ABSTRACT

THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF GUATEMALA AND ITS RELATION TO GUATEMALAN EDUCATION: A DESCRIPTIVE CASE STUDY

by Herbert Games Vaughan

This case study describes the development of the American School within a social context and shows how it relates to Guatemalan education. The unique laboratory status enables the School to undertake various activities that other schools could not in the areas of curriculum, teacher education and educational research. Through these activities the School maintains its liaison with the Ministry, the University and technical assistance and regional organizations.

The first chapter recounts the development of Guatemalan education before the coming of the Spaniards when the Mayan city states educated citizens for a Mayan society. The mainobjectives of colonial education were to Hispanize and evangelize the Indians. A social class structure developed which excluded groups from formal education, and this persisted throughout the national period. Ideas from the eighteenth century Enlightenment or nineteenth century Independence did little to alter basic educational patterns. Education's

impact upon Guatemala during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries affected only a small part of the population.

The second chapter discusses how change is viewed by six authorities who emphasize the political, socio-cultural and educational aspects. Diverse theoretical concepts are summarized and while they are not all directly used, all relate to the topic.

The third chapter explores the political, socio-economic, religious and educational movements emanating from the 1944 Revolution. Political movements helped introduce the concept of open-ended change. Religious elements established the first private university. And public education reacted and began to adapt to the changing social conditions.

The fourth chapter examines the establishment of the School during the early stages of the Revolution. Diverse views of people connected with the School's growth and development are summarized. The chapter concludes with a description of the School's bi-national status in terms of organization, student population, academic personnel, curriculum, revenue and plant facilities.

The fiftn chapter defines in detail the various relations that the School has built with the Ministry

and other institutions. The relations which have evolved have enabled the School to undertake curriculum reform and development of program materials; expand the knowledge of child growth and development and its relationship to classroom learning; construct tests and related evaluative instruments used in measurement; and introduce the concept of in-service teacher training programs.

This historical case study is not intended as a scientific or empirical investigation proving any particular theory. Rather it merely orders the events descriptively and suggests tentative conclusions. The Guatemalan government has recognized and expanded the School's legal status throughout its history. The School assisted the Guatemalan government in establishing public laboratory schools. Curriculum used in the public schools was largely developed by the School's efforts. The concept and use of objective tests for measuring student performance was introduced by the School and expanded by the Ministry, University and other institutions. And the School has created an awareness of in-service training in Guatemalan teacher education.

The above conclusions reveal ways that the American School assists Guatemalan education. While numerous recommendations for further study can be made,

the following appear to have special significance. It appears that the School has had an effect on Guatemalan education and has influenced the Ministry's course of action. The School--a bi-national, community-type, non-profit school--suggests that a laboratory school approach could be tried by similar schools in other Latin American countries. This would enable the American schools to give children of U.S. dependents a quality education and, in addition, contribute to the national system of education. The extent of such possibilities is presently unknown.

THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF GUATEMALA AND ITS RELATION TO GUATEMALAN EDUCATION: A DESCRIPTIVE CASE STUDY

By

Herbert Games Vaughan

A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Secondary Education and Curriculum

651547
10/8/68

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The successful completion of the study necessitated the assistance and cooperation of many individuals. The author is especially indebted to the members of his doctoral committee: Dr. Cole S. Brembeck, Chairman, Dr. Charles C. Cumberland, Dr. Troy Stearns, and Dr. Stanley Hecker for their direction, support and encouragement.

The author wishes to express his sincere appreciation to the following: Division of Overseas Schools, Department of State, Washington, D.C., and the Institute of International Studies in Education, College of Education, Michigan State University, for their financial assistance and support enabling the author to undertake an administrative internship and to collect the data in Guatemala during the summer of 1966; the American School of Guatemala and Mr. Robert B. MacVean, Director, for graciously making the School's resources and facilities available, permitting the author to gain valuable experience as an administrative intern, and enhancing the research process; and the numerous individuals who generously gave of their time so that the depth interviews would add insights otherwise unobtainable.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

INTRODUCTION

The Setting

The American School is an institution unique in all of Guatemala. Related, on one hand, to the national system of education and its many traditional practices, on the other, it is unconventionally a private, community type, non-profit school. In a sense it is a hybrid institution, built upon a foundation basically Guatemalan, but different, having adopted many educational practices from the United States.

The historical antecedents of Guatemala help define the setting within which present-day Guatemalan society and its centralized educational system evolved. Educational ideas emanating from colonial times continued their influence when Guatemala became a nation. Private or church-related schools have continued to predominate and have hindered the development of a public school system. Social class structures from the colonial age influenced the educational patterns. The coming of independence did not basically alter educational patterns or thought, nor could succeeding authoritarian governments substantially change educational practices. Up to

and including the period of Ubiquismo, which ended in 1944, Guatemalan education was a product of its Hispanic past.

While not part of Guatemala's long-term development, the American School has obviously been affected by the Hispanic past. The School was founded on a private basis, tuition fees being the major source of financial support. The secondary program includes the official Bachillerato which emphasizes university preparation; so the student body comes from that segment of the population where children expect and parents can afford university training. Today the School is obligated to follow the curriculum syllabus drawn up by the centralized Ministry of Education: the School's calendar is identical to the one used in the public schools. In other ways as well, the American School has been affected by Guatemala's Hispanic past and by certain conditions unique to that country.

Yet the School has illustrated a new type of institution as it parted with traditional practices, introducing many innovations. Its establishment came during an auspicious period, as Guatemala was beginning to accept breaks with the past in order to try new ideas. The School is non-sectarian; and its student-body comes from diverse religious, national, and socio-economic backgrounds. This feature is novel in Guatemala, for most private schools are oriented to a particular clientele

and are not concerned with the community at large. Contrary to customary practice, the School is organized as a non-profit organization and its board serves without compensation. The School was designated as the country's first laboratory school which permitted it to attempt a number of educational innovations. Some of these, noticed by certain influential Guatemalans, were later incorporated into the national system of education.

Since it is bi-national, the American School serves both U.S. dependents and Guatemalan nationals; the latter group is by far the largest. The combination of American-Guatemalan curricula offered in the secondary school has generated a unique educational program. Basically the School uses the official Guatemalan program, but it has also been able to make extensive modifications. American influences, such as co-education, a de-emphasis of school uniforms, extra-curricular activities, and student government, are generally absent in other schools; but even so, these features interest Guatemalan educators in the other types of schools. Whenever the School undertook educational innovations, it has had to be keenly aware of the country's national heritage, past and present. It has been careful not to introduce changes which could curtail its growth and acceptance.

The School operates under permission granted by the Guatemalan Ministry and is supervised by the Minister

appointed by the President. The general characteristics of its educational program have resembled those of the centralized system, in which the executive branch of the government wields all authority over the schools. Various officials under the Ministry coordinate the activities of the departments of secondary education, elementary education, commercial education, adult education, rural education, art and music education, and personnel. Within each department are supervisors who visit the various schools, including the American School, and who are designated to interpret the Minister's policy to individual directors. The Ministry is responsible for educational activities throughout the country, employs and pays all the public teachers, regulates the curriculum and evaluation program, and grants promotion and graduation certificates.

Definition of Terms

There are several types of American Schools found in Latin America. Church related schools have been founded by churches or church-related organizations and are located in both rural and urban areas. Family or Individual enterprises are wholly owned and operated by individuals or families. Company owned schools established by U. S. companies are operated on behalf of their employees' children in their foreign-based operations.

Bi-national, non-profit, non-sectarian community schools are not operated either for profit or for religious purposes. In addition they are "community-owned" private schools providing Americans and nationals with both U. S. and National types of curricula. The American School of Guatemala represents this last type.

Bi-national schools developed during World War II: they

> were not so much "founded" as they were "defined"; they are a category that (again exceptions aside) did not exist in nature, so to speak; this category came into being when the IASS--on behalf of the U. S. Department of State--announced the criteria that would be followed in the process of determining which American Schools in Latin America would be deemed eligible to receive grants-in-aid. Fifty-three schools have been adjudged officially to meet the criteria. Hence, by definition, there exist fifty-three "Bi-national schools".[1]

For the purposes of this dissertation, the terms "American" and "Bi-National," designating non-profit, community type schools, will be used interchangeably. Laboratory School is a designation implying that the school undertakes educational experimentation in addition to its regular duties. The original presidential decree granted the School this status, enabling it to modify curricula, hire foreign personnel, and change examinations. Since the original decree, this laboratory status has been further elaborated and amplified.

---

[1]Paul G. Orr, "Bi-National Schools in Latin America" (unpublished doctoral thesis, Michigan State University, 1960), p. 209.

Purpose and Delimitations

The purpose of this historical case study is to describe the development of the American School within a social context, and show how it presently relates to Guatemalan education. Rather than attempting a scientific study to prove or disprove a particular hypothesis, the study simply describes in orderly fashion the development of the School. Its unique status as a laboratory school enables it to undertake various projects that a non-laboratory school could not. Hopefully the laboratory idea can be used in other schools in Guatemala, thus further transmuting research and experimentation into educational practice.

Laboratory status implies permission to modify any curriculum. If a curriculum is to reflect changing social conditions, then the modifications should be made toward the end of incorporating new pedagogical advances. Allied with curriculum evaluation, tests based on objective and standardized measurements can be developed for Guatemalan schools. This in turn will improve the curriculum and positively alter teaching methods. In-service teacher training experiences are an important means by which the teacher with insufficient training can keep abreast with new methods and materials currently being developed; here too the School can help.

Minict
educat
as the
Other
zatior
rate v
contac
affec
of th
that
lar s
tradi
in on
has d
the d
and re
of fu

in Gua
School
materi
of Gua

Method

Americ

While the School maintains its liaison with the Ministry, it also relates to other segments of Guatemalan education. One logical connection is with the University, as the majority of the student body is university-bound. Other technical assistance programs and regional organizations engaged in similar educational endeavors collaborate with the School's program of research. As these contacts are developed, the School can more directly affect Guatemalan education. The successful experience of the American School as a bi-national school suggests that the laboratory school idea could be applied to similar schools in Latin America. The School is able to blend traditional practices with new methods based on research: in one sense, then, a new type of educational institution has developed in Guatemala. So, although the purpose of the dissertation is only to state specific developments and relationships, it may be possible to suggest areas of further study for social scientists.

The study is limited to those aspects of education in Guatemala that have a direct bearing on the American School. Although historical as well as descriptive material was introduced, a broad treatment of all facets of Guatemalan education has been avoided.

Methodology

The writer has had previous experience in Latin America. Before undertaking graduate studies, he taught

in several bi-national schools in Central America; through these experiences he learned Spanish. As part of his doctoral studies he took course work in various disciplines relating to Guatemala and the Caribbean region.

The writer was selected as an administrative intern at the American School of Guatemala during the summer of 1966. The objective of the internship was to observe the day-by-day activities of the administration, to obtain practice in various administrative functions and to initiate special projects. He was able to make classroom visits, talk with school officials, and meet with the teachers of both academic programs. During this time he collected the data here presented.

Throughout the summer's internship, the writer held a number of depth interviews in Spanish and English. The majority of these interviews lasted an hour, some more. Efforts were made to obtain suitable conditions for informal, relaxed, uninterrupted conversation. While the writer had permission to take notes, they were de-emphasized to facilitate the flow of conversation. Special care was taken to maintain the interviewee's anonymity; the information obtained has been kept confidential. These interviews enabled the writer to gain much insight in different aspects of Guatemalan education and the activities of the School which was not obtainable

from printed sources in Spanish or English. A complete record of the interviews is available to the members of the doctoral committee.

Interviews were held with school officials, board members, founders, teachers, students, graduates, and Guatemalan government officials involved in educational activities. Some technical assistance personnel, along with officials connected with the diplomatic corps, were also included. (See Appendix for further details.)

Another source of data for the dissertation was published documents. Extensive use was made of the literature relating to societal and educational developments of Guatemala, emphasizing descriptive historical accounts, in English and Spanish. As an example of the latter, Orellana's Historia de la Educación en Guatemala gave a helpful description of Guatemalan education from pre-Hispanic times to the present.

Documents from the American School were especially useful. Two principle sources were used extensively in the thesis: the Bi-Annual Reports to the Inter-American Schools Service, from 1945 until 1963 when the organization was terminated, describe many administrative developments of the school; and the Colegio Americano Como Escuela de Ensayo, a series of annual reports in Spanish to the Ministry of Education, emphasizes the laboratory school activities. In addition, other published and

unpublished reports of special activities and projects are included. Publications of the Ministry of Education are also cited. The planning office of the Ministry (OPIE) contains much background information on recent educational developments which was incorporated into the thesis. Various articles from Guatemalan and American newspapers and magazines have been included.

Outline of the Dissertation

The first chapter discusses the historical development of Guatemalan education, beginning before the coming of the Spaniards when the various Mayan city-states educated citizens for Mayan society. The main objectives of colonial education were to Hispanicize and evangelize the Indians. While the Spaniards had good intentions, their lack of financial resources and manpower, and certain prevailing customs and traditions, prevented extensive establishment of schools throughout Guatemala. A social class structure developed which excluded certain groups from formal education, a condition that has persisted throughout the national period. Ideas from the eighteenth century Enlightenment and the coming of Independence in the nineteenth did little to alter basic educational patterns. Thus education remained quite limited during the latter part of the nineteenth and part of the twentieth centuries, and

its impact upon Guatemala affected only a small part of the population.

