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Emergent Guatemalan-Maya Discourses and Institutions of "Modernization:"
the Impact of Education upon the Representation of the Maya in a Globalized
World.

by

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ABSTRACT

Emergent Guatemalan-Maya Discourses and Institutions of "Modernization:" the Impact of Education upon the Representation of the Maya in a Globalized World.

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The purpose of this study was to collect dispersed components of the emergent Maya "modernizing" discourses which focused on the incorporation of their culture into the society of Guatemala and full participation in national and international arenas. Specifically, I focused on the information contained in the ideology, knowledge, values, and goals as defined or produced by a group of Maya professionals who attended an experimental program, Program for Integral Development of the Mayan Population (PRODIPMA), developed and administered by Rafael Landivar University and sponsored by USAID from 1986 to 1993, in Guatemala.

This ethnographic account has charted the movements by which our focal group entered the community with a strong consciousness of their cultural identity. Members of this group are currently pursuing the creation of critical pro-Mayan and intercultural discourses. They are steering the direction of institutional activism towards "modernization" according to national and global definitions.

I conducted my research using both archival and fieldwork techniques. Interviewing protocols were designed and applied to university authorities,
faculty, tutors, and a representative number of indigenous alumni. The study included a conscious in-depth analysis of both the institutional context and the curricular contents to which all the indigenous students were exposed to. All curricular contents were defined to reach Landivar University’s academic standards and social goals. Landivar inherited a Western tradition consisting of European philosophy, science, and methodologies. As a consequence, URL based the academic program on European and American authors, scientists, and philosophers, converting the PRODIPMA program, epistemologically, into a post-colonizing program for indigenous students. However, Landívar University’s commitment toward the emergence of an educated and developed multicultural society is based upon its Jesuit-Catholic ideology which, according to their principles, contributes to Guatemala’s development through the empowerment of Mayan communities by means of making available their access to “pertinent” education (linguistic and culturally).

Mayan modernity consists of openly gaining entry into universities and important job positions while they take advantage of technology and communications to enhance their values, identity, and languages of their culture. Conversely, the official policies of Guatemala continue to retain the privileged status of the Ladinos. The hegemonic Ladino (Spanish) paradigm is upheld socially, politically, and culturally.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The results of this study originate from a large number of Guatemalans, Ladinos and Mayans, who share the ideal of constructing a nation that is just, civil, and oriented toward prosperity for all citizens. This ideal is proudly based on the multi-cultural, multi-ethnic human qualities unique to Guatemala. All participants provided their time to reveal their private, professional aptitudes. By being deeply concerned about the multiple needs manifested by the rural, indigenous population at large, they continually dedicate their knowledge and efforts toward improving Guatemala's social and economic conditions.

For the number of different representational samples, I am greatly in debt to the authorities of Universidad Rafael Landívar who made available offices, opened doors, archives, and cabinets of documents. This courtesy smoothly facilitated my quick access to files and documents both at the main campus and Quetzaltenango.

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Chapter I: PRODIPMA Program Description: Higher Education Program for Mayan Population.

1.1 Introduction:

In 1987, Rafael Landívar University (URL) in Guatemala began an experimental program aimed at educating and ultimately graduating a number of individuals belonging to the Guatemalan Maya community. The “Program for the Integral Development of the Mayan Population” (PRODIPMA) was conceived as an academic extension of Rafael Landívar University. It focused upon research into national and cultural issues as well as educational projects. The educational component of PRODIPMA was designed to place students of exclusively Mayan background in fields ranging from technical sciences to the humanities. In the six years of its duration (1987-1993), approximately 400 professionals were graduated. At the end of this period, URL and its associated sponsors evaluated the final results while considering establishing the program on a permanent basis. Their inquiries were concerned with financial and institutional issues with aims at improving procedures, methodologies, curricula, and other scholarly materials. However, the program’s impact upon the graduates’ development, their own impact upon Guatemala’s recent history, and upon the Maya community of Guatemala remains partially unknown. The present research and results are aimed at fulfilling this lacuna to some extent and examines how the
program encompassed the practice of education, as well as how the graduates have changed in their thoughts, expectations, and behavior.

As an academic institution providing education nationwide, Universidad Rafael Landívar was conscious of its limitations regarding not only systematized knowledge about Mayan culture and its multiplicity of ethnic groups and languages, but was also especially concerned with its own lack of tradition and experience in this issue. Its resources were limited to helping design and implement balanced and culturally pertinent curricula for the integral formation of indigenous students with financial grants. In this regard, URL hired a group of interdisciplinary consultants who were assigned a complex task consisting of designing complementary courses called “Personal Education and Development”, (EDP or nuclear courses). Such courses had the chief objective of providing up-to-date information on multicultural and multilingual Guatemalan issues, as well as providing the rationale for enhancing the cultural pride of Mayans, self-esteem and sense of identity, within the indigenous students. URL was also conscious of its urgent need of proposing and offering various courses on ethics and axiology in order to help students understand and assimilate values of different cultures. There was the need for demonstrating the dignity of the cultures of other people. However, as it is discussed in Chapter 5 of this study, all the curricular contents of EDP courses were based solely on European and American authors. The curricula of Guatemalan history and Mayan languages, however, were written by Ladino and Mayan authors.
Rafael Landívar University, understood that among its projects of social dimension (See Chapter 3), implementation of the PRODIPMA project would have the main objective of helping to create an indigenous intellectual and professional corps of Mayans that would strive for accessing traditionally ignored political posts in order for them to participate in national matters. The Maya people had been shut out from power structures and denied opportunities to participate in making decisions. Some of the URL authorities believed that if Guatemala were slowly moving into modernity—with its democratic multicultural complements—our society had to be urged to implement pluralistic negotiating procedures which conformed to the anthropologic nature of the country. URL was aware that the Ladino hegemonic regime deliberately maintained all indigenous communities uniformly segregated in regard to all educational policies as a strategy for retaining social privileges established in colonial times. Therefore, Guatemala was radically lacking professionally trained individuals that may represent and speak out on behalf of the marginal indigenous majority.

However, implementing a higher education program like PRODIPMA meant a proposal to improve conditions nationally in order for multicultural participation to take place. Moreover, all the epistemologies of notions regarding equity, development, participation, nation, and governance are part of the western tradition of thought and expansionism that created the core concepts of "democracy" and "modernity." (Said, Bhabha, Spivak, Guha). Included are
pre-determined notions of what is and what is not acceptable in terms of democracy or modernity. Universities and broadly all institutions of education are considered actual heirs of a “colonized” supremacy of modernity. Indeed, the initial and subsequent theories sustaining the abstract epistemologies where modernity, globalization, and other notions are based on, have been derived as products from the very core of Academy. (Castro-Gómez, 1998). Academy is also understood, from the subaltern studies viewpoint, as a First World aftereffect. And this notion of a layered world, where first is above and third is below, procures a permanent tension coming from hegemony upon subaltern, from colonizing to colonized, or, more recently, post-colonized. For Castro-Gómez, the abstract knowledge produced in Academia is a continuing heritage that replicates itself as a means of humanistic and social sciences discourse which is linked to the production of images and imaginaries of the “East,” “Africa,” “Latin America,” “Guatemala,” and “Mayas,” just to cite a few. (1998: 170). Hence, it was necessary to provide an adequate context to this program and I am providing a deeper discussion of the influences of modernity, globalization and the impact of post-colonial studies in Chapter 4.

Focusing on the contents of the program, URL ultimately required the inclusion of the EDP courses in the curricula of different majors. During the existence of PRODIPMA, these courses were attended almost exclusively by indigenous students, with the obvious results of a limited development of positive inter-ethnic relations among all URL students and faculty.
However, the harshest critiques come from the Mayan intellectuals and political leaders themselves, after more than 10 years since their graduation. These individuals, we may include Rigoberta Menchú Tum, 1992 Nobel Peace Laureate; Rigoberto Quemé Chay, Quetzaltenango City major, and Marco Antonio de Paz, Guatemala’s Mayan Education Council director (CNEM), among others, agreed in confessing that in light of all the academic efforts invested by URL in developing intellectually individuals of Mayan population, inevitably there had been stigmatizing consequences. They all agreed by emphasizing that in spite of professions or disciplines (majors) in which the Mayan students where involved, on one hand URL remains an institution which is founded on Roman Catholic religious ideology; on the other hand the university would never change Spanish as the only language to be used for teaching and learning.

Some other troublesome factors were the concepts of science and knowledge. Mayan leaders consider that universities only promulgate knowledge through exclusively Western concepts of science and knowledge. Therefore, they conclude, that methods, systems, processes, and knowledge based on scientific thought, research, treatises, texts, and books, which are all alienating materials for Mayan culture and people.

All indigenous students who graduated from URL during the existence of PRODIPMA as well as those who are currently receiving financial grants (EDUMAYA) and studying various majors, are referred to as simply “colonized”
products by Mayan intellectuals. By such a concept these intellectuals mean that URL has educated indigenous professionals by immersing them with Western thought, values, methods, and knowledge. In short, they have been alienated from Mayan values and ways of thinking. Such implications necessarily have to be considered in contrast to what the indigenous graduates have said about their educational experience at Landivar University (See Chapter 6).

The notion of colonization mentioned by some of the leaders of the Mayan movement, although not all educated in Academia, seem to be drawn from anticolonialist narratives (Said, Spivak, Bhabha) that focused on political and power hegemonic interplay, but left untouched the epistemological status that base concepts of transition and emergence like globalization and postcolonial studies. Today we acknowledge that this rationale and its critique was articulated from similar methodologies of those used by social sciences, humanities, and philosophy. These originated precisely from the very discourse that structured not only modern scientific discourse but what constituted European modernity since the 19th century. (See Chapter 5).

This research had three key objectives: First, I studied the production of knowledge generated by PRODIPMA. In this regard, I offer a detailed review of the program, spotlighting its educational goals and ideological undertaking (i.e., institutional, cultural, national, post-colonial.). I focused in particular on the contents of the curriculum, including primary authors, theories, methodologies,
ideologies, epistemologies, and texts and bibliography included in the different courses and majors.

Second, based on information gathered during interviews with a representative number of authorities from PRODIPMA, faculty staff, and alumni, I concentrated on both their current individual and group experiences, knowledge, and thoughts related to the University study program in which they had participated and/or had graduated from. I was especially interested in exploring with these alumni how their participation in the program may have altered or substituted previous definitions, and how they envision the representation of their culture not only within multicultural Guatemala and but globally as well.

Third, I focused on issues concerning their private lives at present, and their micro-locales, and their broader opinions and support of their communities. My research interests included the detection in changes of behavior, lifestyle, or status which had developed consequently after graduation from the program, as well as variations in geographical mobility; and transitions in institutional and professional responsibilities. Specifically, my interest was directed toward the institutional environment in which they were working, and thus any distinct intellectual or cultural formation in ways of thinking and behaving.

Most of the graduates of PRODIPMA graduates have careers and productive activities devoted to the enhancement of the Maya and their culture, as activists in the public-sphere. These activists not only envision new trends of
modernism but also produce them. What are the ideological underpinnings and goals of these institutions? What is the relation between the discourses circulated by such institutions and the narratives that individual PRODIPMA graduates tell about their lives and their goals? What assumptions underlie their quest to claim to position the Maya in their rightful place in the modern, global order? How, if at all, do they come to terms with the already "globalized" image and enhanced agency of such celebrities as Rigoberta Menchú and Humberto Akab'äl? In what respects are their visions of the Maya future enlightened by their encounters with Academia and some particular theories of modernity and post-modernity? How do they qualify the process of persisting in pursuing a university level education based on Western thought and worldview that indeed, is taught in Spanish?

My research was sustained methodologically during the field work stage by participant-observation and interviewing processes with individuals who participated directly in the program. I compiled information from the archives of URL and USAID/G-CAP regarding the PRODIPMA educational program. Interviews were designed and conducted within the rationale provided by H.R. Jauss in his "Question and Answer: Forms of Dialogic Understanding" (1989). Jauss proposes that an adequate and insightful "horizon of expectation" becomes the necessary socio-historical perspective that enables the ethnographer/historian to perceive, understand, and represent both the social milieu, and the individual narratives produced within it. Moreover, the horizon
through its dialogic mediation helps the ethnographer (and his/her informants) to acknowledge whether the reception of questions and their respective answers were appropriate or not. Hence, by employing some of Jauss' methodological suggestions, I was able to define a systematized series of questions that ensured critical responses to specific pre-selected topics, yet at the same time facilitated natural and open discussions (See Chapter 6).

Correspondingly, during the analysis of the dissertation and writing phases, I had followed what anthropologist George Marcus has termed "multi-sited ethnography" (Marcus: 1995). In this regard, I have traced a diversity of constituents which circulate in the form of signs, symbols, metaphors, desires, and ideologies within the realm of discourse, modes of thought, production of knowledge, and new ways of envisioning that may constitute Mayan culture in the current millennium. By proceeding in this way I followed meaningful particles of discourse, as they traveled inside individual utterances and through the group as a whole.

This information was crucial in helping me as ethnographer and educator, to critically grasp the implied foundational discourse and goals, final evaluations, and actual achievements of PRODIPMA. I was critically aware as well of the conscious and unconscious impact upon the intervened Maya individuals. Specifically, I paid special attention to curricular contents in regard to their key importance as "sites" where mainstream knowledge and theories are placed. Procedurally, I executed a thoughtful description and analysis of
predominant authors and theories with the aim of determining potentially conceived notions that might have been included in the construction of the "modernizing" discourses with the alumni of PRODIPMA.

The final analysis of the collected data consists of a critical discussion of the institutional environments, rationales, and commitments of the alumni along with their material-intellectual production. I have focused on whether there is a correspondence/coherence between individuals and institutional discourses and how the notion of "modernity" comes to be understood and pursued.

Research and discussion are both situated in the crossroads of various anthropological strands; between traditional and avant-garde ethnographic rationales. By aiming at "the Maya" as a location of cultural production, one is easily tempted to think of a macro-construction, immersed in a boundless, abstract, and hegemonic system (i.e., colonial/capitalist economy) as developed by Wolf (1982), Comaroff and Comaroff (1991), and Pred and Watts (1992), or, as it was analyzed by global and postcolonial studies, but nonetheless kept among wide-ranging dichotomies (First-Third world), as in Escobar (1994), Castro-Gómez (1996), Mignolo (1995), Moreiras (1996), Bhabha (1994, 1986), Seed (1991), Said (1978), Spivak (1990), Guha (1988), Jameson (1991), and Beverly (1996). Nevertheless, my research is related to these world system interpretations insofar as they become the bases—by composing contextual environments—for more flexible and mobile ethnographic approaches to concrete, yet multifaceted objects of study. In this regard, my research joins a dialogic space in which American
and Guatemalan anthropologists, as well as other social scientists, continue to address multicultural issues: from the colonial experience (Lutz and Lovell: 1994), Farriss (1984), Smith et al (1990), to the age of violence (Carmack: 1988; Stoll: 1988, 1992; Jonas: 1991), to the Guatemalan counterparts represented by Arias (1984), Aguilera (1980), Mack (1990), Falla (1984, 1988), and Gallo (1986, 2001). Collectively, these works have provided a framework for the social, economic, and politic understanding of Guatemala’s recent social history and its consequences. Complementarily, the present work relates to issues of inter-ethnic relations and identity change; for these themes I draw from Arias (1990), Bastos and Camús (1990), Warren (1990, 1998), and Carmack (1983). Specifically, when my study confronts the question of whether my focal group has endured a process of cultural displacement or enhancement, thus do I consider how the graduates of PRODIPMA manage to produce and incorporate into their discourse critical concepts regarding Maya identity, nationalism, global culture, and modernity. For this rationale I draw from the provocative works of Appadurai (1990), Friedman (1994), and other works edited by Featherstone (1990) and Lash (1992).

My contributions in this research study are threefold. First, my conclusive findings help to demythologize the ethnographic construction of the subaltern (Marcus: 1989). From a socio-economic viewpoint my focus group—and broadly the Mayan culture—fits into this category and is circumscribed into dichotomies
such as Ladino-Indigenous, modernity-backwardness, and is thus understood as “opposed to” (Hawkins: 1984). In addition, my research focused on the group as a “site” of cultural production, circulated around subjects, locales, and narratives and with an explicit logic of association, interpretation, and critique, constituted the ethnographic analysis, discussion, and the resulting text. Second, this study may help enhance Guatemala’s ethnographic horizon, which has been constructed fundamentally by American anthropologists, generally excepting Guatemalan scholars. The latter has focused on historical accounts, stressing ethnic dichotomies; the former, has created frameworks with rationales sometimes alien to Guatemala’s complex multicultural reality and to its non-Western components. This study proposes, from the perspective of a native Guatemalan anthropologist, an up-to-date understanding of contemporary Maya identity, thought, and expectations through discourse analysis, and the correspondent recasting of the emergent "modernizing" discourse. Third, the originality of the research (among Maya studies) lays in undertaking an ethnography of an experimental educational program, PRODIPMA, and how the program affected production of knowledge, and impacted the way Mayan graduates configure their thoughts. Concretely, I critically followed the resulting creation of an intellectual framework that interprets, helps envision, and makes manifest the culture of Mayan graduates as it emerges toward the modern and global world. The main contribution of my study concentrates on the practice of education relying on the program's description, analysis, and critical discussion
of its impact upon the intellectual evolvement of this selected group of Mayan professionals, whose positive influence is already helping to create a more just, inclusive, and culturally proud nation. My dissertation represents an objective study of how formal education may intervene for a peaceful, productive, and autonomous emergence of the so-called marginal groups or cultures, especially when referring to developing countries. Furthermore, understanding education as a crucial mechanism which bears the power to generate (or degenerate) the development and strengthening of values, goals, knowledge, ethics, identity, and personality of individuals and collectives or even nations. From the perspective of my project, education is understood as a process which modifies culture, which indeed has implications in the definition of a nation's identity, cross-cultural relations, and modernization.

1.2 Historic Analysis of Guatemala's Educational Policies:

Guatemala is a land of contrasts. On one hand it is the Central American country with the largest potential in terms of resources: agricultural, mineral, and energy. On the other hand, Guatemala shows dramatic levels of general underdevelopment—compared to First World standards—, specifically of the indigenous population.

- Of all Guatemalans, 75% are considered poor²,
- The life expectancy of the non-indigenous population is 67 years, compared to 53 years for indigenous populations,
- Children under 5 are 45% malnourished,
- The adult population is 29% illiterate, and only 35% of the population have completed one or more years of elementary school.
- These figures are all the more striking where indigenous peoples are concerned. Although they make up approximately 65% of the total Guatemalan population, their educational opportunities are meager; only 30% of the children attending elementary school are indigenous; 10% reach high school, and less than 5% of the total receive higher education³.

For almost five centuries the indigenous population has been neglected by the powers that be, unless there is an sudden, opportunistic interest in them because of folklore, momentary convenience of the state, or fears of society. This is so in spite of the fact that all Guatemalans are seen as equal under the law as defined by the Nation's Political Constitution of 1821 and its amendments up to 1985.

Both Guatemalan private and public universities have almost entirely forgotten to address the indigenous population. However, Guatemalan universities have been primarily concerned with studying Maya languages and culture, as well as analyzing the causes and social dangers implicit in the fact that, at the dawn of the twenty-first century, Guatemala continues to be ruled by a dominant Ladino (non-indigenous) minority. Moreover, Ladingos had been
exerting social, economic, and political control over the Mayan majority for nearly five centuries.

The Colonial Period

Included in the legislation enacted under Colonial and Republican regimes, since Guatemala's Spanish invasion, both indigenous languages and population have been considered stigmatic for the nation's progress. On one hand, specific laws had been written with the purpose of subordinating the Mayan population as a social class restricted for agricultural and other duties related to drudgery and manual labor. Such laws and principles were bound under a non-Mayan rationale. On the other hand, laws had been designed to warranty that Mayans will forever be segregated from Ladinos within national social arenas. We can find the policies of the government regarding cultural and linguistic issues at the core of these legislative endeavors.

During the early colonial period, the Spanish conquerors deployed violence and fear as a strategy for subjugating the indigenous population, ensuring cheap hand labor and converting them to Christianity. The illiterate invaders from Spain enacted policies of peace that were efficiently applied in medieval Spain. Among them we may cite the reduction in the number of native people, the enforcement of policies aimed at the settlement of indigenous people in towns modeled after those in Europe, and the scattering of the former Guatemalan population. (MacLeod, 1973).
From the beginning of the colonial regime in Nueva España, the Spanish crown imposed a radical literacy policy in Spanish called castellanización. (Heath and Laprade, 1982), through which Spanish was used for converting natives to Catholicism. Paradoxically, however, the first groups of priests in charge of overseeing the newly created settlements for indigenous people, soon discovered that it was more convenience and effective to evangelize natives using their mother tongue, Mayan languages. They found it very convenient to ignore the royal orders and decrees which were issued to facilitate Christian dogmas and rites in Spanish. Using Mayan languages proved to achieve the final desired results as well as to enhance everyday communication.

In 1646, Guatemala’s Royal Visitador, don Antonio de Lara, made a written proposal for the linguistic policy of the Crown in which he decreed, among other things, that Indians had the obligation to use patronymic names; that in every Indian town there would be at least one teacher who provided daily education exclusively in Spanish to children between the ages of 5 to 8 years; that only bilingual Indians would have the right to dress in Spanish garments including the right to wear cloaks and ride horseback with proper accessories; that public courts would hear trials conducted in Spanish only, etc. (Aguirre, 1972).

The Republican Period

After the countries which had formed Nueva España achieved independence from Spain in 1821, Guatemala’s local leaders continued promoting a conscious
educational policy toward castellanización (teaching only in Spanish). A few years after Nueva España's dissolution and the political collapse of the Central American United Provinces, the Guatemalan writers of the Constituent Congress of 1824 worked to guarantee that neither Indigenous individuals nor provincial Creole leaders would persist in fragmenting the social structure of Guatemala through secessionist movements. In order to achieve such "modern" goals, they sought the eradication of all Indigenous languages:

Guatemala's State Constituent Congress, considering that the national language must be one, and while Indigenous language diversity remains plural, scarce and imperfect as the ones spoken by the first Indians, they are neither equal nor common the traditional means to literate people, nor to improve civilization's impact within the State, has defined for good and decrees: the parishes, in accordance with their town's municipalities, would procure through analog means, based on prudence and efficiency, to help extinguish the language of the first Indians. (Skinner-Klèè, 1954: 20).

The first formal proposal implemented on a national level and defined as an integral state policy occurred under the liberal governments of the army generals Miguel García Granados (1871-1873) and Justo Rufino Barrios (1873-1885). Broadly, these liberal governments initiated important strategies aimed at producing social change and political reforms specifically oriented toward propitiating national progress, modernization, and a sustained development of the country.
Nonetheless, within the context of national education, it is important to stress how the liberal governments were able to successfully integrate their “Civilizing Project” throughout the nation. I formerly suggested that three foundational axes, namely, modernization, progress, and development, supported such a project. The inspirational paradigms for both the definition and the execution of this project were eminently of Western worldview, applied specifically by European governments in the consolidation of their own nation-states. The impulse toward the application of this civilizing project had the deliberate intention of emulating the European nation paradigm (France) for the consolidation of a modern Guatemalan nation including governmental, institutional, and, fundamental social and cultural profiles and structures.

During this period (1871-1885), an educational policy became officially enforced by a congressional decree through which education in Guatemala was declared to be secular, free, and obligatory. For the first time in history the government stressed equal rights and obligations for the entire Guatemalan population as a consequence of the encouragement generated by the impetus of reform. Correspondingly, the state established a resolution for the respect for the expression and practices of diverse religions and the means for the government to “democratize” education through such action as ensuring access to education to the general population. As a result the enforcement of these helped to end the character of exclusiveness in educational matters that religious orders had been accustomed to until that time. The liberal government considered that the
educational intention meant by the religious orders and other private institutions was not only of limited access for most of the population, but even more so it was based on social class prejudice. As a result these religious institutions had kept educational services out of the reach of the social sectors of the poor and indigenous\(^5\). Consequently, educational services were exclusively reserved for urban populations and the economically privileged social classes. The government’s burden in concretizing its efforts in education was that regardless of the push to distribute services and school infrastructure nationwide, the end result were that proposition of the government for nationwide educational services remained geographically limited compounded by the lack of well-trained teachers and culturally pertinent educational materials.

The second element included within this strategy was the character of “free” for the education offered by the State. With this element the succeeding governments assumed almost exclusively the responsibility for providing all means of education to the Guatemalan population.

The third element was the “obligatory” character. Education would no longer be an optional decision made by parents or communities; rather, all children under school age (7-12 years old) were required and assigned to attend established neighborhood schools on a daily basis. Options and availability of schools and services were quite limited and almost impossible to find in rural areas where Mayan population remained in the majority.
These three elements of the educational enforcement, although limited in the chance of being applied nationwide to the school population, which by 1870 consisted of approximately 410,400 children, did not consider to take into account the linguistic and cultural diversity of the country. Thus the educational enforcement remained alien to the government's strategic goals and vision of a modern nation. During the early 1870's approximately 85% of the school-age population (some 350,000 children), were native speakers of any one of the 21 Mayan languages spoken in the country. These children lived in rural areas and, practically had no access to educational services provided by the government.

The official educational proposal, therefore, explicitly included the ideology upon which the "Civilizing Project" was conceived by the state for the Guatemalan nation. If the country were to become modern and developed, it should be educated only in Spanish, since this language constituted itself as the only means for the country and its population to achieve integration into a rationally civilized, developed, and modern world.

The hidden paradigmatic conceptualization of the nation, however, remained implicit within the systematic exclusion of indigenous cultures and languages to "development," because they were considered as problematic elements and actual obstacles for Guatemala's modernization.

The educational policies implemented and enforced by the Guatemalan Ministry of Education from 1871 to the present constitute a clear response to—and an ongoing vision of—the original purpose that has been called
"Foundational Civilizing Project." Through this project the National State of Guatemala defined the nation's structure and essence and thus established and delineate its policies and actions toward achieving one dominant goal: integration of the nation into the "developed" world on equal terms and, therefore, its modernization.

From 1871 to date, and regardless of some complementary proposals (exemptions) to which we will return briefly, the general policies enacted by the state and certain subsequent governments had enforced all educational strategies and courses of action not only regarding elementary education but all educational levels. Hence, educational programs were enacted dealt with youth and adult literacy programs, purposefully oriented toward weakening—and ultimately forcing to vanish—all indigenous languages, plus Xinka, and Garifuna. These languages are mentioned and are recognized in Guatemala's Political Constitution as languages that are indeed spoken in Guatemala but not with the character of "official" languages.

Subsequent postcolonial Guatemalan governments continued proposing formal educational policies in favor of castellanización. Nonetheless, due to the scarcity of bureaucratic administrative organizations and the availability of public education in highland regions of the indigenous population, there lacked very poor institutional support for implementing such policies. As a consequence, during the following decades the indigenous population learned
very little Spanish. All in all, Mayan linguistic interactions continued to be monolingual in character until the mid 1970s.

From 1965 to 1978

Guatemala’s national Constitution, modified in 1965, established that the Spanish language was the only official national language. (Article 4). It was promised that a key role would be enacted to facilitate the integration of the diverse indigenous groups into the official culture (Article 110). The Educational Organic Law, also established in 1965, declared that education must be integrated together with other sectors concerned with social development in order to promote cultural, economic, and social progress. In this regard, the law also declared that incorporating indigenous people into the educational process will be considered of national interest (Article 60). The Educational Organic Law decreed that all educational processes effected within the nation should be provided only in Spanish for all levels of education, with an exception for Indo-European languages which were considered of highly prestigious (see Wagner, 1991).

The Organic Law permitted minimum leeway to use indigenous languages for instructional purposes (Article 9). Although this law was implemented to accelerate indigenous children access to Spanish as a transitional means. It is meaningful that this was the very first time, since the beginning of the colonial era, that the opportunity for using Mayan languages in public schools had been opened.
This law became enforced in 1965 and together with indirect influences from the UNESCO seminar held in 1964, dealing with promotion of education in the rural areas (MINEDUC, 1964), a nation’s wide program was created under the name of *Castellanización Bilingüe*. This program was explicitly designed to ease integrating the indigenous population into the so-called national culture by means of simplifying the transition from Mayan languages to Spanish⁸. From the early 1940s a program of compensatory *castellanización* for indigenous children has been enforced, even though this effort was conducted exclusively in Spanish by monolingual Spanish speaking teachers. Cultural and idiomatic barriers between teachers and students considerably reduced the expected level of success naturally. A damaging consequence occurred which consisted of the Mayan students practically forced to be limited in their class participation as mere spectators. The results were a logical oversight composed of an absolute lack of interest from the indigenous population in regard to scholarly matters, not excluding parents who for some time had viewed public schools as places where their children waste much productive time. (MINEDUC, 1964).

Under the new program of *Castellanización Bilingüe* initiated in 1965, the single pre-school year recommended by MINEDUC was left in the hands of non-credentialed teachers called Educational Promoters (*Promotores Educativos*) They were native speakers of Mayan language speakers, bilingual in Spanish and had completed 6th grade of elementary school. These promoters were provided with training workshops that lasted a month and a half and after completion were
assigned to a school immediately. They had the special duty of teaching the indigenous population, including pre-school children, how to read and write in Spanish, along with providing adult literacy programs and supporting community processes of social and economic development.

In this new version of the old strategy of castellanización children were taught basic literacy in their Mayan languages they were developing sufficient oral skills in Spanish. Transition from native tongue to Spanish would be done through a complete process of learning the phonetics and symbols of the Spanish alphabet, especially the ones which differ from those already learned in Mayan. (Mayan languages may use between 5-10 vowels).

Although using Mayan languages in rural schools was allowed only for transitional purposes as stated formerly, it also had a deliberate strategy aimed at acculturating (assimilating) indigenous children (See Herrera, 1987; Richards, 1987), using a bilingual method. Although limited, speakers of Mayan languages helped students to achieve important improvements in their overall learning and to reduce school drop out rates, significantly (Amaro y Letona, 1978). By 1982, the Castellanización Bilingüe program had been extended through 13 linguistic areas and had embodying some 1200 bilingual promoters and 57,000 students (IIN, 1985).
From 1978 to 1984

From 1978 to 1984 Guatemala was struck by a terrible wave of violence that could not be compared to any event except the Spanish invasion 500 years before. Thousands of persons were murdered and many lost their properties as a result of the conflicts between the army and guerrillas. Indeed the people who paid the heaviest price were Mayan civilians who were caught between two fires (Jonas, 1992; Schirmer, 1999). The military state considered all poor, indigenous people as “accessories to an insurrection of Communist inspiration” (Schirmer, 1999: 174), Mayan towns were indiscriminately attacked though military campaigns. Entire Indian towns were massacred resulting in warfare techniques in common with counterinsurgency strategy (See Aguilera Peralta, 1980; Black, 1984; Carmack, 1988). Consequently, hundreds of thousands of Mayan survivors fled out to Mexico through the Sierra Madre mountain or melted in Guatemala City’s marginal areas. In order to survive, the internal indigenous refugees choose to not use Mayan clothing and disguised their ethnicity by speaking only in Spanish.

Ironically, while the State was conducting a fearsome campaign against Maya communities nationwide, the military regimes ruling from 1983 to 1985 led by Ríos Montt and Mejía Víctores, opened up a political area that allowed Mayans a broad exercise of their cultural expression, political power, and use of their Indigenous languages. For instance, during the regime of Ríos Montt, a State Council was enacted. All Guatemalan ethnic groups were represented.
Even a budget was authorized for cultural and religious support, specifically for revitalizing the expression of culture. During Mejía Victores regime, the Asamblea Constituyente (Constituent Assembly), formed by a group of ethical Guatemalans, modified the Political Constitution in 1985, rejecting all edicts for assimilation that were promoted prior governments. Article 58 concerning values, languages, and customs was enacted, stating the recognition and respect, for promotion of human rights and promotion of identity of cultural communities.

The Bilingual Education National Project (1981-1984)

Although under the Castellanización Bilingüe program the comprehensive educational indicators rose and the drop-out rate indexes somewhat lowered, the authorities of MINEDUC were aware that children exiting bilingual preschool had neither sufficient skills in reading and writing nor could they comprehend intelligibly in Spanish. This situation obviously had complicated their access to elementary school which was taught only in Spanish. A simplistic solution was to extend bilingual education until indigenous children could achieve the necessary skills in Spanish. With this ultimate goal, implementing bilingual teaching through various grades in elementary school, the Bilingual Education Project was created in 1980.

Under this project all areas of academic content from preschool, henceforth called preprimaria (primary school) instead of castellanización (Spanish
learning), until second grade were translated from Spanish to the four larger Mayan languages: K’iche’, Mam, Kaqchikel, and Q’eqchi’. This modality started operating under a clearly bilingual education transitional model. The bilingual curriculum was gradually integrated during the following years in 10 schools for each chosen linguistic areas.

The Bilingual Education National Program (PRONEBI)

In 1984, as the end of the Bilingual Education Project approached, bilingual education was institutionalized in Guatemala under the liberal politics of the era. General Mejía Víctores had been governing since his military coup in which he had overthrown General Ríos Montt in 1983. The brutal counterinsurgent war led by his predecessor, had continued without letup and exhibited cruelty and extent, wound down slowly as years went by. The increasing number of human rights violations in Guatemala gained awesome notoriety for the country worldwide. International demands were being sent protesting a genocidal government, and due to international condemnations and penalties, the ruling military elite was forced to find a path toward democracy in Guatemala. The Guatemalan Army had had a successful campaign against the guerrillas International negative reactions had already weakened the debilitated economy.

During Mejía Víctores regime, however, a new educational law became prescribed, regarding bilingual education. With USAID financial support a
mandate was established providing unprecedented Maya participation in the enactment of policies for indigenous education.

With this new law, PRONEBI was created (MINEDUC, 1985). As an institution PRONEBI was born with an uncommon position in a growing Mayan movement that projected Maya languages as core axes to help in defining the heritage of national culture. Because PRONEBI was created with the goal of mass production of textbooks as well as other materials for adult bilingual literacy, it was quite congruent that it would assume national leadership in education. Moreover, PRONEBI was the natural recipient to assume other national roles like revitalizing Mayan languages and enhancing ethnic identity.

Definitely, PRONEBI has had to overcome a number of burdens while implementing its main goal of providing bilingual and bicultural education to Mayan children in preschools and elementary schools of the country. From 1986 to 1990, PRONEBI widened its jurisdiction from 40 experimental schools distributed within the 4 larger Mayan languages to 400 bilingual schools nationwide that continued until the fourth grade level. It also increased the number of linguistic communities by including Q’anjob’al, Ixil, Poqomchi’, and Tz’utuhil.

**From 1985 to present**

It was not until 1985 that the government launched a serious process of revision of the educational strategies and policies promoted by the Guatemalan state,
primarily as a result of the rather poor results attained over a hundred years of policies of assimilation\textsuperscript{9} for the indigenous population. What emerges as undoubtedly clear is that the goal of the state for “civilizing” Guatemala was made through the exclusive use of the Spanish language. Therefore, a monolingual educational strategy had been applied throughout the educational system; Spanish has also been strongly encouraged to be used exclusively in every single aspect of the daily life of the nation, both in publicly and privately.

In the end, the consequences of imposing such educational restraints efforts show us today that the educational objectives were far from being accomplished. Moreover, this situation suggested—and demanded—not only an exhausting review of all educational programs and policies, but also specifically, the creation and urgent implementation of brand new strategies and changes.

Some of the innovations included in the 1985 Guatemalan Political Constitution are: Article 76, “in regions where the population is comprised of native Mayan language speakers, education to be imparted in schools will preferably be bilingual (Maya/Spanish)” (1985:84). With this constitutional article the country achieved the required legal support to make the Ministry of Education serve Mayan-speaking—and all indigenous communities—through bilingual (experimental) programs, and thus initiate a cooperative relationship with international agencies and national private universities. Nevertheless, the challenge was rather complex, since an initial selection of schools that fulfilled the adequate profile of Maya speaking children had to be urgently determined.
Together with this, they were in need of supporting the education of bilingual teachers and strengthening technically the design of bilingual learning/teaching methods, bilingual materials and methodologies. Developing specific didactics for mother tongue teaching (L1), as well as complementary methodologies and other educational materials for the creation and implementation of Spanish language teaching/learning as a second language (L2), became of crucial importance.

Beginning in 1985, the bilingual program became formally included within the institutional-administrative structure of the Ministry of Education (MINEDUC). It also obtained the importance of institutional ranking as a “General Directorate” (like a semi-autonomous branch) under the name of Dirección General de Educación Bilingue Intercultural (DIGEBI). With this achievement the state apparently overcame the temporary condition of support for bilingual education in Guatemala in order to upgrade the program and consolidate it as a state educational policy and not only as a particular Government policy.

As a consequence, DIGEBI has functioned from 1995 to the present, and has spread its presence and service to all speakers of Mayan languages within the country. It also has hired more than 12,000 bilingual teachers, and currently produces its own bilingual materials and texts. Both DIGEBI and MINEDUC lacked expert personnel in related fields such as Mayan linguistics, curricula, and editing of bilingual materials. Hence, there was an acute need to provide
support to technicians and bilingual teachers of DIGEBI by designing and executing a series of workshops and actualization processes aimed at enhancing their teaching skills and, therefore, attaining the implementation of a higher quality of learning. For several years, but especially during the initial years of the bilingual program, PRODIPMA developed specialized human resource's formation programs at Rafael Landívar University.

The bilingual materials and texts which have produced by Component 10 of PRODIPMA support bilingual educational projects which include various Mayan language dictionaries, pedagogic grammars, texts and readers, compilations of oral traditions, books on poetry, art and literature, and other materials in both Spanish and Mayan languages.

Despite the fact that all efforts directed toward spreading (generalizing) bilingual education throughout Guatemala and toward all ethnic-linguistic groups of Mayan origin have been permanently supported for more than ten years, the program (DIGEBI) is still lacking efficient implementation and systematization across the entire elementary school system. Frequently, MINEDUC only has the necessary bilingual materials and teachers to provide bilingual education through third grade. The immediate result is that Mayan children attending school are usually taught in their Mayan languages until they have gained sufficient reading and writing skills to warrant acceptable transferable skills to Spanish, and from that period on—around the third or fourth grade—the system educates them exclusively in Spanish. Consequently,
at the intermediary, high school, and college levels, education is solely provided in Spanish. What is worse, no curricular content is included that would strengthen Mayan identity and cultural pride, not even the promotion of interrelationships based on intercultural respect. Therefore, racial biases and discriminatory stereotypes are very likely to be concentrated among school children in Guatemala. At national levels, for both Ladino and Mayan populations, less than 1% of the entire population have the chance to study at the university level education. We thus may imagine the terrible limitation and frustration for the Mayan population who look at their dreams and desires of being granted access to better education and development opportunities at any of the various universities in Guatemala. This lack of access is the direct result of various social, political, and cultural factors. On the one hand, the Mayan population has been seen and relegated to a mere productive function in terms of agricultural and handicraft work, without any actual participation—and without real opportunity—in both the national economic and political scenarios. Such areas have been reserved, since colonial times, to a few Ladino families who have controlled the most productive lands, external export markets, private banking, and almost all the commercial import/export activities in the country. On the other hand, the Mayan population has been obligated to endure the results of a non-pertinent education which has been somewhat damaging to their traditional knowledge, values, worldview, identity, and culture. Such an education has been traditionally advanced by monolingual (Spanish speaking) teachers who
generally have limited knowledge of Mayan culture, and therefore, perpetuate a negligent attitude toward indigenous cultures. It is also true that the official educational system has a great deal of responsibility concerning the inferior training of teachers, particularly because the system has encouraged cultural stereotypes based upon ethnocentric attitudes, which have normally been strengthened by the hegemonic position compounded in the Spanish language and culture. As noted previously, such an ethnocentric viewpoint inherently relegates all Indigenous cultures as subaltern and detrimental to the development and modernization of the nation. The quality of education offered in rural Guatemalan towns and communities, where most of indigenous and concretely Mayan communities live, is generally considered a lower-quality education compared to that available to urban/non-indigenous populations. This fact is so, because among other reasons, the best teachers are usually hired by private schools that offer better working conditions and wages (Cavallieri, 1986). Also it must be noted that because rural teachers have less supervision from MINEDUC they therefore may not adhere to the scheduled school year of 180 days and so forth. Moreover, the qualitative content and pedagogical thematic treatment, as well as cultural and linguistic pertinence included in all academic programs, result in, undoubtedly, grave qualitative problems. Consequently, one of the more transcendent problems in both private and public sectors is the lack of Mayan professionals in almost every academic discipline, and the resulting lack of participation, with some ethnic equity and respect, in
political, economic, cultural, and commercial institutions (Cojí, 1992). Such a lack rests fundamentally on the inaccessibility of the Indigenous population to qualitative higher education, and has helped to enhance prevailing cultural stereotypes which cause the prevention in access of Mayan professionals to managerial posts of importance and responsibility in diverse Guatemalan institutions (Richards, 1992). The Mayan population is and has always been the largest community in Guatemala. If there were a "serious" conception aimed at actually "democratizing" the country, the systematic and permanent inclusion of Mayans in every single sphere of the nation's life would be natural and logical. Performing activities successfully within such environments is, nonetheless, extremely complex and competitive. Racism and discrimination toward indigenous persons continue to be deeply rooted among Guatemala's non-indigenous population, in a more or less hidden attitude, and they are still an everyday social practice that very unlikely will be eradicated in the short term.

