atitecos' lives over the years, these courses have also grown in scope to include practical advice in dealing with the outside world. "Escuela Para Todos" ("School for All") airs Monday to Friday from 5 p.m. to 5:30 p.m. and gives such general practical advice to adults (See Table 3 for program schedule). The buses which now come near Santiago are one intrusion from the outside world. It is necessary for the residents to understand how the bus system works and how much the rate is so that they do not get taken advantage of. Another intrusion is the tourists. There are more tourists than ever before in Atitlán, because everyone wants to see this rare traditional village on the lake. "Escuela Para Todos" gives the Atitecos advice on what to watch out for in dealing with these outsiders, and they also give them some simple educational background on the societies from which these visitors come. The show tells the Atitecos the times and places of community events and informs them of educational opportunities from the station or from other educational agents in the area.

"Teclas de la Marimba" ("Keys of the Marimba") is a show which addresses the agricultural needs of the local indigenous farmers. Land loss is a critical concern among the Atitecos. Researcher John Early, who lived among the Atitecos during the 60s and 70s, estimated that during this time 98-99% of the Atitecos had insufficient amounts of land, and many had none (Early Dem. Structure, 71). The researcher was unable to get more current statistics on land loss, but X indicates that the problem is still a critical one. One of the ways Atitlán is attempting to help in this problem is by broadcasting agricultural tips aimed at improving the quality of production. These tips may come from FGER, ALER or in some cases, from the government. The show tells the farmers of the availability of fertilizers and chemicals (e.g., pesticides), and most importantly, instructs them how to use them productively and safely. Like in Alta Verapaz, the land is fertile, and so irrigation is not needed, but the show gives the farmers land-use techniques.

Atitlán also introduces new, highly nutritious crops which do not take much land on which to grow sufficient amounts. The Agricultural Commission of FGER provided a radio course called Soybean Preparation in the Kitchen, which broadcast in February and March, 1989, and which attempted to teach the cultivation and kitchen preparation of soybeans to about 100 farmers and their wives from Santiago and other towns around the lake who met in a single building to listen to and take the course. At first soybean crops were planted in the region to see if they would grow. The local farmers did not watch over them carefully, and the crop yield was disappointing. But enough was grown to use during the course to demonstrate cooking methods. The course was so successful (the word spread of the course) that another course was scheduled to be held in the summer for 120 farmers and their wives. X says other farmers have come to him in the meantime to ask for the course.

Table 3

RADIO VOZ de ATITLÁN PROGRAM LOG

Daily

TIME	PROGRAM	DESCRIPTION
5:30 a.m.	Amaneciendo con Cristo	Bible lecture, religious songs
6:30	Amanacer Campesino	Health messages, ranchera music
7:00	Maáñitas Juveniles	Advice for adolescents, popular music
8:00 - 9:00	Cierre de Transmision	End of morning broadcast
2:00 p.m. (3 days/ week)	Alegria Infantil/Variedades Musicales	Participation of the children (songs, jokes, salutations)
3:00	Teclas de la Marimba	Agricultural advice
4:00	Hora Religiosa	Bible lecture
5:00	Escuela para Todos	General advice for adults
5:30	Ranchera	Letters, calendar of events
6:00	El Maestro en Casa	Primary literacy/math training in home
7:00	Buenas Noches Juventud	Advice to young people, popular music
8:00 -8:05	Cierre de Transmision	End of day
Sunday		
6:00 a.m.	Religioso	Bible lecture, religious songs
7:00	Participation de Grupos	Religious songs performed by community
8:00 - 8:05	Cierre de Transmision	End of morning transmission
12:00 -1 p.m.	Marimba Regional	Marimba music, letters to station
2:00	Ranchera	
3:00	Musicalizando la tarde	Popular music
3:30	Sante Misa	Broadcast of Mass
4:00	Musica Instrumental	Indigenous music
5:00	Ritmos Tropicales	Free community access to the airwaves
6:00 - 8:00	Cierre de Transmision	End of day

The researcher, Wilson Lowrey, with Juan Ajtzip at La Voz de Atitlán

Over-fertility is a pervasive problem in the region. Atitlán promotes birth control—something which Radio Tezulutlan does not do, being more strictly Catholic. The station has held courses on the use of such contraceptives as condoms and birth control pills. X says he feels these efforts have had an impact. Whereas it used to be common to see families with as many as 15 children, today the size of families is smaller. X says the introduction of family planning is necessary because of land loss and poor agricultural production, but that many of the Indians do not agree with controls on numbers of children. One reason is the tradition of having large numbers of children to work the fields. Also larger families tend to be more powerful in the community. As was noted from Early in Chapter 2, the individual who has five brothers has a better chance of borrowing money than the individual with only a couple or no brothers. Atitecos have been known, however, to

practice the sort of self-inflicted birth control described in Chapter 2, especially when the child is a girl. Traditionally, the Catholic Church has been against birth control as well, and this has had an influence on the largely Catholic Atiteco population and has caused some friction between the Church and Atitlán.

Infant mortality has also been a problem in the area. X and Atitlán hope to fight this problem through the operation of the recently built El Centro de Niños Hermosos (The Center for Beautiful Children) which serves as a hospital for sick and injured children. The hospital provides what care it can for sick infants, and older children, but like most of the other operations of Atitlán, the money is scarce. The tiny, stone-walled building is dirty and offers woefully inadequate medical supplies. The researcher has one vivid memory of a little girl's broken leg in wood splints which was elevated in traction with the use of a rope and a heavy stone as the ballast.

From 2 p.m. until 3 p.m. on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, during the show "Alegría Infantil" (Joyous Child), children from the Santiago community sing songs and read salutations, stories, poems, and jokes over the air. The station writes some of these, but the children write most of them. On occasion, these children have been patients in the Center, and they tell of their experiences there and ask for money for the Center. Usually the children' messages salute some family member or some special characteristic of, or event in, the community. X says he likes for children to be as involved in the workings of the station as possible in order to involve them in the promotion of community traditions and culture.