The second chapter discusses how change is viewed by six authorities who emphasize the political, socio-cultural and educational aspects. Such diverse theoretical concepts as the "Westernization Process," "Cultural Heterogeneity," and "Cultural Components" are summarized. This discussion focuses on cultural influences in education, the systemic linkage between educational institutions, and human engineering in planned educational change. While not all these theories were directly utilized in the case study, all relate to the topic.

The third chapter describes the political, socio-economic, religious and educational movements emanating from the 1944 Revolution. The political movements, some dramatic and not infrequently, disruptive, such as Communism, technical assistance programs, and other internal changes, all have played a role in determining the present situation in Guatemala. The 1944 Revolution helped introduce the concept of open-ended change, created new institutions, and widened the degree of participation by the Guatemaltecos. Religious elements were active in establishing the country's first private and Catholic university, thus ending a monopoly on higher education. Public education also began to react, adapting its institutions to better meet changing social conditions.

The fourth chapter describes the establishment of the American School during the early stages of the Revolution. While the School had no connection with the Hispanic past, it could not remain aloof from the country's historical heritage. Views of some people connected with the School's growth and development are summarized, including their reasons for establishing it and what they think its objectives are. The chapter concludes with a description of the School's bi-national status in terms of organization, population, academic personnel, curriculum, revenue and plant facilities.

The fifth chapter defines in detail the various relationships that the School has been able tobuild with the Ministry and other institutions. With its legal permission to experiment, the School has sought to assist the national education system within its limited capacity. The relations which have evolved have enabled the School to undertake curriculum reform and development of program materials; to expand the knowledge of child growth and development and its relationship to classroom learning; to construct texts and related evaluative instruments used in measurement; and to introduce the concept of in-service teacher training programs.

The sixth chapter concludes the dissertation with a brief summary offering several conclusions, their implications, and some suggestions for further study.

CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL ANTECEDENTS

Pre Colombian

Guatemala's rich heritage dates from earliest pre-Colombian times, antedating the classic Maya. Until the coming of the Spanish, the various Maya city-states generated quite an advanced civilization which flourished throughout most of Guatemala. But Córdoba landed in Yucatán in 1517. And in 1524, Pedro Alvarado founded the first permanent Spanish settlement, Santiago de los Caballeros de Guatemala. While in a military sense the Spanish conquered the Maya, the ancient civilization resisted absorption into the Spanish colonial life; and although Guatemala became independent in 1821, even today she displays clearly much of her pre-Colombian and Hispanic past. To view present events in their cultural context, we must first define their social, economic, religious and educational backgrounds with proper historical perspective.

Little is known of the origins of civilized society in Guatemala, beyond the fact that primitive

people predated the Maya.[1] They decorated pottery, grew maize, cultivated several varieties of fruits and made rope. Some authorities believe that the Mayan civilization developed in the Petén region, located in the northeastern part of the country. But other scholars suggest that the Mayan civilization began in Veracruz state, Mexico, home of the Haustec kinfolk of the Maya. The classic Mayan civilization began approximately 317 A. D., and was profoundly altered in 987 when the Itzas settled Mayapán. The civilization continued until approximately 1441 when the destruction of Mayapán by the Xius terminated centralized authority.[2] It spread from the Yucatán in Mexico through the Petén region in the northwest of Guatemala, reaching west to the El Salvadorian highlands and south to Copan in Honduras. The Mayan decline cannot be dated with a discrete event. Rather a series of factors--religious fatalism, soil exhaustion, and a proletarian revolution--all influenced the gradual decline. The zenith of the Mayan civilization was passed by the time Alvarado came and conquered in the name of Spain. Resistance by various Mayan city-states to the Spanish

---

[1]E. M. Shook and A. V. Kidder, "Mound E-III-3, Kaminaljuyu, Guatemala," contribution to American Anthropology and History, XI (1953), p. 53.

[2]Charles Gallenkamp, Maya: The Riddle and Rediscovery of a Lost Civilization (New York: Pyramid Publication, Inc., 1962), p. 181.

forces prolonged the conquest. Tasayal, the capital city of the Itzas, fell in 1697. Thus vanished the last major stronghold of a Mayan society untrammeled and undefeated. From then on, the ancient Mayan tradition in religion and other areas became subservient to Spanish culture.

The Maya did not smelt metals, use the wheel, domesticate animals, or rotate crops. Yet they achieved tremendous feats in astronomy, mathematics, hieroglyphics, architecture and sculpture. Their calendar and their time units were more accurate than the Gregorian. Their architecture, exemplified by the acropolis of Tikal and Copan, ranks among the finest in the world. Their sculpture, recorded in surviving stalae, exhibits great artistic skill. Although they did not possess a written language as we know it, their hieroglyphics record notable literary works: Chilam Balam of Chumayel, the Chilam Balam of Ixil, and the Popul Vuh, Annals of the Cakchiqueles.

The Maya were farmers, growing chiefly maize for food and cotton for garments. They, or their Central American contemporaries, are responsible for the first cultivation of at least three food plants: the cacao tree, used in the making of chocolate; papaya, a general eating fruit; and the avocado.[3] Agricultural holdings

[3]Franklin D. Parker, The Central American Republics (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 19.

were set up on a communal basis, with certain plots set aside for those crops used for religious or other ceremonial purposes. Extensive trade linked the various city-states, and contacts extended to the Aztec in Mexico and south to Panama.[4] All their monumental edifices--terraces, acropolis, and pyramids--had religious overtones; all were constructed by human labor.

There is some evidence that a "triple alliance" governed the influential centers of Chichen Itza, Uxmal, and Mayapan in the Yucatan peninsula,[5] but little concrete evidence suggests an organization of city-states, nor was there a cohesive confederation united by political control; most of the city-states were autonomous.[6] They were socially organized into four loose class divisions: priests, nobles, workers, and slaves. The most powerful were the priests, a special occupational class exercising such functions as prophecy, worship, sacrifices, and astronomical observations.

The lower levels of this structure were set apart by caste and training. These people could only look forward to a life of servitude, filling the duties of

---

[4] Ibid., p. 20.

[5] Gallenkamp, op. cit., pp. 166-169.

[6] Carlos Gonzales Orellana, Historia de la Educación en Guatemala (Mexico: B. Costa Amic, Editor, 1960), p. 4.

farming and answering the demands of the priests. Morley points out that the priests' "ability to predict eclipses, their penetration into every phase of life made them feared and respected and gave them a hold on the superstitions of the peoples equalled by that of no other class."[7] The nobility controlled the temporal government, ruled by the halach uinic, supreme chieftain, and the batabs, local administrators who had jurisdiction over all executive and legal matters; each noble often commanded small bands of soldiers. Other officials of the nobility carried out duties of much lesser importance.

Mayan Education

While the priests received formal training, no public educational system existed during the Mayan rule. Each individual learned to serve his people, his religion, and his family. Thus all education began at home with the parents in charge.

Each person growing up within the community went through three significant events to achieve adulthood and status. The first, Paal, was perhaps the Maya's greatest source of personal happiness: it signified the direct blessing of the divinities. Children were given childhood names by the priest. He also "devised a horoscope to aid in their upbringing. . . . From this

---

[7]Sylvanus G. Morley, The Ancient Maya (3rd ed. rev. by George W. Brainward; California: The Stanford University Press, 1956), p. 56.

could also be foretold which of the patron deities were likely to favor or malign the youth throughout his lifetime."[8]

The second event, Hetzmek, took place several months later. "At four months [a number sacred which indicates the time for corn to fertilize], a handful of corn was placed into the boy's hand to signify that he would be a good farmer. The girls of three months were made to imitate the grinding of the corn on a grind stone."[9] After the Hetzmek, the children freely passed their time by playing games with an indirect educational function: they imitated the future labors they would do. At the age of nine the boys helped their fathers in the fields with the crops, and the girls assisted their mothers in household duties.

The third significant ceremony, the puberty rite, Caputzihil, was carefully set so as not to fall on an unlucky day. Four elders were selected as Chacs to assist the priest. After the priest had purified the site where the ceremony was to take place and the evil spirits were driven away, the Chacs helped him annoint the children. The priest then cut off the white beads

---

[8]Gallenkamp, op. cit., p. 96.

[9]Francisco Larroyo, Historia Comparada de la Educación en Mexico (Cuarta Edicion, Corregida y Aumentada; Mexico: Editorial Porrua, S.A., 1956), p. 41.

which the boys had worn on their heads from the age of five, and the elders let the initiates smoke from their pipes. The girls had the red shells removed, symbols of virginity, and were now considered to be of marriable age.[10] For most Mayan children this constituted the socialization process from childhood to adulthood. Most then entered marriage and began raising their families. While this was not institutionalized education, children were prepared by their parents for these ceremonies.

The nobility received special attention after the ceremony of Caputzihil in special boarding establishments. "Preference was given to the teaching of liturgy, without overlooking the relation to astrology, scripture, calculations and geneology."[11]

In the later Mayan civilization, the Maya-Quiche, educational practices were very similar to those of the classic Maya: education was directly related to the necessities of life, agriculture and home; it was traditional; education for men and women differed; and transmission of the culture was oral. The Maya-Quiche also had a type of boarding school organized primarily for the children of the nobility, demanding that while the student was in attendance he lead a temperate life and provide his own necessities.[12] Mature adults, experienced

---

[10]Gallencamp, op. cit., p. 98.

[11]Larroyo, op. cit., p. 41.

[12]Orellana, op. cit., p. 20.

and o

specia

and t

This

nific

forms

civil

Mayan

could

civil

broug

descr

destr

and r

Spani

were

of th

relac

detai

repre

able

and of good morals, were placed in charge. In these special centers the children of the nobility were taught and trained in their future duties.

All Mayan children furthermore learned to dance. This extremely popular adult institution occupied a significant place in all facets of life, mingling with all forms of public and private formalities, religious and civil. Its rhythms accompanied each social ceremony; Mayans danced at family fiestas, and the sacred ceremonies could not take place without them.

The Spanish conquest exterminated much of Mayan civilization. Alvarado and other conquistadores had brought much wanton slaughter as Las Casas vividly describes;[13] many religious edifices and archives were destroyed in the process. The Spaniards achieved dominance and ruled for nearly three centuries. But while the Spaniards destroyed much of the Mayan civilization, there were outstanding individuals who preserved the records of the contributions of Mayan culture. Father Landa's Relación de las Cosas de Yucatán written in 1549 contains detailed descriptions of Mayan life. Today this work represents one of the very few accurate documents available to help Mayanologists elucidate archaelogical

---

[13]Bartolomeo Las Casas, The Tears of the Indians (Stanford: Academic Reprints, 1953; from an original in the Henry E. Huntington Museum and Art Gallery, San Marino, California.)

findings. The Popul vul, carefully obtained orally from a Mayan in 1544 and then translated into Spanish by Father Ximenex, gives another view of this civilization now lost.

The Spanish attempted to transplant a sixteenth European century in the Central American Isthmus. The Maya social organization was disrupted, its nobility disorganized, its agriculture all but destroyed. Many of its cultural patterns remained intact, resisting integration into the Spanish colonial structure; but as the power of the priests waned, their formal and religious educational efforts once and for all terminated although parental supervision and education within the family continued for many years.

The Colonial Period

The Spaniards attempted to transplant the society they had known in their mother country, and all their efforts in New Spain were directed to that goal. The fact that the colonial age lasted almost three centuries attests to the strength of the system they established.

The Spanish colonial system depended on two essential factors. First, a system of land holding by local Spaniards was established. Land grants were given to soldiers in recognition of their services rendered in the conquering of the new land. Later generations of criollos and some well-born mestizos were expected to

continue the tradition by giving either military or civil service to the colonial authorities. But as time passed, the inducement of land failed to maintain a steady flow of farmers: "perhaps the greatest obstacle lay in the fact that the agricultural labor in the colonies was altogether servile. The Spanish immigrant refused to be identified with the Indian way of farming, and aspired to become himself an exploiter of native labor."[14] The encomienda system, which had been a temporary grant by the Spanish crown of jurisdiction and manorial rights over land conquered from the Moors, was transplanted to New Spain. Ideally its aim was to Europeanize the native population, but in practice it isolated the Indio from the Spanish settlements, "As it developed in the Indies, the encomienda was the patronage conferred by royal favor over a portion of the natives concentrated in settlements near those of the Spaniards; the obligation to instruct them in the Christian religion and the elements of civilized life, and to defend them in their persons and properties coupled with the right to demand tribute or labor in return for these privileges."[15]

The second factor was the diffusion of Christianity to all levels of society. The Christian Church brought

---

[14] C. H. Haring, The Spanish Empire in America (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1963), p. 208.

[15] Ibid., p. 40.

not only a new religion to redeem the infidels, or the "noble savages" as Colombus described them, but also new cultural concepts; these permeated the colonial society. The Indios and Spaniards together were obligated to turn to the Church for intellectual and religious guidance throughout the colonial period.

The Spaniard had two aims: to conquer the political realm with the military, and the spiritual realm with the Church. A new political order was established as converts were made to Christianity. Both aims became highly interrelated, and sometimes were identical, as the Church upheld the divinity of kingship and the Church recognized the ecumenical authority of the King. This policy became established in the Patronato Real, a right granted to the Castillian crown by the Papacy. Later it developed into a fixed policy, the chief tool with which Spanish sovereigns built their version of an absolute monarchy.[16]

During the sixteenth century, with the Counter-Reformation, the power and influence of the Church grew rapidly, heralded by the organization of the Jesuits in 1534, the reorganization of the Inquisition under the aegis of the Tribunal of the Holy Office, the reign of Pope Paul IV, and the organization of the Council of Trent for the purpose of reunifying the Church. A

---

[16]Mary P. Holleran, Church and State in Guatemala (New York: Columbia University Press, 1949), pp. 26-28.