Consequent with this situation, and considered as part of a proposal for intervention concerning the accessibility of indigenous populations to higher studies and their resulting integration into professionally related activities, Rafael Landívar University requested the support of the United States Development Agency (USAID), in 1986. The project had the objective of creating a new program with the objective of providing full grants and special academic entitlements to qualified Mayan individuals who were interested in pursuing university studies and that needed to fulfill the candidate's profile established as
an obligatory requirement\textsuperscript{11}. This experimental program—PRODIPMA—would eventually become the first higher education proposal deliberately targeting Guatemala’s indigenous population.

Despite the linguistic, economic, and educational discrimination to which the indigenous population has been largely subjected, Mayans and other ethnic groups have been able to partly preserve their cultural identities consciously, as well as their languages and values. That is perhaps why they have been able to survive as human beings and as socio-cultural cohesive groups. A non-violent way of breaking this circle of alienating poverty and discrimination is to raise the educational levels of the Mayan population, according to URL’s understanding and objectives (Herrera, 1991). Among other facts, it was considered necessary to create a vital sector of well-trained bilingual Mayan teachers, as well as other Mayan professionals who, without losing their cultural and ethnic identity would be able to occupy strategic positions in education, production and public administration (Moya, 1998). From these positions it was expected that they would be capable not only of injecting dynamism in a new regional development process, but also would be facilitating and supporting a change of attitude among Mayan and Ladino individuals.

Effective bridges of cultural interrelationship must also be built between the indigenous populations and the non-Indian technicians and professionals who work with Mayan communities (promoters, teachers, administrators, etc.). Many of the development projects in indigenous communities fail due to a lack
of sensitivity for the cultures of the intended beneficiaries. Non-Indian technical and professional staff have to understand, respect, and appreciate local cultures and, if possible, speak local languages and be sympathetic to motivations, ways of thinking, and decision making which are based on the cultural lifestyle of the people with whom they work. A program to raise the awareness and ethnic-cultural sensitivity of the non-Indian educators, promoters, technicians and all other people who work in Mayan fields would consequently be very effective (Herrera, 1991).

To save steps, and in view of the communication difficulties within the Mayan territory of Guatemala, the possibility of expanding current services of extension (branch) university education has to be designed and implemented nationwide. This would be the only way to rapidly and effectively reach potential students of education and other disciplines who are presently far removed, physically, socially, and psychologically, from higher education institutions. In order to ensure democratic participation PRODIPMA was created to help reduce the unavailability of indigenous professionals and their ensuing participation in public walks of life.

Guatemala’s indigenous population is currently struggling to diminish and ultimately eliminate the educational gap that has kept them apart from Ladino society and development. This social dynamic aims at solving both economic and cultural breaches as well as political isolation by ending one of the factors that has determined their historic subordination. According to Adams
and Bastos (2003), such a gap continues to exist. They contend that up to date changes are rather rare. Moreover, they stress that there is a notably reduced participation of indigenous students in superior education programs. As of today, between 5 to 6% of the total 130,000 university students nationwide are indigenous.\textsuperscript{12}

Because of the actuality described above, Rafael Landívar University submitted the Program for the Integral Development of the Mayan Population (PRODIPMA) to be considered and financially supported by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) in 1986.
Notes:

1 Acronym for the United States Agency for International Development-Guatemala's office.
2 According to the 2001 United Nations Development Program (UNDP) Annual report on Human development.
4 A Concept introduced in an essay written by Ricardo Lima and published by the Rigoberta Menchu Foundation in Revista Tzijonik No. 2., Guatemala, 1999.
5 To see a list of the Mayan languages spoken in Guatemala, and the number of speakers, language maps and boundaries, etc., see G. Herrera “Presente y futuro de los Idiomas Mayas de Guatemala”, included in Lima, R. “Aproximación a la Cosmovisión Maya”, URL-IDIES. Guatemala, 1995.
6 According to the 1870's Census, there were 1,080,000 inhabitants, approximately 38% of the total were children between 7-12 years of age, as it appears in Enciclopedia de Guatemala, 1999.
7 Which means that Mayan and other indigenous languages had not even been taken into account for statistics or other indexes, because they are not part of the Guatemalan state’s interest, in terms of “modernization.”
8 According to England, Nora in her “Fundamentos de Linguistica Maya,” Ed. Cholsamaj, Guatemala, 1986. Assimilating policies are those who are forcibly (with no alternatives) inducted and directed to the indigenous population in order to make them be literate only in Spanish and thus make their languages useless and biased.
9 As a consequence of the Guatemalan “civilizing project” all educational policies enacted by MINEDUC were based on promoting Spanish as the national only official culture and language. Relegating indigenous cultures to local use and folkloric appearance.
10 Especially in locating or propitiating new political areas of public participation, which historically had been neglected for the Maya Population. The same applies for better job salaries and conditions, that require higher levels of specialization and technical skills, most of which had been exclusively reserved for Ladino individuals.
11 The candidates’ profile consisted basically in speaking a Mayan language and culture traditions, be within the age range (18-35), be proposed by a prestigious institution which would guaranty his/her commitment towards community issues, and a written compromise stating intentions of working, once graduated, to enhance Mayan culture and peoples. See Chapter 2, Program Description.
12 According to UNDP 2003 Annual Report on Human Development (Guatemala).
Chapter II: Description of the Components of PRODIPMA

The original proposal approved by USAID/G-CAP and Rafael Landívar University (URL) in 1986, established the purpose of PRODIPMA. The program was based on the premise to inaugurate the integral social-economic development as well as the progress of individuals of the Mayan population of Guatemala. The program aimed at training human resources to become capable of fully participating in planning and implementing development in the present and the future of Guatemala while they maintained and enhanced their own cultural identity and values.

2.1 Critical Analysis of the Components of PRODIPMA:

PRODIPMA's chief goals were outlined in the description of the program submitted to the USAID office in Guatemala. It included three important elements that deserve to be discussed. The first element was subjacent direct action in terms of propitiating self-sustainable and self-generated development for the Mayan population of Guatemala. A first-hand implication consisted of a supposed assertion stating that the indigenous population historically had never been able to control its own development, and therefore, was in need of external intervention to be able to gain access to such development. The proposed action consisted of "the integral human and socio-economic development of
Guatemala’s indigenous population.” The term “integral” refers not only to the targeted population quantitative issues but, mainly, to qualitative ones. In other words, it somehow included the concern for the full integration of this population into the economically active sector of the country. Such inclusion and participation in both private and public domains meant accessibility to better paid jobs because of the demand for technically and professionally qualified personnel, plus access to loans and establishment of savings accounts would improve their living conditions. A second implication consisted of asserting that this population, once they had finished their studies at the university, would probably choose to change their former traditional, peasant-rural lifestyle for some other lifestyle considered as “modern.” Such a change could include extended knowledge, skills, and working methods that would help them to become integrated, consequently, into a more productive life—job markets, consumerism, and the use of public and private services—through their new social status as professionals. So far, integrating Mayan professionals into the economically active social sector of the country, though undoubtedly important, would not be the only factor for their anticipated integration. Access for the new Mayan professionals to specialized jobs would imply, at the same time, access to political areas or, at least, to positions in the national and public circles formerly inaccessible for indigenous individuals (Cojti, 1992).

The second element consisted of a process called intervening mediation. That is a suitable academic program such as PRODIPMA, which guarantee the
acquisition of knowledge, capability, and skills by the alumni in order to fully participate in "planning and implementing Guatemala's future," as stated in the program's goals. On one hand, the most essential part of the program, aimed at educating new professionals, was designed for three levels of degrees, namely, a) Licenciatura (B.A./B.S.), b) University technicians, and c) Bilingual teachers. It is important, at this point, to offer a brief analysis of these levels of study, so as to clarify the anticipated effects within the design of the program. In other words, I anticipate unveiling the reasons that underlie the proportional assignation provided by the program's expectations to each of the three anticipated levels of study and the minimum skills needed in the development of the sought after human resources. It is clear, however, that the three levels bear an implicit pre-planned impact of intention upon differentiated socio-economic sectors. For the group of persons trained through the licenciatura level (a degree program with an average of 5 years of courses and field practice), PRODIPMA looked for diverse participation of indigenous professionals who had leading roles in management, administration, and other high-level posts. This implied both authority and responsibility which involved directly and making as well as effecting decisions institutionally. The desired positions to be attained by the new indigenous professionals were those situated in international organizations, cooperative agencies, and public services within the Government such as Dirección de Educación Bilingüe Intercultural [Intercultural Bilingual Education Directorate] (DIGEBI), and Ministerio de Educación [Ministry of Education] (MINEDUC). The
anticipated target was especially proposed for the attainment of important jobs at Dirección Departamental de Educación [Provincial Education Directorate], where the indigenous professionals would initiate changes in favor of bilingual intercultural education for the Maya communities. Also considered were positions in the Ministerio de Cultura y Deportes [Ministry of Culture and Sports], where indigenous professionals would be able to help to enhance Mayan culture pride and establish positive interrelations with other cultures. Another interesting social sector considered within the program was the goal of targeting different private and public universities and schools, where PRODIPMA’s alumni would occupy administrative and academic posts, creating the chance to become actual models for young Mayans, and gain wide respect as highly qualified scientists and academicians. Attainment of such posts and functions seemed possible for this group of Mayan professionals which would in turn give them the opportunity and have a significant impact as activists working in favor of strengthening Mayan culture by helping to revise and improve diverse current educational policies that, as we have clarified formerly, consisted of educational and political policies characterized by the exclusion of the Maya. At that time current policies did not include the cultural values of the indigenous which were excluded from all curricular content. Furthermore, however, the Maya had been profiled according to effectual discriminatory criteria and an attitude of intolerance which were instilled in both indigenous and Ladino teacher training schools (escuelas normales). For instance, history texts, among others, approved
and edited by MINEDUC for the entire national educational system, continued to contain an extensive amount of stereotyped information (Peláez, 1992), ideologically manipulated through an ethnocentric view that promoted a contrast of confrontation between that of hegemonic and subaltern cultures, namely Western (Spanish-modern) and Indigenous (Mayan-backwardness). As of today, one of the most terrible consequences generated by this situation is that both Ladino and Mayan children are taught through these texts which logically generate negative stereotyped attitudes in cross-culture relations. As a result, Ladino children are very likely to learn to act out behaviors based on racism and consequently discriminate against other cultures, expressions, and persons; whereas, Mayan children, exposed to feelings of shame, are thus made to feel inferior because of their culture and identity. They are weakened in their self-esteem and ability to enjoy positive social-intercultural relations.

The second level of university training provided by PRODIPMA/URL was the level of university technician. This is an intermediate level with university accreditation while in progress of attaining. This level requires three years of course study and practice. This level includes diverse programs of study that provide some specialization and skills in areas such as commerce, teaching high school, graphic design, etc. These are programs generally planned to enhance skills and qualify personnel that may help or assist other professionals like engineers, physicians, psychologists, and so forth. For example, the kind of training and knowledge provided to a nurse are compatible to the skills and
knowledge achieved by a medical surgeon, but only in lesser difficulty and completeness.

The anticipated final goal to be reached through this group of technical professionals was to provide highly qualified personnel expertise for some productive functions like developing bilingual texts, and other materials for rural bilingual schools. Similar objectives were established for social workers, who needed to be trained to analyze and deal with various kinds of community needs. Something similar was designed to train specialized bilingual teachers who would efficiently perform culturally pertinent methodologies and bilingual intercultural education. The anticipated institutional impact sought from this training level has been considered of high interest since the program was looking to promote specific coherence between the highest educational authorities and rural teachers. MINEDUC’s authorities are usually bureaucrats with university degrees who are normally responsible for designing and executing educational policies enacted by the "despacho" (Ministry's office). Such actions strongly contrast with those executed by the true protagonists (school teachers) who give life and impetus to policies implemented in the prevailing programs. The importance arises when we realize that the real actions enacted in education, in most cases, have been implemented by people trained in technical programs precisely similar to the one we are analyzing now.

I may call attention to two special situations through which we might understand the importance of performances deployed by these university
technicians. On one hand, we can see that legal translators who have gained significant experience working directly in courts in different geographical and linguistic regions of the country, have facilitated the fundamental right for indigenous individuals accused of apparently committing misdemeanors and felonies, the fundamental right to be defended in their native languages through translation of each process of the legal procedures orally and with access to a written version in both languages, Spanish and Mayan. On the other hand, we have bilingual teachers who are not only native Mayan language speakers, but, additionally, have been properly trained with methodologies and pertinent didactics for children to learn their own languages and cultures.

The third university training program consisted of designing and executing a program with the objective of enhancing the skills of bilingual teachers on site without requiring them to leave their schools. This factor was strategic, especially in rural areas and schools with predominantly indigenous populations. The ultimate goal in this case consisted of directly supporting MINEDUC's bilingual institution DIGEBI, which is in charge of planning and executing all educational initiatives for Mayan populations, as well as teaching Maya-Spanish bilingual intercultural education. The different parts of this program were shorter but executed with higher frequency, especially in areas where elementary school teachers as well as bilingual education supervisors were trained. The program aimed at improving the knowledge of teachers in the proper use of bilingual texts and materials, and how to integrate didactic
methods designed for bilingual elementary schools. The ultimate goal consisted in providing all Mayan communities served by these teachers with higher quality and appropriate education.

In short, URL’s PRODIPMA program oriented its training strategies to Mayan population in order to help them become highly qualified protagonists (activists) in social roles, functions, and services traditionally reserved and performed by non-indigenous persons. Many times the Ladino population has been completely unaware or unwilling to support ideas for indigenous causes, their cultures and the development of their communities. Such a leading role inherently supports the probable idea and dynamics to actively create, help open or initiate new areas of participation in diverse levels in the life of the country’s institutions. In fact, there is an implicit coherence concerning the anticipated impact for the achievement of participation in new areas which are very unlikely to be attained by solely creating isolated segments of intervention. The program, therefore, since the very beginning, was defined with the idea of integrally preparing Mayan sectors of the population through higher education programs at the three pre-analyzed university levels: licenciatura, técnicos universitarios, and maestros bilingües (bilingual teachers). Student training in these three levels recognized that the envisioned impact by the alumni of PRODIPMA became evident upon the reality of the nation. Consequent effects caused concrete actions and participation within public realms through dissemination and circulation of more original and independent Mayan rationale. Such effects were
not only going to be lasting but, additionally, would promote the dissemination of elements that would be mutually enriching for Ladino and Mayan professionals. The anticipated actions and results would follow respectful relationships between academic and politic leaders representing a diversity of linguistic-cultural groups of the country. This would be the most healthy and meaningful principle for a true democratizing process among Guatemala’s socio-cultural sectors, plus the advent of more equitable, balanced, and respectful relations among these groups. With the aforementioned concepts, actions, and changes in attitude, constructive for the foreseen analysis of the impact on the diverse social and institutional sectors benefited by the program, it becomes easier and clearer to visualize the institutional idea of “future” that lies implicit among PRODIPMA program objectives.

As more participation by the alumni in positions dealing with direct decision making are established at different levels, more positive, cordial, respectful, and mutually enriching interethnic relations in Guatemala will develop (Herrera, 1992; Gallo, 1990). Such developments and changes, of course, were not obviously perceived as occurring in the short term. The program anticipated, in a more conscious way, a progressive and more extended process consisting of culturally sensitizing and thus changing the attitudes of the extended indigenous population that would be positively influenced in their intercultural development. However, additionally, Ladino sectors would undoubtedly be positively affected by academic programs and thus be sensitized
in order to establish more dignifying and respectful social and political behaviors based on mutual interethnic relations.

The third constitutive element of the program consisted of more culturally relevant academic support for the indigenous students. This support was provided throughout the duration of program which was concerned with reinforcing the enhancement of the students' prided in their culture and Mayan identity. This element became indispensable for our analysis because of its ineludible inclusion into all curricular contents designed for the diverse academic programs in which PRODIPMA students were registered. The effective production of knowledge was defined not only by being very careful in the education of the students through appropriate instruction that included contemporary subjects, themes, theories, and authors. The critical approach to a diversity of ways of thinking and ideological trends resolutely supported the academic structure exposing students to multicultural components for their comprehension and appreciation. However, in a very emphatic way, they been trained by very specific transversal curricula which propitiated not only maintaining but enhancing the students' sense of cultural belonging. The implicit intention, therefore, consisted not only in creating a university program that voluntarily or not, could have been of a character predisposed to cultural assimilation. And this was so because all PRODIPMA students were immersed into knowledge, language, and values alien to their Mayan culture. The permanent risk was that in the end of the professional university training, the
students might have been affected by acculturating and alienating modifications, by assuming elitist Western values, the Spanish language, and Western world perspective or what was called "Abraham's Paradox" (Moreiras, 1996). The designers of Rafael Landívar University's curriculum were aware of those risks and hence included courses and training concepts which strengthened identity and developed critical ways of thinking as an anticipated response.

In regard to solidifying a formal response to this issue and as a strategic proposal of the operating plan within PRODIPMA, we find the program's commitment that "promotes a policy of linguistic recuperation, conservation, enhancement, modernization, and dissemination of all Mayan languages." (Project Proposal: 14). In some stances, and concrete for the university majors certain disciplines were designed and strengthened because they were considered to be critically urgency, of a higher interest or usefulness for the indigenous communities of the country. These disciplines included linguistics, bilingual education, and legal translation. A structure for curricular content was established which included Mayan cultural themes, pedagogic use of Mayan languages, providing all indigenous students concerned with education in Maya communities with learning-teaching tools and skills.

There is another planned strategy which is not directly included within the curricular content of the courses of study for those subjects which form the majors of the university. We can find the strategy in the form of complementary courses which have been identified as culturally pertinent and in seminars which
deal with the development of ethnic-consciousness. These seminars were directed not only at the Mayan students of URL-PRODIPMA, but they were also held to be academic activities open to all URL's students, faculty, and other administrative personnel. These seminars were designed to sensitize all non-Mayan personnel at URL to Mayan cultural values and encourage more tolerant and respectful attitudes and behavior toward cultural diversity and their representative individuals, especially within academia.

Now, focusing on a transcendental result, it is necessary to analyze in this section PRODIPMA's Component No. 10, related to the research on the reality of Guatemala. This component was organized and executed at Landívar University's main campus in Guatemala City. This important component had, as a general objective, the continuous research of a diversity of aspects concerning the reality of Guatemala. The ultimate goal was to provide academic feedback to the program. One of its most important actions and achievements was the foundation of URL Institute of Linguistics, a semi-autonomous institution formally organized in order to devote its actions to rigorous research projects. As its name indicates, the initial research themes were mostly directed toward linguistic aspects of the Mayan languages spoken in Guatemala. A very small team of specialists were hired in 1986, who devoted their research functions to reviewing initial Maya alphabet proposals, grammars, and some other written materials in Mayan languages, with the idea of gathering phonetic and phonemic coherence criteria, thus establishing common normative and writing techniques.
The team was formed by national and American linguists and they were scientifically trained to use appropriate contemporary techniques for analyzing, constructing, and using Mayan alphabets in order to write books, texts, and other readings in these languages. During the 1980’s there was only one program in use to write some Mayan languages. This program was created by a group of American religious who were working with indigenous communities with the objective of evangelizing them into the Christian faith. This group of religious, however, lacked technicians trained in Mayan languages as well as scientific approaches to contemporary linguistics. As a consequence, the materials produced and distributed by this institution, Instituto Lingüístico de Verano [Summer Linguistics Institute] (ILV), were rather empirically developed material and practically lacked language normative and morpho-syntactic structures as well as phonologic adequacy to the Mayan languages. In other words, the staff of ILV were more concerned with “spreading the word” than actually producing rigorous linguistic materials.

The URL Institute of Linguistics began research activities on diverse aspects of Mayan languages descriptive linguistics analysis, analytic linguistics, and socio-linguistics. One important study contributed to the establishment of national principles by ultimately attaining the distinction of having helped to define technically the “21 Guatemalan Mayan languages unified alphabet.” This alphabet was ratified by the National Congress in 1985 and became the cornerstone of indigenous rights which helped to secure other important political
achievements like the Congressional decree for the foundation of the Guatemalan Mayan Languages Academy (ALMG), in 1986. When this Academy was founded, it began its activities organized by exclusively indigenous personnel representing most of Guatemala's Mayan ethno-linguistic groups. It became the dominant institution for everything related to Mayan languages, alphabet, syntax, writing, etc. From its side, URL Institute of Linguistics has played a very important role in providing advice for determining both the technical and administrative functions of ALMG. Once the unified alphabet of Mayan languages was approved by the Congress, the Institute of Linguistics (ILE) focused its efforts on producing grammars, dictionaries, and a variety of written materials in diverse languages. (Herrera, 1986). The immediate challenge of ILE developed not only producing bilingual materials but, especially, to adapting them didactically for elementary school use as learning-teaching tools to improve reading-learning skills. Because of the complexity of bilingual education these materials needed to be developed according to a very specific methodology which needed to include Mayan language methods as a first language, and thus, systematize in-classroom use and a solid validation process. Consequently, ILE oriented its research efforts toward constructing an efficient and useful bilingual method with materials, texts, and teacher training. The production of linguistic materials was not circumscribed exclusively to creating or adapting methodologies for pedagogic use. Producing these materials relied upon anthropologic and ethnographic research processes including observation,
participation, and description phases through communal and in/out-of-the-classroom environments. From within this activity, a wide range of materials began to emerge, due to ethnographic studies concerning diversity of culture values, traits, and expressions, applied to different environments in which schools are located which include urban, semi-urban, and rural schools, and various aspects including numerous economic activities, social mobility, bilingual levels, among other considerations. Following the production of these materials production, several books were written dealing with a number of oral traditions of communities, poetry, art, and craftsmanship. The literary biographies of Mayan leaders were compiled as well as ethnographic videos, which have provided "living" models for Ladino and Mayan students. Information derived from the diverse research performed by the Institute was of crucial importance for the production of educational texts that included cultural and linguistic congruity from original contexts.

Undoubtedly, one of the greatest achievements of URL Institute of Linguistics was the creation of an alternative educational bilingual model. The bilingual model took the name of "Franja de Lengua y Cultura Maya" (Mayan Language and Culture Track), consisting of controlled range of time and activities allotted into the schedule within the three basic years of elementary school. Forty-five minutes were devoted daily to this learning track, in which Mayan culture curricular contents were introduced. Some examples are reading and writing in a Mayan language called Kaqchikel, as well as games, art, and the
Mayan world perspective. The Mayan language and culture track was applied in rural and semi-urban schools with student populations ranging from mostly Mayan to mostly Ladino. However, there was always a blending of both cultures and languages. Such a research project consisted basically in introducing this curricular track in both “pilot” and “control” schools. The former were intervened with appropriate materials and previously well trained bilingual teachers, while, the latter were provided with “official” materials and teachers, but were equally evaluated, especially in cross-cultural student relations, class averages, attitudes, etc. This research was conducted for four years, from 1987 to 1990, and the final results indicated that there was a significant difference between schools with intervention and schools without intervention. (see Salazar T., 1990). In schools where the “track” was applied both Ladino and Mayan children improved not only in their academic performance, but also in their inter-ethnic relations by being more respectful, cordial, and inclusive. Culturally differentiated groups were positive and naturally willing to strengthen friendship and cooperative links among their members by forming study groups, organizing team games, etc. (Salazar Tetzaguic, 1993). This bilingual education experimental model was honored as “exemplary” and of “national interest” by the Ministry of Education (MINEDUC) in 1994.

The most relevant achievements performed under Component No. 10 were the creation of appropriate methods and didactics for Mayan languages as first language (L1), which were needed in the acquisition of skills in literacy for
bilingual children attending the first three years of elementary school. In addition, reading-writing skills transference was achieved through a methodologically controlled application to learn, speak, and write Spanish as a second language (L2). The process comprised both elements, namely, teaching Mayan as a first language and the transference of abilities into Spanish, soon became a more integral proposal called "Método de Enfoque Total (MET)" (Total Focusing Method). This method was used and continues to be used in various bilingual community schools, especially in the Q'eqchi' ethno-linguistic area of northern Guatemala. Nevertheless, this proposal has its limits for improving reading-writing skills in both languages. It has not been continued to include developing texts in Mayan languages that might contain Mayan oriented curriculum as well as cognitive elements provided by the Maya culture. On the contrary, one of the greater defects found in bilingual education, is that once indigenous children achieve a certain level of proficiency in both languages, then knowledge and curricular contents are henceforth based on "official" contents of western origin from there on (Richards, 1993). In other words, once acceptable idiomatic proficiency is normally attained between third and fourth grades of elementary school, bilingual education converts to a normalizing process toward elitist knowledge and values of the ruling culture: Spanish. Nonetheless, something has been gained. All this production of applicable methodologies, texts, and didactics, have enhanced official education processes and programs at the national level which in turn have produced considerable political impact. It
has been successfully acceptable to persuade MINEDUC technicians and authorities to design and create bilingual education policies by implementing specific bilingual programs, projects, and the Bilingual-Intercultural Education Directorate (DIGEBI). Most of these efforts are already enforced as official policies applied to educational services provided to the population of Mayan children in Guatemala.

During the existence of PRODIPMA, URL Institute of Linguistics (ILE) edited more than 300 new titles (see 2003 ILE's publication catalogue) related to bilingual education, specifically of Mayan origin. Among these are 19 descriptive, pedagogic, and normative Mayan language grammars. As of today ILE continues with its research and scholarly functions as a permanent academic unit of Landívar University, administratively and financially sustained with own funds and other proposals financed by international agencies. It continues to produce different materials for the development and qualitative improvement of bilingual-intercultural education in Guatemala. Thus, ILE continues to expand training programs designed to update knowledge and in-class procedures for bilingual teachers by offering Diplomado7 university programs (sometimes accredited academically by URL) and workshops. In this way the important national corps of these educators, teachers, supervisors, and directors of bilingual school directors can be kept up to date. Moreover, ILE has maintained as important participation within the Educative Reform process which had been mandated in Guatemala’s Peace Accords ratified between Guatemala’s
Government and the guerrilla group "Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca (URNG)" (Guatemala's National Revolutionary Unity), in December 1996.
Notes:

1 G. Herrera had the hypothesis that once Mayans were trained and achieved professional status the traditional discriminating Guatemalan market would open up its doors to such professionals. Ladino employers had been forever neglecting working posts to indigenous applicants.

2 According to the conclusions included in the research’s final report of “Estereotipos Culturales en los textos Educativos para la Educacion Primaria en Guatemala”, performed and edited by PRODIPMA-URL, Guatemala, 1991.

3 A. Gallo is author of various important publications that critically presented and analyzed the ethics of culture and grass roots, as well as proposed theoretical approaches to understanding and constructing the national identity for a multicultural country. Publications like Identidad Nacional and El Otro, mi Hermano, the former published by URL in 1998 and the latter, in 1990. G. Herrera, written the first critical approach to Guatemala’s education history were she analyzed failures of educational policies enacted by Ladino ruled governments. Estado del Arte de la Educacion Bilingüe en Guatemala, was published by URL in 1992.

4 See how these disciplines were of crucial importance to not only form and train indigenous professionals to participate as protagonists of peace talks and the nation’s democratic discussions, but, especially, for occupying strategic post that were not demanded by Ladino professionals. It thus meant a quite thoughtful and peaceful strategy to open up spaces of participation without confronting Ladino domains.

5 Nora England, Judith Maxwell, and Steve Stewart were some of the American counterparts; Guillermina Herrera, María Rosa Fernández, and Martín Chacach, formed the Guatemalan team.

6 I was a member of ILE’s team and had written several books including a children’s bilingual dictionary, books on literature and readings, university-level texts, research reports, and ethnographic videos, from 1990 to 1994, under the PRODIPMA-URL-USAID and other European agency’s sponsorship.

7 Diplomado University programs are short term programs (1-2 semesters), established to provide specific knowledge and skills for improving quality in their interventions. They can have academic credits or not, and are given in different levels: pre-grade, graduate, etc.
Chapter III: The Academic, Institutional, and Political Policies of URL\textsuperscript{1}.

3.1 Introduction:

According to Guillermína Herrera, the current vice-president of Rafael Landívar University, the academic project is based on two dimensions, namely, social responsibility and political function. The aspect of social responsibility is totally coherent in its nature and purpose with UNESCO's "Declaración sobre la Educación Superior en el Siglo XXI: Visión y Acción" (XXI Century Superior Education Declaration: Vision and Action), held in Paris, France, on October 5-9, 1998. There it was stated that one of the more important goals to be achieved by the institutional universities of the world is to "propose and procure solutions for the social, economic, politic, and cultural problems and controversies in order to improve living conditions and advance the access of individuals to a better life." (1998: 16).

Rafael Landívar University, Herrera sustains, has included in its founding statements that one of its goals is prudently orienting and transforming Guatemalan society. Moreover, included in URL's mission statement we can read that the University must be immersed within national existence by means of continually studying, in an operative and interdisciplinary manner, the country's difficulties, with a sense of responsibility and compromise. Its duty is concerned with the production of relevant knowledge to help understand, objectively, all social problems, as well as to persist in proposing strategies and alternatives in
order to generate a genuine transformation of Guatemala’s society for a more humane and dignified standard of living and for more opportunities.

Such a social concern is based upon Jesuit (Ignatian) thought which stands for promulgating an “enlightened” ministry defined earlier by Ignacio de Loyola, founder of the Company of Jesus or Jesuits, as an evangelizing strategy. The Jesuits embraced educational institutions such as schools, colleges, and universities for the main reason based on their perceived need to: “procure the word’s agency and modes in order to use them toward helping to better know and serve God, our Lord and Creator.” (Kolvenbach, 2001). The Company’s compromise, as Kolvenbach defines it, is now known as “intellectual compromise”. This concept is a consequence of MAGIS which is defined as the result of searching for greater apostolic service by entering into the realms of a culture. MAGIS, henceforth, implies excellent quality knowledge together with action, dynamism, and intervention upon reality as consciously perceived. According to the constitution of the Company, there is no disjunction between God and world. They consider that the encounter with God always has to be experienced in the phenomenal world. Moreover, it is so to raise the world through the utter realization of God. (CG 34,d.4, 7).

By the end of century 16th a Spanish Jesuit, Diego de Ledesma, presented four reasons why the Jesuit Company was concerned with and devoted to higher education. It is interesting, however, that he included declarations which are similar to those found in many of the “declaration of mission statements” of
Jesuit universities throughout the world. While Ledesma made these comparable statements more than 400 years ago, theses objectives and directions, of course, have been updated to comply with contemporary needs, demands and way of thinking.

The first reason stated by Ledesma is “facilitating the means for students which they need for proper development throughout their lives.” (M Paed, 1996: 528-529). That statement today reads: “Jesuit education is eminently pragmatic, and is oriented to providing students with appropriate knowledge and skills to help them succeed in any effort they choose.” (Ibid.). This reason is synthesized in the concept of academic excellency.

The second reason proposed by Ledesma is to “contribute direct and faithful governance to public affairs.” (Ibid.). This rather short phrase has been changed in 1998 to: “Jesuit education is not merely pragmatic, but has a strong link with the matter of values, educating men and women to make them become good citizens, good leaders, always concerned with society’s common good and capable of serving with their education on matters of faith and justice promotion.” (Ibid.).

The third premise of the Company regarding superior education stands for: “providing illuminated splendor and perfection to the human being’s rational nature.” The statement that has recently been translated into: “Jesuit education enhances the enormous potentialities and achievements of the human
intellect, and acknowledges its confidence in reason not as opposed to faith but as its necessary complement.” (Ibid.).

The fourth reason presented by Ledesma stressed how all efforts in higher education are guided toward God as a: “provider of value expressed in a religion that conduces man in a smoother and more secure way toward attaining his ultimate goal.” (Ibid.). However, corresponding to this statement, the modern version declares: “Jesuit education clearly focuses all its efforts upon Christian perspective of the human person as God’s creature, whose teleological fate is situated beyond human matters.” (Ibid.). In short, it is clear that Loyola and the first Jesuits saw that literature and sciences were an instrumentality devoted to the service of souls.

Guillermina Herrera acknowledges that even though URL defines itself as a Catholic university, it is an institution that is open for the professional development of all persons regardless of their ethnic origin, gender, religion, and so forth. It is true, she has emphasized, that URL defined its goals and mission based upon what is called “Ignatian inspiration.” She wanted to clarify the University’s slogan “Academic Excellence with Values” supports the academic content; values are expressed by ethical persons who have self-respect, behave in a dignified manner, and maintain respectful relations with marginal sectors of Guatemalan society, namely, the poor and indigenous.

There are no regular academic courses based on religious contents. Some of them may discuss Pastoral Letters or various Papal Encyclicals (i.e., Rerum
Novarum, Pace in Terris, and others), but as critical analysis to historic texts regarding human rights and personals values. Hence, URL is centered on establishing personal values and perceiving and comprehending the diversity of the culture and languages of Guatemala. URL set, academically, but nonetheless pragmatically, ways for promoting diversity in culture through overcoming discrimination, racism, and social stereotypes applied to the indigenous population.

Francesco Chiodi\textsuperscript{2} acknowledges the public image and participation of URL by asserting that a sector of the Guatemalan Church based a number of its social strategies on ideas originating from the Vatican Concilium II which recognized need for of toleration and the promotion of ethnic, cultural, and linguistic pluralism. By promulgating this social issue, the Catholic Church throughout the world provided the force for the application and coordination of ethno-developing initiatives. According to Chiodi (1990: 209), one of the Guatemalan institutions that represents pluralistic and avant-garde thoughts regarding culture diversity is Rafael Landívar University. He affirms that the URL Institute of Linguistics (ILE) has been at the forefront in important work in the field of applied and descriptive linguistics and the training of indigenous professionals through the program called PRODIPMA. He emphasizes the "new" majors and disciplines like Licenciatura en Lingüística and Licenciatura en Educación Bilingüe. Chiodi acknowledges that Landívar actively participated in the Second National Linguistic Congress (1990), where it proposed and
supported the unified alphabet of Mayan languages. He affirms that URL also organized mid-level (3 years) of university courses for specialization of supervisors and technicians from the Ministry of Education (MINEDUC) and PRONEBI. Chiodi concludes that URL as well as some other institutions greatly helped improve bilingual education for indigenous communities by helping them to slowly yet firmly get started on their path toward development.

Nevertheless, URL has been experiencing higher operating costs and therefore has reduced current public accessibility to higher studies. In this regard, Herrera acknowledges that the university has grown continually and has approximately 15,000 students at the main campus, and about 5,000 attending the university branch campuses throughout the country. This fact implies two conditions: (1) URL has invested huge sums of money in infrastructure: buildings, laboratories, administrative, and academic facilities, among others. (2) URL has no other source of income other than academic tuition and fees paid by the students. Herrera recognizes that in Guatemala there is not yet a culture of providing donations to universities by institutions or alumni and philanthropic individuals. Hence, URL depends completely on its student enrollment for its source of funds. Such a situation compels regular increases in tuition and other fees. The social implication is that URL is a private university which has been transformed into a very expensive institution. Consequently enrollment at URL is limited for students who are from the lower to lower-middle classes: URL has changed into an elitist university. Because of such an implication economically,
URL is more likely to be educating elite leaders who will have less access and interest in working for solutions in helping improve cultural, economic and political controversies. Because of this predicament, Landívar has been catering to the Ladino social sector, who traditionally enjoys better economic circumstances which permit them to afford educational costs as an investment. While, on the other hand, indigenous students continue to depend on the availability of scholarships and continue to experience limitations for access to higher education.

Returning to academic matters, Landívar encourages alumni and faculty to constantly research different aspects of society. Herrera contends that research-based problematical issues of society attests to the political function of URL. Moreover, she considers URL an institution of social interest because, as she said, “It has emerged and explains its nature and functionality from inside the society.” Although URL is of private character, it directs its objectives toward analyzing the public milieu and introducing solutions to national problems. As a consequence, URL’s educational project sets the goal of promoting and procuring a healthy and ethically strong evolvement of persons. According to Herrera, this is the institution’s teleological goal. At the same time, URL has a political function as well, which may be held as the art of providing order to forces of society through the instrumentality of selecting persons who undergo the process of attaining dignity. This implies that knowledge produced
inside academia must guide society through values during its continuous search for the best means to achieve certain beneficial social impact.

It is known, however, that the university practices these functions on the bases of academia, which is what constitutes its essential identity. The university, on the other hand, cannot afford to be a political-party, a charity organization, or an NGO. Its specific duty, says Herrera, is "gathering, constructing, and disseminating knowledge, broadly, with no prejudice or social privileges," and, consequently, it has to loan out its contribution for social order.

Rafael Landívar University was founded in 1961 by a group of professional laity and Jesuits. Henceforth, URL was born with principles based on Loyola's inspirational thought, as formerly defined. Loyola fought for broad equable access of each individual to happiness, education, and opportunities for personal integral development. According to Loyola's inspiration, URL focuses its actions on gathering valid information regarding Guatemala's social, cultural, economic, and political reality in order to critically analyze the information, propose actions and solutions to any encompassing problem. Efforts are then focused on work for the development of conscientious citizens who are later going to evolve into national leaders.

3.2 The Social Obligation of Rafael Landívar University:
Herrera affirms that all academic enterprises of the university's have to include content highly oriented socially. It seeks, for instance, to help create enlightened
professionals who must provide service of highly quality to society. URL’s educational project is oriented to form men and women “for the others,” with a focus on superior development in scientific and professional fields. This focus is founded on seriously chosen humanistic and ethical criteria. But, moreover, with a research and social orientation URL looks constantly to direct its actions to society through application of scientific, technical, and aesthetic knowledge. URL remains conscious that by going beyond a mere generic contribution, it has to continually propose specific solutions for the proper responses to the very real social situations and particular social problems of Guatemala society. Guillermima Herrera, affirmed that the University cannot be alien or indifferent to its surroundings; on the contrary, she emphasized that it has to be situated and oriented toward it, and, consequently, take on society’s needs and urgencies as if they belonged to the university. That is why social and cultural “pertinence” is one of the vital characteristics of URL’s academic and educational project.

This essential sense of “pertinence” is what helps URL to focus and pursue specific values in science, aesthetics, and techniques, in order to fabricate the needed and most suitable methods. URL, in accordance to MAGIS, consists of a body of conscious professionals, who have to intervene in the reality of Guatemala by helping the country to transform itself into an environment capable of allowing persons to be aware of their self-worth.
3.3 The Political Function of Rafael Landívar University:

Herrera stated that academia constitutes the most inner nature of the university. What remains true of the concerns and works of the university are knowledge (science) and know-how (method and technique). The influence of the university that has to be exercised upon society is the strength of knowledge and wisdom, which have to be directed toward the empowerment of a diverse cast of characters in society by the through transfer of knowledge and constructive skills. Through this actions URL considers itself to be a contributor to the interaction of power in society.

URL exercises political action by projecting knowledge on society in order to transform it. The job and responsibility of URL begin by attaining the understanding reality within which the university dwells and thus generates analyses, diagnoses, and debates. Precisely originating from this critical presence within the reality of Guatemala, and the quality and quantity of knowledge that it may generate, there must emerge new paradigms of socially pertinent relations, which would enhance intercultural relationships among persons of diverse cultural origins based on the respect for peace. That is why the university must generate original scientific, creditable, methodological, and technical knowledge which can be applied positively to social sciences. Moreover, URL's political work corresponds to promotion of ethics and the practice of values. URL interprets its duties in this way because the only means to socially achieve the desired common good is to build upon solid principles
that can guarantee the humanness of human beings and their relations with other persons and ethical environment. Herrera continues saying that such duties would achieve along with the emotional and affective dynamics the ability for society to pursue the common good, leaving behind the selfishness of particular individuals and group interests.

3.4 Rafael Landivar University and the Peace Project of Guatemala:

Herrera affirms from the perspective of URL’s political function, the university devotes itself to meditating and unconditionally creating the vision of a new peaceful nation. Guatemala has suffered so much human pain and physical devastation as a consequence of a long internal social war. The important duty of URL consists of exploring different means for formulating proposals and then make them become real in order to find genuine solutions to the many problems related to reconstructing the country. “This is an internal demand that strongly calls for URL’s vocation of social responsibility,” Herrera, confirms.

The University establishes a compromise on exploring its own inventive capability and innovating forces without falling prey to the error of attempting to establish apparent utopias. The social complexity and its multicultural-multilingual background demand not only sustainable efforts but also a critical and permanent combination of both comprehending and intervening in the real situation.
The new project of the nation involves a variety of issues such as the basic standards for creating appropriate environments to enhance and support the emergence of a healthy civil society. Once standards were established, there would be focus on propositions such as political reforms dealing with decentralization and creating independent administrative regions. Basic standards could enable a transformation toward a trustworthy application of justice against impunity, and thus promote sustainable development, making a factual analysis of the rural situation, ethnic groups, processes of socialization, and many other topics that might be fundamental axes for the social changes which are needed.

