Union Wounaan Tribe Needs Assessment

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This study was conducted in compliance with international quality Standard ISO 20252 for market, public opinion and social research, to which EurekaFacts is certified.

Smart Research Solutions

Contents

Acronyms

Internally Displaced Persons	IDP
Internally Displaced Women	IDW
International Labour Organization	ILO
International Committee of the Red Cross	ICRC
National Liberation Army	ELN
Needs Analysis Framework	NAF
Norwegian Refugee Council	NRC
Proyecto Educativo Comunitario (Community Education Project)	PEC
Revolutionary Armed Forces of the People of Colombia	FARC
United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees	UNHCR
Unified Registry of Displaced Populations	RUPD
United States Agency for International Development	USAID
World Food Programme	WFP

Executive Summary

A needs assessment of the Union Wounaan, a displaced indigenous community in the Medio San Juan region of the Chocó Department of Colombia, was conducted using secondary research and key informant interview. The information gathered was mapped to the Needs Assessment Framework (Inter-Agency Standing Committee, 2007) constructs of Underlying Factors and Sector-Specific Factors, which influence the community's level of vulnerability, coping strategies, and capacities, resulting in excess mortality and morbidity, and a life without dignity. Based on this information, we provided a series of recommended approaches to working with the Union Wounaan, all of which are grounded in ethical and effective methods for working with highly marginalized and vulnerable populations.

Table 1: Highlights from the Needs Assessment of the Union Wounaan

Underlying Factors	Sector-Specific Factors	Immediate and Long-Term Needs	Recommended Approaches for Next Steps
Demographics: Total population approximately 11,000; Medio San Juan region has a current population of 2,100 people, of which one-third are under the age of 14.	**Basic needs:** Significant need for water security, access to shelter, and sanitation.	Immediate humanitarian response from NGOs for basic needs, human rights.	Conduct an on-the-ground investigation of needs and assets with an understanding of ethical considerations.
Governance: Currently lack formal leadership but receive aid from Catholic mission.	**Food security:** Many barriers to food security including soil fertility, climate, lack of seeds, inability to hunt/fish due to presence of armed groups.	Formal education to learn Spanish, agricultural practices; focus on women.	Community-based participatory research, Participatory action research approach.
Economic context: Most do not work or generate income. Limited access to agro- credit/finance.	**Protection:** Territorial and physical threats from armed para-military and traffickers, forced displacement, and violence conflict.	Registration with Colombian Unified Registry of Displaced Populations (RUPD).	Photovoice: Participant created photography, dialogue, examination of challenges and assets.
Socio-cultural context: Language: Maachu Meu, not fluent in Spanish. Traditionally patriarchal.	**Health:** Lack sufficient access to traditional or western medicine, contributing to child mortality.	Formal framework for preserving traditions, identity.	Asset mapping: Participatory geo-map needs for decision-making.
Environmental Context: The displacement area is hot, humid, and subject to flooding and damaging thunderstorms.	**Education:** Lack culturally-appropriate and resources in native language. Catholic church provides some education.	Land outside of flood zone for sustainable agriculture.	Participatory Rapid Appraisal: Mix of methods used to conduct ethical and effective research on marginalized communities.

Introduction

This report addresses the current social, political and economic situation of the Union Wounaan, an indigenous Colombian tribe located in the Medio San Juan region of the Chocó Department. The purpose of this report is two-fold. First, it is meant to document and assess the needs of the Union Wounaan given within the context of the armed conflict that has been occurring in Colombia for the last several decades and the group's status as an internally displaced indigenous group. To achieve this goal, the research team conducted primary (an interview with a community advocate) and secondary research (a literature review). Analysis of Union Wounaan needs is conducted using a Needs Assessment Framework and focuses on the tribe's basic needs such access to adequate food, shelter and clothing.

The second aim of this report is to provide potential approaches and recommendations on how one might conduct research with the Union Wounaan moving forward so that informed interventions can be implemented. This includes a discussion of the ethical considerations and concerns in working in marginalized communities, which EurekaFacts considers essential in any potential involvement with the Union Wounaan. This section focuses on Participatory Action Research (PAR), a research approach that emphasizes collaboration and community involvement. The report concludes with examples of PAR research such as Asset Mapping and Photovoice.

Union Wounaan Tribe

According to the United Nations Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement (2004), the definition of internally displaced persons (IDPs) are "persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obligated to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized state border."

For over 50 years, Colombia has experienced conflict and violence, resulting in the death of hundreds of thousands of people and the violation of human rights, as well as the internal displacement of millions of people (Ferris, 2014).

One such displaced group is the indigenous community of the Wounaan Tribe. The Wounaan historically lived with the Embera and Tule tribes in the region framed by the Atrato, San Juan, and Baudó river basins. The Wounaan, a nomadic indigenous group, follows similar social and cultural traditions as the Embera tribe, sharing a common language base. These tribes are organized into small, nomadic, jungle communities of collectors, hunters, and fishers (Colombia Ministry of the Interior, 2012). The Wounaan Tribe is spread throughout six regions within the Chocó Department, a Department in the western area of Columbia that shares its northern border with Panama: Baudó, Jurado, Rio Sucio, Bajo San Juan, Medio San Juan, and Valle del Cauca (Fig. 1). There are 34 Wounaan communities within these six regions, with a total population of 11,006 people. A distribution of the number of communities and population size per region can be found in Table 2 above (Colombia Ministry of the Interior, 2012).

Table 2: Distribution of Communities and Population Size per Region

Region	Number of Communities	Population Size
Baudo	11	3,021
Jurado	2	284
Riosucio	3	645
Bajo San Juan	9	4,654
Medio San Juan	5	1,985
Valle del Cauca	4	427
Total	34	11,006

As 19 of the 34 communities have been victims of forced displacement; Wounaan communities believe that paramilitary forces and guerrillas are the primary responsible actors for the displacement (Colombia Ministry of the Interior, 2012).

Figure 1: Map of the Wounaan in Chocó

Map of the Wounaan (blue) in the Chocó Department. Valle del Cauca is directly south of Chocó.

This report focuses on one of the five communities of the Wounaan Tribe located in the region of Medio San Juan of Chocó Department. They are known as the Union Wounaan Tribe. Originally located in the Darien region of Western Colombia, this nomadic community were displaced by conflict from 1991 to 2000. Community members fled to cities in 2005, becoming recognized as a displaced indigenous group by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) (UN Refugee Agency Bureau for the Americas, 2006). Six hundred members of the Union Wounaan Tribe were displaced for a total duration of four years in 2005. Of the 600 displaced individuals, most (550) returned to their community of origin in 2010; however, they are no longer nomadic (J. Serna, personal communication, June 6, 2017).

PHOTOGRAPH DERIVED FROM THE UN REFUGEE AGENCY BUREAU FOR THE AMERICAS "RESETTLEMENT," 2006

Purpose

The intent of this report is to document the needs of one of the five communities of the Wounaan Tribe located in the Medio San Juan region of the Chocó Department in Colombia, referred to as the Union Wounaan Tribe. The needs will be documented within the context of the armed conflict that has been occurring in Colombia for the last several decades. The continuing armed conflict(s) have resulted in the displacement of the Union Wounaan Tribe and deprived them of their basic needs that are guaranteed as human rights.

Methodology

Data Collection

The needs of the Union Wounaan Tribe were identified through primary and secondary data research. Primary data was collected through an in-depth semi-structured interview with Father John Serna from the Union Wounaan Tribe. For this research, we considered Father Serna a key community advocate based on his experiences with the tribe and based on his knowledge of the tribe, region, conflicts and current situation. Father Serna is a Catholic missionary in the Union Wounaan Tribe of Medio San Juan of the Chocó Department. He has been working full-time with the Union Wounaan community members for three years, after volunteering at the missionary and directly witnessing the needs as well as understanding the community's poor capacity in communicating needs. After an initial conversation with Father Serna by EurekaFacts CEO Jorge Restrepo to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the background of the Union Wounaan Tribe, four EurekaFacts team members facilitated a phone interview with Father Serna. Interview questions were first developed in English, after which they were translated to Spanish by two fluent Spanish speakers. A copy of the interview questions can be found in Appendix A.

Secondary data collection was conducted through a review of the literature on internally displaced populations, primarily in Colombia. Furthermore, an in-depth literature review was conducted on the indigenous tribes in Colombia, with an emphasis on the Union Wounaan Tribe. Most of the data regarding the needs of the Wounaan communities was derived from "El Plan Salvaguarda Etnico del Pueblo Wounaan," a document developed in 2012 through the collaboration of Colombia's Ministry of Interior and Wounaan indigenous authorities. This document serves as a plan to safeguard the ethnicity of the Wounaan Tribe. It describes the Wounaan context based on feedback received from 34 communities with a prevalence of Wounaan tribes through the Chocó Department (Colombia Ministry of the Interior, 2012). The Results section of this report highlight the findings from the literature review and are supplemented with information gleaned from the interview with Father Serna.