X says the younger people are most highly susceptible to the influences of ideas, technology and media, and tourists from developing nations which are threatening traditional indigenous culture in Santiago Atitlán. Yet X and the other employees of the station realize the inevitability of further encroachment of foreign influence—the radio

classes are seen as a way to prepare the Atiteco for these influences. They must change their timid and fatalistic ways of viewing the world so that they may meet these influences head-on—on their own terms—and not simply be swallowed up by them.

Radio Voz de Atitlán's building houses a primary school for grades one through five on the second floor. This formal education in the classroom did not start until after the government raid in 1980. Apparently, it has been a big success. X says that recently the station has agreed to taking on 250 more children from another district into the schoolrooms. The station has had to bring in more desks so that two more classes could be taught in each room. The small size of the classrooms makes this difficult to imagine. One class is fairly large—probably about 40' X 60'—but the other two are only about 12' by 12' and 10' by 10' respectively. The day the researcher visited the classrooms they were almost filled up. There were about 15-20 children in each of the smaller classrooms and there were two classes of about 15-20 each in the larger room. The two younger classes (six to seven years, and eight to nine years) were split about evenly between girls and boys, and in the older class (10-12 years), there were only five girls in a class of nineteen. Most Atiteco families consider it more important for the male to attend the upper level classes in order to learn about managing of crop production expenditures and earnings. Girls are not as encouraged to attend school, despite Atitlán's employees' best efforts to the contrary. Girls wear full Tzutujil indigenous dress while the boys wear traditional indigenous pants, but modern-style shirts.

FGER and Voz de Atitlán both emphasize not only community interactivity, but community feedback about the broadcasting. In the radio classes like "Maestro en Casa," the teacher is an indigenous Atiteco, and the teaching experience should be a Freirian one, with discussions following math and literacy radio exercises in which the

student voices concerns about the lessons, make suggestions and the teacher and student decide how much validity there is in applying these suggestions to their classes in the future. The radio station encourages direct community access to the microphone and encourages campesinos to write their concerns and/or come in to the station and speak their concerns.

Radio Zamaneb

While the Guatemalan government's interest in non-formal education has been waning within the last few years, perhaps mainly because of the waning interest of USAID, the Ministry of Non-Formal Education has apparently seen enough future in it to have opened another station in 1989. Radio Zamaneb, which broadcasts out of San Jerónimo, Baja Verapaz, (but which has its offices in the sister town of Salamá, 15 miles away) began broadcasting on May 2, 1988, as a "pilot" project which broadcast mostly music while organizers researched the community and prepared for the coming year. After receiving the necessary aid from the government, Zamaneb began broadcasting in earnest on May 5, 1989, on AM frequency 1280 and with 4 kw of power. In the beginning, Zamaneb received funding and equipment from USAID, but USAID abandoned the project and the Junta de Educación Extrascholar (a government agency) had to pick it up. Today, Zamaneb broadcasts messages directed to the rural population of Baja Verapaz during the week and on Sunday, and to the urban populations of Salamá and San Jerónimo on Saturday.

Station assistant director Rudolfo Leonardo says the purpose of Zamaneb's broadcasting is to reinforce the cultural aspects of the indigenous community in the area, and to educate this community. He sees Zamaneb as a "consulting body" for the rural population. Leonardo says that while other groups associated with the Catholic Church and other organizations say that they are helping the campesino, they cannot help the campesinos as much

Exterior of Radio Zamaneb, San Jeronimo, Baja Verapaz.
—Photo by Wilson Lowrey

as Zamaneb can because of all the access to government extension information that the station has. Leonardo believes that having the legitimacy of being a government operation puts the station above the non-governmental stations. Zamaneb has its own in-house tape program production, and receives other tapes from the Ministry of Non-Formal Education in Guatemala City and from USAID.

Despite this attitude toward non-governmental development operations, Leonardo speaks respectfully of FGER. Zamaneb sent some of its employees to a seminar that ALER put on and FGER attended, on the promotion of women's developmental topics. He says that much of the information was useful, but that FGER and Zamaneb have different political ideas and Zamaneb must screen any programming or programming ideas that they receive from FGER. He believes that FGER wants to organize the campesino politically and thus help strengthen liberal poli-

tical parties' voting base, while Zamaneb is merely interested in improving the lives of the campesinos. Despite this perceived difference, Leonardo says that he would very much like to get in touch with Isabel de Corado at FGER and in fact, asked the researcher if he would help him contact her (!). He says that Zamaneb might even be interested in joining FGER. The researcher told Corado this, and she responded that it would be too much of a problem for FGER to take in a government station. There are different payment rates for employees (the government's is higher) and fundamental differences in educational philosophies.

Zamaneb tries to obtain as much relevant programming from as many different places as it can. The station receives "packets" from the radiophonic schools in Colombia, and even from what was in 1989, Radio Sandino in Nicaragua. The Voice of America also sends news and other programs, some of which Zamaneb broadcasts, but only after screening. Leonardo says the station plays some of the popular music which VOA sends. He says, almost apologetically, that the station has to broadcast this popular music in order to compete with the popular commercial stations and maintain listenership.

Leonardo says that he used to work at Radio Tezulutlan before coming to Radio Zamaneb a few years ago. He says he is interested in the possibility of combining Tezulutlan and Zamaneb. Juan José Ventura tactfully suggested that this might not be in the best interests of Radio Tezulutlan, especially since Tezulutlan was planning on Joining FGER at that point.

The area of Baja Verapaz in which Radio Zamaneb broadcasts is a wealthier farming community than the immediate broadcast areas of Atitlán or of Tezulutlan. The population of Baja Verapaz is 57% indigenous, and the town of San Jerónimo, in which Zamaneb broadcasts is only 22% indigenous. Still the station says its major aim is the indigenous population in the rural areas. But unlike Atitlán or Tezulutlan, Zamaneb has specific broad-

casting aimed at the ladino, non-rural population. Leonardo describes this broadcasting as being "on a higher level," and as having "more quality." On Saturday and Sunday, all of the broadcasting is aimed at the ladino population. "Cultural Fringe" is a Saturday show which broadcasts all types of educational topics, including science, economics and other types of education for a broader public. These are not radio classes, but are rather open-style broadcasting. "The People of Baja Verapaz" is another Saturday show which focuses on particular people in the community as its subject matter. "Images of the people of Baja Verapaz" is a show which gives a calendar of community events, awards, etc.