Tribunal of the Holy Office was established in Guatemala in 1572. It prosecuted all those guilty of a breach of religious orthodoxy and reviewed the reading material allowed in the colony. The Real Cédula of August 14, 1560, states that "all books printed without the respective licence . . . will be confiscated."[17] Thus books and materials available for educational purposes tended not to be anti-religious.

As the influence of the Church grew throughout the colonial period, the regular clergy achieved more power than the secular clergy. Still, it was the activities of religious orders which helped establish the Church throughout the region. The Dominicans, Franciscans and Augustines, in spite of numerous conflicts and jealousies among themselves, contributed to this growth along with their convents, monasteries and schools. The Jesuits arrived in 1582 and began to strengthen colonial education with their schools. In 1653 the Order of the Bethlemites was organized to work with the poor. From these orders many outstanding leaders became as benefactors of the Indians: Frey Bartolomé de las Casas, Frey Juan Torres, Frey Pedro de Angulo, Frey Martín de Paz, and Hermano Pedro José de Betancourt.

---

[17] Joaquim J. Pardo, Prontuário de Reales Cédulas (Guatemala: Union Tipográfica, 1941), Clasif. A1-23-1512-274, pagina 97, as cited by Orellana, op. cit., p. 38.

Hispanicization and evangelization were the main objectives of education in Nueva España y la Audiencia de los Confines. Determined conquistadores and several orders of padres arrived with the sole aim of carrying out these objectives. While laws were established by Spain which stated that there would be no distinctions made between the peninsular and criollo, practice ruled in favor of the peninsular. This practice in the colonies helped to create a highly stratified society. As many "illegitimate" unions produced the mulato, mestizo and other racial mixtures, the social structure became more rigidly defined. Thus education reflected the societal conditions. During these three hundred years, only the upper classes customarily obtained any education; the others remained untrained or illiterate.

Throughout the colonial age, public education was unknown in Spain. As Haring points out, however, the concept of public education did not exist on the continent of Europe, nor was it even thought of until much later in the 18th century.[18] Even France had none in 1789. The theory existed in Spain that each municipality was to support its own primary institutions. But since money was scarce, very few schools, if any, were ever constructed. Instead, most schools and colegios in New

[18]Haring, op. cit., p. 209.

Spain were supported by private contributions and charitable gifts. Unfortunately, the flow of such gifts was extremely uneven, making it difficult to maintain or expand the number of schools.

The Role of the Church

Padre Marroquin arrived in Guatemala in the year 1530. This outstanding religious leader greatly furthered the expansion of "colonial" education. He was especially remembered for his efforts to spread the Spanish language throughout the *audiencia* and translate the various Indian dialects. For these contributions he was nominated for a bishopric by a papal bull in 1534; three years later he became the first Bishop of Guatemala. During his rule the Dominican, Franciscan and Augustine Orders arrived and directed their efforts towards the Hispanicization and evangelization of the *Indio*. Realization of these two goals was extremely slow because of the complexities of the Indian dialects, the lack of adequately trained *padres* and friars to go into the outlying districts, and ignorance of adequate methods. Further, this process was slowed by the unfavorable climate which the *conquistador* had created. The *Indio* had received many forms of abuse during the early years of the conquest, and these continued throughout the colonial period. A *mestizo* class developed, often through illegitimate unions. This class, neither *Indio* nor Spanish, was rejected by both.

Within this unfavorable environment, Bishop Marroquín set out to solve the social problems, placing the responsibility for "those born in these lands"[19] (criollos) and for the great mass of Indian children with various religious orders and congregations. The La Cátedra de Gramática Latina was established in 1545 and became the basis of secondary and superior education for the well-born.[20]

In 1600 the Viceroy in Mexico issued an Ordenanza which set the basic standards for teachers during the Colonial Period.[21] As education was organized to insure the continuance of the social class system, the effect of this document was to prevent any Negro, Mulato or Indian from ever becoming a teacher. And since the social position of these groups was very low, they had few opportunities to obtain any degree of education. From time to time there were exceptions, when benevolent padres and/or friars gave limited education and catechism. This ordinance provided the following:

1. The colonial government would designate two experts to examine existing schools and to certify those that met the requirements of the Ordenanza.

---

[19]Orellana, op. cit., p. 59.

[20]Ibid., pp. 88-90.

[21]Larroyo, op. cit., p. 72.

2. No Negro, Mulatto or Indian could be a teacher. Only Spaniards could teach. Teachers were required to give proof of morality.

3. Teachers were expected to know how to read the classics and to write formal and informal script.

4. Teachers were expected to know how to add, subtract, multiply and divide.

5. If a school were established without authorization, its owner would be fined twenty gold pieces.

6. No school could be established within a two block radius of an existing school.

7. Co-education was prohibited.

8. Only certified teachers could teach. Teaching assistants were not permitted.

9. Storekeepers could not supplement their income with a school in the "back room."

10. All schools were required to teach Christian doctrine, morals and catechism.

One of the most outstanding contributions of Padre Marroquín was the establishment of the first boys primary school in Guatemala, Escuela de Primeras Letras, in 1534.[22] This school was established only for criollo boys and excluded mestizos, mulatos and Indios. The curriculum was in accord with the era. The boys were

[22]Orellana, op. cit., p. 60.

taught "how to read, write, sing and learn the Christian Doctrine. . . . Because of its classic character, this school served the proper interests of the aristocracy and of the clergy."[23] Dogmatic methods and rigid discipline were the rule. This school became the prototype of similar institutions formed throughout the colonial period. Other examples of primary schools were Escuela de Primeras Letras San José de Calasanz and Escuela de Primeras Letras de San Casiano. These schools charged fees and collected "contributions from well-to-do parents,"[24] which limited the type of student who could attend. Their purpose was "to read the Spanish book and afterwards Latin, writing, arithmetic, helping in the Mass, and the Catechism of the Christian Doctrine, as well as good morals."[25] Other schools established during the colonial period, whether for the rich or poor, reflected the same type of curricular orientation. La Escuela de Betlén, one of the very few schools founded for the poor in Guatemala, had educational aims similar to the primary schools for the wealthy.

---

[23] Ibid.

[24] "Rules for the Administration and Governing of the Teachers, Founding Act of the Schools of San Jose de Calasanz and Casiano," Article 25, Part 2, June 26, 1789, as cited by Orrellana, op. cit., p. 68.

[25] Ibid., Article 3, p. 68.

Even though Spanish documents state in glowing terms praiseworthy objectives for education, these aspirations were seldom realized. Limited financial support was not the main reason for the slow development. Rather it was the prevailing attitude of the colonial authorities who believed that only a select few should receive more than Spanish and catechism. This in turn limited the educational opportunities for the vast majority who were illiterate, poor and miserable.

For the upper classes Bishop Marroquín in 1545 founded the Cátedra de Gramática Latina which became the base of secondary education and higher education since the study of Latin constituted the base of tertiary education. One result of the Council of Trent was the founding of Colegio Tridentino in 1592 which offered grammar, Treatise of the Sacraments, and Cases of Conscience. It was "able to be considered as a center of university rank without having totally reached this dignity."[26] Some of the other significant colegios founded during the colonial period were Colegio de Santo Tomás de Aquino, Colegio de San Francisco de Borja, Colegio Conventual Santo Domingo and Colegio de Cristo Crucificado.

---

[26] Ibid., p. 91.

The Jesuits made noteworthy contributions to colonial education. A Real Cédula in 1622,[27] directed by the King to the various archbishops, gave the Jesuits the authority to confer the degrees of bachilleres, licenciados, maestros, and doctores, since no university existed. Other religious orders disputed this and maintained the need for a university, while Jesuits felt that they could provide this function. And for several decades they did, as the Colegio de San Luis became an outstanding Jesuit school; this particular colegio turned out many graduates who later became professors at the University of San Carlos.

For many years, then, from the time of Bishop Marroquín, there was constant agitation for the establishment of a university. But not until 1681 was the Universidad de San Carlos Borromeo founded, having equal distinction with the universities in Peru and Mexico. It offered courses in Canon Law, the Institutes of Justinian, Philosophy and the Arts, Moral Theology, Native Languages, Anatomy, the Aphorisms, and Astrology.[28] The organization of the University followed the European pattern of Salamanca, as a group of professional schools.

---

[27] John Tate Lanning, Reales Cédulas de la Universidad de San Carlos, No. 2 (Guatemala: Editorial Universitaria, 1954), February 2, 1622.

[28] Chester Lloyd Jones, Guatemala: Past and Present (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1940), p. 327.

The main schools were theology, law and medicine, the first two representing the pillars of a Christian society. "At least until the end of the eighteenth century, methods of study, as in the universities of Spain, remained deductive, syllogistic, in contrast with the inductive, experimental approach of a later day."[29] Throughout the colonial period support for the university was limited; often its curriculum was on paper only. Nonetheless, it was a center of intellectual activity for Guatemala, and from the time it began until 1821 it granted 2,415 degrees, including 206 doctorates.[30] Towards the end of the eighteenth century new ideas from the European Enlightenment were promulgated within the university, and many reforms occurred during that period before independence.

As the Ordenanza had prohibited co-education, schooling for women was rather neglected throughout the colonial period. Feminine education was under the care of the amigas, usually old women of good character, who taught such elementary subjects as religion, reading and various manual labors.[31] Several convents and Beaterios, (houses of pious instruction) were founded. The Beaterio de Santa Rosa de Lima was organized for wealthy

---

[29]Haring, op. cit., p. 216.

[30]John Tate Lanning, The University in the Kingdom of Guatemala (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1955), pp. 203-204.

[31]Larroyo, op. cit., pp. 74-75.

girls in fine surroundings to learn how to sew, cook, read and embroider. The Beaterio de Nuestra Senora del Rosario was organized in "primitive state as a simple house of protection for Indian girls from 7 to 12 years of age until 20 or 22 years."[32] Two colegios were also established, Colegio de la Presentacion de Nuestra Senora and Colegio de la Visitacion, for the poor and rich girls respectively.

Another type of education came during this time through a few hospitales and hospicios organized by the Church. These institutions were for the lower classes, especially those born of illegitimate unions (the mestizo class), and the poor indios. They "came to give a little relief from the helplessness of the orphan children and sickness which was worsened by the backward state which one found in medical science in Colonial Guatemala."[33]

The Indian and Social Class

Prior to 1540, during the rule of Pope Paul III, there had been a debate, finally settled in the affirmative, whether the Indian should be considered human. In 1612 Father Torquemada wrote his Monarquía Indiana explaining why Indians were not received into the religious orders and stating that "the Indians did not have the ability to give orders nor to govern, but only to be

---

[32]Holleran, op. cit., pp. 50-51.

[33]Orellana, op. cit., pp. 84-85.

commanded and governed . . .; they are not good as teachers, but as pupils, nor for prelates, but for subjects, and for this, they are best in the world. And for the most important reason is that they are subject to drunkeness and addicted to wine, and for this reason they must not be members of the religious orders."[34] His feeling was shared by many; in fact, two hundred years later the English traveler Dunn noted an attitude among the Guatemalan clergy that printing and education should be withheld from the Indian as it would make him ungovernable.[35] Such ideas continue to influence thought in modern times. Yet there was evidence that Indians received some degree of education in a few areas from some fathers. "In the school building itself, or in a church, a number of adult Indians were assembled each day to be taught singing and music by the friars."[36]

The Spanish sometimes recognized the social patterns within the Maya-Quiche and other tribes. Long

---

[34]As cited in n. 53, Delia Goetz and Sylvanus G. Morley, Popul Vul, The Sacred Book of the Ancient Quiché Maya (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1950), p. 29.

[35]Henry Dunn, Guatemala, or the United Provinces of Central America in 1827-8 (New York: G. and C. Carvill, 1828), p. 66.

[36]Robert S. Chamberlain, The Conquest and Colonization of Yucatan, 1517-1520, Publication No. 582 (Washington: Carnegie Institute of Washington, 1953), p. 320.

after Alvarado had murdered the chiefs, their descendants were recognized as "nobles" and were allowed to participate in the government of their separate jurisdictions as caciques.[37] With this tactic it was easier for the Spaniards to govern the Indian tribes. But as the various religious orders attempted to convert and evangelize, as the padres and friars attempted to destroy the Indians' former beliefs, they met with little success. In 1697 a Real Cédula stated that a school should be established for the descendants of the Caciques in Mexico and Guatemala. While one was established in Mexico, no such specific institution was ever created for this purpose in Guatemala.[38] And a century later, only twelve Indians were permitted to attend the Colegio Tridentino.[39]

In general the Indian lived a miserable life during this period:

> These Indians suffer a great oppression from the Spaniards, live in great bitterness, are under hard bondage, and served with great rigor. . . . They are not allowed the use of any weapons or arms, not even their bows and arrows. . . . Consequently, the Spaniards' own policy against the Indian may be their greatest ruin and destruction. But if the poor Indian complain that the Spaniard cozened and cheated him . . . no justice shall be executed against the cheating Spaniard, neither shall the Indian be righted, though it is true the order runs equally in favor of both Indian and Spaniard.

---

[37] Orellana, op. cit., p. 75.

[38] Ibid., p. 76.

[39] Ibid., p. 77.