Method of Analysis

Needs of the Union Wounaan Tribe are categorized within the framework of a humanitarian emergency. According to the UNHCR Handbook for Emergencies (2007), a humanitarian emergency is defined as "any situation in which… life or well-being… will be threatened unless immediate and appropriate action is taken, and which demands an extraordinary response and

exceptional measures." Based on this definition and given the history and current circumstances, the Union Wounaan Tribe is in urgent need of humanitarian response and assistance, in order to maintain basic quality of life and protect the dignity of the displaced indigenous population.

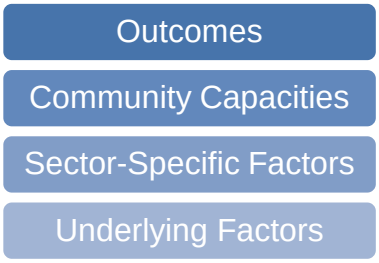
Analysis of needs primarily focuses on basic needs, as only such needs were identified through the literature review and the interview with Father Serna. The 1976 International Labour Organization (ILO) Definition of Basic Needs includes certain minimum requirements of a family for private consumption (e.g. adequate food, shelter, and clothing, certain household equipment and furniture), and includes essential services provided by and for the community at large (e.g. safe drinking water, sanitation, public transportation and health, educational and cultural facilities) (Ridell, 2004). According to Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs, basic needs, or basic rights as identified by humanitarian groups, include physiological and safety needs (McLeod, 2016).

The needs of the Union Wounaan Tribe are assessed and presented through the Needs Analysis Framework (NAF), a structure that helps Humanitarian Coordinators and Inter Agency Standing Committee (IASC) Country Teams with the organization and presentation of humanitarian needs in a coherent and consistent manner. The NAF was developed by the IASC in 2007 as a tool and guideline for documenting needs. The NAF documents the overall severity and magnitude of the crisis through the identification of the effects of a humanitarian crisis on communities (Inter-Agency Standing Committee, 2007). The NAF will be further described in the results section in relation to the Union Wounaan Tribe of Colombia.

The Needs Analysis Framework Methodology

The NAF organizes and presents existing information on humanitarian needs in a coherent and consistent manner; it provides a structure to systematically document findings. The various factors present in a typical humanitarian crisis, represented within the NAF model, are interlinked and connected. According to the NAF model, the effects of a humanitarian crisis on communities include excess mortality, excess morbidity, and a life without dignity. The community is at a risk of crisis and vulnerability when its existing coping strategies and capacities are overwhelmed by the effects of sector-specific and underlying factors (Fig. 2). Sector-specific factors, including access to basic services, foods and goods, and current knowledge levels and practices, can positively or negatively influence community

Figure 2: NAF Summary



A concise summary of the Needs Analysis Framework. An in-depth version can be found in Appendix B.

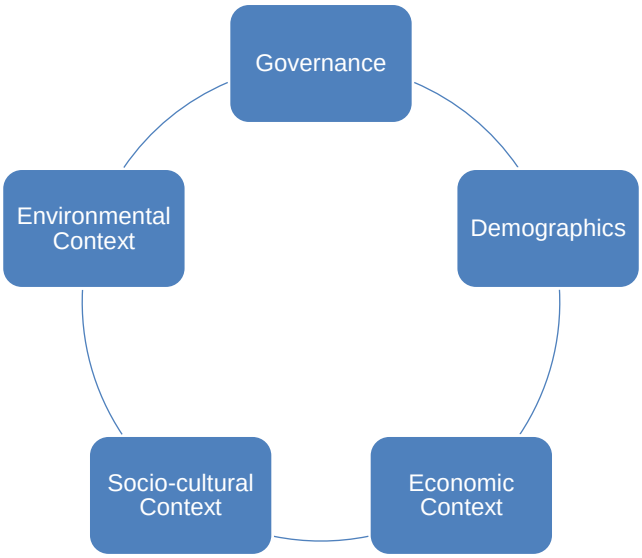
vulnerability. Underlying factors impact a community's risk to becoming a victim of crisis (Inter-Agency Standing Committee, 2007). The complete NAD model detailing the inter-linkages between different factors in humanitarian crises can be found in Appendix B.

Results

Underlying Factors

Underlying factors affect the risk that a community will fall victim to a crisis such as governance, demographics, economic context, socio-cultural context, and environmental context, as depicted in Figure 3 (Inter-Agency Standing Committee, 2007).

Figure 3: Underlying Factors in the NAF



The underlying factors in the Needs Analysis Framework.

Governance

Governance refers to the political environment surrounding and involving the affected persons during a humanitarian crisis. This can be characterized by examining the context and historic background of the current political situation, the functioning of government at all levels, and the current government capacity and its attempts to address the problem (Inter-Agency Standing Committee, 2007).

While the Wounaan communities are in constant territorial disputes with the Katio and Cuna groups, they are primarily threatened by the national armed conflict in Columbia (Colombia Ministry of the Interior, 2012). This conflict involves many actors, including state authorities, as well as leftist groups. The major actors include state security forces (e.g. army, police), guerrilla groups, paramilitary groups, and criminal gangs involved in the trafficking of drugs, weapons, and people.

Historical Context

The origin of the conflict is attributed differently by various individuals and organizations. Some believe that the conflict originated during the period of violent rivalry between liberals and

conservatives around 1948-58, known as *La Violencia*. Others claim that the conflict emerged during the 1960s with the formation of the first Marxist guerilla movements (Lawyers Without Borders Canada, 2016).

In 1964, prompted by the events that occurred during the Cuban Revolution, two major rebel groups, the National Liberation Army (ELN: Ejército de Liberacion Nacional) and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of the People of Colombia (FARC), were created.

PHOTOGRAPH DERIVED FROM ADVOCATS SANS FRONTIERES "THE INTERNAL ARMED CONFLICT IN COLOMBIA," 2016

In 1965, the Colombian government created paramilitary forces, or armed groups of civilians, to aid the Colombian military in their actions against the rebel guerrilla groups. Despite the formation of paramilitary forces as "self-defense" groups, starting in the 1980s, the paramilitaries became very powerful as a result of their involvement in trafficking and extorting of civilians who supported guerrilla groups. Throughout the following decades, the paramilitary groups, with the support from the police and the army, committed human rights violations, including forced displacement, sexual violence, murder, kidnapping, forced recruitment of minors, and torture (Lawyers Without Borders Canada, 2016).

The conflict has placed civilian populations in situations of vulnerability, causing many to seek refuge. As a result, over 200,000 people have been killed, of which 80% were civilians, and 6,827,447 were displaced (Lawyers Without Borders Canada, 2016).

Despite the decrease in the overall number of displacements and deaths due to unilateral and bilateral ceasefire agreements between FARC and the Colombian Army in recent years, systematic and selective attacks on indigenous communities continues. The paramilitary groups, seeing collective territorial rights as obstacles to securing control of the region, systematically use violence to instill fear among indigenous communities (Gruner, 2017).

Current Issues

These threats prevent peaceful self-governance of the Wounaan communities. Over three-fourths of Wounaan communities surveyed believe that displacement and human rights violations have affected Wounaan self-governance. The Wounaan communities have lost their autonomy and rights due to constant threats by external entities. According to twelve communities, autonomy loss resulted from the violent enforcement of laws by armed groups, threats to traditional tribal authorities, obstruction of negotiations between the Wounaan tribes and other organizations/entities by the armed forces (Colombia Ministry of the Interior, 2012). Before being displaced, the Union Wounaan Tribe of Medio San Juan was patriarchal; it was initially governed by a governor and a cabildo (a person with a lower position than that of the governor). The government served to maintain the indigenous culture and traditions. The presence of guerrilla and paramilitary groups, along with continuous violence, has interrupted the daily lives of community members and resulted in the death of three community leaders between 1991 and 2000. Today, the community lacks a formal structure due to absence of leadership and individuals in power. The tribe no longer feels secure due to guerrilla and paramilitary actions, and continued presence of these armed forces even after return from displacement (J. Serna, personal communication, June 6, 2017).

Certain measures have been adopted to aid prevention of forced displacement, and for assistance, protection, and stabilization of persons internally displaced by violence in Columbia. Law 387/1997 introduced a national public policy for the comprehensive assistance of the displaced population. Displacement due to urban violence was later added to Law 387/1997 by the Constitutional Court. In Colombia, access to aid and displacement programs for IDPs is contingent upon registration in the Unified Registry of Displaced Population (Registro Unico de Poblacio Desplazada: RUPD); aid is provided through a demand-driven approach, whereby displaced households are expected to approach government offices, declare themselves eligible

and become registered (Ibañez and Velásquez, 2009). Authorities responsible for registering victims in the RUPD often fail to register IDP status – it is estimated that a quarter of internally displaced persons in Colombia are unregistered – making access to the protection and assistance system established by Law 387/1997 impossible (Sanchez, 2013). Registered IDPs receive aid during the emergency phase for a three-month period, after which the family is entitled to assistance in the form of education, health, training, and support to carry out income-generating projects with a view of achieving financial stability (Carrillo, 2009).