On Saturday, the station broadcasts advertisements which it has sold during the week. These are mainly advertisements from and for the urban audience, but the station is trying to get the indigenous campesino involved in advertising his own Saturday market sales activities. On the weekends the campesinos come into Salamá and San Jerónimo to sell their crops and crafts in the town markets, and Zamaneb employees tour the markets locating campesinos who want to speak over the radio to give a pitch about what they are selling and where they are selling it. Leonardo says the campesinos do not really understand the concepts of marketing or advertising and so if they give a message at all, it consists of no-nonsense, begrudgingly given information about what they are selling. They feel that *where* they are selling it should be apparent to the person with the microphone, who is standing right there, after all. If the campesino does not speak Spanish, the interviewer translates what the campesino says to the largely Spanish-speaking Saturday audience.

Zamaneb employs a couple of techniques geared toward attracting listeners which Tezulutlan and Atitlán do not use. At Atitlán and Tezulutlan, attracting listeners does not seem to be as conscious of a concern. Each station already has its base of listeners—the indigenous communi-

ties of the area—and while they are interested in attracting new listeners, this concern does not dictate daily decisions about programming, projects, etc. It is more of a concern at Zamaneb. Perhaps this is because it is a new station still struggling to attract listeners and secure a loyal following.

Zamaneb does promotional give-a-ways on occasion similar to the ones done on commercial stations. If a resident of the community, contacted at a certain time, says he or she listens to Zamaneb then he or she may be given a gift. Radios are frequently used as gifts as another way to increase listenership. Another attraction for listeners is the Zamaneb mobile transmitter which can cover community events on location. The station plans to broadcast Holy Week live from the enormous celebration that takes place in Cobán every year.

Zamaneb broadcasts in the Achi and Kekchí languages for the indigenous community in the northern half of Baja Verapaz—but only during half of each weekday (See table 4 for Radio Zamaneb program schedule). The rest of the broadcast in Spanish, and most of this is not developmentally oriented, and yet Leonardo says that educating the rural indigenous populations is the "main business" of the station. He says the station plans to do more broadcasting for the indigenous, but at the present, while the station is still young and experimenting with formats, the Spanish language will continue to dominate the broadcast. He mentions that because the station is still trying to get on its feet, to primarily broadcast to Indians would bite the ladino hands that feed the station.

The station does offer programs for indigenous men, women and children. These programs "emphasize indigenous cultural values." The station is concerned with the influence of cable and with the intrusion of "world-wide," short-wave radio. Leonardo says that during the year Zamaneb was a pilot station, the employees did a report on the community, and discovered that 90% of the community had radios and that the indigenous peoples' views

RADIO ZAMANEB PROGRAM LOG

Monday - Friday

TIME	PROGRAM	DESCRIPTION
5:00 - 8:00 a.m.	Musica y Marimba	Marimba music
8:00	Somos Todos	"We are All" - agricultural advice
9:00	Club de Mujer	"Women's Club" - advice on food preparation, child care, washing, etc.
10:00	Marimba Concert	Marimba music
12:00	Entre la Mesa	"Between the Table"-lunch prayer, national and international news, advice on food preparation
2:00 p.m.	Panorama Juvenil	"Young People's Panorama" - popular music, sports, reading letters, dramas for giving advice to adolescents
4:00	Panorama Infantil	"Child's Panorama" - children's music, stories
6:00 - 8:00	Musica y Marimba	"Music and the Marimba"
Saturday		
5:00 - 8:00 a.m.	Musica y Marimba	"Cultural Fringe" - wide variety of educational topics (economics, science)
8:00	Fleco de Cultural	
9:00	Voz de España	"Voice of Spain" - Spanish talk show
10:00	Musica Popular	Exposes of local people - interviews in the market area
12:00	Images of the People of Baja Verapaz	
2:00 p.m.	Musica Popular	"The People of Baja Verapaz" - calendar, public events, PSAs, awards
4:00	Los Verapazenses	
5:00	Voz de España	
6:00 - 8:00 p.m.	Musica y Marimba	
Sunday		
7:00 a.m.	Musica Religiosa	
8:00 -11:00	Misa	Mass for the San Jeronimo Parish
11:00	Marimba	
12:00 - 1:00 p.m.	Panorama Internacional	International and national news

were "being colored" by these world-wide radio stations. He was concerned about the effects of different politics as well as the effects of different cultural influences, like popular music and high-powered advertising. He did not express dissatisfaction with the effects of the evangelical community, however. Leonardo says that the community can hear Radio Moscow and Cuban radio, and that he feels these broadcasts have a damaging effect on the population. He also says that while Zamaneb plays some of the programming and music sent by Voice of America, that they do not play any of it before screening it for material which can have "damaging effects." "International Panorama" is a news program in the style of traditional "objective" news which covers Latin America and the immediate surrounding area. Leonardo says that in this program, Zamaneb tries to change what it receives from news services to present a more "objective presentation of the news" than many people are getting from other news services, including the news from Voice of America, Radio Moscow and Cuban radio.

The educational approach in the few educational programs the station offers for the indigenous is different from the approaches of Atitlán and Tezulutlan. A good illustration is in the agricultural programs which the station puts on. The station sets definite production goals for the campesinos to fulfill—for example, a certain number of rows of corn, or a certain number of crop types planted by such and such a day. These goals are national goals and are outlined by the Ministry of Education in the capital city.

Like Atitlán and Tezulutlan, the station is able to send field monitors out to back up the radio teaching. The agricultural information is broadcast in the morning during weekdays, and these broadcasts are in Spanish for three days a week and are in Achi and Kekchí on Tuesdays and Thursdays. Each day's show has a different message or theme which offers agricultural advice. Some of the advice include: how to keep pastures edible for livestock during

the dry season; how, where and when to plant; preparation of the soil; how to start a compost pile; and tips like one day's show which emphasized the following advice: campesinos should 'remove piles of leaves from the land because this is land that could be used for planting; but don't burn the leaves because this will make your chickens sick.' Zamaneb, like Tezulutlan, encourages the use of natural fertilizers (manure, compost) and warns the campesinos about the potential hazards of chemicals; in fact, they discourage the use of chemicals for safety reasons. Broadcasts encourage not only the absorption of certain techniques, but also the mind-set of "working for the community," and "cooperativism."

