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in Latin America



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EVALUATION OF TWO NORAD-SUPPORTED DEVELOPMENT
PROJECTS IN LATIN AMERICA UNDER THE
RESPONSIBILITY OF NORWEGIAN MISSION ORGANIZATIONS

June 1983

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The views and interpretations expressed in this report are those of the authors and should not be attributed to the Norwegian Agency for International Development (NORAD).

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1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY WITH MAIN CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

- 1.1. The core question of this evaluation has been the relationship between the diffusion of values through the evangelization work of the missionary organizations, and the development effect of their social projects. Does the religious aspect of their activities represent an asset or a barrier for social development? Two aspects were focused in the terms of reference:
- possible attitudinal barriers to development in the culture of traditional societies;
 - consequences of changing established cultural and religious values for local resource mobilization in the target population.

Of course there is no easy and clear cut answer to this extremely complicated problem. We have tried to analyze the NORAD-supported development projects of respectively the Norwegian Santal Mission in Ecuador and the Pentecostal Mission of Norway in Paraguay in their attempt to reach the optimalization of the invested resources for development effect.

Our main conclusion is that the mode of work we have been able to observe in these two cases, does not fulfill this objective. There is no doubt that the projects have been aimed at - and to a considerable extent have reached - the poorest groups, those most in need of help. But the help has principally been of a short-term, relief character for a limited number of individuals; the target groups as such have not been helped to a long-term, self-sustained social growth through these projects. There seems to be a tendency in the evaluated organizations to see individual obstacles - very often related to cultural phenomena - as

the main impediment to development.

The views of the team, however, is that the underdevelopment and poverty of the target groups of these projects, must basically be understood in terms of structural problems of a social, political and cultural nature. These structural problems may also create individual obstacles, but these may not be successfully overcome without structural changes, and without taking the cultural value system of the target group very seriously.

We believe, however, that the missionary organizations under given circumstances may have certain important advantages in their development work, provided that some important modifications are made in their mode of work:

- increased emphasis on a communal development strategy, taking as point of departure the existent social organization of the target population;
- efforts to make alliances with popular organizations and other social forces - including religious - for development;
- a clearer distinction between the evangelical and social aspects of their work;
- an improved professionalization and social/cultural conscientization of the development workers;
- an improved planning and evaluation apparatus.

If such modifications are made, the missionary organizations may become highly useful agents for development, through which NORAD funds could be appropriately channeled. We therefore recommend that NORAD enter into a dialogue both with these two and with other missionary organizations, in order to achieve modifications in their mode of work along the lines mentioned above.

NORAD, for its part, should give more professional assistance in planning, backstopping and evaluating projects, as well as training personnel. Concretely in the case of Latin America, it is recommended that NORAD enter into a direct partnership with popular organizations and other national forces for social change, working

parallelly with the Norwegian organizations.

- 1.2. The main target groups of the evaluated projects are indigenous peoples suffering from economic and cultural oppression. We postulate that any development project among such groups involves a social sphere where efforts geared to material growth and development take place, and a cultural or symbolic sphere, in which new ideas, norms and beliefs are introduced. In the case of a missionary-based project, the definition of the symbolic sphere is much more relevant than in other projects. The development process in which such projects play a more or less substantial part, necessarily implies social and cultural change. We believe, however, that the cultural change may take two qualitatively different forms: Integration , where a certain degree of cultural pluralism is preserved, and assimilation , which implies the rapid homogenization of cultural values.

We postulate that missionary organizations working in Latin America may be confronted with three different situations:

- a) if the symbolic sphere is occupied and controlled by a powerful church, and there is no mobilization, the project will face resistance,
- b) if the symbolic sphere is occupied and controlled by a powerful church, and there is political or ethnical mobilization - and particularly if elements of that church support this mobilization - the project will face opposition and open conflict can arise,
- c) if the symbolic sphere is occupied by a traditional religion without legitimation in the national society, and there is no mobilization, the project will get more acceptance.

The evaluation has been carried out with a view to two alternative "models" of development

- a) A "communal" approach, where the target group through forms of co-operation, participation and collective action get better access to development resources, and
- b) An "entrepreneurial" approach, where development is

based more on individual improvements and initiatives.

- 1.3. The Canar area, in the southern highlands of Ecuador, is the main target area of the Norwegian Santal Mission's NORAD supported development activities in Ecuador. Economically, the area is completely dominated by agriculture, with an extremely biased structure of ownership (a latifundio-minifundio structure). Among the majority indigenous peasant - population - the Canaris Indians speaking Quichua - there is extreme poverty, although a certain kulak class has emerged. The amount of malnutrition, infant mortality, illiteracy and the lack of a minimum amount of social security is alarming. The social conflicts of the area, however, have historically been strongly related to ethnical conflicts between Indians and Mestizos, and this is still to a large extent the case.

- 1.4. When the Norwegian Santal Mission arrived, Canar was an area in the midst of a period characterized by radical and militant peasant mobilization. In these conflicts, North American evangelical missionaries were perceived by the peasant leaders as their enemies, coming in order to divide and rule. Maybe particularly because the Norwegian missionaries right from the start were working closely together with a US. missions organization, the peasants did not distinguish between them. This must also be understood in the light of the "social aspect" the evangelical churches - including the Norwegian mission - were presenting: "The narrow road towards a better future" for individuals, frequently understood as a mode for integration into the mestizo society by absorbing values described as "clean, sober and decent". The predominant value-content of the evangelical churches, coming from the United States and Western Europe, were, it seems, characterized by individualism, a spirit of competition and consequently on the political level, the defense of capitalism, democratic liberalism and anti-communism. These were considered as genuine Christian values. Against this background, it is not difficult to understand that a

situation of mutual distrust emerged between the Santal Mission and the peasant and indigenous organizations, mobilizing for social and political change. There was also a similar controversy with Catholic priests, as several of them gave active support to the popular mobilization. Altogether, the Norwegian Mission, right from the start and up till present, ended up being rejected by a substantial part of the assumed target group. Consequently, the Missionary projects have been carried out in relative isolation from the important forces for social change to be found in the Canar area. In the Evaluation Team's view, this, to a large extent, explains many of the shortcomings of the evaluated projects.

- 1.5. The health activities include a health center and a mobile clinic. They show impressive quantitative results. Our calculations indicate that the Santal Mission's services took care of 20% of all patients, and 50% of all obstretical cases, in the whole Canar district (with approximately 80.000 inhabitants). In terms of modern, curative medicine, there is no doubt that the Santal Mission's services are the best of the area, particularly in the area of mother- and childcare.

There has been rapid expansion of national health services in the rural areas of Ecuador during the last decade, but qualitatively this expansion is widely considered a failure. The main reasons for this are very similar to those found in other third world countries, and may be summarized as follows: service from above without community participation, modern technology without taking traditional medicine into account, emphasis on curative rather than preventive services. Concerning the traditional medicine, it is important to be aware of the total system it represents, reflecting a traditional social and religious value-system of the indigenous communities.

The original idea of the Mission, as far as we understand, was much more innovative than just being a replication of the national health institutions. The intention was rather

to carry out a community-based, preventive health work. This emphasis was evidently also important for NORAD support to the project. When the health activities in Canar did not succeed in this task, it must, in our opinion, be understood on the basis of the rejection and isolation described above. In spite of being rather low-profile, the integration between health work and evangelization contributes to the preservation of resistance in many areas, although the level of conflict evidently is less now than before. Our main recommendations concerning the future of the health project are as follows:

- a better integration into the national/regional public health system;
- improved communication with and integration into local communities and organizations;
- concerning the question of nationalization of the health facilities, it is concretely proposed to work out a plan together with peasant organizations, the Land Reform Institute and provincial health authorities for the integration of the health services into an ongoing rural development program, beginning with the mobile clinic;
- start a program for health education, if possible related to the agricultural program;
- clearer division of tasks between technical and administrative aspects: a proper administration of the health work should be established;
- improved professional training of the auxiliary personnel, particularly of those speaking Quichua;
- a more clearcut separation between religious and health work;
- integration of elements of the traditional health system.

1.6. The Student Hostel in Cuenca carries out educational work which may be characterized as a reproduction of the national education system. No doubt, it represents a valuable opportunity of social improvement for the students living there. However, the original objective, as presented to NORAD, of gradually recruiting the majority of the

students among Quichuas and the poorest peasant groups has not been achieved. The majority of the students belong rather to a lower rural middle class - also often quite poor.

The target of preparing peasant youths for future work in the countryside does not seem to have been reached.

There is a lack of general programming of the Hostel-activities - educational and social - with a view to preparing young people for a broader social service in the interest of the rural areas. Rather, it is quite probable that the Hostel will be a channel for urbanization. The hostel seems more and more to see as its main concern to work for an individual religious conversion of the students, to religious values separated from the students' social environment. The religious pressure upon the students must be described as quite heavy, with a very limited ecumenical tolerance.

The team's conclusion - considering the Hostel as an educational project - is that it is difficult to recommend continued NORAD assistance to it. An ideal, but not realistic, alternative might be to re-establish the Hostel in Canar town in collaboration with the popular organizations and the regional educational authorities. As this does not seem to be possible, the team is not able to present an alternative that would resolve the fundamental problems of the Hostel. The following are only some general ideas for improvements:

- the hostel should make more efforts to recruit students from the poorest peasant - preferably indigenous - population;
- the professional preparation should be more directly related to the social reality of the students: more priority should be given to technical subjects of relevance for future work in the countryside;
- more religious pluralism should be stimulated and less pressure should be made.

1.7. The projects of the Pentecostal Mission of Norway in Paraguay are carried out among the Guarani Indians: the Ava-Chirapa in Paso Cadena and the Pai-Tavytera in Eben-Ezer. Both ethnic groups have suffered a rapid process of change in the last fifteen years due mainly to the following factors:

1. The depletion of the tropical rain forest in Alta Parana, Amambay and Concepcion. This implies that the old traditional ecological and economical way of life based on hunting/gathering and horticulture is no longer possible.
2. The expansion of the agricultural frontier with a massive process of agricultural investment in colonization programs or in the formation of big agrarian enterprises producing for the world market.
3. The incorporation of the indigenous people into a market economy as rural labourers and as consumers of sugar, meat, salt, flour and finished goods.
4. This process has caused an internal differentiation among the Guarani themselves with some families producing cash crops and others combining in various forms subsistence agriculture and casual work.

In this period the Paraguayan government was unable to articulate a policy that would help the Indians to keep their territories untouched. It is obvious that the indigenous peoples in different areas of the country have lost a vast amount of the territory they controlled and used before the expansion of the agricultural frontier. Moreover, the Government did not implement a coherent strategy of education, health and agricultural extension among the Indians. This vacuum for several decades was filled by the Missions alone, much later came different kinds of humanitarian and indigenist private organizations. We must understand the activities of the Pentecostal Mission of Norway in relation to this regional and national context.

1.8. The colony of Paso Cadena differs in many aspects from the colony of Eben-Ezer. In the first case the Mission works with the traditional old community of Ava-Chiripa. The Ava-Chiripa were able to maintain their own religious and political organization. In this respect, and in spite of the conflicts existing between two factions, there are the following positive features: they keep the communal ownership of land and the roles of the traditional priest (the Pa'i) is still important. The Pa'i plays a complex role: he is a priest, a teacher (moral guide) and a traditional healer. For a community of 80 families there are 8 Pa'i with a Pa'i Guazu (the main shaman). The community has been able to keep their traditional religion and their traditional rituals and ceremonies. However, as a consequence of the expansion of the market economy, we observed a process of economic and social differentiation due to the growth of a cash economy based on the production of cotton. There are four families cultivating cotton using the labour force of other Indians and in a condition of accumulating capital. However, the majority of the Indians live in conditions of extreme poverty combining subsistence agriculture with wages earned as rural labourers in the local or regional labour market. The situation of Eben-Ezer is quite different. The Mission started a process of colonization after getting the land from the State. The Indians moved to the new settlement. They arrived from different places in an individual process of migration. The project of colonization was based on the allocation of private plots. The Pai-Tavytera traditionally work their land through the cooperation of kinship units in communities where communal ownership dislocated the traditional political and religious system. We observed a split community with violent conflicts in the recent past, without political leadership and with a traditional priest who is unable to function as such for all the members of the colony. There is resentment, fear and anxiety for the future. The community as such does not exist. This has negative consequences for the real implementation of a project of development. However, private property has rendered possible the growth of oil

seeds as a perennial cash crop and the maintenance of livestock (chickens, sheep, ducks, pigs and some cows) which in general permits a better standard of life than in Paso Cadena. Besides, the process of proletarianization is high and many families depend in a high degree on wages earned outside their own plots.

In the light of these characteristics we can analyse and understand much better the implementation of projects in Paso Cadena and Eben-Ezer.

- 1.9. Paso Cadena: NORAD supported and supports financially the health activities in Paso Cadena. The health center in Paso Cadena has played a very important role not only with the Ava-Chiripa but also serving Paraguayan and Brazilian colonists. But the lack of facilities and personnel has hindered the treatment of serious diseases.

We observed as a positive phenomenon that there is an implementation of modern medicine in a kind of "integration" with traditional healer and they never entered into conflict with the Pa'i. This has created a climate of mutual acceptance and a pacific co-existence. This explains why the center has been able to carry out an effective program of vaccination among the Indians.

However, we observed that the main emphasis was placed on curative medicine. There is no health program based on the implementation of preventive medicine in a more general sense at the local level with the participation of the community. This, we believe, is not only due to the lack of enough personnel but also to a policy which has emphasized curative and immediate treatment.

(Recommendations are given in 1.11.)

- 1.10. The project of Eben Ezer is by far the most important project financed by NORAD in Paraguay, and in many ways it is the only one in which an integration of agriculture, health and education was intended.

The idea of the project was to promote a new settlement area of 837 hectares with private plots. The area was given to the Mission by the Government. For this purpose, a complete set of machines was bought: a bull-dozer, a sawmill and two tractors with implements. We observed that the project is unfinished and that the machinery was not used in accordance with the initial plan. The bull-dozer was sold, the sawmill worked only for a limited time, and one of the two tractors was sold. The tractor left in use worked only 3500 hours in ten years which is very low. The agricultural implements were not used. Our impression is that the project was designed in terms of a "modern agrarian enterprise" "without taking into consideration: type of soils, type of crops suited to the type of soils, type of technology that the Indians could use and type of personnel needed to carry out the project. This explains why the machines were not fully used and many of them sold once it was found out that they were not suitable to the existing conditions in the area. The lack of a real planning is for us evident. This is also the case for the Hospital. Its capacity was never totally used due to lack of personnel (physicians, nurses, dentist). We estimated that at the moment of our visit only 50% of its capacities were utilized and this is mostly due to the actual presence of a Paraguayan physician paid by the Government, originally sent to the area in order to open a new center of health.

But the failure is most evident in the case of the sawmill. The Missionaries faced many problems in order to put it into operation. After doing so, the original plan of building houses for the Indians was never achieved. In three years only one family was enabled to build a new house. Moreover, trees were taken from the Indians, without giving them the materials for building their houses or even payment. We observed many financial irregularities and a complete lack of planning. Now, since October 1980, the sawmill is out of work. This situation can be considered a very serious one and a breaking of the original agreement with NORAD. The situation in agriculture is also very problematic. There was no real planning of agrarian

development and therefore the colony has grown in a spontaneous way. Even now, all the plots have not been allocated. The Indians have cultivated the crops existing in the area using the same traditional technology they had before. The only real change is the existence of wells but even this work has not been completed. The Mission plot itself is not cultivated and a banana plantation was lost for lack of care.

In the project as a whole we observed the following problems:

- a) The original plan was very ambitious and idealistic, without a real understanding of the possibilities of a successful implementation.
- b) The implementation was a failure due to lack of personnel, expertise and continuity. We have the idea that the organization of the Pentecostal Mission without a centralized structure has hindered a real implementation and a better control of the project.
- c) The Paraguayan personnel used in many activities did not work efficiently. At the same time a control mechanism did not exist or it arrived too late as in the case of the sawmill
- d) The lack of a real understanding of the changes which a settlement scheme with private property implied. This has caused many social problems and open conflicts in the colony. Moreover, even now, as was pointed out above, not all the plots are distributed. This can be understood as a resistance of many Pai-Tavytera to move to this place.
- e) The lack of serious consideration of the type of soils existing in the area and the technological knowledge of the Indians. Therefore, the modern machinery was never used for planting or cultivating the plots.
- f) The most obvious failure is the sawmill. There were technical and economical problems since the beginning.

The Mission never achieved its goals and its promises vis-a-vis the Indians. This for us constitutes a serious problem that must be solved in the near future.

1.11. Our recommendations for a better use of the resources in Eben Ezer are as follows:

- a) To put the sawmill into operation as soon as possible in order to build houses and other agrarian facilities for the Indians of Eben Ezer.
- b) To sell the agrarian machines with the exception of the tractor which is used for transport.
- c) Concerning the health projects, the overriding question is the one of nationalization. This is made even more acute by the great problems of the mission to recruit professional personnel, at the moment of the evaluation particularly in the case of Paso Cadena. In Eben Ezer, because of the contact already established with the regional health authorities, a plan for take-over by the Ministry of Public Health already exists. We recommend that such a take-over take place, but under an agreement involving indigenist associations, securing them special access to the existing facilities in relation with their health projects among the Indian population. We also recommend that a similar contact be established between the hospital at Paso Cadena, the relevant indigenist association and the national health authorities.

1.12. The evaluation team has also assessed the mission organizations' observation of the non-discrimination regulations, to which all NORAD-supported projects are subject. No direct or intentional discrimination concerning use of services was observed, neither politically, ethnically nor religiously. However, the quite strong religious pressure - at least as far as it was perceived by parts of the target population - is considered to be a real problem in the case of the Santal Mission.

- 1.13. The evaluation team is impressed by the tremendous dedication of the missionaries towards their tasks. This is expressed through their knowledge of languages, the length or prospect of service and their modest living and working conditions. In all these respects, they are doing very well compared to ordinary experts in development organizations, e.g. NORAD.

Their knowledge of socio-economic and socio-cultural conditions, however, is surprisingly dissatisfactory, taking into consideration the above mentioned factors. The character of their work often makes this even more serious than their frequent lack of adequate job professionalism.

- 1.14. As NORADs assistance to the mission organizations is strictly limited to the development work, the team was also requested to assure that a proper separation is made between the use of NORAD resources and the evangelization tasks. Formally speaking, such a separation may be made. The team has by and large no observations to make in this formal sense, maybe except for the use of one or two residence houses in Eben Ezer, Paraguay. In reality, however, such a separation is impossible to make. The pure physical presence of a development worker who is also a missionary and who works in the context and spirit of a mission organization is sufficient to explain this. NORAD should be aware that all support to a development project in charge of a mission organization is also, at the same time, an indirect support to religious activities.

- 1.15. This is the first evaluation made of NORAD-supported development activities in Latin America, a continent where NORAD is exclusively working through NGOs. According to Norwegian policy, development assistance to Latin America shall primarily be channeled through NGOs (and multilaterally).

Even if this policy is maintained, a minimum of

professional assistance in Latin American development issues is needed from NORAD's side. The problems discussed in this report could to a considerable extent have been avoided if NORAD had given adequate assistance to the projects, and had maintained a better communication with the missionaries in the field.

If NORAD intends to continue supporting NGO projects in Latin America, it needs personnel qualified for analysing projects on this continent. In general, large and complicated projects, like the one in Eben Ezer, should not be initiated without a serious analysis of its possibilities for success. Evaluations should also take place at an earlier stage. The blame for the problems discussed in this report must therefore be distributed between NORAD and the mission organizations.

The view of the team is that it would also be highly favourable regarding the success of the NGO projects in Latin America, if their work is accompanied by some direct assistance from NORAD to local agents for social and popular mobilization. To elaborate further on this issue, however, falls beyond the scope of this evaluation.

2. METHODOLOGY OF THE EVALUATION IN ECUADOR AND PARAGUAY

The main task of the evaluation team was to understand the project in its local, regional and national contexts. This was specially important due to the presence in the different areas of various kinds of private, popular and national organizations and agencies charged with implementing different projects in health, education and agriculture. The projects of the Norwegian Santal Mission in Ecuador and of the Pentecostal Mission of Norway in Paraguay, have operated in a social setting characterized by a complexity of variously related institutions, groups and organizations.

We had a discussion with the land reform institution (DRI/CREA) in Canar and with the Ministry of Agriculture in Azogues, as well as with Provincial Health authorities. In Paraguay, we had conversations with INDI (Instituto Nacional de Indigenas), with the Ministry of Health and with the regional health authorities of Concepcion. Our research was intended to discover plans, activities and the way in which the officials defined the roles played by the missions in the area.

As the province of Canar is an area in which ethnic and class cleavages are important (see 4.1 and 4.2), the team defined a strategy to depict some of the central aspects related to these conflicts.

For this purpose, we made contact from Oslo with Ecuadorian social scientists who recommended a Quichua translator from Canar working in the Ministry of Agriculture. At our arrival in Cuenca we realized that the translator, Nicolas Pichisaka, was born in Quilloac, a commune near Canar. We did not know at that time that Quilloac was one of the communities which resisted strongly the activities of the Norwegian Santal Mission. Taking into account the possibility of a lack of objectivity and animosity against the missionaries, we decided to work with

him only in the areas where the activity of the Mission was extremely low. It is important to notice that this situation revealed to us the existing local and regional conflicts. Besides, we considered as a central aspect of our evaluation a discussion of the general problems of the area, and in particular those of the Canaris (people from Canar), with the organizations representing the small peasants of the province. Therefore, we met separately with ASOAC and the Union of Co-operatives of Canar (see 4.2.). Finally, we organized a general discussion on social and economic problems with delegates of both organizations and officials of DRI/CREA and the Ministry of Agriculture. This was done in order to identify possible conflicts between State Institutions and regional organizations.

The same methodology was utilized in our field-work in Paraguay. We discovered that Mision de Amistad, an ecumenical organization comprising catholic and protestant organizations, was sponsoring two regional programs of assistance among the Guarani Indians: Project Guarani and project Pai-Tavytera. We discussed these programs with the regional leaders. We decided to meet the leaders of the Asociacion Indigenista del Paraguay which represents more than half of the communities of Guarani indians. In the same direction we discussed different aspects of development and evangelization with the Comite de Iglesias, another ecumenical organization.

In the case of Ecuador, after some days in the field, it was evident that the analysis of tensions and conflicts between Catholics and Protestants was a central feature to be considered with the missionaries and local Catholic priests. Therefore, many of our interviews were oriented towards depicting the way in which the different actors defined the religious sphere. It is relevant to mention in this respect, that we found among the missionaries a positive attitude to this kind of research. The same can be said in the case of Paraguay in relation to the traditional priests of the communities under study.

In order to check the data gathered through our visits and discussions with local and regional leaders, we selected some informants with a first hand knowledge of the problems and the regional history of Canar and the Guaranies of Paraguay.

2.1. Observations on the type of data gathered

It is obvious for anyone reading this report, that many difficulties were faced regarding the type of data required for an objective evaluation. In this respect, we decided that quantitative as well as qualitative data had to be used. From the terms of reference of our evaluation, we understood that in the case of the Norwegian Santal Mission and the Pentecostal Mission, the religious values were a part of the involvement in social and developmental work. Therefore, the question of identity and cultural values guided the search for information. It is noteworthy, that it is sometimes difficult to transform this kind of information into quantitative data. To the extent possible, we checked the qualitative information with quantitative data, or we discussed again and again the same topics with different informants and in different situations. Through this methodological device, possible errors of interpretation were controlled.

Nevertheless, to grasp the real meaning of ideas, comments and sentences is very difficult. One way of solving problems related to ambivalent, metaphorical and ambiguous meanings, is to relate beliefs and cultural ideals to social structures and concrete social processes. In this respect we tried to implement a model of analysis based on the way different actors perceived each other from the positions they occupy in the social and symbolic spheres. We believe that any evaluation is a kind of approximation to a complex reality, and therefore, any data must be apprehended in relation to a holistic perspective, in which the model of analysis must be presented in an explicit form. This is attempted in our report.

In order to understand our role in the evaluation process,

we intended to avoid the development of asymmetrical relations. In order to cope with this problem, we presented our ideas, objectives and methodology of work, to different members of the Santal Mission and the Pentecostal Mission. For that purpose, we organized several meetings in order to present both the methodology utilized and the model of analysis. On different occasions we emphasized that an evaluation is an open process in which the evaluated teams and persons must play a very active role. We believe that in this respect the missionaries knew with whom we talked and where we were. Most of the suggestions made were accepted regarding contacts, informants and areas visited. Our impression is that the missionaries accepted the way the evaluation team worked during its stay in Ecuador and Paraguay.

In order to maximize the time and energy of the team, we had an internal labour division, taking into account the professional background and expertise of each member. Eduardo Archetti was mostly occupied with the field work in the communities. In his task he had the cooperation of Vegard Bye and Jarle Kottman in Ecuador and of Andres Wehrle in Paraguay. Vegard Bye was in charge of the analysis of the macro-political and social context, including that of popular organizations. The analysis of the health project in Canar was in charge of Eduardo Archetti and Jarle Kottman. In Paraguay the health activities of the Pentecostal Mission were observed by Jarle Kottman. The educational project of Cuenca was analysed by Jesus Rios. In Paraguay this part of the evaluation was in charge of Juan Flores. The evaluation of the ecumenical work was made by Jarle Kottman, Jesus Rios and Juan Flores. Andres Wehrle was responsible for the study of the agricultural programs in Paraguay. The examination of the budgets was carried out by Jarle Kottman.

However, we tried, all the time, to discuss the information gathered in order to resolve possible misunderstandings and keep consistency in the observations made. We also decided that any kind of

conclusion must be achieved through a long process of discussion and critique.

Vegard Bye had the main responsibility for practical co-ordination of the evaluation and editorial co-ordination of the report.

In order to achieve a successful evaluation it is crucial to develop an atmosphere of confidence and trust in the team, and between the team and the persons evaluated. It is our impression that this was attained.