As of February 2016, the government's official registry had 6.6 million victims of forced displacement (Visnes, 2016). IDPs not included in the RUPD are not entitled to governmental assistance, but can receive support from non-governmental organizations (Carrillo, 2009). A study was conducted in 48 Colombian municipalities and 21 departments to assess whether demand-driven approaches reach the entire displaced population. The study found that households did not declare their displaced status primarily due to lack of awareness of the benefits of registering for RUPD and the registration requirements, perceived difficulty of the procedures, and perceived uselessness of the declaration. A disparity between registration and receipt of aid was also found; although nearly 71% of IDPs were registered in RUPD, only 56.3% of registered households effectively received some type of governmental assistance (Ibañez and Velásquez, 2009). Wounaan communities are often unaware of Colombian legislation regarding the rights of indigenous communities and thus do not denounce illegal activities to the government due to fear of attack. Communities attributed irregular autonomous governance within the Wounaan tribes to lack of appropriated laws or existence of biased laws, lack of knowledge about indigenous legislation, and lack of knowledge and leadership ability among Wounaan community governors (Colombia Ministry of the Interior, 2012). For the Union Wounaan, the Colombian government does not attempt to address the needs of the Union Wounaan Tribe in Medio San Juan, as the Tribe is located at a very remote location, lacks current leaders, and is characterized by a language foreign to the Colombian authorities (MaachMaach meu) (J. Serna, personal communication, June 6, 2017).

International organizations also provide support to registered and unregistered IDPs. Such organizations include the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), which provides assistance for three to four months, and the World Food Programme (WFP), which provides assistance for four to six months (Carrillo, 2009). The Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) attempted to address displacement and emergency related protection gaps and humanitarian needs when the state was unable to fulfill its obligations, particularly in rural areas. In 2005,

NRC implemented Education and Information, Counselling and Legal Assistance activities in Colombia to assist IDPs. In 2011, NRC Colombia consolidated an internal capacity to ensure rapid education during emergency responses to massive displacements (Visnes, 2016).

Despite recent domestic measures and the presence of international aid in Colombia, the Union Wounaan Tribe is not receiving help from other national or international organizations. They have not worked with any partner organizations and communities (J. Serna, personal communication, June 6, 2017).

Demographics

There are 34 Wounaan communities spread throughout six regions of the Chocó Department of Colombia; 11 communities in Baudo (population size of 3,021), two communities in Jurado (population size of 284), three communities in Rio Sucio (population size of 645), nine communities in Bajo San Juan (population size of 4,654), five communities in Medio San Juan (population size of 1,985), and four communities in Valle del Cauca (population size of 427). The Wounaan communities have a total population of 11,006 people (Colombia Ministry of the Interior, 2012).

The Union Wounaan Tribe first occupied the Medio San Juan region 50 years ago and has a total current population of 2,100 people, of which 650 are children under the age of 14. The average household size of the Union Wounaan Tribe is roughly around six people per family. In 2005, around 600 people were displaced to urban areas, such as the capital city of Chocó, Quibdo. The Tribe returned to their community in the Chocó Department municipality of Medio San Juan in 2010; however, they are no longer nomadic (J. Serna, personal communication, June 6, 2017).

Socio-cultural Context

The Wounaan have unique socio-cultural practices and traditions. The Union Wounaan Tribe's attachment to their culture can be characterized through their attempts at maintaining and continuing language retention, religious practices, and indigenous traditions. An important aspect of the Union Wounaan Tribe is their language, *Maach meu* or *Woun meu*; community members are not fluent in the Spanish language. Additionally, Wounaan women are primarily responsible for keeping their indigenous traditions. These traditions include body painting and tattooing with jagua, a local fruit; practicing cultural and ceremonial celebrations; and public dancing and singing during prayers for Ewandam, a god worshipped by the Wounaan people.

Special skills of community members are acquired through other traditions such as basket weaving (J. Serna, personal communication, June 6, 2017).

However, recent political and social developments in Colombia have placed the Wounaan communities at a risk of identity loss and extinction. Over 90% of Wounaan communities surveyed believed that the Wounaan tribe was at a risk of disappearing physically or culturally due to cultural identity loss from Western cultural influence, human rights violations as a result of armed conflict, and the presence of multinational corporations within the communities. Other reasons for the risk of disappearance of cultural identity include Western education appropriation, globalization and recent technologies, lack of cultural transmission between generations, armed conflict that generates displacement, and influence of Western religions. For instance, the Wounaan language is threatened by external factors, including the presence of Afro-Colombian teachers, religious influence, media, and Western education. Community members surveyed stated that they attempt to speak in Maach meu to avoid cultural disappearance (Colombia Ministry of the Interior, 2012). Wounaan communities said that such armed conflict threatens sacred Wounaan sites, and results in destruction and desecration of sites, using them as shooting range practice sessions, psychological damage to the community, among other forms of harm (Colombia Ministry of the Interior, 2012).

Coping with forced displacement and resettlement has been particularly difficult for the Union Wounaan communities. The long-term resettlement phase of displacement, as currently experienced by the Union Wounaan Tribe, is typically characterized by modification of lifestyle (Singh, 2001). During and after displacement, families tried to continue their traditions and customs. However, the displacement has resulted in loss of unique traditional family structure, language, and culture. For instance, the Union Wounaan youth are no longer learning survival skills from elders (J. Serna, personal communication, June 6, 2017).

Over three-fourths of Wounaan communities surveyed believed that ancient tribal knowledge can be preserved through granting knowledge transmission, and approximately one-fifth believed that knowledge should be transmitted to young people for application. The recovery of Wounaan history is crucial for strengthening Wounaan identity, resisting against major forced society projects, and integrating Wounaan history to school curricula (Colombia Ministry of the Interior, 2012).

Environmental Context

The Union Wounaan Tribe used to live in a rainforest in the Darien region of Western Colombia, where men would hunt for birds; eat plantains, bananas and fruits; and then move to alternative locations to allow the forest to renew itself. However, in 1991, the Union Wounaan were forced out of the rainforest. That same year, the Colombian Government set up ten reservation districts in these locations of arid lands that have been deforested and on riversides of the San Juan River that regularly flood. Wounaan communities identified renewable and non-renewable natural resources (e.g. gold, oil, wood, fish, and water) that were exploited in their territories, resulting in environmental damage, as well as food insecurity, health risks, and loss of territorial control (Colombia Ministry of the Interior, 2012). Because of resource exploitation, the community can no longer be nomadic, as they lack access to jungle resources.

The community is currently located in the Medio San Juan municipality of Chocó. This region is characterized as hot and humid. Occasionally, there is flooding, as the area includes the San Juan River. Occasional thunderstorms cause the Tribe to lose their crops (J. Serna, personal communication, June 6, 2017).

Economic Context

Compared to the general population, indigenous communities in Latin America, particularly in Colombia, are at a socioeconomic disadvantage. Indigenous communities have a relatively higher dependency on agriculture as a sector of economic activity. This dependency on agriculture leads to an increased likelihood of working as unskilled laborers, as compared to non-indigenous communities in urban areas. Additionally, indigenous communities have smaller sizes of land than non-indigenous communities, which contributes to their limited access to credit and finance.

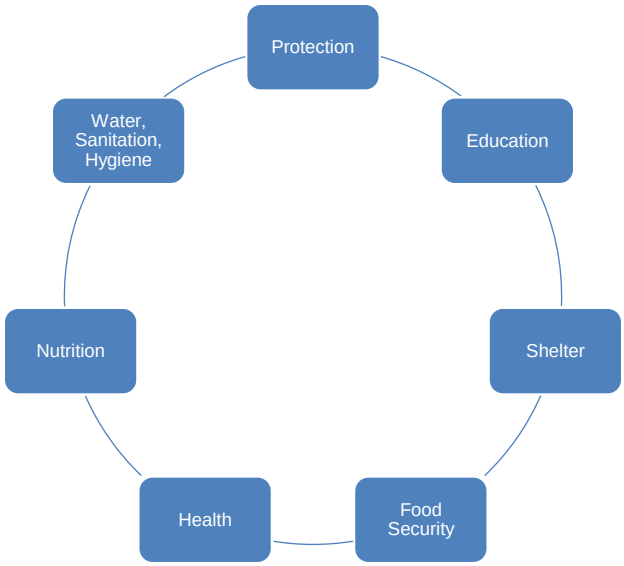
Displacement from rural areas to urban centers negatively influences land management, availability of government services and assistance, and integration of the displaced population into local economies with limited employment and income generation opportunities. According to Carrillo (2009), 99% of people displaced from rural to urban areas are living in poverty, and 85% are living in extreme poverty.