3.5 The Educational Project of URL:

According to Guillermina Herrera, URL’s social responsibility and political function motivate the institution into being a relevant educational project. Because it has consciousness of its milieu, URL is realistic and open to propositions. Knowledge based upon reality stands indispensable. Such knowledge constantly originates reflections, proposals, and initiatives as vital responses to the social environment. This position which confronts reality is congruous with the different fields of study as well as with scientific disciplines and learning offered by URL in the development of professionals and for all research projects to be performed as part of the function as a social project. In regard to the different majors offered by the URL, Herrera stresses that cultural
relatedness is the main guide for establishing objectives and curricular contents for all courses. Their ongoing re-vitalization continues in relation with, and based upon the detected social problems targeted for adequate intervention.

An aspect of what this activity implies is understood in terms of pragmatism and desirable work in society to be deployed by the students of URL as part of their academic training. The Department of Law and the Department of Humanities, among others, have within their required academic components, diverse programs of support directed toward the most needy sectors of society. The School of Law sponsors a “Bufete Popular” (Legal Aid) where all law students must work on legal cases presented by persons who do not have economic resources to pay expensive attorney fees but are in need of professional and legal advice and counseling.

The Department of Humanities supports a Psychology Clinic that coordinates the activities and studies of students to provide psychological services to the most impoverished members of the community. Nevertheless, perceived needs and demands on the development of new professionals who are consciously aware of their social and cultural surroundings increasingly request a greater and productive academic spectrum in order to serve and have some impact on society. Rafael Landívar University, through its continuing search for both intellectual and practical alternatives, is able to offer a solid academic response to the process of building the integral development of the country. The university responds by exploring not only theoretical trends and in-classroom
applications, but eminently also through research and direct intervention. Herrera affirms that URL’s commitment undertakes a nation-wide comprehensive study, concerning the task of unveiling the complex socio-cultural and ethnic nature of the country, characterized by its diversity.

URL strives to internalize and understand the cultural diversity of the country by first requiring to not only to conceive but participate—as “other” social actor—, by means of systematically gathering information through the constant analysis of the country’s events. However, such internalization and comprehension may be achieved if URL continually focuses on the actual needs of people, the persona, in order to instill their dignify within themselves and humanize their living conditions. Moreover, URL needed to respond with an objective viewpoint and strategies of action concerning the marginal condition in which indigenous people suffered, distant from the benefits of progress, separated from any kind of participation in the life of the nation. The almost perpetual struggle provoked by the agents of conflict: prejudice, intolerance, cultural stereotypes, and discrimination branded larger communities with the stigma of subordination.

The university responded to this situation through deployment of different kind of actions: beginning academically which cut through all of the curricular contents of Department of Humanities. It became a reality when courses on Maya culture and linguistic were included during the decade of the 1980’s, up through the education of new professionals who launched and
directed the Bilingual Educational program (PRONEBI) during its initial years. The book "Pensamiento y Proyección de la Universidad Rafael Landívar" (Thoughts and Projection) of URL was published by Dr. Antonio Gallo, published in 1979, who at the time was the academic vice-president of URL. Gallo, not only demonstrated that the university was in-tune with unconventional anthropological trends by following with interest re-emerging ethnic movements around the country. The university also captured the sense of restoration and pride felt within the awakening indigenous groups concerning their cultural values and their awareness of the strengthening of their sense of identity.

For Dr. Gallo, Rafael Landívar, the 16th century Guatemalan poet and writer, honored as namesake of the university, is the person who excellently synthesized the traditional values of education inspired by the Catholic faith and Loyola's philosophy. For Gallo, nobody but Landívar, the Jesuit poet, had been capable of portraying such an accurate and powerful portrait of the indigenous groups of Guatemala. Landívar attributes courage, skills, discipline, creativity to the indigenous people. He provides detailed descriptions of indigenous life by means of a transparent allegory in his book "Rusticatio Mexicana"—written in Latin hexameters during his exile in Bologna, Italy, in the 1780's.

In 1984, URL edited and published a widely distributed monographic "Cultura de Guatemala" magazine, dealing with the issue of ethnicity in Guatemala. The magazine provided important information and arguments to the
Constitutional National Assembly (see also Chiodi, 1990), which was in charge of defining the newest version of the Cultural Policy of Guatemala State. This significant policy for a multicultural country became particularly important when the Political Constitution was newly redacted and became enacted in March 1985. The contents of the magazine enhanced the previously approved Cultural Policy by helping propel the spirit of Congress to include more relevant legislation by addressing and promoting diversity in culture and language. The aforementioned magazine included articles with two purposefully organized central ideas: (1) ethnic respect (difference, "otherness"), and (2) the ideal of unity within diversity for Guatemala.

Beginning in 1986, with the foundation of the URL Institute of Linguistics the university's social and cultural concerns and actions expanded vigorously in search of more precise understanding of Guatemala's multiethnic reality and its support for promoting minimized ethnic groups, especially those of Mayan descent.

According to Richards (1992), URL Institute of Linguistics has devoted itself to the systematic study of linguistic issues concerning Guatemala's indigenous world. It is so not only from a mere descriptive perspective, but from the pragmatic viewpoint of scientific application upon educational and communication problem resolution (1992:32-33). From this point on, indigenous languages are no longer considered solely as subjects of study themselves, but as instruments of communication and expression for the majority of Guatemala's
population. The languages function as mirrors of world perspective that reflect secular experiences which transmit values and elements of the identities of the Guatemalan indigenous people and their communities.

"Programa de Desarrollo Integral de la Población Maya," (Program for the Integral Development of the Mayan Population (PRODIPMA), initiated its activities in 1987. Herrera affirmed that two strategic campuses of URL were chosen because of criteria that took into account geographical location and more suitable infrastructure. The campuses were the Main Campus in Guatemala City and the Quetzaltenango Campus extension, in Quetzaltenango (western highlands). Optimal conditions had evolved on these campuses to incorporate and academically serve the expected 400 new indigenous students. PRODIPMA was also expected to have a wider impact upon Ladino students and faculty, their didactic methods, cross-culture attitudes, research, and social influence.

In regard to academia, PRODIPMA allowed URL to award financial grants to a considerable number of young Mayans to register enroll and study a variety majors in technology, bilingual education specialization including profesorados, and licenciaturas in a diversity of disciplines. By the time this project ended in 1994, it had graduated approximately two hundred and eighty new university technicians and professors, and about a hundred new licenciados. By achieving this important goal, Herrera stated that URL provided the nation with the first purposely supported contingent of indigenous Landivarian professionals. Their training included important components of their own
culture with the ultimate goal of strengthening their ethnic pride and identity on the one hand. On the other hand, their training provided highly qualified indigenous professionals who were equally efficient in the labor force of both the public and private sectors to open positions to which they were formerly passed over.

Manuel Salazar Tetzajtúic\(^3\) asserted that although there have been indigenous students attending Guatemalan universities since the advent of higher education in the late 17\(^{th}\) century, PRODIPMA's accomplishments are certainly unique for Mayans and the country.

Salazar concluded that whereas earlier university experiences frequently contributed to the alienation of Mayans from their own cultures, PRODIPMA not only produced quality professionals, but also promoted and enhanced Mayan identity through specialized courses in indigenous culture and language. Nonetheless, this program has been strongly criticized by Mayan political leaders who think that young indigenous students who have been exposed to scientific knowledge and academic materials in Spanish were finally "colonized" by the university. By "colonize" they understand, on one hand, that Maya students would grasp Western notions on methodology, ways of classification, and thinking along scientific order and would learn work procedures, skills, and behavior proper for alien markets. On the other hand, they thought that young Mayans exposed to academia would, in the end, elect Western culture and language over Maya culture.
In addition, this program gave rise to the creation of new majors designed to be adequate and practical for the indigenous community needs, including professorates in bilingual education and legal translation (both taught in several Mayan languages and Spanish). Within this same scheme, URL created in 1989 the degree of Licenciatura en Lingüística (a 5 year program in linguistics), a very important specialization comprised of approximately 75 Mayan linguists, mastering most of the 21 Mayan languages spoken within the territorial boundaries of Guatemala.

In the area of research, PRODIPMA facilitated a wide range of important studies conducted by the URL Institute of Linguistics (ILE) in a number of fields, including various Mayan languages and Spanish linguistics, bilingual education, ethnicity and interethnic relations, among others. In regard to its editorial and publishing achievements, ILE produced and printed more than 300 new titles. However, only relatively small editions of some 1,000 copies per title were possible because of budgetary limitations and the reduced number of experimental bilingual schools. This situation caused severe limitations for the nationwide distribution of the titles.

Moreover, regarding education projects aimed at benefiting rural schools and teachers, ILE prepared and presented curricular and methodological proposals for implementation to teach Spanish as a second language to Mayan children as well as the implementation of didactics to teach Mayan languages as first language. Specific materials were developed and produced for the training
of bilingual teachers; research projects were started in order to enhance pedagogic, psychological and fundamentals of learning methodologies in order to improve the quality of bilingual teaching posted at rural schools. Training bilingual teachers and their supply of materials were again limited and, therefore, achievements, conclusively, were rather limited.

PRODIPMA helped develop some strategies regarding the social presence of URL and its projection towards the Mayan population through means of training programs for teachers and community leaders. Also extensive sensitization programs were held with the aim of doing away with negative stereotypes and culture biases against the indigenous population. It also included an alternate parallel program that promoted attitude changes toward improving interethnic tolerance to help build healthier and more harmonious relations among cultures. However, although all these actions might be innovative, effective, and probably methodologically correct, the social impact was contrastingly limited. Its limitation was due to the rather small number of newly academically prepared Maya technicians and professionals (400) compared to the true national need of approximately 65,000 teachers of which at least 25,000 had to be bilingual.

In 1992, as the world was commemorating the 500th anniversary of the encounter between Europe and America's indigenous peoples, Landivar University founded an important university branch campus in San Juan Chamelco, Alta Verapaz—a large geographical area inhabited by Q'eqchi' and
Poqomchi’ Mayan population. At this campus URL has been offering, thenceforth, several majors with cultural and linguistic relevance that give value by including local wisdom and appropriate curricular contents based on perceived needs of the region. Following this same effort, the focus of URL on the interior of the country has helped consolidate the services of higher education by means of the work performed in 10 university branch campuses in an equal number of departments of the country. All branch campuses in effect serve students in all 23 departments of Guatemala as well as all ethno-linguistic groups and languages. URL, however, has not yet overcome its hegemonic use of Spanish as the only means for academic knowledge and participation in the labor market. Mayan languages have been taught only to Mayan students specializing in linguistics and legal translation. The origin of Mayan cognitive contents remain almost unwritten.

"Instituto de Investigaciones Económicas y Sociales" (Economic and Social Research Institute (IDIES)), has focused on research activities concerned with interests originating in the Department of Social and Political Sciences, the Department of Economics, and the School of Law. It has produced several books and published research results on subjects regarding the Mayan Worldvision,4 the historic ethnicity, poverty, and power group relations. It has also published important series of guides and useful information for public and private institutions, religious and NGO’s working with indigenous communities, as well
as an extensive study of the Mayan internal legal system or Derecho Consuetudinario.

The published material of IDIES have provided important debate platforms in seminars, workshops, and out-of-campus activities based upon a diversity of scientific and social disciplines within academia. Deserving special mention is URL's study on Indigenous Peoples' Identity and Rights, which has become vital information for understanding and consolidating set concepts and attitude change for Ladino social researchers. The study has enlightened the Peace Accords process, Indigenous Languages Official Recognition Precedent, a Forum on Evangelization and Mayan Culture, various international Congresses on Mayan Studies, all with authorized participants. National and international experts have presented lectures, papers and research results which combine the fields of anthropology, sociology, linguistics, and education, among others.

Within the Peace Accords process URL participated actively—and still does—in helping to attain some of the priority objectives in various commissions under the Peace Accords mandate. The work of these commissions focuses on vital themes such as the improvement in the administration of justice, the enactment of Mayan languages as official languages, public participation of citizens, and education reform.

Guillermina Herrera states that it is essential to focus on all these efforts—which are considered of compensatory value—and that are primarily destined to help promote the Mayan communities, although such efforts are
limited in exposure. The focus must be based on research and has to be disclosed publicly in order to sensitize average citizens and help indigenous populations to endure their degrading condition of subaltern-marginal culture. All these actions being of crucial value and fundamental for undertaking the challenges for supporting diversity, are actually a rather small part of the efforts to understand and help improve the complex multiethnic groups of Guatemala.

Herrera considers the real challenge of URL, henceforth, to be complicated and daunting; it is a matter concerned about the education of the new ideal citizen of Guatemala. Such a person should have a profile with the elements of a condition of having been consciously immersed in a multicultural milieu, of having been trained as a demanding professional of excellence, and having been oriented toward serving the community with his work and creativity with the goal of constructing the envisioned notion of "unity within diversity." That profile is based on a society in which all of its members—individuals and collectivities—despite their ethnic origin and culture, are equally allowed to participate in planning and executing ideas for Guatemala's future, as part of a united nation, sharing ideals as a society founded upon respect and democracy, finally reconciled with its diverse ethnic nature. This society is in step with modern societies belonging to the so called "first world." As a fundamental part of its development, the society has successfully overcome, with tolerance and mutual respect, its challenges for
finding solutions for successful and meaningful personal and group interactions within diversity.

The openness to knowledge and awareness concerning differences, prompts the very radical attitude which rejects all prejudice, struggles against discrimination while striving for the desirable practice of tolerance. Such a radical attitude proudly accepts awareness of one’s culture and the healthy reinforcement of a personal ethnic identity which are concepts that form basic elements of a program defined to be the best approach for the transformation to a new citizen. URL must plan to promote and execute a compensatory education catering to marginal ethnic groups. The real challenge, however, remains in supporting the enactment of intercultural education for all Guatemalans in spite of their ethnicity.

From this perspective, we can recognize that the source of works considered of compensatory character carried out by Landívar University over the years, have had somewhat healthy indirect effects by offering trustable information concerning indigenous groups. A broad change in attitude toward tolerance has been initiated. Focusing on intercultural education, URL has been conducting for some years, a course studying the true state of the society and reality of Guatemala. That course is offered to all enrolled students and it includes several readings on intercultural relations which emphasize the strengthening of self-consciousness, the recognition of culture diversity, and a more precise evaluation of the different ethnic groups inhabiting this country.
Nonetheless, Herrera anticipates that recognizing the challenge of dealing with two different streams of thought and world views derived from the treatment of Guatemala's ethnic diversity are tremendous and show themselves at first sight almost unbearable. The balance, however, remains positive: The struggle in the search for the Guatemalan Being, with his anguish and hopes, has led it to the recognition that emphasizing the ethnic issue is not in contradiction with universal openness of thought. The struggle has been placed in an excellent position to project itself into society so that the Guatemalan Being is strongly convinced that the reason for existing and surviving within diversity is not only compatible, but, better yet, is in a part itself equal, just, and cohesive.

Regardless of the great deal of problems being faced at world level, human beings prepare themselves with a good amount of optimism as they enter into a new millennium. Ideological changes carrying a new cycle of human history motivate different social groups to characterize global tendencies by envisioning the future world in a healthier evolvement, with adequate natural resources, and improved management of environments. Peace, of course, is the center of most primary concerns.

These three fundamental themes have required the change of definitions: Development which is not humane and self-sustainable should no longer be considered; the primary factor to guarantee true peace plainly depends upon the satisfaction of human needs based not only on those of material order, but also those of the spiritual order. Conflict resolution is commonly accepted on the
powerful basis of fair administration of justice that stresses "right to peace." It is increasingly adopted because it stresses "peace rights" rather than the former "just wars." (Gallo, 1990).

This new intellectual climate that has begun to provide sense, ideas, and futuristic visions, is highly motivating and proper for establishing the web of solidarity demanded by the claims of Guatemala's ethnic diversity. It constitutes an optimistic message to stimulate self-reflection and the practice of the role expected from Rafael Landívar University. Inside of the rich yet complex multicultural Guatemalan scenario, is the duty of the university to accomplish the building of a peaceful nation with its citizens respecting one another no matter what their backgrounds or ethnicity are.
Notes:

1 This section is based upon an interviewing process performed with Licenciada Guillermina Herrera Pena, formerly (in times of PRODIPMA) General Director of Instituto de Linguistica (ILE), and currently General Vice-President of Universidad Rafael Landivar (URL).

2 Francesco Chiodi was in Guatemala in the early 1990s as UNESCO technical consultant for regional educational projects. Henceforth, he helped describing and proposing technically based strategies that were recommended to be enforced by MINEDUC. He has written several books on bilingual education and indigenous education.

3 A Maya-Kakchikel professional who was vice Minister of Education, works for UNESCO-PROMEM Project in Guatemala and is the current president of URL’s Institute of Linguistics and Education (ILE).

4 This research project and book publication were conducted by me and a team of Mayan professionals between 1994-95, the book appeared under the title of “Aproximación a la Cosmovisión Maya”, URL-IDIES, Guatemala, 1995, and included field gathered data from diverse AjQ’ijab’ (Mayan priests or Shamans) and a critical comparison with diverse Popol Wuj passages.
Chapter IV: Significant Local and Global Contexts of PRODIPMA

4.1 Post-colonialism, Modernity and Globalization:

In 1981, Jurgen Habermas introduced his concept of Life World Colonization. With this conception, Habermas transcended the traditionally held meaning that any form of colonialism undeniably signifies expansion and imperialism. From the definition of territorial boundaries, new hegemonic strategies have shifted to non-lingual, non-cultural means of domination (e.g. money and power) and abstract systems of transnational character which no longer need physical or geographical boundaries.

However, the role of knowledge within the consolidating processes of these abstract systems and their replicating representation of life symbols are lacking in Habermas’s analysis (Castro-Gómez, 1996). It is known that the influence of colonization on daily life requires the presence of science and technology. What remains unclear is through which manner does the drawing power of expertise contribute (for good or evil) to the development of society. Current strategies of “colonization,” discordant, disembodied, and unconcerned with expansion of territory are the direct aftermath of the perceptibility of colonialism brought about by modernity. This legacy keeps being propagated through means of discourse between individuals and social science and is related to the production of images of the “East,” “Third World,” or “Indigenous.” These concepts are determined and
dispersed through rationales which emanate from universities, cultural institutions and international development agencies.

Definitions and abstractions are interesting insofar as they are creations of theory which explain the interplay of relations between power and knowledge. From this viewpoint our analysis is particularly concerned with the concepts and such categorizations like "Latin America," "Indigenous" and "Mayans." Such analogies as these result from conflicting relations among abstract systems, knowledge, and globalization. Moreover, it becomes particularly interesting to grasp the manner through which this kind of discursive constructions is inscribed within global dynamics of westernization.

Some of the theoretical fundamentals of post-colonialism (Said, Guha, Bhabha, Spivak) as well as thoughts of reception and appropriation coming from the Latin American experience of colonization (Beverly, Mignolo, and Moreiras) must be critically considered because of their impact on the concepts of the emergence of geopolitical agency. Particularly, however, consideration is indispensable because of the implied cogency toward a critical renovation of pragmatic and consequential dimensions on conceptualizing Latin America, Guatemala, and Mayan. Although there is significant contrast between hegemonic and subaltern realms, nevertheless relevant, subtle reflexive rhetoric of empowerment results. Whether adequately informed or not, I am concerned with the thoughts and opinions of post-colonialism and modernity expressed by the graduates of PRODIPMA as contrasted and put into dialogue with diverse aspects of theories revised within this chapter.
During the late 1970s some universities of the western hemisphere had begun consolidating a new and provocative field of research called "postcolonial studies." It is affirmed (Castro-Gómez) that the emergence of these discourses was initiated by immigrants from Latin America, India, and South Africa, and other regions, who had gained access to prestigious universities. Intellectuals coming from Third World countries began analyzing the problematic of colonialism concomitantly with theories of modernity and its aftereffects, structuralism, and gender. These topics at that time were being heatedly discussed within the Anglo-Saxon intellectual circles.

It was from the previously institutionalized and consolidated concepts derived from such areas as anthropology, literary critique, ethnology, and historiography that the postcolonial theorists articulated a critique of colonialism that was substantially different from that generating from the anti-colonialist (anti-imperialist) narratives of the 1960s and 1970s. It is known that during these decades Academia was concerned with a somewhat revolutionary discourse against all patterns of colonial capitalist domination, the enhancement of national identities of colonized countries and the formation of liberated societies henceforth free from antagonism of social class. These ideologies omitted cultural diversity within their political agendas. This actuality was going to surface, in Guatemala’s case, when it was manifested that theoretical constructions derived from external social paradigms and adapted to a particular society normally lack reason and practice in dissimilar milieus.
However, the critique of colonialism was understood as a rupture with intellectual structures of oppression that had hampered the Third World from achieving its desired European model of modernity. Anti-colonialist narratives never questioned themselves for their own epistemological status. Because social sciences and philosophy were direct products of modernism in Nineteenth-century Europe, the critique articulated was based on these methodologies. Furthermore, achieving modernity constituted the critical-normative horizon of all anti-colonialist discourses as seen in Guatemala’s case, for example, whereby cultural diversity is delineated in the Universal Human Rights Declaration1.

The Indian philosopher Gayatri Spivak sustains that among the scope of modern production techniques and strategies of power through colonialism, there is not necessarily an external relation. For this reason all Third World critiques on colonialism insofar as discourses produced by disciplines like sociology, economy, and political sciences, were unable to separate themselves from contexts within their own replication of the hegemonic grammar of modernity within colonized countries (Spivak, 1990).

Following Derrida’s theories, Spivak supports that no discourse regarding social diagnostic would be able to transcend homogenizing structures of modern knowledge. In other words, no sociologic theory would represent objects that are found outside of the collection of signs that give coherence to modern society’s production and systematization of knowledge. Moreover, all scientific knowledge has been previously codified inside a web of signs that regulates the production of
"sense" as well as commodities and subjects pertaining to the origination of knowledge. Universities, according to Spivak, play an important role in producing theories and interpreting processes that ultimately produce objects encompassed by "truth effects," and provide reliable pictures of reality (1990: 67). The role of a critique on colonialism is not speculatively replicating the voice of the marginalized population as anti-colonialist narratives used to present them. What these narratives actually introduced were concepts like "marginality" and "exteriority." These concepts had been conveniently organized in accordance to the reconfiguration of forces that were being experimented with at that time by institutional sources of knowledge production. In many metropolitan universities notions like "marginality," "otherness," and "thirdworldism" evolved into brand new fields for research and creation of new epistemologies within Academia. For example, Rafael Landívar University created concepts and categories corresponding to its social epistemology of a more "just" society in which indigenous professionals would be able with respect to interact, participate, and relate with Ladino persons and institutions. For this social imaginary new and complementary postulates were needed as well, for instance, "Maya," "multiculturalism," "bilingual education," "interculturality," among others.

Institutional implementation of these new elements of knowledge demanded importing "pragmatic exemplars" coming from the Third World as they were magical realism, liberation theology, and other notions or practices coming from the "other's" realm. From this viewpoint anti-colonialist narratives with dichotomies
like civilization and barbarism would not have been able to modify the categorizing binary system that remains current within the urban apparatus of production of knowledge. Following this issue, the Indian theorist, Homi Bhabha, goes on to criticize institutional mechanisms that may produce representations of the “other.” (Bhabha, 1994). He assures that the scheme of expansionism through European colonialism needed to produce a metaphysical auto-image of the conqueror as a demiurge, a constructor of new worlds and feelings.

On his part, Edward Said undertook a study with the objective of examining a diversity of textual forms through which Europe produced and codified specific definitions of the “East.” By doing so, Said brought to attention subtle links between imperialism and social sciences. He actually explored behavior through which European colonialist societies discursively construed imaginaries of the non-metropolitan cultures, especially those that were under their territorial control. It was the colonizing strategy through which imperialist powers outraged, measured, and explained other cultures, and, consequently, allowed the fabrication of a series of historic, archeological, sociologic, and ethnologic discourses on the “other.” (Castro-Gómez, 1998).

During the 1980s, Said together with Guha compiled works edited under the title of “Subaltern Studies.” As intellectuals from former colonies, they took a critical position opposed to nationalist and anti-colonialist discourse espoused by Indian and other Third World politicians. Said and Guha were as well opposed to the official historiography of processes toward independence. All these discourses
were considered to be colonial imaginaries projected upon the illiterate *populum* by historians, and political elites. (Guha, 1988). However, what is worthwhile analyzing at this point is that through these colonizing and post-colonizing processes, broad social segments were excluded from being any kind of political protagonist; they were virtually silenced masses. In Guha’s opinion, “all humanist knowledge, including literature and historiography, actually functioned as “subaltern” consolidating strategies deployed by Third World educated elites.” (1988: 126). Consequences of these social-historic accounts include keeping indigenous and hybrid masses away from the mainstream of development and relegating them apart from access to quality education, political participation and exercise of authority. Hegemony, therefore, strengthened its position by contrasting the “other” and thus propitiated dichotomization against the so-called subaltern. Or, in words of Spivak, these were essentialist narratives yet dominated by colonial epistemologies that had concealed cultural hybridizations, intermixed spaces, and transverse identities.

Through an academic program like PRODIPMA, which was somewhat conscious of creating an interplay between two curriculums—which in the end were Ladino creations—included a purposeful goal of both providing scientific tools and knowledge to indigenous students in order for them to become qualified professionals and yet be culturally proud and vigorous. However, URL was aware that Academia relied on humanistic epistemologies that were centered on pre-ordered (systematized) knowledge, and these were common schemes incorporated
within all literary programs at most universities worldwide. What was lacking, of course, was an internal epistemology deconstructing process which would have included an increase in critical indigenous participation, and, according to Beverly (1996), "Would have helped to open new expanses of political action." (pp. 275). Moreover, seen from the viewpoint of education this situation is quite desirable because it focuses on the articulation of a critique on the epistemological strategies of "subalternization" developed by modernity. Then, once consciously transformed, a way could be found to the *locus enuntiationis* from which subaltern subjects would articulate their own definitions. (Castro-Gómez: 177).

Beverly's critique focused on epistemological structures offered by universities to professors and students. In this regard, he assures that all academic materials are already reified study materials which are somewhat "packed" in canonic rigid schemes that previously define what is and what is not accepted as part of a given category. Examples provided are "Latin American Literature?", "Mayan method," or "Indigenous." Indeed, he shows the pretense of how the institutional organization of knowledge responds to an ideological hegemony that assigns to imperialist countries privileges of conferring levels of lesser or higher prestige on cultures, geographical areas, languages, etc. Beverly sustains that Latin American universities provided a humanistic education based on concepts elaborated by nineteenth-century elitists that supported the State-Nation neocolonialist undertaking. Both nationalism and populism in Latin America were promulgated by a disciplinary logic that "subalternized" groups of social actors:
women, mentally insane, Indians, blacks, gays, agriculturalist, an so forth. In Latin America, all humanistic knowledge appeared as hegemonic systems of an exclusionary nature. (Beverly: 145). Intellectuals like Andrés Bello, Sarmiento or Martí, formulated their thoughts based on an hegemonic position that provided them with "representational agency." Academic discourse, therefore, became the specific area where "subaltern" was discursively produced. (Ibid: 147). It is also the place where the interests of subalterns are represented, where they are given a place in history, and finally, where their "correct paths" toward political vindication are defined. What Beverly looks for is to finally break away from the intellectual roles of world saviors and move forward toward forms of post-humanistic theorization. As a conclusion, he assures that it is inside of the universities where all hegemonic and counter-hegemonic struggles happen. It is on campuses where leaders of social hegemony are formed, but, he affirms, that it is also there where all exclusions linked to hegemony are critically turned into problems. (1993: 76-78).

Walter Mignolo, on his part, goes on to criticize different authors of subaltern studies by pointing out that a number of them have based their theories on uncritically assuming the Indian colonial/post-colonial paradigm. Mignolo thinks that Latin America corresponds to a specific locus. Investigating what kind of "local sensitivities" made possible the emergence of post-colonial theories in Latin America might mean a more productive and better interpretation. (Mignolo, 1996). However, he thinks that modern science has produced objective knowledge similar to the categories cited formerly. Nonetheless, he adds that these categories actually
functioned as colonial strategies for "subalternization." Such strategies have to be seen as evidence of modernity as intrinsically schemes of colonialism and genocide. In fact, he thinks that modern science has been the accomplice of the three great genocidal onslaughts on human beings through the processes of modernity: the destruction of the cultures of the Native Americans, the enslavement of African blacks, and the holocaust of the Jews in Europe. (Mignolo, 1995).

After the Cold War, the colonialist regime ends. It is the precise moment, says Mignolo, at which three different theories originating from diverse loci epistemologically overcome the colonial legacy of modernity: post-modernity, post-colonialism and post-occidentalism. While post-modern theories express the crisis of the evolution of modernism at the very core of Europe (Foucault, Lyotard, Derrida) and the United States (Jameson), theories of post-colonialism are being fomented in newly independent countries (India, South Africa). Post-occidental theories have common ground in Latin America, with its rather extensive tradition of failures of schemes for modernization.

According to Castro-Gómez, theoreticians like Mariátegui, O’Gormann, Ortiz, Zea, Kusch, Dussel, and Fernández Retamar, among others, were able to epistemologically delegitimize the hegemonic and colonialist discourse of modernism that was trying to coerce Latin American society in a direction focused on technological modernization. (pp. 182). Their theories are considered "post-occidental" because they have articulated a critical response to scientific and social projects of modernity within which are a new phase of imperialist globalization.
(Jameson). According to Mignolo, production of theoretical discourses for, from, and upon Latin America, were able to loosen intellectual dependencies on epistemological Euro-centrism which, in the end, helped legitimate occidentalization’s colonial expansion. (Mignolo, 1996).

Naturally, what is at stake here is guaranty for epistemologies of social sciences and Latin American philosophy for playing subalternizing roles, as they did in the U.S. and Europe. Mignolo acknowledges that he is conscious of this when he pursues to understand texts generated by multicultural milieus which, indeed, have been influenced by exposure to relations with colonialist powers. In this sense, Castro-Gómez synthesized this problematic by establishing that when the social scientist identifies himself with a specific marginalized community, then a “fusion of horizons” takes place (Gadamer). Comprehensively this includes the scientist’s social, ethical, and cultural prejudice, precisely those elements which keep him attached permanently to his own world. Henceforth, all resulting discourses, whether fictional or scientific, are going to be marked by colonialist and subalternizing epistemologies. The PRODIPMA program is indeed a product of concepts derived from colonization, concepts which encompass “benefit/beneficiaries,” “development,” “professionalization,” and so forth. Castro-Gómez concludes that subaltern studies have indeed discovered important aspects regarding forms through which the legacy of colonialism continues into the age of modernism to be replicated within Academia of the First World.
Jameson states that the new phase of imperialism is recently characterized by mass globalization of U.S. culture that implies trans-nationalization of the world economy. It is not just an economic concern, however. It is a result of the strategies of multinational enterprises in the Third World. What is tragic, however, is the implication of destruction of cultures and identities by the logic of global totalitarianism. Under conditions of globalization, cultural integration does not rely on the memory of community history any longer. Neither is it dependent on humane relations with nature nor on forms of thought linked to traditions. What dominates is the rationalizing principles that accompany new technologies and their legitimating processes of ethics and aesthetics. (Jameson, 1991).

Using Wallerstein’s terminology, modernity is not the engine that produces European expansion; on the contrary, it constitutes a world-system in which Europe assumes being the core thus producing a radical change among social relations or what is called modernity (Wallerstein, 1991). It also signifies that modernity is not a primordial geographic phenomenon, and, by the same argument, Europe does not generate modernity. It is the cultural dynamic of modernity (Weber), that generates the representation called “Europe,” in a similar way that it generates as well the representation “others” which means “Latin America,” “Maya,” “Guatemala,” etc.

Globalization also implies that while traditional societies like Mayans have inter-subjective relations depending on a given space (here) and a time (now) that coincide. In contrast, there are societies affected by modernity which generate
reordering of social life in new space-time combinations. "Here" does not correspond with "now" any longer because local circumstances have begun to be transformed by long-distance influences, where physical presence of interacting actors is not needed. (Giddens, 1990).

Globalization seen in terms of a potential culture threat is always referred to as complex processes with a planet-size dimension. These processes generate transformations not only in quantitative issues belonging to the realms of the economy, and, concretely, processes of technical-institutional rationales; but equally qualitative transformations as well in the realm of the continuance of culture. Such changes trigger intense debates on local and hemispherical identities, and on historic-cultural categories about which we have been thinking (and inventing) since the nineteenth century. These include Mayas, Quechuas, Aymaras, Guatemala, Mexico, Latin America, and so forth.

New means of cultural epistemologies and representations are being provided by first world academics who have interpreted and written historic narratives and epigraphic accounts, made archeological discoveries and site reconstruction, effected linguistic analysis and reconstitution of indigenous languages grammars, alphabets, etc. From their part, third world non-indigenous scientists have provided their own narratives; but these, nonetheless, were formed and influenced by European and North American Academia. Consequently, it is not surprising that when we read Latin American critical approaches to post-colonial, subaltern studies and topics on globalization, we find theories that were
initially defined in foreign universities, perhaps with some participation of Latin American migrants. This is the case for Mayans, for instance, who did not know that they were Mayans until this category was applied to them in the early 1970s. Of course some of their Ajq’ijab’ (Mayan priests or shamans) knew and used the term Mayab’ in reference to the wider population, but such a category was newly introduced by social scientists into the literate world, especially when referring to the actual living Mayas³.

In a matter of few decades electronic communication media had impacted a never-before-known transformation of the cultural imageries of the world. Leaping over cultural barriers as well as social, political, and ideological constructs in place since the threshold of history, media have configured a truly mass global culture. A whole universe of signs and symbols broadcast worldwide by mass media are starting to define the ways through which millions of people feel, think, wish, imagine, and act. Such signs and symbols are no longer linked to historic, religious, ethnic, national or linguistic peculiarities but have a trans-territorial character, and, because of it, are post-traditional. (Giddens, 1993).

Cultural studies in Latin America have convincingly shown that globalization is not something that happens “outside” us and thus “alienate” us from a supposed ideological, personal or cultural essentialism. (Martin-Barbero, 1989 and García Canclini, 1995). Furthermore, living within a globalization-fabricated condition, more and more persons everywhere see themselves compelled to live in threatening institutionalized situations, and, hence, to become protagonists of their own lives at
cognitive, esthetic, and hermeneutic levels, as they are shown by contemporary
culture's sociology. (Beck, 1986; Bauman, 1992; Luhmann, 1993; Lash & Urry, 1994;
Schulze, 1995).

All this discussion has consequences when intended to define diverse
identities in times of globalization. The answer to this question is no longer marked
by essentialist representations that establish "organic" differences among cultures
and territories. Indeed, mass media broadcasts has helped erase boundaries that
kept differences between "we" and "they." Within these newly colonized territories,
former opposition between what used to be ours and alien had begun to fade away
as commodity goods and culture products began freely circulating throughout the

4.2 Maya Movement, activism, and education:

The Maya movement is composed primarily of individuals for whom ethnic
belonging is used as a means of differentiating hegemonic and subaltern national
dichotomy. Most of the activists—also called Mayanists—are members who are
literate, bilingual (Mayan-Spanish), a majority have earned university degrees.
Some of their leaders, Demetrio Cojtí, Antonio Pop Caal, Juana Catinac⁴, and
others, keep a marked distance between Ladinos and Indians which result in a
well-defined and vital position for social, political, and economic negotiation.
The Maya movement currently works to promote the revitalization of Maya culture for the more than 60% of the national population that are counted as indigenous in background. Given the resemblance of world vision and linguistic elements of local cultures in communities throughout the western highlands, the movement is attempting to cultivate a common cause throughout the twenty one historically related Mayan language groups in the country.

To interrelate the convergent and divergent strands of cultural resurgence in rural communities and in the national movement for reivindicación del pueblo maya (Mayan people vindication), it is necessary to confront two factorss: Maya social criticism and ethnic revitalization. Indigenous movements do not come in the singular nor do they have unitary politics. Rather they are heterogeneous products of diverse antecedents: local, international, national. Even considering their frequent attempts to forge unifying political programs. (Warren, 1998). Maya public intellectuals have played different roles while they have strived for obtaining some kind of national and institutional recognition. In this regard, they have pursued projects for “self determination” in Guatemala’s climate of chronic political uncertainty. However, doubtlessly what has indeed changed most since 1989 is the awareness among Maya activists that, as members of regional, national, and international networks, they can and need to advance their arguments for change in a range of overlapping arenas. In James Scott’s terminology (1990), making public the “hidden transcripts” of resistance to the status quo has transformed the movement and pressured broader society to
respond to Guatemala's indigenous population in newly revised ways. The
Maya movement for cultural resurgence, which came into public view in
Guatemala in the late 1980s and early 1990s, is the realization of the intellectual
elite that has been forming in universities since the mid 1980s, especially at
Rafael Landivar University.

For Warren, the Mayan movement does not represent an "ivory-tower
enterprise," since all intellectuals and activists come from rural backgrounds. She
also affirms that the movement rejects Guatemala's melting pot ideology, which
has compelled indigenous people "to pass" as non-indigenous Ladinos if they
seek employment outside their communities or pursue education and economic
mobility. An ethnic formation in which passing becomes possible, if not coerced
along certain social frontiers, is in part the legacy of the earlier Spanish colonial
order, which in the sixteenth century generated a hybrid category of Spanish-
speaking Indians, called Ladinos, who contrasted most sharply with those of
European backgrounds, the Spaniards and their New World offspring, the

Though the content of this category was variable in time and space, most
colonial Ladinos were Hispanicized indigenous people living outside their
communities, or people of mixed parentage, that is, mestizos. For a while,
particular kinds of mestizos were defined by an elaborate colonial system of
castas, but the resulting categories imploded as ever finer distinctions were
advocated for persons with different proportions of indigenous, Spanish, and
African blood. In contrast to other areas of Latin America, by the eighteenth century, the term Ladino displaced mestizo in Guatemala, and both indigenous and Ladino populations remained impoverished and politically marginalized in the colonial social order (Lutz, 1982; Smith, 1990).

Since the mid 1980s, educated Mayas worked to create a social movement focused on cultural revitalization and unification across language divides of indigenous Guatemalans, who make up, undoubtedly, a marginalized majority of the national population. The Maya movement—also called Pan-Maya Activism by Warren, Fischer, McKenna-Brown, and others—seeks recognition of cultural diversity within the nation-state, a greater role for indigenous politics in national culture, a reassessment of economic inequities, and a wider distribution of cultural resources such as education and literacy in indigenous languages. The movement's commitment to education—both for its leadership and for the families in rural communities—represents a compelling change, given an educational system in which 70 percent of the public schools offers only four years of classes and 92 percent of the population over fifteen years of age has never finished the conventional six years of primary school (Herrera, 1987: 13).

Through the movement, Maya academics, development workers, linguists, social scientists, lawyers, and publishers have become public intellectuals and contributors to research centers that produce materials for a variety of educational and political projects. These combinations of cultural identity and profession rarely existed before the early 1970s, when being Maya
often meant working as an impoverished peasant agriculturalist, land-starved
wage laborer, or rural market vendor. Most Mayanist professionals have been
schooled in Guatemala; a handful have studied in the United States or Europe.

Through Maya studies, the interdisciplinary academic field created by the
movement, these intellectuals have formulated counterhistories denouncing the
racism of national histories, searing critiques of foreign research practices and
scholarship, textbooks to promote Maya language retention, challenges to
Western models of development, and political psychology to counteract
internalized racism. They condemn colonialism and racism as an ongoing
situation rather than a moment of sociogenesis that occurred five centuries ago
at the Spanish invasion. (Warren: 37).

Mayanists assert there is a culturally specific indigenous way of knowing:
a subject’s position that no one else can be in and political interests no one else
has to defend. The essentialism is tactical and situational: they advance this
position to claim unique authority as social critics. Their goal is to undermine the
authoritativeness of non-Maya individuals—Ladinos or foreigners—which, until
the recent indigenous activism and resistance surfaced, monopolized the
representation of Maya culture and national history. (Warren: 37).

The initial years of the movement stressed issues of cultural origin and
self-definition. As one activist put it: Indians were like street children who did
not know their parents and therefore could not plan for the future. Echoing these
sentiments, a poster produced by the committee for the Decade of the Maya
People pictured a mystical volcano ringed by a lake with a Maya couple embracing the four sacred colors of corn in the foreground. The accompanying text read: “Only when a people accepts its history and assumes its identity do they have the right to define their future.” In the late 1980s and early 1990s, publications of Maya studies by Rodríguez Guaján (1989), Cojti-Cuxil (1991), and Sam Colop (1991) were preoccupied with these issues. During these years, Mayanists have focused their debates more squarely on questions regarding the best direction for building of a Maya nation. Cojti-Cuxil (1994, 1995), has elaborated the movement’s explicit demands on the state for major reforms in administration, language policy, the military, economics, education, communication, and respect. There is a call for the generation of a revisionist history of pre-colonial society and an argument for the renewal of earlier models of authority and leadership in the new social order Mayanists hope to establish. The issue at hand for Mayanist leaders is the longer-term planning of their agendas—done in twenty-year increments to reflect the Maya shape of time and their base-twenty mathematics—rather than the year-to-year planning called for by development funders who follow UN models.