> Thus the poor Indians are sold for three pence apiece for a while week's slavery, and are not permitted to go home at night to their wives, though their work lies not above a mile from the town where they live . . . .
>
> Their only comfort is in their priests and friars, who many times quiet them when they would rise up in mutiny, and for their own ends do often prevail over them with fair and cunning persuasion, to bear and suffer for God's sake, and for the good of the commonwealth, that hard task and service which is laid upon them.[40]

Ideas of the Enlightenment

During the last decades of the eighteenth and the first of the nineteenth centuries, Guatemala stirred under the forces of the Enlightenment. The revolutions in the United States and France, and later in South America, were known throughout the territory. So too were the political and philosophical ideas of Bacon, Locke, Hobbes, Montesquieu. The economic ideas of Smith, Baudeau and Cadillac were discussed, and many of their works could be found in the University library or in the different monasteries of the various religious orders.

Guatemala was in a turmoil; when Francos y Monroy became Archbishop in 1779 he found much to improve. The educational vacuum left by the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767 had grown much worse: in 1788 only one functioning primary school was left in Guatemala, having an attendance of about 400 students.[41] With the

---

[40] J. Eric S. Thompson, Thomas Gage's Travels in the New World (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958), pp. 214-215, 217, 219.

[41] Orellana, op. cit., p. 65.

earthquake in 1773, the capital was in ruin. This, added to the already poor existing social conditions and health standards, prompted the Archbishop to remedy the situation. He too had been reached by the ideas of the Enlightenment; the influence of Rousseau and Locke can be found in the Archbishop's statement of the objectives of education:

> Cultivate the understanding of the youth and adorn him with the knowledge that his age permits; strengthen his heart with the principles of honor and dignity; form within him the ideals of the Christian man.[42]

Monroy turned pedagogical thought into activity, forming two primary schools under the jurisdiction of the cabildo and thus broadening the base of education to include the secular. He also experimented with free primary education for the poor. The daily schedule, teaching methods and texts were to be revised according to the educational thought of the day. So it is that Archbishop Cayetano Francos y Monroy is remembered as the forerunner of public education in Guatemala.

The Enlightenment in Guatemala could be seen in the Gazeta de Guatemala, in La Sociedad Económica de Amigos de Guatemala and in the University of San Carlos--these became the principal vehicles, and men such as Goicoechea, Flores, Matías de Cordova, Villa Urrutia, Valle, and Esparragosa became the principal agents.

---

[42] Ibid.

The Gazeta, which appeared in 1797, was "one of the most vigilant defenders of the Enlightenment published in the colonies--English or Spanish;"[43] and the Sociedad began in 1795 to "promote and encourage agriculture, industry, the arts and crafts, and business of the Kingdom and to improve education."[44] Its first topic was the problem of the uncivilized Indian. The University with its zeal for new knowledge, combined with the extreme paternalism of the Spanish government, gave the Enlightenment special strength in America. Goicoechea with academic reform and scientific observation, Flores and Esparragosa the doctors, and the introduction of Jenner's smallpox vacine--these men along with others of the faculty helped the students and leaders keep abreast with the world-wide developments of the time. "Without being a focus of revolution, the University could at least offer the literacy and familiarity with the world of ideas making the leadership of the wars of independence possible."[45] This knowledge as spread by the Gazeta, the

---

[43]Louis E. Bumgartner, José del Valle of Central America (Durham: Duke University Press, 1963), p. 21, citing John Tate Lanning, "La recepcion en la America espanola con especial referencia a la Guatemala, de la Illustracion del siglo XVIII," Anales de la Sociedad de Geografia e Historia de Guatemala, XXL (1946), p. 198.

[44]Ibid., p. 20, citing Martinez Duran, "La Sociedad Economica de Amigos de Guatemala," Universidad de San Carlos, XXVI (1952), 119.

[45]John Tate Lanning, The Eighteenth Century Enlightenment in the University of San Carlos (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1956), p. 331.

Society and the University no doubt influenced the events prior to and during the early National period. Not even the suppressive actions of the Capitan-General José de Bustamente y Guerra in 1811-1818 stopped the development and growth of the Enlightenment.[46]

José del Valle was one of Guatemala's enlightened thinkers during this period. His thoughts on education and views of societal conditions were quite advanced for the time. The first and third paragraphs in the quotation below are from the newspaper El Amigo de la Patria, written before and after independence in 1821. His friendship with Bentham came towards the end of his life in 1831. The last quotation is taken from Valle's correspondence with the Sociedad de Instrucción Elemental which was established in 1827.

> There have been schools to teach the firing of cannon or the drawing of the sword; but there haven't been founded schools to teach how to govern. They have multiplied the teachers of dance; but there isn't a teacher for legislative science and economics . . .
>
> You [Jeremy Bentham] desire, as I, universal instruction; and I work for its advancement . . .
>
> The Indian after three centuries does not know how to speak Spanish . . . because the Law has kept him from those who could teach him . . . The Indians form the major part of the population, and it is impossible to have prosperity in a nation that does not possess the maximum . . .

---

[46]Alejandro Marura, Bosquejo Histórico de las revoluciones de Centro America desde 1811 hasta 1834, I (Mexico: Liberia de la Vde de Ch. Bouret, 1913), 5, 6, 8, 10.

> Education is the first necessity of these people. I have stated it in Congress in terms most clear; . . . and I will not cease to repeat it . . .[47]

Despite the influence of the Enlightenment, the close of the colonial regime revealed few actual changes in education since society carefully maintained its class boundaries. The peninsular had an opportunity to go to the university to learn theology, medicine or law. But the criollo had less chance of entering the university. The mestizo (Ladino) usually did not enter the university but sometimes benefited from a guild-type education, although this did not often happen. The Indio was denied the opportunity of an education except for rare isolated examples when a benevolent priest gave him special instruction. Even though the Gazeta customarily defended the Enlightenment, it reflects views which many held during the colonial period:

> There is an enormous difference between education which a wise man should have and what the populace needs. Celestial mathematics and various other sciences are not for the common people. . . . The founders of some ancient states had very wise ideas about the education of the people, making it consist of good morals and the useful arts, hence the practice of teaching by fables and allegories. If a nation has good morals, good customs and the arts which establish and maintain them, what more education does it need?

---

[47] Cartas de José Cecilio del Valle (Tegucigalpa, Honduras: Universidad Nacional Autonoma de Honduras, 1963), pp. xix, xxix, xxv, 123.

> Suppose that workman or servant does not know how to explain an eclipse except by the well-known fable of the dragon but that he is religious and useful to society in the place he occupies therein. Well, such a man has all the education, all the culture that is needed, let him think for the rest as he pleases about the planetary system or let him never have heard of such a system.[48]

This appears to be the basic approach to education at the end of the colonial period; then only three primary schools were operating in Guatemala. Elsewhere, education was provided by over-worked priests, which resulted in some small catechism for a few people.

> Small wonder then that especially outside the capital often men who could serve as officials who could read and write, were not to be found. As a result of the prevailing ignorance, remarks a commentator, Ramon A. Salazár, the populace were prey to those who made their living by ministering to their superstitutions. Love potions had a steady sale; conjurers and diviners did a thriving business; witches and ghosts were still abroad; and the devil levied tribute on the poor--and others.[49]

The National Period

Independence Period 1800-1834

Throughout the colonial period the Spanish conflicted among themselves on political and personal matters. Still, in the year 1821 "independence appears to have been little more than a desire in the minds of a few men

---

[48] As cited by Chester Lloyd Jones, Guatemala, Past and Present (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1940), pp. 328-329.

[49] Ibid.

who apparently were without any notion of how to translate the desire into reality."[50]

The rapid change of political events in Mexico influenced the independence movement in Guatemala. Iturbide was asked by some members of the clergy to revive Hidalgo's and Morelos' attempts to lead independence. He responded with the Plan of Iguala. Within Guatemala, in the early part of 1821, Capitan General Carlos de Urrutia, aged and ailing, temporarily resigned his command to Gabino Gainza who had just arrived from a tour of duty in Chile. He "lacked the qualities of a leader, vacillating between his uncertain loyalty to the crown and his personal desire to exploit independence, should a break with Spain occur."[51] These two unrelated events helped Guatemala to join the ranks of the revolutionaries.

As Iturbide marched and conquered Mexico under the Plan of Iguala (Catholicism, Independence and Constitutional Monarchy), the news reached Guatemala City quickly. Iturbide stated that "out of necessity" Guatemala "should follow the Way of Mexico."[52] With a noisy crowd outside the palacio in Guatemala City, a cabildo abierto was ordered, and Gainza declared independence on September 15, 1821. Valle did not want the

---

[50]Bumgartner, op. cit., p. 136.

[51]Ibid., p. 138.

[52]As cited in Ibid., p. 143.

cabildo abierto to declare independence until all the provinces had a chance to express their opinions. Outvoted, Valle was asked to write the declaration which was "more a plan of action than a conventional declaration of independence."[53] A junta provisional consultiva was formed with Gainza as jefe politico, lasting until the first congress met in 1822. The only difference in the government of Guatemala was that it now owed no obligation to Ferdinand VII and Spain; otherwise everything was the same.

Having gained their independence, the United Provinces of Central America attempted to unite, but with little success. Internal disagreements over financial matters, taxation and the relationship of the capital to the provinces; regional differences between the provinces and large towns; and personal feuds among the leadership there in the capital helped maintain political turbulence. Clearly the growth of an educational system was greatly hampered; in fact, education was more neglected throughout this period (until 1871) than in the colonial period.

The Bases of Public Education, promulgated in 1831, defined the liberty of teaching and the methods to be used, and divided education into three parts.

---

[53]Franklin Dallas Parker, José Cecilio del Valle and the Establishment of the Central American Confederation (Tegucigalpa, Honduras: Tip. Nacional, 1954), pp. 45-46.

These changes were to be carried out by the Academia de Estudios, composed of doctors, teachers and licenciados of San Carlos University. The University was then combined with the Colegio de Abogados, the Protomedicato, and the Sociedad de Amigos del Pais into one organization.[54] The Statute of 1835 proclaimed the school to be secular and free.

The English Lancastrian system found its way to Guatemala in 1828 with the formation of the Lancastrian Normal School.[55] It represented a break with the traditional pedagogy, and governmental leaders endorsed it enthusiastically. More important, however, was the fact that it cost so little to implement; and with so few teachers, equipment and money available, the monitorial system seemed to fit the country's educational needs. Still, the new system did not encourage responsibility towards public financial support, and therefore it reinforced the idea of education under private control. After several years, interest in this type of education declined; within a decade or so after its introduction, it had fallen completely out of favor.

In 1825 an official report listed only 672 pupils in public schools, where the curriculum was antiquated and attendance very irregular. Girls were

---

[54] Orellana, op. cit., p. 202.

[55] Ibid., p. 333.

taught to read and sew in the convents, but few, even the daughters of the well to do could read. The rural regions had nothing, and could expect less.[56]

Carrera and Barrios 1837-1885

During Carrera's rule education progressed hardly at all. In 1837 Rafael Carrera assumed power in Guatemala and gained great influence throughout Central America as a strong opponent of the Liberal forces. During the thirty-odd years he ruled, Guatemala's educational system remained stagnant. In the words of Bancroft, Carrera was "of Indian descent, of a violent, irascible and uncommunicative disposition, base born, ignorant, though gifted with talents, bold determined and persevering."[57]

The one significant contribution he made to Guatemala was internal peace, for the country had gone through a period of extensive bloodshed and disorder. Unfortunately, he did little else for the benefit of society and its people.

Under Carrera's administration, the bonds between Church and State were greatly reinforced. On October 7, 1852, Guatemala became the first Latin American country ever to sign and enter into a Concordat with the Vatican

---

[56]Jones, op. cit., p. 330.

[57]Herbert Howe Bancroft, "History of Central America, 1807-1887," The Works of Herbert Howe Bancroft, VIII (San Francisco: History Company Publishers, 1887), 125.

giving the clergy complete control in the matters of education.[58] The pattern thus established persisted until the Liberals re-entered with Barrios in 1871. By 1850 public funds had nearly vanished, but the Conservatives hardly noticed. One report lists the total expenditures of public education for the period of 1850-1851 as $147;[59] but records were only kept infrequently, even if we may consider them accurate.

By the time the Carrera regime fell and Barrios led the Liberals into rule in 1871, education was in a sad state indeed. There were few primary schools, no specific secondary institutions, and only the one university following strictly the colonial style. Outmoded plans and programs, censorship of teaching and the complete absence of any formal budget had reduced public education to a shadow of even that known under the Spaniards. Many expected the Liberal revolution to attend to education and provide greater support to various institutions for training citizens. Despite many gestures and a few decisive actions, there was no uniform development. Perhaps the most significant contribution was the nation-wide organization of education in 1882 divided into primary and secondary levels. Later several teacher training schools were

---

[58] Holleran, op. cit., p. 141.

[59] Jones, op. cit., p. 330.

established for men and women at the secondary level. Secondary education further included schools of art, agriculture, music, and the military. Unfortunately, the university suffered in this period; "its endowment was dissipated, its faculty poorly trained and more poorly paid, and its attendance low, but it was still the outstanding influence in the intellectual life of the country and represented a worthy educational tradition. Liberal measures, however well intended, caused it to sink even lower than in the conservative period."[60]

Education was considered free, obligatory, and secular, as it had been in the earlier Liberal period. But now the revolution attempted to limit clerical influence in the school and suppressed the monastic orders as public schools were established. The Organic Law of Instruction of 1875 and the Liberal Constitution in 1879 proclaimed academic freedom and established the uniformity of the schools sustained by the State.[61] The administration of these reforms was controlled by the Ministry of Education, in itself a major contribution of the time. As before, however, much was attempted but less was actually accomplished. Nonetheless, definite progress had been made. When the Liberals took over in 1871, the education budget was $4,200 and by 1882 it was

---

[60] Ibid., p. 331.