2.2. Main objectives

The main objectives of the methodological approach chosen for this evaluation was to depict the following aspects of the projects:

1) Relationship between aims and achievements:

In this respect it was important to conceive the development projects as very dynamic, as a kind of social and cultural change. Therefore, it was central to consider all the actors as playing a very active role in the formulation of the policies, implementations and achievements. Our main concern was to depict the target groups with some kind of autonomy, autonomy related to the cultural values as well as to the degree of social and political organization.

2) Integration between religious/educational values and achievements:

In order to grasp the way religion, education and health work was part of the development work, we tried to describe the ideology of the missionaries and the way different actors perceived it. It is obvious that the perception could be erroneous, but we know that actors in social and political games always tend to produce and to control images and general information. This could at the same time give us an indication of the way in which some barriers were erected, in order to suggest better alternatives for the future of the project.

3) The general model of development and its cultural and social implication in the area:

It is crucial in any evaluation to find out the implicit values which guide any action oriented towards a social and cultural change. We believe that this kind of analysis should be at the core of any project supported by NORAD. In this respect, the consideration of discontinuities and continuities between modern and traditional values as an integrated process, oriented our field-work. Therefore, many of the possible errors, misleading results, achievements and better alternatives for the projects under consideration are related to this type of problems.

3. MISSIONARY-BASED DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS IN THE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CONTEXT OF ECUADOR AND PARAGUAY: A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In this section we shall elaborate some ideas that constitute the general theoretical frameworks of our evaluation. In Ecuador and Paraguay, the target groups of the projects are the local indigenous population. Therefore, our point of departure is given: the existence of different ethnic groups in a context of economic and cultural discrimination. Consequently, we can assume that the reproduction of an ethnically stratified society is related to the general problem of power and domination. In this connection we can postulate that the main question will be to understand how development projects affect the ethnic boundaries, maintaining them or creating possibilities for integration or assimilation. We can assume that the logics of symbolic reproduction can or cannot represent the ideology of the dominant ethnic group. In this direction, our evaluation must be oriented towards the description of the forms of penetration of new ideologies, and especially, religious ideology. We postulate that any project of development defines a symbolic or cultural sphere in which new ideas, norms and beliefs must be introduced. Obviously, there is no society without transformations and social change, therefore, from our perspective the question is to analyze the means, rate and depth of the changes. In any case, the changes must be interpreted in close relation with the problem of integration and assimilation. For us, integration is the way in which ethnic groups are related with some degree of pluralism, whereas on the contrary, assimilation implies the rapid homogenization of cultural values. This is not meant as a value judgement, just as an empirical observation.

From the point of view of the activities of the Mission, one important feature is to know to what degree the symbolic sphere already occupied. We can predict that an

ideological crisis in the target population can generate better conditions for cultural transformation. It is more difficult when the target group possesses an integrated and coherent cosmology, as well as being incorporated in a bureaucratic organization with sufficient material and institutional power that can be mobilized in case of threath. Therefore, we can expect that in the case of Ecuador, with a rather powerful Catholic Church with a kind of hegemony among the Quichua population, the presence of a "new religion" can provoke tensions, and eventually, conflicts. In the case of Paraguay, because the indigenous groups kept their own religion outside the influence of the Catholic Church, we cannot expect, in the first instance, the same level of open opposition. However, it is possible to find some attempt to gain influence in the symbolic arena, if the new religion can be used in the redefinition of ethnic boundaries. This is the case only if Catholicism is associated with the religion of the ethnic Spanish or Mestizo dominant group. Paradoxically enough, the effectiveness of the new set of ideas can only be measured in relation to its capacity for generating a kind of "new ethnicity" or "ethnical revivalism". However, any new ideology will provoke an initial process of intra-ethnic differentiation because the rate of transformation is uneven both in time and space.

The same model of analysis can be utilized for understanding the impact of any development activity. A new health, educational or agricultural program implies, almost by definition, that a new set of ideas will be introduced. The reaction of the local population will depend on the degree of integration of existing values with the social environment, and their capacity to incorporate the new devices in their own social and cultural context. The larger the distance is between the aims of the plans and the social and cultural context, the less effective will the results be. Furthermore, a clear understanding of the social and symbolic spheres of the target groups must be the point of departure for any project of development.

There is no possibility of the successful implementation of development projects without taking as the main guide the categories and system of logic of the target population, and without accepting them as equally valid as our own ways of explaining reality. This process means a strategy of change without assimilation as the main goal.

However, projects of development are generally intended to cope with a situation of rapid social change in which the target group has been marginalized and deprived of economic resources. Usually, the new context creates the possibility of a crisis of the existing power system. This can even be conditioned by the capability of the target group to create political organizations in order to gain more effective control of local and national resources. For the development agencies, two contexts can appear: a context with a mobilized population and a context with a passive population. We expect to find the first case in Ecuador and the second in Paraguay. From the point of view of the activities of the mission, the situation with a mobilized population, ethnically or politically, implies that the social sphere is already occupied. This can be a barrier for the implementation for the project if these new organizations are not taken into account, because they can define the development efforts as a negative process tending to divide the group.

Our model can be summarized in the following propositions:

- 1) if the symbolic sphere is occupied and controlled by a powerful church, and there is no mobilization, the project will face resistance,
- 2) if the symbolic sphere is occupied and controlled by a powerful church, and there is political or ethnical mobilization supported by that church, the project will face opposition and open conflict can arise,
- 3) if the symbolic sphere is occupied by a traditional religion without legitimation in the national society, and there is no mobilization, the project will get more acceptance.

A last observation is needed. We consider that a success-

ful development project, in a strong, ethnically differentiated structure, must try to reinforce the target group as such, giving the social actors the possibility of defending their own cultural identity through a better access to resources such as land, job, opportunities, health and education. This strategy will try to develop forms of cooperation and participation which hinder a rapid process of intra-ethnic economic differentiation. On the contrary, the "entrepreneurial model" can be thought as an alternative to a more "communal" approach. We intend to evaluate the projects under consideration in the light of these two "models".

government in power at the time did take important initiatives in terms of land reform, increased government intervention, industrialization and planning. In the beginning of the seventies, this political initiative was combined with a very favourable economic situation: the petroleum boom. Oil exploitation was started in the eastern parts of the country, giving impetus to an increase in GNP of approximately 9% per year. The resources controlled by the state were more than tripled between 1960 and 1976.

This combination of political and economic conditions opened up for a significant development of social infrastructure in the countryside. The Ministry of Health was only established in 1962, and from 1970 on the concepts of rural medicine and primary health care materialized in the construction of 300 rural work health centres and the introduction of compulsory rural work for medical graduates. Similar efforts were made in the primary education field. For a series of reasons, partly discussed in 4.4.1., these efforts did not have any profound effect on the social situation of the rural inhabitants, whose share of the population fell from 71,5% to 58,6% between 1950 and 1974.

But the petroleum boom is definitely over in Ecuador, at least for the time being. The country is in a profound economic crisis, like most other countries in Latin America and the third world. The fact that the country at the moment (spring 1983) has a democratically elected and quite reform-oriented government, does not exclude it from the social crisis, from which the whole continent is suffering. The pressure to reduce social expenses is very much felt, and the health expenses, e.g. have fallen from 8 to 4% of the state's total budget. Everything seems to indicate that the social situation of the rural and urban poor is getting rapidly worse, without any prospects for political changes that might create a more optimistic prognosis.

4.1.2. The Regional and Local Context

The population of Canar Province is estimated to be approximately 175.000 in 1982, whereas the corresponding figure for the district is around 80.000. The economic activity is completely dominated by agriculture. At district level, 75% of the economically active population is to be found in this sector, whereas the rest practically speaking are indirectly dependent upon this sector. The structure of land distribution, therefore, is a decisive factor in determining the socio-economic conditions of the population Canar Province is characterized by the typical Latin American latifundio-minifundio structure, and in fact a quite extreme variant of it. According to the supposedly most reliable figures, 47% of the production units have less than 2 hectares of land and control only 3% of the agricultural area. 62% of the units had less than 5 hectares, and control only 8% of the land. On the other side, a faction of less than 3%, the latifundios, control 41% of the land.

In Canar district, on the other side, the latifundistas are almost nonexistent. The reasons for this will be briefly described later, but the consequence is that one half of the units are smaller than 2 hectares, 75% are smaller than 5 hectares, and only about 5% are above 20 hectares (these figures, given by CREA, cover 11 out of 15 parishes ("parroquias") in Canton district). This indicates that a permanently hired labour force is negligible in the area, whereas the use of seasonally hired labour is quite common. The predominant production unit is the minifundio or the family unit. Two thirds of the population are estimated to be family-employed. In spite of this, a certain differentiation among the peasants may have occurred. According to the study referred to in footnote (?), production units between 5 and 10 hectares, of which there are a not insignificant number in the Canar district, seems to give a conspicuously high income

compared to the lesser (also bigger) units. Figures for 1978 show a total income (monetary and subsistence calculated together) as follows according to size: (1 US\$ in 1978 corresponded to 26 sucres)

0 -	1 hectares:	33.000 sucres
1 -	2 hectares:	58.000 sucres
2 -	5 hectares:	80.000 sucres
5 -	10 hectares:	267.000 sucres
10 -	20 hectares:	92.000 sucres
20 -	50 hectares:	85.000 sucres
50 -	100 hectares:	80.000 sucres
	Above 100 hectares:	275.000 sucres

Calculations on the basis of these figures indicate that half of the agricultural population in the Canar district in 1978 had an income of less than US\$ 450 per capita per year, out of which the monetary income was less than US\$ 265 and for a substantial part much less. (This calculation, which should be taken with great reservation, presupposes 5 persons per production unit.)

Other calculations show that 75% of the agricultural units had a per capita income of less than 1.630 sucres (US\$ 63) in 1980.

A Kulak class, on the other side, seems to have emerged having a per capita income of more than US\$ 2.000 a year.

These figures give an impression of the extreme poverty under which the bulk of the population in the project area is living. Malnutrition, especially among children, is a very serious problem, further aggravated by very deficient medical care. The infant mortality rates are consequently extremely high, up to 90 per thousand in the sierra (highland) areas and up to 150 per thousand in the coastal areas of the Canar Province. The following list of death causes for children under 13 years old (in percent, average for the period 1966 - 1973, on Province level), also gives an illustration of the tragic socio-economic situation under which the Canaris are living.

Cause of death, under 13 years of age: 1966-1973 in Sucsal (%)

Enteritis and other diarrhoeal diseases	18,6
Bronchitis	25,6
Measels	23,8
Whooping cough	10,2
Anaemia	4,5
"Bad Air"	1,7
Other (including cardiac - respiratory)	9,0
Total cause unknown	6,6

Illiteracy is estimated to be around 40% (in the population above 6 years, 37% among men and 67% among women). Potable water does not exist outside of the district capital.

Alltogether, the peasant families lack a minimum amount of social security. The justification of development work in the area is consequently beyond any doubt.

4.1.3. Ethnic characteristics

The province of Canar like all the mountain provinces in Ecuador is characterized by the presence of various ethnic groups. In order to classify the ethnic groups it is best to use not only the predominant stereotypes but also criteria that are more sociological. Among the sociological criteria, the most important in the mountain regions are those of language, dress, means of production, and place of residence.

The Indians speak Quichua, although bi-lingualism is extensive among those who migrate for short periods to the coast or the cities. These are peasants who live in the countryside in co-operatives or communes. The use of traditional dress is also a basic criteria and, among the men, long hair and braids. Nevertheless, it is possible to find Indians that utilize western clothing because they work in the cities or are students there.

The Cholos constitute another ethnic group that is

fundamental to the area. Bilingualism is extensive among the men and women, and they no longer wear traditional dress. The women wear the Cholo shawl and the men a mestizo poncho. In general the Cholos live in the larger towns and in the cities or adjoining areas. Their occupations vary and it is possible to find not only small business people and petty officials, but some with private property as well. These are particularly important in many of the rural districts where the co-operatives or indigenous communities (communas) do not prevail.

The last group we shall take up are the Mestizos. Many of them do not speak Quichua. They use western clothing and occupy central positions in the bureaucracy and in the service industry and wholesale businesses. They live in general in the cities and parish centers.

The inter-ethnic relationships in Canar, like the rest of the mountain area, is characterized by the use of stereotypes and by the assigning of stigma, the Indians being the group that has traditionally been discriminated against. The stigmatization has made it possible on the one hand to maintain the barriers between the groups and, on the other hand, to present the ethnic mobility that exists as an individual phenomenon. The inter-ethnic conflicts have been an important element in the social history of the province. The forms of traditional political and economic domination are expressed across the confrontation between the different ethnic groups. The formation of associations of the Indians and the process of agricultural reform have permitted in some way a decrease in the existing forms of exploitation. Nevertheless the ethnic relationships are still tense.

4.1.4. The land reform

From the second half of the sixties onwards, a very strong peasant mobilization has taken place in Canar. The background for this was probably the agrarian reform that was introduced in 1964. The reform as such was inspired by

the US-led Alliance for Progress, an answer to the "threat" represented by the land reform introduced by the Cuban revolution. As we have seen, the effect of the reform was not insignificant in Canar district, practically doing away with the big units. The reason for this seems to consist of three major elements. First, the peasant mobilization was particularly strong here. Second, this mobilization was supported by important forces (i.e. progressive priests) within the Catholic Church. And finally, there was practically no privately owned latifundios left in the district, these having been donated to the Church a generation before. It was this property that basically was turned into peasant co-operatives through the reform process. It is claimed, and with reason, that the creation of co-operatives was no adequate answer to the peasant problem. The co-operatives were initiated from above, they tended to be organized in a paternalistic way, and they demanded organizational models and managerial capacities that the peasants did not have. It may be argued that the co-operatives were implanted as a means of control in a period with threatening levels of peasant mobilization.

Precisely this mobilization, may however have created a somewhat different situation in Canar. The co-operatives as such are probably not functioning very well, for the reason just mentioned and also - and not least - because of the lack of funds.

But the existence of the strong peasant organizations and the possibilities of a certain co-action with state agencies as described in Chapter 4.2.3 below, creates a very interesting situation that any development effort in the area should take as a point of departure.

4.2. The Santal Mission's work in Canar in a political/organizational context, and the implications of this for the model of development

4.2.1. Situation at the moment of arrival

When the first missionaries of the Norwegian Santal Mission started their work in Cuenca and Canar late in the sixties, the area was characterized by a militant peasant mobilization. For some time already, North American evangelical missionaries had been active in the area. As part of the Alliance Progress, their work came to be complemented in the sixties by volunteers from the US Peace Corps, through the name of Mision Andina. Justified or not, the strong US presence at this moment of radical peasant and indigenous mobilization was perceived by the peasant leaders as part of a US policy to control, divide and rule. The "gringos" - being missionaries or volunteers - were indiscriminately identified as CIA agents. Programs for population control through sterilization created particular strong feelings of hostility against the volunteers, and as the indigenous people did not distinguish one "gringo" from another, this heritage has been a burden for all foreigners trying to work there afterwards.

It was in this context that another group of "gringos", the Norwegian missionaries, arrived. The animosity against them was not lessened by the fact that the Norwegian Santal Mission came on an invitation from a US Missionary organization, World Mission Prayers' League, considered to be very conservative. The tasks undertaken by the Norwegian missionaries from the very start were evidently perceived by the popular organizations as part of the assumed US political efforts: teaching at the Colegio Bilingual, a college founded by the mentioned US mission, where bilingue meant Spanish/English and not Spanish/Quichua which might have been more logical for the indigenous population (although the status of Quichua at that moment was even weaker than now). There is no doubt that this kind of projects, directly or indirectly implanting western and evangelical values and positive attitudes towards the United States, were seen as an important part of US Latin American policies at the time. The role of missionary organizations in this context was

perceived by the US Government as crucial.

Whether this context was clearly understood by the Santal Mission pioneers in Ecuador is difficult to establish now. But judging from the writings of Mr. Ivar Agøy, maybe the No. 1 pioneer, at least some of them seem to have been aware of it. In his report after a study tour in 1968 he asks the question whether Latin America should be considered a missionary field. His affirmative answer seems to be based on two considerations: the moral decadence on the continent dominated by the Catholic Church, and the challenge from radical, among them marxist, groups, inside or outside of the Catholic Church. The examples of Camilo Torres and Che Guevara are cited as highly threatening. There can be no doubt about the anti-communist message of the following paragraph, translated from Norwegian:

"Several movements think they have answers and solutions to the problems of South America. Some of them are political in their origin and scope. The most important - at least the most active - one is communism, whose spokesmen express that in the ideological struggle for communist world hegemony, South America is probably the continent that is easiest to conquer. The number of people involved in the "conquest", infiltrated in almost all thinkable social contexts, busy with a lot and very diversified activities on the theoretical level (e.g. indoctrination, social analysis) or on the practical level (e.g. provocations, training and participating in guerilla warfare), is hardly known. Neither do we know how much is invested in many kinds of propaganda material, from easily understandable slogans, handouts and posters, to complicated theoretical works. The work is so extensive both because the Communists are aware that South America is at a crossroads and because the masses in spite of their state of emergency have shown a quite high degree of reservation - and even resistance - in relation to parts of marxism." (Ivar Agøy: Sør-Amerika ved veiskillet - "South America at the crossroads".)

The crucial question, according to this pioneer, is "who shall conquer South America".

Anyway, unconsciously or not, against their own will or not, the Norwegian Santal Mission in Ecuador was closely identified by the peasant and indigenous population, and especially by their leaders, as just another group of "gringos" whose objective it was to divide and rule. Indeed many saw them as part of US foreign policy. This heritage seems to have cemented a situation of mutual distrust between the missionaries and their supposed main target group: the poor indigenous population.

4.2.2 Relation to the Catholic Church

The traditional role of the Catholic Church in Canar as in the rest of Ecuador and Latin America, has been that of the oppressor, in intimate alliance with feudal land owners and state representatives. At the time of the peasant mobilizations in Canar, however, an important segment of priests started to approach the popular groups and identify with their struggle: A group of theologians of liberation emerged. As clearly stated in the quotations from Mr. Agøy, the Santal Mission pioneers, or at least some of them, did not have much sympathy for this movement. The situation of mutual distrust between peasant organizations and evangelical missionaries, therefore, was also established between the progressive Catholic priests and the missionaries. It seems that some of these priests, having a strong influence in the peasantry, in fact may have been among the strongest agitators against the mission. This has frequently, and probably with good reason, been described by the missionaries as primitive efforts to exploit the indigenous prejudices against foreigners and missionaries. But there is no doubt that the presence of the missionaries to a large extent explains this religious - and political - "war".

4.2.3. Relation to popular organizations and state apparatus

The peasant mobilization in Canar resulted in the creation of two very strong and militant organizations on a province level: La Union provincial de Comunas y Cooperativas de Canar, (UPCCC), and La Asociacion de Organizaciones Agricolas de Canar (ASOAC), linked to their respective and comparably combative national organizations: ECUARUNARI and FENOC/CEDOC. ECUARUNARI may be more indigenous than peasant in its character. It is interesting to note that its first national leader came from Canar. The two organizations have an impressive coverage in the area. In ASOAC, 58 communities are organized, 13 of them in co-operatives. IN UPCCC, there are 45 member communities, including 17 co-operatives. In the province of Canar, it is estimated that 85% of the legally constituted communities are organized. In the highland area of the province, however, that is to say the core area of the Santal Mission's activity, (Canar, El Tambo, Ingapirca, Chorocopte, Juncal, Honorato Vasquez, Gualleturo), the organizational coverage among the peasants is close to 100%. The team's impression after visiting quite a few of the communities and having extensive conversations with the people, is that the peasant organizations have a profound - though not uncritical - support among the peasant indigenous population. The project area, no doubt, is a highly organized and mobilized one. Another fact is also interesting in this respect:

There seems to be a quite close contact between the two organizations on the one hand and some state agencies on the other, in casu the Ministry of Agriculture (MAG) and the land reform institute (CREA/DRI). Altogether, there seems to exist a situation in Canar characterized by a high level of peasant organization and possibilities for collaboration between these and state agencies willing to channel certain support to the peasantry through the organizations. The main problem of course is shortage of resources, particularly in money terms. It should be noted, however, that this possible co-action depends on individuals in the state agencies who easily could be pushed out if the social and political confrontations in

the country increase. This is not at all a very remote perspective, and there is all reason to believe that the Canar area in that case will be one of the most involved.

In relation to this organizational context, the Mission has by and large remained very isolated. The Mission's development efforts have often been understood as competitive, or at least not integrated into the broader development strategy based on peasant mobilization. This, together with characteristics outlined in chapter 4.1., seems to have given the Santal Mission's development strategy a very individualistic approach. Instead of joining the collective mobilization strategy of the popular organizations, the Mission has rather represented a more entrepreneurial line of development.

4.2.4. Consequences of the Mission's isolation for the characteristics of the projects

The evaluation team is of the opinion that the individualistic mode of work observed, to a large degree defines the character of the projects, and also partly explains some of the major shortcomings of them. The evaluation of the different projects is to be found later in this chapter, and we shall not go into detail on this point. It seems to be the case, however, that a real preventive health work, from the very start the intention of this project, is extremely difficult to achieve along the lines followed at present. This would require a community-based mobilization that is beyond the reach of the project, unless it comes to some kind of understanding with the popular organizations and with the peasant communities at large. The agricultural work, to cite another example, will hardly have any profound effect for more than some few individuals, unless the project is linked to the organizations and/or the communities in general and geared towards development efforts of an integrated nature. To cite a last example: The isolation of the student hostel from the environment of the assumed main target group is

also difficult to change without a similar change in the character of the project. It was expressed by several missionaries that the ideal location of such a hostel would be in Canar town, in order to serve students at the Spanish/Quichua bilingual college there (or more specifically, in Quilloac). As the situation is now, however, the hostel would hardly be able to function in this environment, because of the conflicts between the Mission and the local communities in question.

4.3. Historical and ideological overview of the evangelical movement in Ecuador and the place of The Norwegian Santal Mission within this movement

The evangelical movement, here understood as all non-Catholic Christian societies, began their history in Ecuador at the same time as the liberal revolution and the presidency of Eloy Alfaro (1895).

This liberal revolution opened for an ideological pluralism which earlier was not tolerated under the intimate relationship between the State and the Catholic Church. The new constitution guaranteed liberty of religion and just two years later the first evangelical missionaries settled in Guayaquil.

The movement had rather small results to show in the main cities and insignificant results in the countryside. We can see a slow rise in the nominal membership of non-Catholic churches starting with the great migration early in the fifties. This rise accelerated considerably with the land reform (1964) which softened the peasant dependency on "haciendas" and supported a wider contact with the surrounding society.

In 1950, the evangelical movement counted just 2.500 members in Ecuador. The next 20 years are called the euphoric age of evangelical work with the installation of more than 20 different mission organizations, 262 local churches with approximately 20.000 believers.

In this euphoria, the Santal Mission, at the invitation of World Mission Prayers' League, started their campaign in Guayaquil and Cuenca and soon after extended the work to the Canar Province. It is difficult, in short terms, to give a complete picture of the evangelical characteristics concerning their ideological vision. Nevertheless, we can observe a certain common theological platform in emphasizing the centralness of Jesus Christ in the Christian message: the salvation obtained as a result of grace and faith, (see point I below), the layman's participation in worship (II), the supreme authority of the bible (III) and opposition to all Catholic theology and practice.

As a consequence of this theology and practice, the evangelical missions have played a conscious role supporting the established political structure. Obviously the missions have been interpreted as agencies promoting the modern society and a better way of individual life, pointing out the narrow road towards a better future.

It has been a characteristic of the Protestant churches (not including the most charismatic churches we find in the pentecostal movement) to promote grand scale social assistance programs such as clinics, schools, and community services. By the missions this is understood as a deaconship service which should be offered to the people that need it without any sort of discrimination. The popular interpretation is, nevertheless, that these activities also have a tactical effect to open up for gospel perception. According to the indigenous population the individualistically directed contents of the gospel as the evangelical churches understand it, will help the indians to a smoother and safer way of integration or assimilation to the mestizo society. If this is a good or a bad solution of the "indigenous problem" will be discussed later. The fact that the largest number of the evangelical missions come from the USA and the rest from Western Europe has created a deep confusion between those countries' cultural values as capitalism, individualism, the spirit of competition and the democratic liberalism, and the

genuine Christian values. As a consequence, the evangelical missions have been converted into efficient agencies not only in the presentation of the gospel but also in unconscious promoters of western consumption. The criticism of the actual ethics of consumption is limited to fine taboos like no-smoking, no drinks, no entertainment and a certain postponement of their own acceptance of new fashions.

Against this background, it is not strange to hear the evangelical Canaris-Indians explaining the evangelical values as clean, sober and decent. The Santal Mission is in the evangelical context a minority and very little known outside the Canar province and other localities where Lutheran missionaries settled.

In theological terms, it should be possible to distinguish the Santal Mission from other evangelical denominations as they accept the Catholic baptism as valid, and consequently don't re-baptize converted people.

The following three points seem to be those that distinguish most between Catholics and Protestants:

I. The veneration of Mary is one of the main theological issues where we can't expect approximation between the two different Christian movements. From the missionaries it was stressed that the evangelical emphasis on Jesus Christ as Redeemer and King is a crucial point of departure for understanding the effort of social change which represents the gospel in the genuine form.

II. The common and universal priesthood of all believers is another essential point of confrontation between the Evangelicals and the Catholics. The Evangelicals deny the necessity of an intermediary church to give access to the presence of God. This eliminates the difference between the clergy and laity and will give these Christians an idea of dignity and non-discrimination as well as a personal responsibility.

III. The authority of the Bible as the word of God is another common dogmatic platform among Evangelicals. The intent to spread the Bible among the Ecuadorians has been the reason for many conflicts.