As one of the Maya movement leaders said regarding their agenda and strategies: “This wave is not carved in granite; rather, it defines a certain tendency. There is great variation within the Maya movement; some are more radical in Maya religion, others in language, others in politics.” It is difficult to characterize a movement as institutionally diverse, polycentric, and dynamic as
this one. On the revitalization and education fronts, however, Mayanists have
given priority to the following projects:

1. Language revitalization, literacy training in Maya languages, and local
language committees.

2. The revitalization of Maya chronicles of culture, history, and resistance to
the Spanish invasion—such as the Popol Wuj and the Annals of the
Kaqchikels, which are read as sacred cosmological texts and indigenous
histories. There is great fascination with the Maya shape of time; that is,
with Maya calendrics and numerics, the great precision of predictions of
ancient eclipses, and the complex religious associations with historical
astronomy. Some activists have studied glyphic texts, many of them
dynastic histories, with art historians and linguists. Another striking
characteristic of the movement is its historical consciousness—its
multiculturalist sense of the ways Mayans were written out of national
history and its urgency to write new histories. (Pop Caal, 1992; Racancoj,
1994).

3. The production of culturally inclusive school texts and teacher training
materials for use in intercultural school programs. Activists have been
successful in creating Maya elementary and secondary schools in some
communities as a viable alternative to national schools.

4. The revitalization of Maya leadership norms, specifically community
councils of elders, midwives, and Maya Ajq’ijab’ shaman priests.
5. The dissemination of an internationally recognized discourse of indigenous rights, focusing on recognition and self-determination. The movement envisions a radical transformation of Guatemalan politics to accommodate a multicultural nation with decentralized state services. The movement has sought to make candidates for national office more accountable to indigenous voters by holding public candidate forums before elections.

Projects that flow from these priorities currently operate throughout the western highlands, where most of the country’s indigenous population resides. Although the movement has received support for particular projects from diverse sources—including the European Union, European NGOs, various United Nations entities such as UNICEF and UNDP, U.S. foundations, USAID, the Guatemalan government, and private universities such as Rafael Landívar and Mariano Gálvez—it has also attracted intense skepticism. In the 1990s, Pan-Mayanism’s detractors increasingly made their opinions known through the mass media. Open criticism has spurred Mayanists to use the media to disseminate their ideas and has generated continuous reassessment of the usefulness of dialogues across social movements.

However, Mayanists dispute these criticisms, which they see as tactical mischaracterizations designed to disempower the movement and attack the intentions and legitimacy of its leadership. (Warren: 41). From their point of view, the Right and Left in
Guatemala have either wanted to absorb Mayas or use them as shock troops, as façades for particular political agendas. Although they are willing to work with organizations of diverse political tendencies, Mayanists remain convinced of the distinctiveness of their vision, which they find neither translatable into nor reducible to the agendas of other groups.

In the 1990s, critiques of the movement have received intensive coverage in Guatemalan newspapers. The pressure was relentless, especially in 1994, 1995, and 1996, with weekly opinion pieces by well-known commentators across the political spectrum. Political debates that used to be fought in the university are now aired to wider audiences through the press. Among the most prolific and controversial of these journalists is Mario Roberto Morales, who has written for Siglo Veintiuno, Prensa Libre, and Crónica. A long-standing literary intellectual in Guatemala who sees himself as a leftist, Morales achieved his Ph.D. in literature at the University of Pittsburgh. His tactic—mimicked with varying degrees of sophistication by other journalists, including many on the right—uses strategies from cultural studies to deconstruct and delegitimize the Maya movement.

In 1985, together with the enactment of the new Political Constitution and the initiation of the first civilian-democratic regime after twenty years of military rule, both individuals and organizations had finally been able to socially introduce terms such as "Mayas" and "Pueblo Maya." To some extent this initiative succeeded because these terms were rapidly introduced into the non-indigenous, Ladino and international discourses as appropriate terms to refer to the previously stigmatized "Indians" or "indigenous." (Bastos & Camus, 2003).
This was a process that had different battle-fronts. When finally “democracy” arrived in Guatemala it was the time for several organizations to emerge into the public sphere, especially those that were linked to social development or activism promoting culture. However, their common goal was to attain equity in political conditions (participation) for Mayas by Mayas. At the political level, what was fundamental for this group is that they made public an entirely new discourse in Guatemala. Some of the innovative elements contained in their demands were that the discourses no longer promoted utopias nor Marxist terminology. By then, all Guatemalans had a new Carta Magna (Constitution) which provided guaranties and rights. The eyes of the world were staring at every single movement made especially by politicians and the military. This meant confidence and tranquility for once more establishing agendas for the promotion of culture and development. Former means of meeting together and formulating proposals for real community support and projects had been happening in a rather concealed way. Obviously, organizations and individuals were both at constant risk as these activities were considered subversive by the communist witch hunters (the Army).

During these initial years of the Maya movement, doubtlessly one of the key achievements was approval of the Mayan languages Academy (ALMG). Although their members—representatives of at least 17 out of 21 Mayan languages—were focused on linguistic projects, they suddenly became national leaders, and got caught up in a series of different activities. One example is the
Maya Forestry Action Plan (PAF Maya), organized with resources coming from the European Union. This not only clarified the pursuit of activities outside of linguistics, but was also valued for creating and disseminating the elements of Maya identity. The Academy (ALMG) also embraced public and political notoriety, because as the civilian society was trying to overcome social issues through negotiating processes, ALMG became the most respected and tacitly the most representational Maya organization. ALMG was invited to a diverse number of committees for the sake of justifying democratic behavior through the invitation of this important segment of the Guatemalan society. Such a juxtaposing moment was a consolidating process for the organization and institutional strengthening of the Maya Academy. It also, as observed, became an important underpinning of the movement.

Furthermore, coming years will witness the development of an important diffusion in labor thanks to new ways in viewing and dealing with Guatemala's ethnic problems. Dynamics include workshops, lectures, formal training, and a diversity of writings that have started flowing from every point of view. Recent years have seen how the permanent flow of publications of Maya topics in Mayan languages, as well as in Spanish, have helped enhance new editorial institutions such as Cholsamaj, Nahual Wuj, and others, which in turn have developed into important pillars of the Movement.

On July 20, 1990, an important unified Maya institution was formed.

*Coordinadora de Organizaciones Mayas de Guatemala (COMG) [Coordinator of*
Guatemala Maya Organizations] emerged in the public sphere as a clear referent toward Guatemala’s political life derived from the previous path opened by the Maya Languages Academy (ALMG) which aggrandized all kinds of vindications and demands—other than linguistic concerns—because there was no other institution capable of representing an increasing number of plaintiffs with wider ranges of demands. These demands included settlement of land disputes, compensation to indigenous widows and orphans, massacre trials, and so forth. The initial goal of COMG was to establish an entity for coordinating, analyzing, and responding to national problems. Such an entity could prioritize Maya interests concerning national, governmental, and representational issues. COMG was also given the transcendental role of being the unique institution representing Maya peoples solely for the purpose of conducting negotiations during the summit on the Peace Accords. COMG organized activities for the 500 year "discovery" of the Americas, an event that was also called by Mayas as "500 years of cultural and political resistance." According to Demetrio Cojti:

*The organization of COMG was constituted together with unified efforts of other predominantly anti-colonialist institutions, and, indeed opted for fighting a permanent struggle in favor of Maya ethnic identity. It does not mean, however, that it was indifferent or even opposed to other social demands, only it provided more importance to anti-colonial front.* (1997: 40).
The peace process of 1991 which included the indigenous problematic in its agenda for negotiating purposes, evolved into the Association of the Civil Society (ASC) which opened the opportunity for the Maya population to be involved as players. These internal changes in the unity of the Maya movement became ubiquitous in the first appearance of the first COPMAGUA (Coordinator of Guatemala’s Maya People Organizations), in Maya language: Saq'b'ichil, that means “new dawn.” This was a truly moment of unity among Mayas that made visible the political skills of some of their leaders who, years later, were part of the Peace Accords negotiations.

In the beginning COPMAGUA played the important role of representing the interests of Maya peoples interests within the Civil Society Association (ASC). It was manifested publicly on May 11., 1994, when it was embraced by the most representational combination of the Maya political front. The representative institutions included the Guatemala Mayan Languages Academy (ALMG), which, in its alliance with the Maya Organizations Council (COMG) represented the “independent” branch of the Maya movement thenceforth.

COMG, working under the wider political umbrella of the ASC, was the most important creator of the “Indigenous Population Identity and Rights Accord” which was an important part of Guatemala’s Peace Accords signed in December, 1996.

Doubtlessly, our concern, while dealing with a very specific narration of the Maya Movement, is to provide a scope of how some members of Guatemala’s
Maya population up until that time decided to participate in different national events that required making decisions and manipulating the nation’s profile and outcome according to their will. As I explained formerly over 60% of Guatemala’s population are Mayans, and the “hidden” official agenda wanted to retain them as cheap labor with hands off any political matters, and therefore, out of power structures and financial interests. However, what has to be emphasized here is that most of the PRODIPMA graduates became activists and naturally found their way into productive or professional areas in a diversity of GOs especially related to education, development, and cultural matters; as well as into NGOs and the incredible number of Maya organizations that had been born since the early 1990s. These organizations ultimately merged within COPMAGUA or COMG into broader representational units of Maya interests. A large number of both Maya NGOs and Maya institutions focused their efforts on educational issues. For instance, Majawil Q’ij, Asociación de Maestros de Noroccidente (AEN), Asociación de Maestros Retornados de Guatemala (AMERG), Asociación de Maestros Q’eqchi’ (ADEBQ’I), devoted their activities to creating strictly Maya curriculum or bilingual education modalities for elementary school, developed methodologies for teaching and learning the mother tongue, created texts and readings in diverse Mayan languages, executed workshops for training teachers on the new methodologies, and other actions. Other organizations became commercial enterprises focusing on editorial works and
culturally related materials such as CHOLSAMA] and Nahual Wuj, which are also owned and managed by PRODIPMA graduates.

Some of the indigenous professionals that worked for these institutions have become national leaders: Martín Chacach, founder and president of CECMA [Maya Cultural and Political Research Projects], currently coordinates an Indigenous University Graduates Association (CENEPU-MAYA), Rodrigo Chub Ical, was president of the Maya Languages Academy and currently provides professional advisory to DIGEBI (Bilingual Education Direction); Jorge Raymundo, coordinates workshops and training projects for bilingual teachers nationwide; Celi Ajú Patal, Maya language linguist has specialized in didactics and materials for primary schooling; Juana Catinac is executive secretary for the Mayan Women’s Rights Defense [indigenous women’s ombudsman,] among others.
Notes:

1 Escobar (1995) and Etcheverría (1997), although partially formed within First-world academia in their specialized graduate studies, both created critical rationales regarding paralogic evolutions upon institutional discourses of post-colonization which created their own internal counter-response by establishing the epistemological foundations of the Universal Human Rights Declaration.

2 In 1996, I was able to witness how some acquainted graduate students registered at diverse graduate programs in both American and Canadian universities presented dissertation projects that were ultimately rejected. Reasons exposed by committee members were that because the concept of Mayan Literature or Mapuche Literature were non-academic notions, they thus were unbearable of deserving serious academic work (non accepted pre-established epistemologies).

3 In Guatemala, particularly, the term Maya is yet used by some of the Ladino population in terms of ideology. This means that this sector of the population remains highly racist and uses-not uses the term in order to neglect the possibility of being actual heirs of a highly civilized group of people who lived in the past and suddenly disappeared from this geographical area without a trace. However, such a notion implies that actual living indigenous population have no historical link with the highly priced former civilization.

4 Demetrio Cojil Cuxil, Maya-Kaqchikel, achieved a P.h.D. in communication at Lovain University in Belgium and is currently the Bilingual Vice-Minister of MINEDUC. Juana Catinac, is a K’iche’ attorney graduated from URL and is currently the Indigenous Women Defensor (equivalent to the Ladino’s Humans Rights Defensor or Ombudsman). Antonio Pop Caal, Q’eqchi’ attorney, was also an Ajq’ij (shaman) and abducted and killed recently by a non-regular military commando.

5 The term Ladino is actually used, for specifically social science applications, as the portion of Guatemalan population who speak Spanish as their native language. In other words, in no longer corresponds to racial or any organic consideration.
CHAPTER V: Production of Knowledge by PRODIPMA

5.1 Education and Modern Development:

The perception of education as a vehicle of modern development is also based on the idea that schooling will tend to or be capable of modifying peoples' beliefs, abilities and values by addressing a variety of issues. For instance, schools are expected to prepare students with certain skills and values in order to shape workers who will be more productive and more adaptable to changes in industry and technology, thereby leading to economic growth and modernization for both nations and individuals (Watson, 1988). In terms of social advantages, education will expose students to modern progress as Touraine asserts, "in the form of both knowledge and membership in a society based upon rational principles." (1995: p. 12). Henceforth, education helps people develop abilities that will prepare them to function in modern society. In addition to molding proper citizens, schools are expected to single out and prepare future leaders based on their merit within the educational system rather than on the basis of their religion, race, status or gender (Carnoy & Samoff, 1990). Widespread education is also relied upon to promote "greater equality of opportunity, greater equality of income and a fairer distribution of power" (Watson, 1988: p. 139). In political terms, education aids in generating a sense of national identity among the people living in a country. A popular conception of nationhood has been viewed as necessary for the social and political stability of a country (Huntington, 1987). Hence, the diffusion of certain
knowledge through formal education is believed to be likely to intensify the modernization or development of traditional societies.

Although the definition of what actually constitutes modernity continues to be an area of contention and discussion, some of the debates surrounding the idea of modernity tend to recognize it as "an era characterized by the fateful conjoining of an Enlightenment faith in the capacity of Reason and science to penetrate the essential character of nature and humanity, with the development of industrial society" (Rattansi, 1994: p. 22). A definition that deserves to form part of our discussion is shown as limited when "modern" implies culture evolution and adaptation—into the global perspective—in spite of external, broader factors like a national constant growth in technology and industry. It seems less limited, however, when "modern" is viewed as a state of national maturity and hence a constant growth in equal opportunities for all citizens.

In relation to theoretical constructs that form ideas about modernity such concepts as classical political economy, Marxism, Weberian modernization theory and neoliberalism are influential examples (Larrain, 1994). All of these theories "propose a universal road to progress for all countries," and each of the theories begins with "a firm belief in instrumental reason and science, in the idea that we can understand reality and transform it, thus improving our lives" (Larrain, 1994: pp. 7-8). Accordingly, reason and scientific methods are the means by which natural laws can be discovered and the nature of humanity revealed in a culturally and politically neutral and definitive manner. Therefore, within the concept of
modernity, reason and scientific methods can be employed in shaping, directing and managing natural and social aspects of the lives of people, and "undesirable social situations" can be diagnosed, analyzed and remedied, leading to happiness, prosperity and stability (Larrain: p. 8).

Industrialization, urbanization, commodity commercialism, advanced technology, and the nation-state's constant and increasingly social change are characterizations of modernity in dominant societies (Rattansi, 1994; Rosenau, 1992). Associated modern priorities which imply "career, individual responsibility, bureaucracy, liberal democracy, egalitarianism, evaluative criteria, neutral procedures, impersonal rules, and rationality" are examples of modern constructs within dominant nations. On the other hand, scholarly research on subaltern countries has been conceived and conducted with such ideas. Indeed, entire countries are evaluated on the basis of these characteristics in determining the extent to which they have developed into a state of modernity (Arndt, 1987; Banuri, 1990; Huntington, 1987). Modernity and globalization have substantially linked us and our epistemologies to different geographies where identities are no longer related to traditional origins based on language, blood or nation. These elements do not emerge from immanent structures of cultural tradition but from continuous interactions between cultures and dynamics of transnational markets (Castro-Gómez & Mendieta, 1998).

In terms of development, certain countries came to be known as "developing" and "less developed" based upon the notion held by the dominant
societies that all peoples are headed toward a universal, unitary form of development. With the post-World War II breakdown of European colonialism and the ensuing emergence of new nations, the onset of the Cold War, and the expansion of communism, subaltern countries were considered politically, socially, intellectually and economically backward or primitive or traditional, not yet having achieved a state of modernity as defined by dominant societies. Theories, practices and institutions were soon created by scholars and decision makers in dominant nations to encourage the inevitable journey of subaltern countries down the road of progress to a state of supposed modern development. Edward Said stressed the different ways through which European colonialist societies created constructs of imaginary discourses for subaltern cultures which were part of former colonies that have been continued to be researched for further scientific means of intervention. These former colonies are human laboratories that would help modify and improve theories and practices for the development of “Other”. (Said, 1978).

In short, development has meant modern development and has been characterized as “revolutionary (a dramatic shift from tradition to modern), complex (multiple causes), systematic, global (affecting all societies), phased (advancement through stages), homogenizing (convergence), irreversible and progressive” (Fagerlind & Saha, 1989: p. 16). These conceptions depict the universal, linear, uprooting and permeating aspects of modernity and modernizing activities of development practices. Elements of a country that do not fit into the
categorization of modernity are automatically rendered undeveloped or underdeveloped, whether in economic, political, social or cultural terms. For instance, Western hemisphere or Occident is invariably identified with Europe and the U.S. which is the same as the enigmatic identity of modern “I.” Whereas “third world” is used to define “undeveloped” areas stranded between capitalist “first world” and socialist “second world,” but always as the preferred place for the “Other.” (Coronil, 1998). Henceforth, the economically, militarily and politically powerful societies have defined modern development for themselves and the rest of the world. In this regard, Fernando Coronil affirms that capitalist development carries a teleology of progress which has been incorporated into reified institutions and categories. Hence, cultural constructs like “Occident” or “Third World” obtain an objective existence yet an apparent subjective life, concurrently. As part of its social interactions, these forms feed a collective imagination and help define and create desires and needs that circulate as objects of libidinal attraction (Bhabha, 1986). Moreover, they also circulate in the form of subjects for political action that determine the terms in which such action takes place. However, modernity is a permanent process of changing its own scope. Global changes within the spheres of cultures and aesthetics sphere are providing current rules of the game for post-modernity. (Coronil: 141).

The social sciences have played a significant role in shaping the field of education by introducing empirical methods into research on the topic (Epstein, 1991). Ideas and methods of structural functionalism and the theory of human
capital were applied to scholarly studies in the field of international and comparative education, intending to make that field better accepted by social scientists (Altbach, 1991).

Since the 1960s, education has been considered a main source for providing the human capital that would form the basis for social and economic development in subaltern countries. Such a focus “reinforced the conservative orientation of social sciences by emphasizing the importance of social stability and the instrumental role of education in social and economic development” (Altbach, 1991: p. 499). Within the social science framework, theories of education as “the institutional remedy for ‘underdevelopment’” came to provide a linear model of cause and effect in educational research (Bock, 1982: p. 78). The model’s first step was to identify the problem—usually as the lack of some set of competencies and values believed to be critical to development—followed by prescriptions for some type and measure of education and then letting time pass to allow the effects to emerge as “the newly competent citizens are formed and allocated to productive roles within the society” (Bock, 1982: p. 78). As such, the purpose of international and comparative education “expanded to include not only using national school systems as models for reform and development, but also understanding the role of education in shaping social structures and influencing social development” (Epstein, 1991: p. 20).
5.2 Production of Academic Knowledge as a Form of Representation:

Research trends in international and comparative education have mostly reflected education in terms of formal schooling and have often been examined through dominant ideas and methods from the social sciences. The knowledge created by scholars in this field has been a powerful influence in shaping values and norms for what defines and constitutes education. However, indigenous ideas and methods for producing and transmitting knowledge have not received serious consideration within the prevailing hegemonic educational discourse.

Scholarly international education journals are replete with articles analyzing education in subaltern countries in terms of sociological concepts associated with modern development in dominant societies. In "developed" nations, notions of what constitutes modern, developed aspects of education and educated people is constructed and expressed within the text of scholarly studies. Certain conceptions of education, such as educational planning, quality and achievement, have become widely used by members in the field of international and comparative education (Watson, 1988). Such dominant concepts have underlying ideas, assumptions and values and, thus, provide a view of reality that is influenced by the cultural, social, political, historical and epistemological contexts from where the concepts emerged. As such, the concepts represent certain ideas and knowledge about reality. For instance, in studies of educational systems, students who fail or drop out of school are added to the statistical representation of
the student retention rates of a nation. These individuals who have not completed a course of schooling are deemed "uneducated" and viewed as not being well prepared for modern work and citizenship as are those who graduate from school (Kraak, 1991; Rahim, 1992). However, uneducated also means the involuntary lack of competence/skills or low quality education provided by monolingual teachers working in bilingual contexts. For example, in Guatemala a huge percentage\(^1\) of indigenous students have shown serious problems\(^2\) in redacting Spanish, comprehensive reading, and so forth, forcing them to an early drop out from their university studies, and, what is worse, undermining their self-esteem as persons capable of succeeding within the modern world.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine and map the academic curricular axes (epistemologies) to which PRODIPMA students were exposed to during their university studies. By forming a curricular matrix which includes all the university majors which they had studied, it certainly becomes more enriching to compare notions, concepts, theories and authors included especially in EDP (person's development) courses. These EDP courses have contents regarding the enhancement of critical thought, understanding ethnicity: multicultural Guatemala, intercultural relations, ethics, culture, philosophy, aesthetics, diversity, among others. Certain courses of specific majors are more concerned with technical and scientific knowledge. These sorts of epistemological contents also impart ideological notions on how modernity has to be shaped. However, more
than just ideas, they also seem to embed procedures and processes of production for the development of modernism.

This study, therefore, follows all elements appearing in and originating from the thoughts and discourses of the PRODIPMA alumni who were interviewed under the guidance or referential support of the mapped curricular matrix. It is assumed, nonetheless, that the production of knowledge consists of those elements circulating within the discourses of individuals and their group which are composed of evolved and complex notions regarding the representation and modernization of a culture. By examining academic representations of the production of knowledge and its relation to the conception of modern development in subaltern cultural groups, it is possible to confirm that the emerging indigenous knowledge is juxtaposed with the dominant (homogenizing) discourse circulating within Academia. Henceforth, all conceived assumptions and practices aimed at understanding and shaping modern development for indigenous communities are no longer isolated from mainstream thought. The response, however, even though Mayan knowledge has not yet achieved contemporary systematization, will be evidenced in the upcoming chapter where coherence of thought is established in terms of knowledge distribution of knowledge and critical thought development.

By critically examining dominant representations of the production of knowledge and modern development from a site where academic knowledge is fabricated, the relations between power, knowledge and culture can be explored in
a way that creates a more emancipating focus on academic practices. The means of more enriching and participatory ways to define and depict the Guatemalan nation. can be effected by encouraging the recognition of the rules, assumptions, notions, methods, and limitations of the production of dominant knowledge, while promoting appreciation for the contributions of other forms of culture and knowledge that have been marginalized or excluded from consideration.

5.3 Indigenous Knowledge, Culture and Power:

Postmodernism has been associated with skeptically addressing the unlimited possibilities of modern science as a form of knowledge, its apparently rational views of reality—in terms of particulars and universals—and the consequent authority of experts and decision makers. Meanwhile it promotes the protection of local or marginalized cultures from attempts of dominant societies to reform and restructure them into similar classifications (Rosenau, 1992). Postmodern analysis includes the examination of assumptions and concepts associated with modernity, as well as the exploration of forms of knowledge, practices and experiences that have not received recognition or appreciation within the dominant modern framework of creation of knowledge and its legitimization (McGovern, 1999). Postmodern studies explore questions such as "who is silenced, who is intimidated, [and] who is excluded" when modern methods of science, reason and rationality define the dominant discourses. What are the social and political
implications of "advocating a formal, universal standard of rationality to which people must be expected to conform?" (Burbules, 1995: p. 84). More simply stated, a postmodern approach to research involves questioning the dominance of certain ideas and practices over others.

Additional questions of post-modernity also address issues of power relations such as who has the authority to create knowledge, from what sites or places is knowledge originated, and where and how is knowledge legitimated and circulated (Bourdieu, 1991; Foucault, 1980; Lyotard, 1984). Relations of power and knowledge appear where the exertion of power is able to create space for certain statements to emerge and to be socially legitimated as knowledge. The extent to which particular statements knowledge attain status as valid and valuable depends, in part, on the social position of the author (Bourdieu, 1991: p. 109). This is also valid for traditional communities like most of Mayan origin where agency is attained by elders and senior members who exclusively provide advice and guidance in issues regarding health, agriculture, marriage, child inception/conception and so forth. Such agency is relegated only to communal influence, restrained use, since the dominant milieu persists in ignoring it. This is because participation in a legitimate, predictable institution determines one's access to instruments of expression (Bourdieu, 1991; Foucault, 1980). By being associated with the institution of higher education, faculty members are placed in the socially recognized position of teachers and researchers or transmitters and producers of knowledge. In addition, the individual academic disciplines that are
part of higher education provide sites which influence the manner for expressing
knowledge within the various fields of study. The direction and nature of faculty
members’ research and teaching are subject to approval by committees created for
the promotion of faculty and tenure process in each higher education institutions,
thus controlling the legitimation and diffusion knowledge produced by faculty
members (McGovern, 1999). Furthermore, editors, publishers and critics of
academic journals and books within professional associations tend to judge the
validity and value of topics, ideas and methods of academic research before
permitting circulation of the material through formal modes of print and
presentation. The acceptance of statements of knowledge as being valid or true is
subject to approval by those deemed competent to judge or verify the information
(Lyotard, 1984; Rosenau, 1992). Henceforth, within a particular academic field,
“equals are needed and must be created” in order to perpetuate the process of the
approval of the production of knowledge within the disciplines (Lyotard, 1984: p.
24). As a result, certain ways of thinking, values, methods and behaviors are
promoted within professions and certain norms that direct and shape research and
practices are “taught, learnt and rewarded” (Chambers, 1993: pp. 3-4). The
legitimization and spread of certain kinds of knowledge signifies what information
is considered knowledge—or “true” knowledge—and what type of knowledge is
valuable. In fact, entire fields of knowledge are shaped “as a result of the power
relations of discursive practices” which define “whose constructions of reality are
valid and scientific and whose are unlearned and unimportant” (Kincheloe, 1993: p. 39).

On the other hand, power is revealed in the expression of knowledge. Knowledge can be expressed in language or discourse and, as such, language plays a significant role in representing knowledge about reality. The use of language to express knowledge is an exercise of power. One has the power to define meanings by choosing certain concepts or terms, particular ideas and theories, and specific aspects of reality to focus attention upon and to depict (McGovern, 1999: pp. 18-19). It is through methods for producing knowledge, such as identifying, naming, categorizing and evaluating that power is exercised. For, “in naming or refusing to name things in the order of thought, existence is recognized or refused, significance assigned or ignored, beings elevated or rendered invisible (Goldberg 1993, p. 150). “And there are, no doubt, relatively few cases in which the structuring power of words, their capacity to prescribe while seeming to describe and to denounce while seeming to enunciate, is so clear” (Bourdieu, 1991: p. 150). Henceforth, modern social science procedures are mechanisms for understanding aspects of reality that, in the process, marginalize or exclude other expressions of the reality. The power of a social scientist—like Bourdieu—lies in the author’s ability to shape views of reality by focusing attention on particular elements of reality, defining knowledge about the reality, and expressing the knowledge through language. This articulation of power is guided by the manner and methods of research that define the social science disciplines. The way in which
knowledge is produced and transferred to subjects requires special analytic explanation in order to make manifest how it has arisen from particular epistemological, political, historical, social and cultural perspectives. This is important because academic representations are "less unrealistic than they seem if one is aware of the degree to which one can modify social reality by modifying the agents' representation of it" (Bourdieu, 1991: p. 128). Any form of knowledge, "whether local or universal, is a construction of the world and not an indisputable, objective truth about it" (Escobar, 1995: p. 62).

5.4 Production of Academic Knowledge:

Giroux (1992) explores higher education as an important social institution that produces and reproduces selected values, and that encompasses in "social relations and teaching practices specific notions regarding what knowledge is most worth, what it means to know something, and how one might construct representations of [themselves], others, and the social environment" (Giroux, 1992: p. 91). For instance, the language and interpretations that PRODIPMA students accepted from the educational experience at Landívar University embodied visions which as Giroux asserts: "are neither ideologically neutral nor politically innocent" (p. 92), because the extent that particular visions translate into curricula and pedagogical practices denotes not only "a struggle over forms of political authority and orders of representation" but also shapes and defines "identities, collective
voices, and the future of others” (p. 92). Within higher education, a great deal of authority rests with educators who have the power to “legitimate both the value of a particular image or text and the range of interpretations that can be brought to bear in understanding it” (p. 220). Henceforth, higher education is an important social institution where conceptions of reality are constructed, imparted and have effects in terms of perceptions and practices.

From another viewpoint, Ginsburg et al. (1992) discuss the political nature of education, defining curricula as the selection and organization of knowledge and research as the production of knowledge about reality. Curriculum content represents the selection of certain topics and ways of viewing these topics. “Power relations are embedded in curriculum both in terms of who makes the decisions and whose interests are served by the topics and perspectives included or excluded” (p. 421). Thus, “knowledge and power can be seen as inextricably linked” where “the content of curriculum knowledge may serve to legitimate or challenge existing relations of power” (p. 421). Relations of power and knowledge in research occur as the producer of knowledge determines the direction and topics for research. In addition, “publishers, editors and reviewers are in a position to determine whose work is (or is not) published” as part of scholarly efforts to “force recognition of [her or his] products and [her or his] own authority as a legitimate producer” (p. 428). Ginsburg et al. (1992) demonstrate that a variety of educational aspects are political and involve power relations in the production, legitimation and circulation of knowledge. The academic representation of
education and modern development in subaltern societies is, then, a political act as values, ideas and perceptions are transmitted through the construction of knowledge about particular aspects of reality and the interpretation of the meaning of reality in different societies.

From a contrastive viewpoint, Apple's (1993) analysis of contemporary conservative educational reforms challenges people to "think about texts as sites for the reproduction and production of power relations" (p. 5). The textbook is "one artifact that plays a major role in defining whose culture is taught" (p. 46). And continues, "textbooks are at once the results of political, economic and cultural activities, battles and compromises" (p. 46). They are "conceived, designed and authored by real people with real interests" and are "published within the political and economic constraints of markets, resources, and power" (p. 46). Textbooks signify "particular constructions of reality, particular ways of selecting and organizing that vast universe of possible knowledge" (p. 49). Thus, the relationship between knowledge and power in education becomes apparent "in the struggles by women, people of color, and others to have their history included in the curriculum" (p. 47). Elements of non-dominant knowledge may be integrated into the curriculum by bringing them into close association with values of powerful groups; however, such elements are often not developed in depth (p. 56). Texts serve, therefore, as sites for reflexive and challenging activity for students and teachers, enabling them to "construct their own responses to texts," accepting or rejecting some or all the messages in a particular text (p. 61).
Production of knowledge, legitimatization, and diffusion are a political process and practice which has the effects of excluding or marginalizing other forms of knowledge (McGovern, 1999). By focusing on the political nature of production of knowledge, space is created for resistance to dominant forms of knowledge and for learning from both dominant and non-dominant views of reality. By recognizing that knowledge is socially constructed, other ways of knowing or perceiving reality become more acceptable and valued as contributions to the attempts at understanding realities.

Escobar (1995) explores the network of power, knowledge and culture surrounding the production of knowledge in the discourse on modern development. He explains that “professionalism” and the “institutionalization” of forms of knowledge and power provide the mechanisms through which development is carried out (p. 45). “Professionalization” is the process that brings subaltern societies “into the politics of expert knowledge and Western science” by “techniques, strategies, and disciplinary practices that organize the generation, validation, and diffusion of development knowledge, including the academic disciplines, methods of research and teaching, criteria of expertise, and manifold professional practices” (p. 45). The “institutionalization” of modern development exists through the international and local development agencies and organizations that form a strong network of power (p. 46). The professional knowledge produced about subaltern societies from within these institutions is then utilized and circulated “through applied programs, conferences, international consultant
services, local extension practices, and so on” (p. 46). Through this network, people and communities are tied into certain forms of cultural and economic production along with expected behaviors and ideas that are promoted within the development profession (p. 46). Similar relations exist to create a space for construction of the discourse on education in subaltern societies. The professional practices of production of knowledge and transmission from within the institutions of higher education, professional associations, and in collaboration with development organizations, serve as a powerful network for promoting ideas and behaviors within the field of education. The power of these networks is made apparent in the existence of dominant concepts that appear throughout the research in the field.

It is clear that deliberately constructed concepts represent pre-established views of reality. Following this sense, Goldberg (1993) discusses the racialized representation of the “Third World” concept that has been produced in academic disciplines and how this particular notion perpetuates power relations (p. 164). The “Third World” is the non-European and non-white “world of tradition irrationality, underdeveloped and overpopulated, disordered and chaotic,” as opposed to rational, modern, scientific, ordered and developed white European societies (Goldberg, 1993: p. 164). This concept of the Third World has helped determine the focus of social science disciplines (p. 164). “Mainstream economics, sociology, and political science respectively concentrate on wealth, status, and power, especially in capitalist societies,” while “area studies, development
economics, and anthropology analyze the ‘underdeveloped’ and ‘traditional societies’ of the Third World” (p. 164). In addition, the knowledge promoted in area studies programs tends to be concerned with “how to civilize, how to approach and relate to the “Other” (pp. 164-5). Accordingly, dominant perceptions within the social sciences subjugate and exclude “populations considered traditional in their productive and cultural ways” (p. 165). Academic representations of reality are powerful influences in shaping how something is thought about and acted upon. Perceptions of education in subaltern societies are reflected in the concepts used and statements made about education within a society. Such knowledge in the field of international and comparative education shapes how education is thought about and influences ideas of what education should be in subaltern societies.

On the other hand, academic constructions of knowledge are strongly influenced by culture. In this regard, Blaut (1993) critically analyzes modern scholarship regarding world history and world geography and asserts that conventional thinking in these areas is “grounded in Western culture,” thus distorting perceptions of “facts of history and geography” (p. 2). In using academic skills and authority as a producer of knowledge to present other representations of reality, Blaut (1993) exposes the influence of culture on knowledge production and challenges dominant beliefs. By examining the history, ideas and assumptions underlying dominant conceptions and characterizations, the influence of culture on the construction of such knowledge can also be made
apparent. The analysis of academic knowledge production allows for critically viewing the information presented within fields of study, the manner of representations and the perceptions of reality which result from knowledge statements. These studies show how postmodern forms of analysis have broadened ways of thinking about representations of reality by questioning the dominance of certain representations and how they shape the ways in which reality is perceived and acted upon.

5.5 Major Courses of Study and Graduates of PRODIPMA:

The Program for Integral Development of Maya Population (PRODIPMA) officially ended in December 1993. Due to a decentralizing policy decided by the administrative/academic committee formed by representative members of Rafael Landívar University Main Campus, URL Facultades de Quetzaltenango, and USAID, the majority of granted indigenous students with grants for the Program registered and attended courses at URL Quetzaltenango campus. However, a small number of students (9) studied at the Main Campus, specifically because their desired majors were not offered at the Quetzaltenango campus. The city of Quetzaltenango is located amid the ethnolingustic Maya group K’iche’, which in fact is the largest Mayan group in Guatemala with nearly two million speakers, geographically living in some 26 municipios which include some of the closest related Mayan languages, namely, Uspanteko, Sacapulteko and Achi’. The final
account made in July 1997, reflects the following number of graduates by university degree and by major:

**Chart No. 1**

**LICENCIATURA (BACHELOR'S DEGREE) MAJORS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Major (discipline)</th>
<th>No. of Graduates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pedagogy (education)</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychology</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Work</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawyer (attorney)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business Administration</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linguistics</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accounting and Auditing</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Architecture</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>108</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Chart No. 2**

**UNIVERSITY TECHNICIAN/PROFESSORATE MAJORS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Major (discipline)</th>
<th>No. of Graduates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Speech therapy</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Botany and Forestry</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Work</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooperative Entrepreneur</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philosophy</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural Science</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language and Literature</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathematics and Physics</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilingual Education</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pedagogy and Psychology</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>283</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A total of 391 new Mayan professionals successfully completed their university studies by the end of the program.
5.6 Program and Academic Review of PRODIPMA:

PRODIPMA was authorized in June, 1986. During the period from June to December 1986, key personnel for the project were employed and materials to begin the school year in January, 1987, were obtained. The students were selected from an applicant pool of approximately six hundred. Since January, 1997, numerous changes in curriculum have been made, new majors (disciplines) were designed and incorporated into the list of disciplines offered by Rafael Landívar University. By May, 1988, PRODIPMA had 318 active students. One of the conclusions reached by a group of consultants that conducted an evaluation of the project was that “PRODIPMA in fact surpassed the social impact and results expected by USAID” (Aragon et al., 1988). The evaluation consultants also concluded that the majors chosen by PRODIPMA grantees were designed with “appropriateness and quality of the curriculum offered” (p. iii). They also examined different aspects concerning student recruitment, selection, counseling and training of students, and conducted interviews with staff members, faculty, students and members of the community-at-large, in order to determine achievement of goals and satisfaction.

One of the most significant and important considerations extant in establishing this project was that the curriculum and other academic components of the project, should serve to support, strengthen, and reinforce the indigenous Mayan culture of the students. Aiming at accomplishing this goal, core courses
designed to help develop personal values and criteria (EDP courses) were included in the general curricula of URL, while other courses were developed and offered to Mayan and non-Mayan students during the entire program. Some modifications and enrichment of the original proposed curriculum were added in order to upgrade and update courses and available bibliography. However, the basic curricular scheme and applied efforts to enhance the students' grasp of their culture remained strong during the project and beyond. Core courses (EDP4) in anthropology, culture, ethics and sociology were offered and sparked academic discussions and debates. Additional EDP courses offered for indigenous and non-indigenous students include, among others, anthropological research methods, Mankind's Philosophical Study, ethnology, political economics, ethnic groups of Guatemala, identity and cultural study of Guatemala, sociologic study of Guatemala, study of Guatemalan art, and human relations. Each course dealt with the national reality of Guatemala. Courses in Mayan languages, namely, Kaqchikel, K'iche', Mam and Q'eqchi' were also offered for Ladino and Mayan students. These courses, although not part of the EDP courses, helped to strengthen both the program and URL students in general, because indigenous students were native and, therefore, competent speakers of their Mayan languages but lacked abilities to write and read. Exposing Mayan students to methodologically learn reading and writing of Mayan languages brought about the effect of enhancing their cultural pride, self-esteem and identity. On the other hand of course, Mayan languages were open to any student, whether Ladino or Mayan,
and, henceforth, facilitated both academically and inter-culturally opportunities for socialization, solidarity, fellowship, and a natural interchange of opinions and information. "Language is an instrument for communication with which the human experience is analyzed in each community; language, at the same time, is a product, a part and a condition of culture" (Camilleri, 1985: p. 127). Non-Mayan students were exposed to Mayan values, world perspective, and the ordering of mental schemes common to all languages. Thus, they were helped to begin a more humane understanding of the "other" and overcome looking at persons and other cultures by applying traditional stereotyped ways. Related courses were taught specifically to indigenous students in Idioma Español (Spanish language) and mathematics, in order to compensate and catch them up with urban Ladino students who had better quality education (Camilleri, 1985). "There is, therefore, a specific source of disadvantage derived from the cultural factor (ethnic minority), constantly increasing, that never gets confused with disadvantages coming from socioeconomic status" (p. 96). Camilleri asseverates that differences in quality education when comparing urban schools and students to those of rural areas, students from urban settings have more advantages due to the higher academic standards demanded in urban (private) schools for teachers and texts. This contrasts to the weaker exigencies and lack of quality supervision encountered in rural (public and private) schools.

The following chart (Chart No. 3) shows EDP and complementary (Mayan languages, Spanish and math) courses, academic credits, and majors pursued by
the PRODIPMA grantees. First, the chart is divided into two segments from left to right. The left segment includes the eight majors (disciplines) studied by the students at *licenciatura* (bachelor’s degree) level. As stated beforehand, these are majors of 5 to 6 years of duration or its equivalent of approximately 150 academic credits. On the right segment of the chart, there are 10 majors pursued by the indigenous grantees at technical or professorate level. These study programs are noted for providing skills and abilities for technical/scientific employment or for pedagogically preparing specialized teachers to provide education at middle school level (*educación media*). The technical level courses of study last anywhere from 6 semester to 3 years depending on the subject, and are normally completed by earning some 75-80 academic credits. Another scholarly distinction between these programs is that *licenciaturas* require writing a thesis based on research which is evaluated privately by a committee of 3 faculty members and by public defense. Whereas technical degrees require solely the passing of a general comprehensive examination. Additionally, the number of academic credits assigned to each course is shown between brackets, and its credit value may vary from one URL department to another depending on the priority assigned by the deans and directors. Moreover, numbers followed by “X” in credit headings within brackets, designate sequential courses for a specific subject or issue.