Following displacement and upon returning to their community, most Union Wounaan Tribe community members were unemployed and did not generate income. However, teachers are able to earn income by continuing to provide education to children during displacement, and hence were able to earn income (J. Serna, personal communication, June 6, 2017).

Sector-Specific Factors

Sector-specific factors affect community vulnerability, like education, shelter, food security, health, nutrition, water, sanitation and hygiene, and protection (Fig. 4). Sector-specific factors are frequently inter-linked with underlying factors. (Inter-Agency Standing Committee, 2007).

Figure 4: Sector-Specific Factors in the NAF



The sector-specific factors in the Needs Analysis Framework.

Deprived Basic Needs: Lack of Shelter, Food Security, and Water Sanitation

The indigenous communities in Latin America have poor living conditions, including lack of access to public services, such as food security, water, sanitation, and electricity (Patrinos, 1994). In turn, lack of infrastructure and basic services among indigenous communities results in poor welfare outcomes (Patrinos and Skoufias, 2007). Overall, Wounaan communities do not currently have food that is available and accessible or clean drinking water. Wounaan communities lack a balanced diet; they often eat only plantains and rice (Colombia Ministry of the Interior, 2012). Identified barriers to a quality diet and food security among Wounaan communities include low soil fertility, climate conditions, seed absence and fruit tree extinction, low household income, external food dependency, and hunting/fishing restriction due to the presence of armed groups, among others. All thirty-four communities surveyed recognized the direct effects of the armed conflict on Wounaan food safety as confinement by armed groups prevents agriculture, hunting, and fishing, consequently impacting food security. One-quarter

believed that food production was difficult and nearly two-thirds of surveyed respondents believed that food production in their communities was scarce (Colombia Ministry of the Interior, 2012).

Issues with food security can be specifically seen in the Union Wounaan Tribe. The Tribe receives food supplies from a boat that comes to the territory once every five days. Moreover, lack of appropriate storage solutions results in food stores spoiling due to the humidity. Both children and adults are in urgent need of food and water. Community members are limited to eating green bananas picked from trees (J. Serna, personal communication, June 6, 2017).

Moreover, the Tribe is unable to provide for other basic needs and services, such as shelter and electricity. During displacement, community members were provided rudimentary structures for shelter by the Columbian government. Upon return to their community, only children had access to shelter, which includes access to a home. Furthermore, community members currently lack access to electricity (J. Serna, personal communication, June 6, 2017).

Lack of Protection

As a result of the current armed conflict in Colombia, the Wounaan communities are often confined and secluded from other individuals and entities. Of the communities surveyed in the Plan to Safeguard the Ethnicity of the Wounaan Tribe, 87% believed that they were confined, primarily due to the presence of guerillas, the army, and paramilitary forces. As a result of such confinement, Wounaan communities were faced with psychological terror and trauma, and difficulty in practicing traditional medicine through inability to collect medicinal plants and conduct rituals (Colombia Ministry of the Interior, 2012). This can be seen in the Union Wounaan Tribe, as warfare and displacement has stripped them from their traditional way of living and has caused a "change in their mental humanity" (J. Serna, personal communication, June 6, 2017). Subgroups within displaced Wounaan communities are at further disadvantage because of their age or gender. Despite the existence of national constitutional and legal rights that grant Colombian women equal status with men, internally displaced women rarely have the option to decide what happens to their bodies (Alzate, 2007). The armed conflict has significantly impacted Wounaan community members, particularly young people and women, who have been victims of sexual violence and harassment, torture, forced recruitment in armed groups, forced disappearances, warlike infatuation, assassinations and threats (Colombia Ministry of the Interior, 2012). Moreover, internally displaced preschool children present with worse mental health when compared to their non-displaced counterparts (Flink et al., 2013).

Education

Field research in Bogota and Cartagena by the Human Rights Watch found that common immediate needs of forcibly displaced individuals include immediate humanitarian assistance, shelter, health services, and education. These communities are particularly disadvantaged in the area of education; the indigenous people are less educated than non-indigenous people. A vulnerable population within the IDPs are school-aged children between 5 and 18 years old, as half of IDPs are under 18 years of age. IDPs do not have access to quality education; the average number of years of education for IDPs is around 5 (Carrillo, 2009). Compared to the general population, internally displaced women (IDW) have disproportionately low levels of education; 15% of IDWs are illiterate as opposed to less than 5% of all women (Alzate, 2007).

During the data collection period in the Plan to Safeguard the Ethnicity of the Wounaan Tribe (2012), 24 of 34 communities identified existing educational and political spaces for women, through the form of participation in crafting and indigenous politics, participation in community meetings and assemblies, and participation in council titles and associations. Less than half of Wounaan women have received primary school education and 9% have received high school education. Only 1% have received technical education, and 1% have received a University level education, while 43% of women have not received any formal education. Nearly all of survey respondents (97%) said that young adults of the Wounaan communities do not receive support for pursuing education (Colombia Ministry of the Interior, 2012).

Government initiatives to promote the wellbeing of IDPs include the establishment of an early warning system to notify IDPs of potential upcoming human rights violations and violence, improved capacity to provide emergency humanitarian assistance to meet immediate needs, increased budget for programs for displaced persons, an increase in the number of places available for children in public schools, and an increase in the national health system coverage of displaced persons (Bochenek, 2005).

Although the Colombian government has made efforts to assist IDPs through policies and measures in public health and education; in practice, much of the government's assistance and financial compensation has been short term and inefficient in addressing displacement-related matters (Gottwald, 2016). Displaced children are entitled to attend schools in their new communities, but face significant hurdles in continuing their education, including the inability to produce school records or forms of identification; lack of room in schools for children; and inability of families to afford matriculation fees and schooling costs (Sommers, 1999). Moreover, 26 of the 34 communities stated that the current education system is not aligned with their

worldview or needs. The communities stated the reason they felt the education system was not aligned with their worldview is because the education systems in place were not created by the communities themselves but adopted from outside the community, therefore the systems are lacking a pedagogical structure that reflects the Wounaan culture (Colombia Ministry of the Interior, 2012). Wounaan communities expressed a need for physical change in their education infrastructure such as building computer rooms and upgrading bathrooms but also pedagogical change like new curricula that can account for Wounaan history, ancestral knowledge, and the Woun Meu language. (Colombia Ministry of the Interior, 2012).

However, the Colombian government has attempted to be more inclusive in developing education systems. For example, the Colombian government attempted to implement “Proyecto Educativo Comunitario” (PEC), translated to Community Education Project, to promote education that is inclusive of Indigenous and AfroColombian communities, their roots, histories, identities, indigenous traditional education along with modern education (Colombia Ministry of Education, n.d.). Eighteen out of 34 communities interviewed by the Plan to Safeguard the Ethnicity of the Wounaan Tribe (2012) believed that PEC simply copies other educational institutions as opposed to the generation of a Wounaan-specific education system conceived under an autonomous and reflexive process that would have involved community leaders and incorporated the Wounaan worldview. For example, the PEC program only provides one book called the “buk buk” for teaching *Woun meu* or *Maach meu*, the Union Wounaan Tribe’s language. There are no additional support materials like audiovisuals or educational games instructors can use to help students learn the tribal language (Colombia Ministry of the Interior, 2012).

Currently, the Catholic Church is the primary provider of educational services to the Union Wounaan Tribe of Medio San Juan. The church provides one teacher for every 25 children and offers one meal each day to children who attend as to incentivize parents’ cooperation. There are no local school structures for children in the community; students are taught outdoors under trees. In addition, the church provides a partial scholarship for Union Wounaan community members to go to University, given that they provide a verbal contract that they will return and help their tribe. Despite this opportunity, Union Wounaan community members are unable to attend University, as the commute takes an entire day. Furthermore, the funds of the church are becoming insufficient to continue these efforts, thus threatening the continuation of any semblance of formal education within the Tribe (J. Serna, personal communication, June 6, 2017).