4.4. Evaluation of the health activities

The sub-center of health at Nar is located near to Canartown, six kms from the hospital of Canar. At the moment there are five physicians working part-time in the center, four in Nar and one in charge of the operation of the mobile clinic. All of them are Ecuadorians. Among them, four are general physicians and one is a gynecologist who has stayed for one year in Norway specializing in this discipline. They have been working in the sub-center for some years and are very well acquainted with the functioning and the problems of the area. None of them are living in Canar: three live in Azogues and two in Cuenca. They combined, as most of the physicians in Ecuador, work in public institutions (in this report we shall consider the activities on the Santal Mission as "public") with private practice. However, they are satisfied with the payment received in Nar: 1050 sucres per working day plus travel expenses. They consider Nar the best provincial sub-center of health because material facilities, medicines, equipment and quality of personnel, are very good. This statement was confirmed after our visit to the sub-centers of Zhus and Quilloac where only one physician works three times a week with the aid of a nurse. The physicians in Nar work only one day per week in the following way: four out of three rotate each Monday, the fourth works Thursday and the fifth the same day operates the mobile clinic. Besides there is an Ecuadorian dentist coming each Thursday from Cuenca.

There are two Norwegian obstetricians, both living in Nar, and one, the Director, is the mainstay of the clinic. They have long experience working in underdeveloped countries. The Director has been in Canar more than ten years and she is able to understand Cuichua.

Five auxiliary nurses work in Nar, but only one of them has taken and finished a course given by the Ministry of Health. The others are taking a course by correspondance now. Three of them speak Quichua fluently, and they can function as efficient translators when this is required by the phycisians. Moreover, a laboratory technican works one day a week. He is a fifth-year student of medicine at the University of Cuenca and sometimes helps in the work of the mobile clinic. A secretary works two and a half days a week.

The weekly organization of work is as follows:

Monday : two physicians work with patients from 9 - 15,
 Tuesday : prenatal and postnatal attention, laboratory, vaccinations, tuberculosis treatments,
 Wednesday: curative treatment, injections,
 Thursday : one physician in Nar working with patients, work of the mobile clinic, dentist,
 Friday : prenatal control, vaccinations, curative treatments.

The sub-center has a good reputation in the area, due to different factors. There is a fair treatment without discriminating the indian patients, this implies that the mestizos must accept the turn system. If they arrive after the indians, they must wait. The main consequence of this policy, according to the personnel and our own observations, is the predominance of indian patients. It is calculated that about 70% of the patients are indians (we believe that the percentage must be higher). The quality of the personnel is highly appreciated, specially the obstretical and gynecological work. The presence in the clinic of gynecologist of prestige and the dedicated work of the obstreticians has definitely consolidated the image of the clinic. Nar has two beds for births. It is important to notice that taking into account the amount of hours worked per year by physicians and obstreticians, the latter pre- dominates clearly over the former. This is illustrated in the following table:

Hours worked per year:

Physicians

Obstreticians

1979	1260	2174
1980	1510	2109
1981	1418	2583
1982	1704	3318

The fact that there are always medicines available and that they are cheaper than in hospitals and other sub-centers, is perceived as a very positive aspect for maintaining and even increasing the clientele. Until 1978, the medicines were even given free of charge. This practice was changed at the suggestion of one of the physicians, who, at the time, was the sub-director of Health in the Province of Canar. He pointed out to us that he insisted in changing the policy because it was considered unfair by other health centers and authorities of the Province.

Furthermore, the quality of treatment given is defined as very good. The obstretical work and treatment, according to our informants, is perceived as excellent. In this respect the coordination with the Hospital of Azogues where the gynecologist works is very good. It is important to mention that the gynecological facility of the above mentioned hospital has 20 beds and is the only one in the province.

The prestige of Nar signifies that many patients prefer it to the sub-centers located in their own localities. For instance, in the last two visits patients from Canar, Chuchucum, Chontamarca, Chonocopte, Honorato Vazques, Ducur, El Tambo, San Antonio, Ingapirca, Juncal and Gualleturo where sub-centers of Health exist went to Nar. This confirms the capacity of Nar to attract a very wide clientele. According to one of our informants the important effect of Nar and the mobile clinic has been to integrate more and more patients into the modern medical sector. This is admitted by the provincial health authorities. The statistics on patients treated clearly show the impact of the work carried out by Nar and the mobile clinic. In 1982 127.758 patients were treated in the Province. This figure includes the first and subsequent visits. This means that the statistics could

include several visits by the same patient. The same could be said about the data available in Nar. Nar and the mobile clinic treated 8127 patients. This represents 6.4% of all the patients who received medical attention in the Canar Province. However, if we consider that most of the patients come from Canar District we can estimate that the activity of the Mission cares for more than 20% of the patients of the area under its influence. Even more impressive are the results in the obstretical work. In 1982 7796 patients received obstretical treatment in the Province. Nar treated 1526, and this represents 19.5% of the total. If we take only Canar District we can estimate that the female population treated in Nar was almost 50% of all patients of the district. The two following tables illustrates the activity of Nar mobile clinic and the percentage of patients treated separately in Nar and in the mobile clinic respectively.

Patients treated in Nar - mobile clinic (1)

Year	Birth	Patients (parturition)	Patients (obstretical)	Patients (physicien)	Patients (dentist)	Vaccina- tions
1978	100	n/d	6953	655	360	
1979	84	1049	6305	1082	256	
1980	135	773	6222(2)	n/d	442	
1981	165	1501	5877	n/d	259	
1982	274	1526	8127	218	543	

(1) Our own elaboration from the statistics available in Nar.

(2) From July to September data on patients treated was not available.

Patients treated by physiciens in Nar and the mobile clinic(1)

Year	Nar	%	Mobile clinic	%	Total
1979	5391	85,5	914	14,5	6305

1980	5182	83,2	1040	16,8	6222
1981	5321	90,5	556	9,5	5877
1982	6078	74,8	2049	25,2	8127

(1) Our own elaboration from the statistics available in Nar.

In relation to the activity of the mobile clinic it is important to remember that the last year work has been mostly concentrated in the lowland area of Canar, and therefore the patients are predominantly mestizos or "montuvios" (mestizos from the lowland of Ecuador). The geographical change can be easily explained by the expansion of services given by sub-centers and sanitary posts of the Ministry of Health. There is a clear policy not to compete with the Ministry in order to avoid overlapping and eventually conflicts with the Ecuadorian health authorities and personnel.

In spite of the achievements of Nar and the mobile clinic it is clear that the rapid expansion of health sub-centers, sanitary posts and the obligatory rural service for graduate physicians has created in the seventies a new context for the project under evaluation. Without any doubt Nar is now "one sub-center of health like the others" (of course with the differences observed above), and in this way is integrated in the model of Health of the Ecuadorian State. This model is based on the predominance of the curative against the preventive aspect of medicine. The rural service and sanitary posts have functioned as a way of attracting patients to the modern medical sector. Therefore, we observed in Nar and in the mobile clinic that curative medicine predominates. In our conversations with physicians and technical personnel they recognized that the emphasis given to preventive medicine is very low. Even the special status of the project has created additional problems. The Ministry of Health has integrated Nar in the regional scheme but still it is a "private" institution with no employees receiving any wages from the State. This means that the various preventive or curative national campaigns cannot be

carried out by Nar or the mobile clinic. This explains why the number of vaccinations is very low. Furthermore, Nar cannot implement the national program of milk-oats ("leche-avena") for new-born children or the national campaign against tuberculosis which includes a long treatment free of charge. According to the Director of Health in the Province these programs can be implemented only if there is a State official directing them. Obviously, this situation creates a clear disadvantage for the project under evaluation and in spite of the integration in the provincial health system there is a lack of coordination and efficient presentation of the different healthplans.

In discussion with physicians working in the project one important factor emerged, i.e. the qualifications of the auxiliary personnel. According to them they have not received adequate training. Only one of those who work one day a week has taken a course given by the Ministry of Health and can be considered as well prepared for her job. This situation means that the physicians cannot use the auxiliary personnel in the detection of symptoms, and therefore, they are not able to give the ideal time to each patient. We observed that the time used for each patient is extremely low.

In connection with the services given by the dental clinic it is relevant to remark that the project has had difficulties in recruiting national dentists. This is due to different factors but it was specially mentioned that the efficiency of the previous dentists was not satisfactory at all. However, the dentist working there at the time of our visit has a good reputation and, consequently, there is a hope that the service given can be improved.

4.4.1. Nar and the mobile clinic in the light of health policies and traditional medicine in Canar

Without any doubt the project of the Santal Mission was

innovative in its conception and basic philosophy. The main aim was to go out, to leave the hospital and to try to find the patients where they live. In this direction special emphasis was put on the importance of preventive medicine. This was related to a consideration of sickness as a product of the social and economic conditions prevailing in the area. It is important to notice that the same kind of philosophy lies behind the national plans for changing the practice of medicine in Ecuador. These plans were implemented in the seventies. In this respect the conception of the Mission reflects a change in attitudes and values among physicians, national and international, responsible for health planning in Ecuador. The concrete possibility of a rapid expansion of sub-centers. One clear indicator of this policy is the construction of more than 300 sub-centers or centers of health in the seventies. This is clear if we take into consideration the percentage of the national budget allocated to health: in the seventies the average was about 8% which is very high by Latin-America standards.

These changes are reflected in the actual situation of health institutions in Canar Province. This is shown in the following table:

Distribution of health institutions by Canton
Province of Canar

1982 (1)	Azogues	Canar	Biblian
Hospital	1(2)	1(3)	
Center of Health	2	1	
Sub-center of Health	15	22	1
Sanitary posts	1	16	

(1) Statistics of the National Ministry of Health

(2) 120 beds ; functions as the regional hospital

(3) 25 beds

However, the attempts to change the health situation in the

countryside have not been so successful. This can be explained by the predominance of an ideology based on curative medicine in which the consumption of modern medicines is the basic instrument used in the treatment of diseases. The Ecuadorian government, in spite of the amount of resources expended in the last ten years, has been unable to implement in the local communities programs of health, hygiene and nutrition, in close cooperation with the target group and the local authorities and peasant organizations. For Canar this is obvious when you realize that the main social diseases like enteritis, diarrhoeal diseases, tuberculosis and malnutrition still predominate and constitute more than 60% of the causes for receiving medical attention. This was confirmed by the physicians working in Nar and the mobile clinic. Moreover, it is believed that the rate of tuberculosis has sharply increased the last years.

The main causes for the failure of the health policy can be summarized in the following way:

- a) medicine based on the hospital and centers of health in contradiction with a medicine based on the communities,
- b) medicine based on modern technology and expensive medicines without integrating in a dynamic way the traditional medicine existing in the indian and peasant communities,
- c) the dominance of curative over preventive medicine.

We believe that better results can be achieved by the project under evaluation if an analysis of the methodology utilized in recent years is carried out. In order to avoid the traps of modern medicine in a rural and poor context, the Mission must discuss two aspects: first, why resistance is encountered in many communities, and secondly, in which way it is possible to integrate traditional medicine and to establish a policy of health which takes as a point of departure the ideology and culture of health and sickness prevailing in the Quichua population of the area.

4.4.2. Resistance in some communities and cooperatives in Canar

It was mentioned by the missionaries and the physicians

that the mobile clinic was rejected in many communities. The attitude of the Canaris is said to be related to religion, both by missionaries and by the indians themselves (in this connection in order to find out the level of resistance we visited six different communities in Canar district). There is no doubt that the Mission perceived health assistance and evangelization as integrated activities. Even now each Monday in Nar there are prayers to which all the patients are invited. On the van of the mobile clinic, there are stickers advertising the Bible. Moreover, in each visit of the mobile clinic a stand with Bibles is placed near the van. The missionaries, however, insist on the fact that rejection is a campaign launched by Catholic priests telling lies about the activity of the mobile clinic, specially that "evangelistas" (evangelicals) implemented birth control through their medical assistance of vaccinations. (see 4.2).

In our visit to the communities many of the indians interviewed told us that they believe that the Santal Mission was interested in sterilizing their women and that they gave strong medicines which provoked bad dreams. These "myths" are a part of the explanation. We think that the leaders of the indian communities and cooperatives in close alliance with some priests, defined the possibility of conversion as the main danger. The peril of division in a process of mobilization and agrarian reform was also used in order to strengthen their own organisations. We were able to confirm that in some cooperatives the "evangelicos" were expelled without any deliberations.

We have established that neither the indian members of peasant organizations nor their leaders can distinguish with clarity the religious differences between various protestant religions as different from the Catholic in many aspects, but they emphasized that all the "sectas" (sects) believe that after death both soul and body go to heaven. They consider this unacceptable because it not only enters into contradiction with Catholic belief, but also is

against an ancient Canaris tradition based on the cult of earth (Pachamama). We must say that we tried to argue against this belief, but without success. This was even used in one community to "accuse" us of being Lutherans. In order to prove the contrary we were pushed to accept alcoholic beverages ("chicha" and "aguardiente de la costa").

It was confirmed after our visit to the communities that resistance is stronger in the areas where the cooperatives are well organized or where the local priest has kept great influence. We can support the fact that the beliefs, rumours and "myths" about protestants and Lutherans were a barrier to a better functioning of the mobile clinic. This can even explain why the clinic, originally planned to be built in Charcay was moved to Canar, a "safer" place.

4.4.3. The survival of traditional medicine

It is recognized by the physicians, the technical personnel of Nar and the regional health authorities that the practice of traditional medicine in Canar is still alive. Therefore, a part of our research was oriented to an analysis of the beliefs and practices of traditional medicine. Obviously, our visit in the area was too short for a careful investigation and description of the work of traditional healers. Moreover, we have had only one extensive interview with a traditional healer living five kms from Biblian but with a high prestige even in Canar district. Our impressions are the following:

- a) the traditional healers use a complex variety of plants and herbs. We can distinguish a traditional healer from a "popular doctor" in this way: the latter often uses "modern" medicines. The use of natural medicines is related to a theory based on the necessity of maintaining the somatic balance of the patient. This is achieved through a dicotomy: cold/hot (dicotomy used by the Canaris in other contexts, e.g. their subsistence production is classified by the use of these criteria: potatoes are hot and vegetables cold). Therefore

treatment is based on this principle, combining medicines with special foods.

- b) The knowledge and use of plants and herbs is generalized and therefore is not only the "property" of the traditional healer. This implies that traditional medicine constitutes a "system" in which different groups are defined. In first instance, the mother and the grandmother will try to cure. If they do not succeed they will visit a "curandera", "sobador de cuy" or "brujos" (traditional healers). The difference between them lies in the fact the the traditional healers have reached a more "sophisticated level of knowledge" or a more powerful skill in order to cure different diseases. Besides, the cure at this level is always a magical and religious ceremony. The traditional healer that we visited said explicitly that without the help of God and Saints no treatment can be successful. Therefore, the patient, his/her family (the therapy always includes the family) and the healer participate in a ritual defined by symbols of a common reference system.
- c) The traditional healers only treat some diseases. They difined two different kinds of diseases: diseases of the earth and diseases of God. Diseases like "espanto", "mal viento", "mal ojo", "mal blanco" or "mal del arco iris are classified as diseases of the earth. In all these diseases the patients are children or "unprotected women" and the causes can be "natural phenomena" (like wind) or "envy" or "special forces" of given persons. We can conclude that these kinds of diseases can easily be thought of as "social", "family" or "communal" diseases. An appropriate therapy includes not only the patient but his/her family as well as members of the kin network and social community.

The diseases of God like diarrhoea and enterities, bronchitis or pneumonia provoke a malfunction of the body. These malfunctions are related to the will of God and not to nature or the power of human being. The traditional

healers try to cure these diseases and if they are unsuccessful they believe that in this field the help of "modern doctors" is good and can be very efficient.

Another important figure of the traditional medicine is the "comadrona" (midwife). In spite of the influence of modern medicine a high percentage of births is still attended by "comadronas". In this respect, the Ministry of Health has attempted to integrate them in the national system. When a rural doctor finds a comadrona he tries to examine her knowledge or send her to a center of health for a more thorough examination. If the "comadrona" has a "good" knowledge she receives a certificate to practice as midwife. This was the case of the traditional healer with whom we were in contact during our stay.

It is easy to imagine that the coexistence of traditional and modern doctors in the health system of Canar implies that the patients will move from one to another according to the kind of diseases and the efficiency of the treatment. Because this happens the tendency among many physicians is to compete and to destroy what they consider a "bad medicine", and "unscientific religious belief" or a "magical ceremony". However, in our discussions with the physicians and technical personnel of Nar and the mobile clinic many recognized that in the traditional medicine there are many important therapeutical elements which can be kept and better integrated.

We cannot conceive the efficient impact of preventive medicine without an integration of the traditional healers. This is based on the hypothesis that the Canaris peasant is closer to the cosmology of the traditional healer than to the scientific ideology of modern medicine. Of course, they use the services of the modern sector and this fact is not only due to the efficiency of modern therapy but also to the belief that the diseases of God can be treated by modern doctors. Besides, it is noteworthy that the acceptance of traditional healers can help to develop a better planning of preventive medicine.

In this respect, we felt the lack of a serious consideration on the part of the Nar personnel of the potentialities which lie in the use and real integration of traditional healers in a rural health system. The Nar project has been a part of the modern Ecuadorian health system and in this way has lost some of its originality. We consider that it is necessary to reflect on the manifestations and survival of traditional medicine and not to consider it as a "bad" practice to be eliminated because it is "religious", "magical" or "unscientific". It is important to analyse seriously this practice and to relate it to a culture that, in spite of tragedies and sufferings, still is alive. Moreover, the target group of the project is mostly composed of indian communities which will believe in the diseases and treatment given by traditional healers.

We, however, noticed that in recent years there is a tendency among many Ecuadorian physicians to consider traditional medicine as valid. They have entered into a "democratic" dialogue with traditional healers. It is important to notice that not only social anthropologists insist on this respect (Estrella, 1978: Sanchez P. et al., 1982: Molina Velez, 1982).

4.4.4. The question of nationalization

The fact that the health services of the Norwegian Santal Mission have been in operation, and have been supported by NORAD, for more than 10 years, by itself warrants a discussion about nationalization or a local take-over of the services. This is also clearly understood by the Mission itself.

A couple of other factors make such a discussion even more relevant. We refer to the insufficient coordination with national health authorities that impede the Mission from carrying out several important functions, and to the significant level of rejection of the Mission's health services in several communities in the area.

The primary concern of this evaluation is to assess the best possible use of NORAD resources, i.e. to assure that the health impact in the target communities should be optimal also after a local take-over of the services. This means on the one hand that possible interests from the Mission's side apart from an optimal health impact have to be subordinated. On the other hand, it means that everything possible should be done to maintain the positive quantitative results of the services, at the same time orienting them more towards preventive efforts and integrating them more into local organization (government and popular) structures. It may very well be that these two objectives can not be reached at the same time, but our view is that some of the quantitative achievements should be sacrificed if that is necessary in order to reach the objectives of improved prevention and integration.

With this perspective in mind, we dedicated considerable time to discussions with local and regional health authorities, representatives of state agencies in charge of integrated rural development, and leaders of peasant/indigenous organizations. The conversations we had in many local communities were also relevant. Through this process we shall come up with some ideas for the future of the health services initiated and operated by the Santal Mission in Canar: It is assumed that NORAD as well as the Mission agree on the principle of striving towards preventive health work, this being achieved only through an integration with general community development efforts. In the target area, well elaborated plans for integrated rural development, with a health component in them, do exist. These plans were developed by the provincial office of the Ministry of Agriculture, under the name "Proyecto DRI Canar" (DRI stands for Desarrollo Rural Integral, Integrated Rural Development) presently under reformulation, to be financed partly by the World Bank, partly by the Ecuadorian government, and negotiations are under way with the EEC for another part of the financing. One important aspect of this project is that the peasant/indigenous organizations are supposed to be

strongly involved in it, both in planning and implementation.

The idea of integrating the Santal Mission's health facilities partly or wholly into this project, was discussed at length. It seems most appropriate to start with the mobile clinic, which could be an ideal instrument in the community-oriented health work envisaged in DRI. Those responsible for DRI as well as for the Provincial health authorities expressed strong interest in the idea, and made it clear that it would be possible to work out an agreement between the local branches of the Ministries of Agriculture and Health, as part of Proyecto DRI.

There seems to be three major questions concerning such a solution: one of the feasibility of collaboration between the Mission and the local partners (government and popular institutions), one of personnel, and one of future financing.

We think it is necessary to maintain a certain level of involvement from the Missionary personnel in the first phase after local take-over of the mobile clinic, for purely professional reasons. If those presently working with the mobile clinic accept such collaboration, and are willing to look at this task as a purely professional one, we do believe that the other part may accept it. Such an attempt would be a very significant test case, and should be made for that sole reason. It is important though, that the team be strengthened with people experienced in community health work and - if possible - in integration of traditional and modern medicine.

Concerning the financial aspect of such a solution, it is strongly recommended that the support NORAD so far has granted through the Santal Mission should be gradually transferred to the local partners.

If it is feasible to enter into an agreement directly with the two peasant/indigenous organizations (UPCCC and ASOAC), that would be the ideal solution according to the

view of the team. This would require a legal agreement also involving the Ministries of Agriculture and Health, under which the property of the mobile clinic and payment for local costs (including local personnel) would be transferred to these organizations. Alternatively, the financial and legal responsibility could be taken over by the DRI project, i.e. by the Ministry of Agriculture.

Considering the age of the mobile clinic, it may be necessary also to give investment support for a new clinic in the not too distant future. As long as the counterpart wholly or partly is indigenous organizations, it is understood that they are eligible for direct NORAD support.

If such a transfer of the mobile clinic proves successful, the next step would be a similar transfer of the Nar Sub-Center. At the moment, therefore, we recommend that NORAD support to the Sub-Centre through the Santal Mission is continued.

The proposed reorganization of the health services was also discussed with the Norwegian missionaries. We did not expect them to give a definite answer, but we felt the proposal was received with interest. Our recommendation is that NORAD enter into talks with the mission and the local partners, to spell out the detailed modalities of the reorganization.

In order to improve the level of confidence and spirit of collaboration among the parties, we also recommend that NORAD should look with sympathy on other applications for direct support that might come from the two above mentioned popular organizations.

4.4.5. Recommendations regarding the health work

We can conclude our evaluation with some suggestions for improvement of the health project under evaluation. It is obvious that our recommendations are not medical, strictly speaking. We insist that any health project must be

considered in a local and regional context in which the social actors, their beliefs as well as their objective necessities must be given first priority.

- a) Better coordination with the regional authorities of health: we have had the impression that neither the Director of the project nor the personnel have tried to coordinate their activities sufficiently with the regional authorities of health. It is important for the project to be incorporated in the various national campaigns existing at the moment (milk-oats or tuberculosis). The Mission, if necessary, must accept the presence of a State employee in charge of these programs.
- b) Better training of the auxiliary personnel: it is important that the auxiliary personnel attend courses in order to get a better education, and especially in the case of the Quichua-speaking nurses. That will improve the quality of the attention and treatment. At the same time the physicians will have at their disposal more time to devote to the patients.
- c) The role of the Director: at the moment the Director of the Nar Sub-Centre is the main obstetrician. Her professional tasks in the clinic take all her working capacity, and this is reflected in the lack of initiatives vis-a-vis local, regional and national authorities of health. Her administrative tasks should therefore be taken over by somebody else.
- d) Special emphasis on preventive medicine: we consider important to imagine a permanent system of health education with a person in charge of its implementation. This must be considered in the next budget. It is relevant too to relate this program to the agricultural projects existing in the region. In a country like Ecuador we believe that only an integrated approach to medical problems makes sense. In this direction, for instance, measures like potable water, latrinization and a corral for domestic animals can have a better impact

in diminishing some social diseases than purely medical efforts.

- e) Better integrations with local organizations and communities: as we remarked before, one of the main problems were related to a "religious resistance". We think that this can be improved if the Mission seriously reflects on previous errors and misunderstandings. It is possible to change the relations with the communities and cooperatives if the religious work can be clearly separated from the health program (suspension of the Bible stand, the prayer should be done outside of the clinic and not right before the consultancies.

- f) Integration with the traditional health system: we consider it an urgent task to develop a better understanding of the system of the traditional medicine. The responsables of the project must find the traditional healers of the area in order to coordinate efforts and in order to integrate them in the perspective of a real improvement of the health of the peasants. The traditional healers can be a dynamic factor in both curative and preventive tasks. We think that this is possible only if a mutual respect and trust is developed.

- g) The question of nationalization: Gradual local take-over of the health facilities should be stimulated through an agreement between the Mission, the two peasant/indigenous organizations of the area and the local health and land reform authorities. For a start, the mobile clinic should be transferred to the above mentioned local partners and be used in the health project of the integrated rural development programme. NORAD should support these organizations/institutions directly, simultaneously maintaining some support for the Santal Mission until a total nationalization may take place.

4.5.1 Context of the activities of the boarding school.

Cuenca is characterized by its wide cultural activity and by the existence of the State University that offers an extensive curriculum. The province of Azuay has 85 educational centers distributed in principal districts (information from the Direction of Education in Azuay). It is interesting to observe from the statistics that 57 of these centers are located in the city of Cuenca. The school population at the end of 1982 comprises a total of 38.000 students, of which 22.000 are registered in the town of Cuenca. It is obvious that the offer of an appropriate education is limited to the cities and more densely populated areas. Also, education in the rural areas is in Spanish, except for two bilingual schools (Spanish/Quichua).

In the Regional Office of Education of the Province of Canar, there is no up-to-date information about students registered in private or public schools. The most recent information available is from 1973-74, showing a school-population of more than 1500 students. There are 35 schools functioning at the moment of which the majority are located in the most important areas of the province, such as Azoques, Biblian and Canar. Most of these schools are far from the peasant communities making it difficult for students to have access to them. Both primary and secondary education is in Spanish.

In the province of Azuay as well as in Canar there are very few schools that offer opportunities to learn subjects that are appropriate to the needs of the most dominant social groups: peasant and Indians.

Apparently, the educational situation described in the previous paragraphs was posed as the basic problem in the initial stage of the functioning of the student hostel. It can be read in the contract with NORAD:

"....To offer an overall education to the rural youth of

Sierra Austral, with preference given those who come from families with insufficient economic resources and who live in places where there is no appropriate facilities in the field of education. It is also the main purpose that these youngsters return to their place of origin once their studies are over.."

