

### 8.1.2. Strategical advantages

There are also a number of strategical advantages to be gained in long perspective. Any type of "nationalization", including Paraguayan Mestizo, will signify a limited effect of the project. If the project is indigenized, the effects may be *permanent*. For those Ava-Chiripá who are trained, and thereafter leave the project, education is still not totally lost as these people will use their education in daily life, creating secondary effects in the community, as they do not leave it, like the Mestizos, but live on there.

### 8.1.3. Economic advantages

In a short perspective, there are no economic advantages. Instead, there will be higher costs for the project during the educational phase - expatriate personnel, Paraguayan Mestizo educators, travels, etc. In the long run, there are a number of advantages, however, especially in the levelling of salaries and wages for the project personnel. When indigenization is complete, the project should be able to work without external support. This statement is based on the following presuppositions:

- \* education phase is over;
- \* all personnel are Ava-Chiripá Indians;
  - \* assistant teachers are recognized by the Paraguayan government through INDI;
  - \* assistant nurses are part-time nurses and paid by slightly elevated consultant fees;
  - \* project manager is identical with either the chief (cacique) or one of the sociopolitical leaders (líder) and partially recompensated by the community.

The community's economy, fortified by project effects, e.g. a cooperative, will also pay for transportation and some of the social work. The local church should be able to take care of the rest of that part.

To achieve these advantages, it is important that the goal of self-support and autonomy is clearly stated from the beginning, and repeated at each instance. When expatriates return, it is extremely important that they are never in charge of the project - but regard themselves as advisory personnel that supervise and encourage. To minimize working hours for those invol-

ved in the project, the work should be distributed as evenly as possible over a large number of individuals among the Ava-Chiripá. There are no shortcuts and therefore hard, and determined, work towards the set up goals is important from the very start.

Judging from the positive reactions from the Ava-Chiripá, the Norwegian mission has gained trust among the Indians, that creates excellent conditions for a successful project. This is dependent upon the involvement of the missionaries, however, especially on their ability to push local leaders and project personnel and work "backstage".

## 8.2. Suggested Changes of the Present Project in Relation to Ultimate Project Goals

In relation to the above mentioned project goals and present project activities we conclude that the development project of Paso Cadena is "nationalized" but not "indigenized" and that project costs remain high (estimated 250.000 Norwegian Crowns) while project effects are decreasing! At the moment, no Ava-Chiripá are employed in the project or engaged in any kind of training towards project positions (apart from elementary school training, that must be disregarded here).

The intentions to "nationalize" the project may be considered successful in one case, that of Mr. Velásquez, but as he is planning to leave, this is only in a very short perspective. As far as we could assess, he is not training any kind of personnel to replace him when he leaves. Thus, the launched "nationalization" process will in no case lead to indigenization.

Instead of, as now, placing the project organization in the hands of an administrator, it should be guided by the local community council (líderes and caciques from the two local communities). The project personnel should, as long as they are not identical with this committee, form part of that council.

In the long run, the economic responsibility should also be transferred to the community council. In a short perspective, this is bothersome and awkward, but, as mentioned above, this is the only way to self-support.

At present, Misión NORMA - in practice the administrator with the help of the Norwegian mission representative - is the ultimate head of all economic transactions. The two also take all decisions concerning project economy. After some reorganization, this responsibility should be transferred to the community council.

Now, the Paso Cadena school is guided and administrated by the school authorities - with much influence from the Mestizo headmaster. The Misión NORMA has a lot to say, but it seems as if they use that possibility to a limited extent. Here, again the Ava-Chiripá must be involved. First, a parent organization should be formed - if it is identical to the community council, that is no hindrance. Thereafter, the parents should be gradually initiated into the school work and take gradual responsibility. Until the bilingual system's advantages are clear to all the parents (there is strong propaganda against it), the mission should remain as a strong party of the school committee where the parent organization take an active part. Once the Ava-Chiripá have representatives among the teachers, and control the school board, the missionaries can withdraw.

The health work is guided in the same way as the other non-school activities within the project, i.e. by the administrator in co-operation with the mission administrator. Our recommendation is that the community council is involved here as well. It is important to bring in traditional authorities (notably the paí) as well as woman authorities (midwives and herbalists). This is a complicated process - but in the long run unavoidable.

Misión NORMA plays an important role at present ~~and must do so~~ (although in a fundamentally different way) for some time in the future. Misión NORMA is not to be considered a Paraguayan national organization of the receivers, at least not in the case of Paso Cadena, but as the local PYM organization. Therefore, Misión NORMA must alter its character, from being the local "Tío Rico" (the 'rich uncle' from the South American version of Donald Duck), who has a lot to say just because he manages the money, to becoming the active promotor of Indian autonomy and ethnodevelopment. For a calculated five to seven years, Misión NORMA must launch a broad educational programme - and simultaneously plan their withdrawal. All efforts should be directed towards indigenization, totally disregarding "nationalization".

The "trading partner" of Misión NORMA is the community council of Paso Cadena. Each missionary must find one to four counterparts among the Ava-Chiripá and give them responsibility from the very start. A number of mistakes will be committed, but the effects and accumulated experience will at least remain in the target group.

The mission buildings at Paso Cadena are presently owned by the Misión NORMA. A bilateral treaty should be established between the community of Paso Cadena and the Misión NORMA, stating that the houses will be transferred to the community during the realization of the project program-