Special Personal Development courses (EDP or core courses) are listed from top to bottom in the first column of the display. Nevertheless, the last 3 courses, namely, Spanish, Mathematics, and Mayan languages (*K’iche’, Q’eqchi’, Mam*, and
Kaqchikel) were considered "complementary" courses and are listed in the chart because they were defined as crucial to ensure appropriate academic development and adaptation for the indigenous students to the academic environment. However, EDP courses are included in this chart according to their specific importance in the definition of a "purposeful higher education program for indigenous students," and their pre-established effect in terms of strengthening Maya identity and cultural pride, as well as promoting mutually enriching intercultural relations between indigenous and ladino students. Thus, for our specific purpose of analyzing the curricular content established as an innovative proposal for the PRODIPMA experience, we will concentrate on these courses. The rest of the courses, though having a more extensive academic load corresponding to the majors chosen by the grantees, would "simply" provide the skills and knowledge necessary to publicly perform the intrinsic and specifically required professional skills.

Following an ubiquitous macro interpretation of the chart, it is noticeable that while PRODIPMA was in existence, the greater part of the major courses of study in the Department of Humanities required EDP courses in their curricula. This is also true in terms of the percentage of students who chose to enroll in studies offered by this department, which is shown as 275 out of 391 graduates or 71%. However, at Landívar University the Department of Humanities is in charge of most of the disciplines in social sciences, including philosophy, literature, psychology, communication, and education.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Major/course (credits)</th>
<th>Licenciatura (bachelor’s degree)</th>
<th>University Technicians/Professorate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction to Anthropology</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philosophical anthropology</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man’s Philosophical Study/Philosophy</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>3X (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guatemala’s identity and cultural study</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guatemala’s sociologic study/Sociology</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethics/professional ethics</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish Language</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathematics</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mayan Languages</td>
<td>2X (3)</td>
<td>2X (3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Starting with "complementary" courses, it is evident that Spanish language was an actual need to help indigenous students overcome common mistakes in the Spanish language and become proficient not only in its daily use but also especially in the academically correct use of Spanish. A diagnosis prepared by evaluation consultants, Aragón et al. (1988), asserted that "The basic idea in the Spanish language courses is to help bilingual students with differences between their two languages which cause on occasion the literal translation from one language to another which can yield syntactic errors, misstatement of gender, confusion between article or adjective, mismatch of singular or plural noun and verb, etc." (Aragón, 1988: p. 10). The consultants also pointed out that, by the time their survey in place, 154 students were taking Lenguaje I (Spanish I) out of 245 registered as active students in May, 1988. Moreover, majors offered outside of the Department of Humanities, namely Economics, Agricultural Sciences, and Juridical Science, had not even considered the importance of promoting this crucial course. These departments did not make it a major requirement nor require it to be recorded in the transcripts of graduates. However, there were other departments, Architecture, Political Science, that required the Spanish language course for their students to be completed at least during the first semester.

Indigenous students daily use of spoken Spanish in the classrooms was not actually a scholarly problem; whereas redaction of research reports, short essays, and, especially, thesis redaction were troublingly reported by faculty and committee members as constant burdens. Courses in Spanish were reported as
partially helpful in overcoming this challenging predicament since they were designed to improve academic usage by native Spanish speakers. A solution was proposed for thesis redaction by submitting completed works to specialized reviewers who focused on grammar, syntax, vocabulary, and elements of style. A more lasting solution was provided, years after PRODIPMA ended, to help students succeed in a more ambitious program—Education for the Mayan Population (EDUMAYA)—Lucía Verdugo (2000), developed and systematized results from extensive fieldwork study while conducting a course of Spanish as a second language (SSL) at the URL campus in Antigua Guatemala. The course was taken by students belonging to the Kaqchikel and K'iche' ethnic/linguistic groups. After the study was concluded, Verdugo (2000) defined the most common mistakes committed by adult Mayan university students; she also organized teaching strategies, methodological procedures, and workbooks to help indigenous students to promptly and permanently succeed in overcoming language limitations within academic environments.

Mathematics, as a complementary course, was reported to have been implemented in three URL departments, namely, Humanities, Economics, and Architecture, and in five different majors: accounting and auditing, architecture, business administration, cooperative entrepreneur, and professorate in math and physics. The math courses listed in the chart are only those, which were requested and organized by tutors in collaboration with the department directors of course majors. Tutors were responsible for a number of PRODIPMA grantees and their
duty, among others, consisted of monitoring and counseling students with any academic need. Scholars and educators of higher education are aware of the tremendous limitations shown by indigenous students coming from rural schools, especially in the use, knowledge and skills in mathematics and Spanish. The magnitude of the liability emerges when students wishing to enroll in the university studies fail to pass the admission examinations, mostly in mathematics and Spanish. For this reason these courses are considered “complementary” when, in reality, they are remedial or catch-up courses. Therefore, in the chart it is possible to find these courses which are offered normally only in January, at the beginning of the new semester, and solely for new students. The curricular math courses are not listed in the chart because, once the students surmounted their deficiencies and evened out their skills and knowledge, they began the curricula for their majors as equals to the other regular students. It is clear that PRODIPMA students enrolled in majors like accounting, business administration, architecture, professorate in math and physics, and cooperative entrepreneur, need a solid base in mathematical knowledge and other related skills as an actual requirement to guarantee the accomplishment of their academic goals. According to report by the evaluating consultants, “The course in mathematics is an introduction to algebra and to integral calculus, when specifically requested by the tutors” (Aragon et al., 1988: p. 10). In a broad evaluation of the complementary courses, Aragon and associates concluded that “The two reinforcing courses [mathematics and Spanish I] that are offered are absolutely coincident with the program objective of
enhancing the students' preparation for university work which requires verbal and
writing skills and understanding of quantitative relationships. The course in
Spanish (Lenguaje I) and algebra (capacitación matemática) are helping to fulfill this
aim" (p. 12).

In what corresponds to the Mayan language courses, it appears quite clearly
that in 6 out of 7 majors in which the courses were offered—and formed part of the
curricula—, the need to take two, and up to four sequential courses, was preferably
done under guidance by professional stipulation derived from demands. For
certain services Providing legal services and counseling in a style made
meaningful in language, is something not only deserving encomium but is actually
a human right imposed by the Constitution. It is of critical importance that a
lawyer handles a lawsuit with proper and complete understanding and
interpretation of what both his or her client and the juror might express concerning
a legal case. This similarly applies, to some extent, to social workers because their
duties and services demand, especially as these professionals work with real
people, that they listen to and try to determine the most suitable solutions to their
clients' social and economic problems. Social workers normally apply their
professional knowledge and guidance skills to marginalized people with no
resources. In Guatemala, quite often, these people are indigenous Mayan speakers.
Linguists and bilingual educators need to not only know communication skills in
several Mayan languages; but also because of the nature of their work, they need
to delve deeper into language analytic and descriptive methods, interpretation,
syntax, vocabulary, grammar and didactics of teaching languages as first or second languages. They must know how to create new educational materials, and therefore, excel in learning two or more languages. Aragón and associates concluded that "The Mayan language courses are absolutely coincident with project objectives in reinforcing the student's own culture. The intention behind the core courses in social science is similar in that the content deals with present day Guatemala. However, the perception of the students that the series of courses thus far do not coincide with program objectives is in some degree justified". This aspect of the curriculum merits continual monitoring in order to ensure that every core course helps to achieve this most important goal of the project" (Aragón et al., 1988: p. 12). However, the overall qualification conceded to EDP and complementary courses reads, "The academic component which includes the Mayan language courses and core courses in anthropology, ethnohistory and culture, economics, philosophy, and sociology are key elements in providing an enhanced self-image to indigenous students who take the courses" (p. 14).

Concerning EDP or "nuclear" courses it is evident that these courses were included in almost every major offered by Landívar University, regardless of the department. This is so, because EDP courses were designed to transmit and instill the positive impression of URL in all Landivarian students and alumni, in the form of values, ethics, respect and appreciation of diversity, etc. However, the Department of Humanities has the highest frequency of such course offerings because the themes involved are more related to the topics and learning objectives
of the department. It is noticeable. Moreover, there were some majors (and their departments) that were not willing to comply with this general curriculum. These are the departments of Agriculture (Botany and Forestry) and Humanities (Linguistics), because by 1988 the majors were recently implemented and were lacking organization. The authorities of the Department of Economics (Business, Accounting, and Entrepreneurial Cooperatives) view technical and quantitative based curricula with higher importance than the humanistic and social approaches to knowledge.

The following chart (Chart No. 4) is of critical importance in mapping in greater detail all the elements belonging to the specific curricular contents for each and every EDP course taken by all PRODIPMA students, regardless of disciplines or majors. Curricular contents include a minimum thematic scheme, text or texts chosen to cover the minimum thematic, and complementary or referential (extended) bibliography—to be used for deeper or more extended information, especially in required research projects with deadlines and/or papers. Landívar University has as an academic practice and norm which consists of providing the faculty with "libertad de cátedra" (freedom of teaching). This means that curricular contents are presented by the dean of a department or a director of a major to the faculty who are responsible for a course. Course descriptions are presented as cognitive guides including objectives and expected learning goals or changes of attitude in the students. These guides were—and continue to be a policy—strongly recommended to be kept in mind by the faculty when organizing a specific course
syllabus. Nonetheless, each faculty member will choose authors and bibliography or class texts, according to his or her scholarly preferences. This is a fact worth stating beforehand since the ethnographic mapping of sources of knowledge and their determination have to be allocated as "standardized" or "provided-in-advance" by the academic departments, assuming that each of the faculty members would have based the organization of their syllabi on the minimum contents provided. The ethnographer, however, has to build the referential selection by including only these minimum contents in the mapping process, and compare them, in a further analysis, with detected elements circulating within the discourses of PRODIPMA alumni as individuals and groups.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EDP Course</th>
<th>Minimum Contents</th>
<th>Class Text(s)</th>
<th>Extended Bibliography</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Benedict, Ruth (1934), (1938) &quot;Patterns of Culture,&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Religion.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDP Course</td>
<td>Minimum Contents</td>
<td>Class Text(s)</td>
<td>Extended Bibliography</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDP Course</td>
<td>Minimum Contents</td>
<td>Class Text(s)</td>
<td>Extended Bibliography</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDP Course</td>
<td>Minimum Contents</td>
<td>Class Text(s)</td>
<td>Extended Bibliography</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
8. Hartmann, N. (1925), "Ethic."
9. Scheler, Max. (1940), "From the Vaues Revolution." (1941) "Ethic's Formalism and Material Ethics of Values." |

5.7 Alternative Strategies for Strengthening Culture-Identity:

In the mid 1980s when PRODIPMA was ready to initiate its activities, a large number of young indigenous students were mentally nurtured through traditions and lifestyles proper to their small rural villages. However, they also were strongly encouraged by their parents to conceal everything resembling indigenous elements (language, clothes, etc.). As a consequence, adult indigenous were convinced that what their offspring needed in education was learning and mastering the Spanish language in order to anticipate a better future with less suffering. Historically, from Guatemala's independence in 1821 until the enforcement of the new constitution in 1985, there were two categories of citizens, namely, Indians and
Ladinos (Morales, 1997). During the subsequent period, most of non-Mayan Guatemalans were initially surprised when a group of Indians started claiming—backed by a very small group of national and international social scientists—that they were direct Mayan heirs, that Mayas were their ancestors, and thus they had the right to be considered Mayans as well. According to earlier studies (see Torres-Rivas, 1973) and (Bastos & Camus, 1995), members of Mayan cultures, no matter what their linguistic ethnic group, were not only discriminated and exploited with cynical abuse, but were also punished in public view. For instance, children at schools were punished by their teachers whenever they spoke indigenous languages in the classroom or continued to use both spoken and written Spanish improperly.

Landívar University and PRODIPMA were at the crossroads of a slowly changing ethnocentric society that was somewhat beginning to challenge the exclusive access to knowledge by Western culture and the empowerment of the hegemonic elitists. When Mayan students were invited to submit their scholarship applications, they had become accustomed to concealing their ethnicity as a consequence of their families not having helped them maintain their native identities; their families restricted their access to their Mayan languages and other elements of identity. PRODIPMA needed to make some effectual efforts if the program was to be effective in convincing and defining the fundamentals that educating persons did not necessarily imply providing information solely, but preferably was “forming” indigenous students through academic development of
healthy minds, enduring personalities, and emotionally stable people as well as
great technicians and professionals. EDP or "nuclear" courses were important to
the point that Landívar University increased the number of these core courses that
were culturally pertinent. Moreover, the program also strengthened the students
by supporting a heavier multicultural weight in the curricula of all majors offered
by the university. This was an important strategy that has had a bold impact and
enhanced improvement in the Curricular Reform initiated later, in 1998, by URL.
However, in 1987, core courses were not expected to be the sole means to enhance
Mayan identity and cultural pride in indigenous students or to help improve the
knowledge of non-Mayan students in this theme. The program directors included
in "Component No. 6: Cultural Sensitization and Actualization," another source of
activities for cultural enhancement that were offered once or twice a month at the
Quetzaltenango campus.

This component developed a series of workshops and seminars with the aim
of promoting the reencounter of indigenous students with their culture, languages,
history, etc., and thus help them to build a solid pride in Mayan culture. All these
actions were planned to be developed within an appropriate environment for
intercultural relations—with other Mayan ethnic groups and ladinos as well—, by
strengthening linguistic proficiency, reevaluating traditional history, ethnology,
education, anthropology, art, and so on.. The main objective was established to
motivate the indigenous students to recognize the need for taking these workshops
and seminars since they were methodologically designed to favor reflection and
debate, and thus faculty and students could arrive at conclusions simultaneously. It is important to present a list of workshops and seminars at this point, the end of this chapter, since these academic activities helped produce an impact and thus changed the thoughts and improved the mental stability of the indigenous students with grants.

Here are some of the recorded seminars and workshops offered between 1988 and 1993:

- Training in group sensitization and motivation
- Development of human potential
- Appropriate technology
- Elements of university action
- Mayan linguistics
- Needs for penitentiary and penal reform in Guatemala
- Teaching innovation and educational reality
- Bilingual education in Guatemala
- Focus on economics, administration, and taxation in Quetzaltenango
- Folklore and building national identity
- Introduction to general linguistics
- Study techniques
- Design, improvement, and curricular enhancement of bilingual elementary school
- Maya workshop
• The role of the social worker within the reality of Guatemala
• Preventive health in the western highlands
• Mayan culture and religion
• Nationwide course in plowing techniques for the cultivation of wheat
• Culture research and fieldwork techniques
• Alcoholism and its aftermath
• Live laboratory on human behavior
• Borrowed technology as a source of economic development in highland communities
• Cooperatives
• Deforestation and its consequences in the southwest
• Commercialization of agricultural products
• Learning Spanish as a second language for indigenous children
• Writing, orthography, and punctuation rules for Kichean languages
• Teaching Spanish as a second language
• Various workshops for redaction, writing, orthography, and punctuation of the Mam branch languages
• Various workshops for redaction, writing, orthography, and punctuation for Poqomchi’ and Q’eqchi’ languages,
• Multiethnic and multicultural components of Guatemala
• Development of Mayan documents
• The Mayan entity
• Didactic materials development
• Social anthropology and research methodology within Mayan cultures
• Mayan folk remedies,
• Implementation for the of adult education teachers
• Economic development and minorities,
• Eco-tourism.

These seminars and workshops were designed and developed solely at Landívar University Quetzaltenango campus, because on one hand PRODIPMA was mainly administrated from the Quetzaltenango campus, due to the program policy of decentralization. On the other hand, 89% of the total indigenous grantees were taking courses offered at this campus. The rest of the students, some 40 persons, studied at the main campus specifically because their majors were not offered at Quetzaltenango at that time.
Notes:

1 According to URL's 2001 annual statistics, 7 out of 10 indigenous students fail admission examinations and thus needed to be provided with special propedeutic (compensatory) courses during their freshmen year.
2 As established by Lucia Verdugo in her Master's thesis “Problemas Comunes en la Redacción Académica y la Oralidad de Estudiantes Mayas Universitarios.” Rice University, department of Classic and Hispanic Studies, 2000.
3 Municipio is the smallest administrative-political unity headed by a publicly elected alcalde (major), equivalent to a U.S. county. In Guatemala there are 369 municipios.
4 EDP courses are planned to develop person's development, with content of values, ethics, overcoming culture stereotypes, appreciation of human attributes, etc. These courses form part of every career and discipline offered by Landivar University, regardless of technical orientations or specialization.
5 One (1) academic credit, according to URL's current academic regulations, is reckoned on the basis of single class period of 45 minutes per week and per semester (20 weeks). For example, to achieve a course of 3 credits, students must comply with 3 class periods per week along the semester, totaling 60 class periods or 45 hours of study course.
6 EDUMAYA, a URL's continuing high education program for indigenous population, initiated activities in January 1998 and will finish in December 2004. The number of graduates is expected to be of 1300 new professionals by the end of the project. As of May, 2002, there were 850 graduates, including more than 70 who achieved master's degree.
7 There is no further information about this issue within the consultants' report. It seems that the opinions and apparent disliking statements gathered from students were obtained through informal interviewing surveys conducted on campus.
8 A long and confrontational debate was established within different sectors of the Guatemalan society, divided by pro and con groups that published their arguments through written media, especially prestigious newspapers such as El Imparcial, Prensa Libre, and El Grafico. (see also Warren, 1998) and (Jonas, 1991).
Chapter VI: Emerging Mayan Voices of Modernization

6.1 Protocol for Interviews by Units of Knowledge:

As I acknowledged formerly, while gathering data through fieldwork, I needed to apply three different sets of interviewing protocols in order to collect crucial information from three different subjects of this study, namely, the alumni, faculty, and tutors of PRODIPMA.

In order to be effective and steer toward building coherent protocols that could provide concurrent yet varied information from the three main sources derived from PRODIPMA, it was necessary to crosscut all protocols with transversal axes containing the following subjects and behavior:

(1) Establishing rapport: the opinions of the alumni concerning the PRODIPMA Program and Rafael Landívar University’s planned higher education program for indigenous students,

(2) Production and reception of academic knowledge,

(3) The permanent impact of the program upon the alumni themselves, their professional lives and their growth and development regarding careers and social-economic status. In what ways did PRODIPMA affect the alumni’s identity as Mayans and how did the program influence their concerns for their culture, improvement, and rapprochement,
(4) What does Guatemala envision for the Mayan population now and in the future in regard to participation in modernization.

For Protocol No. 3 (Alumni), part (1) was contained in questions 1 to 3; part (2), questions 4-10; part (3), questions 11-15; and part (4), questions 16-18. For Protocols No. 2 and 4 (Faculty) and (Tutors), respectively, Part (1) contained question 1; part (2), questions 2-6; part (3), question 7; and part (4), questions 8-9. Protocol No. 1 was used to interview URL’s authorities. The information gathered was commented upon and included in Chapter II (URL’s Commitments and Goals).

6.2 Interviewing Subjects:

Rafael Landívar University’s PRODIPMA Program provided a total of 436 scholarships as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chart No. 5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1986-1993 GRANTS PROVIDED BY PRODIPMA PER STUDY LEVEL</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Study Level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technicians or Teachers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Licenciatura/B.A-B.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PRODIPMA grantees signed an agreement to be continuously and permanently enrolled as full time students for at least three years. Some students completed five year major courses of study leading to a licenciatura degree. These were the fields or disciplines in which all PRODIPMA students were involved, regardless of whether their final requirements were completed, their degrees were granted, or they graduated. The chart is divided into two sections, namely, licenciaturas and technicians:

Chart No. 6.a

GRANTEES BY MAJOR (LICENCIATURAS OR B.A-B.S)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Major Course of Study</th>
<th>Granted Students</th>
<th>Graduated Students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Linguistics</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Audit and accounting</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business Administration</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attorney</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Work</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychology</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subtotal</strong></td>
<td><strong>133</strong></td>
<td><strong>110</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chart No. 6.b

GRANTEES BY MAJOR (TECHNICIANS/PROFESSORATE)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Major Course of Study</th>
<th>Students with Grants</th>
<th>Graduated Students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Speech Therapy</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Botany and Forestry</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooperative Enterprise</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Work</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philosophy</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural Science</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language and Literature</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathematics and Physics</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilingual Education</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education and Psychology</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subtotal</strong> (technicians-teachers)</td>
<td><strong>303</strong></td>
<td><strong>283</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong> (licenciados and technicians)</td>
<td><strong>436</strong></td>
<td><strong>393</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A total of 90.14% or 393 of students with grants successfully finished their educational programs, while the remaining students (43) failed to graduate because of two conditions: A. They dropped out for different reasons; B. They obtained their ABT status (without thesis) but were never able to fulfill this last requirement, completing a thesis. However, as we have heard informally from
fellow students in this program, some had finally attained their degrees and there were others still struggling with their final research.

Of the total 393 PRODIPMA students who successfully graduated from the Program, 20 were chosen randomly regardless of their profession or the URL campus where they had completed their majors. However, I deliberately focused locations and made appointments at both campuses where the program was offered. I selected the URL Quetzaltenango (Xela) campus which is in the western highlands of Guatemala and the main campus in Guatemala City. Additionally, I traveled to the campus in Alta Verapaz, northern Guatemala, where I arranged appointments with PRODIPMA alumni from the Q'eqchi' Mayan ethnic group who had studied at the main campus. These alumni live in the cities of Cobán, San Pedro Carchá, and San Juan Chamelco in Alta Verapaz. Chart No. 7 contains the names and professions of the 20 interviewed alumni, as follows:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Profession</th>
<th>Mayan Language</th>
<th>Campus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Lic. Gaspar Tambriz</td>
<td>Linguist</td>
<td>K'iche'</td>
<td>Xela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Lic. Jorge Raymundo</td>
<td>Linguist</td>
<td>Mam</td>
<td>Main</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Lic. Mario Cu Cab</td>
<td>Linguist</td>
<td>Q'eqchi'</td>
<td>Main</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Lic. Ana Rutilia Ical de Cu</td>
<td>Linguist</td>
<td>Q'eqchi'</td>
<td>Main</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Licda. Irma Caal</td>
<td>Linguist</td>
<td>Poqomchi'</td>
<td>Main</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Lic. Félix Chay</td>
<td>Social Worker</td>
<td>K'iche'</td>
<td>Xela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Licda. María Gumer de Ajpop</td>
<td>Social Worker</td>
<td>Ixil</td>
<td>Xela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Licda. Sandra Sánchez de Pacay</td>
<td>Psychologist</td>
<td>Q'eqchi'</td>
<td>Main</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Lic. Denis Tecum</td>
<td>Psychologist</td>
<td>K'iche'</td>
<td>Xela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Lic. Joel Tesaguic Tohón</td>
<td>Bilingual Educator</td>
<td>Kaqchikel</td>
<td>Main</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Licda. María Alicia Ajú Patal</td>
<td>Bilingual Educator</td>
<td>Kaqchikel</td>
<td>Xela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Lic. Alfonso E. Tzaquitzal Zapeta</td>
<td>Bilingual Educator</td>
<td>K'iche'</td>
<td>Xela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Lic. Jorge Pelaez</td>
<td>Attorney</td>
<td>Q'eqchi'</td>
<td>Main</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Licda. Emilia Patricia Choc Caal</td>
<td>Attorney</td>
<td>Q'eqchi'</td>
<td>Main</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Lic. Adán Pérez y Pérez</td>
<td>Attorney</td>
<td>Q'eqchi'</td>
<td>Main</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Ing. César Augusto Sunum Cux</td>
<td>Industrial Engineer</td>
<td>K'iche'</td>
<td>Xela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Lic. Mario Pacay</td>
<td>Audit and Accounting</td>
<td>Q'eqchi'</td>
<td>Main</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Lic. Mario Quim Can</td>
<td>Educator</td>
<td>Q'eqchi'</td>
<td>Xela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Lic. Manolo A. Cotón Coyoy</td>
<td>Educator</td>
<td>Kaqchikel</td>
<td>Xela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Lic. Pascual Martín Domingo</td>
<td>Educator</td>
<td>Q'anjobal</td>
<td>Xela</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Note: In this chart Lic. and Licda. stand for licenciado(a) and Ing. for engineer. “Xela” is the popular name given by all Guatemalans for the city of Quetzaltenango.

As we can see in the chart, the major four Mayan languages of Guatemala were represented at the program, K’iche’, Mam, Q’eqchi’, and Kaqchikel. These four languages represent over 50% of the Mayan speaking population within the country. In terms of gender 6 women out of 20 graduates were interviewed, which represent 30% of the targeted students and approximately 40% of total grantees.

The following chart (Chart No. 8) contains names and fields taught by the PRODIPMA’s faculty members who were available for interviewing. Tutors are identified and included in the same chart, as follows:

**Chart No. 8**

**FACULTY AND TUTORS (NAMES AND FIELDS)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Responsibility</th>
<th>Field</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Lic. Armando Najarro</td>
<td>Faculty</td>
<td>Various in Humanities and education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Licda. Felisa Sanic</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Julia Richards, Ph. D.</td>
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<td>Lic. Martín Chacach Cutzal</td>
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<td>Guillerminta Herrera, M.a.</td>
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*Licenciados* Najarro and Chacach taught different courses in diverse majors in the Department of Humanities. Chacach and Sanic worked as tutors and were members of the faculty, specifically teaching Mayan languages and other courses concerning Mayan values, culture, and identity. Chacach and Sanic were interviewed as faculty and as student tutors. Herrera and Richards, both pioneers in the research of Mayan languages, taught linguistics, grammar, analytic and structural analyses, fieldwork data gathering, and recording of oral tradition.

6.3 Fieldwork Data Analysis (through the circulation of discursive elements)

6.3.1 Perception of the Program:

Without hesitation, before proceeding with the analysis of the subjects and topics, the first condition that we had to establish was that all of the prospective alumni interviewees presented a very solid and mature attitude not only toward
PRODIPMA but also toward me as the ethnographer. They had highly thought out inferences based upon their individual experiences of having graduated from the program for at least ten years. This was a key component which somewhat guaranteed a more sincere, honest, and unbiased source of information from the informants.

The first current thematic approach with its diverse elements contained within the alumni’s discourse consisted of subjective qualifying elements regarding the program, broadly, as well as some conceptual connectors leading toward a group of beneficiaries. Of course, all individual answers came from individuals who had not only taken advantage of but also enjoyed the benefits of PRODIPMA. The interesting perspective of this initial question is that the participants somehow transcended their individualities in order to effect a common notion within the group of indigenous grantees. In other words, they expressed thoughts affecting both personal and collective realms or the responsibility (agency) of representing the group.

The program was rated by a diversity of substantive nouns which all coincided in agreeing with the program’s superior quality: bastante (enough) and muy (very much or quite) combined with a variety of words or terms to be qualified, such as ayudó (helped), oportunidad (opportunity or chance), lo mejor (the best), beneficioso (benefiting), pionero (pioneering), abrió un espacio (opened a space), bueno (good), excelente (excellent), and positivo (positive). It is interesting to note that after 10 years of having graduated from the program, all the graduates
expressed themselves in terms of their perception of deep appreciation and consideration of quality concerning the program. This is especially evident because they have been experiencing the benefits of their professions and changes in lifestyle since completing the program. Their expression extends beyond mere factual elements that possibly had been academically enriching during their experience as university students. Indeed, they had developed the awareness to profoundly evaluate the progress of their own development as human beings and professionals.

Thus the linking relations of the aforementioned qualifications affect a conglomerate based on a diversified population encompassed within the concept of indigenous. The interviewed alumni referred to themselves as the indigenous community, a group commonly designated as población mayahablante (Maya speaking population), indígenas rurales (rural Indians), gente indígena (indigenous people) or personas indígenas (indigenous persons), or simply, Mayas.

It is necessary to clarify that when referring to the alumni’s broader community in these terms, there is no pejorative connotation. Rather there is an implication of a strong sense of belonging and identification with this particular group. There is no reference to prejudice.

By examining these conceptual structures, it can be concluded that the program “Ayudó muchísimo a la población mayahablante” (greatly helped the Mayan speaking population). Additional statements include: “helped Mayan people of all regions,” and “provided an opportunity for their individual and social (collective)
development." In light of these statements, a contemporary concept has been included, particularly throughout Maya movement discourses: "*unidad en la diversidad,*" [unity within diversity] (see Chapter 3).

This concept of unity through diversity is linked to one of the chief axioms established by Educational Reform; it is required to be enforced by the government according to the Peace Accords signed in December, 1996. Consequently, these Mayan professionals are conscious of the effects of this concept. They are actually and appropriately sanctioning the more recent and highly political concepts that affect their participation at the national level. A Pan-Mayan identity is newly emerging. However, this identity may seem as an elitist group as it consists of a very select group of Maya intellectuals (see Warren, 2000; Bastos and Camus, 2003; Fischer and MacKenna-Brown, 2000).

Referring to the statement, the program "provided an opportunity" for indigenous persons to achieve knowledge and skills in order that they could provide services and guidance to their appropriate communities thus providing an important impact for improvement of the communities and inhabitants. Statements such as these demonstrate that the expected specific goals pertained to individual and community development.

The graduates of the program were considered to be multipliers of the expected benefits not only as individuals able to improve their own social, cultural, and economic conditions but, more importantly, as sources for better living conditions for the wider population. However, another viewpoint emerged while
categorizing and understanding what the term community implies in terms of extension and dimension. All the interviewed alumni were well aware of the moral obligation of introducing to their communities benefits originating from their professional knowledge and skills. It was an accepted fact that normally rural communities could not provide the necessary conditions and resources for professionals to utilize their knowledge and skills. Having observed the conditions in communities, the alumni concluded that they would be more socially influential and more beneficial by applying a wider concept of community. This observation demonstrated that they were better off working in social and community services, as they had been working in public and private institutions and NGOs since graduation. These institutions have their main offices in Guatemala City or other urban centers. Usually, however, these institutions normally manage developing projects that are established in rural areas and in indigenous communities.

Some of the graduate informants asserted that without PRODIPMA's support in terms of being provided grants for tuition, living stipends, and books, they would never have been able to earn their degrees. They never would have dreamed to register in an academic program at a university, whichever it might have been. As they have concluded: “La Universidad quedaba muy lejana para nosotros, era para gente ladina o gente rica..., no para nosotros.” (The university was quite far away from us; it was for Ladinos or wealthy people..., not for us). There are two important elements to consider about this assertion of the alumni. On one hand, it has been true that historically Guatemalan universities have been
established to prepare and train professionals in diverse liberal disciplines based upon Western scientific discourses, theories, and methodologies, logically structured epistemologies and ideologies. (Castro-Gómez and Mendieta). Of course this situation has somewhat relegated Mayan wisdom and knowledge to research projects and initiatives that have created a bibliographic corpus—embellished by non-Mayan researchers—and eventually used for academic reference. Henceforth, Mayan “science” does not exist as such, although Maya knowledge need not be restrained to the limitations and rigidities of scientific schemes and regulations (Salazar Tetzaguic, 1994). Moreover, Mayan knowledge has been orally transferred from generation to generation without systematic and critical reflection and organization. On the other hand, as we explained in Chapter I, in reference to the Guatemalan post-colonial “civilizing project,” indigenous communities, broadly, had been set apart, in the margins of the national economic mainstream. Henceforth, the indigenous people have been extremely pauperized for centuries. What is worse, they have been systematically kept apart from development and education. As discussed, this has surely been the steepest obstacle expressed by all the informants. Such conditions, they continue to assert, have not been improved by any means today. Indigenous communities, at large, are still immersed in rural and agricultural life styles; they view urban things, people, and services, as too remote for them. This case was thoroughly demonstrated during different presidential elections and the recent Popular Consultation which was set to vote for
constitutional amendments — some of them benefiting Indigenous communities. However, less than 20% of the population actually participated.

Inasmuch, indigenous individuals and their close relatives and kin who have been exposed to academic education project their lives both as individuals and members of broader groups with different visions and motives. This will be substantiated throughout the analysis. One notable fact, however, applies to those who have achieved university degrees and therefore have attained improvements measured by better jobs and life styles (IDIES, 2000). These persons are very unlikely to permit the avoidance of good quality education by close family members. They emphasize the importance of achieving a professional degree.

The interviewed faculty and tutors agreed in rating the program as excellent, visionary, and fundamental. “Excellent” refers to the quality of education provided by Landívar University and the strong support provided to Mayan students who could not have made it by themselves economically. In addition, “Fundamental” stands for improving cultural consciousness and instilling pride for these potential intellectuals, individuals impelled by the system (Ladino) to hide their identity, languages and values. These individuals, with so many hidden and undeveloped capabilities, felt inadequate and dubious because of how they had been coerced to perceive their culture. Finally, “visionary” stresses the long-term impact on the traditional Guatemalan society which discriminates through rationalization. It provides an appropriate pattern for certain concepts and ideas to be either discussed or avoided on campus. However,
contrary to this traditional view of society, the students generated debates and proposals which focused on a new national order based on inclusion (diversity) and not in apartheid (ethnocentrism).

Dr. Julia Richards, formerly a member of the faculty and currently the USAID Education Programs Director, asserts that the program was a partnership between USAID/Guatemala and Universidad Rafael Landívar. The USAID had funded the first efforts in bilingual education in Guatemala, beginning in 1980. The main goal of the program was based upon the lack of human resources to plan, implement or evaluate both private and public bilingual education efforts. In Dr. Richards' words, the single greatest obstacle was the lack of human resources—Mayan professionals. She concludes that PRODIPMA was designed to address that "gigantic deficit," that could have made dialogues and negotiating processes for the Peace Accords way more difficult if Mayas would not have been academically prepared for the open and complicated discussions.

6.3.2 The Potential Advantages for Indigenous People through PRODIPMA:

The generalized attitude of looking for social equity depicts that the Mayan graduates think that having real opportunity for higher studies should be a right for all Guatemalans despite their cultural or linguistic background. At the same time there is a common thought regarding Ladino lack of interest and support for the development of Mayan population: "Los Ladinos no van a pensar en los Mayas;
tenemos que hacer algo por nosotros mismos.” (Ladinos do not care about us Mayas; we have to do something on our own). The following implication was determined as well: “Los graduados Mayas debemos representar a nuestro pueblo ante la sociedad.” (Mayan graduates must represent our people among the society).

PRODIPMA and URL helped female Mayan graduates open new fields of work characterized as non-traditional, highly skilled, responsible positions. Because of the opportunity of enrollment in the university program, the indigenous women took advantage and through educational experience developed skills and knowledge, to the extent that they state, “from that point on, we all (women) are aware and convinced of the importance of education.” This assertion carries along a deeper consequence. According to the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) annual reports on human development, the incidence of having literate or highly educated mothers in the indigenous households has much more impact upon their children’s education and general health than if only males were the educated ones in their families (McGovern, 1999: 42). Therefore, strategies for regulating educational programs like PRODIPMA for having at least 50% of female participation does not only respond to gender equity exigencies. Having more women participating and graduating from university programs means more powerful impact not only at household levels but at community and national levels. However, it was also discussed that developing and enforcing widespread quality education is a rather slow paced process yet it is irreversible. In other words, effects or impact originating from well-conceived educational policies take
time to be noticeable and, fundamentally, produce permanent changes in the wider population.

Acknowledged as "interesting" was the common multicultural combination of Mayan and Ladino students sharing courses, classrooms, and other facilities. Being together provided the students a sort of privileged atmosphere where two conceptions of the world could be respectfully discussed. Students had the chance to compare one another and to consider the subtle processes of acculturation and transculturation, common occurrences in Quetzaltenango and Cobán, although different in intensity and form.

The graduates recognize how important the guidance was from sociologist, Dr. Azzo Guidinelli. Because he taught them sociology and anthropology and made them do fieldwork within indigenous communities, they were able to have heated debates always conducted with an academic and respectful attitude composed of multicultural viewpoints.

María Gumer, an Ixil social worker who currently provides her services as a tutor for the EDUMAYA program at Landívar University, Quetzaltenango, expressed the overwhelming needs experienced and horrendous efforts the students as indigenous persons had to exert in order to emerge from a reality characterized by violence and death. She asserts that the indigenous sector was definitely the most affected by the violence of the civil war. She recalls, "We lived in the war itself and were thus directly affected." However, though coming from this unjust environment, she declared that when PRODIPMA opened in 1986, she
immediately decided that this was a chance worthwhile taking. Specifically she expressed, "Son oportunidades que tuvieron un alto costo y la población indígena fue la que pagó el precio." (These were very high priced opportunities that the indigenous population had to pay for). Consequently, deep in her thoughts and consciousness, she is honestly convinced that Guatemalan society, whether in the form of public or private initiatives, was obliged to “compensate” Mayan population because of the continued genocide and degradation committed against them.

According to Mario Rolando Cu Cab, a Q’eqchi’ linguist, in Guatemala there is a conspicuous lack of equilibrium concerning educational opportunities (in reference to Ladino and Mayan persons). He acknowledges that the indigenous population has always been set apart from development. He explains that more than 50% of Guatemalan population are Mayans, and, in that proportion opportunities for education should be provided and shared. Other aspects that should be apportioned according to population include national wealth and land. However, he concludes that once a few Mayan individuals have had the chance for achieving a university degree, they must be conscious of the moral covenant they have to help improve living conditions in their communities. They are obligated and must give something back to their people. Somehow this assertion means that the Mayan population cannot change the lack of economic resources. The generalization that there is a chance to go to university is more likely to remain uncertain. In such a reality, it was clear that whoever in the Mayan community had
the opportunity to study, needed to be aware of his or her privileged condition and therefore had to work for the wider community.

Some alumni, however, alluded more to the benefits sustained by the program itself in terms of resources, both academic and monetary, in contrast with what could had happened if they were simply provided with everything necessary to succeed in a five-year university program. However, all interviewed scholars recognized that without the full awards provided by PRODIPMA, they would not have been able to achieve their degrees and accomplish academic goals by themselves.

Emilia Choc Caal, a Q'eqchi' attorney, expressed her own experience as an Indian woman, asserting that it is not the same for Mayans and Ladinos to be granted access to universities in Guatemala. She affirms that both public and private universities are discriminatory and provide very few scholarships for indigenous persons. From this viewpoint, programs like PRODIPMA and EDUMAYA have been developed to compensate to some extent for the historic and social inequities, "Es una manera de compensar, para mí, la desigualdad que existe, existió, y seguirá existiendo entre los ladinos y los indígenas." (It is a way of compensating, as I see it, the unbalanced conditions that exist, existed, and always will continue to exist between Mayans and Ladinos).

Therefore, the program was considered by the beneficiaries as an immense advantage for indigenous youths. This assertion became a general consensus among the interviewees. Additionally, another observation which can be made is
the elevation of consciousness of indigenous communities in rural areas. Normally, but especially so in Third World countries, the term rural is always associated with high poverty indexes and underdevelopment, creating masses of workers forced into informal economic activities and underemployment (UNDP Annual Report, 2003). Mayan professionals acknowledge that just as they have been helped by completing higher studies and attaining university degrees so would have these accomplishments motivate any Mayan to find a way into Academia and have access to better living conditions, and a wider range of possibilities.

In the early 1990s, two relevant events strengthened the social energy in Guatemala. The first was the appearance of the Mayan Language Academy (ALMG) attached to the Pan-Maya Movement at large, and the second was Rigoberta Menchu’s Nobel laureate. These definitely had an impact on the enhancement of pride for the Mayan population especially. On one hand, Mayan individuals or families began to have a presence among public places—supermarkets, malls, fancy cafes and restaurants—which were formerly not of their interest, because the sites were mainly frequented by Ladinos. This occurrence implies that Mayans were changing their attitudes somewhat about sowing themselves in public. On the other hand, economically privileged Mayan young individuals registered at different Guatemalan universities and increased their presence in Academia. Nonetheless, these individuals were always a minority, who by either self-effort or parental support found their way into higher education. Nowadays, more and more students of Mayan origin are interested and
struggle for finding a way to become professionals. The labor market has become extremely demanding but one cannot deny that larger numbers of young Mayans are not only convinced of the necessity of higher education but they are actually striving to find the means to obtain an academic degree. Hence, pride in culture and the urgency of becoming competitive, specialized workers are important elements of such an impetus.

PRODIPMA and EDUMAYA scholarships have eased Mayans’ way into Academia, but only for some 1300 graduates, who, by the way, occupy important posts in both public and private institutions. For the remaining Mayan population, chances for a university education are better if they consider enrolling at Universidad de San Carlos, the only public university in Guatemala, where they can still afford tuition and fees because it is subsidized by the government. Whereas private universities are way out of their reach unless they receive full grants that include books and other educational materials as well. as room and board since most of Mayan students come from rural communities.

6.3.3 The Project behind the Program:

Many of the alumni remembered that there had been several proposals for research and social projects during the early 1980s. Among these studies, there was a special one concerned with Mayan languages and education. This project was called the Bilingual Education National Project (PRONEBI). While planning
strategies and activities, the leaders of this project discovered that there was a shortage in locating Mayan professionals as well as other human resources with technical skills. One of the chief objectives of this project was hiring Mayan professionals for managing and implementing bilingual education among Mayan communities. Therefore, it was clear that trying to implement the use of Mayan languages and materials in the classrooms, especially at rural public schools, demanded a sufficient number of Mayan speaking educators and linguists; the need had become obvious. It was a must to initiate a program at the university level that would provide technicians and professionals in different fields with highly developed training and abilities. Through such a program the problems caused by the lack of skilled, educated professionals and technicians would be solved. Energy and thought were applied to motivate the development of such programs on a sustainable basis (Herrera, 1992).