Access to Health; Traditional vs. Western Medicine

The Union Wounaan Tribe suffers disproportionally from lack of access to health services. For one, although Colombian law states that displaced families are eligible to receive free basic health care, Colombia's subsidized public health system is often at full capacity and turns away IDPs (Bochenek, 2005). Additionally, the Wounaan communities have been historically rooted in the traditional practice of medicine. According to the 34 communities of the Wounaan Tribe surveyed in The Plan to Safeguard the Ethnicity of the Wounaan Tribe (2012), some medicinal plants have disappeared from Wounaan territories, weakening tribal traditional knowledge of medicine. Eleven communities believed that western medicine had gained higher prestige than traditional medicine, and ten communities believed that western medicine discredits traditional medicine as service providers discriminate indigenous people who previously sought health advice from traditional doctors. Five of the 34 communities said that they preferred traditional medicine, and that there was an absence of modern medicine providers in their territories; six communities stated that there were no traditional doctors in their communities. Nearly 80% of survey respondents believed that western medicine affects traditional medicine due to assimilation of modern medicine and lack of confidence in traditional medicine, lack of traditional medicine providers in the communities, and apathy expressed towards traditional medicine. Almost half of 14 communities believed that western medicine services were bad, as they did not have access to medical centers in their communities due to geographical distance and lacked proper medicine in their communities and medical centers. In addition, there is an absence of communication networks between Wounaan communities and hospitals. Communities surveyed believed that armed conflicts affect their practice of traditional medicine as armed groups threaten traditional doctors, and plants needed for traditional medicine cannot be collected due to occupied territories by guerrillas and paramilitaries (Colombia Ministry of the Interior, 2012).

Community members have some access to traditional medicine, but do not have access to western medicine. The health service closest to the Union Wounaan Tribe of Medio San Juan is a government entity called Sisben, which is ten hours away. The lack of community and medical centers in the Medio San Juan region of the Wounaan territories contribute to child mortality within the community (J. Serna, personal communication, June 6, 2017).

Conclusions

The Union Wounaan face significant and urgent challenges. They are coping with both basic physical needs, such as access to food, water, shelter, healthcare, and protection from violence; but also coping with the lack of social institutions which might otherwise provide a measure of support: There is no formal governance structure as leaders have been killed and the threat of violence from armed groups prevents them from achieving autonomy; their culture is rapidly disintegrating through the loss of their native language, foraging patterns, traditional medicine, and religion; there is a lack of basic education infrastructure; and they have little to no means of earning an income. While the community is receiving support from the Catholic Church, the needs far exceed the available resources. This community requires immediate support and resources to address urgent basic needs and human rights, but they also require medium and long-term strategies to ensure protection from violence and rebuilding social and community systems to support a sustained solution to their displacement.

Participatory research methods are recommended to ensure local relevance and acceptability, and to begin a trusting relationship with public health, academic, or government entities. By giving community members a platform to voice both their needs and community strengths, decision-makers can hear directly from those most affected by displacement. Participatory methods also increase the quality of the data that may be used to inform policies and programmatic decisions, raising the likelihood of successful interventions and positive outcomes. Photovoice is a method that may be helpful for understanding the lived experiences of the Union Wounaan, as well as other participatory methods like Asset Mapping or Participatory Rapid Appraisal. Regardless of the specific strategy, to avoid the common ethical pitfalls that befall many global health practice efforts, interventions, policies, and programs for the Union Wounaan must be grounded in trust, respect, transparency, sustainability, and accountability.

Recommendations

This needs assessment is a first step in describing the challenges faced by the Union Wounaan based on available information; however, a more thorough and on-the-ground investigation is necessary to understand the full picture and context which can be used to inform policy and programmatic interventions. Special care should be given to global health interventions with low-resource communities who are particularly vulnerable due to their status as displaced persons and the additional factors described in this report. The following sections describe the ethical considerations for public health organizations, academic institutions, or governmental entities working with vulnerable populations in a global health context as well as best practices advocated by the World Health Organization and used in other international health projects.

Ethical Considerations

Prior to developing a plan for working with the Union Wounaan, is important to consider the ethics and human rights factors involved in global health and international research. In addition to the standard challenges of public health work, global health practice must also deal with additional barriers, such as finding ways to work in a culturally appropriate manner, the geographic distance between the community and research or public health organizational office, language barriers, and appreciation of how the current status of that community is informed by the historical context (Anderson et al., 2014). Furthermore, it is necessary to understand the power dynamics present between relatively high-income public health or research organizations and low-income communities in which they work. These power dynamics can manifest as differences in access to financial capital, social capital, and roles in decision-making, among others. It also must be acknowledged that global health work can also be influenced by additional motivations beyond benefit to the community, including the desire to be regarded as a humanitarian or a subject matter expert, prestige and additional resources for organizations, profit, and foreign policy strategies (Shiffman, 2015; Kevany, 2014). Despite fundamentally altruistic intentions, it is possible for global health practice or research organizations to result in harm to the community due to lack of consideration of the ethical challenges resulting from the power dynamics.

The San People in South Africa and their relationship with researchers exemplifies many of the ethical pitfalls of global health work (Kekulawala and Johnson, 2018). An indigenous community with a unique genetic profile and long history of cultural traditions, they were a favorite of genetics researchers and anthropologists for decades. However, over the years, many problematic dynamics developed:

- Research findings that had been developed with assistance from the community were not disseminated back to the community
- Publications used harmful stereotypes and offensive language
- Researchers involved members from the community without the knowledge or consent of the community leaders
- Researchers condescended and belittled community members and used highly technical, jargon-filled language difficult to understand by the community
- While the researchers benefitted from their research through promotions or prestige, the community remains in significant poverty, reflecting an unequal distribution of research burdens and benefits
- Researchers changed study parameters or objectives without consultation with the community
- Researchers broke promises to the community (Kekulawala and Johnson, 2018)

In 2017, as a response to the decades of problems, the community developed the South African San Institute's San Code of Research Ethics. This code of conduct lists numerous specific requirements of research partners, based in five grounding principles:

- "Respect:
  - Respect for San's culture, history, customs, relationship with the environment, and privacy
  - Credit San's participation and contribution to research, at all times
  - Fulfill promises
  - Ask permission to do research with the San community in advance, instead of assuming compliance
- Honesty
  - Ensure transparent exchange of information between researchers and San leaders
  - Nonacademic, uncondescending language must be used
  - Honest assessment of any dangers of research must be communicated
  - Be clear on all aspects of research including funding, purpose of research, and potential future changes
  - Create a sustainable and open method of communication
- Justice and Fairness

    - Integrate San into the research study, such as serving as research assistants or translators
    - Discuss any possible benefits beforehand with the community
    - Understand that there are consequences for researchers who do not comply with the Code
- Care
    - Have intentions of improving the San community in some way
    - Care for the families of those involved in research and for the environment
    - Accept San people's identity, both social and cultural
    - Improve the lives of the San community in some way
- Processes
    - Follow the San research protocol, managed by the San council, which will outline the research process in the community's terms
    - Collaborate with the San on the original research idea" (Kekulawala and Johnson, 2018, p. 62)

Similarly, in 2009 the partnership between academic institutions, public health organizations, and governmental leaders in Ghana and the University of Michigan developed a Charter for Collaboration to ultimately improve healthcare provider training, strengthen the quality of data used in policy development, and to build research capacity among the community. This document lays out the historical, structural, and contextual factors which present barriers for equitable control of resources and decision-making in global health, as well as the opportunities which can be leveraged for better collaboration. The charter presents ethical principles for improving collaboration between partners, which parallel the principles in the San code: Trust, accountability, mutual respect, transparency, sustainability, communication, and leadership (Anderson et al., 2014).

These ethical research codes also mirror guidance provided by the World Health Organization. The WHO's Constitution affirms that "…the highest attainable standard of health as a fundamental right of every human being" (World Health Organization, 2017), framing health as human right grounded in ethical principle. Key ethical issues in global health include consideration of whether the research holds social value for the communities which participate, who benefits from the research activities, and whether individuals or subgroups are treated fairly with their rights protected (World Health Organization, 2015). The Standards and Operational Guidance for Ethics Review of Health-Related Research with Human Participants, developed to

address international health research including behavioral and social science research, explicitly includes standards based in these principles. For example, it acknowledges the obligation of the researchers to respect and protect the community from inadvertent harm, such as stigmatizing communities or populations, or draining the local capacity in supporting the research, while working toward long-term benefits such as improved health or building capacity (World Health Organization, 2011).

Community engagement is a key component in practices recommended by WHO and other organizations. The International Ethical Guidelines for Health-Related Research Involving Humans lists Community Engagement as a standalone guideline, indicating "Researchers, sponsors, health authorities and relevant institutions should engage potential participants and communities in a meaningful participatory process that involves them in an early and sustained manner in the design, development, implementation, design of the informed consent process and monitoring of research, and in the dissemination of its results" (Council for International Organizations of Medical Sciences, 2016, p. 25). Research organizations show respect for communities, their traditions and norms through community engagement, ensuring relevance of the work and acceptance by the community members. Engagement is especially important for minorities and marginalized communities, such as displaced persons, as it allows them to build capacity to protect and work toward their own interests.