Zamaneb began an irrigation project with the campesinos when they first started in May. The government supplied materials, and the Zamaneb workers and government agriculture extension workers explained to the campesinos how to go about irrigating the land. The researcher visited the site of this project, and nothing had been done at that point. It had been five months since the project was proposed. Leonardo says that they are still trying to convince the campesinos of the necessities of many of the programs like these. He explains that the Zamaneb project is young, and that some of the initial progress on projects like the irrigation system has been slow. Leonardo says, however, that these projects will eventually create jobs in the community.

Campesinos in their fields listen to the radios provided them by the station, and field monitors have visual printed material to back up the radio teaching. Campesinos may ask questions, and if the monitors do not know the answer, the monitors ask the Ministry of Non-Formal Education in Guatemala City. The farmers may also write letters into the station to ask questions, and the announcer reads these answers over the air. The extension service DIGISEPE, which Tezulutlan also uses, answers some of the questions and provides some of the taped educational material.

Zamaneb realizes the problems of over-fertility in the Baja Verapaz region. The station has given birth control advice during the morning show "Somos Todos," ("We are All"), which is broadcast in Spanish and in Kekchí and Achi during the week. The message is directed at the males, especially. Leonardo says that they stress that it is the father's responsibility, "as the person who is the propagator." Responsibility does not only lie with the women. "Somos Todos" has employed the use of radio drama to demonstrate the need for "regulating sexual conduct." The drama centers around a family and lasts about five minutes long during the show. The dramas stress reasons for family planning which are relevant and practical to the community: difficulty in feeding large families; difficulty in watching out for the safety of many children as opposed to a few, etc. The approach is a subtle one, says Leonardo, because they want the campesinos to come to these conclusions themselves. The problem is that most Mayans are opposed to controlling the number of males in a family, for reasons discussed earlier.

Programs on health offer advice to women on childcare, and to campesino men on first-aid from accidents in the fields (from chemicals or machinery, etc.). These shows also give information about where campesinos can receive medical help from the government and on how they need to go about applying for this and other aid from government programs. Zamaneb also broadcasts a daily show at lunchtime called "Entre la Mesa" which gives nutritional advice, along with the day's news.

Zamaneb does not offer primary literary and math training. This reflects the fact that Zamaneb does not follow the educational precepts of Freire, in which literacy training is seen as an enabling skill for the future. Conscientization is not a buzz word among the employees of Radio Zamaneb. This is not surprising, given that it is a gov-ernment station, and given the controversy that Freire's ideas tend to inflame among the ladino establishment. Leonardo does express

concern over what he said was a 95% to 99% illiteracy rate in the broadcast area and he indicated that this is why radio is so necessary. He also indicated that this is the reason printed support materials have demonstrative graphics on them.

Zamaneb distributes printed information to farmers in the fields which have agricultural techniques illustrated for those who cannot read (and for easier understanding for those who can read). As mentioned earlier, often the broadcast messages which pertain to this literature are broadcast in the field while the farmers work. Sometimes the field monitors distribute the literature and tell the campesino to listen later to an upcoming corresponding broadcast. This "delayed" technique is used in communicating health information. Field monitors will come around to the houses of the campesino families and distribute health information. At the time the station was concentrating on the problems of parasites in the water (or elsewhere) and how to kill them and prevent their return.

The station encourages feedback from its listeners. Listeners send in letters or tell field monitors which programs they like or dislike. Leonardo says because the station is so new, and because funding is scarce, there has not been as much feedback or analysis of feedback as he would like. He says the station plans to step up their efforts

Analysis & Discussion

In Chapter 4, the researcher outlined some criteria for the use of local radio in development and education. It is now possible to discuss each of the three stations in light of these criteria, which were derived from recent developmental theory, and to compare each station's approach to development.

How interactive with the community were these stations in development efforts?

• Broadcast languages—Each station broadcasts in indigenous languages. Of the three stations, however, Radio Tezulutlan was perhaps the most responsive to the community's language needs. Station director Juan José Ventura saw translation into the indigenous language as one of the major functions of the station. This is tied in with Tezulutlan's strong emphasis on the traditional indigenous/Catholic hybrid lifestyle. Much of the programming is religious in nature and by broadcasting this information in the Indian language, the station is upholding the centuries-old tradition as represented by the Spanish Catholic missionaries in the region of years past. The station broadcast in four indigenous languages and occasionally in Spanish. The station broadcasts in Spanish only seven hours a week, and this includes the bilingual literacy program, PRONEBI. By broadcasting PRONEBI, Tezulutlan's broadcast adopts the methods of USAID and the government in its literacy training. Tezulutlan is apparently interested in teaching Spanish to the Indians so that they can "help the campesinos by educating them," as Ventura says (which is also the goal

of PRONEBI) as opposed to empowering them as Voz de Atitlán tries to do.

The Voice of Atitlán broadcasts almost entirely in Tzutujil, except for a half-hour every day of Spanish/ Tzutujil bilingual literacy training. True to the precepts of Paulo Freire, literacy training is seen as a means to an end rather than as an ends in itself. With knowledge of Spanish, the campesino will be more likely to meet the outside world on his own terms—he will be less likely awed by the relatively powerful ladino culture. Knowing the Spanish language goes hand in hand with understanding ladino lifestyle and values. While Atitlán feels it is important for the Atitecos to have a grasp on the way of the ladino world, it by no means wants them to convert to it. The daily broadcasts in Tzutujil of math lessons, agricultural and health tips, news of the community and outside world, and of Biblical readings reinforces the culture of the Tzutujil Atiteco. X believes that the Atiteco who hears news of the outside in his own language is more likely to meaningfully understand it, than the Atiteco who is forced to forced to forgo his own culture and adopt the Spanish language and ladino values to make meaning of it. The meaning must be ground in the context of the Indian's own values and language—these are his only tools with which to understand.