The student hostel was looked upon as a work of social assistance in response to the needs of the poorest sectors of the provinces of Azuay and Canar, within the more global program of the Santal Mission in Ecuador. On the other hand, the proposed program was to include both sexes and for that we have to take into account that it is unusual and not the custom in this regional society. The service offered aimed at being as wide as possible, both at the educational and religious level, without making distinctions of race and religion as pointed out in the document previously quoted. It also expresses the wish to favour an experience of conversion to Jesus Christ in the students.

In our search for information about the theoretical framework of the institution, the following was found in the magazine "Light of the World":

"Although most of the students are Catholic, it is the aim of the student hostel to preach the gospel and it is for this reason that in entering the school the student is obliged to abide by the following norms: devotions most evenings, active participation in the services on Sundays. Permission has sometimes been given to attend (Catholic) mass, but this does not mean that it is encouraged. It is a fact that mass can be something superficial, not the personal challenge of offering our lives to Jesus Christ".

This year, the institution has elaborated a list of rules with the purpose of looking for a legal status so as to become an independent institution in the search for economic resources. The objectives in these rules are the following:

- To aim at a good cultural and Christian education for the students.
- To offer education in the field of agriculture for the maintenance of the institution itself, and so that the students make use of this technical knowledge by sharing it with people in their places of origin.
- To promote fraternity and cultural identity among the students.
- To give preference for admission to the student hostel for Quichua youngsters.
- To cooperate with churches and missions from different places in order to achieve the common goals, especially as regards the preaching of the gospel and culture.
- To offer the physical infrastructure of the student hostel to camps, seminars and excursions, for the purpose of self-financing the institution.
- To teach - and guide the students in a personal belief in Jesus Christ as it is revealed in the Holy Bible.

In our interview with the directors of the institution, the general opinion was that the central purpose of the institution was to prepare the students to face life.

Concerning the conceptual elements it must be pointed out that from the beginning of the institution until today, their criteria of a wide service and respect for the religious beliefs of the students has changed in regard to content, as well as to the theological and ideological aspects. The various concepts mentioned above express in themselves the understanding and role of the mission in preaching the gospel to the students.

The service was originally understood as a contribution to the development of impoverished sectors of the rural areas. However, it seems that at the moment the service is more than anything else a means to fulfill the purpose of preaching the Gospel to the students.

The Hostel Leaders' perception of the other christian churches, specially the Catholic ones, expresses very

little of the ecumenical spirit that has characterized the Lutheran church throughout history. We believe that these points of view must be revised in the light of a theological reflection which the mission has actually already recognized in the past. For example, in the document of strategies it was pointed out as a basic criteria:

"To contribute in the educational development of the students and to generate understanding of the national reality and encourage participation in alleviating the problems of their villages".

4.5.2. Social and administrative organization of the student hostel

The board of directors: This board is formed by the two families of the directors of the student hostel (four persons) and two representatives of the mission. The latter have generally been and are the ones that are related in a direct way to the work of the institution.

The board of directors also has the task of pointing out the criteria for recruiting the students, which are not rigid but rather adjusted to each new applicant. At present the admission regulations of the student hostel establish criteria of a rather generic character. We believe that it is necessary to mention more precisely the type of people and ethnic origin and some other aspects that might be given priority when selecting the students to be admitted to the school.

The executive committee: It is formed by two pairs of directors, one national and the other Norwegian. The initial regulations of the student hostel do not mention the functions and roles of these people. This could be quite a serious risk given that the responsibilities of the directors would be left to their free interpretation and so could affect the continuity of the management work.

The administrative and planning responsibility, and the elaboration of the working program of the student hostel is made in this instance through of the organizational structure of the institution. We believe that it would be valuable that these activities be elaborated by the board of directors since it corresponds more with their competence. Discussing the tasks with people that do not have direct participation in the work of the student hostel can give more objectivity to the programs and plans to be made.

The responsibility for direct work with students requires the participation of specialists in the field of pedagogics. However, the present directors lack appropriate education in this respect. The Norwegian couple have theological training and the national one training in administration and law

Students association: At this level, the student hostel has intended to have students participation in all the aspects of life in the centre. The experience of 1982 has been very significant in terms of the aims they were trying to achieve. The participation of representatives of the students in meetings with the directors has been limited to coordinate some tasks and activities of a cultural and recreational type.

In the prevailing regulations this division of work is not stipulated. However, we believe it is a positive measure given that it is the students who benefit directly from it. It would be very important that students participate in all working levels of the student hostel, specially as regards planning aspects. We got to know, through a conversation with the students' representative, that he participated in only one meeting of the Board of Direction in the past year.

Regulations and rules of the student hostel: The prevailing regulations of the school centralize its norms and standards of the admission requirements, and the

duties and rights of the students. There are no rules for functions of the personnel that work in the institution, nor for responsibilities at the various levels. This deficiency is supposed to be covered in the list of rules and regulations elaborated by the legal office.

In the interviews made with the students, five of the ten interviewed expressed their disagreement as regards their duties and responsibilities at the student hostel, specially the required attendance at the religious services of the Lutheran Church. The students stated that that they would like to participate in the services of the Catholic Churches, but for several months they have not been allowed to do so. The answer of the directors was that many students do not really attend the religious services and spend that time on Sundays wandering around the city.

This example shows how importance it is that the norms by which the institutional life of the centre is run, reflect the work at the different levels.

Working personnel of the institution: The student hostel has two people working in the kitchen and a driver who is at the same time in charge of the maintenance of the physical plant and equipment of the center. These people have a wide knowledge of the history of the student hostel since they have worked there since the institution was started. In the interviews made with these people, they told us that some years ago the board invited them to give opinions as to the advancements, needs and limitation of their work. Yet now their opinion is limited to their specific work. They thought that the work of the student hostel is very positive, as it responds to the needs of a gospel embodied in the needs of the youngsters that do not have the means to getting an education.

4.5.3. Analysis of the recruitment of students:

The need for the student hostel project emerged when the missionaries started to work with the teachers of the Bilingual Interamerican School, sponsored by the World Mission Prayer's league. At the time the teachers confirmed the absence in school of students coming from the countryside, both from Cuenca and Canar. The contract document of this mission with NORAD in 1974 mentions that it is not appropriate to send the students who are sons/daughters of poor peasants to the Interamerican school:

"....The students from the rural areas need a more varied education of a less academic type".

It was obvious to them the need of sending the students to technical schools of agriculture and teachers training, with the purpose of favoring them return to their places of origin and so to contribute to the development of the region and the country.

The most outstanding criteria for the selection of students are the following:

- That they are really youngsters in need and strongly require the support of the mission to get a scholarship to study.
- That the places the students come from do not offer alternatives in education.
- That they have a recommendation from a person known by the Mission.
- That they come from areas in the province of Canar, because this province lacks schools that enable the youngsters to follow careers of a technical nature.

At present there is also a lack of systematic information. For example, the registration cards do not have a section with the social and ethnic origin of the students. To cover this deficiency an investigation was made among the students taking as the guide line for evaluation, among other things, the place they came from, knowledge of the

Quichua language and occupation of parents. Among the 40 students that are at present in the center, 25 are mestizos, 10 cholos, and 5 indigenous quichua. During the 10 years of work in the institution, there have only been 6 indigenous quichua students, out of which 3 have been admitted this last year.

The original application from the Santal Mission to NORAD (dated 30 September 1974), containing the broader presentation of the project, seems to give the impression that the hostel is mainly meant for Quichua Indians from the Canar area. It is said that the term "Hostel for Rural Youth" is applied rather than "Indigenous Hostel" because many of the present students living at the hostel must be considered "cholos". Further out, it is said:

"Concerning the question of race, the recruitment from the countryside will gradually produce more Quichua-speaking students, so that a higher percentage of the students will be Indians. But still one has to assume that many of those coming from the countryside will be cholos and mestizos, and it is not considered correct to favour any of these groups at the cost of others"

It is also stated in the application:

"Our educational offer and the hostel must be seen as part of the total program (of "Community Development", particularly concerning the mobile clinic), and recruitment of students precisely from those remote areas where the (health) team is working and where the opportunities for higher education are limited, will be emphasized."

It is difficult to conclude that the above cited composition of the students is in line with the perspectives reflected in this application, on the basis of which NORAD support was granted. On this point, our conclusion is that the initial objective has not been achieved.

As regards the occupation of the parents, 17 of them do agricultural work, 4 are construction workers, 3 are merchants, 3 employees.

Even more relevant are the studies that the students follow in the present course, and the schools they now go to, all of which is shown in our findings. According to the statistic information of the Center:

24 study in the Bilingual School

5 in the Financial School

3 in the Salesiano Agricultural School

3 are university students (Economics, Administration, Education)

3 in the pre-primary (indigenous children)

2 in the Superior Normal Institute

The people who profitted most from the service of the boarding-school during the 10 years of work have been the "mestizos", those from "cholo" origin, and lastly a very insignificant number of indigenous quichuas. If we observe the studies followed it becomes obvious that very few have studied professions that allow them to get involved in the work of their place of origin. This information must be taken into account by both the institution and donor agency.

We do not believe that the problem only lies in the difficulties of recruiting young quichua. Once this is done the problems are not yet solved. The authorities of the student hostel have realized that the quichua students do not have the educational level required to start secondary school. They have a poor grasp of Spanish and to this has been added the fact that they have to be integrated in a new social and cultural context.

To avoid failure in secondary school it has been decided that all the quichua students have to receive a year of supplementary education so as to improve their general knowledge. It is necessary to mention that these courses are given in the student hostel and the directors and university students that live there are in charge of them.

4.5.4. Religious orientation of the student hostel

The student hostel has as one of its fundamental purposes to give the students a more authentic life experience in the religious field. Activities are therefore planned to facilitate the achievement of this objective. Every day before supper the students participate in the evening prayers, either as listener or on some occasions by leading themselves the sessions of collective reflection. On the two occasions that we participated in this activity, the subject of reflection was based on anecdotes from the Bible, related to the message that was their intention to transmit. The absence of a contextualization of the message to the actual economic and social reality of Ecuador has been characteristic of both.

The attendance at the religious ceremonies on Sundays in the Lutheran churches of Cuenca is obligatory, although previously the students had the freedom to go to the church of their choice, be it Catholic or Protestant. And we must not forget that most students are Catholic. The Lutheran students of the boarding-school stated their approval of this activity, pointing out that in this way they could be linked to a religious community and so develop themselves in their religious faith. Other students would rather be given the freedom to attend religious services when and where they themselves wished.

Every Thursday, there is another activity in the center, of a social character, that at present has mainly a religious content. During this day the students have the opportunity to meet youngsters of their same age, and it is hoped that the programs organized are in accordance with the existential needs of the students. This activity takes place in the Interamerican School or some Lutheran parish.

To fulfill the purpose of the work which is to give religious orientation, well known persons of the religious world are invited to put forward some subject of interest.

As regards this task it can be deduced that the central concern is the conversion of the student to Jesus Christ. The theological conception supported by the student hostel seems to us to be individualistic, mechanical and alien to the real problems of people who live in the Ecuatorian society.

We believe that the approach and knowledge of other experiences existing in the field of religious orientation, and specially those with an ecumenical perspective, can contribute to the development of more ideological pluralism in the student hostel.

4.5.5. Recreational and cultural activities in the student hostel

The program of fulfilling this aspect of work has the purpose of seeking the integration of the students based on their basic needs as youngsters. The recreational activities fundamentally respond to the students' initiative, which means that the programming is not rigid and that these are the moments the students long for most. On these occasions the students can associate with the directors of the institution on an equal level, and usually the atmosphere allows for more freedom and broadening of the social relations. These cultural moments included the development and discussion of some subject of interest concerning the youths' problems. On many occasions these activities have been backed by the projection of a film.

The excursions away from the institutions are the most appreciated experiences of the students. Just to get out of the institution is a feeling of great joy. It is, of course, expensive to transport 40 students, but if it is positive for the well-being of the group, these activities should be supported.

4.5.6. Work activities

The intention of developing work activities with the students, is included in the philosophy of the center. The aim is to avoid the students being uprooted from their original environment and way of life. An agricultural engineer graduated from the student hostel is in charge of introducing agricultural techniques to the students. The participation of this specialist in the work of the center is ad-honorem. "La Minga" is the collective work wherein all students participate indiscriminately of sex. The students of primary and secondary school must work six hours a week, except for those in sixth grade who due to the intensity of the schoolwork only work 5 hours. The three quichua students that have been admitted in the institution recently work twelve hours a week. This has disturbed some of the quichua students that are in secondary school. Why do these students have to work more? Are they being discriminated against?

Other work activities that the students have to engage in are not of the collective type. For example some students (2) that work in the library do not participate in "La Minga" given that their responsibility in this service is two hours daily. Some students help in the medical-odontological service, this being casual work and according to the personal interest of the students themselves.

In the interviews made with the directors of the boarding-school we realized that they are worried because the students do not respond as is expected of them, to the collective work. Maybe this problem occurs because the students have not totally understood the purpose of this work, and also because the majority of them have not confronted the reality of agricultural labour.

4.5.7. Relationship between the students of the student hostel and their families

It has been the policy of the institution to invite the parents of the students twice a year to inform them about the progress of their offspring, their behaviour and about their vocational inclinations as well as the economic expenditure that it would mean for the parents to finance the careers their children are choosing. The parents of the students stay in the center one whole day, while discussing every point on the agenda of the meeting. Also on these occasions the students prepare some cultural activities and it is a time for fraternity between students and parents. Last year 100% of the parents came to the meeting.

In this aspect, the center maintains good communication with the parents of the students. Furthermore, there is good track kept of the periodical visits to the homes of the students by those responsible from the office. All this information has been collected during our interviews with the parents of the students, and without doubt, there is a general recognition of the services given by the student hostel.

The parents did not pose any problems with regards to the religious information that their children were given. The parents believe that the Lutheran church is very close to the Catholic one in aspects of doctrine and liturgy, and above all they wish that their children should receive solid information on religious aspects.

4.5.8. Conclusions and recommendations

We have shown that the initial objectives of the project have not been fulfilled. Not only do a minority of the students come from quichua families, but also the education that the students receive is not appropriate for the needs of the Ecuadorian countryside. The student-hostel plays the function of facilitating secondary education, and we can conclude that the majority of the students do not

receive technical education, be it agricultural or industrial. For example, the majority of the students in the Interamerican Bilingual School specialize in training to become English-Spanish bilingual secretaries.

If in the future the boarding-school is willing to make in its curriculum to the necessary changes, it must orientate its students to follow technical careers that would allow them to play a role in their communities and actively participate in the efforts of development. We even believe that one of the criteria for recruiting students should specify the type of education more clearly. If this is not done, the student-hostel will only help to increase the process of rural-urban migration, wherein the educational system is an important link.

The absence of general program planning in this sense is obvious in the social and religious activities organized. A stronger emphasis on the discussion of the economic, social and political problems, must guide the activities of the student hostel. Our impression is that these activities are fundamentally organized around the religious faith, without being related to the context of the Ecuadorian society.

These problems, and moreover the strong religious pressure under which the students have to live, have made us reach the conclusion that it is extremely difficult to recommend that the support from NORAD to the student-hostel be continued. The point of view of our team is that considered as an educational project, in the strict by speaking, it does not fulfill the necessary requirement for receiving further support.

There is no concrete plan for the nationalization of the activities of the student-hostel, but there are two general ideas: To transfer the property and responsibilities to the national church (Federacion de Iglesias Evangelicas Lutheranos del Ecuador - FIEL); or to continue under the existing system changing the purpose of the student-hostel to that of a biblical school. We do not

believe that the first idea is very realistic due to the economic and administrative needs. The second possibility is totally outside the criteria by which NORAD has given assistance.

The ideal solution, according to the team, in terms of the very best use of the resources, is that the original objectives are maintained and that the student-hostel be established in Canar, in collaboration with the popular organizations and the regional authorities of education. This would enable the indigenous students to have access to the Spanish-Quichua Bilingual School, and at the same time to all the educational alternatives that exist in Cuenca (except that of Spanish-English bilingual secretary, which may hardly be considered legitimate according to the original objectives). This would also make it possible to establish much more contact with their culture and social reality, as well as the religious pressure would be eliminated (without eliminating the religious alternative represented by the mission). Such a solution, however, is not realistic for a whole series of reasons. We do not think it is probable that the climate between the Mission and the organizations and the indigenous communities would allow it.

Therefore the team is not able to present a concrete alternative, given the present situation of the project and of the mission. The following recommendations are rather suggestions that cannot solve the fundamental problems of the student-hostel.

- a) Recruitment: The student-hostel must recruit mainly young indigenous peasants among the poorest families that have most need, since this was the initial aim of the project.
- b) Vocational orientation: Those responsible for the student-hostel must guide the students in following studies that would make them technically capable to return to their place of origin. We believe it is necessary that both the admission and the

directors specifically clarify these aspects. It hardly makes any sense to us that a project of this type only guarantees a traditional and formal education that facilitates the rural-urban migration.

- c) Ideological pluralism: We believe it is important that the student-hostel offers the possibility of practicing the religion the students choose ,especially given that the majority of them are Catholic.

5. THE PENTECOSTAL MISSION OF NORWAY IN PARAGUAY

5.1 The indigenous peoples of Paraguay, their socio-economic and socio-political situation

According to the first official census of the indigenous population in Paraguay, released in March 1983, the total number is 45.330, distributed between 18 tribes. It is generally claimed that this figure is much too low. Anyway, the indigenous population hardly makes up more than 2-3% of the total population in Paraguay. The tribes and the estimated population size of each is as follows:

Ache	650
Angaité	2.370
Ayoreo	1.225
Chamacoco	1.000
Chiripa	5.175
Chulupi	7.030
Guana	440
Guarayo	1.535
Lengua	8.770
Mak'a	640
Manjuy	370
Mbya	5.500
Pai Tavytera	5.500
Sanapaná	1.970
Tapiete	1.125
Toba Maskoy	1.395
Toba Qom	630
Mataco	5
Total	45.330

As shown on the map in annex .., the indigenous groups are scattered practically speaking all over the country, all living in limited territories (indigenous settlements).

5.1.1. The indigenous peoples and their relationship to land

The traditional way of life of the indigenous peoples of Paraguay was characterized by unlimited access to vast territories, where they lived from hunting, collecting and fishing. It is nothing peculiar to Paraguay that this historical situation has come to an end, and that the indigenous peoples have been seriously hit in terms of territory as well as in terms of way of life. In Paraguay this process started quite late, however, and the conflicts that followed from it are still felt.

It is only recently that land has become scarce in Paraguay. In fact, it is not long since land, according to Paraguayan tradition, was considered so abundant that land titles were practically non-existent among peasants as well as among the indigenous people. The agricultural frontier, however,

has constantly been pushed further out, gradually depriving the indigenous people of their traditional territories. It seems relevant to distinguish between three phases in this process:

- 1) From the middle of last century, after the disastrous War of the Triple Alliance, up to the middle of this century, the slogan seemed to be that "progress comes with the foreigner". Immigrants and companies linked to foreign capital were given great advantages in the acquisition of land, and exploitation of timber and grazing resources, but this did not create any serious population pressure in the remote areas where the indigenous people were living.
- 2) It was only in the 1950's that the colonization, properly speaking, started. Public policies now tended systematically to favour the interests and needs of the small peasant settler, the minifundista. He was the one who, together with his family, was extending the agricultural frontier, and physically occupying the land where the indians had been living.

3) From the beginning of the seventies, penetration of capitalist relations became a marked tendency. The land capitalist together with agroindustry - some of it linked to Brazilian or transnational corporations - started to take the place of the Paraguayan small-producer. The Paraguayan colonizers also had to compete with a massive wave of Brazilian immigrants. The colonizers, Paraguayans and Brazilians alike, went through a rapid process of pauperization as a consequence of land concentration, constant increase in land value, and the fact that there was no more space for extending the frontier. It should not be necessary to add that the position of the indigenous population in this situation deteriorated even more rapidly.

Up till around 1950, the Paraguayan state did not show practically any interest in the situation of the indigenous population. Previously, there had been only one law from 1909 regulating their situation. According to this law, the national government had the authority to work towards "the conversion of the Indians to Christianity and to civilization". For that purpose state land could be used as indigenous reserves, but there were no efforts by the state itself in that direction. This vacuum however, was soon to a considerable extent filled by religious missions, taking the responsibility for several indigenous communities, partly through legal acquisition of land. In the 1940's and 1950's the first efforts were made to legalize indigenous land possessions. The first organization in defense of their rights, La Asociacion Indigenista del Paraguay, was created in 1942. In 1958, the first state agency for indigenous affairs was created: El Departamento de Asuntos Indigenas, administratively a part of the Ministry of Defense. At that point, the situation of the native groups seems to have been really precarious, as it is said in the motivation for this law that its purpose is to avoid the extinction of the indigenous peoples.

The explicit objective of the state policies since they started to take any interest in indigenous affairs, has

been to concentrate the various ethnic groups in colonies and integrate them culturally, socially and economically into the Paraguayan society. It has not been possible to trace any serious attempts from other organizations to question the policy of colonization. In this connection it must be remembered that no organizational efforts on the national level have been made by the indigenous people themselves. The more or less well-intended protectionist efforts from Paraguayans seem to have concentrated on the issue of assuring legal rights to their colonial land. There is little doubt that the Indians themselves, however, look upon the non-indigenous colonizers as invaders on their territory. The case of the Pai Tavytera may be illustrative: Their traditional habitat extended to a well defined and integral territory of approximately 40.000 km² in north-east Paraguay and Malto Grosso, Brazil. As a consequence of the colonization during recent decades the Pai Tavytera are today dispersed in more than 100 small communities, Nonetheless permanent communication between them is maintained.

The problems of adaptation to life in colonies are later discussed in the two cases evaluated here.

5.1.2. The social situation of the Paraguayan Indians

The social situation of the indigenous population, no doubt, is highly precarious. This is true whether their situation is considered in relation to the "modernization" variables such as education, or in relation to indicators of pure physical survival.

To start with the latter:

The mortality rate during the first two years of life is estimated to be 222 per 1000 born alive, almost three times as high as the corresponding figure for non-indigenous people. In the recent indigenous census, the extremely high mortality rate is explained by:

"the low level of life of the indigenous population, the minor biological resistance they have against

certain infectious-contagious diseases, and, consequently, the frequency with which the infant population is affected by epidemics, among them measles, whooping cough, diarrhoea, respiratory infections related to malnutrition and parasites."

Education is, of course, a very different indicator in the case of indigenous groups, often being more an indicator of "modernization" and acculturation than of social well-being. Anyway, the score is extremely low. Although a total of 34% among those over 7 years have been registered in the school system, the large majority of them become very early drop-outs. Only 14% finish third grade or more, whereas only 1% actually finish primary school. 0,58% have received secondary education, and only one person in the census population (0.003%) had been to university. Only 33,5% of those between 7 and 65 said that they could read and write, and there is reason to believe that the rate of literacy is even lower.

It is interesting to note that the state of health and education is better in those communities attended by religious missions than in others. That may be an indicator that the missions are succeeding quite well - in relative terms - in their efforts in these fields. The situation in "their" communities is not known. It should also be borne in mind that the work of the non-religious projects is much less intensive, and probably needs more time to produce results.

5.1.3 Present government policies towards the indigenous population

There seems to be a growing interest for indigenous affairs in the Paraguayan state apparatus. The reasons for this cannot be stated clearly. Partly it may be explained by a genuine interest among some prominent personalities, partly by the international protests against the treatment of the Ache Indians in particular - including accusations of ethnocide, and partly it may have to do with strengthened sentiments for the national origins: the guarani culture.

However this may be, a new law regulating the rights of the indigenous communities has recently been passed: Law no. 904, Estatuto de las Comunidades Indigenas. The most important aspect of the law is that it guarantees the legal right to the land of the established indian colonies, provided a certain legal procedure is followed. The law, in fact, goes quite far in its protection of the legal rights of the indigenous communities within the land areas where they are presently living.

The law also regulates the administrative responsibilities concerning indigenous affairs. The co-ordinating body is INDI, Instituto Paraguayo del Indigena. INDI used to form part of the Ministry of Defense. Although it now has a more autonomous status, the Minister of Defense is still the President of INDI. In addition, the Ministries of Education and Culture, Public Health and Social Welfare are all represented in its governing bodies, together with private institutions - secular and religious.

INDI was also responsible for the first census of the indigenous population, another sign of the importance now given to this matter.

What remains to be seen, is how much strength these legal instruments represent, once a serious conflict arises between indigenous and strong economic, political and military interests.

5.1.4. Development efforts among indigenous peoples in Paraguay

As pointed out above, the religious missions for decades had an actual monopoly concerning assistance to the indigenous communities. The Pentecostal Mission of Norway (in Paraguay known as Mision Norma) is only one among a great number of missionary organizations, foreign and national, Catholic and non-Catholic. Particular mention in this respect should be made of the Mennonite Mission which has established a very special relationship to the native groups of the Chaco, where a great number of

Mennonite communities have been established since the 1920's.

According to the census, a total of 24% of the indigenous population live in communities that are wholly or partly organized by religious missions. In some cases, the mission in fact created the community. In others, the mission started the creation of the social infrastructure once the colony had been established. In most cases, the colonial land is owned by the mission.

Early in the 1970's an alternative form of assistance to the indigenous communities was introduced. A philanthropical organization, Asociacion Indigenista del Paraguay (AIP) with the assistance of an ecumenical organization, Mision de Amistad, Launched two programmes covering each their geographical area and ethnic groups: Proyecto Guarani and Proyecto Pai Tavyera. The philosophy of these projects is very different from most of the missionary projects, including those of Mision Norma. In the first instance, they insist on a total respect for traditional religion, and all kinds of evangelization and religious propaganda are banned in their projects. Secondly, they consider the missionary projects to be highly paternalistic, and limit their own assistance to self-help activities. This implies that the assistance is extensive rather than intensive. According to the census, the two programmes cover 53% of the indigenous population of the country. The programs have no staff members residing permanently in the communities, they rely completely on self-organization. They do not own any land, but are working very hard in favour of having the indigenous land properties legalized.