Defining Participatory Action Research Approach

In order to address these ethical concerns, EurekaFacts recommends taking a participatory/community-based approach to conducting research with the Union Wounaan. This approach has been used in different disciplines and fields such as international development, anthropology, public health and within non-governmental organization (NGOs). This approach may also be referred to in various ways such as Participatory Action Research (PAR), co-operative inquiry, participatory learning and action (PLA), participatory learning research (Bergold and Thomas, 2012), community based participatory research (CBPR) and community-based research (CBR). In this paper, we will refer to this approach as PAR. The tenets of PAR are discussed more thoroughly in Appendix C.

PAR has been defined or conceptualized in a number of different ways. For example, the Bureau of Applied Research in Anthropology at the University of Arizona asserts that community based participatory research

> provides a framework for learning and reflection in action. Key tenets are to foster collaboration among community members and researchers, engage all in reflective practice and reciprocal learning, build the capacity of community groups to create change, balance research and action, practice inter- and multi-disciplinary work, and situate community concerns in a larger context (Bureau of Applied Research in Anthropology, n.d., para. 1).

In her work with a small female collective in post- Soviet Union Russia, anthropologist Julie Hemment conceptualized PAR as an approach that

> breaks down the binary between researcher and researched by involving community members in the research design. A typical PAR project invites and involves different stakeholders in a group research process during which questions will first be discussed and collectively agreed upon. It is designed to be an educational process for both researcher and participants who analyze the structural causes of problems that they identify through collective discussion and interaction (Hemment, 2007, p.312).

Hemment further asserts that PAR is a social change methodology with an aim is to make research a more egalitarian and collaborative effort. Historically, PAR is a direct challenge to the logic of conventional science approaches such as a researcher(s) approaching a research topic with a specific hypothesis to be tested and top down development initiatives which rarely involve the research population (Hemment, 2007). PAR displaces the researcher as the expert who solely designs the research process and has objects of study by involving them in the research process. Instead, according to Hemment,

> through long term collaboration with community-based activists engaged anthropologists can contribute to creating a space for the realization of new policies, new subject positions and the emergence of new political possibilities… (Hemment, 2007, p.302 citing Lyon Callo & Brin Hyatt 2003, p.177).

Similarly, Bergold and Thomas (2012) offer that participatory research shifts the research focus and emphasis to collaborative research activities. In this framework, the primary aim is to produce knowledge in collaboration between scientists and practitioners. According to Bergold and Thomas, participatory methods and knowledge building open new and broader perspectives for the research of everyday practices, especially where qualitative research practices are concerned. A participatory research framework is expressed in creating and

cultivating the principles of openness, communication, and identifying the appropriate method for the subject under study (Bergold & Thomas, 2012).

A PAR approach can be particularly useful in working with marginalized communities. One of the primary goals of participatory research is to give members of marginalized groups a voice or to enable them to make their voices heard. PAR should allow participants to bring their experiences, everyday knowledge and their ability into the research process gaining new perspective and insights to the research endeavors (Bergold & Thomas, 2012).

The commonality between these different concepts of PAR and what EurekaFacts wants to emphasize is a grounded theory collaborative approach to needs assessment and problem solving. Grounded theory is a general research framework that allows for generation of theories during the data collection process. Themes and potential theories and analysis emerge from the data being collected. Instead of going in with specific hypothesis to be tested, the researcher is more flexible and broader with research questions so that themes or issues that are important to research population emerge and serve as guidance of next phase(s) of research process. This type of approach puts community engagement at the center and empowers the community to be active participants in the research process and agents or drivers of change in their community.

Community Based or Collaborative Data Collection Tools & Assessment Methods

A PAR approach is one that can transcend disciplines. As mentioned previously, PAR has also been used in development, anthropology, and public health which demonstrates the interdisciplinary functionality of taking a PAR approach. For example, Hemment (2007) makes a strong case for the use of PAR in anthropology. She argues that PAR and qualitative research methods like ethnography and/or participant observation are compatible because like ethnography, PAR is committed to local knowledge and involves different stakeholders in a group research process (Hemment, 2007). She further asserts that critical ethnography also attends to the relations of power within which places, people and practices are situated (Hemment, 2007). Taken together, ethnographic techniques paired with a PAR based approach yield rich ethnographic insights based on what she refers to as the “nitty gritty of daily lives.” Actions are born out of the realness of life and emerge from the voices and experiences of the research population.

In her anthropological field work with Russian women, Hemment employed common qualitative techniques such as participant observation. When possible, she attended meetings held by

participants and when invited into their homes for various reasons she used those as opportunities to understand and explore the complexities of the women's lives.

Participant observation is a data collection technique in which the researcher immerses him or herself in the world of the research participant. The researcher attempts to become involved and/or observe the actions and daily lives in natural settings of the research population. It involves experiencing, observing and analyzing the lives of the people you research as much as you can.

Interviews and focus groups are also commonly qualitative research tools that can be used in PAR. There are several types of interview such as unstructured or semi-structured. At its core, interviews are a social interaction between researcher and participant in which the researchers ask questions and the participants provides answers. Focus groups are similar to interviews in that they involve social interaction between researcher and multiple participants. However, the group setting encourages discussions that would not happen in a two-person interaction. Focus groups encourage people to explore similarities and differences of topics presented (Bernard and Ryan 2010).

The section below provides information on more specific types of PAR, in some cases using a combination of different data collection tools such as interviews or focus groups, that could be applied from different disciplinary foundations. We conclude with a discussion of Photovoice as a PAR that EurekaFacts recommends for use with the Union Wounaan.

Participatory Rapid Appraisal

The Participatory Rapid Appraisal (PRA) research method and related methods came out of early participatory research models developed in the 1950s, expanded through international research in the 1970s, and solidified in the 1980s and 1990s as a way for non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and international development university researchers to conduct ethical and effective research on low-income, disenfranchised, rural populations in developing countries (Kamal, 2001).

PRA has two key values: decentralization and empowerment (Chambers, 1993). Instead of the interviewer identifying and gathering data of interest, data is supplied by the community, thus highlighting what the community determines is important. In this way, power is decentralized as it is shared between the researcher and the researched as well as amongst the community of interest. Introducing this kind of research into a community can create a forum to discuss

community affairs, empowering the them to respond to perceived conflicts and opportunities (Food and Agriculture Organization, 2009).

The methods used in PRA vary and may include semi-structured interviews, focus groups, participatory mapping, or matrix scoring. Participatory mapping is an exercise where participants identify community resources on a geographical map. Constructing a criteria alternatives matrix, or matrix scoring, allows participants to identify options for the community and weigh these options against values the community has collectively decided are important in order to optimize decision making.

When conducting PRA research, the researcher should be cognizant of his or her behavior and attitudes. Researchers should avoid interrupting participants and avoid criticism during research exchanges. Researchers should remember that sharing, between researcher and local community members and community member to community member, is a critical component of this type of research (Chambers, 1993).

PRA has four dangers. Researchers should therefore be aware of these potential challenges and/or criticisms when using PRA.

- **Clarity on research approach:** Researchers should understand the differences and nuances of this research process. In other words, researchers should understand what PRA is and is not, what situations or instances it is best suited for and how it may help them reach project goals.
- **"Rapid" assessment:** Researchers should be cautious about overestimating their rapid assessment research results. Many PRA methods occur over several years of contact with a group of interest. Rapid assessment can be conducted quickly but is not as reliable as a long-term research project wherein the researcher can build trusting relationships and observe changes over time.
- **Formalism.** Researchers may be inclined to construct and then follow every step of a determined research plan, but the PRA method emphasizes flexibility and responsiveness over rigidity and standardization. The researcher must remain attentive to the issues as outlined by the community and not attempt to direct the results given their biases and expectations.
- **Ruts and routine.** If an organization adopts PRA methodology, the organization should not seek to impose uniform expectations on how researchers should utilize PRA. Each

time PRA is used it has a different approach and a different outcome because it is specialized for the community being researched.

Case Study: Scotland

Researchers from the University of Edinburgh utilized Rapid Participatory Appraisal to assess the health and social needs of a low-income community in Edinburgh, Scotland in 1992 and then again in 2002 to compare results (Brown et. al., 2006). The researchers used existing historical records about the neighborhood, interviews, and onsite observations to triangulate findings on 10 identified categories such as physical environment, health and social policy, disease and disability, and more. The physical environment, like rundown housing in need of maintenance, was ranked as a big concern for neighborhood residents in 1992 and again in 2002.

PRA research is designed to mobilize and empower, and the work of the researchers in 1992 seems to have brought local policymakers to the table to communicate with Edinburgh residents about their needs. However, researchers found that many initiatives were implemented between 1992 and 2002 that were simply not sustained. For example, a park was built at the request of residents who desired a community third space, but then filled with shrubberies, rendering it an ornamental area instead of a meeting ground and place to play.