Radio Zamaneb is less sensitive to the language needs of the Indians in the area—the Kekchí and Achi. This is understandable in light of the lower percentage of Indians in the areas, but not as understandable in light of Leonardo's repeated claims that the number one priority of the station is to educate the indigenous population. Zamaneb broacasts three hours a day in indigenous languages. On Saturday and Sunday, the broadcast is all in Spanish. Zamaneb does make use of printed materials in its education which are aimed at helping to overcome language barriers. These materials are in indigenous languages and include pictures and diagrams to help with explanation.

• Music—Whether or not the station broadcasts indigenous music is also an indicator of how interactive with the indigenous community the station is. All three stations broadcast indigenous music, in varying degrees. Both Atitlán and Tezulutlan broadcast daily music shows and broadcast short music breaks between shows. Both of these stations have recording rooms for live local musicians to perform over the air. Juan José Ventura at Radio Tezulutlan says that the station has indigenous music competitions, and the winners get to go to Guatemala City to perform. Leonardo at Zamaneb spoke about how crucial the broadcasting of indigenous music was to the local community, and how he believed the inundation of popular music was destructive to local indigenous culture. Nevertheless, Radio Zamaneb plays popular music in a daily program for the young people. Radio Voz de Atitlán also plays popular music on a daily basis. X says he is concerned that too many young people are straying from the traditions of the past, and that this program is a compromise to reach them and hopefully attract the young as listeners to the rest of the programming. Radio Tezulutlan, which seems to consistently be the most traditional of the three stations, does not play popular music. Ventura is highly concerned about the eroding of traditional values and blames it fully on the influx of outside modern culture.

• Community events—Another measure of interactiveness is the emphasis on broadcasting community events. All three stations seem to place an emphasis on this type of broadcasting. Voz de Atitlán seems to be especially active in touch with the happenings in the community, although Radio Zamaneb, with its greater financial capability, is able to do a good bit of community outreach. As mentioned earlier, Voz de Atitlán does a great deal of community outreach itself, with its broadcasting from the Children's Hospital and from the Women's Center, and its live broadcasting of Mother's Day, Father's Day and Holy Week events. Its broadcast of the cofradía dances was an excellent

use of the radio for bringing a traditional community event to the rest of the listening audience. X mentioned several occasions when regular broadcasting was interrupted in order to broadcast these live events. This community outreach and subsequent sharing of this event with the community seems to be directed at creating a sense of togetherness among the Tzutujil listeners. As X says, "All is Tzutujil. It is the campesinos' radio station."

Radio Zamaneb uses its van to cover events at greater distances and more quickly than the other two stations are able to do. The coverage of Holy Week in Cobán brings the rich traditions of this most dynamic of the Verapaz region Holy Week celebrations into the homes of those who might not ordinarily be able to travel there. This of course raises the question—does it keep people home who might ordinarily make the trip, and thereby weaken the tradition by reducing numbers of celebrants? Over all, Zamaneb does not seem to be as in touch with the traditional structure of the indigenous community as Voz de Atitlán. Therefore it does not cover as many local events. It seems to be more interested in bringing the outside world into the community than it is in strengthening the community from within.

Radio Tezulutlan broadcasts mass on Sunday (as does Atitlán and Zamaneb). It also covers other Catholic religious rituals or celebrations, of which there are many. The diversity of types of events covered is not as great as that of Atitlán. All is tied in with the Church. The education of the Indian campesino is a job for the Church, and the reason for educating him fits in with the traditional mission of the Catholic Church. There is no complex educational or philosophical theory behind it, in the minds of the station employees. They do their jobs because the Church asks this of them, and it has simply always been the role of the Church to convert and educate the uninformed, just as it was the role of the apostles to spread the teachings of Jesus and the construction of his churches (Orellana, 195). Ventura says Tezulutlan brings the "Holy Spirit to the people of Alta Verapaz."

• Accessability to the community—Without a doubt, Radio Voz de Atitlán is the most accessible radio station of the three. The feeling one gets from being there, even for only a few hours, is one of total openness—with a little confusion thrown in. The setting of the station was described earlier. Aside from the day-to-day reality of the accessability to the building itself is the accessability of the microphone. There are set times during the day for community members of all ages, including the children, to have an opportunity to speak over the air. Sometimes the radio is used as a telephone operator of sorts. If one has a message to get out to a particular group or individual, one may use the radio station, as there are no phones in the community. Local musicians also perform over the air. To increase accessability as well as listenership, the station provides free shortwave radios to the population, and field monitors and teachers in their own homes are agents of outreach for the community who increase accessability.

One would less likely wander off the streets to "have a sit" in the Radio Zamaneb building. The only person in the building when the researcher visited it was the disc jockey (the interview took place at the Zamaneb office in the sister town 10 miles away). One would not say that this was a station for the people of San Jerónimo. Zamaneb does not have daily access to its airwaves to members of the community. Only on Saturday, during the show which broadcasts from the market, does the audience have a chance to participate.

Radio Tezulutlan's office is not an accessible one. The environment is the most "business-like " of the three, and the aura of the surrounding Catholic Church adds to the austerity. Tezulutlan does not give its audience members access to its microphone, unless it is a performance of some sort.

• Feedback—All three stations encourage letter writing. Only Tezulutlan and Atitlán have an avenue through which listeners can formally address the programmers and

affect programming decisions. Members of the Atitlán listening audience can actually travel to FGER's headquarters, voice their opinions and have a place to sleep in the FGER office. Zamaneb has no such formal avenue for feedback—only the letters.