Both the projects of Mision Norma are situated in areas covered by the AIP programmes: Paso Cadena is in the area of Proyecto Guarani, and Eben Ezer in the area of Proyecto Pai Tavytera.

5.2. Christian Missions among the indigenous people of Paraguay

The christianization of Paraguay was started like in other areas of Latin America, with the Spanish conquistadores. The Jesuits played a remarkable role with their dominion and monopoly in preaching the Gospel and baptizing a great number of indigenous groups in the years 1618 - 1768. However, with the expulsion of the Jesuits the majority of the Indians returned to their old beliefs. It appears that only the "Christian" names were left, although they still used (secretly) also their traditional names or as they call it "the names of the forest". The Indians of Paraguay do not profess the Catholic faith nor the Evangelical, but rather try to keep their traditional religion. This gives a very different picture from the one we observed in Ecuador (the conflict between Catholics and Evangelicals). In Paraguay both the Catholics and Evangelicals consider the indigenous people to be heathen and therefore see them as objects of conversion. Thus it is difficult to distinguish between the Catholics as opposed to the Evangelicals in the methodology they use to "christianize" the indigenous people.

We found the same characteristics as regards the evangelical movement in Paraguay as in Ecuador (section 4.3.). However, it is necessary to specifically characterize the Norma Mision as part of the pentecostal movement in Norway. The pentecostal is characterized by its "congregationalism" that is, the congregation as a basic organ of the church also plays a very independent role from the national pentecostal movement, as well as from other congregations of the same church. There are very few formal structures of organization and decisions. This is also reflected in that the missionaries depend more on the local congregation in Norway than on their missionary colleagues or the coordinating office (PYM) in Oslo. Consequently, we cannot find a strategic plan or coordination of the projects, nor a formal or informal agreement among the missionaries. We believe that this is the reason why it was so difficult to get exact figures as regards the statistics and plans of the projects under

evaluation. This is also reflected in the inadequate planning of the project.

The missionaries also pointed out that the fact that they represent a minority church in Norway makes it difficult for them to recruit professional staff to carry out projects initiated by other missionaries.

It is a characteristic of the pentecostal churches that they do not recruit their members from the higher status groups of the population, and therefore they lack professionals and academics. On the other hand, the pentecostals emphasize more the spiritual or "mystical" aspects in the explanation of their stay in the missionary field and of their different duties. It characterizes both the Catholic and Protestant missionaries that they work in agreement with the Paraguayan government to "administrate" different indigenous sectors in the colonization and Paraguayization of the Indians. It is remarkable that in spite of the strong influence they have over "their" Indians as regards evangelization, very few Indians actually join the Norma Mission. The results in terms of the cultural influence and assimilation of the indigenous people in the Paraguayan society, are much stronger, but maybe there is not so much awareness of this on the part of the missionaries

5.3. Characterization of the Colony in Paso Cadena.

5.3.1. Socio-economic and socio-cultural characteristics of the colony.

It is important to remember that Paso Cadena is an old established settlement. Even historically, it has played a central role in the political organizations of the Ava-Chiripa or Ava-Guarani or Ava-Katu-Ete. Juan Pablo Vera, the supreme chief of the Ava-Chiripa in the sixties, comes from Paso Cadena (he is still alive, living in the

settlement. In order to understand the socio-economic system of the area we must take into account the changes that occurred in the seventies. Traditionally the Ava-Chiripa combine horticulture with hunting and gathering in a communal control and use of the land which still persists. The practice of agriculture was slash-and-burn. This group occupies the Parana tropical rain forest. This forest was a strip, 100 kilometres long, which bordered the Parana River. With the expansion of the agricultural frontier in the seventies the forest has been depleted. Actually, some rough estimate indicates that only 20% of it remains. But the main consequence of this process is that the forest which remains exists in small and discontinuous patches. We believe that this environment can hardly be classified as tropical rain forest. It is easy to conclude that the original ecological adaptation of the Ava-Chiripa has radically changed. The native population can no longer maintain the original production system based on hunting and subsistence agriculture. Moreover, with the rapid process of privatization of land through the sale to multinationals and colonists, mostly Brazilians and Mennonites, the Ava-Chiripa have lost their territory. For instance, Paso Cadena had in the sixties 2000 hectares and actually now owns only 954 (the rest was sold to an influential Paraguayan). Even now they do not have the title of property of the colony. This situation creates anxiety and insecurity.

The depletion of the forest, the colonization process and consequently the ecological change produced in the area show us that the Ava-Chiripa no longer can hunt moving freely in the territory in search of animals: the game has disappeared or is now in private estates.

The second impact of "civilization" is even more radical in its consequences. The agricultural expansion in Parana has created a labour market for the Ava-Chiripa. They can now get piece-work jobs in the colonies or in the large estates developed in the area. This implies that a part of their livelihood depends on monetary incomes. Consequently, we

can observe in Paso Cadena three strategies for survival:

- a) families living exclusively from their monetary incomes as rural labourers,
- b) families combining agriculture with casual work, and
- c) families living from the income of their agricultural products and therefore combining subsistence with cash crops.

The combination of these strategies has simultaneously created an internal labour market in the colony: the commercial farmers now utilize the labour force of the indians who need cash income. The capitalist labour market is no more only an external phenomenon. This is the third effect of the socio-economic changes registered in the area and in Paso Cadena.

From the point of view of the internal division of labour, the introduction of cash and capitalist social relations of production in the colony imply that the traditional "mingas", labour exchanges between individuals or families, are very difficult to organize. The Caciques (Chiefs) and our informants agree on the following fact: it has been more and more difficult to organize mingas. Mingas of more than two or three days are almost impossible because the families depending on cash incomes will not accept this form of work. We observed that this form of reciprocity, still defined as the best by the Ava-Chiripa, is now very difficult to implement efficiently.

5.3.2. Description of agricultural activities

5.3.2.1. Natural resources

The colony is located in an area of 954 hectares, one of its sides bordering the rio Acaray. Generally speaking, the trees on the site are the ones found in the forest, of good

quality, mostly very tall forest species. According to the information gathered, however, the best species have already been used up commercially, some of them before the indigenous people definitively settled on the site, and some others by the Indians themselves. Thus, the remaining species are only those that may be used for making lumber for local use and perhaps some very few that may be used for first class lumber.

The place is characterized by its red soil, of the clay-sand type, which is good for farming, provided practices for appropriate use and management are implemented, due particularly to the fact that the terrain is very hilly, not only at this site, but also all through the Alto Parana area.

There are also some low lands which are good for rice growing or possibly for pastures.

Fertility of the soil is good since it comes from previous clearing of trees and has high nitrogen contents; therefore crops grow well. Erosion, however, rapidly diminishes its qualities because rains in that region are very hard, washing away all organic matter together with the coat of soil which is rich in food substance.

The place is very favoured by nature in regard to water. To begin with, the colony is bordered by the river Acaray, which usually has a permanent flow of water. For this reason, the Paraguayan government built a dam several kilometers downstream to install a power plant. Furthermore, several small streams which run over stone beds pass through the property and fall into the Acaray, the water being of very good quality.

In old times, the region was profusely populated by wild animals. However, there are very few now, mainly due to the clearing of trees made by big livestock and agricultural enterprises, which have recently settled in a great number in this province destroying the woods to farm large areas of soybean and wheat. Since the Indians are very good

hunters and, besides, the extensive areas of forest are disappearing, the wild animals migrate to places where they can be safer away from the colony, or they are just simply and gradually disappearing. The only species remaining are those that easily reproduce but hardly useful for food, and others which are good but very difficult to hunt due to the much longer time required and the risk of trespassing private property when hunting them.

According to the Indians, the Acaray river no longer has the same amount of fish that it used to have, probably due to the influence exerted on the river by the dam built downstream.

5.3.2.2. Livestock, agricultural and forestry situation of the settlement.

At present there are approximately 100 hectares of cleared soil in the settlement. By cleared soil, we mean the practice of cutting down trees and burning them right at the site, without removing the large trunks or these roots which are still in the soil after cutting down the tree. This practice does not allow mechanization of the soil, not even with draft animals, so the soil is only good for manual work.

The sections cleared or burned are mostly along the roads, which were opened by old workers ("obrajeros") or people engaged in removing trees for trading. When the settlement was established over there, some soils were improved, and the Indians worked the land close to the roads, allowing easy access to the farms.

Opposite the indigenous settlement, across the Acaray River, the Pentecostal Mission owns 300 hectares of land, of which some 20 hectares have been cleared. The Missionaries have given parcels of land of approximately 15 hectares to a total number of 10 indigenous families who needed it or others who worked for the mission. These have cleared a very little portion of the land, and settled in

it rather than worked the land for agriculture.

At the indigenous settlement there are parcels of low land which were never wooded, where the Indians grow rice.

Since there is a large number of migrant workers among the Indians in the colony, it was very difficult to determine the area which is cultivated, since many of them have planted their parcels and then abandoned them to go to work outside the colony. An appropriate estimate can be given, however, of the total area cultivated at present, which ranges between 50 to 80 hectares. For the 80 families living there, this gives an average of 0.6 to 1 hectare per family. There are, in fact, 15 families who do not work the land at all and 38 who work it almost continuously, without needing to work outside.

Due to the organization system of the Indians, the utilization of the land is common, in other words, if a parcel of land is not cultivated, anyone may use it even though he has not cleared the wood himself.

Those sections of land which have been cultivated for several years and then been abandoned have become very weedy and are not cultivated, it is easier to clear a new parcel than to clean all the weeds in the "old" section. Besides, the newly burned land does not allow weeds to grow during the first year, so the crops grow easily and require less work. This tells about their old custom of migrating and growing small farms while they were engaged in hunting; later, when the game became short, they left the place and worked new farms somewhere else.

On the Mission's land, there are approximately 15 hectares of cultivated land and pastures for livestock.

The crops which the Indians have traditionally grown such as manioc, beans and maize are found in most of the families, usually in small parcels; 1/2 to 1/4 hectare of manioc, a little larger of maize - perhaps even 1 hectare - and small patches from 1.000 to 2.500 square meters of

beans. Usually manioc and maize are grown together, that is to say, maize is grown between rows of manioc. Besides beans, some grow habilla (Boston-like beans), or feijao (Brazilian beans); all these legumes have good nutrition value. They also grow sweet potatoes, which are twice as large in case of families engaged in working their parcels, and they turn to zero in the case of those working as wage-earners who do not work a single piece of land.

As a new crop, some grow rice in 1/2 hectare parcels - not over 15 families - for their proper use or to sell in case they need money to buy meat or other necessary items. The money is also used to pay the wages of those contracted to work their farm.

Cotton, as a cash crop, has also been grown this year by 3 families, all mutually related, for a total of 4 hectares. This means an increase as compared to last year when approximately 2.5 hectares were grown.

Some grow bananas for their own food around their houses, as well as tobacco and sugar cane.

In general, all crops are grown for their own subsistence or to trade for labor. Cotton is the crop which permits to get a high monetary income.

On the mission's property, approximately 10 hectares of maize were grown this year, aimed mainly at keeping the land cultivated, thus keeping it from becoming weedy. They also have a pasture of 2 hectares, where they keep the cows which provide milk for the patients at the hospital.

Generally speaking, nobody owns domestic animals such as hens, pigs, ducks, etc. This implies a serious problem, since it restricts the possibility of getting meat to the traders who come to the settlement to sell highly priced beef, or hunting in the woods. The latter possibility is very limited because of the previously mentioned problems. Since the colony is not divided into individual lots, the farms are scattered around. Having loose animals

under these conditions, rather than solving the food problem, causes new ones because the animals spoil the crops. Furthermore, the extreme poverty of the indians does not allow them to have loose animals for a long time, and they kill them for food purposes until the family is left without any animals.

There are 3 settlers who have cows, which were obtained from the Mission in payment of their labor.

On the Mission property, there are around 10 cows of Dutch breed which give milk for the patients at the hospital.

5.3.2.3. Description of the technological know-how

Generally speaking, the Indians of the colony know the agricultural practices which they inherited from their ancestors, a practice which is very dependent on slash-and-burn and migration for getting new land or temporary job as agricultural worker. Therefore, agriculture is for them a temporary activity rather than continuous work. This explains why they always grow maize, manioc and beans, since the cycle of these crops is short - from 6 to 9 months - allowing them to use them right away or take the seeds with them to start things over when they migrate.

Consequently their know-how is very simple: clearing the wood and growing traditional crops on the parcels, which means little work since they hardly need to clean the parcel. A newly cleared plot, due to being a natural environment, is not weedy and is not subject to diseases which destroy crops, thus leaving the Indians enough time to go hunting or fishing. The parcels would thus yield enough to feed the family or group while they migrated, and the know-how gained by clearing, cultivating, and harvesting was passed from generation to generation. This way of life did not need broad knowledge, but now the changes in the way of living in the settlement demand a new dimension.

The relationship of the Indians with Paraguayan and Brazilian settlements has made the Indians think of growing new crops. The transfer of knowledge comes through working as wage-earners on the farms of settlers. Thus the Indians are learning to grow rice, soybean and cotton.

So far, rice has been the best accepted crop among the Indians because it may be used for their own food as well as to trade for labor or for other items. Cotton and soybean in turn must be traded and, since these require a larger investment (seeds, insecticides, sprayer, outside

marketing), they are scarcely favored by the Indians. Using insecticides is new for them; therefore, they must learn how to use them so they will not be fatal.

Since practically no one owns any livestock, there is almost nothing to report in this regard. Three Indians have some animals, and their willingness to take care of them is remarkable. They give no animal health treatment whatsoever.

5.3.2.4. Main technical agricultural problems

We can point at the following main technical problems in the area:

- a) Need to adapt vs. know-how : Since the Indians are passing from a migratory way of life in which they grow small parcels each year, to a settled way of life, a new production system has developed. They can no longer change their cultivated parcels easily each year and, if they do so, this means that the parcels will no longer be close to their homes. As stated before, they are not in favour of cultivating the same parcel several years, but would rather start a new one by clearing new land instead of cleaning their previous parcel. Therefore, for those who prefer to continue working close to their homes, the alternative is to clean the same parcel each year. This means scheduling each task, working the farm the hard way - it more easily becomes weedy - and they must control diseases which increase because of the repeated crops at the same site. All of this is new for the Indians and it means a substantial change in the way of working the land. The Indians who does not "turn" into a farmer cannot keep working his parcel reasonably, as he is forced to work as a wage-earner in order to buy his daily necessities
- b) Working as a wage-earner vs. taking care of his own farm: As stated before, the Indians need to work as

wage-earners to be able to supply their basic needs, and this directly affects their opportunities to take care of their farms. Many clean their parcels and grow manioc or maize, but then they need to work away from their homes, thus neglecting their farm, and when they return, the crops have been suffocated by the weeds. This is a problem which is closely related to the capability of the colony to produce at least the crops in needs for subsistence. If the need to work as wage-earner continues, it will be very difficult to solve the problem. Furthermore, they will have to get used to working their parcels more dilligently, since they can no longer migrate and work a new parcel each year.

- c) Working as a wage-earner vs. scheduling and storage of seeds: Settled farming always demands scheduling one's work and storing of seeds for the next year. If most of the Indians confront the urgent need to work for wages, this means that they are out of their last reserves, including seeds (maize, beans, etc.). Under the present conditions and under the present organization system of the Indians, it is impossible to think of any method for storing seeds, since whatever they produce they either eat or sell, and when they have run out of everything, they leave to do causal work. They did not need to store before, since every time they migrated they took the seeds from their farms and used them on the new site.
- d) Marketing difficulties: Trading of agricultural crops implies a number of new customs and behavior. First of all, it means engaging in debts with local intermediaries and, very closely related, the purchasing and selling transaction which implies a number of conflicting situations such as fake weight, unlawful discounts, the buyer establishing a fixed price, and the disadvantage of the Indian who does not know how to add, subtract or read. On the other hand, the intermediary is very often a salesman who brings items which are really not needed by the Indians such as rasdios, flashlights, expensive clothes, in order to trade at the same time as purchasing their crops, automatically

subtracting the cost of the items. All this implies different relationships for the Indian who is often the loser because of his complete unawareness of the marketing mechanism.

- e) Possession of animals: Owning animals implies the need to take care of them and, particularly, to own a space for them. Besides, it hinders the possibility of migrating, since they cannot take the animals with them from one place to another. Therefore, the families who need to work as wage-earners cannot own animals, especially those families who move with all their children.

Furthermore, raising animals means feeding them, which is very difficult considering that they hardly have enough for themselves.

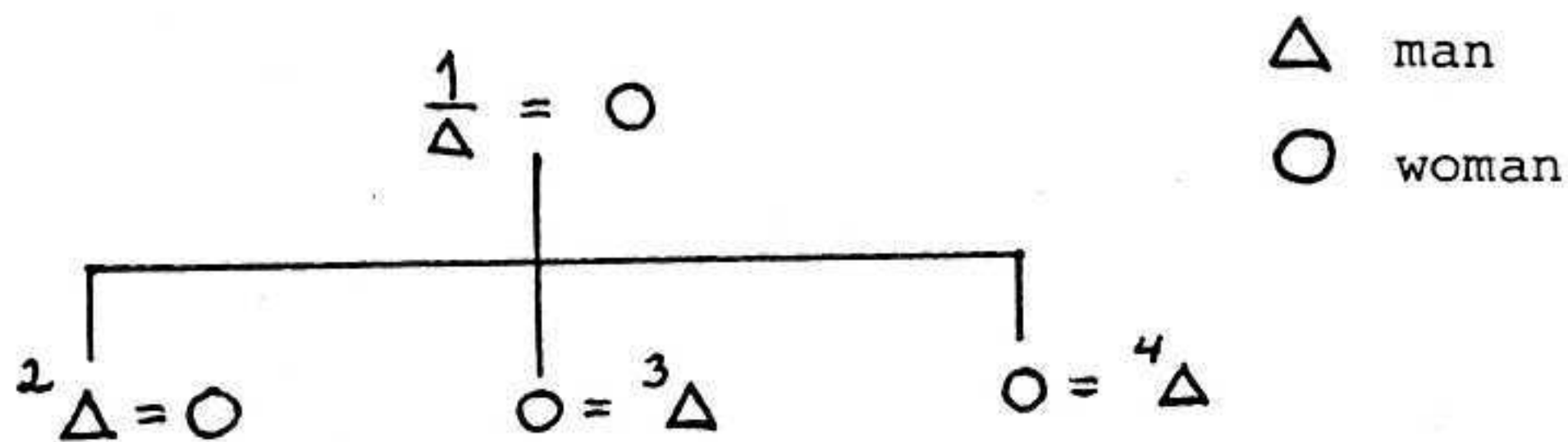
The possibility of owning domestic animals should however be kept in mind since the Indians like eating a lot due to their old hunting habits. In order to buy meat, they may even lose all their crops, but while they need to work as wage-earners, they will not be able to raise animals.

One other important social consequence is the process of social differentiation in the colony. This has been created through the introduction of cash crops, like cotton. This can produce the situation of a rapid economic differentiation with the growth of an internal capitalist labour market. In the next section, a concrete analysis of the entrepreneurs is carried out.

5.3.3. A short analysis of the "entrepreneurs" in Paso Cadena.

In the traditional organization of the Ava-Chiripa forms of cooperation were established through the Ty'y or units of kinship organized in stem families. Each Ty'y worked the land under control in common. Obviously, this organization still exists, but is transformed by the impact of the capitalist labour market. The case of the

"entrepreneurs" illustrates how this social system can work in a new situation. The four families growing cotton and hiring additional labour force constitute a kind of Ty's. The residence is now neolocal, but there is an intense cooperation between its members. In the following diagram we can see the kinship relations between the four heads of household:



3 is the initial entrepreneur. He worked with the Mission and as rural labourer with Brazilian colonists. He was able to save money and once back in the community he initiated, four years ago, the growing of cotton. He rapidly increased his income. As cotton needs cash with his savings he was able to maintain and even to increase the area cultivated. In the case of 1 he is the second Cacique and he owns a small store selling oil, sugar, flower, rice and yerba mate. With his profits he was able to start with cotton. Afterwards, 2 and 4 with the aid of the first two followed the path of cotton production.

Without any doubt this Ty'y constitutes a very influential group and they are in open competition with the main Cacique. At the same time they are efficient intermediaries (brokers) in the regional system. 3 speaks Spanish fluently and is married to one of the teachers in the primary school located in the colony, a very intelligent and dynamic Ava-Chiripa. In the struggle for power they have received the support of the main Pai of Paso Cadena (the role of the Pai is analysed in the next section). 3 said to us that the destiny of Paso Cadena is to be a colony like the others and by this he clearly meant like the Paraguayans. This case-study illustrates how the process of socio-economic differentiation in the

community integrates aspects of the old pattern of social organization and values. The second Cacique in many ways can be considered a "traditionalist", especially in his strong refusal to accept Pentecostalism (refusal formulated in a very diplomatic way). His traditionalism is combined with his role as entrepreneur and broker. It is interesting to make a final remark. 3 and his wife were converted but they left the Church some years ago and now they are back to the "old" religion and especially he participates in the different ceremonies and rituals.

5.3.4. Political and religious organizations

Traditionally the Ty's were under the control of the Ty'y ru (the communal father). The Ty'y ru usually was not only a political leader but also a shaman (a spiritual chief). The introduction of caciques came about quite recently on the initiative of the Government. The Government needed a "chief" and eventually a "supreme chief" in order to deal with just one leader. This was functional because the segmentation of authority hindered the development of an efficient external control. Moreover, the integration into the national society depended precisely on finding the best intermediaries.

However, the traditional leaders, the Pai, are still active. In Paso Cadena there are eight Pais with a Pai Guazu (the main shaman). The separation of political leadership, with caciques, from religious leadership has created a latent process of friction and obviously conditions the internal conflicts and tensions. At present in Paso Cadena there are, at least, two factions; one under the leadership of the first Cacique and the second under the leadership of the second Cacique and the Pai Guazu.

Nevertheless, the central figure in Paso Cadena is the Pai Guazu. He is a prestigious person with a strong moral and religious authority. He was one of our main informants during our stay in the community. He is in charge of the

main religious ceremonies and in this quality he fulfills the different and complementary roles: he is a priest, an educator and a traditional healer. The Pai is the mediator between the spirits of nature, men and the Gods. This is done through revelations and dreams. The dreams are central in the configuration of the rituals related to various cycles (agricultural, initiation, death) but also to curative actions. He functions as an agent of moral order, he maintains the unity and solidarity of the community. Concomitantly, the ceremonies and dances serve as an efficient channel for transmitting the cultural heritage, the mythology, to the younger generation. The common prayer is one very important mechanism of cultural transmission. Therefore, religion is at the core of the total symbolic reproduction of the Indian group. To change it is, beyond doubt, is to change the very condition of its existence.

The Pais in Paso Cadena, and specially the Pai Guazu, defined their religion and Pentecostalism as similar on many points. They emphasized that the idea of only one supreme God, a very abstract force and creator, is common. We will not describe the differences that really exist and are perceived both by the Pai and the missionaries. The Pai Guazu however believes that Pentecostalism is a threat to the traditional religion mainly through alfabetization. He emphasized that many aspects of his society can change when young people learn to write and read. When this moment arrives they will try to read the written words of God: the Bible. He then ask us: "then, how can we transmit our myths which are just oral?" Nevertheless, he believes that the religion of the Ava-Chiripa, which has resisted many influences until now, is the religion of the poor. Because they mostly live in extreme poverty, and he himself is obviously one of them, the conversion is not a real and immediate possibility -or, as he perceives it- danger.

In our very brief field-work we observed that the Pai still functions as a traditional healer. His position of shaman has not been affected by the presence of the clinic in Paso Cadena. The Pai divides the causes of sickness into two: 1)

the contradiction between the positive and the negative soul, and 2) the direct action of the spirits of the nature. In both cases, however, the idea of "bad actions" is present. The patient is sick because his life is not perfect, because he is not a moral person. Therefore, the sickness can be defined as a crisis, as a conflict between the individual actor and a given social and moral order. The shaman through his therapy must take the sick and negative elements out of the body. The curative ceremonies are a religious ritual accompanied in many cases by the use of plants and herbs as medicines and as a part of the total treatment. However, we believe that the presence of the clinic has implied that many diseases can be treated now without the help of traditional plants. So the role of the Pai has been reduced to the role of a traditional healer dealing mostly with psycho-somatic diseases.

We did not observe animosity against the missionaries. Among the Pai a firm belief that their religion is as valid as Pentecostalism. For example, we asked if a Pai can teach his religion one hour per week in the school of the community where the Bible is taught each Friday. The Pai Guazu replied: "I teach religion in our temple and will never do it in the school, the school is not the proper place for my rituals and ceremonies".

However, the rapid process of change can affect this perception and the missionaries with the school and modern medicine can introduce discontinuities in the reproduction of the symbolic universe. If the Pai is no longer the teacher and the doctor, and if members of the community are converted, he will lose part of his power and his moral and religious influence. The causes of change can not only be related to the presence of missionaries. We must admit that this is said sometimes without a careful analysis by many social scientists. We believe that the expansion of capitalism and consequently the "Paraguayianisation" of the regional context are two very powerful forces acting against a "normal" reproduction of both the material and the symbolic structures of the Ava-Chiripa. The Pai Guazu admitted to us that he was afraid of the "secularization"

of the youth through the influence of the Paraguayans and the national society and values.

5.4. Characterization of the Eben Ezer Colony.

5.4.1. Idea and development of the project

When a Norwegian missionary in 1967 made the first contact with the Pai Tavytera Indians in the Amambay - Concepcion area, she was accompanied by the Director of INDI at that time. According to the missionary herself, the first contact was made at the invitation of a local Cacique. At that time, the Pai Tavytera Indians were still mostly living their traditional life. An attempt by the military authorities to establish a military colony for Indians had evidently failed and the Indians had escaped. About this time, however, the road from Concepcion to Pedro Juan Caballero was constructed, and a rapid colonization process and consequently pressure to obtain land started.