Case Study: Kenya

A.D. Maalim from Aga Khan University in Nairobi, Kenya used the Participatory Rural Appraisal to better understand health in the nomadic Somali tribe in northeastern Kenya (Maalim, 2006). Five groups were selected and interviewed, three entirely female and two entirely male because Somali women are not culturally permitted to express opinions in front of men. Researchers asked the groups where diseases come from and how they are treated, determining that the Somali tribe believes some diseases are transmitted in ways accepted by Western medicine, like mosquitoes that carry Malaria, but diseases are also sent by God or by an individual through witchcraft. Furthermore, an individual rarely makes decisions about how to treat their own illness. A group consisting of family members, religious leaders, traditional leaders, and friends determines what treatment is best.

Participants from the Somali tribe outlined their daily schedules, mapped their nomadic hamlet using twigs and leaves, constructed a seasonal calendar, and created Venn diagrams to illustrate community resource access. These resources can be used as a guide to determine

what season, time of day, and location the tribe is available for aid distribution, but this information is especially powerful when combined with the cultural understanding of the community because those factors affect the reception of aid (Maalim, 2006).

Asset Mapping

Participatory asset mapping identifies needs and facilitates discussions within a community by determining the geographic spread of individual and shared assets, such as identifying food deserts (Burns et. al., 2011). Asset mapping can be integral to the PRA process. For example, the Kenyan researcher cited above used asset mapping to identify where the nomadic group being studied would be available to receive humanitarian aid.

The UCLA Center for Health Policy Research identifies six steps to asset mapping (Carroll et al., 2004):

1. **Define community boundaries.** This may not be agreed upon within and outside of the community. Researchers should ask questions such as What landmarks/streets/geography constrain the community?
2. **Identify and involve partners.** This step concerns recruitment for mapping. What groups get to decide the boundaries and resources? The researcher must decide if the participants may only be private citizens or if they may include nonprofits, decision makers, or private firms.
3. **Determine what type of assets to include.** These could include money, economic resources, buildings, knowledge and skills, political connections, legitimacy, or access to public goods. Examples include parks, community groups, recreation centers, gyms, colleges, and sports clubs.
4. **List the assets of groups.** Make an inventory or database of shared or group assets.
5. **List the assets of individuals.** Make an inventory or database of individual people. This might take the form of a survey to find out what assets individuals have (ex. Multilingual, educational attainment, children).
6. **Organize assets on a map.** This allows for identification of gaps or concentrations of assets.

A team of researchers published in *Preventing Chronic Disease* paired asset mapping with Photovoice to compare the perspectives of individuals with poorly controlled diabetes in Boston to the “objective reality” of asset maps to see where perspective and reality converged and diverged (Florian et. al., 2016). For example, participants identified via Photovoice that gyms

were costly and largely unavailable, but the asset map showed a fair spread of gyms with free to low monthly costs.

Photovoice

Photovoice is a type of participatory action research that utilizes participant-created photography as a foundation for dialogue and critical examination of root causes of challenges and assets, and the nuances of participants' daily experiences (Wang, 1999). Formally developed in the 1990s as a way to understand the challenges faced by rural Chinese women, it has been applied to populations including people with disabilities, compromised health status, who are homeless, and refugees, and used to explore a range of topics including recovering from war or conflict, living with a health concern, quality of life, HIV/AIDS treatment or prevention, among others (Hergenrather et al., 2009). In a typical format, photovoice asks participants to take photographs from their daily lives around a given theme (Palibroda et. al., 2009). Participants share their pictures in small groups with other participants and hold conversations facilitated by the research team using questions designed to explore and critically analyze the factors at play. These questions are often used with the SHOWED mnemonic:

1. What do you **S**ee here?
2. What is really **H**appening here?
3. How does this relate to **O**ur lives?
4. **W**hy does this condition **E**xist?
5. What can we **D**o about it?

Participants can then repeat the process of taking photographs and discussing them with each other over multiple rounds, slowly building a collection of photography and deepening their understanding of the issues. The process concludes with participants selecting images and writing captions explaining their significance. These pictures and captions are displayed at an exhibit attended by policy and other decision-makers (Wang, 1999; Hergenrather et al., 2009; Palibroda et al., 2009).

Photovoice is unique in that members from the community collect and analyze the data in the form of pictures, thereby ensuring that the themes and conclusions are relevant and accurate. Given the freedom to define their communities, participants can choose to focus on both the challenges and assets within the community, mitigating the risk that those seeking to understand the community and its needs may inadvertently or unconsciously rely on stereotypes or condescending narratives. Photovoice moves community members from passive

bystanders to active participants, playing a role to shape their story and help those in a position to make policy or programmatic decisions more thoroughly understand nuances in the situation. Photographs can be powerful methods of communication, crossing cultural and language barriers, and thus may be particularly helpful when working with a community like the Union Wounaan.

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Appendix A – Interview Questions for Father John Serna

Father John Serna Interview Questions

EurekaFacts Staff Member who will speak to Father John Serna: Cecilia R.

Introduction

We'd like to have a few conversations with you, if you are available, to understand the situation of the Union Wounaan Tribe so that we can communicate the needs of the community to funding organizations. We'd like to ask a few questions to understand the full scope so that we can identify the organizations that can help you. We are not an aiding organization ourselves.

Questions to ask Father John Serna

Background Information about Father Serna

- Are you from the Union Wounaan Tribe? How long have you been working with the Union Wounaan? Where do you live? Why are you helping the community? Where do you work primarily?

Background Information about the Union Wounaan Tribe

- How many people are in the tribe? How many children are in the tribe?
- Where is the tribe located? Are there any key resources close to the tribe? (e.g. Universities)
- How many people have been displaced? How many people returned?
- What is the average size of the households?
- What language do community members speak? Are they fluent in Spanish?
- Do people have access to health services? Do they practice Western or traditional medicine?
- Do community members have any special skills (e.g. Basket weaving?)

Post Displacement

- How did families generate income upon return to their community?
- Did families continue their traditions and customs after being displaced? How?
- Did families have access to medicine (traditional and modern) upon return? Is there a health care center in the community?
- Did families have basic access to food, drinking water, and shelter? What kind of food do they have access to?

- Did families have access to electricity?
- Do people have effective communication methods in the community (phones, Internet)?
- Are community members getting support from the government in the form of subsidies?
- Is there social stratification in the tribe or are all community members indigenous?
- History of the tribe: when did it first become a tribe?
- What religion do community members practice, if any? Is there religious diversity?
- General political situation – what happened? Does the tribe feel secure? What is the impact of the political situation on the tribe? (Access to food, water, health services, markets)
- How is the community governed? Is there a local government structure? What services are offered by the government? Do you think the government meets people's needs?
- How is the climate in your region? Are there recurring natural hazards (e.g. Flooding, droughts)? If so, what impact do they have? Do you have scarce natural resources (e.g. Cannot use soil)?
- Do community members want to live in the tribe?

<u>Pre-Displacement</u>

- How would you describe your tribe's way of life before displacement? *Ask about livelihood, economics, relationships within the tribe and others outside the tribal community, cultural traditions, etc.*
    - Economic situation: Are community members employed? What is the source of employment? Are community members able to meet their needs through employment? What is the primary type of employment? (e.g. Agriculture?)
    - Do community members communicate with people outside the Tribe or do they solely interact with people within the tribe?

<u>During Displacement</u>

- How long were community members displaced for? When were they displaced? Where were they displaced to?
- Can you describe the living conditions of community members during displacement? Where did people live? Did they have access to basic needs – food, water, shelter?
- How did community members generate income during displacement?
- Did community members receive support from the government during displacement? If so, what kind of support?

- During displacement, were community members threatened by guerrillas or paramilitaries?

Post Displacement

- In what ways did warfare and displacement impact your tribe?
- Upon return after displacement, were the Union Wounaan tribe members threatened by armed men? Was there a continuous presence of paramilitaries? If yes, can you describe the relationship between tribe members and paramilitaries?

Future

- How do you envision the life of the Union Wounaan tribe in the future? In your opinion, what would be the ideal situation for community members?
- What type of support is needed to achieve this ideal situation for community members? Who would give the support? Is the government able to give such support?