As a consequence and according to Mario Quim Can, a Q'eqchi' educator, this need focused on training indigenous professionals in a diversity of disciplines. Moreover, he concludes that education deals not only with different aspects of national life, but it is also specifically concerned with the vindication of the Mayan people. This implies that education is perceived to be an issue that is being increasingly considered by Mayan scholars as the igniting spark for Maya culture to emerge from its historic marginal position as a subordinated culture.

In addition, other Mayan professionals agreed in considering that this program was the result of the realism and philosophy of the commitment of Rafael
Landívar University. They explained that envisioning and creating a well-funded, organized program oriented toward graduating a number of Maya professionals was based upon Christian and religious ideals as Landívar is a Catholic university founded and directed by Jesuits. Landívar University has another insight that operates as a guideline when conducting research or working on projects at a national level. This insight is based on a deep sense of humanitarianism with an alignment toward social services. Regarding the notion of a Christian ideal, Guillermina Herrera, formerly the Director of URL Institute of Linguistics and currently URL General Vice-president, is considered by many of the indigenous graduates as the person who, deeply immersed into Landívar's ideals, designed and presented the PRODIPMA project to URL authorities. Her presentation was based on the moral sense of helping the subjugated Mayan population. Providing the Mayans with academic opportunity improves their social, cultural, economic, and political conditions. This thought might well complement the sentiment stating that one of the fundamentals of URL is helping poor people have access to educational opportunities, logically guided by the so-called “Philosophy of Ignatius,” an acting prolegomena established by Ignacio de Loyola, the Spanish priest who founded the Jesuit Order (See Chapter 3). Helping poor, marginal people is one of the social postulates of Loyola’s philosophy. (Arrupe, 1981).

The alumni have continued to manifest the ideals of humanitarianism and social service. Humanitarianism is one of the dynamic roots of Landívar University. There has been a comparison of the performances between the public
university, Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala (USAC) and Rafael Landívar University concerning the benefits and academic adaptations rendered in regard to the needs of the indigenous population. The public university is said to have raised a flag of solidarity in support of the Guatemalan poor. But the accomplishment of USAC was only partial; assistance and support were given during the civil war without achieving any great resolution for the poor and the indigenous populations. However, USAC has indeed the advantage of being funded by public resources and thus can keep tuition and fees affordable for the broader population. USAC has never proposed courses or curricula other than the traditional schemes based on western academic knowledge and scientific method which in turn helps to “colonize” students of indigenous background. Landívar, according to what several of the grantees asserted, is said to have worked silently yet constantly toward a real social transformation of the country. Because Landívar has this goal, social transformation, as one of its founding principles, the well-being of all people—not implying solely material issues but mental and, specifically, cultural—is its main concern, according to Herrera’s assertions (see Chapter 3).

However, it must be remembered that most faculty members, being mostly Ladino, were somewhat reluctant to change their attitudes regarding ethnic origin: to be respectful to minorities and to not discriminate against Mayan students. At first this attitude was difficult to transform, but even so there were important improvements, as alumni remember.
Even now, from the students' viewpoint, it was stated that especially at URL Quetzaltenango campus, Ladinos were an exclusionary elite. During PRODIPMA's first year of implementation in 1986, the attitudes of the Ladinos were oppressive and traumatized several Mayan students, especially young females. Conclusively, behaviors were resolved to the point that enduring friendships and fellowship have been established thenceforth.

Other alumni expressed that Landívar had a goal with double intentions. On one hand, PRODIPMA had enrolled over 450 new students who represented large amounts in fees and royalties. On the other hand, the intention was academic which could take advantage of this well-funded program to create new course majors, academic units, and departments.

According to Mario Pacay, an attorney from Cobán, URL had the plan of creating accessibility to higher education in the farthest outlying areas. He cites the northern region, Alta Verapaz, which had no university campus until Landívar established learning facilities in 1969. Juan Carlos Peláez, also an attorney from this area, thinks that the second intention of URL was to provide a chance for indigenous people to develop academically and conscientiously on their own. Other individuals elaborate that Landívar envisioned a nation where all cultures would be adequately represented. That the only means to materialize this ideal was through preparing people through quality education, relevant knowledge, applicable science, and essential skills, and, fundamentally, with a healthy sense of
self-esteem and cultural pride. Preparation of this nature would allow indigenous national participation in a more democratic and civil manner.

Félix Chay López, a K'iche' social worker, thinks that URL's vision in those days is the same vision observable today: Training leaders within their respectful communities of origin. Such leaders would be trained in different disciplines so that they would be able to promote impetus for social change locally. Modernizing rural and traditional indigenous communities through education aimed at creating a collective consciousness would acquire persistence, participation, and action.

Alfonso Tzaquitzal, educator, assesses that Landívar was in search of diverse indigenous values hidden in closed communities. These values, having been collected and understood accurately, could be systematized through application and recorded in documents and textbooks. As a result, indigenous professionals would have resources of collective values which they could interpret and pass down to the younger generations of indigenous communities. On the other hand, this knowledge could provide insights to formulate education programs, methodologies and textbooks with contents and technologies which matched the conditions and cultures of local communities. Such programs are referred to today as "pertinent programs."

URL certainly would help create a multicultural/multilingual attitude fulfilling the nation's new paradigm. Encouraging the use of Mayan languages at the elementary and primary school levels nationwide and teaching Maya languages to indigenous and Ladino students at the university level would be the
instruments for accomplishing national targets. These future professionals would learn how to read and write their native languages based on syntax, grammars, phonetics, and other linguistic applications.

6.3.4 Faculty as Academic Models:

Faculty members strive to impart to their students the passion for academic disciplines and dedication as promoters of greatly needed analysis, research tools, and methods. For over ten years PRODIPMA graduates had retained in their memories the names of instructors and the methods and skills in which they were trained for doing quality work as reflected in writing, analyzing, and teaching styles.

A group of alumni who were classmates in linguistics can never forget certain familiar and historic names pertinent to linguistics because linguistics was deemed a key element in PRODIPMA. Reiterating the goals of the program, PRODIPMA has striven to improve human resources and offset the lack of skilled indigenous human resource for implementing different projects and for institutions that were demanding professionals at both public and private levels.

Licenciada Guillermina Herrera, the main planner of the program, was educated in Buffalo, New York, through a Fulbright grant, as a linguist specializing in Romance languages. She studied current theories, was introduced to authors and their works, and learned analytical procedures. Her academic
training led her to become familiar with academics and linguistics specialists. From her observations Herrera instinctively anticipated the demand for Mayan linguists who would have to perform various tasks and operations starting from the very basic prerequisites. Believing in this assumption, Herrera invited a group of American linguist specialists who were interested — some specialists had already had done work and had had experience with Mayan languages in Guatemala — to help outline an academic program to be designated for the relevant, innovative majors to be financed by PRODIPMA and established by Universidad Rafael Landívar. Of those specialists, Terrence Kaufman had done prior work with Mayan populations and thus had had contact with Mayan languages in Chiapas and Yucatán. Because of what he learned from his studies, he started an informal linguist training program in the city of Antigua Guatemala (see Warren, 2000). Nora England, Ph.D., Judith Maxwell, Ph.D. Julia Richards, Ph.D., and Katherine Langan, Ph.D., formed the initial faculty team that helped design the program and major. This development is monumental as well as historical because there was no prior history of the discipline of linguistics in Guatemala. All formal and informal studies on Guatemalan Mayan languages were incomplete. The number of languages were documented by foreign specialists, no one else. Mayan native speakers played roles only as informants.

Mayan graduates in linguistics remember particular names because of the specific concepts they associate with each name. For example, Pascual Martin Domingo, a Chuj linguist, remembers his mentors saying that everyone was very
excited with the program and the students. Because of the historic importance the program had, there was a reflection of sustained enthusiasm exhibited as they taught and fulfilled their professional obligations. Enthusiasm is hereby concurred because of the program’s novelty. Specifically, program specialists were aware of the importance of the group of Mayan professionals they were training in those days. At the same time, Guatemala was slowly emerging from the violent social turmoil caused by the internal war. Indigenous professionals would help carry through the development of earlier and current responsibilities and assume leadership as empowered in the Peace Accords.

All the indigenous students with grants majoring in linguistics became very interested, their enthusiasm increasing in regard for their culture and languages. Closed debates were generated as historic and politic consciousness made their way into the students’ minds and thoughts. For the first time Guatemala witnessed a well-informed academic discussion about participation by Mayan people and marginal reductionism on national issues. The school of linguistics and, concretely, the Department of Humanities at Landívar, became a very productive and influential arena for the formation and consolidation of an emerging group of Mayan intellectuals. By the end of their studies, by then most had qualified for candidacy for degrees, they initiated an original and productive stream of academic essays and theses which included both theory and results of fieldwork supported by gathered information. Themes were centered on Mayan languages, with quite technical schemes and analyses, but always based on adequate
contextual and historic narratives with innovation of interpretation provided from the Mayan point of view.

The alumni mentioned as well Guatemalan teachers in linguistics, such as Licenciados Armando Najarro and María Rosa Fernández. Najarro taught Applied Statistics and Linguistic Analysis and is especially remembered because in those days all academic bibliography regarding statistics was conceived and converted into texts from the viewpoint of administrative engineering. The problem arose because of the lack of social science contexts presented in the learning material. However, Najarro invested a great deal of time looking for more adequate texts until he succeeded in locating the material he thought was relevant for statistical didactic methodology. Other observers acclaim his great didactic skills, profound humanitarianism, respect for cultural diversity and his belief in the promotion of a person's individuality. Many of these indigenous professionals refer to him as the one responsible for the most important academic experiences attained by them. Having a caring Ladino teacher was not only a rare but also an enriching occurrence.

Maria Rosa Fernández, on the other hand, is remembered as a versatile teacher in a very specialized, distinct course, Spanish as a Second Language. This methodology was in great demand, because teachers used it at bilingual elementary schools. However, Fernández has also been remembered because of her strictness and lack of flexibility in her class.
Jorge Raymundo, a Mam linguist, asserts his admiration for Licenciado Najarro because of his excellent didactics and total involvement in his teaching duties. He exhibited his sense of responsibility by giving support and advice to students. He identified with their causes and supported projects regarding cultural studies. Raymundo later on acquired another grant with EDUMAYA and graduated with an M.A. in Bilingual Intercultural Education. The influence and guidance Raymundo derived from his mentor teacher are reflected in his own methods and teaching styles since he became a member of the faculty at URL.

Guillermina Herrera taught several courses such as Descriptive Linguistics, Phonology, Phonetics, and Linguistic Planning. As stated earlier, because linguistics was a scientific discipline never encountered in Guatemala, the impact was overwhelming. Training this first group of eager Mayan students was very significant for political reasons. Concurrently a congressional decree had established the Guatemalan Languages Academy (ALMG) which was to be the responsible for the integrity of Guatemalan languages. The ALMG continues to regulate and supervise Mayan alphabets, writing standards, creation of neologisms, and field studies.

Regarding the important nuclear or EDP courses, the alumni specifically recall names of Jesuit professors like Padre Orlando Sacaza, S.J. and Padre Antonio Gallo, S.J. Because their courses were conceived as conceptualized thinking methods and applied critique, alumni remember, “We were accustomed to receiving information in a rather passive way; they actually obliged us to exploit
all possibilities by examining criteria.” Therefore, it is generalized that
PRODIPMA alumni think that these courses and professors formed a great
impression in how they interpret experiences. This influence currently helps them
define their working methods and analyze a variety of social, cultural or political
actions. As Sandra Sánchez de Pacay, a Q'eqchi’ CPA, concludes: Their wisdom
and teaching will be part of us for the rest of our lives.

6.3.5 Author's Legacy:

It was interesting for this study to determine how the authors and their thoughts,
methods or theories remain present in the alumni’s contemporary thought after
having graduated ten years ago. Such an impression would help create links to
their professional working duties. It would be notable to observe if theoretical
impressions have been converted to relevant intuitiveness that have helped these
Mayan professionals to recast the future of the Mayan culture in Guatemala and
throughout the world. Concepts regarding the aspects of the uniqueness or
modernization of Mayan culture were analytically focused on as well as will be
seen later in this chapter.

The group of linguists, led by Joel Tezaguic Tohón, Kaqchikel, recalls that
his studies on linguistics provided him the capability for solid judgement and
critical, academic development in thought. During his course of studies Joel
Tezaguic Tohón was influenced by Chomsky with his theories on psycholinguistic
development, Crystal, and by Benveniste, as new linguistics theorists, and England, who also was one of their mentors. England provided her own works on general linguistics, specifically on initial studies of Mayan languages. The study of dialectology was quite innovative and helped create radical new possibilities for Mayan language analyses. According to Ana Rutulia Ical de Cú, a Q'eqchi' linguist, it was stunning how Dr. Julia Richards created new analytic stances and possibilities to practically dissect a language thus creating novel teaching methods and learning materials for children. The study and understanding about the behavior of dialectal variants compared from county to county (municipios), or from town to town, were quite impressive and helpful. She specifically remembers the value of the training in Spanish as a Second Language. Ana Rutulia Ical de Cú illustrates two important components of this course. The first component deals with the method itself—elements have to be linked with coherent logic and always oriented toward the second component which consists of the didactics of language learning. In other words, abilities and structures have their timing and order. A very impressive learning element was the precise determination of particular difficulties experienced by native Mayan speakers in Spanish. They exhibit phonetic problems, lack of concordance, and so forth. Basic difficulties were pointed out and pedagogic solutions were presented in Spanish as a Second Language as well (Verdugo, 2000).

Irma Yolanda Caal, a Poqomchi' linguist, cited Fischman, England, and Kaufman specifically regarding the applications presented in their books on the
issues of descriptive and applied linguistics, phonology, phonetics, and linguistic planning. A Guatemalan linguist, Luis Enrique López, working on bilingual education in Bolivia and Perú, was contacted by Jorge Raymundo, Mam, and Pascual Martín Domingo, Chuj. López was a pioneer working along with Guillermina Herrera in the mid-1980s. They were developing early concepts in linguistics and education applied to bilingual schools in indigenous communities. Herrera and López became important when their views were begun to be applied in rural bilingual schools. PRODIPMA students initiated their first research projects based on the theories of Herrera and López. These included variables and other pedagogic interventions suitable for monitoring and evaluation.

Contemporaries like Emilia Patricia Choc Caal, and Juan Carlos Peláez, attorneys from Cobán, remember basic facts concerning civil rights and other rudimentary ideas from books written by one of their mentors, Licda. Carmen María de Colmenares. She created a learning-oriented text that is still used in courses at URL at Cobán. Other universities use the texts for instructing Mayan students. Similarly Mario Aguirre Godoy, another famous attorney, wrote a book on Guatemalan civil rights which has been used for a number of years.

Denis Tecúm, a K'iche' psychologist, recalls being impressed by Richard Adams' sociological interpretation of earlier Guatemalan indigenous issues and the relation of several ethnic groups with the state and power. He also cited such famous psychologists as Freud, Maslow, and Alport. The main academic vantage
is derived from their therapeutic theories applied in therapies and other specialized psychological tools.

Educators like Mario Quim Can, Manolo Cotón Coyoy, and Alfonso Tzaquitzal, remember authors like Joaquín Palma who presented the innovative proposal, “Popular Education,” (innovative at that time), based on ideas from the Brazilian educator Paulo Freire. This has been an inspirational approach in pedagogy that practically revolutionized learning methods, materials, and curricula. It adapts local resources and knowledge into the main content. Starting with this new pedagogy, we witnessed the arrival of new theories and teaching practices termed “empowerment” and “pertinent education.” These ideas and methods are currently used in several contexts, specifically in third world countries.

6.3.6 The Influence of PRODIPMA Courses on Training:

These courses, as defined earlier, have contents and practices oriented toward imprinting on students’ minds the values and ethics concerning the reality of Guatemala. Various approaches emphasizing humanitarianism, and Christian ideals are directed toward serving persons, society, and the nation at large. During the PRODIPMA program, these courses were of prominent importance since Universidad Landívar was for the first time, planning to experience the enrollment of a considerable number of Mayan students. Curricula specialists were hired to
help plan and search out graduate profiles, courses, contents, available bibliography, etc.

The authorities of URL needed to work on the improvement in consciousness of diversity and the expectation of fair behavior from all administrative and academic personnel. To accomplish these goals in behavior and attitude improvement, employees enrolled in seminars and workshops aimed at avoiding racism and discrimination. Prejudice can occur unthinkingly because of stereotyped notions or unavoidable reactions. There was an urgency to have permanent, positive results. The research and analysis of the elements of Mayan culture like world vision, cosmogony, spirituality, values, social organization, family hierarchies, concepts of obedience and relationship to patrons (employers) would form content for the training of university personnel. This complex situation made URL’s authorities immediately consider the creation of PRODIPMA’s Component No. 10, devoted to research and the generation of methods, texts, and other educational supports (see Chapter 3).

A generalized reference to these courses addresses two main issues: a) Mayan language courses, and b) the essence the social and cultural reality of Guatemala. According to the opinions of the students, these courses have unequivocally helped sensitize themselves as Mayan individuals through demythologizing concepts, values, and attitudes related to Mayan culture. Alfonso Tzaquitzal said, "para poder conocer lo que somos." (to be able to know what we really are).
It is common to find Maya intellectuals who persist in thinking that the majority of their people continue to believe that it is better to have their children educated by means of the Spanish language and culture. “The less people are scholarly prepared, the more they want to get rid of their culture and language,” expressed Tzaquitzal. “Well,” he continues, “we were also products of those notions, and that was the way we entered into the program.” All program participants shared the opinion that accepting the PRODIPMA scholarship was a compromise and to some extent it meant relinquishing Maya identity and turning into Ladino professionals. The exigencies of professional life imbued into Ladino dominated institutions and milieu, apparently demanded the participants to become in agreement with the predominating conviction. However, through these courses the graduates recognize they achieved cultural pride and sensitivity. Moreover, they affirm that authentic values of their identity have been restored. They are aware of the social pressures that continue to push them and their communities to become modern, abandoning indigenous customs.

According to Manolo Adalberto Cotón, Social Anthropology was one of the most important courses. In this course, he and his colleagues were able to learn and understand the extensiveness of the social and cultural conditions of Guatemala. Cotón states that he was greatly impressed by certain social indicators; it was his first opportunity to learn the real social conditions of his own country. This kind of knowledge, he asserts, opened a wide range of possibilities for observing and analyzing the Guatemalan society. Specifically, enlightenment
opened windows and kindled his own motivation to learn more about the rural communities and traditionally neglected data regarding ethnic groups and factual life conditions.

Mario Cú Cab, states that having the chance to comprehend their own languages in greater detail from references derived from courses in anthropology and sociology, gave participants the perspective to not only ascertain a multicultural Guatemala, but also their own Q’eqchi’ culture and their native language. These courses focused on the national milieu which was prudent for each Mayan professional to realistically (not ideologically) perceive Guatemala’s reality. In this regard, Mario Pacay said that courses in Mayan languages and all the “conscience-raising” courses (EDPs), as were known among the students, helped the indigenous students immensely in enhancing Maya identity. The courses also made them aware of the situation throughout the country.

Juan Carlos Peláez, attorney, explained that he enrolled in 11 to 12 of these conscience-raising courses throughout his major. It was quite a shock to be academically exposed to comparing and thus creating a dialogic relation between absolute law and traditional community law—that is to say comparing and relating federal law with local normative and penalty systems. It is interesting and worth noting that he was able to more deeply grasp how social and cultural groups have the right and custom to regulate the everyday life of the community through their own judicial system. In Guatemala this has been an accepted
practice among the more remote, isolated indigenous communities. National jurisprudence takes precedence when no solution can be obtained by the local law.

César Sunúm Cux, expressed with satisfaction that after taking three or four courses on the K’iche’ language, he was able to understand and follow conversations that took place among his relatives and other members and authorities of the community. Of course, this position has made the difference in how he regards his pride of identity and his customs. But, as he continues, “Más allá de cosas de la identidad, fue impresionante desocultar la otra historia, la otra cara, la otra versión de la realidad y es de primerísima importancia conocerla.” (Beyond things of identity, it was impressive to unveil the other history, the other face, the other version of reality and it is of first importance to know it).

Alfonso Tzaquitzal supported these ideas when he recognized what he had learned about the intertwined and complex ideas of native identities and the need for a broader national identity. Because he was enlightened, he could visualize and analyze social processes within and without the Mayan world. For the first time he was aware of concepts like racism, stereotypes, discrimination and exclusion (or a prejudiced society), all of these being real social behaviors.

Mario Quim states that the most important aspect of education for him was the training in linguistics. As he recognizes, he could not read and write his own language: “Yo era analfabeta en cuanto a la escritura y la lectura en mi propio idioma.” (I was illiterate in terms of not being capable of reading and writing in my own language). Mario recalls that courses in anthropology and psychology greatly
influenced his attitudes regarding self-esteem and the psychological approach centered upon the persona. He discovered that he as well as the community at large felt vague and insecure about the Spanish speaking world. "We did not believe in our own possibilities and strengths. These courses ignited the energy and blazed sparks of identity, a burst of zeal among us." He implies compromise within himself by stating, "Reconocer que como Mayas tenemos muchas cualidades que nosotros mismos podemos explotar." (Recognize that we Mayans have many qualities that we have to exploit on our own). He also arrived at the point of considering the Maya as "A huge caldron of wisdom with many strengths that we could utilize for the service of society." This thought illustrates the achievement of the course goals of PRODIPMA: enhanced perception of identity, fortified self-esteem, heightened cultural pride. The goals had instilled motivation to do social service, to maintain positive cross-cultural relationships, and to respect diversity. According to his own conclusive realization, Mario seems to be an exemplary of PRODIPMA's graduate profile.

6.3.7 Scientific Methods and Academic Research:

Most of alumni refer to methods that were learned throughout their majors in terms of specific courses that were part of a certain curricula. These courses were obligatory and usually were available to be taken toward the end of the major. Because of this fact, complaints have arisen. These courses were titled Thesis I and
II, and were designed to assist advanced students to define and organize their research topics and inquiries. Thus Thesis I helped students develop several stances justifiably worthy to be chosen for their final thesis. Thesis II, specifically focused on the selected thematic or problem that was to be thoroughly developed with all required criteria which included timetables, itemized budgets, independent and dependent variables, hypothesis, and other data.

The alumni commonly complain that these courses should have been offered during the second or the third year of study in order to facilitate other minor research projects assigned during their majors. Moreover, in light of their complaints, I considered it of special interest that I find out to what extent the alumni interviewees continue to consider their scholarly approach to science and methodologies as something still useful and worthwhile practicing.

Linguists like Ana Rutilia Ical commented on linguistics research methodologies. For this kind of research linguists have to do fieldwork and gather linguistic data from native speakers within their communities; their methods are closely related to ethnographic research. Of course, as Ana remembers, there are several stages or steps in the research plan that have to be rigorously done using diverse scientific procedures belonging to the scientific method. Ana regretted that she was introduced to research methodology just prior to initiating her thesis research.

Irma Yolanda Caal remarks that although introduced to different methodologies, in practice she has applied and will continue to apply comparative
methods that are worth using when analyzing two or more similar but somewhat different languages or among related dialectal variants. As stated earlier, she has conducted studies in phonetics, grammar elements, and linguistic common roots through descriptive-comparative methods.

Other linguists like Pascual Martín Domingo, focused on the methodology he had applied for his thesis research; he emphasized the statistic complementary method as utilized in his experimental research project. This project included in-classroom observation techniques, and application of test batteries for measuring children's bilingual abilities. He also interviewed teachers and parents as well.

In regard to his experience, Jorge Raymundo asserted that because of the highly specialized teachers—Maxwell, Langan, England, Herrera, and Richards—whom he had trained with in his program, he was able to learn and later apply totally specialized linguistic methodologies. For instance, he was able to develop sociolinguistic research, dialectology, comparative studies, and discourse analysis.

Mario Rolando Cú Cab refers to pedagogic methodologies which he has adapted and currently applies when teaching linguistics. One of the most important methods he has assimilated was the use of parallel text, which requires more direct student participation and in-class dynamics. Because this pedagogic technique demands individual reading, critical analysis and original conclusions, the students are encouraged to follow guidelines for independent study. Later, the class gathers solely for discussion and debate.
Joel Tezaguic Tohón stresses the ethnographic research method. He states that for properly directing descriptive linguistics or written/oral language validation tasks, ethnography is the most convenient method. For instance, when a study requires searching for and tracing shared linguistic elements in different languages, the researcher must be able to compare phonetic, phonologic, lexical, and grammar variants among diverse speakers. Moreover, this methodology involves two factors, namely, the linguistic indicators study and frequency measured through actual utterances of these indicators. Therefore, he concludes, that he should add a statistical application in order to be able to know the preferences of average speakers. Thus keys or parameters may be provided for the important process of standardizing dialectal variants of a given language.

The group of sociology graduates specified particular methodologies employed in their discipline. María Gumer explained that in social work, graduates normally apply three different methods depending on the subject or subjects to be studied. In this aspect, they have certain methods and approaches for the study of individuals (also called “case”), or defined groups or communities. She clarified that each of these subjects has his or her own favored method for diagnosing and proposing solutions to distinct problems. The conviction of Félix Chay is to provide further information in reference to the ideal role of the researcher while applying one of the previously mentioned methods. This means that the researcher assumes the role of a protagonist and actively interacts with the intervened subjects. The researcher is not limited to gathering information from
applied questionnaires. This method is known among social sciences as the observation-participation method. The quality of results, Chay finished explaining, are higher when long term follow-up of at least two years is done. In this way long-lasting solutions and not just temporary improvements to detect social problematics are provided.

Faculty members, from their point of view, have particularly interesting and correlative impressions on how complex methodologies were adopted or influenced the performances of the new professionals. Martín Chacach, one of the few indigenous professionals in those days, explained that there were two groups among PRODIPMA students. One group consisted of individuals between 30 and 40 years of age. Among this group of students, changes in attitude or solid academic impact was relatively modest. As Chacach remembers, they simply embraced theories and learning and focused on completing the academic requirements of their scholarships. Members of this group then applied the theories and training experience to the tasks of their studies.

The second group was comprised of younger students between 20 and 30 years of age. The impact of PRODIPMA upon their life-styles and working applications was more intense. Because all subjects and material were innovative for them, the younger students were aware that the contents of the program provided important capabilities and tools which would enable them to obtain prestigious jobs and specialized professions. They had the means to influence the social and cultural milieu. Once having graduated with merited degrees they were
inclined to be more confident in complying with institutional job descriptions. However, Chacach also detected that several of the indigenous professionals living in urban areas were keen to maintain their traditional customs and values and strive toward enhancing elements of Mayan culture. Whereas those who continue living in or remain loosely related to rural communities are clearly working on enriching and expanding the knowledge of Mayan culture across the lines of indigenous and non-indigenous populations.

Armando Najarro Arriola, who taught participants in the program statistical methods and applied statistics, affirms that teaching Spanish as a Second Language was fully effective and innovative. Najarro Arriola asserted that all PRODIPMA students were well acquainted with the unique learning process enforced by Guatemala’s educational policies: *castellanización*. *Castellanización* is the official strategy applied through the formerly² defined “civilizing project,” enacted by all governmental authorities in Guatemala since the Liberal Revolution in 1871. The long-lasting strategy—over 130 years—consisted of providing nationwide education solely in Spanish regardless of the nation’s multiethnic and multilingual context.

Najarro Arriola confirmed that all his indigenous students were direct products of those strategies; they had had no other options for their educational goals. As a consequence, they were highly motivated in discovering Mayan languages and culture. These students devoted great amounts of time toward reading and researching the newly produced books and texts edited and published
by URL Institute of Linguistics (ILE). These available resources together with academic optimism swayed, according to Guillermisa Herrera, the indigenous students to greatly appreciate their languages and increase their self-esteem and identity. They perceived as well the significance of Maya culture in a national dimension. In other words, the program helped the participants to increase their cultural consciousness; they unveiled a reality that had great implications regarding demographics and politics.

Julia Richards, Ph.D., asserted that the subject matter she taught to the PRODIPMA students was absolutely new to them. She was impressed by the extent the newly awakened vigor shown by the students toward elements of Mayan culture, although coming from hegemonic sources from First World Academia (Castro-Gómez, 2002). However they were thoughtfully intrigued and anxious to learn about Mayan subject matter that was considered of academic importance during those days. Mayan topics deserved and were indeed granted a position in Academia. For the first time the participants learned about their own languages and how language, culture, and identity are interrelated.

Dr. Richards' lectures on sociolinguistics, which according to her, kindled the students' interest in the same way as Mayan historical linguistics had done. She acknowledged that she had focused on a variety of themes that were innovative at that time, but are currently the model for standard discourse of Mayan intellectuals. The stimulating topics included language loss, language shift, maintenance, change, revitalization, monolingualism, bilingualism; as well as
didactics of Mayan language and Spanish as a second language. She included other language subjects such as language boundaries, language contact, language planning, neologisms, and language standardization. Dr. Richards concluded saying that for the first time in their schooling, these students were considered "experts" and their languages, cultures, and communities were truly valued and formed the foundation for class learning. (see Chapter 4).

6.3.8 Description of Method and Professional Application:

As a social worker, María Gumer said that she definitely has used methods learned in her study program. Specifically she applied the particular methods for social work during her required three supervised practices for her major. Having employed the three typical methods applied in social work—individual cases, groups, and communities—and having accumulated real experience by working with these methods, she recognizes that her professional work has improved. Because of her training and experience she has been able to also modify these methodologies by incorporating her own criteria. María Gumer also explained the opportunity she experienced while working as the coordinator of a component for an organization. Her practical knowledge was also augmented when she worked at implementing rural projects which emphasized community constituents. She also made known that she had worked as a social worker at the Quetzaltenango Regional Hospital where she principally applied case methods.
Another social worker, Félix Chay, assured that when he performed diagnostic research on diverse communities, he always called for complete participation. This is a crucial step in methodology since all elements of diagnostics have to originate from the community members and not from the researchers or scientists whose responsibilities are limited to seeking members’ participation and obtaining distinctive information. On the other hand, their professional tasks are bound to ordering, systematizing, interpreting, and bringing back this information with a proposal for solutions originating from members of the community themselves. They also have to clarify their actual needs, potentialities, and weaknesses of the constituents. After these prior steps have been accomplished, the community is then ready to establish priorities to the detected problems. At this point they can begin to plan realistic projects that may achieve some expected solutions. Finally, Chay proposed a final step in the methodology which consists of monitoring and evaluating benchmarks of the process and, ultimately, the acquired results.

César Sunum Cux, an agriculture engineer, has made conclusions concerning his applied methodology experience. He stated that from this point on —graduatio—we have to take advantage and include two important sources of knowledge in order to enrich the researcher’s knowledge and possibilities for high quality results. The first point calls for experience based on common sense derived from everyday intuition; the second point demands knowledge originating from rigorous experience evolved from academic research projects.
The viewpoint of Juan Carlos Peláez, attorney, confirms that initially he needed to clearly formulate his criteria for evaluation. After that, he stressed having a well-thought out analysis on society. Having this information readily available, Peláez proposed that he needed to compare his chosen criteria with actual social indicators and certain laws. Immediately after these preparations had been made, it was time to surmise problems, hypotheses and variables and be ready to initiate fieldwork and other means of research.

In regard to participants in managerial and financial environments, Sandra Sánchez de Pacay, declares that she currently works as the financial manager of Talita Kumi a NGO which provides support for women, in San Pedro Carchá, Alta Verapaz (Q’eqchi’ region). She summarizes that her responsibilities consist mainly in evaluating ongoing programs as well as all other businesses assumed by the institution. She also outlines a typical process which is initiated by planning business objectives, follow-up actions, and methods and indicators to measure success; immediately after she focuses her analysis toward measuring the efficiency of the business process, client satisfaction, and final evaluation. Normally all these controls and procedures have to be audited with internal controls as well. Because Talita Kumi usually receives funding from international agencies, stricter controls and reports are always required.

Joel Tezaguic, linguist, affirms having used two methodologies. One methodology consists of commentaries on the data from indicators applied to subjects. The other includes explanation of data from subjects through evaluating
indicators. These are understood as general methods that could be perfectly applied in all kinds of research projects. Moreover, he continues explaining that inductive and deductive reasoning are accurately applied to linguistic indicators; conclusions are drawn on variations and the number of native speakers currently existing. After describing these processes, Joel Tezaguic suggests that to apply linguistic descriptions and statistical analysis would not only permit more precise data, but also attain more concrete facts.

Manolo Coyoy, educator, supplements this discussion by saying that the scientific method is always the most trustworthy application in methodology for gaining high quality results. He illustrates this idea by saying that the scientific method made him not only strongly confident in the procedures for developing his thesis, but has also contributed to having a better life and social standard. He emphasizes that another specific methodology, the critical route method, has been worthwhile as it has guided him through research projects. The critical route method is actually more applicable to engineering fields but it is helpful in determining time/efficient and cost/efficient ways for research projects.

According to the viewpoints from participants who have worked on education projects, Mario Quim Can explained to me that because of internal and ongoing processes of literacy programs he has been involved in, he has been concerned with improving methods, materials, and enabling programs for incrementing literacy facilitators' didactics as well as linguistic abilities. The commotion arising from demands for better programs has made Mario formulate
new methodological hypotheses together with variables aimed at formulating a more effective, simpler but successful method for developing bilingual literacy. Such an integral program implies implementing bilingual facilitator workshops, culturally and linguistically pertinent methodologies and materials. Such a program would propose integrating literacy programs using a wider community evolvement through empowering techniques. This would be accomplished through a strategy calling for more productive components specifically targeting young participants.

There is also a very interesting psychological approach to applied methodology. Denis Tecúm stresses client-centered therapy. He attests that the most interesting function is to understand the persona. The individual needs, within the process, to be able to understand his own individuality, as well. By following this procedure Tecúm confirms that he has been able to learn and introduce improvements in methodologies previously deployed. His changes have made it easier to understand the needs of the patients and their behavior. He opted for using the rational-emotive therapy proposed by Dr. Ellis and Dr. Carkoff who have greatly influenced Tecúm's professional life.

Considering the approach of linguists to applied methodology, Irma Caal and Ana Rutilia Ical de Cú, agreed in using scientific methods in steps applied to linguistic research. However, the most productive application, according to these persons has been achieved when executing highly detailed and complex investigations aimed at normalizing or standardizing dialectal variants of the
Poqomchi’ and Q’eqchi’ languages, in their specific case. They have also experienced using historic approaches to language acquisition or synchronic/diachronic language analysis. They have reconstructed Protomaya probable words and grammar constructions by comparing particular evolutions of different Mayan languages.

Pascual Martín Domingo presented a more consistent example when he explained the continuous supervised research on the use of the so-called Total Focused Methodology (MET in Spanish), which is contained in the educational materials for the first four grades of elementary school. This method was created by URL Institute of Linguistics as the first systematized bilingual teaching/learning method. It was created to provide the transference of abilities from the first language, Mayan (reading/writing skills) to Spanish as a second language. Pascual developed a highly complex research project that consisted in choosing a number of schools termed “control schools” and “pilot schools.” In “pilot schools” bilingual teachers were provided with teaching techniques and the MET methodology, as well as workbooks and supplementary materials that were part of the educational model and method. Whereas, the other “control schools” were only observed and evaluated but no changes in methodologies or techniques were introduced into their normal teaching/learning procedures. The final result permitted URL’s Linguistics Institute and Pascual to propose improvements to the validated method and its materials, and clarified the understanding that children
belonging to the “pilot schools” had significant differences in learning Spanish than those students of the “control schools.”

6.3.9 PRODIPMA, an Academic and Culturally Pertinent Program:

As already explained, PRODIPMA was the first higher education program implemented for indigenous persons from all Mayan ethnic origins who graduated with professional degrees. Universidad Rafael Landívar was aware that a program oriented toward indigenous persons needed to be planned through consciously determined directions. The clear objective was to avoid acculturating indigenous students by enrolling them in an improperly designed program. However, enhancing certain important qualities measured by pride of culture, self-esteem, and sense of identity, all critical elements, would effectively educate students to be mentally fit, moral citizens, in spite of their cultural or linguistic origin.

Through this thematic question based on students’ viewpoints on racial factors and educational matters, I planned to have a limited yet meaningful access to what the students felt and remembered after having been exposed to higher education in a multicultural environment. Another important fact worth recalling is that the dominant Ladino society at large was not prepared to view Indians in such prestigious institutions like private universities. The Ladino society was obviously not ready to ignore the traditional discriminatory and racially stereotyped behavior against indigenous persons and cultures.
An intriguing generalization is that while answering this particular question, the great majority of alumni responded with divided answers that later became unified in opinion as they formulated their explanations. The common, immediate response to this question was that PRODIPMA (and URL), mainly provided the support, knowledge, and academic tools to graduate high quality professionals without intervention in Mayan culture or in their identities through any kind of undue influence coercion. Nonetheless, while they were processing their answers, the participants suddenly realized that they were recounting intentional educational strategies applied through course content or by means of seminars and workshops. Simply being exposed to a multicultural milieu within the two URL campuses was a multicultural experience in itself. At that moment as they came to the conclusion generated by my question, they realized that PRODIPMA indeed had instilled positive changes in their pride of culture and has helped enhance their conception of their identity.

Gaspar Tambriz was convinced that the program encouraged students to return and contribute what they had gained from their education as personal benefits to their communities of origin. In like manner he affirmed that PRODIPMA had in fact enhanced Maya identity through lectures, conferences and course subjects regarding the actuality of national diversity and concerns for the identity of indigenous people. Analogously, he recognized that the program indeed encouraged efforts for Mayans and Ladinos to form positive relationships based on mutual respect. He illustrates that both Mayan and Ladino students were
brought together as they took the same courses each semester. There were sponsored and non-sponsored students who developed through time and common ambience, good camaraderie and friendships.

In addition to affirming that they had been professionally qualified, the PRODIPMA students, according to Alfonso Tzaquitzal Zapeta, indeed brought about benefits to their communities. A majority of indigenous graduates, who have decided not to live permanently in their communities due to lack of opportunities to practice of their vocations and professional development, help local authorities and leaders decide how to visualize and finalize the set up of feasible development projects. The community leaders did not know how to coordinate and manage productive projects by using locally available resources. Alfonso Tzaquitzal Zapeta remembers that in those days—in the mid-1980s—when it was peculiar to view indigenous women walking across the campus wearing their traditional clothing and speaking their Mayan languages. Alfonso expresses with satisfaction, “We have gained many new areas for expressing our culture freely; it is normal to watch groups of university students, both Mayans and Ladinos, walking together and interacting nowadays.”

Mario Pacay and Juan Carlos Peláez, attorneys, provided their opinions and asserted that the program mainly trained professionals. Pacay added that maybe the socially pertinent element was encouraging graduates to return to their communities and help generate development. Peláez recognized that due to the nuclear (EDP) courses taken throughout the program they were encouraged to do
field research in indigenous communities, and therefore were exposed to working with real people. Today, he shows appreciation for these courses and the program because he had learned to work with and for the people, and this surely came out of the program. However, in some aspects both attorneys agreed in saying that the program helped to reinforce identity and Maya culture. Moreover, tolerance was a common, undisputed attitude, and both recognized that in the beginning everything was a little harder in terms of intentionally not vocalizing discriminatory expressions, but, after 5 months, everything settled down in terms of solidarity, respect, and friendship.

Sandra Sánchez de Pacay expressed that PRODIPMA had objectives of form and meaning. Those concerning form were precisely educating a person as a professional; while, objectives of meaning were aimed at changing values and behaviors of the students, making them more ethical and socially oriented. Henceforth, through the nuclear courses they all experienced a process of sensitizing. And this process was directed to viewing and treating people as human beings despite their color, religion, language, etc., including the right of making everything available to every citizen. Similar to what happened to the attorneys, Sandra explained that in the beginning being on campus surrounded by wealthy looking Ladinos was a little uncomfortable. “They looked at us in a way,” she expressed, “that we felt twice offended, as indigenous and as poor.” After some months the indigenous students recognized that through hard academic
work and in-class courtesy and collaboration, they could demonstrate their success and partnership.

Mario Cú Cab accepted that the program helped in having prepared him academically, but especially, because the program provided a very important ingredient to have a more balanced, objective and mature notion of the country’s reality: Guatemala’s social context. The program helped him to strengthen his links with his culture and identity, to understand, love, and practice some of his culture’s traditional manifestations, as rituals, festivities, and social rules for interaction. He said that in Guatemala there always had been stereotypes and discrimination against indigenous persons and their consequence in terms of negative qualifications. The program helped him, as he said, because when he entered his studies at the main campus, he felt weak and had almost no self-esteem. Very slowly he started gaining self-confidence and matured to feel proud of his Maya Q’eqchi’ origin to the point of contemporarily having became a solid person who loves his identity and works on constructing a national identity.