It was on this background that the Norwegian missionary, obviously in close collaboration with INDI and the military authorities, started to establish contacts with Indian groups and offered them free land, education and health service in a colony that Mision Norma intended to establish. According to the missionary's own accounts, she had contact with altogether 17 groups of Indians, which she frequently visited together with a soldier put at her disposal by the Ministry of Defense. These were evidently small groups of Pai Tavyteras that were living scattered, separated from their original communities.

The missionary claims that it took her two years to gain the confidence of the Indians, but the first of them moved into the colony about a year after the first contacts were made.

In 1968, Mision Norma managed to obtain an area of approximately 850 hectares of land for the indigenous settlement, in addition to a piece of 20 hectares for the

mission itself. The land was given free of charge in the name of Mision Norma, under the understanding that the Indians would be given individual plots. From the correspondance between Mision Norma and INDI/Ministry of Defense and the Institute for Rural Welfare (IBR), it seems quite obvious that Mision Norma went out of its way to run the colony in accordance with the Defense Ministry's ideology and policy in indigenous affairs.

According to the pioneer missionary of Eben-Ezer, the applications to INDI to obtain land were in fact formulated by the Director of INDI himself. We shall quote some examples from this correspondence:

"The unit (the 20 hectares occupied by Mision Norma) shall work with the assimilation of indigenous people in the area of Pedro Juan Caballero" (letter to IBR, 27.03.68, the same words used in the answer of the same date).

"This petition is formulated in the light of the present necessity, as a result of the intensive development of the area, which places the indigenous population in a constantly more precarious situation. The work of the mission will not give the desired results of assimilating the "aborigines", turning them into Paraguayan citizens, without the definite possession of the land. We know that this is the ideal pursued by the Government of this Nation. and to contribute to that end is our Christian purpose". (letter from Mision Norma to INDI, 3.07.68).

"This Department (INDI) would be very pleased if the application were given a favourable solution,, to pursue the work of acculturation on the said land." (letter from INDI to IBR, 5.07.68).

The consequent commitment to the Government's indigenous policy is also confirmed by the fact that an invitation from Proyecto Pai Tavytera to collaborate was turned down by Mision Norma. The project was presumably considered "too political", "putting the Indians up against the authorities".

In conclusion, it seems that Mision Norma in this project saw its task to take a direct part in the implementation of the Paraguayan Government's - after all quite controversial - indigenous policy. A particular aspect of the project is the way in which it has turned the Indians into private proprietors of land. The system of private property is traditionally unknown among the Pai Tavyteras, and, in fact, Eben Ezer is the only Pai Tavytera colony up till this date with private property. There is no doubt that this unfamiliar system of property to a large extent explains the serious organizational problems of the colony (see 5.4.2). It is claimed by some of the missionaries that the Indians want the land as private property, and that this is something that belongs to civilization.

In 1972 and 1973, NORAD gave the project an investment support of altogether almost NOK 1 million, NOK 585.700 for the settlement scheme and NOK 407.000 for the health centre with housing facilities. The planning for these investments seems to have been rather precarious and haphazard.

In the original planning of the project, the Mission apparently had the assistance of an agronomist and a saw mill expert, both Paraguayans. It was pointed out to the team by several missionaries that there was considerable disagreement within the mission concerning the appropriateness of the selected equipment from the very start. And looking back on it now, it is quite obvious that the equipment was highly oversized and not very suitable for its purpose. This is particularly the case regarding the agricultural equipment and the saw mill. The lack of use of this equipment is further discussed below.

5.4.2. Socio-economic and socio-cultural characteristics of Eben Ezer

The origin of the colony is quite different from Paso Cadena. Eben Ezer is not an old settlement. The families moved to the colony in order to get land. Therefore the community as such was created artificially through the

settlement scheme implemented by the Mission. The majority of them are Pai-Tavytera, the largest ethnic group among the Guarani. We registered only one "mestizo" living in the colony, but even in this case his mother was a Pai-Tavytera and his father a Brazilian mestizo. Many of the Indians did not come from existing communities, some of them had been working on private farms or in the colony for the Mission.

Although there is a lack of accurate records in the Mission, we found out that many families stayed a few years and afterwards they moved back to where they came from or preferred to join some older communities. The information is not very clear regarding the number, but we calculated that almost fifteen families left the colony in different periods. Even now not all the plots are occupied. There are seven empty plots in Eben Ezer. Why they are not distributed can be explained in many ways, but we believe that the main reason is the present struggle of the Pai-Tavytera to secure the titles to the plots they actually occupy in Amambay and Concepcion provinces. The main cause for migrating was the wish to get their own plots. In the situation of a rapid expansion of the agricultural frontier, a similar process to the one described for Alto Parana, many Pai-Tavytera lost their territories and many of them were working as casual or permanent workers in the big estates that developed in the seventies. Like in Alto Parana the same process of depletion of the rain forest in Amambay and Concepcion occurred. This new situation created a disequilibrium in the traditional socio-economic system based on hunting/gathering and subsistence agriculture. Simultaneously, with the colonization process a regional labour market was developed. The Pai-Tavytera constituted a reservoir of labour that was rapidly integrated as casual workers on the estancias (farms) or in the Brazilian colonies. As regards the existence of different economic strategies, the same observation made for the Ava-Chiripa is valid for the Pai-Tavytera. We found that in spite of each family receiving a plot of 15 hectares not all of them exclusively depend on subsistence and/or commercial agriculture. Even now, and surprisingly enough

taking into account the original project, many families depend on cash incomes earned as rural labourers in the local or regional market. At the same time, the presence of tartago, a perennial cash crop, in the colony has created an internal labour market for "changas" (daily piece work). A better description of the agricultural system may be found in the next section.

5.4.3. An analysis of the political and religious organization

We cannot consider Eben-Ezer as a traditional political unit, as a community, as a "tekoha". The colony is an "agglomeration" of families coming originally from different places. The first and most important change in Eben-Ezer is the idea of private property introduced through the colonization project of the Mission. For Pai-Tavytera traditionally and even now in all the tekoha existing in the area, a "property" (xe m ba'e) is not associated with private property. The land of a tekoha must be owned communally (ojeporu va'era). The right to cultivate common land is a divine right. Therefore, the land is not a commodity, the Pai-Tavytera cannot sell or buy the plot they use in a given tekoha. The Mission with its plan has drastically changed this custom, introducing a new concept of private property associated in the area with the Paraguayan culture and with the laws of the national society.

Therefore, a second difficulty has arisen in this new context. The tekoha is maintained through a religious and political leadership. The tekoha is a creation of God. The religious leader (tekoaruvixa) is the main person in charge of religious ceremonies of purification, he is the moral guide of his community. Traditionally, the religious leader delegates his political authority, his "military" right to some members of the community. It was easy to notice that Eben-Ezer is now in a profound crisis of leadership. This is openly admitted by the missionaries.

There is a traditional religious leader who has been unable

to function as such in a very effective way. He is defined as a "traditionalist" and his general attitude confirms this statement made by various informants. He is living symbolically in the last plot located at the end of the colony. In the original plan this plot was to be kept as land for pasture. He received another plot about two kms away from it. He works it but he lives in the other, near a small river, with a difficult entrance. In our conversation he said that a religious leader cannot function in Eben-Ezer because there is no community. He still refuses to send his children to the primary school because, he argues, a Pai-Tavytera does not need to be literate in order to keep his ethnic identity. He said that the school does not teach how to work the land or how to work it better and the children are not socialized in accordance with the traditional moral values of his culture. His wife, a very talkative and dynamic woman, agreed totally with her husband. Since his moral and religious authority has become weaker, he recently organized a revolt against the political leader elected in 1982. It is interesting to remark that in spite of his difficulties as leader he still is in charge of many rituals. He particularly organizes the initiation ritual of the young boys of the colony. This ceremony "mita pep" is the feast of feasts among the Pai-Tavytera.

Obviously, given this situation, the missionaries observed that they were in need of a valid "mediator", a "broker" who could function as the political leader of the colony. In May 1981 a young "encargado" was appointed. He was not elected democratically and, furthermore, he was the only "mestizo" (defined as "the Brazilian" by other members of the colony). We can imagine that he had several advantages from the point of view of the Mission: he was the protege of one of the missionaries, he was able to speak Spanish and he was, without any doubt, a very dynamic and intelligent farmer. Many problems arose as could be expected. The main problem is precisely the way the missionaries, even now, visualize a separation of religious and political leadership. They never thought in terms of keeping or strengthening the "traditional" leaders, on the

contrary, the new leadership could be an aspect of the inevitable modernization of the Pai-Tavytera.

Following the policy of modernization in 1982 a cacique (chief) was elected. The election was democratic. The new Cacique was the uncle of the "encargado". This faction succeeded in mobilizing his supporters and the other faction did not present a candidate. During many months after the election both the Cacique and the "encargado" (the "Governor" as many Indians ironically called him) tried to establish a "traditional" system of authority. It was a period of "revivalism" but unfortunately in an artificial and very conflictfilled context. They intended to go back to traditional exchanges of labour, the "mingas", and they even tried to implement a plan for going back to the communal system of land tenancy. Because they did not have a traditional religious leader backing them in their activities and plans, serious conflicts appeared in the colony. A revolt was organized by the religious leader and the Cacique was removed, but only after he attacked and wounded a person with his revolver, (it was then confiscated by the missionaries). In the process of resistance these two factions were consolidated. The main consequence, now very easily seen, is the existence of a split community. The Indians promised that they would elect a new Cacique this last January but this has not been done yet.

We can conclude that the contradiction existing between private property and tekoha is acute and condition the process of division and conflicts in Eben-Ezer. This is mainly due to the fact that many of the activities which are regulated by the traditional religious leader are non-existent in the community. However, in our discussions we noted anxiety and fear because there was no religious/political leadership. In the vacuum created, a Paraguayan colonist, living very close to the colony, a converted militant Pentecostalist and a previous adult-teacher, has emerged as the mediator, the broker, between the colony, the mission and the regional system.

Our feeling is that many of the Indians prefer this situation in order to avoid new conflicts. We believe that because the resentment between the religious leader and the old Cacique is so deep, an agreement on a third "neutral" person can be the short-term solution. But this alternative again implies that the traditional solution will be postponed.

The conflicts in Eben Ezer have created a situation in which witchcraft can be the main result. The "encargado" mentioned to us that in the colony there are persons throwing "paje". This meant that there are "paje vai", persons practising sorcery. If this belief spreads and there is no powerful and prestigious religious leader who could effectively use his knowledge and expertise against "paje vai", the tensions and anxiety can be accelerated in the very near future. We believe that Eben Ezer needs a reconstitution of the traditional leadership as soon as possible. This could be done only if a real tekoha is recreated, and, perhaps, for this solution it is now too late. This indicates to us, without any doubt, that the colonization process from a sociological point of view has been a failure.

The process of division affects, at the same time, the reproduction of the traditional medicine. Without a religious leader with general support, the curative practices can not be implemented. Furthermore, the idea that the evil spirits are the main cause of sickness still persists. Besides, this cultural trait, does not enter into open conflict with modern medicine. To recognize in some cases the efficiency of modern medicine does not imply that the overall conception of the causes of diseases changes completely.

In order to summarize our findings we can conclude by saying that once the social conditions that could make Eben Ezer into a Pai-Tavytera tekoha have been removed, the hope of developing a peaceful and harmonious community is an illusion. The problem in this project is not only an "ethnocentric" point of departure but, mainly, the lack of

consideration of the sociological consequences of a private, Paraguayan or, perhaps, Norwegian colonization program. An "illusion", even a good one, cannot be realized without at least, accepting a minimal part of the social and cultural context of the Pai-Tavytera. Romanticism can be found not only among some social anthropologist claiming that the Pai-Tavytera cannot be changed but also among some missionaries pretending that secular culture can be totally changed.

5.4.4. Agricultural activities

5.4.4.1. Natural resources

The colony is located in an area of 837 hectares, some 1.000 meters away from Route 5, which links Pedro Juan Caballero and Yby-Yau. The surrounding forest has good wood species. Before the colony was established at the site, the best trees had already been removed, particularly the Lapacho trees, which give very priced wood both for export and for domestic use.

Since the property is quite large, there were still many trees available when the Indians first came. This is proven by the fact that many were taken to be sawn at the mission's sawmill or to be sold to others.

At present, the trees available are good for domestic use, particularly for rural buildings.

The soil in the colony is characterized by being a very sandy red soil, and the woods play a very important role in protecting it. When the woods are cleared, this type of soil suffers badly from erosion because it is left without support. The colony has a main road which, due to the feature of the property, (the highest section in the middle and the slopes towards both ends) sometimes becomes a real river. This carries away great portions of soil from farms which have been cleared at one end of the plots, along the

road (see map). Once the rain is over, the road is ruined and sandy pits are left.

Even though this soil has sufficient depth to grow various root species, tubers and citrus tree, it is very important, we can almost say fundamental, that the soil be worked along contour lines since, otherwise, the fertility which was good at the beginning becomes non-existent in two years. This is evidenced in the yield of crops which, in some cases, is reduced by 50 percent.

The property being used by the indigenous colony has the Yby-Yau river along one of its borders and a small brook along the other. The quality of the water is good, but since the colony is divided into plots, only some of them have an easy access to the natural sources of water, whereas those living on plots further away must walk a long distance to bring home water for their use. This explains why the plots located in the center have been occupied recently, whereas those nearer to the water sources have been occupied for much longer and, in some cases, they have already been occupied by a second family after the first occupant abandoned it.

There is practically no wild life at the site any longer, since the colony is very close to Yby-Yau, a town which has been there for many years, with 4.000 inhabitants. Therefore, the Indians have no possibility of hunting, except for minor game which means very little for their family economy.

There is not sufficient water in the streams to have engage in fishing.

5.4.4.2. Agricultural and forestry situation

Each settler has an average of 2 to 3 hectares of cleared land. These plots were cleared by hand; therefore, the trunks and roots are still in the soil, which makes mechanization by animal-driven implements impossible.

Agricultural work is carried out by hand.

There are some Indians who have more than 3 hectares of usable land and, in rare cases, 7 hectares may be used by one of the Indians.

Clearing was carried out along the two sides of the main road, which was opened with a bulldozer when the work of settling the first Indians began.

There are low areas with natural grass towards one of the ends of the colony, bordering the Yby-Yau River. Some Indians who have big animals, mainly horses, are at present stationed here.

The colony has a total of 49 agricultural lots and 2 triangular shaped lots at one of its ends. At present there are 40 lots settled by Indians, and there is one lot which will be the site for the school and the cemetery and another one which has been kept for a natural reserve or park. The remaining 7 lots, plus the two triangular-shaped lots, are kept for future fenced pastures for animals in the section bordering the Yby-Yau stream.

A large part of the cleared area is cultivated, though not in good condition. Taking an average of 2 to 3 hectares per settler, there should be at the colony 80 to 120 cultivated hectares. According to estimates carried out by qualified informants, the total area cultivated is around 90 hectares, which means an average of 2.25 hectares per indigenous settler. There are approximately 3 families, however, who do not work the land due to health problems, whereas 15 families have cultivated more than 3 hectares, even reaching a maximum of 5 to 7 hectares in some cases.

Since the organizational system of the colony is based on individual parcels, each Indian works his assigned plot, and there are no plots for co-operative cultivation. Cooperation among neighbours has occurred, however.

A few plots which had recently been burned off were

observed. Most of the crops are planted in the first areas which were made available, and the negative effect caused by erosion can already be found here.

The Indians of this colony have traditionally grown manioc, beans and maize. These three crops are found in most of the plots, maize and manioc occupying an area of from 1/4 to 3/4 hectares. Beans, instead, are grown in small patches or together with other crops such as maize or spurger; in some cases, both beans and the Brazilian bean are grown on small plots of from 2.000 to 3.000 square meters, close to the homes.

As the natives of the colony are already experiencing the effect of a very strong market economy because they have their own lots and are very close to an important population center, the crop which is most frequently planted in the colony is spurge (*Ricinus spp.*). This is a purely commercial product, which has no use whatsoever in the homes and which is only produced for sale. There are approximately 40 hectares of spurge, which means an average of 1 hectare per family. There are some Indians, however, who have as much as 2 hectares (approximately 7 families) whereas others have only 1/2 hectare. The spurge tree is a rather high shrub, semi-perennial, which yields seeds that must be harvested by hand. The seeds must later be peeled and cleaned before they are sold. This is the crop which is continuously providing small amounts of income by the sale of 100 to 300 kilograms of spurge at a time, since it is harvested the year round.

There are also some banana plantations in the plots of an approximate total of 5 hectares. They have also grown 5 hectares of sweet potatoes, together with the spurge, and 4 hectares of rice, spread out in small parcels of 1/2 hectare in some cases.

Tobacco planting for use at home reaches a total of 1 hectare, and also sugar cane; both crops are grown on small plots.

In 1979 they grew on an experimental basis 2 hectares of pepper with little success.

Except for spurge, all other crops are used mainly for subsistence; although in some cases they are used as exchange for labour of others who work on spurge planting for settlers who request it. When an Indian is in need of money, he also sells his subsistence crops, mainly Brazilian beans, common beans, maize and banana.

A good number of domestic animals were found in this colony, namely hens, ducks and pigs. This is mostly where the Indians work their respective farms more intensely and do not work away from their homes, so they can feed and take care of their animals.

Since the colony has not had a chief so far, there have occurred some undisclosed hen-stealing. Some of the Indians do not think this is important because they say it is the wild animals from the woods, and not the neighbours, that steal the hens.

It was found out that one settler has had cattle, but he was forced to sell them. At present he has only one cow, the only one in the colony.

For a rural family, owning animals means to a certain extent being established, whereas selling an animal which cannot be replaced is a sign of impoverishment. The same can be said about the purchase of animals for food, such as hens or pork, for it implies having a permanent source of income. This leads the Indian to work as a rural labourer, neglecting his crops and the raising of animals. Both situations were observed among some of the Indians of the colony.

5.4.4.3. Technological know-how

To grow self-subsistence crops such as manioc, beans, maize and sweet potatoes, the Indians follow the same practices

as those of their ancestors. Unlike the other indigenous communities which have the possibility of rotating the crops, the settlers in Eben Ezer cannot do this because they already have their own plots, and cannot use other plots. Therefore, they are more in need of adopting new production systems or else the yields will grow smaller and smaller. This forces them more and more to enter the market economy, for if they have little production for their subsistence they must go someplace else to work as rural labourers.

They also have some new crops for subsistence, such as bananas, rice and Brazilian beans ("feichao"), in which they use the know-how they have learned from the farmers at the site, particularly when they have worked at the neighbouring farms of Brazilian or Paraguayan settlers.

Spurge is the main cash crop in the colony. This is the source of small but continuous income for the Indians, who can thus have money to buy indispensable food items without a need to go work as rural labourers.

Growing spurge requires practically no care or knowledge. This crop has negative features from the agricultural point of view, since it quickly harms the soil by using up nutritious elements. It is also an invasion crop because its seeds easily fall onto the ground, spread out and grow quickly. When one wants to change the crop or stop growing spurge, this has already turned into an entangled weed which is very difficult to clean.

Due to these features, this crop only requires making a piece of land available for planting, then sowing and hoeing 2 or 3 times the first year; harvesting comes as soon as it blooms and forms seeds. The next years only hoeing for weeds cleaning is needed, which many do not even do because the spurge will continue yielding at least something for sale. Those Indians cleaning the rows of spurge, plant other crops in the middle, particularly maize and sweet potatoe.

Harvesting is carried out by picking the seed by hand and then peeling them. We found that one of the settlers has a machine for peeling the seed, manually operated.

There is not one cart in the colony; therefore the spurge seeds must be carried on the shoulder to the road, or some other means of transportation must be hired.

Raising animals is carried out naturally, with no special care. There are some well-kept Dutch-bred cows in the Mission which supply milk for the sick.

5.4.4.4. Technical problems of agriculture and livestock

Problems related to adaptation and know-how: The colony is made up of Indians who have come from various places. Some had been working in private establishments as peons and others were brought from surrounding Indian communities, but all of them say that they came because they wanted their own plots to work the land individually. This new way of life - each one owning his own parcel and therefore having to make an effort to work it the best way possible - created a marked individualism among the Indians in the colony. This is against their traditional way of living, making it difficult for them to adapt. They are trying to organize the colony according to the patterns of their ancestors but, on the other hand, they say that they have their own lots and so the traditional way is not possible.

This raises a number of conflicting situations, and the only alternative is gradually to adopt the new way of living, mostly imitating the customs and working system of the neighbouring settlers.

Working as rural labourers vs. taking care of the farm: Some 20 families are found in a situation where they continuously have to go work away from their farms. The fact that they have their own lots, however, forces them to

leave someone to take care of the house, and it is only the head of the family who goes to work as a rural labourer. If they abandon the house, they run the risk of losing their animals. This group of Indians does very little farming because they have no time to do the work required. Therefore, they are permanently dependent on working for wages.

While the Indians cannot satisfactorily produce the required amount of food for their subsistence, they will have to depend upon other sources of income which, in this particular case, means working outside the farm. A way to break out of this situation must be found by all means. At the beginning of the colonization, an attempt was made to provide them with the indispensable goods for living for a period of 6 months, but it was not successful because instead of an aid, it turned into a leisurely situation of food received for nothing.

Working as rural labourers vs. scheduling and storage of seeds: At this colony there is no problem to get seed for growing spurge since, as stated before, this is not edible and the seeds spread out by themselves turning into a thicket rather than a useful crop.

Since the natives are located in their own lots which they work together with the whole family, they easily get seed for other crops to grow the next year. What is meant is that those who were not careful to store seed, can get them by just working at a neighbour's farm. In this way, even to get seeds the situation of depending upon wages prevails, generating a situation of differentiation among the Indians themselves - those who have no seed must work harvesting spurge in the plots of those who can contract their labour.

Marketing problems: Marketing of the spurge is done through two local buyers who have their warehouses in Yby-Yau. Those Indians who are growing a larger amount of spurge have begun to obtain small credits from these intermediaries, mainly for the basic items of food such as flour, sugar, yerba (Paraguayan tea), meat and other. This

credit is enlarged in as much as the natives meet their obligations for payment and gain the confidence of the intermediary, but at the same time the area of spurge planting must also be enlarged since this is really the guarantee for granting credit. In view of this situation, the prospect for selling this crop under the best terms are very limited, and the Indians have to agree on the price established by the intermediary. The same is true about the prices for other crops such as beans, maize or Brazilian beans when the Indians need to sell them.

5.4.4.5. Conclusions

The organizational system of the Indians has been taken into consideration in both colonies, in order to view the agricultural problems from that point of view. The impact is greater at Eben-Ezer due to the pattern of individual lots followed in this colony. Helping them through giving them seed has not been successful as expected because the help did not include understanding and integrating with their own customs. The effect was that of charitable help rather than the driving force for the development of the community.

National society effect

The change in the way of living of the Indians and their increasing relationship with the neighbouring people, more aggressive and stronger than the Indians, bring into the colonies a number of new ways and customs, some good and others untimely, such as the marketing issue or working away from their farms as labourers. If we add the internal conflicts between traditional groups and "modern" groups, the effect of the situation is still more harmful.

Integration

At the Paso Cadena colony it is clear that the missionaries have made an effort to understand better the customs and problems of the Indians, and this is probably due to the fact that the missionaries have worked very hard and for a

long time on the Indians' behalf seeking a fair solution to the issue of the tenancy of land. At Eben-Ezer, however, the Indians settled "their own lots" and the relationship was more one of assistance from the beginning, and not an effort to explore much into identification with the Indians. Here, the task was viewed rather from the point of implementing the colonization programs.

Agricultural work

So far the task of both missions in developing an agricultural system to meet the needs of the Indians has had little relevance. It is rather letting it develop under the same ways and systems as those of the neighbouring colonies, without considering whether it is good or bad. Assistance is given in the form of suggestions which are not always practicable nor practiced.

5.4.4.6. Recommendations

- The first step must be to interpret and understand the customs and needs of the Indians, in order to find together with the Indians themselves, the systems of organization which they believe will be useful for them. This requires a lot of patience, and it must meet the overall consensus of the inhabitants of the colonies. The missionaries or other groups of specialized people with experience in working with the Indians must actively participate, since the same work and production conditions coming from old tradition cannot be maintained, nor can the value of the Indian systems of organization be ignored. Little by little a pattern must be set, which may maintain the fundamental principles of the Indians and, at the same time, not make them confront the surrounding national society in such a way that they feel like misfits.
- Co-operative work is basic within the custom of the Indians. The "Minga" (common exchange of work) has almost always been practiced, either by the whole community or in most cases among family nucleus. This alternative must be studied thoroughly as the starting point for facing future

work plans with the communities. The religious leaders and the chiefs must be taken into account in seeking to solve this problem.

- Plans for agricultural production must include a substantial increase of subsistence crops. Manioc, beans, sweet potatoes, maize, rice and Brazilian beans among others are agricultural items which the Indians know how to grow and which do not require the use of modern know-how. Good levels of production can be obtained without major problems using their present knowledge, but, as stated before, first priority is the problem of organization of the colony.
- It is also possible to work out with the Indians some programs for maintenance and storage of food products. This can be done as a community plan and, for this purpose, the organization and unity of the colony again plays a fundamental role.
- Raising animals may be feasible once the problems caused by the need to work as labourers and the lack of subsistence crops. In this respect, not only the food for the family's needs may be grown but feed for domestic animals. The problem of a place to raise and keep the animals may be easily solved once the previously mentioned inconveniences are overcome.
- The cash crops which may be introduced in the Indians' colonies must first be seriously and objectively studied. Many times, instead of solving the problems, the practice may cause new problems such as the use of an expensive technology, the dependency relationship with the market in relation to prices and systems of trading, and the production systems which it may cause, such as contracting outside labour.
- The arrangement of the colonies in individual or collective lots must meet the real desires and customs of the indigenous community. A decision in this regard must closely conform to other features of the life of the

Indians, such as their religion, culture, organization, new ways of living; and it has to be planned with a view to the future, taking into account that the aim is to contribute somehow to solving the overall problems of the indigenous people.