• Appropriateness of non-formal educative messages —In Santiago Atitlán and in Cobán, Alta Verapaz, the clear majority of potential listeners are indigenous farming families (or would-be farmers) with problems of land loss, over-fertility, shortage of health care and illiteracy. Most of these listeners are Catholic and primarily or only speak an indigenous language. Radio Tezulutlan's strong Catholic message is appropriate for Alta Verapaz, and in fact this tie to the Church is largely responsible for their strong listening audience. Rudolfo Leonardo at Radio Zamaneb spoke of the strength of the Catholic tradition in Cobán, and as mentioned earlier, Zamaneb sends their mobile transmitter to Cobán for Holy Week celebration. Tezulutlan's Catholicism is not liberation theology. Their "missionary approach" to education reinforces the idea of man's weakness in relation to the power of the Christian God. One researcher describes this as the approach of "the orthodox Catholic Action Groups," who preach not about change in this world but about submission to God's will and about the life in the hereafter (Warren, 115-119). Indeed, Radio Tezulutlan has been largely funded by these Catholic Action Groups throughout its existence. There is a paternalistic air to the station philosophy and to the programming. For instance, the station advises the campesino not to use chemicals in his field, instead of having faith in the campesino's abilities to learn how to use the chemicals, and teaching him how to use them. Ventura is also very concerned about the effects of commercial radio and TV broadcasting on the campesinos. He feels that the station must protect the campesinos from these influences. The station clearly shows its awareness and sensitivity to local indigenous culture—the health program with the vil-

lage curanderos and the awareness of indigenous beliefs in informing the campesinos about trickery in land theft show this awareness. Yet this sensitivity to tradition has an aura of paternalism, and that the concern for the indigenous farmer is also a concern for the tradition and religious culture from which the Catholic Church draws its power (this idea was discussed in reference to the Annis book in Chapter 3).

Radio Voz de Atitlán as stated before, wishes to do much more than merely teach the campesino skills—it wants the campesino to want to learn the skills and to know why he is learning them. Each "Maestro en Casa" home teaching program emphasizes uses for the information which exist within the campesino's lifeworld. At the end of each show, teachers and students discuss what this new information means to them and the problems they have with it (on the surface as well as more deeply cultural). Feedback is considered essential to this teaching system and the students feel more free to criticize because the teacher is Tzutujil, and therefore one of them. There is a strong emphasis on not only tradition and culture but on the strengthening and empowering of the community. In contrast to Tezulutlan and Zamaneb, the station advises the campesinos on how to use chemicals on their land. Safety information about the chemicals and any new farm implements and equipment are given in the health-related "cuñas" (Public Service Announcements) during the morning. All non-formal educative efforts by the station involve the indigenous themselves in the teaching process. All the teachers and station employees, including X, are Tzutujil and wear traditional Tzutujil clothing. Projects like the soy bean project discussed in the previous chapter involve the Indians in the planning and implementation. Farmers decided where and how much to plant in the soy bean project, and they also spread the word to other farmers. The station is giving another demonstration of the planting of the seed and cooking preparation of the bean at the request of the farmers. Also, by teaching the indigenous families how to cook the beans, the Indians can

see first-hand that the soy bean is practical and relevant to their purposes. The demonstration brings the non-formal educative message down from the abstract and grounds the information in the daily experience of the campesino.

The same "grounding" of the message is in effect in Voz de Atitlán's health information. By broadcasting from the Women's Center and from the children's hospital, listeners can hear actual patients, workers and sounds at these places. The wealthier listener can make his mind up about contributing time or money to these places without having to listen to mere pleas from announcers. Of course the indigenous listeners can also receive information from these broadcasts about receiving help from the Center or from the hospital.

Radio Voz de Atitlán and Radio Zamaneb encourage family planning, whereas Radio Tezulutlan does not. All three communities have problems of over-fertility and not enough land or money to support these large families. It is no doubt a religious decision of Tezulutlan's, but one wonders if the interests of the community are being served, even if by not advocating birth control, Tezulutlan is more in line with indigenous thought on the matter.

Radio Zamaneb does not broadcast nearly as much non-formal education to the indigenous population. There is no established system for receiving indigenous feedback (other than letters, for those who can write Spanish). Leonardo says the station plans to do more studies and evaluations to determine community needs and characteristics, but only if and when the station receives more money. The field monitors are ladino, and not all speak the indigenous language of Kekchí. Leonardo says the station has the right answers for the farming and health needs of the community, but that it is up to the campesinos to implement this advice. It is in the implementation, says Leonardo, that the projects sometimes fall through. This is clearly a top-down approach to non-formal education. The station expects the Indians to adopt the modernizing tech-

niques laid out before them, few questions asked. The station employees are not from the indigenous communities, as in Atitlán, and therefore would have a difficult time discerning the changing needs and characteristics of the community. Although the station began to study the community a few years before the opening of the station, it never completed the study. Neither of the other two stations conduct serious evaluations of their communities either, but Voz de Atitlán and Radio Tezulutlan operate more closely within the environment of their communities. They are not as interested in research from without because they are essentially native to the local environment.

• Alternative station uses—One way to assess a radio station's interactiveness with the community is to see if the station allows itself to be used for other purposes than for broadcasting. In other words, is the station willing to be flexible when faced with community needs with which it is not specifically designed to cope? Once again, Radio Voz de Atitlán meets this criterion most successfully. The station's broadcasting building also serves as a primary school house (as mentioned earlier), and some of the rooms serve as meeting rooms for such local groups as the less Catholic cofradías who are not as closely aligned with the Church, and do not wish to use the Church building as their base. The community also uses the radio equipment for alternative purposes. There are no phone lines in Santiago, and therefore, every Sunday from 12 p.m. to 1 p.m., the announcer reads letters over the air—some of these thank the station for its programs and projects, but some are messages to other residents of the Lake Atitlán community. The poor roads and large expanse of lake make travel difficult for the Atitecos, and so they can use the radio as a telephone. Also, the employees of the station serve other purposes. Some serve as teachers in their homes, and others help out in the children's hospital and the Women's Center. Most of these employees are active in the Catholic Church, and the station director and some of his relatives who work in the

station are members of one of the cofradías in Santiago.

Neither of the other two stations serve other roles in the community, as far as the researcher could detect. They are radio stations 'proper,' and they look the part. One alternative use of Zamaneb's office in Salamá was as a small printing office. The printing office printed some school material for a government school in San Jerónimo and also for support teaching information for non-formal educational projects.

Chapter 4 also outlined some normative criteria for the use of small local radio for development in the areas. These criteria also determine a station's interactiveness to some degree in that the best use of the medium facilitates communication between change agent and the listener. The criteria for radio use are also influenced by the criteria for interactiveness. Each of the following points should increase interactiveness and therefore aid in the development process, as defined in Chapter 4.