According to several of the grantees, PRODIPMA provided all necessary academic components to educate Maya indigenous persons to become activists of Mayan culture with a sense of professionalism and bases of ethics. This was the anticipated dream of Guillermima Herrera and she was able to watch it take place. Because of the program, indigenous graduates, as Joel Tezaguic explained, developed a solid consciousness and thus initiated their introduction into national educational initiatives regarding the Mayan people. From this point on there was
born a conscience of actively working toward the strengthening of Mayan culture (Warren, 2000). A fundamental course was established in PRODIPMA in which all indigenous students entered as native speakers of Mayan languages, but almost none of them was literate in his or her own language. Hence, knowing how to read and write in one’s own language helped to enhance pride in culture. However, Tezaguic felt himself socially as a second class student during his student days at Landfvar University main campus, he concluded.

Mario Quim Can, as an educator expressed his hopes in terms of making the whole Guatemalan society grow in terms of educational development. He asserted that if the society advanced, if the educational level improved for the entire population, then, and of course, the gross domestic product would be incremented proportionally. Mario Quim prefers to interrelate education with the fact of overcoming the terrible poverty indexes that has characterized Guatemala’s population for centuries. He is quite clear while saying that if the government and the private sector of our society indeed could dedicate some efforts supporting the indigenous population the consequent effects would undoubtedly help the society as a whole.

Mario Quim also acknowledges that having been exposed to sharing different spaces on campus and at the students dorms, the presence and interactions between Ladinos and indigenous were an everyday event. This common situation supported the two groups in developing the basis of normal, courteous, and respectful relations and provided a solidly defined cohesion among
students. This is a very important condition commented on by several alumni which demonstrates that sharing thoughts and ideas strengthen the concept that if we are not able to allocate spaces and situations where people of different origins of culture and language might be able to interact naturally, we will continue to maintain racist and discriminative reactions in social interchange. In other words, racism and discrimination are "normal" responses when people have not been exposed to learn, share, and create affective relations with other persons of diverse cultural origins.

Mario also added that due to the PRODIPMA program, an impressive number of books appeared on diverse themes regarding Mayan culture: literature, art, history, textbooks. This a most important achievement, according to him, because it is literature that deals with contemporary "living" Mayas and not the great—though dead—ancient Mayan civilization. What PRODIPMA has done, he continues, "is conserve all of what contemporary Mayans are doing."

This assertion, consequently, captivated me to commence a detailed investigation of how Maya intellectuals perceive themselves within the dimension of three references in time: past, present, future. It is probably not surprising but otherwise helpful helping to assume that Maya intellectuals and professionals are the sole sector of Mayan culture that has overcome romantic ideals of looking at the glorious past to support any kind of proposals or attempt to connect the reflection of the past to social organization, power of authority hierarchy, values, manners, as they are regarded contemporarily. Therefore, Maya intellectuals are
quite unlikely to assume essentialist positions while anticipating future events or their inclusion within modernity and globalization.

6.3.10 Mayans among Ladinos in Academia:

PRODIPMA students attended their respective programs either at the Quetzaltenango campus, where more than 80% were registered, or at URL main campus. As we will point out within the following sections, each city, and therefore, each city’s population is different in terms of behavior, levels of stereotyped reactions, and attitudes to racism. Quetzaltenango is the second larger city in Guatemala. However, the way cross-cultural relations are experienced in Quetzaltenango has a direct relation to the geographical fact that it is located in western highlands surrounded completely by Indian villages. Yet the city itself, being the second major city of Guatemala and the capital of the department, is somewhat sophisticated and cannot be considered provincial and remote as rural areas have always been thought. Consequently relations between Mayans and Ladinos in Quetzaltenango have traditionally been strictly polarized and thus troubled by racism and discrimination.

Guatemala City has its own distinctions. It is also surrounded by Kaqchikel and Poqomam villages but the city has been the capital and site of political authority of the country for over two hundred years. The city is characterized by its contemporary and extended infrastructure, modern buildings and institutions
(including the capitol, government buildings and offices). Guatemala City is cosmopolitan and has a diverse international population. The population, however, is highly discriminatory and racist as well, but in a more subtle mode. The average person has attained a higher level of education and therefore individuals are somewhat more tolerant in dealing with persons of diverse origins and customs.

Indigenous people studying at a private university like Landívar, would be exposed to uncertainty of being assaulted by prejudicial attitudes thus contributing to the feeling that it was risky and complicated to pursue an education. For this and other reasons, URL authorities needed to arbitrate directly and design a program that would develop in correlation a high quality academic program together with different strategies aimed at helping Ladino students (prevalently of mid to high economic social status), administrative staff, and faculty. There was the need to make persons at URL be aware of principles so that they could interact with respect, tolerance and be unencumbered by stereotyped or discriminatory behavior.

Félix Chay said that in the beginning of the program he felt especially insecure because this was the first time he was living away from his family. He studied in Xela while his parents lived in Santa Cruz, Quiché, some 70 kilometers from Quetzaltenango. He admitted having suffered from homesickness, but it was just a matter of missing his family. Once he overcame his sentimental feelings, he adapted to living away from his family. By naturally establishing fellowships and
making friends, he started feeling confident in relations among Mayans and Ladinos in the university. He also recalled his mutual group of Mayan students who organized social events, short weekend trips, and sport activities. His group always included fellow Ladino students and thus they were encouraged to appreciate each other and develop strong friendships that have lasted until today.

María Gumer was blunt and expressed that she felt like any other student on the Xela campus. Her relations with students belonging to other cultures were normal and respectful. She reported that she did not have problems adapting herself to her new life, also away from her family. However, her circumstance was similar to that of other Maya female students. Maya women are usually not allowed to attend school for two reasons. The first reason is based on the fact that in rural areas schools are limited and almost always are far away from their houses. Sometimes students have to walk three to four kilometers, through remote, wild paths or even hike through mountains and hills. Parents express worries for potential numerous risks and dangers that a young girl would be exposed to walking to school in these conditions. The second reason is based on the truism that girls have been traditionally delegated by Mayan custom to help in such domestic chores as taking care of younger siblings, cleaning the house, doing the laundry, and learning from their mothers how to cook and weave traditional textiles.

Because of these reasons, María Gumer, as well as her peers found it hard and complicated to foremost accept the idea of leaving home to invest several
years studying in an unknown and probably uncomfortable, disturbing environment where only Ladinos were accustomed to inhabit. Ladinos at this point, were a strange group of persons, especially for young indigenous. This puzzling enigma results from living in villages and communities where there are infrequent chances to interrelate with Ladinos. Moreover, indigenous children perceive Ladinos as nasty and mean people, stereotypically speaking.

Conversely, Ana Rutilia Ical de Cú, explained that when she knew that she was going to study at URL main campus in Guatemala City, she thought to herself that she was going to feel uncomfortable. Later on, she happily discovered that she was biased toward Ladino people and the academic atmosphere. Ultimately, she remembers her time as student with warm appreciation.

Irma Yolanda Caal, asserted that she has always had good and respectful relations with Ladinos and persons from other cultures. She remembers, however, that there were neither frequent nor intense relations with Ladino students on campus. The norm was that students majoring in linguistics, as Irma and Ana Rutilia, were solely indigenous. Therefore, when they attended class, they went directly to their assigned classrooms and had no time for developing relations with other groups. However, when she was assigned a course that was attended by a diversity of students, she usually felt terrified speaking because she anticipated making idiomatic mistakes or mispronouncing Spanish.

Emilia Patricia Choc Caal, a Q'eqchi' attorney, candidly defined the peple and city of Quetzaltenango with this words: "Xela es muy racista..., San Nicolás es de
los Lados y Catedral es de los indígenas.” (Xela is quite racist..., San Nicolás church is exclusively for Ladinos and the Cathedral is for indigenous people). Meaning what I precisely stated, Xela or Quetzaltenango is a city with people who have been divided strictly by racial distinctions since the early days of independence. During celebration of religious events in whatever church, one can observe how the population has been compelled to be divided on either side of the aisle based on persons' cultural or linguistic background. However, Emilia Choc assures that she is not offended being called an Indian by Ladinos or any other people. As she proudly states, “Yo sé de donde vengo y estoy orgullosa.” (I know from where I come and I'm proud of it).

Jorge Raymundo confirmed that he felt a little strange, when beginning his studies. This poignant situation was based on the fact that it was his first experience to leave his rural town in Huehuetenango Department which is near the border of Mexico. He experienced cultural shock caused by changes from the countryside to the city, including the different smells, and principally the differences in people. “Average students coming to Landívar University are different from us Mayans”, he said. “They are mostly Ladinos and are part of the high-class society in the capital.” The sole fact that actually helped him to improve in self-confidence was that indigenous students formed a rather large group and they did everything together on campus. However, he assures that he and his indigenous class fellows never complained of having been discriminated or having felt wronged. What he pinpoints with precision is that they as Mayans always felt
being distinct, apart, a separate people, even though they experienced no obvious difficulty or inconvenience.

Mario Rolando Cú Cab, remembers events by recalling class anecdotes. He recollects the one time when he and his indigenous classmates talked about experiencing discrimination. This occurred when they asked a specific teacher the same question two or three times for clarification because some expressions in Spanish had been unclear. As a result the teacher responded in a somewhat inappropriate way expressing his irritation caused by the bothersome conduct of the indigenous students repeatedly asking the same questions.

Joel Tezaguic compared the common reactions of students from Universidad de San Carlos with the students of Landívar University. Recall that USAC is a public university, and Landívar is private. Tezaguic, who by that time had had studied at both universities, stated that in Landívar everything was congenial and ordered while at San Carlos, everything seemed to be in chaos. Several students reported that word Indio (Indian) was inclined to be said in a pejorative manner.

6.3.11 Professional Work and Coherence to Culture:

María Gumer confirmed that her personal development as a person and as a professional has been positive thanks to the academic foundation received from her studies at URL in Quetzaltenango. Her working experience began when she
was a senior student in PRODIPMA. She remembers being called by the office of the president of URL. She was hired to coordinate a research project regarding qualitative achievements gained by PRODIPMA, which was about to be ended. Some of her duties required her to work in several communities. Later she worked for CDRO, an NGO which manages several programs that support sustainable programs in indigenous communities. While at CDRO, she coordinated the office which was responsible for improving social organization and training persons in the communities.

María also worked for some years as a social worker at the Regional Hospital of Quetzaltenango helping needy, mostly indigenous people. Recently, she has been working for the URL EDUMAYA project as a professional tutor in charge of a number of indigenous students who are currently being provided full scholarships as she had been provided in PRODIPMA.

Adán Pérez worked five years as a rural school teacher and was afterwards hired by CONALFA, the state institution responsible for coordinating and supervising the execution of all literacy strategies and programs nationwide. He was promoted by CONALFA and worked for several years as a departmental coordinator of bilingual literacy programs. Currently, he is working at URL Xela as the humanities department coordinator. He has accepted a consulting job for the government reforming curricular pedagogy.

Félix Chay initiated his professional work experience as a training coordinator for a NGO working in supporting indigenous micro-entrepreneurs in
El Quiché (the department of Guatemala characterized by a dense population of indigenous people). He continued providing his services as social worker at FUNDABIEN, a charity institution that provides free medical assistance to handicapped children. Finally, after graduating from the URL EDUMAYA program with an M.A. degree in bilingual education, he was hired by URL as the director of URL branch extension in El Quiché, where he coordinates some 14 major programs and 256 students (mostly speakers of K’iche’).

Gaspar Tambriz launched his professional career as a teacher of literature at a public high school (INSO). in Quetzaltenango. In 1995 he worked in URL-Xela program for bilingual legal translators in which he taught courses in K’iche’. Then, he was hired by a UN project covering justice and multicultural studies. His duties were compiling reference manuals with judicial terms and translations of penal and constitutional laws. After the UN project, he worked for the Mayan Languages Academy (ALMG) on a research project regarding “toponimias” or Mayan names for towns, cities, villages and districts originating from geographic calamities. Thence he spent a few years coordinating applications of educational technology for teacher training in four bilingual normal schools in El Quiché which was sponsored by USAID. In conclusion, he is coordinating a research project for URL Linguistic Institute in which he helps evaluate the bilingual abilities of children in rural schools throughout the nation.

Alfonso Tzaquitzal Zapeta started his working experience at URL campus in Quetzaltenango teaching language courses in K’iche’. Because of his newly merited
profession, he perfectly fulfilled the expected profile for becoming director of the Normal School of Totonicapán. There he had the opportunity to apply his knowledge to enhance bilingual programs for training, teachers. Immediately after he worked for CDRO, the indigenous NGO in Totonicapán, an organization that works supporting Mayan communities through development projects. Currently he is working for the Ministry of Education (MINEDUC) supporting a comprehensive professionalization program for more than 60 thousand in-service bilingual and monolingual teachers\textsuperscript{3}. He expressed that his personal challenge is to re-write Guatemala’s history and disregard old paradigms. He would like to present, instead, a nation characterized by its diversity and mutual intercultural community.

Mario Pacay started his career by providing his services to an NGO in charge of projects supporting indigenous communities in the Polochic Valley, Izabal in eastern Guatemala. He trained people in the Q’eqchi’ communities across the valley. After this experience, he was hired by URL branch campus in Cobán, Alta Verapaz\textsuperscript{4}. At URL campus in Cobán, Pacay has been in charge of three components: a) Training of indigenous Q’eqchi’, b) Qualifying indigenous students for university scholarships and productive training, and c) Supervising the bilingual literacy program.

Sandra Sánchez de Pacay initiated her professional work when she still was at her senior year. At that time she was hired by URL branch in Cobán as a financial assistant. Continuing to work in Cobán, she was with FUNDAP, a NGO
that developed projects by support and supervision of handicrafts cooperatives in indigenous communities with very scarce resources. She worked there as a general accountant. Currently, she has been working for an NGO, Talita Kumi, with offices in Cobán. Talita Kumi is exclusively devoted to facilitating the development of indigenous women. She has been promoted several times; starting as a credit assistant, she now is the financial manager of the institution responsible for 50 different projects. During the interview she wanted to make clear that she is quite concerned with providing a better means of life for her people. Her way of doing this has been through providing financial services to projects and assistance to communities through her knowledge of finance.

Mario Rolando Cú Cab worked as a rural bilingual teacher in La Tinta, Alta Verapaz. Later he taught in other schools closer to his residence in San Juan Chamelco. He devoted his vocation in teaching toward improving the ways children learn their native language and transfer their abilities in their native languages into Spanish as a second language. After this early experience, he was hired by a government agency specializing in curriculum content. In 1995 he started an active relation with DIGEBI, the state office in charge of bilingual education programs. There he worked as bilingual technical personnel and was promoted to curriculum specialist. Presently he is working for the in-service professionalization program for teachers. Mario is the facilitator of different courses and the Q'eqchi' language.
Joel Tezaguic Tohón devoted several years working as supervisor of new teachers completing their practicums and as a bilingual teacher at the Normal School of Santa Lucía Utatlán where he introduced bilingual methodologies and materials. After teaching, he worked for some years for a NGO sponsored by UNICEF. The program dealt with Maya educational programs. From this experience, he expressed that from that time on he started feeling that Maya education was a fundamental goal in his life. Then he had the opportunity of working for the UN mission in Guatemala (MINUGUA) in which he coordinated a training program for facilitators in law and justice. The facilitators needed to master Mayan languages in order to effectively do their jobs.

Finally, Tezaguic earned his M.A. in bilingual education through a scholarship provided by the URL EDUMAYA and was hired by the EDUMAYA program in Component No. 4 and Component No. 7. Component No. 4 has been improving bilingual education by providing rural schools with quality materials and teacher training in bilingual methodologies and didactics. Component No. 7 is validating a bilingual literacy model that is based on training of teachers.

Mario Quim Can was a tailor when he learned about PRODIPMA. All males from his family had been tailors for decades; he was sure that this was going to be his calling. However, by attending and graduating from PRODIPMA he changed his vocation. He joined a Jesuit NGO working for children living marginally in poverty belts surrounding Guatemala City. He started his new profession teaching children and youngsters in those districts. As time passed by, he was promoted to
coordinator of the literacy program in 1994. He helped expand the program to the point that it was serving seven departments; he introduced bilingual methodology in the literacy programs of the departments.

After this experience, he joined the international institution, Save the Children, which is sponsored by USAID funds. Formulating a radically new literacy method is a component of the institution’s ambitious program. This method needed to embody relevant cultural and linguistic elements which would enhance pride in Maya culture and identity, promote productive projects with participation of community members, and adapt methods to satisfy the demand of young beneficiaries for preferred subject matter and attainment of life skills.

Immediately after this program had finished developing the set of materials for this component, Mario Quim was called to integrate a technical team for the creation of a corroborating plan and improvement of these materials for the URL EDUMAYA project as part of Component No. 7. Mario Quim currently supervises the training program for supervisors and technical personnel in charge of literacy programs nationwide. He has created and maintained a NGO net that meets regularly; members of the group share their experiences gained from participation in the literacy programs.

Starting her professional practice, María Alicia Ajú Patal worked in public schools in Chimaltenango through a NGO supported by the sugar producers association called Fundación del Azúcar (FUNDAZUCAR). Her duties were related to teaching and training teachers in different subjects using Spanish only.
This experience should have been distressing in any case because María Alicia, in her first professional assignment as a rural teacher was training others in Spanish; her expectations were not fulfilled. She strongly and soundly had identified with her language Kaqchikel, and culture. She had the vision and goal of helping Maya children to grow cogently in their culture as well as cultivate pride in their language and identity.

FUNDAZUCAR has and continues to fund literacy programs and support rural schools usually populated by indigenous children. One implementation of their funding is, conversely, developing educational programs exclusively taught in Spanish. This clearly shows that this NGO, managed by the wealthy private sector, continues developing the outdated and inappropriate paradigm based on civilizing the country according to European standards and ideals. This paradigm has been enforced by the Guatemalan state since 1871.

María Alicia, discontented, looked for a more compatible job in balance with her philosophy. She found a job at Centro de Documentación e Investigación Maya (CEDIM) which is a Mayan academic institution devoted to research; it is a center which archives documents. It includes an important library containing an expansive number of reports, essays, books, texts, and literature regarding Maya subject matter. At CEDIM she worked as a technician writing books in Maya, especially editing texts and readers in Kaqchikel for children. Today, she has joined URL Linguistics Institute where she is doing professional work as an adviser for training programs for bilingual teachers.
Irmia Yolanda Caal has focused in guiding students, especially bilingual teachers, in subjects related to bilingual education. She prefers to sponsor workshops for rural teachers regarding what she considers to be her specialization, didactic fundamentals of Maya language as a first language. This is a quite precise and complex pedagogy since bilingual teachers must have mastered not only oral abilities but also reading and writing skills of their own Mayan language. They also have had to master teaching methodology of a Mayan language as a mother tongue.

Later, she was hired by URL EDUMAYA project where she served for three years as the facilitator for bilingual teachers in Mayan language didactics. At length, I found that she works in a very meaningful job as the Poqomchi' Academy President, a branch of the Mayan Languages Academy (ALMG). Her offices are in Tactic, Alta Verapaz; she coordinates research projects designed to enhance the standardization of the Poqomchi’ language, the editing of educational materials, and performing sociolinguistic work among rural communities.

Pascual Martín Domingo says that since he has graduated as a linguist, he has had several jobs. Starting with his position as an instructor at the Teachers' Institute in Santa Lucía Utatlán, Sololá, he trained bilingual teachers in bilingual methodologies and evaluation processes. He also provided his professional expertise at the ALMG as a linguist in charge of several research projects in his language, Chuj. At the ALMG he also provided his services as director of the training unit and coordinator of cultural studies.
After working at the teachers' institute, Pascual Martín Domingo was immediately hired by the Bilingual Education General Direction (DIGEBI) connected to the Ministerio de Educación (MINEDUC). At DIGEBI he was in charge of developing texts in Mayan languages and programs for training teachers. His office supported over 6 thousand bilingual teachers nationwide.

Presently, Pascual Martín is with URL-EDUMAYA. He facilitates workshops for bilingual teachers in Ixcán, Quiché. He is also coordinating a university diplomado program where EDUMAYA has provided full scholarships for 50 technicians who coordinate literacy strategies and programs nationwide.

Jorge Raymundo asserts that his major in linguistics helped him to consolidate knowledge and teaching abilities in bilingual education. Importantly because while he was earning his degree, he continued working in a rural bilingual school in Huehuetenango. After this experience he returned to Guatemala City and joined the URL Linguistics Institute research team where he currently works.

Jorge has written specialized books on Mayan traditions and stories. These have been conserved by oral tradition. The literature is composed of community tales, technical linguistics, and basic writing guides of his language, Mam.

Jorge has become a tenured Humanities Department faculty member. Interestingly, he has initiated a very innovative recycling program for Landívar University. Jorge, as well as other PRODIPMA alumni have launched a special major for teachers lecturing in courses on linguistics and culture. This new
position has helped him to remarkably advance in enhancing his own self-confidence and augment his sense of professional authority within Academia.

As of today, Jorge has had eight years experience working at URL Institute of Linguistics. He has succeeded as a very experienced research specialist; he has earned a solid reputation among indigenous professionals, education specialists, and other pro Mayan institutions and culture activists.

Correspondingly, former PRODIPMA faculty members have their own interesting characteristics, because they also had been developing their own personal professional careers inside the multicultural Guatemalan realm. Julia Richards affirmed that all of the PRODIPMA students found jobs after graduating in institutions related to the support and reinforcement of Maya culture. Examples of such institutions are the Bilingual Education General Direction (DIGEBI), Mayan Language Academy (ALMG), Rafael Landívar University (URL) and diverse international agencies like USAID, Pragrama de Apoyo al Sector Educativo en Guatemala (PROASE), Deutsche Gesellschaft Für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ ), Instituto de Cooperación Internacional (ICI), and United Nations Development Program (UNDP). According to Dr. Richards, most of the graduates were able to assume job responsibilities of significantly greater consequence than when they had begun their vocations mostly as rural teachers.

For instance, the students whom she had advised in the early 1990s, now work in URL Institute of Linguistics, USAID, the National Literacy committee (CONALFA), and a private linguistics research institution, Oxlajuy Kiej Maya
Ajtz'ib' (OKMA), managed by Maya young professionals. Moreover, she is convinced that all these alumni are strong Maya advocates who actually are at the forefront of the Mayan movement. Guillermína Herrera, summarized that all of the PRODIPMA graduates are actually working on linguistics-related projects and education. All encourage and empower their perception of culture, community participation, and identity of ethnic groups.

Martín Chacach alleges that more than 90% of the graduates were assimilated by either GOs or NGOs which devote their activities in support of Mayan culture and population. He is also absolutely sure that they have improved their working conditions and thus wages. Consequently they have also improved their standards of life-style.

Felisa Sanik affirms that they actually are the leaders of organizations because they have been trained academically. She also confirms that all alumni have better jobs and salaries. They also are the first contemporary Mayan graduates who have earned university diplomas and professional titles. Because of this factor mainly, Felisa expresses being convinced that the graduates have been able to open areas of opportunity in institutional and political entities which they had always been refused entry by the exclusive caste system of the Ladinados. However, Felisa explains that the most rational achievement is that these persons have become living models for their communities; this fact alone is probably PRODIPMA's most transcendental impact for a more democratic and balanced society.
Higher studies can no longer considered be a possession of the hegemony or goal impossible to be attained. Armando Najarro concludes that he has had everyday conversations with some of his fellow alumni and more than 98% express having very responsible jobs regarding cultural studies or work of great social impact with a variety of NGOs. He also thinks that the alumni have become models to be replicated by the young indigenous students in their communities. This fact is going to greatly impact the next generation.

6.3.12 Comparison of Before and After in the Scope of Changes in the Lives of the Alumni:

When we enter into this personal domain, one is first impressed that the information revealed by the interviewees is more of affective character than simply rational response. It seemed that the informants felt it difficult and disturbing to comply with the request that they recall earlier memories; they subtly recognize that they have been privileged persons in comparison to the large majority of indigenous population who have not had access to higher education. Irrevocably, there is substantial demarcation between the previous and present lifestyles of the PRODIPMA alumni. What great restrictions they had to have been able to overcome in order to break the chains of frightening limitations and meager expectations in life.

Gaspar Tambriz not long ago made a quotation based directly and consciously on recognition of these early circumstances, "Mi vida era difícil. Mi
"familia era muy pobre." (My life was hard. My family was very poor). Gaspar, his parents, and siblings lived in a typical rural village characterized by collections of scattered huts built out of unfinished wood with palm leaf roofs. He remembers leaving his house primarily because he was "good" at studying in his rural elementary school in his native El Quiché. He was recommended by the principal to continue studying at a formal, accredited school in Huehuetenango.

He graduated from the school in Huehuetenango as a rural elementary school teacher. The first thing that he did with his wages was to rebuild his parents' house. Since he has always been supported throughout his life by scholarships and other sponsored opportunities, Gaspar could continue his studies. Gaspar considers himself a successful person because he has been able to raise his children with unlimited opportunities for quality education.

Mario Quim grew up in a situation in which all males had to learn and work as tailors. They retained this family micro-enterprise for years, generating only a subsistence income in rural Alta Verapaz. He made his way through the process of education obviously by making enormous sacrifices. Today he recognizes that if he had not had a scholarship from PRODIPMA, he would never have been able to complete his major at URL. Moreover, his life has been drastically changed not only in terms of economic improvements. It has also been especially affected, because he can understand the changes in the reality of Guatemala through development of his capability to not only critically analyze the social and cultural background of the country but also his own accomplishments or envisionings. He
states, “Mi pensamiento y visión eran de muy corto alcance; ahora puedo entender qué pasa en mi país.” (My thought and vision were of a very limited scope; now I can grasp what is going on in my country.)

Denis Tecún expresses himself as formerly living in a “situación difícil.” (difficult situation). He had dreamed about eradicating all human disease and burdens of health care in the indigenous communities. He could accomplish his humanitarian goals, he thought, by providing preventive health care services as a professional rural health advocate. When he was forced to curtail the ideals of his youth, he coincidentally was contacted as a prospect for a scholarship through PRODIPMA. Thus he was able to major and obtain a degree in psychology which in turn enhanced pride in his culture identity.

María Gumer remembers her former days with “muchas carencias.” (many lacks). Because Guatemala’s civil war was especially cruel and violent within the Ixil area, her parents decided to send her out of the Triángulo Ixil (Ixil Triangle) María was put in safe hands at her older sister’s household and she started a new life in Santa Cruz de El Quiché. She did not really understand why she had to live away from her parents. However, today she recognizes that it was a unique opportunity because she was able to stabilize her life through pursuing a formal education. Presently, she is married and is very proud watching her offspring grow up with advantages and resources to become productive citizens without cultural prejudice or lack of access to education and personal development.
It is clear according to all these different biographies that the standard of living conditions for diffuse Maya populations are currently encompassed by various sorts of wants and restraints. Want is defined not only in terms of basic resources and services, but especially the literal lack of opportunities to permit the indigenous people to develop their potentialities culturally, economically, and politically. The national budget for enforcing educational policies is so restrained that we might conclude by asserting that the Guatemalan government has not considered education as a national priority. Therefore it has maintained development policies limited to urban and Ladino segments of the population.

6.3.13 Guatemala: Concepts about the Nation:

Spontaneous responses to this inquiry show us that sentiments are divided broadly between positive and negative perceptions of how the nation is actually performing. The majority of interviewees tend to see the national performance with fittingly diminished optimism. By the time I was interviewing the alumni, the Peace Accords had been signed and in effect for some years. In the beginning both Ladino and indigenous populations had perceived such a historical achievement with hope and enthusiasm. However, as time passed by, the Government’s disposition and action toward improvements mandated by the accord were merely verbose instead of factual accomplishments. All Guatemalans, especially those of Mayan origin, became frustrated and felt deceived by relying on
this new opportunity to improve social, political, and economical inadequacies transmitted by unjust practices of the past. Consequently, the alumni were somewhat indicated a reasonably frustrating sentiment concerning the future of the nation.

Jorge Raymundo sees the nation's political development as terrible, and unfavorable. The same qualifications were given to the nation's economy. He expresses that for the last 20 years both aspects have not changed a bit. Even though the Peace Accords were signed between the Army and the *Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca* (URNG), the Guatemala Revolutionary Union, poverty and the levels of violence have remained at the status quo. The indigenous and peasant communities have been the least affected positively and the most affected negatively. In this regard, Pascual Martín Domingo agrees with Raymundo and supplements information by saying that all that has to be done is consult the annual reports on human development of both UNDP and MINUGUA (United Nations Mission in Guatemala) it will be clearly seen that there have been no improvements in the areas of political stability and economic progress.

However, Jorge has perceived an important change regarding social improvements. He is conscious that 30 years ago and until the late 1980s, issues of culture, ethnicity, and linguistic rights were considered taboo and were held to be dangerous topics for public discussion. Former governments blindly persecuted communists and persons who expressed the rights and opinions of liberals and leftists. This was precisely the time during the middle 1960s when the
revolutionary (guerrilla) movement backed its demands in the form of urban and rural aggression. Jorge avows that throughout the country nobody dared talk about these issues; practically no one was really informed about such issues anyway.

In contrast, today he sees that there has been a more democratic and open discussion about these formerly forbidden topics. Especially noticeable is that larger segments of indigenous participants, obviously guided and led by Mayan intellectuals, are included in this discussion. The national debate has been developed through Mayan studies, Mayan education, and congresses and seminars on bilingual intercultural education, as well as through forums sponsored by NGOs and GOs and the mass media. Therefore, in this sense, Jorge thinks that the country has changed. However, he also thinks that it is time now to go to the next step—taking concrete action to raise the national standard of living.

Adán Pérez y Pérez, Humanities academic coordinator at URL, Quetzaltenango, affirms that there have indeed been some improvements since the Peace Accords were signed. He indicates that we have made some progress by revolutionizing traditional means of education by replacement them with new approaches as the Accords mandated by decree. The decree calls for the enhancement, enforcement, and deployment of bilingual, intercultural education throughout the country. However, the problem commences at this point when it one becomes aware that this kind of innovative and culturally relevant education is to have been enforced and enacted by policies directed by the Ministry of
Education. The ministry has ordered educational policies to be enacted according to priority. Thus the problem is compounded not only politically but also technically. Guatemala has not yet designated the credential for professional bilingual intercultural teachers. Therefore the educational policy decreed in the Peace Accords cannot in fact be enacted. Rather, it seems that either the Government has no technical capabilities for solidifying this goal or it is not willing to mitigate the implicit change for the ideal model of social structure. Thus, the ruling hegemony of the Ladino sphere of influence is perpetuated. Adán concludes by saying that Guatemala encounters great difficulties to really make the transition from authoritarian to democratic rule; and from an illiterate to a literate population. He thinks this transition is possible if we Guatemalans decide is first to overthrow the corrupt political class and second to work ethically.

Gaspar Tambriz is convinced that this country has incredible amounts of natural resources that could be wisely exploited and distributed. Ana Rutilia Ical agrees and adds, “Es un país precioso, riquísimo, con una riqueza cultural que es única.” (Indeed a fantastic [gorgeous] country, very bountiful, with a unique cultural richness.) Following this positive trend, Emilia Choc thinks that Guatemalans are generally very good people; the social fabric is perfectly complemented with the ubiquitous presence of diversity in cultures, habitats, landscapes, climates, and innovations. Mario Quim, agrees while saying that Guatemala has everything which might be needed to become a marvelous environment for human beings, but what has been a battle cry for decades is the chance to go forward leaving
behind attitudes of corruption and tendency to loot public resources which are characteristics of every single past government and its politicians. Quim is convinced that if we were given the chance of governing with principles of transparency, this country would be able to actually become a democracy. He concludes by stating that governments ought to invest in prioritizing social issues, improving education, sponsoring research, and enhancing human resources. However, Marta Alicia Ajú points directly at our own selves as guilty accomplices in a society that has accomplished freedom of thought and room for expression yet has been indifferent to the public livelihood and welfare of the nation. Members of this society are afraid of standing up to corruption and the corrupters.

Finally, Juan Carlos Peláez sees Guatemala as pathetic. He witnessed the murder of a woman in a crowded downtown street of Guatemala City. And what was worse, he confessed, is that the murderers were degrading, scornful, violent and shameless. These two, perhaps three, killers were mocking their victim while they were assaulting her. This brutal behavior impressed upon him to what depths of depravity human beings can fall. Some days later Juan Carlos read that the killing was related to a gang’s vendetta. Insecurity and poverty at prodigious levels are potential triggers for social turmoil. These triggers that might be simply eradicated through investing in education and industries that can provide widespread employment through mass production.
6.3.14 The Outlook on the Direction of Guatemala:

Guatemala's future is generally foreseen as difficult. The essential core for such a negative vision for some time to come is directly related to the political class of Guatemala. Politicians are considered as non-ethical persons who have not been adequately educated; they do not have legitimate representation of the social sectors that they claim to represent. Politicians are people who have fortuitously appeared in non-democratic institutions like the political parties which are practically owned by a small group of persons who make decisions authoritatively and not through consensus. In such "accredited" institutions potential candidates have to pay large amounts of money, as entry fees, in the form of voluntary contributions. In this way they can be considered for an important official post as ministers of state, congressmen or city mayors. Entry level political candidates can be contemplated for lower offices such as governmental organization managers or mayors of smaller cities, just for example.

Politicians normally come from families with low levels of education or from military backgrounds. They take roles as political protagonists, because all former genuine political leaders have been murdered or have been exiled by pressure or action of the military regimes. All and all, contemporary politicians have been controlled in some way by pressure groups originating from either the wealthy private sector or the military. Means of exerting pressure usually come from two sources. The first source is based on the fact that politicians are directly
paid for their support, vote, silence, or whatever political favor they may have provided. The other darker source is derived from threats on their lives and those of their relatives or the intimidation of loss of their jobs or businesses. The final results are easy to anticipate, corruption at all levels.

Politicians eagerly pay their fees because they know in advance that they will greatly multiply their investments in the near future, as they obtain office. However, for common Guatemalans this situation is analogous to having a terminal disease. It simply cannot be cured. Every new government makes its entrance with more evil, tactical maneuvers, with bigger, nastier thieves, with greater shameless and abusive authoritarianism.

One of the most tragic subjects cited is the total lack of confidence on the judicial system. The legal jurisdiction has arrived at total disruption since judges and district attorneys are constantly being threatened for their lives, killed, wounded or sent to exile. This situation is exemplified by the recent occurrences to judges responsible for the Monseñor Gerardi and Mirna Mack cases. Both were slaughtered by non-regular military commandos.

The future is particularly unpredictable for Emilia Patricia Choc, because nobody trusts the jurisdictional organizations any longer. As a consequence, and from this prolonged unbearable reality, Guatemalans, Indigenous and Ladinos, are trying to foresee their future and also are trying to keep alive the vision of the new paradigm originating from the Peace Accords.
Pascual Martín Domingo sees the near future taking either of two probable directions. First, if the Guatemalan society is capable of performing the mandates decreed by the Peace Accords, the country will have a positive future. Second, if Guatemala does not comply with the Peace Accords, nothing will change and the country will remain stigmatized by its backwardness. From a complementary viewpoint, Pascual asserts that the colonialist, imperialist thoughts of teachers maintain the status quo. This is so because all teachers are products of a colonialist system, according to him. That is why teachers in Guatemala cannot think independently nor think creatively. Pascual Martín affirms “Fuimos formados para obedecer al sistema.” (We were educated to obey the system). There are just a few persons who are capable of understanding this situation. He says, “PRODIPMA helped us out and we are the only ones talking about a change of paradigms.”

On the other hand, Mario Quim anticipates future events with hope. He believes that everything is likely to change for the better because education is slowly being technically adapted and improved to become culturally and linguistically pertinent. Young rural teachers are aware of the challenge and are making notable efforts to enhance their knowledge and teaching abilities in order to provide better quality education. Indigenous people, according to Mario Quim, are awaking and gaining consciousness.

Marta Alicia Ajú asserts that today there are many Maya professionals. These professionals require the working tools, nothing more, to keep on opening new areas for social participation.
Alfonso Tzaquiztal sees Guatemala’s future as gratifying. He visualizes more and more indigenous people studying and finding the means for gaining access to higher education. Social and legal fundamentals are already given, he thinks. For good or for evil, the Peace Accords are currently enforced and indigenous persons as well as institutions can freely express their thought and speak out fearlessly. There is the resolution in official institutions to include Mayan matters and intercultural values and practices in their policies and actions. Thanks to this amenable disposition obviously backed by the sponsorship and advisory of international agencies, it is possible, according to Alfonso Tzaquiztal, that within the next 15 to 20 years we will be able to appreciate and witness the results of work that is being done today. For this reason he sees a gratifying future for Guatemala.

6.3.15 The Future of Mayan Culture:

The Ministry of Education (MINEDUC) has enforced a generalized educational program in association with two to three universities. This program is intended to educate approximately 65,000 rural and urban teachers throughout the nation as university professionals. In order to provide appropriate finances for such an incredible enterprise, the Government signed an international loan for 250 million dollars. All Guatemalans will have to repay this loan during the next 50 years.
According to Demetrio Cojti, Ph.D., current MINEDUC administrative vice-minister, and a Maya Kaqchikel, this program was part of an important strategy for MINEDUC's policy for the generalization of bilingual intercultural education throughout the school system, both public and private, in Guatemala. During a recent lecture given by him at Landívar University, Demetrio Cojti announced that some 3,000 Mayan professionals were needed to be temporarily hired as faculty members. They would be responsible for teaching different courses to the 65,000 school teachers. After months of searching and locating these indigenous professionals, he gathered a mere total of about 165 resumes.

Consequently, he has recognized the tremendous lack of Maya professionals who could join specialized institutions and be employed at appropriate posts and positions requiring professionals. This deficiency has occurred due to the neglect of Mayans in the past. Pathetically, the posts were available, but there were not enough qualified candidates to assume them. Considering the situation from another aspect, he observed the evidence of the need for continuing with the enormous enterprise even though most of the necessary elements for the program were incomplete or inopportune. As a result, the apparently high-quality standards set for the program have been reduced dramatically. By having to hire mostly Ladino faculty, the Ministry of Education has allowed the new education paradigm with its culturally and linguistically relevant elements to be simply cast aside. The educational paradigm that is being applied and consolidated is the "colonizing paradigm." defined by indigenous professionals. Consciously or not,
and also with support coming from Mayan professionals, the program for professional teachers sponsored by MINEDUC is currently being executed. It is clear that no matter what final objectives may have been established for this program, the final result corresponds perfectly to the government policy of civilizing the country through non-Mayan means; in this way there are no cultural contents or other factors in the program that could affect the national curriculum based on hegemony.

However, although we may tend to perceive Guatemala’s future as not very opportune for enhancing diversity of culture and relations based on intercultural respect among people of different origins, we can fortunately still reflect on the new generation of Maya and non-Maya professionals who are creating a more suitable environment for diversity.

Pascual Martín Domingo does not see radical changes ahead. At large the state and particularly the most important posts where real power is exercised are totally occupied by Ladinos. Therefore, the Guatemalan State, its future prospects, policies, laws, and other elements are going to be established exclusively by Ladinos. However, the dialogue for social action is already set and available to be effected. Pascual is thinking about the Peace Accords axes, intercultural focus, bilingualism, a peace-loving culture, tolerance, and diversity. But he stresses that in order to actually achieve important social impact along these lines of action, it is a must to have both Ladino and indigenous populations learning and participating in the same national curriculum. In other words, only through these means are
Mayas going to learn about other Mayan and Ladino cultures; in this way will Ladinos be exposed to learn about all Mayan cultures and values. This milestone happens to be the only means for democratizing and interculturalizing this country.

Mario Rolando Cú, argues that Guatemalan Maya culture is divided into twenty-one ethnic and linguistic groups. Besides Guatemala, there are others in Belize and Mexico. Guatemalan Mayan ethnic groups are far from having any sort of integrating activities and criteria. He is worried because the integration of Maya ethnic groups relies on making most of the population conscious of integration as an important political tool. Mario knows that the only means to create such a generalized consciousness is through education. In order to make this integration to become real it is urgent that Mayan educators and linguists gather together and work on unified Mayan curricula that must support important goals like Maya integration, political representation, common demands for justice and fair treatment, claims for land, and extensive participation.

Mario Quim believes that there is a strong future drawing near for Mayas. Today, there are several indigenous professionals holding important posts. Ten years ago, Mario asseverates, you could not imagine having Mayas working in such high positions as they do today. Politically, it was impossible that a Mayan like Rigoberto Quemé would ever have dreamed becoming the mayor of Quetzaltenango. Thus, different doors are being opened nowadays to consolidate some political and economical trends. PRODIPMA graduates are currently
occupying important positions in which they are also facilitating a direction toward enhancing Maya culture and people. A number of Maya professionals have also been contributing to several supportive programs managed by NGOs during the last 20 years. By helping both institutions and non-Mayan specialists to grasp important knowledge, Mayan specialists help in creating appropriate plans for social program including goals, means, and attitudes.