5.5. Health activities in Paso Cadena and Eben Ezer

5.5.1. General

The health center in Paso Cadena and the Eben Ezer Hospital are both located within the Norma Mission area, and very close to the established colonies. Paso Cadena is approximately 25 kilometres away from Atakyri village, and 45 kilometres from the town of Presidente Stroessner. Presidente Stroessner town has well-equipped hospitals and laboratories, and is consequently an important point of reference when it comes to the professional medical work in Paso Cadena. A private practitioner has recently established himself in Atakyri. This comprises all there is of modern medical service in this extensive zone.

Eben-Ezer is situated 3-4 km away from Acaray village, some 70 km from the towns of Pedro Juan Caballero (to the east) and Concepcion (to the west). The two towns have hospitals and laboratories while the village has not had a professional doctor until 1983. This doctor is presently working at the Eben Ezer hospital on behalf of the Ministry of Health.

Mobility in these zones is rather difficult due to the poor condition of the roads and the intense rainfalls that sometimes hit the area and leave the roads closed for weeks.

When it comes to property, the center in Paso Cadena consists of 2 wooden houses of 80 m² and 50 m². The first house has a medical surgery, a school-room, a storage room for medicines and a small room which is used for accommodation for staff who have to stay over night in Paso

Cadena. The other house serves as a residence for the assistant nurse. The center is very poorly equipped compared to the Eben Ezer hospital.

At the moment there are two Norwegian nurses working at the center. In addition a nursing auxiliary with several years' experience has been recruited, but she still lacks formal preparation for this job. Consequently all seriously ill patients or patients with illness that require complicated laboratory tests have to be transferred to Atakyrú and Presidente Stroessner.

It must be said that in this precarious situation concerning medical assistance, the traditional healers (Pai shaman) play an important part with their efficient treatments of psychosomatic illness and their use of plants and herbs for a variety of illnesses. The missionaries in Paso Cadena recognize the value of traditional medicine and encourage the indigenous people to keep on consulting the Pai Shaman. For their part the Pai Shaman look on modern medicine as a supplement to their own empiric medicine. The missionaries who work in Paso Cadena have long experience in working with the indigenous population in Paraguay and show knowledge and comprehension and even admiration towards certain parts of the indigenous culture and way of life.

The Eben Ezer project is much more extensive. The project was planned and presented to NORAD in 1973 based on the precarious situation of the approximately 10 000 indigenous people in the area. It was presented as a project integrating colonisation, agricultural services, and healing and preventive medical service. There is not much information available as to project plans and analysis of the indigenous population's situation. NORAD accepted the project and financed by a 100% investment in the following properties and equipment:

- The manager's residence

- Garages and storage rooms

- Electric plant
- Tools and machinery for agriculture and forestry
- Clinic/Maternity Clinic/Dental center
- 2 residences for professional staff

In addition, support to prepare the terrain for agricultural activities. The project was inaugurated on the 3rd of March 1975 under the presence of the Minister of Defense.

The total sum of investment came to 1.000.000 NOK. The health project constitutes 40% of the total sum. The hospital or clinic covers a surface of 400m. The clinic has 6 beds for internal patients, a medical surgery with office, a nurse's room with a small surgery, laboratory, dental surgery and storage rooms.

The NORMA mission has not been able to make full professional use of this infrastructure. Until January 1983 there has been no doctor working with the project. Any illness in need of medical treatment has required urgent transfer to Pedro Juan Caballero or Concepcion. Usually the hospital has been under the care of two professional Norwegian nurses, assisted by a Paraguayan nursing auxiliary. This auxiliary was granted a NORAD scholarship to complete her professional education, but due to family matters she left the hospital two years before graduating. The doctor who presently works in Eben Ezer works on behalf of the Ministry of Health as part of an agreement (which has still not been negotiated) to nationalize the hospital. (See point 5.5.3. below.)

The missionaries recognize the lack of professional recruitment, and it is the evaluation team's opinion that this is mainly due to the lack of coordination within the NORMA mission's administrative and organizational system. The lack of technical implementation and the

over-dimensioned facilities has resulted in only 50% of the bed capacity being used in the years of the most intensive care, and an average of 15% from the initiating years (1975/1976). There are no statistics from 1977 and 1978.

Because of the lack of a permanent doctor in the vicinity of the center, the capacity of internal beds has mostly been used for births and post-natal treatment, and for tuberculosis patients in the initial stages of treatment with daily injections.

The dentistry equipment has not been used much either, due to the lack of an agreement with professionals. The use of these facilities as a polyclinic and maternity center has been more intensive. The following table can give an idea of the activity, although the statistics are not very accurately kept, and also there are no comparative data.

Year	Vacci- nations	Consul- tations	Interna- lized	Average days inter- nalized	Total days inter- nalized	Births
1975	-	2.000	36	7	813	22
1976	700	3.500	53	7	1.017	33
1979	947	2.900	82	16	1.320	42
1980	660	3.000	103	8	345	43
1981	610	3.000	103	8	254	45
1982	408	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	6

The project's residence houses are now being used as follows: The manager's residence is occupied by a

missionary family working exclusively with evangelization. One of the other two staff houses is occupied by another missionary family, where the wife, being a nurse, is in charge of the clinic. The other house is vacant or serves as a guest-house.

It is remarkable that the activity in Paso Cadena, in spite of not having such an infrastructure as in Eben Ezer, attend to nearly as many patients as the latter. (2.300 consultations in 1982). The vaccination programme in Paso Cadena is even larger, 2.600 vaccinations in 1982.

The health station in Paso Cadena usually attends to the patients who turn up in the mornings. The afternoons are mostly spent on vaccination programmes, follow-up treatment of tuberculosis or other consultations outside the missionary area.

Since the missionaries both in Paso Cadena and Eben Ezer live close to the centers, emergency medical attention is carried out day and night.

On the other hand the centers are left unattended when the missionaries have to leave the area. Because of this, the professional continuity is very low.

From the Government's side, no infrastructure for rural health exists. A project financed through the IDB (Interamerican Development Bank) is about to be initiated.

At the moment, the Ministry of Health disposes of only 1,7% of the total Government budget. Out of 2.500 physicians, 85% are in Asuncion (the capital), 13% in other towns and only 2% in rural service. (Data given by the regional Director of Health, Concepcion).

5.5.2. Preventive medicine

In the two projects, preventive medicine is defined as vaccination programs. Even though these programs have a

wide coverage, they are not co-ordinated with the official or semi-official programs. Rather, there have been conflicts between the Norma mission and other organizations with similar programs. As a consequence of our visit and interviews, we observed a more positive attitude towards co-ordination and collaboration with e.g. the project "Proyecto Guarani" and "Proyecto Pai Tavytera" (see next point). The mission's projects seem to lack a wide vision of preventive medicine. Problems like water, education in personal and communitary hygiene, nutrition in relation to agricultural production, have not played a sufficiently important role in the implementation of the projects. This is our general impression, although we observed that brief courses in personal hygiene were made at the schools in mission congregations. In Eben Ezer, ten water wells had been made, improving the water situation of the residents considerably.

5.5.3. The question of nationalisation

Both in Paso Cadena and in Eben Ezer, the Norma Mission staff is conscious of the need to find solutions so that the health activities and facilities can be gradually transferred to Paraguayan hands.

In Paso Cadena the situation will be precarious from July 1983 when they will be without professional staff. This is an illustration of one of the Norma Mission's constant problems. Until to-day very little has been done to prepare national personnel to be in charge. The only case of this is the nurse at Eben Ezer who was educated by means of a NORAD scholarship, but who, for various reasons, withdrew from health work. It was obviously the intention of both NORAD and the mission that she would be put in charge under a national management.

In Eben Ezer, the presence of the doctor from the Ministry of Health has recently led to consideration of possible alternatives of nationalisation. In addition, the Ministry has immediate plans to build a new health center in Yvy

Yau. Since the beginning of the collaboration with the Eben Ezer hospital early in 1983, regional health authorities in Concepcion have expressed interest in integrating their hospital completely within the Ministry's structure, instead of making new facilities in Yvy Yau. This proposition, which was made to the evaluation team by the regional Health Director of Concepcion, Dr. Jose M. Galeano, is actively supported by the missionaries in Eben Ezer. As yet, there are no similar plans in Paso Cadena.

The support from the mission and NORAD to health work in Paso Cadena and Eben Ezer has always sprung out of the particular needs of the indigenous population. The main concern of the evaluation team has been to ensure that the present facilities will, after being nationalised, continue to give priority, though not exclusive service, to the indigenous population. Since valuable health work is being done among the indigenous groups by the Guarani and the Pai Tavytera projects, we thought it would be a good idea to know what the leaders of those projects thought about the nationalisation plans, and above all, in what way they would be able to collaborate to ensure that the special needs of the indigenous people are met.

For this reason we had several meetings with the people in charge of the two projects, as well as with the board of their mother organisation, la Asociacion Indigenista de Paraguay (AIP).

The responsables of these organizations assured us of their interest in the case. Due to the mode of their health work - being extensive rather than intensive, and to the limited administrative resources at their disposal, they did not consider themselves prepared to take the responsibility for the institution on their own. However, they would very much like to find a form for collaboration.

We also had conversations about this with the Co-ordinator for INDI, Lic. Maria Graciela Ocariz, and finally with Dr. Geladio Zelada who is in charge of the matter at the Ministry of Public Health and Social Welfare, as "Director

de Unidad Ejecutora, Proyecto de Extension de Cobertura".
The following proposal came out of these talks:

- that the hospital in Eben Ezer would be transferred to the Ministry of Public Health and Social Welfare, which would take the full professional and economic responsibility of the hospital as a Local Health Center.
- that an agreement will be negotiated between the Ministry, AIP, the Pai Tavytera project and the INDI, to ensure that the above mentioned project will have preference to use a further specified part of the facilities as a reference hospital for its health work among the indigenous population of their whole coverage area.
- that there will be established contact between the health center in Paso Cadena, the Guarani project and the regional health authorities, in order to find a solution similar to the one proposed for Eben Ezer.

Our impression is that all the involved parts, including the missionaries, agree to this proposal. The evaluation team recommends that NORAD as soon as possible gives the Norma mission the authorization to start negotiations concerning transfer according to the forementioned procedure, preferably with the active participation and presence of a NORAD representative.

There is also a great interest in whatever technical or professional assistance that could be offered in the field of tuberculosis. Taking into account the available resources in Norway that are not utilized, NORAD should study the possibility of giving a modest contribution to the valuable work against TB being carried out by the Guarani and Pai Tavytera projects.

5.6. Educational activities in Paso Cadena and Eben Ezer

The Norma Mission has not received economic support from NORAD for its educational work. For this reason, it is not up to us to make an in-depth evaluation concerning the educational activities in particular.

The Mision NORMA has founded two primary school to be use permanently by the child population of school age in the indigenous colony of Paso Cadena and Eben Ezer (Yby Yau).

The Mission NORMA has managed to get both schools legalized (they are "grade schools") and also economic support from the Ministry of Education for the salary of some of the teachers. Their similarity to the Government's educational system is quite clear, since both schools follow the contents of the Official Program for Primary Education. objectives of Paraguayan educational policies, it becomes just another instrument in the integration-assimilation of the indigenous population into the creole and urban culture.

At the moment the Mission has very little capacity to provide an alternative educational practice. Its personnel, creole and indigenous, does not have resources to challenge the adaptation to the official programs. Although the school program is a praiseworthy effort, it should welcome constructive criticism. The intention with this program has been to serve the indigenous population. In reality, it seems to serve a purpose and school practice alien to the values of the indigenous culture. We believe that up to now the Mision Norma has not considered this seriously. We know that there are some attempts at the Ministry of Education to develop an indigenous educational program but its scope is limited, and it is practically experimental.

The projects "Proyecto Guarani" and "Proyecto Pai Tavytera", however, are making certain efforts in order to prepare a more culturally adapted program of education for the indigenous population. It is recommended that Mision NORMA also in this field establish collaboration with the said projects. This would mean that more attention is paid

to the ethno-linguistic characteristics of the education and teaching, and to a broader concern for the particular problems of the indigenous pupils.

lots has been cleaned, it would be possible to make use of the rest of the agricultural machinery.

5.7. Problems in the use and administration of resources in Eben Ezer.

The original project planned to integrate the use of the installed equipment. In that sense the work of the bull-dozer was central for the implementation of the agricultural project. While the bull-dozer cleared the trees, the wood would be taken out, the sawmill would be working and afterwards the lots would be cleaned. Once the lots has been cleaned, it would be possible to make use of the rest of the agricultural machinery.

We believe that the model was that of a big agro-industrial enterprise like those that were started in Paraguay during that period. The first serious problem that this scheme met, was the type of ground existing in the settlement. That is, light erosion of the soil, as mentioned in the description of the agricultural activities. The second great problem was that the "settlers" who moved into the settlement were not Brazilian or Menonites but Pai-Tavytera. Their responses were not "dynamic", they did not expect to receive the lot totally cleaned. The third big problem was the sawmill. There were problems in making it function, there was loss of energy and time when starting it. This meant that the original plan had to be changed and that problems were cropping up. Problems were acute due to the lack of qualified personnel among the missionaries in charge of the following tasks: controlling the clearing of trees, starting the sawmill, guaranteeing the colonization and beginning with the work of agricultural extension among the "settlers". Due to the rotation of the missionary personnel, all this became impossible to implement. The person that designed the project, probably realizing the

problems involved, left Paraguay to attend a course in technical agriculture in Norway. During her absence the bull-dozer was sold and with that the original plan was modified and finally came to an end. Obviously, without this machinery it made no sense to continue thinking about a rapid clearing of trees. It was also impossible to use the purchased agricultural machinery efficiently.

Later it was decided that one of the two tractors must be sold, and the strongest tractor was chosen. Even the mission's own land was never taken into full use. This could be seen by how much the tractor was used. One may calculate that a rational use of a tractor, including operation expenditure and amortization, would be 1000 hours per year. In fact, the tractor was used for about 10 years and it only worked 5500 hours, which is an average of 350 hours per year. The plough, the harrow, the seed drill and the sprayer hardly ever left the barns. The tractor was mainly used for transporting wood, and is at present being used to bring products to the colony.

The problems increase if we take the sawmill into account. The main problem was to put it into use. This took a while because there was an unevenness in the rails that obstructed efficient work. The equipment had to be dismantled and installed again, which meant some months' delay. Once it was installed again, it was noticed that the motor was not sufficiently powerful and that a stronger one would be necessary for a better utilization of the saw. Once the initial problems were solved, the sawmill functioned efficiently for more than two years.

For the last three years, however, it has not been functioning due to some imperfections. Another problem is the incapacity to repair it and find a person who can be in charge that has enough technical knowledge and who is trusted by the missionaries.

We shall look more closely to what happens in the sawmill. The original idea with the sawmill was that it should produce planks for housebuilding in the colony, and after-

wards be used for other purposes. Once installed the problem was where to get wood. It was decided that three logs would be taken from each settler's lot and likewise from the empty lots. The Indians say that the wood was taken away as payment for the lots or to pay for the registration and measurement of the settlement. The missionaries presently living in Eben Ezer, two of them having stayed there also at an earlier stage, knew nothing about this "payment". We have received information from 26 of the 40 heads of family and we were able to confirm the following:

- a) In many cases more than 3 logs were taken away, in some cases up to 6 and even 9 logs.
- b) There are concrete accusations that in the empty lots more than 3 logs were taken away, in one case 22 logs were taken (it was reported to the missionary in charge of the mission during that period).
- c) the person in charge of the sawmill, a Paraguayan who was at the time a member of the Pentecostal Church, told them that he would give back the wood already cut for their houses or that he would pay them in cash or with tools and in kind.

The Indians maintain that they were never given the planks nor the money or tools. We were able to verify that there is only one house made of planks in the settlement and that two were given beams for the roofs. In addition, many received material quite unsuitable for industrial use. We consider this to be a serious problem.

In order to resolve our doubts we made an analysis of the budget of the sawmill and the account books. The major registered activity in the sawmill was in the second part of 1978, 1979 and the rest of 1980. The accounts show that during that period the sawmill had debets of a value of 2.425.000,- guaranies. These debets were for the remuneration of workers, maintenance of equipment and the purchase of some tools and machinery. There is no registered purchase of wood in the accounts. During the

same period the accounts shows revenues from the sale of wood of the value of 2.600.000,- guaranies - resulting in a surplus of 175.000 guaranies. Also there was transferred from NORAD (according to account books from Eben Ezer) the sum of 4.400.400,- guaranies (the total during 1978, 1979, 1980) of the operational contribution granted to the agrarian and health programs. The volume of wood that represent the amount registered and which is entered in the accounts is calculated according the price in wood of the different years. It is thought that between 180 and 200 logs were taken out of the settlement without or giving other compensation to the settlers being paid or given other compensation.

In the conversation we had with the person who was in charge of the sawmill during part of this period nothing was clarified but he confirmed that wood was taken away from the settlement but that some was bought as well (these casual purchases were not registered in the books). He insisted that only 3 logs from each lot were taken as payment and when more were taken, the settlers were either paid or given planks. This version is in contradiction to that given by the Indians. The fact is that the houses were not constructed, and if we accept the hypothesis that all the planks received were sold to other people, the question to be asked is the following:

- if the main aim that justifies the purchase of the sawmill is the construction of houses and communal installations and buildings, how is it possible to explain that this was not done?
- why was not the implementation of the original plans not checked?
- Why were measures not taken against the misuse of the sawmill?
- Why was there no check that only 3 logs were taken from each lot?
- Why was there no immediate reaction when it was observed that there was no purchasing of wood but that, nevertheless, the sawmill was functioning and working regularly?

The only explanation is that the missionaries did not establish efficient mechanisms of inspection and that all the responsibility was given to the people in charge of the sawmill.

It is obvious that confronted with this situation, the Indians are at present disappointed and very sad. They have the feeling that their wood was used improperly. We have confirmed that, at least, the original plans were not implemented. Therefore, if in the future it is decided to put the sawmill into work again, the least that can be done is to fulfill the promises made of constructing houses and attached rural installations such as yards, drinking trough for animals, etc.

The subutilization of the physical capacity installed was also possible to observe in the case of the hospital as emerges from the evaluation already presented. As we have indicated due to the lack of sufficient technical personnel, both as regards doctors and dentists, the hospital functioned only at 50% of its capacity during the period of more use, and at 15% during other periods.

In Eben Ezer 3 houses have also been constructed for:
a) Director of the hospital; b) person in charge of the agricultural project and c) for other staff of the hospital.

During the period of evaluation, the houses were occupied in the following way: a) Missionary/Priest of the church; b) Missionary/person in charge of the agricultural project and his wife, the nurse in charge of the hospital, and c) vacant.

This shows clearly the following:

- 1) The original project suffered from "giantism", it was unrealistic in terms of technical personnel and the capacity of response of the Indians.

- 2) The necessary measures were not taken to correct in time the planning mistakes.
- 3) There was no continuity in the work of the different missionaries that during different periods were in charge of the overall project.
- 4) There were no efficient control mechanisms for the work of the Paraguayan personnel.
- 5) There was no adequate follow-up of the activities of the sawmill in relation to the original plans. In any case we consider that it is a moral duty of the project to put it to work again so as to fulfill the promises given to the Indians: to make the houses.
- 6) As the bull-dozer was sold before any work was done in the farms which are full of trunks and treroots it is impossible to plough, harrow and sow.

At the moment, the plough, harrow and sprayer and the other equipment included in the project are not being used. Moreover, they will possibly never be used in the settlement because lots of the Indians are not prepared to do so. On the other hand, the use of all the machinery implies a high degree of organization and use of technology by the Indians. Maybe it would be a bit rushed to persuade them into this form of production until they themselves can develop a solution to the most elementary problems such as wages, subsistence farming, the preparation for production, and the identification of their own organizational models for the labour. Due to all this we recommend that all the machinery be sold except for the tractor.

- 7) That efficient channels of information are established between NORAD and the project as regards the follow-up and the use of the resources invested. Many of those problems could have been avoided if this had been done efficiently.

- 8) That NORAD pay more attention, in the future, to studying the feasibility of similar projects. According to our view NORAD has not proceeded with the efficiency and professionalism that should be expected. if the planning of the project was rather rushed, there was also on the part of NORAD a certain thoughtlessness in accepting it.

6. COMPLIANCE WITH NORAD'S PRINCIPLE OF NON-DISCRIMINATION

Any non-governmental organization obtaining financial support for development projects, has to comply with the following principles:

"Financial assistance is provided only for activities which benefit the local population irrespective of race creed or religion".

6.1. The question of political discrimination.

There is no evidence of discrimination according to political attitudes in the evaluated projects. Although we conclude that a distinct political inclination may be observed in both projects, this does not seem to have any repercussion as regards political discrimination of individuals seeking assistance from the project.

Another matter of course, is that the mentioned political inclination may have created a distance between the projects and radical political groups and individuals. This has been observed in both cases. But this phenomenon cannot be associated with political discrimination.

6.2. The question of ethnic discrimination.

No racial or ethnic discrimination has been observed concerning the services offered through the evaluated projects. The positive discrimination inherent in the selection of indigenous peoples as special target groups is fully legitimate, although there are cases where non-indigenous groups complain about this. Another question of course, is whether this special target groups have in fact been reached by the projects. Although there are variations, on the whole it may be concluded that this seems to be the case.

6.3. The question of religious discrimination.

No intentional religious discrimination, excluding people with other beliefs than the mission, has been observed. On the contrary, it may seem that the missionaries in many cases are even more interested in providing social services for those outside their own church, this being of course, a channel of contact with potential converts. Anyway, the number of converts is so low, that the projects would have no meaning if they were limited to them.

Religious pressure on the beneficiaries of the social services may to some degree be said to have been observed. This is not so much a question of how it is intended by the mission itself, but more of how it is perceived by the target groups. The Santal Mission, surprisingly enough much more than the Pentecostal Mission, tends to link the religious activity very closely to the social services (see chapter 4.). Although it may not be intended to be a pressure it is in fact frequently interpreted in this way. This also seems to have prevented certain groups from using the services of the Santal Mission in Ecuador. A similar phenomenon was not observed as regards the Pentecostal Mission in Paraguay.

7. EVALUATION OF THE TWO PROJECTS IN RELATION TO THE ASSUMED ADVANTAGES OF SMALL-SCALE VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS

7.1. Knowledge of language

7.1.1. Santal Mission in Ecuador

It was noted that practically all the missionaries, husbands and wives, had a remarkably good knowledge of Spanish. This is probably to a large extent explained by the fact that most of them have spent a year in Costa Rica or Bolivia studying Spanish prior to their arrival to the field. The mother tongue of the principal target group, the indigenous population, is Quichua. It is the team's impression that the large majority of the Quichuas understand Spanish quite well, and that the majority also are able to express themselves in Spanish, although their mastery of the colonial language obviously is limited. For project personnel working in Canar, mastery of Spanish is therefore an absolute necessity in order to carry out a meaningful task. Knowledge of Quichua would of course be an extra, and not at all negligible, asset. It was noted to the team's satisfaction that 2 - 3 of the Norwegian missionaries were able to understand and/or speak Quichua quite well. One of the missionaries, Mr. Kåre Eidem, has even done pioneer work, preparing an extensive Quichua-Spanish dictionary on the basis of the local Canaris variant of Quichua.

The team was informed that the Santal Mission has made a decision of principle that those working among the Quichuas should speak Quichua. It is not to be expected that this principle will always be adhered to in practice, taking into consideration the extremely limited number of non-Quichua national mastering - or even having any limited knowledge of the indigenous language. It might have been an advantage, however, to have a higher percentage of

Quichua-speakers among the national personnel. It was noted that none of the physicians linked to the project speak Quichua and only two out of five auxiliary nurses do. Members of the Mission regretted very much that NORAD had rejected supporting language training financially. Although the team does not know NORAD's motives for doing so, we fully support the view that such training should be supported by NORAD, keeping in mind both the absolute necessity of Spanish and the great asset Quichua would be, and, not least, the impressive dedication with which the missionaries have studied language.

7.1.2. Pentecostal Mission in Paraguay

Most of the Pentecostal missionaries also had a fairly good command of Spanish. In order to work among Guarani Indians, however, this is not sufficient, as they understood practically no Spanish, and speak it even less. Guarani is evidently a difficult language to learn, particularly if one first has to learn Spanish (which is of course, also necessary). Two of the Norwegian Missionaries in Paraguay, in addition to a Paraguayan who is also sent from Norway, speak Guarani. The rest do not. There is no doubt that this makes it very difficult for them to communicate with the target population, without the assistance of an interpreter.

7.1.3. Comparison with NORAD personnel

As NORAD has no personnel working in Latin America directly, it is impossible to make any direct comparison. It is quite rare, however, that NORAD experts have any significant knowledge of languages other than English, although a quite limited proportion of the target population in many cases is able to communicate in the colonial language. In this sense, it seems obvious that the missionaries in the evaluated projects, are better prepared, and have invested much more time and energy, in the language preparation. This, on the other hand, also

illustrates the fact that from a linguistic point of view, and as far as direct contact with the target population is concerned, Latin America is by far a more accessible continent for development work than most African and Asian countries, where NORAD activities are concentrated.

7.2. Length of service and work dedication

It was evident from the team's observations that the time perspective of the missionaries' field work is by far much longer than what is normally found among NORAD experts. Being very often limited to the minimum two years among the latter category, it was quite frequently nearer ten years, and in some cases twenty, among the missionaries. It was quite illustrative to hear a couple of them express themselves in the following way: "As we have been here for only three years, we may not have sufficient knowledge of this or that". This fact seems to be a good indication of the very serious dedication to development work among the Mission personnel. This observation is also supported by the economic conditions described below, and by general qualitative impressions made by the team.