[61] Orellana, op. cit., p. 226.

$390,00 or 10 per cent of the total budget.[62] Unfortunately many of these positive gains were allowed to slip in the succeeding administrations due to the lack of financial support and interest.

Education under Authoritarian Government 1885-1944

The later administrations of the Liberals show a mixed record in regard to education. The government of Reyna Barrios temporarily closed the schools in 1892 due to economic disturbances;[63] his main contribution was the erection of many statues depicting Liberal reformers throughout Guatemala. After his assassination in 1898, Estrada Cabrera ruled as dictator until 1920. Under this dictatorial administration, educational freedom was severely curtailed.

> To sustain himself in power he established a repressive apparatus composed of spies and special police that kept the people in a state of permanent anxiety. . . . Education . . . was the object of ominous idealogical restrictions, favoring the formation of a spirit of servility.[64]

Educational institutions, from the primary level through to the university, reflected a new emphasis on the military. Students in the secondary and normal schools practiced with loaded guns, and the institutions

---

[62] Jones, op. cit., p. 333.

[63] Ibid.

[64] Orellana, op. cit., p. 281.

were organized in military fashion. With tremendous publicity "Fiestas of Minerva" were celebrated in the capital and throughout the country, also organized in military form. But the educational level of the country did not change significantly. While many reports from the Ministry of Education report impressive accomplishments, most of the schemes had never gotten beyond the planning stages. In the rural areas what schools did exist were primitive, usually a "single-room structure of thatch or adobe furnished with crude benches and often without adequate texts or even a blackboard."[65] Low teacher salaries, a mere $2 to $4 a month, encouraged absenteeism.

During the rule of General José María Orellana (1921-1926), a national Teachers Congress was convened in 1921 to discuss curriculum reform, normal school education, and similar topics. Out of this congress grew the Superior Normal School, federal scholarships to send outstanding teachers abroad for further specialization, and the Popular University, established as an adult education university for the working class. A proposal for the establishment of an Experimental Psychological Laboratory to be attached to the normal school program failed to materialize; at least, the need was recognized, but was only to be fulfilled many decades later.

---

[65]Jones, op. cit., p. 334.

Under the military government of General Lázaro Chácon (1926-1930), the Organic Law of Teacher Requirements was established in 1927 and the Industrial Technical School and School for Kindergarten teachers in 1928. There was another teacher congress in 1929 articulating various educational problems, and during this time another group of teachers was sent abroad for further training. One of these, Juan José Arévalo, went to Argentina.

From 1931 to 1944 Jorge Ubico ruled as dictator; during this time, national education regressed and cultural development stood still. Civil liberties were restricted or abrogated. Many schools were closed and still others were further militarized. Salaries of some primary school directors were eliminated. Teachers were circumscribed in the exercise of their political liberties. Rural education was in great neglect since all schools which continued operation were either municipal or on a plantation-type farm. Education for the Indian was completely ignored. Though Ubico attempted some social reforms, his policies favored the few coffee and banana farmers and their distributors and neglected internal development with the exception of some road building. Labor squirmed and began to protest. The closing of World War II quickened the awareness of the need for economic and social reform. With the reading

of the Atlantic Charter on June 24, 1944, demands for his resignation were heard. On July 1 it came, and an era of Guatemala had come to an end.

CHAPTER II

A REVIEW OF SELECTED LITERATURE ON CHANGE

The sixteenth century witnessed the establishment of New Spain and the Audiencia de los Confines. The seventeenth century brought limitation of markets and agricultural isolation, restricting the Indian to the rural sector of society. The eighteenth century witnessed increased mining, trade and production for export. The nineteenth century saw independence, a Revolution which failed to create a stable and viable society. And in the earlier twentieth century Guatemala resembled a typical "banana republic," consisting of little more than tropical jungles, Indians, and sporadic political disputes, a picturesque setting to the popular mind, but something rather different to the citizens of this republic.

Prevailing social class patterns grew out of the Hispanic heritage. Colonial class structure, composed of peninsulares, criollos, mestizos, and Indios, including a few mulatos, rigidified with the passing of time. Social position and class were clearly fixed, and vertical mobility nearly unknown. These societal patterns were reflected in the schools, as a colonial philosophy

continued to dominate pedagogical thinking throughout the nineteenth and the twentieth century.

Although the basic social order held, the National period following independence witnessed some changes. The reins of government changed hands so that the criollo enjoyed a greater degree of participation. Slavery was officially abolished, as were the intimate connections between Church and State. Ideas from abroad found freer avenues of expression. But old ways defied the new, and the influence of Spanish colonial society persisted throughout the National period, well into the twentieth century.

Guatemalan society began to stir from within as the years of Ubiquismo continued and the Second World War drew to a close. Social conditions in the opening years of the twentieth century had preserved the caudillos; strong men continued to govern the contry through personal charisma because of the absence of any workable alternative. But the Revolution of 1944 shook the roots of Guatemalan society. Though it bore little resemblance to the Russian or Mexican revolutions earlier in the century, it sparked more than just a "changing of the palace guard." Revolution came to Guatemala in several phases: first a series of public demonstrations, then a series of strikes with continual unrest, and finally the resignation of Ubico. Social change accelerated as

institutions were created to carry out new programs and policies. At last the modernization of Guatemala was underway.

Various developmental theories explain the growth and continuity of social patterns, not only in economic dimensions, but also in terms of the particular political organization, type of social and class structure, kind and degrees of education, status of health, growth of the means of communication, varying family patterns, and so on; and no single theory suffices. Although the literature explaining these theories is growing all the time, the following selections are chosen as giving emphasis to social change in Guatemala, with reference to education whenever possible. Rather than reviewing all the literature of social change, or all the literature pertaining to Guatemala, the studies cited attempt to provide an adequate background for viewing current social developments.

Cultural Components

Social change within a country affects the existing cultural components, which may be systematically identified and classified. Gillen's scheme, although helpful, does not allow for all the component parts of Guatemala's population.[1] In Wagley and Harris's sytem

---

[1]Gillen as cited in Richard N. Adams, "Cultural Components of Central America," American Anthropologist, LVIII (1956), 881-901.

categories cannot be compared.[2] And Murdock's system confuses the various Indian categories.[3] Generally, these classifications have been based on information which was not collected with the end in mind of formulating a systematic classification.

Richard Adams has developed a thoughtful approach,[4] a modification of which is found in Social Change in Latin America.[5] This summary illustrates how social change is related to the various cultural components under discussion. His theoretical framework embraces these features important to classification: the distinct historical tradition, the fact of assimilation, cultural differences in traits and the integration of those traits, and the differences and similarities in the social and economic relationships. The classification is based on the empirical unit, the "population component," a group which shares a common culture and

---

[2]Charles Wagley and Martin Harris, "A Typology of Latin American Subculture," American Anthropology, LVII (1955), 426-451.

[3]George P. Murdock, "Outline of South American Cultures," in Behavior Science Outlines, II (New Haven: Human Relations Files, Inc., 1951), p. 53.

[4]Richard N. Adams, "Cultural Components of Central America," American Anthropologist, LVIII (1956), 881-901.

[5]Richard N. Adams, "Change in Guatemala and U. S. Policy," in Richard N. Adams, et. al., Social Change in Latin America Today: Its Implications for United States Policy (New York: Vintage Books, 1960), pp. 231-284.

maintains formal socio-economic relations with other population components which it contacts directly or indirectly. Three broad population components may be identified in Guatemalan society: the Euro-American, the Ladino, and the Indio.

The Euro-American

Today the Euro-American cultural component is small, but highly significant in Guatemalan affairs. Non-Spanish, it is composed of several nationalities, as are similar components in other parts of Latin America. When large industrial and agricultural endeavors were begun in the late nineteenth century, this element provided much of the financial backing and supervision. It maintained its position in Guatemalan society until the Revolution of 1944, but afterwards lost some of its prominence as strong reaction developed against this group, a reaction seen in nation-wide anti-U. S. attitudes and policies.

Curiously, one portion of the Euro-American component, the German community, influenced the eventual emergence of the bi-national school. Many splendid German Schools operating throughout Latin America became extremely pro-Nazi during the war, and their success disturbed many people. One of these, Galo Plaza, the former president of Ecuador, became instrumental in the establishment of

the bi-national type: "Then it was that I hit upon the idea of setting up an institution fitting into the educational laws of Ecuador but following the American School system."[6]

Since World War II this population component has contributed greatly to social change as foreign investment has expanded, introducing new products and creating new demands. But this group as a whole still prefers to retain national identities, each segment re-creating its own home culture in the new environment, which in turn of course limits its integration into Guatemalan society at large.

The Ladino

The peninsular, criollo, mestizo and Indio historical patterns help to maintain and identify social class boundaries even today. But "the general picture was and continues to be one of acculturation and assimilation to the Spanish American tradition."[7] At first glance, perhaps, the majority of Guatemalans seem to reflect this trend. But on closer examination, many differences and variations appear within this category. Of Adams' seven, we will discuss three classes: the cosmopolites, the local upper class and the emergent middle class.

---

[6]Galo Plaza, "Experiment in International Education," The Nations Schools, XXXVII (1946), 24.

[7]Adams, AA, p. 88.

A. The Cosmopolites.--In this small group, largely composed of the old traditional families who have maintained strong orientations towards European values and culture, superiority has been retained through the accumulation of wealth, large estates, and recently, investment in local businesses. Historically, this group has often wielded political power, but the 1944 Revolution altered much of this. This class generally lives in the central part of the city, but with the introduction of the car, some have moved to exclusive residential areas. They set themselves off socially from the other groups, who respond with political hostility and social antagonism. Many Americans identify themselves with the cosmopolites, which has furthered their distance from other elements of society. While the cosmopolites still maintain considerable influence with coffee and banana interests, conduct important legal activities, and hold some cabinet positions, their influence has greatly declined.

B. The Local Upper Class.--This population component, found throughout the republic, especially in the smaller cities and towns, is quite racially mixed and can be called mestizo. Many claim descent from the Spaniards and consider themselves Spanish. They are very similar to the cosmopolites but their families are not so indissoluble, nor do they orient themselves towards Europe.

Formerly this group played a significant role in the system of social controls and sanctions, and channeled political control throughout the small towns and rural populations. When the Arevalo and Arbenz administration established national peasant's associations--agrarian committees which allotted land tracts, and labor unions organizing vast elements of the laboring forces--members of the upper local class lost control which they never fully regained.

C. The Emergent Middle Class.--This group appears where the forces of urbanization have predominated. It is composed of people from a wide range of occupations: business men, clerical workers, administrative workers in government, and military officers. They are drawn from all social classes, but mainly the local upper, the mobile rural and the urban labor groups. This component began to form before the turn of the century, but has grown most significantly where there have been efforts to achieve a democratic government, to increase educational opportunity, to create better means of communication or transportation, or to consolidate a large labor force as a political power. Members of this class seek to acquire wealth; the chief channels they employ toward this end are government service, the military, teaching, and business. Although this class phenomenon is relatively new, it has generally attained its goals. Its voice

appears frequently on the national scene, whether in defense of social justice, democracy or communism. It gives intellectual leadership for the other laboring classes, and sometimes speaks for the Indian populations as well.

The Indio

A. The Traditional Indian.--This oldest population component lives in a world of its own, unrelated to the contemporary world and retaining no significant degree of Hispanic culture. In many ways its basic pattern of life is very much similar to that of the ancient Maya. Its culture is built on religious and political systems, employing an age-hierarchy. These people's religious life incorporates Catholic influences while retaining much of Mayan symbolism. Their lives center around the family and a subsistence market economy. Small villages provide the only social structure known. Each speaks his own dialect, and few ever speak Spanish, for contact with the Ladino is limited.

B. The Modified Indian.--In localities where the traditional component has been exposed to the Ladino, men adopt the ladinoized style of clothing and tend to be bilingual, although the women retain their native dress. There are whole communities which have adopted the Spanish American or ladinoized styles while retaining some

of the Indian ceremonies and festivals. As many become farm laborers, they are less insulated to their former Indian ways as the adoption process begins.

C. Ladinoized Indian Laborer.--In externals, this component is almost identical to some of the Ladino, and yet retains certain distinctive characteristics. These people usually still consider themselves Indians, although outward signs such as dialect or tribal clothing are missing; often it is debatable whether they are "Indian" or "Ladino" But if a group consider themselves as "Indios," they are so regarded by the Ladinos.

Guatemala's population is over 50 per cent "Indian." While clearly the Indio is not monolithic in his isolation, still he is not accepted as being Guatemalteco by the traditional upper classes. And, on the other hand, as long as the social integrity of his traditional ways remain intact, he will adopt Ladino ways slowly. The process of assimilation into national Guatemalan life accelerated after the Revolution of 1944.

Westernization of Guatemala

The political trends within Guatemala's government today differ greatly from those prior to 1944. Although numerous pronouncements of democratic ideals appeared throughout the National period, few concrete actions incorporated these ideals. Many political scientists

have investigated recent Guatemalan history, but few studies have focused on how governmental organization and functioning changed through the various political evolutions.