Mario Pacay is worried about the process called globalization. He thinks that this unstoppable process will help to push local cultures to be even more marginal, surviving among the very edges of the most external zones of the new world standards. Alfonso Tzaquitozal has a more positive vision. He sees the Maya future full of hope in accordance to the necessary and continuous changes imposed upon the traditional social structures. For instance, he shows the Mayan people as being the country's larger population. In this sense, it logically must have a proportional representation in the apparatus of the state. This proportionate presence would guarantee an equity in conditions. Unfortunately, the civil and penal laws of the Guatemala Political Constitution have been created by Ladinos thinking exclusively as a Ladino State with Ladino values and relevance. Interculturality, a transcendental value, has to be reached in order to allow diversity to be constantly present in all state matters and decisions.
6.3.16 Mayan Modernity:

Culture is not a static element. Therefore, it is necessary that we change. Adán Pérez explains that in every culture there are always people who are bound to the traditional, more conservative side of culture. Thus they continuously strive to keep the status quo permanent and maintain the notion of reality according to their particular cultural definitions of customs they had learned from their parents. Nevertheless, there are always other people who think that belonging to the culture does not mean continue the same kind of behavior as they had been shown to do. It is a necessity, according to Adán, that cultures change; this is so, he thinks, “Because we (Mayans) have to be opened to the world, since the world has opened itself to us.”

Culture has to be receptive; it is not an isolated entity. On the contrary, a culture is a sensitive living part of all humanity encompassing universal conceptions of life and history. It is necessary to have the capacity to accept different changes that are being made in today’s world. Accept what has changed and take it at its own pace, or else, local cultures will be relegated to the status of curiosities in human zoos.

Félix Chay López establishes his analysis from the technological viewpoint of modernization and contemplates the deliverance from the threat of being simply engulfed culturally by the immense pattern of globalization. He assures that local cultures (Mayan) are not being invaded by a standardizing order. Instead it is
presenting and introducing to us different means, some modern and more efficient that can be adapted for our own needs. In other words, Chay is convinced that modernity can be viewed that global technology being introduced into local societies does not necessarily imply that societies must change in order to use that technology. On the contrary, he thinks, “We are going to adapt technology to enhance and make our culture more efficient. That means taking advantage of our own values and other values, which happens to be one of the basic concepts of what intercultural means.”

María Gumer agrees and supplements these concepts when she says that incorporating global modern elements into Mayan culture binds together the possibility of improving different aspects of the culture, and concretely to making worthy the use of our own resources by promoting and, strengthening what is ours in Maya culture. This means that we keep changing without losing what we are, she concludes.

Ana Rutilia Ical contends that modernity, understood as something coming from outside, has to be neither an obstacle nor a burden. It should not generate fear among Mayan people because she says that they are making their own way into modernity with a highly consolidated identity. Such a broad conceptualization provides me, a person not belonging to Maya culture, a sense of strong group identification, only restrained among Maya intellectuals. This is the sense that Ana Rutilia perceives as a different level of consciousness among Maya population. This manner of consciousness goes beyond any imaginable magnitude that a
possible Pan-Mayan movement could have evolved at this point in Guatemala's history. It is a scope with no comparison when referring to 2000. In that year the government called for a "popular referendum" in which the population had to vote pro or con in regard to a series of constitutional amendments favoring attainments of Maya culture such as making official the 21 Mayan languages spoken within our territory. Other amendments included drastically reducing the Guatemalan Army. This popular referendum garnered less than 20% of the total votes. The Ladinos who were majority of that 20% voted "no" to the proposed constitutional amendments. Among other conclusions, it became clear that at that point there was not such a widespread Pan-Mayan movement, since the Mayan population did not go to the voting polls to enact laws that the Peace Accords had called for in order that Guatemala become a more democratic and peaceful society.

For Irma Yolanda Caal Mayan modernity means a change of mentality and life styles. Modernity, she asseverates, somewhat encompasses alienation. Persons must be conscious of the effect of modernity or they will be unconsciously pushed into alienation, she thinks. Especially we as Mayan professionals, who on a daily basis have to deal with Western values and ways of understanding and managing social and economic issues, must use some alien concepts or procedures in order to be able to make a living in a different culture world. However, she explains that Mayan professional are very accustomed to living inside the Ladino world. She is sure that Mayans, especially scholars, have appropriated so many things which specifically are ways of thinking, methods for analyzing technical problems,
processes for proposing solutions and using procedures that are part of the so-called scientific knowledge. It is left up to the Mayans to think that for themselves these scientific ways are now part of the fabric of Mayan knowledge. And this, Irma thinks, is their way of understanding modernity: They acquire and employ modern contrivances in their professional work and then take some into their households. A good example is computers which provide Mayan children a lasting resource.

Gaspar Tambriz thinks that modernity—coming from outside as well—carries positive and negative implications. Negative, would be to forget Mayan culture and identity; Positive, is to use modernity to modernize Maya culture and maintain themselves as indigenous people. It is clear then that Mayans want to keep being identified as Mayas and, therefore, indigenous. Of course this might be a conclusion derived from Maya intellectuals such as PRODIPMA graduates. However, rural Mayas obviously do not hesitate to practice their traditional life styles and speak their languages locally. But there is an ambiguous attitude when it parents comes to deal with their children attaining literacy through their Mayan tongue before transferring their learned abilities into Spanish in bilingual schools. Their attitude is ambiguous because they prefer that their children learn how to read and write in Spanish since this knowledge will guarantee better opportunities for them and they will suffer less discomfort if they are not discriminated for using Spanish inappropriately. They are uncertain as well because rural indigenous parents know that Ladino teachers normally do not know one Mayan word nor are
they interested in learning values and characteristics of the culture. The teachers are thus authoritarian and disciplinary as they force the children to learn Spanish at the pace of a native Spanish speaker.

Alfonso Tzaquitzal acknowledges that modernity through globalization is a threatening and risky possibility because it directly proposes deep changes in order to take adequate advantages of its benefits. Culture is at risk, therefore. But it is a must to suitably educate the Maya population so that they are able to enhance their culture by adapting modernity without putting aside its values, without becoming alienated. Tzaquitzal is absolutely sure that knowing how to take advantage of modernity will empower Maya culture to grow and strengthen its fundamentals. Therefore, he concludes that we must prepare ourselves, we need to know everything about modernity in order to apply its elements and benefits while we enhance what is ours. Following this idea, Marta Alicia Ajú asserted that as a Mayan person she may know and even use alien commodities; and because of doing so, not necessarily allow variations in her Maya identity or cultural self-esteem.

Denis Tecúm contributes by saying that science and technology are the birthright of humankind. However, in order to attain their benefits, Mayans must regard them as one way to make life easier in every society and culture. For instance, he argues, the same demands are propounded for international organizations, and globalization itself which point the way toward an integrated world based upon diversity, in terms of participation and mutual respect.
From the viewpoint of a former faculty member, Martín Chacach says that young Mayan students are commonly distancing themselves from their traditions and expression of culture. However, as they grow older and perfect their consciousness and responsibility and they finally attain a more realistic notion of the subtle relations of their culture with the multicultural milieu. Thenceforth they become strong promoters of culture and start working toward its enhancement. PRODIPMA provided an appropriate environment for these young Mayans who, for the time being, did not know that they were Mayans. The Ladino system had continuously neglected their right of to expressing their own culture and thus Mayans were forever made to feel themselves as indigenous inferior to the predominant culture. Modernization for Mayas, Chacach defines, is to earn university degrees and to be able to fill private and public positions in which they can work therefore vindicating and magnifying support for Mayan culture and people. Armando Najarro, augments these assertions and consolidates the idea of understanding modernization through academic means. Najarro says that many of the PRODIPMA graduates have continued their education by registering in graduate programs, to the point that some 55 Maya professionals graduated from master degree programs in Political Sciences and Bilingual Intercultural Education with scholarships provided by URL-EDUMAYA and USAID at Landívar University. The good news, he asserts, is that they have been consolidating authentic, original Maya thought and are actually working on different proposals for development proposals which are being originated through their own
production. They are not relying on integrating research teams who have had projects designed with non-Maya criteria.

Dr. Julia Richards says that all of the PRODIPMA students found jobs after graduating. Moreover, most of them took on job responsibilities of significantly greater magnitude than when they began as rural school teachers. The students she advised, she remembers, now work in Landívar University Institute of Linguistics, USAID office in Guatemala, the National Literacy Committee (CONALFA), the Bilingual Education Direction (DIGEBI), the Mayan Languages Academy (ALMG), and so on. Dr. Richards acknowledges all of the PRODIPMA graduates are strong advocates and are at the forefront of the Mayan movement.
Notes:

1 “Unidad en la diversidad,” (unity within diversity) is one of the four major axes of Guatemala’s Educational Reform which was enforced by the Peace Accords signed in December 1996 between the Government and Guatemala’s National Revolutionary Unity (URNG). This active concept carries the goal of respecting and including into all dialogue stances and other national concerns the Guatemalan culture diversity: Mayas, Ladinos, Xincas, and Garífunas.

2 Guatemala’s “civilizing project” was introduced and thoroughly explained in Chapter I, section 1.8.1, Historical Analysis.

3 A massive educating program enforced by MINEDUC and financed by the World Bank where some 60,000 teachers are attending courses provided by 3 universities without quality controls. In the end, all teachers that may finish their programs would have earned two years of university studies. Landívar University, as well as other private universities, chose not to participate in this program.

4 Alta Verapaz, Izabal, Totonicapán, and Quetzaltenango, are four out of 23 departments of Guatemala’s political and administrative divisions.

5 A University Diplomado program consists of 6 study courses or 16 credits of study in one semester. These credits can be applied toward a major or intermediate degree. This particular Diplomado is intended to provide certain levels of specialization in bilingual literacy programs.

6 The so called Ixil Trinque is composed by three municipios (counties) where three Ixil communities live as they are Nebaj, Chajul, and Cotzal in northern Quiché. Each of the communities has its own dialectal variant that take the common root Ixil and the community’s name attached to it.

7 Guatemala has the lowest assigned IBP percentage for education in all Latin America, only a little above Haiti, with a 1.7% of the entire IBP or some 2,000 million Quetzales (260 million dollars). Which is good for administrative purposes only (pay 65,000 teachers) but no budget items for educational research inversion or other productive and innovative developments.

8 Mirna Mack, anthropologist, was stabbed to death by a condemned military specialist, obviously under higher ranked orders because of her work on CPR groups (Communities of Population in Resistance) which were groups of indigenous peoples displaced and forced to roam across the jungle in order to protect their lives from the Army constant aggression and risk of being massacred. Monséñor Gerardi was killed by a military commando because of his protagonist work in gathering information and creating a report on all killings that accounted more than 250,000 victims of the civil war.
CHAPTER VII: CONCLUSION

I undertook this study with the intention of reintegrating apparently dispersed parts of Guatemala’s recent history. By so doing, I aimed at producing a coherent and integral version of the country’s multicultural, political, and educational issues that are currently affecting the definition of being a nation, its identity and the permanence of a worn-out hegemonic paradigm.

As analyzed and documented within the corpus of this study, the country has systematically maintained the indigenous question as dormant because of its undeclared yet prolonged policy of civilizing the country under European patterns. The hegemonic exercise of power from inherited colonial schemes, recognized the Spanish speaking population as the sole prestigious social model to be promoted in order to achieve a modern, progressive, and developed status within the conglomerate of world nations. The civilizing strategies enacted by the Guatemalan State and its succeeding governments have viewed and treated the indigenous population as the main cause of the country’s backwardness and the chief obstacle to rapidly gain access to development, to create a positive self-image, and to gravitate toward modernization.

However, such strategies had been applied with the primary goal of converting the country into a monolingual Spanish society, a predicament dispensable and, obviously impervious, to solving the various kinds of national
impediments, ranging from economics to education. Culturally, henceforth, hegemonic trends had been evolving from the previous Criollo caste—dating from independence in 1821—composed of Spaniards originally from Spain and their offspring born in Guatemala which gave rise to a select combination of social groups exclusively composed by Ladinos.

These groups, dominated by Ladinos, have been involved in positions of power as exemplified by ranking officers in the Guatemalan Army, influential spokespersons in the Chamber of Commerce, Industry, and Finance (CACIF), and powerful affiliations in organizations pertaining to agriculture, cattle breeding, exportation and other such commercially oriented organizations. Of course, private social organization have been closely related to influential positions of power, and indeed, they have become part of several secular governments recently. Consequently, the formation and enactment of educational policies and strategies have exclusively considered the Spanish language and culture as the nation’s paradigmatic endorsement. Alternative subcultures are regarded as peasant and have been retained to be food producers with no access to bank credit or technology. Nevertheless they are valued for their traditions which furnish sophisticated tourist attractions. Moreover, when these groups have been targeted for educational purposes, strategies and actions have been designed toward reaching the western civilizing model through castellanización (learning the Spanish language).
Universidad Rafael Landívar launched the PRODIPMA program and initiated the recruitment of indigenous students, actions which were not isolated from the national historic process. On one hand, Guatemala’s Political Constitution had been recently modified and its new version was enacted in 1985, one year prior to the start of PRODIPMA. As established in Chapter I, this Constitution recognized, for the first time in Guatemala’s history, that other cultural groups were part of Guatemala: Mayans, Garífunas (Afro-Caribbean), and Xinkas (native Mesoamericans). This recognition enacted a series of new laws and reforms applicable to several official policies and decrees, correspondingly. These reforms are exemplified by decrees regarding the rights of communities for bilingual education, support for the development of indigenous languages, and protection of sacred sites. Moreover, the year was quickly approaching 1992, the five hundred year anniversary of the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus.

The democratic government led by Vinicio Cerezo Arévalo (1986-1990) also opened a new era; Guatemala had been governed by military regimes for the past 20 years. These conditions of the new era kindled the awakening of forms of expression formerly repressed rights: Freedom of speech, right to assemble, and free participation in political and social matters. At this time Rigoberta Menchú was beginning to gain a perceptive position within the public sphere of the nation and was, as part of a complex international organization, on the path toward a Nobel Prize.
Meanwhile there was another very important social and political issue which emerged at that time in Guatemala. An extensive and historically marginal sector of Guatemalan population was beginning to be called Mayans. President Cerezo's secular regime viewed this moment as opportune political advantage and thus supported different initiatives aimed at enhancing rights based on culture and social background. Of course the visions of his regime formulated strategies based on the conscious social perspective: Mayans were poor Indian peasants. Because they were poor, they needed support from the government. Cultural stipulations were neither included in the official agenda nor in national debates.

Universidad Rafael Landívar and the USAID mission in Guatemala immediately recognized that 1985 established a particularly important historic moment to initiate a strategic program that would train a number of indigenous, Mayan professionals. These professionals would constitute an organized group of intellectuals who could begin to participate in addressing previously neglected national concerns. The cooperative agreement signed between Landívar and USAID was conceived to enhance indigenous technical participation in educational matters. Nevertheless, political implications were also anticipated such as the establishment of the Mayan Languages Academy (ALMG) foundation, by a congressional decree.

PRODIPMA became a program wholly created by Guatemalan and American academicians based on First World academic contents. PRODIPMA
produced a limited yet transcendental impact upon indigenous communities throughout the country. Especially because as the students who had received grants were attaining their academic goals, they started consolidating their professional careers. They thus gained social prestige and had access to better jobs and salaries. Such an impact has continued to increase ever since the inception of PRODIPMA and its subsequent program EDUMAYA (1998-2004), because the contemporary indigenous professionals have become vital role models for younger Mayans in their communities while others have gained access to public positions characterized by elevated responsibility and social prestige.

However, young Mayans, at large, consider themselves to be severed somewhat from access to higher education. This situation has been reinforced by real concerns regarding prohibitive academic fees and other expenses necessary to attend university. This is very true because not only are private universities expensive, but they also demand great amounts of time and arduous academic work. Generally, indigenous students need to be financially supported by their parents or some other sponsor. Finding a full or part-time job does not really help because indigenous students as unskilled laborers are paid low wages that would not compensate for university fees.

Moreover, access to the public university, Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala (USAC), is easier in terms of tuition fees and other incidental fees. However for some years universities, public and private, have been
administering admission examinations to prospective students; a high percentage of applicants fail the examinations. These factors become critical when particularly analyzing indigenous applicants. This problem tied to passing entrance examinations prevents people from rural areas to register in academic programs. Failure to pass entrance tests is based on the low quality of education delivered outside of urban centers, Guatemala City especially. Potential university students have to take remedial courses before being admitted into university. Problems have been detected especially in Spanish (reading comprehension and academic writing) as well as in mathematics, physics, chemistry, and other solid sciences.

PRODIPMA invested substantial financial resources in complementary and remedial courses in order to strengthen the students’ relevant background for achieving academic success. In this sense, PRODIPMA greatly helped indigenous grantees by providing all academic and financial means for guaranteeing their regular, uninterrupted attendance and accomplishment of their final goals. All PRODIPMA graduates who had been interviewed asseverated that if Universidad Landívar and the program had not provided full scholarships for their studies, they would have never had the required resources to earn their academic degrees. Such assurance has caused both Universidad Landívar and the PRODIPMA program to be regarded as noble, worthy of commendation for mitigating a national social burden.
Another important achievement is that the graduates recognized important improvements and changes in their individual lives. On one hand, they deeply appreciate the opportunity they were given to become professionals. They have been empowered to improve their range of choices for earning a livelihood and choices of life styles. Universidad Rafael Landívar was quite conscious of the complexity encompassed in designing and executing a university program targeting indigenous Maya students. As a result, and due to the assumption that some curricular contents would be inappropriate, Guillermina Herrera—who led the curricular design team—proposed a series of complementary courses that were created for increasing not only knowledge and abilities, but also self-esteem among Mayan students. Such courses were termed nuclear or EDP courses and, ultimately, were the only means for proposing academic content other than traditional, universal scientific knowledge. We presented in Chapter 5 the background and purpose of EDP courses; although they were based on ethics, multiculturalism and positive intercultural relations among cultures, it is clear that the authors, text books, theories and methods that were utilized had been the creations of academicians which they had developed while working within First World academic institutions. In the years which have passed since the graduation of the alumni, I have been able to witness evolving parallel discourses. One discourse is derived from the real academic experiences of the alumni who were Mayans evidently educated through means of alien knowledge and a foreign language; the other discourse consists of members of
the Mayan community, mostly non-academics, who speak out about the university and about the Mayan professionals educated at PRODIPMA. The former discourse demonstrates that the alumni thought they were part of a historic momentum in Guatemala's evolution in which conceptualized dichotomies had been strongly imposed between indigenous and Ladinos, in a similar way as modernity is contrasted with underdevelopment. As a consequence indigenous communities did not recognize themselves as Mayans almost throughout Colonial times and until the late 1970s. The latter discourse, proposed by non-academic Mayans, criticizes university programs because they are considered as means of alienation or processes of colonization, a subtler means of seducing young Mayans to the allures of the hegemonic system. All of the alumni acknowledge that PRODIPMA greatly assisted them to strengthen their cultural pride as well as to obtain a broader span of recent social, cultural, political and economic truths that were part of the nation. Finally, however, what is doubtlessly striking for me as an anthropologist is that all alumni deem that PRODIPMA helped them to become aware of their culture and, therefore, they have adjusted their future vision after recognizing that their culture is the highest priority for their ongoing development.

As a necessary consequence, the alumni have been able to work towards the enhancement of Mayan culture by providing the means for crucial research projects dealing with cultural issues. They promote culture through diverse means to the population at large. This favorable context has helped themselves
as well as other indigenous persons to enhance their pride in their own culture and solidify their Mayan identity. Obviously this benefits their families and communities.

Before PRODIPMA had started the academic program at Landívar University, there were no professional linguists in Guatemala, neither Ladinos nor indigenous. The program opened a significant scientific niche for specialized Mayan linguists who have been incredibly productive in the creation of grammars, pedagogic guides, methods for learning and teaching Mayan languages, sociolinguistics research, recording of oral traditions, and production of a number of school textbooks. Because of the PRODIPMA graduates in linguistics, Guatemala has been producing its own materials and studies regarding its own multicultural reality.

The PRODIPMA graduates mentioned have memories of their former URL professors. The graduates asseverated that they remember some of their program mentors because of two reasons. The first reason mentioned is that they continue to remain greatly influenced by the pedagogic techniques of their professors. The Mayan graduates have adapted their instructors' methods into their current teaching tasks and assignments. Hence, some of the PRODIPMA professors actualized permanent impressions upon their former students by becoming model teachers. The second reason they brought up was that their professors had taught them how to apply methods and scientific procedures that helped them with their professional tasks and actual work situations. The
alumni recognize that they were exposed not only to theoretical issues but also were especially encouraged to practice their methodologies and research tools and skills in real environments. Graduates whose disciplines are education, linguistics, and social work demonstrated and explained with greater detail the diversity of components and the rigorous and ordered application of variables and steps necessary for ensuring reliable results when using instruments and research plans. Additionally, they mentioned that they had also learned how to work on socially related projects, ethically. Gathering information and understanding the needs of particular individuals also form a fundamental component for all research proposals.

The complementary nuclear (EDP) courses were introduced as an innovative curricular component of the PRODIPMA program. These courses helped Universidad Rafael Landívar institutionally and academically. Because of their design and later implementation, they were included as subjects in seminars, lectures and other academic activities. URL was able to influence somewhat unbiased cross-cultural relations among students, staff and faculty members. The project and its principles, especially those concerning intercultural issues, were designed to be functional and to formulate responses, attitudes and knowledge according to ethical values and respect of differences. URL was going to admit over 450 indigenous students and needed to prepare and inform the academic community in order to ensure the avoidance of consciously or
unconsciously discriminatory responses and other negative expressions of cultural stereotypes.

According to the individual experiences of the alumni regarding their sudden inclusion into a culturally different environment, most of them related that they had been frightened prior to beginning their classes. They felt apprehensive because they had anticipated discrimination and other uncomfortable situations while interacting with Ladino fellow students. Especially worrisome was they did not know how their academic performances and achievements would turn out. They were fearful of not being able to adapt themselves to the academic pace and scholarly pursuits. Specifically, some alumni confessed that they would not have been able to tolerate being considered ridiculous by their inappropriate use of Spanish or exhibition of learning problems.

However, Landívar University especially profited from the program because there was a perceived need for developing research projects aimed at constructing a culture-related rationale. As we have previously seen within this study, URL identified this need and proposed to include what has come to be known as Component 10 of PRODIPMA. This important program component was designed from objectives devoted to research activities. The aim of this component was to accumulate an objective sense of Guatemala’s multicultural and multilingual reality. As a consequence, this component was the incubator for the Institute of Linguistics (IL). The Institute of Linguistics has added a
Department of Education which further makes its objectives and services more complex. Thus, the Institute of Linguistics is currently known as URL Institute of Linguistics and Education (ILE).

The Institute of Linguistics produces Mayan language grammars, pedagogic grammars, dictionaries, manuals for teaching and learning methods of Mayan languages, teachers' guides, ethnographies, and recording of oral traditions, and literature for Mayan children. The ILE has edited over 700 different materials in 21 different Mayan languages. All the materials concern cultural and linguistic subjects and their corresponding didactics.

Finally, URL also profited when it gained experience and improved learning materials and courses offered. URL's curricular reform, already enacted, actualized and applied multicultural and intercultural contents to different course subjects of diverse majors. URL assumed as an academic response to Guatemala's cultural diversity, the inclusion of curricular axioms that crosscut all majors offered by different departments. By doing this, URL aims at providing an objective yet humanitarian vision of Guatemala's social and cultural milieu.

When PRODIPMA alumni were asked to depict the methods that have strongly influenced their academic knowledge and professional application, linguists, educators, and social workers outlined components and procedural steps with greater detail than the rest of graduates. They provided information about method-specific components and added thorough descriptions of real
situations in which they applied these methods and their end results from research.

However, through broader impression, I have noted that even though the PRODIPMA graduates indeed mentioned names of authors that they were exposed to through theories, essays, methods or interpretations, the germane or acquired knowledge directly originating from their output appeared weak or faded. This is so because they had graduated 10 years ago. No direct influences have been detected within the alumni’s responses. Instead, I was able to understand that because of being constantly exposed to a diversity of professional needs, especially when performing work related tasks, they have contrived personal approaches to interpreting modes for adapting academic knowledge to practical cases. In other words, it looks like a normal process that university graduates strengthen and augment knowledge, work and research methods as they gain and accumulate experience through time. Moreover, the diversity of particular problems that they have to solve by means of creatively adapting previous rigid (theoretical) information into more malleable yet efficient tools, is another crucial element for professional relevance.

The program provided the academic means to reconcile positive and respectful relations among students, staff and faculty from diverse cultural backgrounds. The alumni recognized this sustained effort. Especially mentioned was the quality of lectures which introduced cultural and intercultural topics. This encouraged uplifting debates and generated
partnerships and respect among indigenous and non-indigenous students. It was worthwhile participating in such academic activities because URL provided a neutral and courteous atmosphere where Ladinos and Mayans were able to speak freely concerning cross-cultural issues that used to be commonly avoided outside of Academia.

However, PRODIPMA graduates remember that what was especially good for proper healthy interethnic relations was to be able to share common physical spaces at the student residences and in classrooms. This situation of being able to associate with each other under these conditions is worth stressing since it does not need any means of intervention from outside sources. People tend to improve in their social interactions when they are exposed to diversity for long lasting periods of time.

PRODIPMA alumni remembered that in the beginning they felt somewhat uncomfortable sharing rooms, living areas, kitchen and laundry facilities with their Ladino classmates. They tended to gather in small groups according to their ethnic origin, Ladinos on one side and Mayans on the other. After five years had passed having common use of these facilities, the Ladinos and Mayans formed friendly relations and provided each other with academic support. Today, they mention that friendships established at the university continue to be part of their lives. They had learned incredible facts about human psychology and behavior by being exposed to sharing experiences and events within a culturally diverse environment.
All the PRODIPMA graduates recognize that they had found jobs before graduating. Some of the qualifications of their jobs the graduates listed included highly responsible positions, posts at prestigious institutions, better salaries, social improvements, and personal pride by having been confident fulfilling the profiles of highly skilled professionals.

All the graduates recognize as well that even though they have not permanently returned to their original communities, they have been working in NGOs, GOs, and other private or international institutions. At these institutions they devote their professional activities and resources to enhance Mayan culture or provide the physical or intellectual means to empower respectful relations between cultures.

A number of these graduates are currently working in education. Some are directly providing their services for official institutions such as the General Direction for Bilingual Education (DIGEBI), the Ministry of Education (MINEDUC), the Mayan Languages Academy (ALMG) or Universidad Rafael Landívar (URL) through its Institute of Linguistics and Education (ILE) or the EDUMAYA project. Some of these graduates are also URL faculty members in diverse departments and have been teaching courses regarding Guatemala’s multicultural reality to both Ladino and Mayan students.

Notwithstanding, most of the interviewed graduates foresee Guatemala’s future with a lack of hope. The level of corruption manifested by Guatemala’s political class has been increasing, going from bad to worse. For the civilian
population, regardless of ethnic origin, it looks as if there were an irreversible process that is destroying the social fabric, affecting values, honesty and even social courtesy and respect concerning the rights of others. Today it is normal to find both youths and adults carrying weapons for their personal defense without having the knowledge or responsibility to use them properly.

On one side, PRODIPMA graduates perceive institutional corruption as a social problem. However, on the other, they see that official authorities fail to design and implement development programs and initiate true changes and improvements which are needed to overcome urgent social needs. These urgent improvements mean good quality education and the battle against the incredibly high poverty indexes, and the unbearable levels of corruption and drug activity. The alumni showed frustration in terms of acknowledging that all these problems come directly from the unjust and inefficient social and political hegemonic paradigm implemented in favor of Ladino advantages and uniquely privileged Ladino institutions.

Finally, Mayan modernity carries the consideration that adapting technology brings a diversity of modifications upon previous practices or stages of cultural development. Technology itself, being the results of development of products for the good of humankind, represents to subordinated cultures as a threat from the outside. Technology is something alien and thus somewhat alienating. Technology as a way of thinking and as the application of science and knowledge, has to be adapted into local cultures. In this way will local cultures
be more efficient in producing their own particular cultural output and commodities which can be shared with the outside world.

However, the graduates are aware that modernity means changes. They say, however, that changes are not solely imposed by forces of globalization and standardization. They remark that they are not merely the passive recipients of modernity. If there are going to be changes within their traditions and customs they pointed out, they themselves are going to be the ones who will decide where, how, and when they will take advantage of any improvements in the world. They will also determine the most suitable way through which these improvements are going to be adapted for actually improving the output of their culture. Mayan graduates see modernity as something desirable that brings better living conditions. Modernity is necessary to conciliate different cultures and creatively enrich the development of the human intellect and physical evolution toward better living conditions and options. Otherwise, if modernity infers another hegemonic form of domination, it will sustain a shattered world separated into pre-existing dichotomies characterized by hegemony and subordination.

The graduates acknowledged that modernity also means something beyond the permanent threat to their cultures. In terms of unequivocal acquisition and participation, they are clear that education is the only proper means toward modernity. When they summarize this assertion directly based on their own unique scholarly experience, they have observed themselves before
they had had access to academia; they have analyzed the way they perceive their current achievements and improvements in their lifestyles. They have also noticed the transcendental impact that has occurred in their families and communities. These changes have been, they acknowledge, very important regarding educational concerns. In this respect they recognize that none of their close relatives would dare stay out of school or remain illiterate; they influence their kin to envision their educational goals, going beyond the achievement of high school diplomas. Talking about going to university and earning professional degrees has become a common subject for indigenous family members.

Such a favorable attitude regarding scholastics has occurred within the households of the nearly 400 indigenous professionals who have earned their academic degrees at Universidad Rafael Landívar through the PRODIPMA program. A more ambitious academic program, EDUMAYA, was designed and implemented by Universidad Rafael Landívar. This program supports 1200 new indigenous students through provision of full scholarships for their studies. Today, at the end of year 2003, nearly 900 of the total students had already achieved their academic goal. EDUMAYA expects to successfully graduate a total of 1000 by June, 2004.

According to the key information that has been discovered from the PRODIPMA graduates, the real experiences which they encountered while they were participating in their academic programs formed a lasting influence on
their lives. While they were evolving through educational processes, they matured and attained personal dimensions of knowledge, methods and professionalism. I envision the PRODIPMA graduates making both a measurable and lasting impact upon indigenous families and communities. These individuals have been playing crucial roles as individual indigenous paradigms. But most importantly, we can predict that extensive changes are very likely to appear within Guatemala's political, social, economical and cultural reality. These changes will be effected by an academically prepared robust generation of proud Mayas. These will be the persons who will help generate a more balanced, intercultural social-politic paradigm that will dominate the national consensus.
BIBLIOGRAPHY
(LIST OF REFERENCES)


APPENDIX A

(Interviewing Protocols)
Protocolo de Entrevistas 01  
(Interviewing Protocol 01)  

01.1 Producción de Conocimiento URL-PRODIPMA  
(URL-PRODIPMA Production of Knowledge)  

01.2 Autoridades Académicas  
(Academic Authorities)  

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<th>Nombre: (Name:)</th>
<th>Cargo actual: (Current position:)</th>
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<tr>
<td>Cargo en PRODIPMA: (Position held at PRODIPMA:)</td>
<td>Fecha. (Date:)</td>
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1. ¿Cuál era la agenda de la URL, como institución de educación superior, para comprometerse a desarrollar un programa de estudios universitarios para la población indígena guatemalteca (PRODIPMA) entre 1986 y 1993?  
(As an academic institution what was URL’s agenda that made it be engaged in developing a University study program (PRODIPMA) targeting Guatemalan indigenous population between 1986 and 1993?)

2. Concretamente, entonces, ¿Cuál es la problemática, según URL, para la cual PRODIPMA surge como una solución?  
(What was the social, cultural or political problematic that URL previously defined in order to propose PRODIPMA as a solution to?)

3. ¿Cómo define o cómo percibe la URL institucionalmente el concepto de “mayanidad”, incluido en este programa?  
(How do URL institutionally defines or perceives the concept of “Mayan” included in this program?)

4. ¿Cómo percibe la URL el impacto causado por PRODIPMA en la cultura, en la población maya y en la nación guatemalteca?  
(How does URL perceive the cultural impact caused by PRODIPMA upon the Mayan population and the Guatemalan nation?)

5. ¿Cómo visualiza o imagina URL los cambios que la población maya está experimentando en su lucha por su supervivencia cultural y desarrollo actuales y al futuro?  
(How does URL anticipate the necessary changes or negotiations that Mayan population has been experiencing through its on-going struggle for culture survival and their current and future development?)
6. ¿Tales cambios vendrán de una corriente de intelectualidad y consciencia mayas, o quizás provendrán de una fuerza avasalladora no maya, o quizás de una combinación de ambas?
(From what sources should such changes be generated, from a Mayan intelectual elite? Or maybe from an hegemonic non-Mayan force? Or finally perhaps from a combination of these sources?)

7. ¿En la revisión y renovación de lo pasado, lo actual y lo futuro en la cultura maya, habrá alguna incidencia o presencia de la intelectualidad generada por PRODIPMA?
(Through a process consisting of revising/renovating the past, contemporary and future of Mayan culture, would you say that a PRODIPMA generated intellectuality could be detected creating incidence upon different national arenas?)

8. ¿Cómo anticipa la URL el presente y futuro de las relaciones interculturales entre mayas y no mayas en Guatemala?
(How does URL anticipates present and future intercultural relations between Mayans and Ladinos in Guatemala?)

9. ¿Cuál es la idea de “modernidad” que tiene URL en el futuro de la cultura maya, cómo han contribuido los egresados de PRODIPMA?
(What is the idea of “modernity” that URL anticipates for Mayan culture and how have PRODIPMA graduates helped to define or achieve this idea?)

10. ¿De qué forma cree URL que PRODIPMA contribuyó a modificar o establecer la idea de “modernidad” en la mente de los egresados?
(How does URL think that has contributed to modify previous conceptions or to help establishing the idea or “modernity” among the PRODIPMA alumni?)

11. ¿Existen algunas corrientes filosóficas, teóricas, tendencias científicas o metodológicas, educativas, ideológicas o políticas, que se hayan tomado explicitamente en cuenta para ser aplicadas en los pensa de los beneficiarios de PRODIPMA?
(Are there some philosophical, scientific, educational or ideological currents that were explicitly applied throughout PRODIPMA’s curricular contents?)

12. El programa concluyó en 1,993. ¿Cuáles son los resultados del programa institucional y de la intelectualidad producida por el mismo?
(The program concluded in 1993. Which are the final results of the program and of the consequent produced intellectuality?)
13. ¿En qué basa URL la necesidad de continuar con la formación y ampliación de profesionales mayas, a través del proyecto EDUMAYA? (What are the reasons that made URL consider a need for continuing and expanding the scope for training new Mayan professionals through creating a more ambitious project called EDUMAYA?)

14. ¿Cuál es el proyecto de nación y el perfil del ciudadano que ve la URL y por el que trabaja en sus acciones académicas, investigativas y de aplicación en la realidad del país? (What are the nation’s project and citizen’s profile that URL has established as its social and cultural goals and through which it defines its academic, researching, and practices (interventions) upon the country’s reality?)
**Protocolo de Entrevistas 01**  
(Interviewing Protocol 01)  

**01.3 Producción de Conocimiento URL-PRODIPMA**  
(URL-PRODIPMA Production of Knowledge)  

**01.4 Catedráticos y Tutores**  
(Faculty and Tutors)  

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<tr>
<th>Nombre: (name:)</th>
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<td>Curso(s) impartidos: (Taught Courses:)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cargo en PRODIPMA: (Position held at PRODIPMA:)</td>
<td>Fecha: (Date:)</td>
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15. En general, ¿Cómo le pareció a usted el programa PRODIPMA?  
(What do you think about PRODIPMA, broadly?)

16. ¿Qué curso(s) impartió usted para los alumnos de PRODIPMA?  
(Which courses did you teach for the PRODIPMA students?)

17. ¿Qué metodologías, teorías y autores fueron primordialmente impartidos en sus(s) curso(s)?  
(Which methodologies, theories and authors were primarily taught in your courses?)

18. ¿Podría usted explicarnos su percepción personal sobre el impacto, la apropiación y los cambios que pudieron haber causado estas metodologías, teorías y autores en el pensamiento de los alumnos de PRODIPMA?  
(What is your personal perception regarding the impact, appropriation and changes that might have been induced by the use and application of these methodologies, theories, and authors upon the PRODIPMA alumni’s thought?)

19. ¿Cómo respondieron los alumnos a sus curso(s) académicamente? (ie: con interés, seriedad o utilidad)  
(How were the behavior, responsiveness, and academic interest shown by the indigenous students in your courses?)

20. ¿Trataban o hacían investigaciones los alumnos sobre temas de su identidad, cultura o idiomas mayas? ¿Recuerda usted cómo trataban estos temas?
(Did your PRODIPMA students invested time and academic efforts on research projects regarding Mayan languages, identity or culture? Do you remember how did they treated or focused on these thematic?)

21. ¿Cree usted que los alumnos indígenas que se graduaron como profesionales de PRODIPMA-URL sufrieron cambios en su situación laboral, socio-económica, apoyan o trabajan a favor de la cultura Maya? (Would you say that the indigenous students who successfully completed their majors had somewhat modified their former living conditions as they are working conditions, socio-economic situation, or if they work and support programs aimed at enhancing Maya culture?)

22. ¿Considera usted que los conocimientos adquiridos por los ex-alumnos pudieran haber afectado su visión de futuro y modernización de la cultura maya actual? ¿de qué manera? (Do you consider that the alumni’s acquired knowledge could have influenced previous conceptions on how they anticipate their culture’s accommodation?)

23. ¿Cómo percibe usted el desenvolvimiento y el aporte de los ex-alumnos de PRODIPMA en sus responsabilidades profesionales en la constante negociación de la nación de su diversidad? (How do you grasp the PRODIPMA alumni’s participation and contribution, as indigenous professionals, to the nation’s adaptation to diversity?)
Protocolo de Entrevistas 03
(Interviewing Protocol 03)

01.5 Producción de Conocimiento URL-PRODIPMA
(URL-PRODIPMA Production of Knowledge)

01.3 Exalumnos
(Alumni)

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<tr>
<td>Fecha de graduación: (Date of graduation: )</td>
<td>Título de la tesis: (Thesis Title: )</td>
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24. ¿En general, qué piensa usted del programa PRODIPMA?
(What do you think about the PRODIPMA program, broadly?)

25. ¿Qué significa que un programa de estudios universitarios haya sido dirigido a capacitar profesionalmente a individuos indígenas de origen maya?
(What does it mean for the indigenous (Maya) population that a university study’s program had been designed and executed to professionally train Maya individuals?)

26. ¿Cuál piensa que fue la intención de la Universidad Rafael Landívar al diseñar y ejecutar un programa de becas universitarias para la población (indígena) (maya)?
(How do you perceive the objective of URL to become interested, designed, and developed a fully sponsored program exclusively oriented for the indigenous population of Guatemala?)

27. ¿Recuerda usted algún catedrático que le haya impresionado favorablemente?
(Do you remember any of your former teachers at PRODIPMA? Tell us about him/her.)

28. ¿Qué curso(s) le dio este catedrático?
(What course(s) did he/she teach you?)

29. Por favor dígame algunos nombres de autores que leyeron directamente o como referencia o complemento en alguno de los cursos de su carrera.
(Please tell us some of the authors’ names that you remember to have read in any of the course you have taken in your major? Why do you think you remember it?)
30. ¿Recuerda haber tomado algún curso que le haya enseñado sobre valores de la persona o la realidad del país y cómo le ayudaron?
(Do you remember having taken any course that taught you about person’s values or the country’s reality? How did it help you?)

31. ¿Qué temas o informaciones le impresionaron de esos cursos, qué recuerda de lo aprendido o leído?
(Which contents, ideas or information included in these courses specifically impressed you? What do you remember from them?)

32. ¿Recuerda alguna metodología de trabajo o investigación que haya aprendido en su carrera en la URL?
(Do you remember any working/researching methodology that you learnt during your studies at URL?)

33. Describala rápidamente y cuéntenos si la ha utilizado de alguna forma en su vida profesional.
(Please make a description of it and tell me whether you have used it in any means through your professional performances?)

34. Según su criterio, ¿El programa PRODIPMA se centró únicamente en formar a los estudiantes indígenas como profesionales?
Based on your personal experience, do you think that the PRODIPMA program was only designed to privilege science and knowledge for the professional training of indigenous students?)

35. ¿Cómo se sintió usted como estudiante dentro del ámbito universitario?
(How did you feel as an indigenous student within the University environment?)

36. ¿Cuéntenos, por favor, sobre los trabajos, las instituciones donde ha trabajado y resumidamente sobre las responsabilidades suyas desde que se graduó hasta la fecha?
(Tell me about the different jobs and institutions that you have worked for since you have graduated from PRODIPMA. Please describe your duties and assignments.)

37. ¿Cómo era su vida antes de estudiar en la Universidad Landívar?
(How do you remember your life before you initiated your studies at Landívar University?)
38. Explique por favor los cambios más importantes que haya sentido.
   (Please explain in detail the most important changes that you recognize having
   felt during or after PRODIPMA?

39. ¿Cómo ve usted Guatemala?
   (How do you see Guatemala?)

40. ¿Cómo ve usted el desenvolvimiento y el rumbo de este país?
   (How do you foresee the evolution and direction of this country?)

41. ¿Cómo se ve el futuro de la población maya en este país?
   (How do you anticipate Mayan population and culture participation within
   public and national stances?)