7.3. Knowledge of socio-economic and socio-cultural conditions

It is very difficult to measure people's knowledge of socio-economic and socio-cultural conditions without making quite extensive tests. This has not been done as part of the evaluation. It is further more difficult to decide how much knowledge it is reasonable to expect from the project personnel. The team is of the opinion, however, that substantially more such knowledge should be required in the case of a missionary doing development work than in the case of a "pure" technical expert. The reason for this is quite obvious. In the first place, the missionaries, in this case as in most other cases, are working in very direct contact with cultures extremely different from their own (in these cases among indigenous groups). In the

second place, the very development ideology of the missionary work to a large extent is explicitly based on the necessity of changing values, very often basic cultural values among the target group. This point of departure in the evaluation of the missionaries should not be understood as an underestimation of the cultural influence through a "pure" technical project. It is our impression that technical experts in general are very poorly prepared in this respect before they start working in developing countries, and that this fact often leads to very serious difficulties.

It is not unreasonable to expect that the missionary staff of the evaluated projects have better knowledge of this type than an average NORAD expert, taking into consideration the much longer time perspective of their assignments. However, the team's impression is that the missionaries still had an unsatisfactory acquaintance, in Ecuador as well as in Paraguay, with socio-economic and socio-cultural aspects of the country, the regions in which they were working, and particularly with the indigenous population of the area.

This is also true, particularly in the case of Ecuador, both as regards knowledge and even more, consciousness of political conditions and structures of popular organizations. It is strongly felt that more should have been done to train and make the missionaries aware of these extremely important aspects prior to their assignment, or, at least, during their stay in the area. This is particularly noteworthy when compared to the strong - and positive - emphasis that is given language preparation.

7.4. Living conditions of the missionaries

It is difficult to make a quantitative and objective comparison as regards the living conditions of the missionaries. The following table can give some idea of the facts, even if they are not very comparative:

Expert salaries of NORAD in Tanzania (according to data from United Nations the most comparative countries with Ecuador and Paraguay). (Everything in Norwegian kroner NOK):

Basic Salary	:	149.000
Supplements	:	95.000
Spouse	:	25.000
Total	:	<u>269.000</u>
Children	:	up to 35.000 for each child in school age
Loan	:	<u>up to 45.000</u> without interest

NOK 500 is deducted from the NORAD experts for the rent of their house. They have to buy their private cars, but they are allowed to make use of service cars.

The total yearly income of an individual missionary of the Santal Mission in Ecuador constitutes approximately NOK 13.800. A typical family of 2 adults (both spouses are considered missionaries in full service) and two children between 5 and 10 years, will have a total income of approximately NOK 30.000. Additionally, housing, car and all medical treatment is free. (The figures are calculated on the basis of information from the Santal Mission.)

The system used in Paraguay is somewhat different given that missionaries depend for the support on different congregations in Norway. But it is estimated that the average is equivalent to those given for Ecuador.

The missionaries that live in the countryside have houses which are humble but in good condition.

NORAD refunds NOK 50.000 for each working year of a missionary to supported projects. The missionary does not benefit from the surplus since this comes into the budget as the financial participation of the missionaries in the projects.

There is no doubt

that the missionaries have a very modest standard of living that allows them to be more easily accepted in the surrounding society and that they represent very cheap labour in comparison to the NORAD experts.

7.5. Flexibility and innovation

The quite unbureaucratic style of work of the missions, described above, no doubt give them more flexibility and adaptiveness in their field work. But, as we have seen, there is also a danger related to this. The lack of a professional planning approach opens the possibility of much haphazard planning and implementation of projects.

Regarding the question of an innovative and experimental working style, some of the same can be said. Potentially, these kind of projects could be very innovative. But the problem once again, is lack of professionalism. It is not sufficient to have good ideas if one lacks the professional capacity to carry them out.

Where NORAD projects may have assets because of a professional staff, the missions may have assets because of the staff's dedication and adaptiveness. It is a pity that those two sets of qualities are not more frequently combined.

7.6. Participation and decentralization

Within the missionary organization, the level of decentralization and field autonomy is no doubt very high. In the case of the Santal Mission, the missionaries in the field form a democratically elected body (Executive Committee) with a high degree of autonomy in relation to HQ in Oslo. The Pentecostals have another organizational model, which gives even more autonomy to the field workers. Each Pentecostal missionary is in fact only responsible to his/her congregation in Norway. The authority of the HQ in Oslo is in this case very limited, apart from the

co-ordination of contacts with NORAD. It was our impression that the contacts and coordination between the missionaries in the various projects in Paraguay is also very limited. This may undoubtedly create problems.

Quite another aspect of the question of participation-decentralization, concerns the relationship between the missionaries and the target population. On this point, the level of participation-decentralization is very low, with a possible exception for the local churches. The style of relationship with the local population, as we have discussed earlier, is highly paternalistic. The reasons for this has also been dealt with at length. This leaves little room for real popular participation in the projects.

7.7. Breaking through power structures, reaching the poorest

This is, in sum one of the major questions to ask in any evaluation of development projects. It is often assumed that small-scale, private organizations have better opportunities to achieve this than big bureaucratic governmental or multilateral agencies.

First, the question of power structures.

Both countries in which the projects are carried out, are characterized by rigid structures of economic, social and political power. The target groups are all suffering from these power structures, being exploited by those who control the structures. There can be little doubt that the major obstacles to profound, long-lasting and self-sustained betterment in the living conditions of these groups are of a structural character. Structural changes then, are needed in order to achieve such betterment. Such changes depend on the attitude and action of agents for social change.

In Ecuador, or more specifically in the Canar Area, a struggle for such changes is precisely the main objective of the peasant organizations. For this purpose, they have received a not negligible support from parts of the local

Catholic church and to some extent even from Government agencies. In stead of allying itself with these social forces, the mission has ended up in a situation of more or less open confrontation with them. Our impression of the Santal Mission's work in Canar, as pointed out elsewhere, is that its development efforts by and large are isolated, individualistic and quite irrelevant as regard the necessity for structural change. In Paraguay, much of the same observation can be made. The potentials for popular alliances are much less here, but those efforts that are made towards increasing the self-reliance of the Indians through community action have so far not been paid much attention to by the mission. On the other hand, an intimate alliance with the government agencies has - at least in the earlier phases of the projects - been sought. It should not be ignored that these Government agencies in part have been subject to very serious accusations regarding their policies towards indigenous groups, although not particularly towards those groups where the Pentecostal mission has been working. Altogether, any serious attempts to break through established power structures can hardly be observed in case of this mission either.

Do the projects, then, reach the poorest and those most in need of help? Yes, there is no doubt that the target groups of both projects belong to this category, and that they are reached by that form of assistance given by the missions. This is a form mainly characterized by charity rather than contribution to self help, a contribution to alleviate pain in the strictest Samaritanian way. Curative rather than preventive health work, quite unthoughtout education without conscientization are typical examples of this. Those projects that are geared to economic activities and agricultural settlement do not, as far as we have been able to observe, represent a point of departure for self-sustained improvement of living conditions, given their individualistic, non-communal character.

Our conclusion then, is that the two evaluated projects end up in the classical dilemma of most development projects:

the difficulty of helping the poorest groups into a real growth in a permanent and decisive manner that may do away with repression and poverty. The potential, assumed advantage of small-scale, private organizations has in this sense not been realized in these projects.

8. DIFFUSION OF VALUES AND DEVELOPMENT

8.1. Development and social change

Our starting point was to consider that all development projects imply a diffusion of new values. For example, in the case of health projects the diffusion of modern medicine means a new way of conceiving the causes for illnesses and the means to eliminate them. For the Eben Ezer project the new type of colonization implied a radical change in the way the relations of land property are defined. If we define development as the modification of the way resources are allocated and an increase in the general welfare of the population (health, education or simply economic welfare), the a problem becomes the contrast between development on one hand and deeper cultural changes on the other. It is clear from our report that, with the exeption of the case of Eben Ezer, the projects by themselves have not caused radical changes in the traditional values. On the other hand, we have pointed out that the projects of the missions are developed in a social and economic context characterized by a series of radical changes in the traditional way of assigning resources. The rise of the market economy, the ecological crisis, the forms of migration of the rural population and the processes of proletarianization are not, obviously, effects of the missionaries' actions. It is important to take into account that the activity of the missionaries is conditioned by the transformaties of the Ecuadorian and Paraguayan societies at large. Therefore, we believe it is necessary to plan th development within this process.

Consequently, we believe that the relevant question is the following: Is the project and ideology of the missionaries a counterweight to the capitalist development of the areas or, on the contrary, does it support such a development? To find an answer it is essential to take into account the two models of development previously mentioned: The model

based on the individual entrepreneur, in the differential responses to the incentives for change, or one based on the strengthening of the popular organizations and the types of communal control of the existing resources in the area. This is relevant given that both in Paraguay and Ecuador there exists non-capital-istic ways to control resources. That is, the cooperatives that were created through the Agrarian Reform on one hand, and the communal or tribal utilization of productive resources on the other.

Firstly, we must discuss the role of the missionary. The missionary, whether he wants it or not, whether he accepts it consciously or not, is an agent of change. The missions not only awaken expectations but also channel new resources from before non-existent in traditional societies. At the same time, the missionary and the missions play a double role: on one hand they are responsible for the development projects and on the other they are in charge of the diffusion of new religious values. Therefore the nature of the work consists of a basic ambiguity: what diffusion of values is to be evaluated, the secular or the religious? We can postulate that from the point of view of the missions it is artificial to separate these two spheres. The missionary accepts deprivation, a new cultural context, a new language, he moves away from his neighbours and friends, because in his work it is possible to integrate the development work and the salvation of the souls. The missions define the context of salvation as a symbolic sphere which is unoccupied and, consequently, open to a new religion which they represent.

It is possible for NORAD to separate the development work and the religious conversion. But it is not so for the missions.

8.2. Formal and informal separation in the use of resources

NORAD insists that the money granted to the missions must

not be used for religious work. In the evaluation we have tried to analyze how the accounts have been separated, that is, how the formal separation has been made, and how such separation has been attempted and/or achieved also in the indirect or informal sense.

In the case of the Norwegian Santal Mission in Ecuador, the account books and budget documents, the debets and credits as regards projects financed by NORAD, were clearly separated and gave an impression of order and administrative tidiness.

According to the 1983-budget the two projects under evaluation in Ecuador make up 5.315.000,-sucres, with 3.121.000 dedicated to the health projects and 2.194.000 to the student-hostel in Cuenca. The projects represent around 28% of the total budget of the Santal Mission in Ecuador. The contribution from NORAD has been decreasing in the last years as a consequence of the nationalization plan.

The form the account books and the budget work of the Norma Mission in Paraguay is very different. The informality and lack of a coordinated system of administration is reflected in the lack of precision in the data collected. There is no distinction, for example, between the evangelization work in Eben Ezer and the health project. On the other hand, the contribution of NORAD outside the initial investments has been limited to contribution for professional posts which did not require a rigid system of control and auditing as can be observed in Ecuador.

In the informal sense, however, it is obviously impossible in practice to achieve a total separation. There would always be superposition given that the missions and the missionaries cannot mechanically separate their roles. They do not function schizophrenically beyond their reality. In other sections of the report we have mentioned the direct use of installed resources and physical capacity for the religious work, and/or religious activities directly related to the social work:

- the religious service in the hospital at Nar immediately before beginning the medical consultations. Even if it is not the intention of the mission to exercise pressure on the patients, and even less to condition the health service on the basis of presence in the cult, it is precisely this way that many Indians understand it;
- the selling of Bibles simultaneously with the service of the mobile clinic;
- the strong religious pressure observed in the student-hostel of Cuenca;
- the use of cars destined for social work for religious purposes;
- the use of houses constructed for the staff of the hospital in Eben Ezer, for missionaries without responsibility for social work.

In some of these cases we have recommended that the missionaries must try to achieve better distinction. On the other hand, NORAD must, from now on, know that when supporting all development projects presented by the missions, it is at the same time indirectly supporting the religious activities. The simple fact that the support of NORAD contributes to facilitate the physical presence of missions and missionaries in a given place, should confirm this to everyone.

8.3. Mission and development model

We think that the work of the missionaries and their development model is determined by a group of factors: firstly, the ideology of the missionaries; and secondly, the religious practice itself. The missionaries believe, in general, that the religion they represent is the best mechanism to provoke fundamental changes in the conduct of individuals. The religious message emphasizes the need to stop drinking, to be honest and to save money and invest rationally so as to improve the existing standard of living. This is achieved individually. At the same time, it is important to keep in mind that the practice of

conversion is directed towards the individual actors, that is, the individuals are converted, not the societies or tribes as a whole. This religious practice reinforces as we see it, the emphasis in an individualistic model. Parallel to this, the religious practice is developed in a context where the actors have other beliefs. This is not explicit, it is obvious to us that the missionaries consider that the beliefs they represent are much more effective than the traditional beliefs, but effective in what sense? Effective for the development impact, for the development of a sense of individual responsibility that facilitates the advance of modern medicine or a better agrarian technology. This point of view necessarily implies the disappearance of the traditional way to conceptualize sickness or make use of natural resources.

This allows us to assert that the ideology the missionaries represent is, in the long run, an attempt to modify the cultural patterns and the forms of social organizations that exist in the societies where they work. This, on the other hand, is the ideology of any development projects. We do not believe that this perspective is problematic if the objectives to strengthen the popular organizations and the forms of communal control are really the starting point of development work. But all development process based on an entrepreneurial model implies not only the destruction of forms control and solidarity, be it communal or tribal, but also the introduction of internal inequalities. It is in this sense that we feel obliged to analyze the problems of the missionaries' development activities.

ANNEX 1TERMS OF REFERENCES

for the evaluation of NORAD-supported development activities in Latin America carried out by private missionary organizations: The Norwegian Santal Mission in Ecuador and the Pentecostal Mission of Norway in Paraguay.

I BACKGROUND

Norwegian missionary organizations have since long received considerable financial support from NORAD to development projects around the world. In Latin America, NORAD has practically speaking no activity on its own, whereas several missionary organizations have been active.

On this background, NORAD has taken the initiative to an evaluation of NORAD-supported development projects of two selected missionary organization operating in Latin America: The Norwegian Santal Mission's activities in Cuenca and the Canar Valley in Ecuador; and The Pentecostal Mission of Norway's activities in Amambay and Paso Cadena in Paraguay.

II PARTICIPANTS, MODE OF WORK

Eduardo Archetti, Assistant Professor (team leader)

Jarle Kottman, Trained Social Worker

Juan Flores, Engineer, Social Promoter

Jesus Rios Maravi, Reverend

Andres Wehrle, Agro-Engineer

(Mr. Flores and Mr. Wehrle will only take part in field work in Paraguay, Mr. Rios Maravi only in Ecuador).

Vegard Bye, Evaluation Officer, NORAD, (serves as secretary of the team).

The team is supposed to spend approximately two weeks in each of the projects areas, scrutinizing the projects, interviewing project personnel, representatives or target population, staff of other development projects in the area, local, district and national authorities, etc.

On the basis of these observations, an attempt will be made to assess achievements and shortcomings of the projects. The team is invited to link the discussion of individual project achievements to some questions of principle regarding missionary organizations' development work among indigenous peoples. For the later purpose the team is expected to be familiar with the on-going discussion of such questions inside and outside of missionary organizations, as well as with literature on the subject.

III TASKS OF THE EVALUATION TEAM.

The evaluation team shall:

1. Assess the implementation of project activities compared to plans and objectives on the basis of which NORAD support has been granted.
2. Evaluate the actual and potential development effects -positive and negative- of the projects, including economic, social, cultural and ecological effects.
3. Assess the prospects for successful local take-over of project responsibilities, and ascertain if there is a tendency towards increased self-reliance and self-estimation in the target population.
4. Discuss to what extent the projects have been able to realize the assumed advantages of smallscale private voluntary organizations, like:
 - reaching the poorest, in spite of established power structures,
 - initiating participatory processes and decentralized

decision-making,

- giving the projects a flexible, innovative and experimental character,
- reducing bureaucratic constraints,
- reducing the costs in relation to benefits. In this connection the team is requested to report on the living and working conditions of the staff, their experience for work in developing countries, knowledge of language, length of service in the area or prospects thereof, etc.

5. Report on the use of NORAD's resources in the projects, particularly the relationship between development and other activities (religious, cultural, etc.).
6. Review the projects' compliance with NORADs principles for support to NGO projects, particularly the principle of non-discrimination regarding race, religion and political views.
7. Discuss the effects of the diffusion of values represented by the organizations in question on the intended development efforts of the projects, taking into consideration i.a.:
 - possible attitudinal barriers to development in the culture of traditional societies,
 - consequences for local resources mobilization of changing established cultural and religious values of target population.
8. Discuss -in general terms- the characteristics of the projects in question compared to grass root development work carried out by locally based organizations (e.g. catholic groups) in the same areas. The discussion should be focused on:
 - mode of work,
 - relationship to local population (particularly concerning issues raised under pint 7 above),
 - prospects for development impact (see 2).
9. Describe how the missionary organizations and their

projects are assessed by:

- the target population and their organizations and leaders,
- government and other political bodies in the recipient countries.

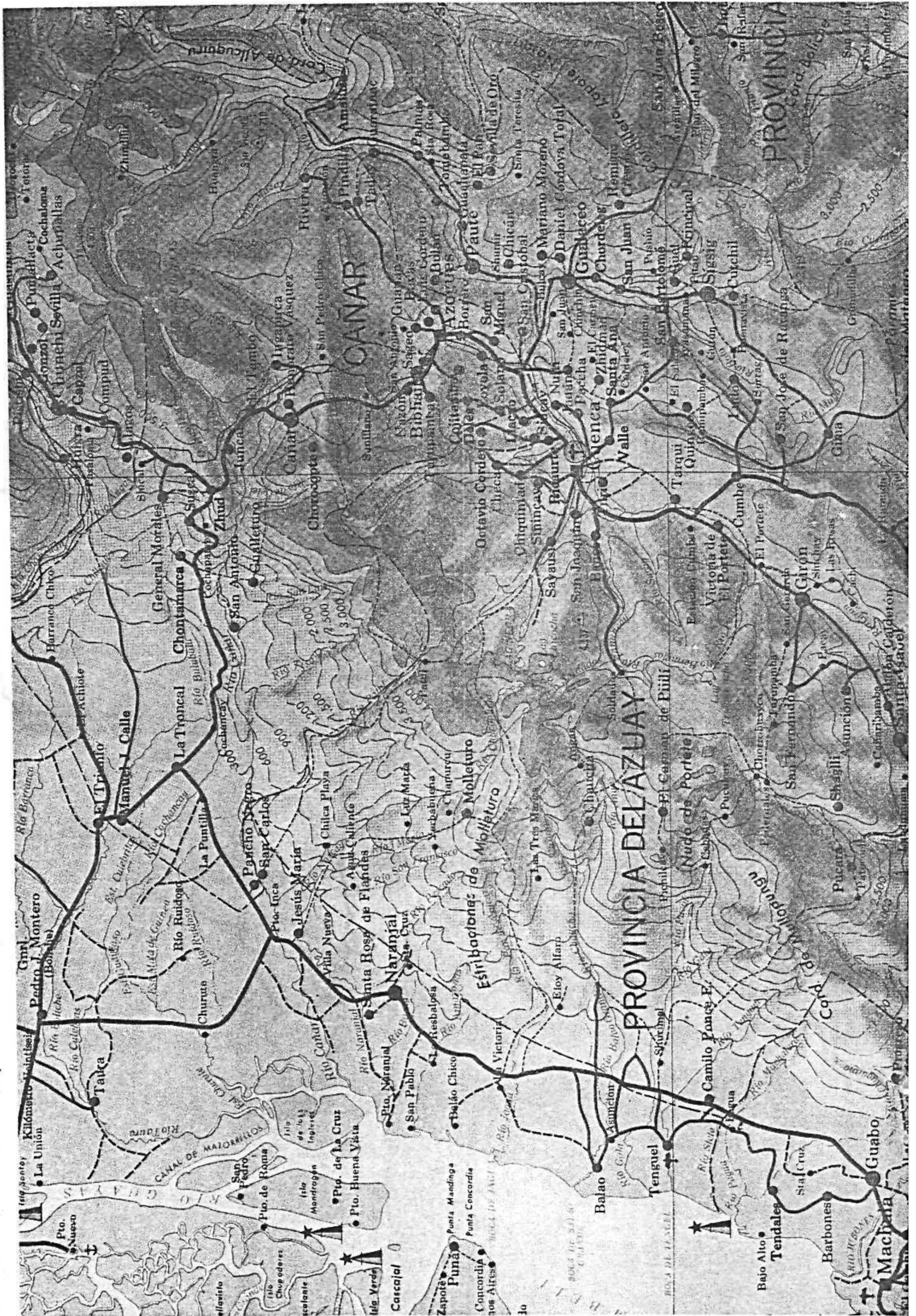
IV REPORTING.

A Draft Report containing the main conclusions and recommendations shall be agreed upon before the team splits up. The Final Report is to be submitted to NORAD within one month thereafter.

Oslo 07.01.83

Nils Vogt
Assistant Director.





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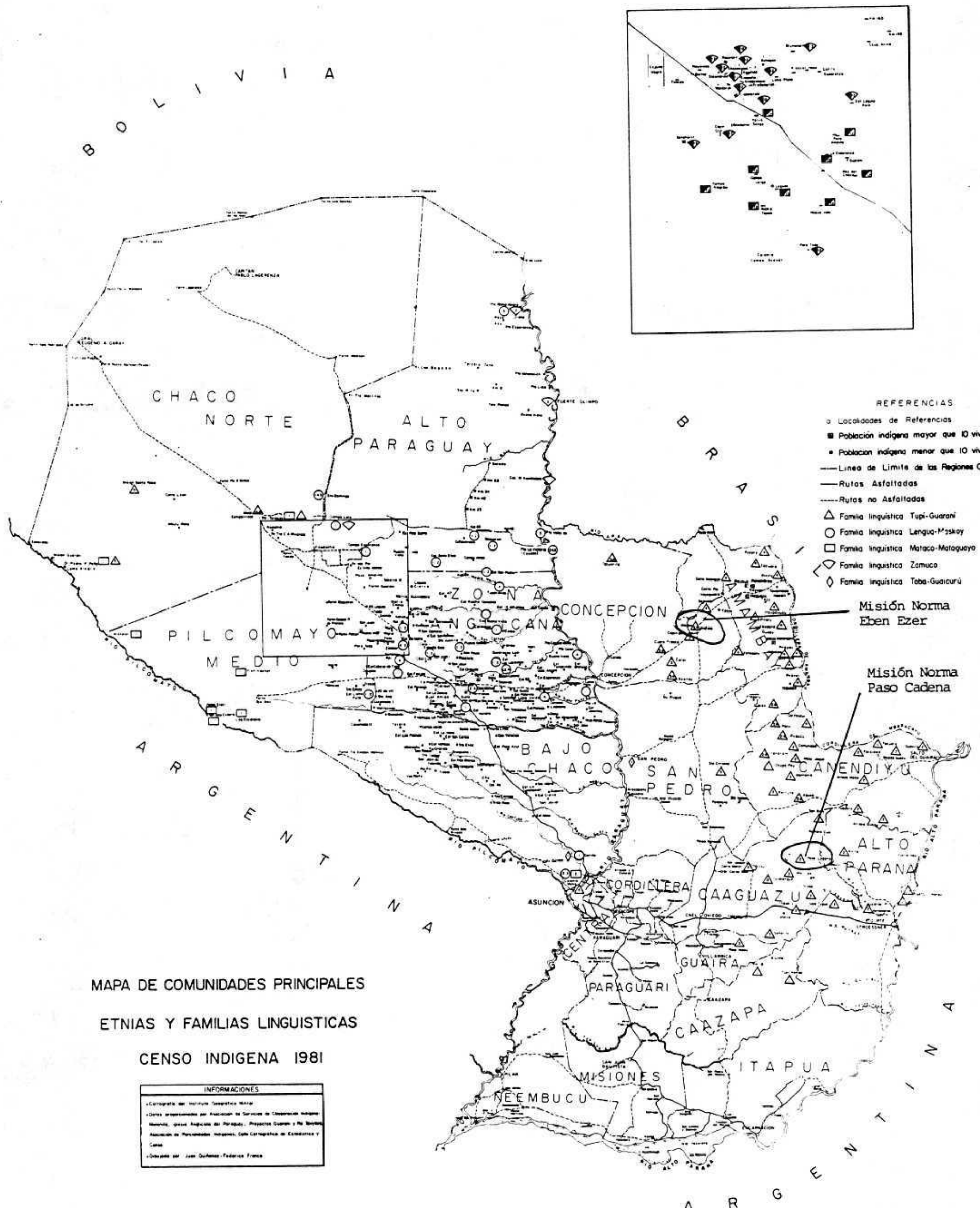
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MAPA DE COMUNIDADES PRINCIPALES
 ETNIAS Y FAMILIAS LINGUISTICAS
 CENSO INDIGENA 1981

INFORMACIONES
 - Cartografía del Instituto Geográfico Militar
 - Datos proporcionados por Asociación de Servicios de Cooperación Indígena, Misioneros, grupos Asociados del Paraguay, Proyectos Guaraní y No Guaraní, Asociación de Promotores Indígenas, Oficina Cartográfica de Estadística y Censos
 - Elaborado por: Juan Quiñones - Federico Franco

- REFERENCIAS**
- Localidades de Referencias
 - Población indígena mayor que 10 vivi
 - Población indígena menor que 10 vivi
 - Línea de Límite de las Regiones C
 - Rutas Asfaltadas
 - - - Rutas no Asfaltadas
 - △ Familia lingüística Tupi-Guaraní
 - Familia lingüística Lengua-Moskoy
 - Familia lingüística Mataco-Mataguayo
 - ◇ Familia lingüística Zamuco
 - ◇ Familia lingüística Toba-Guaraní

Misión Norma Eben Ezer
 Misión Norma Paso Cadena





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