Appendix B – Needs Analysis Framework

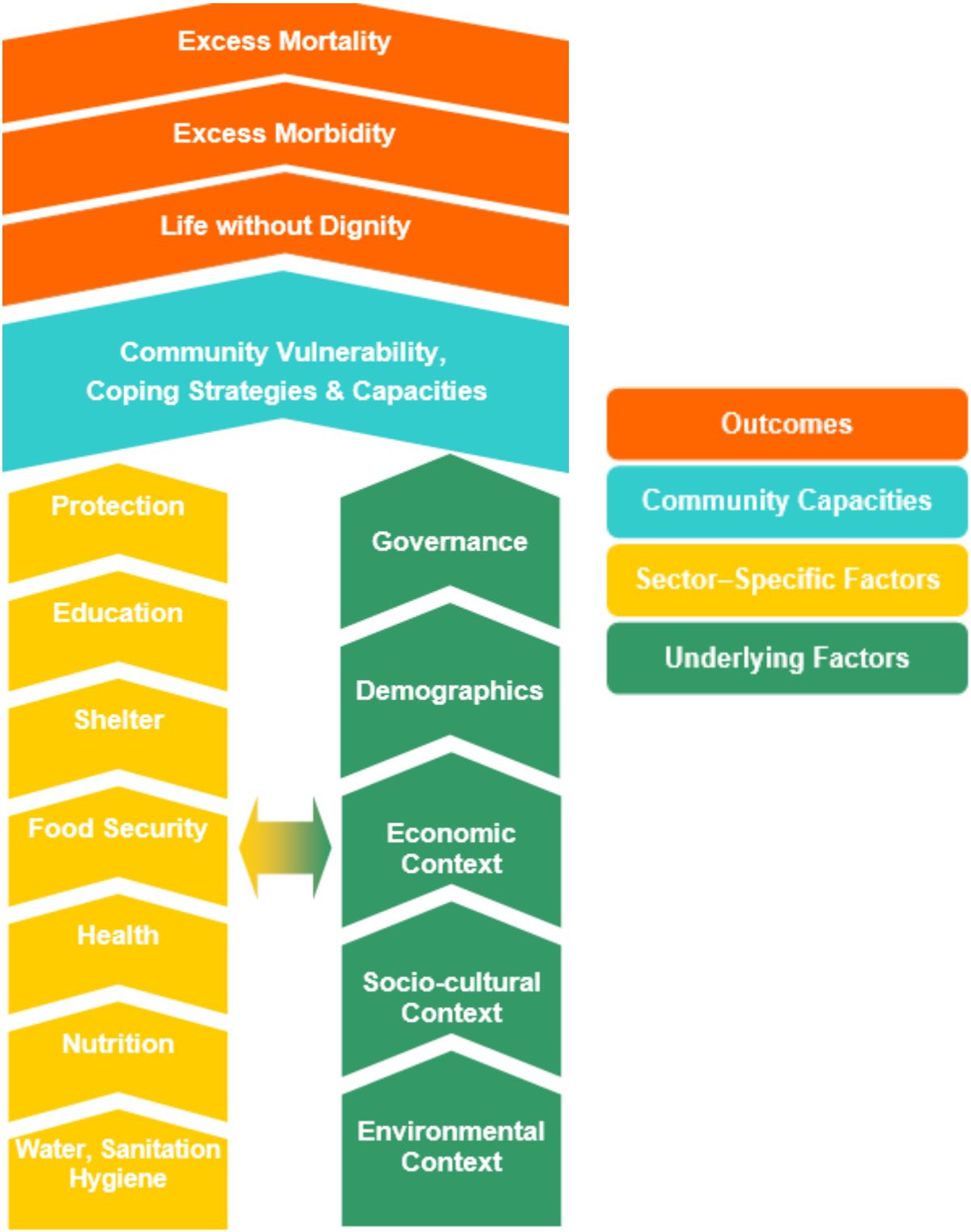

IMAGE DERIVED FROM INTER-AGENCY STANDING COMMITTEE, 2007

Appendix C – Tenets of Participatory Action Research

Re-positioning the relationship between the researcher and researched: In placing community participants more centrally in the research process, it is important to consider the relationship between the researcher(s) and the participants. PAR recognizes the value that local community members or stakeholders brings to the process. It enables all participants (researchers and participants) to take on new roles and tasks (Bergold & Thomas, 2012) that they may not have assumed before.

Roles may change over the course of the project. Initially, research participants may view the research project with anxiety, distrust, and detachment as they may see themselves as outsiders who are expected to merely be informants providing information to a professional researcher. This positioning may change over the course of their participation when community members feel that they are taken seriously as co-researchers and producers of knowledge. Over time, they can gain more competencies in research and develop more independent opinions and viewpoints (Bergold & Thomas, 2012) as active and valuable members of a research team.

Establishing trust and a safe space: Trust is an essential component of a community-based PAR approach. Bergold and Thomas (2012) emphasize that participatory research requires that participants be ready to reveal their own personal views of a situation, their own opinions and experiences. In normal life, that trust and openness is given to trusted friends and family but not immediately in institutional settings or towards strangers. Participants may also fear being attacked or receiving negative backlash for saying something "wrong" or something that goes against community norms or even what other community members think. However, participatory research appreciates and may seek out different views and perspectives. These are essential for the process of knowledge production because they can provide a new and different take on the subject under study and enable the discovery of new insights (Bergold & Thomas, 2012).

Therefore, facilitating an open, judgment free "safe space" is needed. Participants should feel confident that sharing their thoughts and experiences will not be used against them or suffer any negative consequences. Importantly Bergold and Thomas

(2012) point out that creating a conflict free space should not be the goal. Instead, the goal should be to create a space where conflicts can be revealed, discussed, resolved or at least accepted. In short, it is important that the research process open spaces to facilitate communication (Bergold & Thomas, 2012).

Finally, it is important to note that this concept of a safe space is not specific to any research method or instance such as an interview or focus group. While it is important to have this type of environment when using those types of qualitative methods, the notion or feeling of an open, dynamic safe space for collaboration should be present in all research activities.

Ensuring a collaborative process: To ensure that a project is participatory, researchers should consider certain questions. Addressing these types of questions will help to determine if a project is participatory. Researchers should ask questions such as who should be involved in the research project, which activities should or can co-researchers participate in, should there be different degrees of participation for different groups (Bergold & Thomas 2012). Additionally, one should ask who controls the research in which phase of the project; whether control is exercised by the research partners; or whether they have at least the same rights as the professional researchers when it comes to making decisions (Bergold & Thomas 2012). If distinguishing different types of participation, Bergold and Thomas (2012) assert that researchers should specify the decision-making situations in the research process, determine and disclose who has what rights, and when and who can participate in those decision-making moments (Bergold & Thomas, 2012). Decision making is an important criterion in determining if a project is participatory. Unless people are involved in decisions, and considered research partners, the project may not be as participatory as intended.

Defining Community of Participants: In many cases, co-researchers in participatory research projects are marginalized groups. As marginalized groups, their voices are seldom sought as significant contributions. Usually, these groups would have few opportunities to voice their opinions and assert their interests in research or change initiatives that could directly impact them. As discussed, participatory research projects'

aim to reverse this situation by involving community members in research process and change initiatives.

Involving community members demands that researchers ask certain questions. One critical question to address is the question of which persons, or groups of persons, should, or must, be involved in the research study. This is an important question to address because different groups may have developed different kinds of knowledge in the area under study (Bergold &Thomas, 2012). It is important to determine exactly which groups will contribute their knowledge to the joint research results. In doing so, different types of knowledge possessed by different individuals or groups can be included, related to each other and a possible practical use or action be discovered (Bergold & Thomas, 2012). Asking these types of questions about inclusion of individuals and community groups is important because it will encourage the research team to pay attention to the social positioning i.e. class or status, male or female, political leader, religious leader of each individual and/or group and how that may impact the knowledge and experience that they bring to the research process.

Asking these types of questions will help guard against what F. Cleaver (1999) identifies as participation or participatory projects that are hatched as an “act of good faith” and assumed to be “intrinsically good” and are often paired with unexamined concepts of empowerment and community. Emerging from her work in development, Cleaver argues that there is often an assumption that there is one clearly identifiable and unitary concept of community. Instead of thinking of community in this sense, she argues that community may be used as a mechanism of exclusion and inclusion and that exclusionary tendencies happening within a community may be increased in locally based participatory development projects (Cleaver 1999, p. 608). She argues that it is more realistic to see community as “the site of both solidarity and conflict, shifting alliances, power, and social structures” (Cleaver, 1999). Defining community, then involves identifying those who are included in the rights, activities and benefits and those who may be excluded because they do not belong to a defined community (Cleaver, 1999).

Inclusion (or exclusion) in a community and participation in a community-based project may be shaped by prevailing social norms and structures (Cleaver, 1999). Therefore, those putting together community based participatory projects must be cognizant of patterns of inclusion or exclusion and the social norms that shape participants lives in and outside of the project. As Cleaver (1999, pg. 599) puts it:

> We need to better understand the non-project nature of people's lives, the complex livelihood inter-linkages that make an impact in one area likely to be felt in others and the potential for unintended consequences arising from any intended intervention or act (Giddens, 1984; Long, 1992).

By attending to these issues in the early stages of a participatory research project, researchers are more likely to develop a program with meaningful impact.

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