• The equipment should be easy to operate and maintain—The equipment at all three of these stations was built in the United States. AID donated equipment to Radio Zamaneb, and although it has since backed out of the project, it still supplies the government with equipment, who in turn supplies Zamaneb. Leonardo says that the station is receiving a more powerful transmitter next year and should be able to cover all of Baja Verapaz without worrying about interference from other signals. He says that presently a local evangelical station, which is powerful in wattage, incidentally interferes with their signal. Employees from Zamaneb attended a seminar put on by ALER which gave tips on limiting jamming interference from other signals.

Catholic Relief Services, from the United States, supplied Radio Tezulutlan with their present equipment. Ventura says that the equipment has given them trouble before. Once, during a literacy project, the transmitter failed them, and they had to abandon the program after months of

planning. Two years ago, Tezulutlan purchased new equipment from the United States for their central transmitting office, but they are still using the old equipment in San Cristóbal and San Pedro Carcha. Ventura asked the researcher if he knew anywhere in the United States to buy new equipment cheaply. (The researcher did not know).

Radio Voz de Atitlán's equipment is 14 years old, and comes from Oklahoma. At present, the transmitter is having problems. FGER sends someone for major repairs if needed, but X says this sometimes takes days or weeks. He says they have a person at the station who does minor repairs.

Radio Tezulutlan probably has the most up-to-date equipment among the three stations. Tezulutlan has two small console rooms and one studio. In one of the rooms there are two turntables, a control board, a cartridge tape unit and a microphone. The other room has all of the above, minus one turntable. Radio Zamaneb has one console room and one studio. The console room has one control board, one turntable, one microphone and one tape unit. Radio Voz de Atitlán has two very small console rooms and one studio room, which is a stone-walled room like the other rooms in the building and is not designed specifically as a studio room. Its console rooms have two turntables, a control board and a tape unit each. One of the console rooms was not working when the researcher visited.

Atitlán is the only one of the three stations which occasionally has serious difficulty maintaining the equipment. To date, both Tezulutlan and Zamaneb have had little problem getting equipment repaired—at least no more problem than anyone in Guatemala would have getting repairs. Obtaining parts has sometimes been a problem for all three stations. To some degree, all three stations rely on foreign countries for radio equipment. Zamaneb and Tezulutlan rely on organizations in the United States and Atitlán relies on European money through FGER. Researchers like Sonaike would probably

say that this is not self-reliant enough. Indeed, as long as the major funder is not directly involved with the broadcast community, there is always the potential problem of the funder not truly understanding the need for a funding increase or for a particular piece of equipment.

• Radio messages should receive on-location teaching support—All three stations have some type of support teaching. The difference lies in the degree to which each station allows or encourages the indigenous listener to take part in the monitoring process. Voz de Atitlán employs campesinos to be the field monitors and teachers. The campesinos also take part in deciding what development or educational project they want to pursue. If a particular agricultural technique is not embraced by the community at some point in the teaching process, it is most likely dropped.

Radio Zamaneb does not employ the indigenous as field monitors, or at least not yet. Zamaneb's methods are typically top-down, and the monitoring follows this line. The indigenous are basically told what Zamaneb believes would help increase the efficiency of its land-use or the health of their cattle, for example. Zamaneb does not have field help for their health information. Health and nutrition information is simply given over the air—there have been no special health projects which would require support teaching.

Actually, all three stations have educational advice which is not backed up by support teaching. Often it is the large project, like Atitlán's soybean project of Tezulutlan's doctor training project which have consistent support teaching, although all three stations have agricultural advice shows which have fairly regular support teaching.

Radio Tezulutlan employs indigenous and ladinos as field monitors and has encouraged participation from the community by teaching the curanderos some basic modern medical techniques which are applicable to the problems of the villages. This enlistment of village leaders goes a long way in ensuring the success of developmental projects.

• Inexpensive radios should be made available to the community, and broadcast signal should reach the intended audience—Atitlán provides its audience with inexpensive short-wave radios. The signal reaches the Santiago community, but the researcher had difficulty picking it up on the other side of the lake, although X says that the entire Lake Atitlán community is their intended audience. Money and equipment is a problem for Voz de Atitlán. The signal is inconsistent, and they have trouble keeping up various projects, like the children's hospital.

Money is not as much of a problem for Radio Zamaneb, which has a stronger signal than the other two stations and also has the luxury of community access through use of the mobile transmitter. However, Zamaneb does not provide free or cheap radios to the audience. They do give them away as promotional items on occasion.

Radio Tezulutlan, as mentioned earlier, sells inexpensive radios to the campesinos. The Church strongly recommends that the campesinos buy these radios and strongly recommends that they listen to Tezulutlan. Tezulutlan has had trouble with its transmission before, and as mentioned before, the station has an inventive way of getting around these troubles. Field monitors carry tape players and cassette recordings of the broadcasts to the houses or fields of the campesinos. Tezulutlan places a great deal of emphasis on reaching out to the campesino who cannot reach any other source of education or information because of mountainous terrain and rough roads. As Ventura says, the radio serves as the campesino's roads.

The preceding analysis should help situate these three station in the context of "good radio development communications" as it has been discerned from a review of the literature. The more interactive (as defined by the above criteria) the station is with the community, the more the change agent will be able to correctly discern the characteristics and needs of the community. The greater the success in needs analysis and understanding, the greater

the chance these needs will be met through the combined efforts of the change agent and the community, and therefore the greater the chance of "development" within the community. It seems as if Radio Voz de Atitlán has the greatest chance of successful communication of its developmental messages. Atitlán goes beyond working well with the community—it is part of the community. It even seems to share the community's poverty. This and its legacy of political problems are its major problems. The next chapter proposes some future ideas for local developmental radio in Guatemala and some future ideas for research of Guatemalan developmental radio.

Conclusions

It is the contention of this book that "development" means more than where one's mark is notched on a universal, quantitative yardstick—a yardstick which measures income, net worth, or even literacy rates, land ownership and infant mortality rates. If a person is highly developed, this also means that this person has achieved a high degree of freedom and ability to determine his or her own direction. The 'correct' direction for change can ultimately only come from the individual who decides to make this change because it is only the individual who knows his or her true needs and characteristics. True, meaningful and correct change can ultimately only come at the individual level.