Silvert's monograph[8] discusses these governmental matters and their implications; as a political scientist, he is interested in both intranational and international phenomena. His hypotheses are neither proved nor disproved, although evidence presented in his work confirms his suggestions of course. To understand such a political survey of Guatemala, we must remember the limitations of the social scientist's tools because of the innumerable variables he must consider. Such surveys inevitably demand confirmation from the other social sciences and on occasion from the humanities and the arts.

The first hypothesis, basic to the entire study, concerns the increasing Westernization of Guatemala. Subsequent hypotheses demonstrate how changes in government are presumed to reflect the validity of the Westernization concept: changes occurring outside Guatemala are being transmitted inward by the middle class. This correlates with Adams' description of the emerging middle class component and its impact on the whole social structure.

---

[8]K. H. Silvert, A Study in Government: Guatemala, Publication 21 of the Middle American Research Institute (New Orleans: Tulane University, 1954), p. 1-5.

Guatemala is not isolated, as what happens there largely depends on developments in the world scene. Much has already been imported from abroad, and those in control continue in touch with external events and are cognizant of the happenings in the international arena. This awareness has social and political implications, as many of the inner-directed folk groups, such as the Indio, are slowly being integrated into the larger society.

Nationalism has provided the motive force for greater social cohesion. In spite of its obvious drawbacks, nationalism is an extremely useful technique for achieving vertical and horizontal movement, involving a limited application of a "brotherhood of man" concept. Whether good or bad, the Guatemaltecos are changing as they become more nationalistic in their outlook. Along with this growth, a slowly changing interpretation of past events has unleashed further nationalistic fervor with re-explanations of past heros and events. In short, the 1944 Revolution brought many basic changes to society and the various sub-structures. The Revolution is part of the social process, the open-ended change now taking place.

Silvert concluded in 1953 that a thorough-going democracy is impossible in view of the people's lack of preparation for such government. He believes that while the effects of international events influence internal

change, it is the Guatemaltecos who must choose to shake off the past and incorporate the new. Since then many changes have occured: in 1966 the country elected its first president since 1948.

Cultural Heterogeneity

There is a clear gap between theory and reality as one looks at Guatemala; what is said and what is done are usually quite different things. All the constitutions attest to the "happiness of the people," "the best public service," "the good of the people," but history demonstrates few instances where these principles actually flourished. And whenever there has been a wide discrepancy between theory and practice, there has been a corresponding degree of political instability and lack of freedom, a phenomenon most clearly explained in terms of cultural heterogeneity.

Cultural elements of diverse origin invariably conflict, inasmuch as they are expressive of fundamentally different bases.[9] The Iberian elements, the Indian groupings, and the foreign ideas systems all interact with more heat than light. At no time could Spanish and other foreign ideas, introduced at different periods in

---

[9]Charles C. Cumberland, "Political Implications of Cultural Heterogeneity in Latin America," in Freedom and Reform in Latin America, ed. by Fredrick B. Pike (South Bend: University of Notre Dame Press, 1959), pp. 59-80.

Guatemala's history, destroy the existing Mayan cultural patterns which prevail to the present time.

At different times political leaders made a mockery of the stated ideals of the Guatemalan constitution; the dictatorships of Carrera in the nineteenth century and Cabrera in the early twentieth century, and the thirteen years of Ubiquismo, modified the constitution at will. To an uninformed outsider there might have appeared to be a degree of law and order producing political stability; but the impression is misleading. This can be seen in Jones' essay, "If I Were Dictator," which clearly describes political stability under authoritarian rule.[10]

The Spanish patterns implemented throughout three centuries of rule brought their own degree of consistency. In its various manifestations throughout Latin America, the concept of personalismo brought a way of thinking and performing which was closely tied to the Spanish pride and sensitivity. Even though a dictatorship has its unpleasantries, it brings the corresponding satisfactions of personalismo, as the era of Ubiquismo attests. Opposing this concept was the absolutism of the Church, revealed in the Patronato Real. During the colonial age, however, "individual personalismo and institutional authoritarianism

---

[10]Chester L. Jones, Guatemala: Past and Present (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1940), pp. 339-356.

made their peace, each compromising with the other to the extent that the conflict was reconciled by allowing a general field in which was to operate."[11] Another aspect of the Hispanic heritage was the awarding of offices on the basis of family connection rather than merit. Such sinecures often became channels for the misuse of public funds. When one person won a share of power, it was naturally parceled out to his friends and associates. These patterns became an accepted part of the culture, so it was difficult for democratic concepts of public service to be implanted within the social mileau.

The Spaniard never really tried to understand the Indian and his culture: he came only to conquer, and Indian cultural patterns never disappeared. Indian labor centered in the family unit, his social structure centered around a tight community, his governmental structure was gerontocratic rather than autocratic. And all of these kept the Indian and the Guatemalan apart. In three centuries, social distances diverged rather than converged.

The Age of Enlightenment encouraged the influence of foreign ideas. The doctrines of Rousseau, Montesquieu and Locke meshed neither with the Spanish authoritarian ways nor with the Indian concepts of life. Nonetheless, early framers of the country borrowed heavily from these foreign ideas in designing a government:

---

[11]Cumberland, op. cit., p. 69.

> Classical Spanish tradition suggests the selection of the new executive through the application of authoritarium and plutocratic principles, and social stratification supports this solution; but borrowed traditions encouraged democratic election. The borrowed American system demands election through a popular majority. Indian tradition calls for a gerontocratic method of selection, but North American ideas demand essentially universal participation.[12]

The revolution of 1944 and the subsequent changes have done much to modify these patterns of cultural heterogeneity. Yet the mass of Indian population has yet to be assimilated, for cultural integration is a slow process. Even though cultural integration is no guarantee of stable government or the growth of democratic institutions, without such integration any hope for either stability or democracy is unrealistic.

Education for Social Change

The preceding discussion has emphasized the process of social change in the larger social context; the following examine change as it relates more closely to educational institutions. Brembeck looks at evidence of rising educational aspirations and school learning, Loomis shows how developing social systems relate to educational institutions, and Benne discusses democratic ethics and human engineering of planned change occurring within the school.

---

[12] Ibid., p. 74.

We shall make the following assumptions concerning the cultural factors in educational change. Rising educational aspirations in developing countries such as Guatemala constitute a new social force little understood but having far-reaching influences on the educational process. Increased numbers of new students alter the conditions of learning. A framework for the understanding of the conditions of learning in the developing setting may be found in the concept of cross-cultural education, in which educators of one cultural tradition confront students and parents of another. As educational aspirations continue to rise, their impact on the conditions of school learning take place within the larger context of social change.

The social determinants of education have changed since the school teacher, Maria Chinchilla, was killed in a street demonstration June 23, 1944, becoming the first martyr of the Revolution. At the end of the Ubiquismo period the average expenditure per school-age child was $0.59. In 1954 it increased to $3.27, and by 1963 it was $4.15.[13] These figures correspond to similar increases in school enrollment. The National Teachers Congress in

---

[13]"Diagnostico Preliminar de la Educación en Guatemala: Algunas sugestiones para los Proyectos tendientes a Solucionar los Problems Encontrados," Oficina de Planeamiento Integral de la Educación, Ministerio de Educación Publica, Guatemala, 1964, pp. 49-50.

1955, which provided for new curricula and other educational reforms, was another indication of meeting demands.

Considering the above assumptions, Brembeck suggests several hypotheses.[14] The rising demands for education, coupled with actual higher levels of educational achievement, produce challenges to present control of education and may lead to shifts in the locus of power. As the educational opportunity spreads to both poles of the socio-economic structure, so will the interest in the nature of education and its control. The Teachers' Congress of 1955 and the Teachers' Union have affected educational practice. The former introduced new curricula and educational reform, while the latter fomented the political situation. After the fall of the Arbenz administration, the Teachers' Union was greatly restricted by the subsequent governments. In confirmation of the above hypothesis, then, we observe a growth of uneasy tension and contention between the controllers and consumers of education.

As education is extended to the masses, Brembeck suggests, goals of the schools will shift in two directions: in change from teaching purely intellectual skills to the full socialization of the child through his

---

[14]Cole S. Brembeck, "Rising Educational Aspirations and School Learning," a paper prepared for the Joint Seminar on Cultural Factors in Educational Change, East-West Center, University of Hawaii and the Institute for International Studies in Education, Michigan State University, Honolulu, August 16-September 3, 1965. (Mimeographed.)

adolescence; and in assimilating children from deviant ethnic and social backgrounds into the dominant culture. This hypothesis observes that rising educational aspirations assume a direct relationship to the school's functions, and may result in shifts of educational goals and practices from the narrow intellectual ends to include broad social purposes. The modernization of the bachillerato program, shortening the number of required courses and emphasizing general studies, all suggests that formal education is becoming more "social minded." While the percentage of school-aged Indian children that are in school remains small, the number is increasing gradually.

Processes of Social Systems

Sociology deals with patterns of behavior which gradually become orderly and systematic and which are recognized as social systems. Any social system is composed of the patterned interactions of its various members, composed of various elements and processes. Since all social systems are constantly changing due to external and internal forces, the direction of change is an interesting phenomena to describe. Loomis has developed a way in which this may be studied.[15]

---

[15]Charles P. Loomis, Social Systems: Essays on Their Persistence and Change (Princeton: D. VanNostrand Company, 1960), pp. 249-297.

The elements of a social system which he considers are beliefs, sentiments, goals, norms, status-roles, power, rank, sanction, and facilities. These elements of social structure are articulated or effected by the following elemental processes respectively: cognitive mapping and validation, communication of sentiment and tension management, goal attaining and latent activity, evaluation as a general process, status-role performance decision-making and its initiation into action, evaluation of actors and allocation of status-roles, application of sanctions, and utilization of facilities. The structural-functional categories which define these "element-process" pairs are respectively: knowing, feeling, achieving, standardizing and patternizing, dividing the functions and activities, controlling, ranking, sanctioning and facilitating.

The master processes in a society are communication, boundary maintenance, systemic linkage, socialization, social control and institutionalization. Of special interest to this thesis is systemic linkage, "the process whereby one or more of the elements of at least two social systems is articulated in such manner that the two systems in some ways and on some occasions may be viewed as a single unit."[16]

---

[16] Ibid., p. 32.

Much boundary maintenance refers to the limits, systemic linkage refers to the organizational arrangements of group inter-dependencies. Without boundary maintenance, social groups could not be distinguished; and without the systemic linkage, the development of parochialism would deny groups any contact outside their own boundaries. Some organizations have the sole function of systemic linkage, while others are involved in directed change. Therefore, the problem of systemic linkage is not so much how to establish the linkage as to how to maintain a desirable balance between all the systems so linked; certainly there are many degrees and types of linkage.

This concept helps us understand how at times the American School functions as a change agent. By developing "social capital" so that it wins the confidence of the members of the "target system," whether it be the Ministry of Education, the University of San Carlos, a private school, or the like, it builds rapport to facilitate the influencing of those with whom it works; and establishing these linkages, the school becomes part of the target system. Even though the American School is a part of Guatemalan society, in no way does it attempt to completely mirror that society.

Democratic Ethics and Human Engineering

Social change may of course occur without democratic values. Industrialization of countries can progress

without democratic means. But, if democratization is accepted as a goal, then what Benne proposes has value for planned change. This does not imply a forced manipulation of the individual, nor does it limit his degree of free choice. Rather, the best guarantee for the operation of planners or elites is that their basic training center on the methodology of planned change. Such training would incorporate the norms of democratic operation; understandings of the change process and social structures; and skills in stimulating, inducing, and stabilizing changes in persons and groups. From this premise Benne introduces the democratic principles as methodological norms for inducing social change within an educational institution.[17]

"The engineering of change and the meeting of pressures in a group or organization towards change must be collaborative." Here Benne implies that the collaboration will be better for all concerned. Planned change must be based on best knowledge of relevant relationships and structures, the social forces and factors advancing various possible changes, and the consequences likely to result from the alternative lines of action which have been proposed and considered.

---

[17]Kenneth D. Benne, "Democratic Ethics and Human Engineering," in The Planning of Change: Readings in the Applied Behavioral Sciences, Warren G. Bennis, et. al., (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966), pp. 141-148.

"The engineering of change must be educational for the participants." Collective thinking is a skill which individuals need to develop so groups can effectively gather individual contributions. And an atmosphere is created which facilitates this development; the process is not just the acquiring of skills, perceptions, and commitments in a static sense, however, but rather their dynamic application in actual situations.

"Engineering for change must be experimental." All social arrangements, those formed and re-formed in the process of planning, including those shaped and continued by custom, should always be considered tentative. The "research" approach must be instilled not only in the experts, but also in those who are participating.

"Engineering for change must be task oriented . . . rather than oriented to the maintenance or the extension of the prestige or power of those who originate contributions." Democratic personnel of the school must become skilled in inhibiting their tendencies to defend and promote ideas which need objective evaluation and reformulation. Achieving effective communication across barriers of prestige, custom and inertia may not be easy, but efforts must be made to create the appropriate atmosphere.

"Engineering for change must be anti-individualistic yet provide for the establishment of appropriate areas of privacy and for the development of persons as creative

units in our society." The elevation of the unchecked private, individual assessment as an ultimate decision-maker in the control of human conduct should be avoided; continual evaluation of a collective nature must prevail over unchecked private judgments. Awareness and acceptance of individual differences may be tolerated when the groups and organization involved have sufficiently developed standards.

When the American School relates to Guatemala education, it operates within the framework described immediately above; it attempts to translate democratic values into methodological norms in order to better control the process of change.

CHAPTER III

MODERN MOVEMENTS

Political Movements

Arévalo

Ubiquismo constituted a distinct era of government, responsive generally to the interests of the large land-owning class. Ubico came to power in 1931 when the depression economy was stagnating and the people passive; after thirteen years he could not cope with public discontent and rising prices. Although he talked of road building, educational benefits, a stablized budget and the like, no basic social change occurred in his administration. He prohibited the formation of labor organizations and parties, stifled any opposition, and generally behaved as if his justice was God's.[1] Ubico fell under the pressure of external events such as the lofty ideas of the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms. Internal forces gathered momentum, not so much as a consequence of a socially widespread movement, "but as the result of the simple withdrawal of tacit support by

[1] K. H. Silvert, A Study in Government: Guatemala, Middle American Research Institute, Publication 21 (New Orleans: Tulane University, 1954), p. 3.

those elements which had previously been content to cede their functions of citizenship to the caudillo."[2]

The revolution was not a single event but rather occurred in phases. Nor was Ubico overthrown. He resigned and quietly went into exile, dying disillusioned six months later. The Revolution began with a series of demonstrations and several strikes, followed by a general period of unrest and finally his resignation on June 29, 1944. The next rule, of General Ponce, an ally, lasted only four months. Dissatisfaction continued and a military junta ruled until a constituent assembly was formed on March 15, 1945, the same date the new president, Juan Jose Arévalo, took office. The majority of the people had never experienced an honest election dedicated to the principles of social justice. As one Guatemalan summed up the historic moment, "you must realize what the situation was; it was almost total darkness before we were brought out into the light."[3]

After June 29, 1944, the demands increased for Arévalo, then in Argentina as a university professor, to return home. He attracted support rapidly since he helped fill a political vacuum which had developed following Ubico's downfall. Interestingly, he received his support from the middle classes, who had no connections with the

---

[2]Ibid., p. 5.

[3]Taken from Interview Schedule, No. 4.

land aristocracy or the military elites. Guatemalan politics had operated on the basis "everyone knowing everyone else," and this man therefore appeared neutral and acceptable to all concerned. In December, 1944, he was elected, winning over 85 per cent of the vote cast by the male literate population, the only ones franchised. His governing philosophy was a "Spiritual Socialism" almost indistinguishable from Arevalismo. Nonetheless, many of his ideals were reflected in the Constitution of 1945, including such positions as "sovereignity resides in the people," and people should enjoy "liberty, culture, economic welfare and social justice." These were not just empty platitudes like those mouthed in the past but were implemented into new social institutions and practices. The Institute of Social Security (IGSS), the Labor Code of 1947, and the Institute for the Development of Production (INFOP) were all created during the first four years of his administration. Freedom of the press flourished, political parties grew, and labor unions were established. Schools sprang in rural areas, and health service facilities were extended.

Mistakes were made at the same time. When several plots against Arévalo were discovered, personal guarantees were restricted. The assassination of Colonel Arana, still unsolved, angered the opposition. The growth of the Communist party and its fellow travelers alarmed many.

Tension increased with the United States over some trends in Guatemalan government and attitudes of U.S. Ambassador Patterson; he was requested to leave in April, 1950. These mistakes and unfortunate occurrences negated many of the positive gains made throughout the Arévalo administration. But these mistakes must be viewed in the proper prrspective: Guatemala had gone for years with relatively little social change. What Arévalo's time accomplished was a milestone when compared to the past. As one individual reflected:

> You must realize in four hundred years the Spanish never gave the people a chance. From 1821 to 1944 nothing was done; from 1944 to 1954 something was done; something was changed. People had the opportunity where they did not have before. Perhaps now [1966] there will be more chance with elected governments.[4]

Arbenz and Communism

Jacobo Arbenz Guzman was president from March, 1951, to June 24, 1954, one of the most turbulent periods of Guatemala's recent history. Although he had served in the military junta that followed Ubico's downfall, he was not rightist or conservative in the traditional sense. In fact, he was so liberal that critics called him "communist" because of his leftist inclinations. His term of office ended quickly, and was followed by a period of military juntas and governments.

---

[4]Taken from Interview Schedule, No. 22.

One significant goal of his administration was agrarian reform. His methods provoked the ire of the United States government, strong protest from the United Fruit Company (which was the largest single land holder) and the displeasure of many of his supporters. He attempted to execute Arévalo's reforms by initiating radical social change before solving the concomitant problem of economic development. The Arbenz-Communist alliance enlisted widespread though ambivalent support. Generally people tolerated rather than supported his communist associations, often because it seemed to be the quickest way to accomplish necessary change. The close association developed with the Soviet Union during that time, since terminated, set in motion changes that continue to influence Guatemalan development.

In 1954, after an intense four-year period, many internal and external pressure groups demanded a complete re-examination. Parker has summarized the reasons why the healthy developments came to an end.[5] Revolts continued to plague the country during these four years. At least twenty uprisings opposing the electoral process were encountered by Arévalo alone; Arbenz had to contend with several attempted coups by Castillo Armas in 1950 and 1953. The power of the army continued over its

---

[5]Franklin D. Parker, The Central American Republics (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 101-105.

commander-in-chief, a part of past politics which the nation thought it had overcome with its constitution of 1945 and civilian president. Unfortunately, through all this many sincere reformers in Guatemala found few allies in the world scene.

After Castillo Armas entered Guatemala, June 13, 1954, the Arbenz government protested to the U.N. Security Council asking it to "put a stop" to the "open aggression" which, it charged, "has been perpetrated by the Government of Honduras and Nicaragua at the instigation of certain foreign monopolies."[6] Guatemala wanted it placed on the Security Council's agenda, but the United States was opposed. Henry Cabot Lodge, U.S. delegate and the Security Council President, felt it was a matter for the Organization of American States (OAS). In the Guatemalan capital, the then recently arrived U.S. Ambassador, John E. Peurifoy, was active giving advice. In one magazine interview he summed up his advice in one firm principle: "Communism must go."[7] From across the border in Honduras, Castillo Armas led a revolt and became ruler of Guatemala on July 8, 1954. A yes or no plebisite in October confirmed his rule, the 1945 constitution was scrapped by decree, and leftist political

---

[6]News item, The New York Times, June 20, 1954 p. 1.

[7]"Middleman in a Successful Revolution," U.S. News and World Report, July 9, 1954, p. 46.

parties were banned. This noticeable shift in Guatemalan politics ended one phase of its social revolution.

The exact role that the United States played in the overthrow of Arbenz and installation of Castillo Armas is still debated. Vice-President Nixon said, " . . . we can do what we did in Guatemala. . . . We quarantined Mr. Arbenz. The result was that the Guatemalan people themselves eventually rose up and they threw him out."[8] Certainly the State Department believed a Communist takeover of the government was imminent, speculating that the Communist Party had two main aims in Guatemala: the establishment of a Cominform headquarters for Latin America and the obstruction of U.S. policy in every way possible.[9] We should admit, on the other hand, that the Arbenz administration permitted the freedom of the press, supported the U.S. policy in Korea and allowed political parties to function.

Communism's exact impact on Guatemala has produced much heated debate over conflicting points of view. Rey, summarizing the major works published since 1954, found the following points in common: all authors recognized the existence of the Communist Party and agreed that its role was significant; all recognized the U.S.

---

[8] News item, The New York Times, October 22, 1960, p. 1. (Emphasis added.)

[9] J. Halcro Ferguson, The Revolutions of Latin America (London: Thames and Hudson, 1963), p. 106.

intervention as a fact; both sides agreed that agrarian reform was definitely used as a political instrument more than as an economic tool. The majority of the writers felt that Arévalo and Arbenz had attempted to carry out a nationalistic program, but they disagree widely as to the success of the effort. Rey concludes that the real issues underlying the controversy are not those of fact, but of value.[10]

U.S. Policy 1944-1966

The United States' policy throughout Guatemala's continual social revolution has not always been understood; even though the Guatemalans echoed the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms, they did not always appreciate technical assistance received during this period. The United States was too little aware of the impact made by new emerging political populations. And the Guatemalans were too nationalistic in their gestures against the U.S. aid. Perhaps the real answer lies somewhere between the two views of the American role.

Technical assistance had to face insurmountable problems having no simple answers. The U.S. programs were financed and staffed according to correct procedure, but resulted in little effective development. The

---

[10]Julio Adolfo Rey, "Revolution and Liberation: A Review of Recent Literature on the Guatemalan Situation," Hispanic American Historical Review, XXXVIII (May, 1958), 239-255.

difficulty stemmed from U.S. involvement in a struggle between conflicting ideologies, in which obstructionist Marxist-leftist ideologists were attempting to attract the populace and discomfort U.S. prestige and its technical assistance programs.

From 1950 to 1953 U.S. programs declined; Arévalo even closed one educational servicio program. After the 1954 political crisis, in which everything stopped, additional technical assistance programs sprung up, "but they often languished for the lack of firm support in Washington and of local Guatemalan leadership in setting up the program and getting them going."[11] This lack of firm support created various misunderstandings and widened the differences of cultural opinions. For example, the average Latin seeks sincere personal relationships with individuals and he does not necessarily seek financial gain. Since the end of World War II the Americans have produced certain attitudes among the Guatemalans, some of which are expressed in the following:

> You Americans look at Guatemala in two ways: economics and as a circus. Economics in the sense that you come down here with $$ in your eyes; a circus in the sense you want to see how the Indians live in their native costumes and to see their celebrations. You don't care how the person lives or about how he suffers. You don't want to see the human factor or to understand the reasons of life. . . .[12]

---

[11]Richard M. Adams, et. al., Social Change in Latin America Today (New York: Vintage Books, 1960), p. 274.

[12]Taken from Interview Schedule, No. 18.

One case illustrative of the political implications of a particular technical assistance program is the AID-ROCAP textbook project, started in 1962 to produce textbooks for Guatemalan and Central American school children who had none. Since the program began, it has stimulated much controversy within the educational circles. Guatemalan educators were critical of the books produced for the following reasons: the books were translated directly from English and therefore were not culturally adapted to the Guatemalan school child, incorrect grammar was used many times throughout the books, and the books were too mechanical or pragmatic for the "Guatemalan child".[13] The controversy came to a climax in the summer of 1966 when the Guatemalan Ministry of Education officially withdrew from the textbook program; an AID-ROCAP official countered, "Thousands of school children will not have school texts to study with,"[14] accusing the Minister of Education of prohibiting the use of the books which had already been developed.

Some Guatemalans felt that the United States was superimposing a regional organization (ROCAP) on them, assuming that all Central American countries are alike. And some educators felt that ROCAP did not take into

---

[13]Taken from Interview Schedule, No. 19.

[14]Diario del Grafico, Ano IV, No. 924, August 5, 1966, p. 4.

consideration the particular cultural factors which affect the Guatemalan school child's needs, while others felt that ROCAP was only a political vehicle for the United States, not representing Guatemalan political wishes. As one Guatemalan expressed it:

> ROCAP has been basically a political question since 1954. The United States government forced Guatemala into these educational convenios, as it wasn't the will of the people that they should be established.
>
> The U.S. is under the assumption that Central America is one country. However, there are many differences between these countries . . .
>
> The idea that the United States Government has to ayudar is a bad concept and certainly not constructive . . .
>
> Perhaps we [Guatemalans] have many deficiencies. That we must be ayudado in the context that the U.S. government thinks--the United States is equivocado completamente! But these convenios that were established were under the influence of the military government. We had no choice; so what could we do? We had our hands tied.[15]

As Adams summarizes the matter,[16] the U.S. should seek out the politically crucial elements within Guatemalan society, not just the cosmopolites and the Euro-Americans, even if these are far more congenial to U.S. interests. No longer dare the U.S. convey the impression, inadvertently or intentionally, that Guatemala should be a "Gringo Utopia," that it is simply our "Good Neighbor." The people whom it is most important to convince of the

---

[15] Taken from Interview Schedule, No. 19.

[16] Adams, op. cit., pp. 273-284.

positive aspects of U.S. policy, the emergent middle classes, see things in terms of changes which they are witnessing daily. Guatemala's social revolution continues in its political context, although since the turbulent period of the early 1950's the political scene has somewhat quieted down. In the summer of 1966 Guatemala witnessed the election of Julio Montenegro as its president without any great disruptive influence from either Left or Right. The continuous revolution had entered a new phase. As one individual said, "perhaps now there will be more chances with elected governments."[17]

Socio-Economic

The 1945 Revolution injected into Guatemalan daily life the concept of continuous or open-ended change: every segment of society is influenced by changes in any. The formation of INFOP, IGSS, the Department of Cooperative Development, and the Labor Code focused attention on the other segments of society, formerly neglected. The Agrarian Reform Laws of Arbenz's administration before political factors got out of control extended the concept of social reform to remote rural areas. In this way the westernization process affected many more of the Indio and Ladino populations.

---

[17] Taken from Interview Schedule, No. 22.

The recent history of the country, like many other Latin countries, demonstrates disproportional regional change; some departamentos are well advanced while others have hardly changed from colonial times. Today processes of continual change decrease regionalism and strengthen the country's national character. Despite the significance of technological changes, political and social innovations are more influential.