The change agent can best discern the individuals' needs and the needs of a small indigenous community at the local level. The many failed develeopment communications projects which utilized the large-scale, national, top-down method are evidence that development at the local level, although smaller in scope, may be the only way to effect relevant, correct change. Radio Voz de Atitlán seems to have the right philosophy, methods and programming for effecting meaningful development on the local level.

What about development at the national level? It can surely be argued that a strong, healthy nation is potentially more able to care for its people. What is the role of the government in development? In Guatemala the government has alienated itself from a large portion of the people—particularly the poor and indigenous. In the eyes of many, the government can not be trusted, and yet, of course,

Guatemala can reach no nation-wide solution to the problems of the indigenous without the active role of the national government. This role can not be one of forcing homogenization of culture among the many tribes of indigenous in the country. As Park says, homogenization of culture is regressive development. (Park, 31). And respecting the beliefs and traditions of another cultrue is not only a means to the end of correct development. It is also an end in itself. A culture that is allowed to evolve rather than be forced from without to sacrifice itself (its customs, beliefs and other trappings of the self) is allowed to make its own decisions within the context of its own cutrure. Therefore we may say it is more highly developed than a culture which is not free to ground its developmental ideas in the only culture it has known—its own.

If the government can not force national unity, how can it ensure it will come about? The answer may lie in one of S. Adefemi Sonaike's five points from Chapter III: "Above all, a country must not compare itself with other, more developed examples for its development policy but must tap the strength that comes from within to move its citizens in the direction it deems appropriate" (Sonaike, 101). If a nation's parts are culturally strong and rich, so will be the nation—but only if these parts can communicate with one another to achieve a smooth living and working relationship.

Radio Zamaneb's Rudolfo Leonardo's interest in sharing information and programming with FGER offers hope that there could be some meaningful communication between government development efforts and grass-roots development efforts. FGER's Isabel de Corado was cold to the idea of working together with Zamaneb, but it is clear that these development efforts need to work at understanding one another. If the change agents can not work at uncovering meaning in each other's lifeworlds, how can the indigenous cultures, the ladino 'mainstream,' and the national government achieve a smooth living and working relationship? The 'developmental' powers that be—FGER, the government's

Ministry of Education, and the Catholic Church—must draw closer together. FGER has the methods and programming; the Church has the hearts of the people, and the government . . .is the government. It must be a part. This is oversimplifying their roles, but the point is that these three entities must pool their resources to help bring about a rich and meaningful unity of the people of Guatemala. They can only help bring about unity because ultimately the people must decide for themselves.

Radio Voz de Atitlán already displays some degree of unity among these three change agents. One can lay out a model for the ideal working structure of a developmental radio station from looking at Atitlan's structure (see Fig. 1). This is not to say that Voz de Atitlán is the ideal local developmental radio station, only that an ideal type model, in which all actors would play their roles to perfection, can be drawn from looking at its structure. The major actors in this model for local developmental radio in Guatemala are: the local Catholic parish; the radiophonic school organization FGER; the radio station Voz de Atitlán; the audience; and the government through the Ministy of Education. The Atitlan model potentially resolves conflict between state and Church and between state and indigenous community. The key for resolving conflict is the existence of FGER and its European backers. The station receives financial and technical assistance, as well as programming from the outside agent (FGER). FGER has a contract with the government, which involves certain stipulations, like the teaching of Spanish as a second language. This satisfies the government which steps out of the picture, but remains in the background for support or extension advice if needed. The station can now work within the traditional framework of the community—the Church, the cofradías—and receive advice and support from FGER. The existence of FGER takes the strain off the relationship between the government and the Church by serving as a middle man. The invisibility of the government takes the worry out of the audience. Two-way communication and

feedback should flow between all actors, except between the government and the radio station.

It would be an interesting qualitative research project to unearth meaning between these actors in such a working relationship, or in any developmental radio staion setting in which these actors played a part. Another interesting project would be more quantitative. If "community interactiveness" could be operationalized and turned into a quantitave variable, then one could discern any effect it had on quantitative improvement in such indicators for develpment as infant mortatily, longevity, literacy, and agricultural production. One could take two different measurements of these indicators over a span of the past 10 years, within the same community, and see if there was any significant correlation beween changes in these indicators and in level of interactiveness.

This study has not attempted to prove any cause and effect relationships. This study was an exploration into the meaning of development for indigenous people in Guatemala, and into the use of radio as a facilitator of this development. Even for this purpose there were serveral drawbacks to the research. The researcher had a limited amount of time to conduct the research—about three weeks, and time was further cut by the time restraints that the interpreter had. The researcher had to learn the ropes of getting around in Guatemala while attempting to conduct the research, and this led to a few missed connections and squandered opportunities. The stations themselves did not have much in the way of printed material to offer me, much less self-evaluations or evaluations of the communities. The one station—Radio Zamaneb—that had conducted an evaluation of the community refused to allow me to see it.

Finally, the biggest drawback was the language barrier. The researcher's Spanish, while better than his Tzutujil, was relatively poor, and the services of a translator were needed and acquired for the interviews. This led to occasional problems in asking follow-up questions and occasional

miscommunication between the researcher and the translator. All interviews were taped and interpreted with the aid of two interpreters—the translator in Guatemala and an interpreter in the United States, several months later. There were some discrepancies between the translations. While the Guatemalan translator probably did not translate the tapes as carefully and thoroughly as the interpreter in the United States, he offered some insights into the culture which were very helpful in the analysis. Because the broadcasts were largely in Indian languages, no translation could be feasibly made of these.

There were also many fortunate occurrences which made the research possible, however, and despite the admissions of the above disclaimer, the study has hopefully shed some light on this subject which has previously had such little investigation. And perhaps further research will come from this project. It is clear that in regions like the Highlands of Guatemala, radio is still an important developmental medium. The question is not whether it should be used, but how it should be used. Answering this question will require still more shedding of light.

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Interviews

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* These references are unpublished, and were obtained at the Clearinghouse on Development Communication: 1815 North Fort Myer Drive, Suite 600; Arlington, VA 22209 USA

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