The notion of change being continuous and open-ended, as developed by Adams,[18] was new to the average Guatemalan. Traditionally, the influential elites "where everybody knew everybody else" had resisted foreign ideas. All of this was changed after Ubico. The 1944 Revolution with its radical political measures and welfare concepts eroded the traditional social structure and weakened the bases of paternalistic control. Even the significant mistakes generating political fluctuations did not stop social reform. The processes of change operated in each of the administrations. This was keenly felt by one who said:

> Although the political barometer had gone up and down and a lot of ideas initiated by Arévalo in many differing forms were discarded, nonetheless the whole concept of social revolution, however one defines it, still continues, whether it is Arbenz, Castillo Armas, Ydigoras Fuentes, or the past military government. Each one in their own way had carried the idea of social revolution.[19]

---

[18] Adams, op. cit., pp. 257-260.

[19] Taken from Interview Schedule, No. 17.

A system of debt-servitude had existed for years, accompanied by all the evils that such conditions generally generate. In 1934, Ubico signed the Vagrancy Law which achieved the same old ends; i.e., a sufficient supply of native labor available to work on the all-important coffee plantations.[20]

The Indio has never been monolithic, but represents several combinations of social types. The Indio is, however, sensitive to the same political-social-economic issues as the Ladino. Still the perception of the Indio is based on the past. There are prejudices held by many which in part form the concept of "the Indian problem." There is the connotation that the Indio wants little, with the result that he obtains very little benefit from society at large. As the Indio is influenced by the Ladinoization process, he does not necessarily lose his heritage, nor is he deculturated. Through the process he has picked up new reference groups, attained new horizons, and has developed new ideas. He has changed his social habits, customs, and concepts of life, but retains his biological racial identity.

The Ladinoization process can best be seen in the school situation. In many areas of the country,

---

[20]Carlos Gonzáles Orellana, Historia de la Educación en Guatemala (Mexico: B. Costa-Amic, Editor, 1960), p. 320.

illiteracy is extremely high: the national average is around 71 per cent,[21] and Silvert reports that in the departamento of Alta Verapaz the rate is 92 per cent.[22] The picture darkens with the knowledge that 1) only one in two eligible children enroll in primary school, 2) only one in 20 children complete primary school, 3) only one in 100 children complete secondary school, and 4) only one in 1,000 children will undertake university studies.[23]

The transition from the Indian home to the school is generally more difficult for the Indio than the Ladino because the Ladino teachers have a negative attitude toward their Indian pupils who do not speak Spanish. Because of the language factor and family pressures, the Indio child avoids school. If he does attend school, it is only for a very short period of time, and consequently his culture remains basically unchanged. The Ladino's progress in school is not smooth either. He is not provided with the necessary

---

[21] Oficina de Planeamiento Integral de la Educación (OPIE), Diagnóstico de la Educación en Guatemala: Programa de la Educación para la Republica de Guatemala (Guatemala: Ministerio de Educación, 1965), p. 5.

[22] Silvert, op. cit., p. 71.

[23] Instituto de Investigaciones y Mejoramiento Educativo (IIME), Plan of Public Expenditure for Education in Central America (Guatemala: Ciudad Universitaria, 1964), p. 3.

patterns he needs in adult life. For example, he usually learns some elementary skills, patriotism, and a few minor facts about history and geography; and that is about all. Thus most adolescent adjustment comes outside of school rather than inside. Attaining maturity, the Ladino tries to find a place in the local community, but too often he leaves and moves away to seek his personal rewards.

From the above it is certain that the schools are not now agents of radical social change. They could be with certain pedagogical ideas or more inspired teachers. But the marginal economics of the rural community and the poor urban barrios, the poverty ratio, keeps the majority of school-aged children from ever attending a school; those who do go to school usually stay for only three years, an insufficient time to absorb basic skills or to become functionally literate. The situation is complicated by the government's hesitation over how to include the Indio into national society. And the schools seem doomed to merely a marginal role in fostering modernity.

Yet despite its obvious limitations, the school may act as an agent of certain social changes. Once a child has had some schooling, his occupational aspiration increases. At the risk of severing his community ties, the younger generation of Ladinoized Indios and

of Ladinos are willing to make the break and move to a larger urban area. For the individual from a poor urban barrio, any degree of schooling affords him more chances of vertical mobility with increased job opportunities.

Guatemala's current economic condition is intrinsically connected with her Spanish heritage as well as current social conditions. One cannot speak of economics without including the significant non-economic factors. Spain's merchantile policy was based on the premise that what the colony produced in raw materials was primarily for her benefit. There was no attempt by the elite land-owning class to distribute its means among the colony's populations. And so nineteenth century independence did not bring about any real change in the economic structure. By 1950 two-thirds of Guatemalans were still involved in agriculture, while only one-fifth of the land area was being used for pasture or cultivation.[24]

Guatemala suffers from the classical ladifundia and minifundia problem. Known as the "coffee republic," its agricultural sector is dominated by foreign interests accounting for the greatest percentage of total agricultural exports. This situation could perhaps be solved by better use of present agricultural and human resources. As one individual involved in technical assistance viewed

[24]Parker, op. cit., p. 113.

the situation:

> Guatemala has sufficient potential in human resources to provide enough food for all of Central America with proper technical assistance and usage of land resources. Instead, she had to import basic foodstuffs to feed her own people.[25]

Again her economic differences should be viewed in historical perspective. Before the days of Arévalo-Arbenz the economy remained feudalistic. The average wage in Ubico's time was the equivalent of 30 cents a day; in some regions, common laborers received even less.[26] Those without work were termed vagrants. After the Revolution, years later, the welfare concept became institutionalized and the urban and rural workers began to receive some degree of social benefit. The union movement, outlawed in Ubico's time and involved in political leftist activity during Arbenz's days, finally secured some gains for the average worker. But both mobile and stable rural workers have born the brunt of political fluctuations as they have tried to lift themselves out of the degradation and misery with which they are surrounded. For example, many of the initial land reform gains made under Arbenz were eradicated during the administration of Castillo Armas, as he "returned

---

[25]Taken from Interview Schedule, No. 29.

[26]Chester Lloyd James, Guatemala: Past and Present (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1940), p. 165.

titles for the appropriated properties to their original owners, and many private owners proceeded to dispossess the farmers of the lands they had occupied."[27]

The industrial sector grew as the emergent middle classes aspired to greater consumer buying powers. But the process of obtaining the skills necessary to an industrial society was indeed slow. This was reflected in a study undertaken by the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development, which found the following major obstacles to industrial development: high cost for raw material, low productivity of labor, technological deficiencies, lack of sufficient capital, and inadequate transportation facilities.[28] While all of these obstacles are still present, general improvement continues. Especially since the formation of the Central American Common Market, Guatemala has had new incentives for further investment.

In the middle of the twentieth century, however, less than one-fourth of the Guatemalans over seven years of age wear shoes, and those who do are in the majority Ladinos.[29] Statistically, perhaps, the gains are small; but in comparison with conditions before World War II,

---

[27]Parker, op. cit., p. 127.

[28]Economic Development of Guatemala: Summary (Washington: International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 1951), pp. 27-31.

[29]Parker, op. cit., p. 123.

the change has been little short of phenomenal. A Guatemalan who lived through this period senses the difference:

> Since 1944 you must realize the situation in which the country was. It was total darkness before we were brought out into the bright light.[30]

Religious

President Barrios separated Church and State in 1879 with various laws which are still intact. Although these two elements have not conflicted as in Mexico, nonetheless, Church-State relations in Guatemala have not always been cordial. A number of forces make it difficult for the Church to be as influential as it might wish with its own people; and even though the percentage of the non-Catholic population is small, it has increased in recent years.

The Indio, since colonial times, has been generally relegated to an inferior status by the Church and therefore has largely remained outside its psychological and spiritual influence. The Indio is a realist; his life is centered around his home, his family and the soil. He does not understand Christian symbolism as easily as a Euro-American. His symbolism is something he worked out for himself or had handed down from his Indian heritage. "They see nothing inconsistent at all

---

[30]Taken from Interview Schedule, No. 4.

in their beliefs. An Indian spends his days close to the hills and the plains; it is not strange, then, that he would make a connection between them and divinity."[31] Language still separates the great mass of Indios from the Church, since few priests can effectively communicate in the various dialects (although many Protestant missionary groups have been very active in translation activities).

The dearth of priests is another obstacle. There are over a thousand churches in the country, but only 279 priests: or one priest for every 11,100 Catholics.[32] The majority of priests have no wealth and are inept at solving the many problems close at hand. Holleran's observations are still valid in many parts of the country; the native priests

> have been brought up in an old world tradition. They are, without exception, courteous and willing to talk all day about the plight of the poor people, but seem to be without the semblance of an idea of how to do anything to remedy matters.[33]

Many of the clergy are foreign born, which tends to widen the division between the native clergy. Native priests are seldom well educated in secular and sacred matters;

---

[31]Mary P. Holleran, Church and State in Guatemala (New York: Columbia University Press, 1949), p. 232.

[32]Basic Ecclesiastical Statistics for Latin America, 1960 (Maryknoll, New York: World Horizon Reports), pp. 34-37, 42-43.

[33]Holleran, op. cit., pp. 236-237.

this is because the Church lacks the necessary financial resources to adequately train their spiritual leaders. "The clergyman cannot be and is not a more superior product than can be expected from the social and economic environment in which he is found."[34]

Another obstacle which isolates and insulates the Indio from the Ladino, and the Indio from the Church, is the lack of adequate transportation facilities and the rugged mountainous terrain. Even though extensive road building has taken place, the lines of communication between Indio and Church are only now being established. After four hundred years of separation many bridges have yet to be built.

Protestantism, introduced in the last century, has made noticable gains since 1944. Approximately 2.80 per cent of the population are converts to one denomination or another, the vast majority from the lower social groups rather than the upper classes. Missionary leadership tends to assume a United States orientation while not adequately perceiving Guatemala's problems as the Guatemalan sees them.

While the Church has limited financial and material resources, it has grown during the past twenty years. The establishment of the Universidad de Rafael Landivar in 1962 is one example. The idea had been mentioned

---

[34] Ibid., p. 238.

before, but the first concrete steps were taken when Licenciado Rafael Pinol offered land in 1942 for a university, and Ingeniero Luis Schesinger Carrera made a similar offer in 1947. In 1959 a group of professional men gathered up plans for Universidad Landivar, which was finally established on October 18, 1961:[35] at last the monopoly on higher education by San Carlos had been broken.

As the political barometer shifted to the Left, public opinion shifted in favor of a Catholic university. The Constitution of 1956 aided the process by including an article which left the way open for the future establishment of other universities. Many influential parents felt the need "for a sound type of education which would bring out Catholic principles" and give the student "a good professional education to meet Guatemalan needs especially in the surrounding of a 'sound moral place';" many had been alarmed by the leftist student activities at San Carlos and the ensuing political pressures on government. But to the existing University, the idea of establishing another, be it private or Catholic, was astounding. Forces close to San Carlos were very much opposed, as one observer on the scene noted:

---

[35] Fundación y primeros anos de la Universidad Rafael Landivar (Guatemala: Tip. Sanches and de Guise, Julio, 1965), pp. 5-7.

> Catholic parents were fed up with the political chaos at the University of San Carlos and they wanted to do something about it. There was genuine feeling about this: something must be done; that the students must get their education. So, many of the priests were active in the propaganda program of the University's formation prior to 1961; and Church officials naturally were very influential. It is astound- to realize how the University of San Carlos fought the coming of the existence of Universidad Landivar. San Carlos was stunned out of its mind to realize what had happened.[36]

The reaction of the government, executive and legislative, was positive; at least they were not actively opposed to it. President Ydigoras Fuentes called it the "first private university" rather than mentioning its Catholic orientations. With Ydigoras' pronouncements the people began to accept the idea of another university. Even now there is increasing mutual cooperation and communication between the two universities. Guatemala is a modernizing nation that needs all the skilled manpower that its higher educational institutions can turn out. After Landivar, Universidad Mariano Galvez and Universidad del Valle were established in 1965; the former is supported by Evangelicals, and the latter is an outgrowth of the American School.

Education

What one writer has called "the crisis of education in present-day Guatemala"[37] is part of the continuing

---

[36]Taken from Interview Schedule, No. 17.

[37]ODIE, op. cit., p. 1.

crisis throughout Guatemalan society resulting from decades of authoritarian rule. Reform in education came slowly, encountering great resistance; but the Revolution did influence formal education. Nash has suggested that education becomes a force for social change only when the process of change is well under way.[38] Indeed in Guatemala, the formal educational structure has been reformed although it has not discovered the way to solve its own crisis.

The entire system of education, and especially the supply of teachers, during the Ubiquismo period were very limited. When the 1944 Revolution came, according to Orellana,[39] the country faced two basic educational problems. First was the urgent necessity of preparing enough teachers: existing institutions were deficient, the need was unbelievably great, and extensive internal pedagogical reform was needed. The second problem was the need to increase opportunities in secondary education for those who wanted to continue their studies at the university level.

Solving the above problems was a momentous task. But progress has been made since 1944, as the following

---

[38]Manning Nash, "The Role of Village Schools in the Process of Cultural and Economic Modernization," Social and Economic Studies, Vol. XIV, No. 1 (March,1965), p. 131.

[39]Orellana, op. cit., p. 376.

table suggests. While many people of school age are not enrolled, these figures do show an increase. Approximately three times the number of existing institutions have been established since 1944, and roughly thirteen times as many students have been involved. Even though the illiteracy rate is still 70 per cent, and the annual rate of population growth is 2.98 per cent[40] and growing, Guatemala has attempted to reinforce its educational system.

TABLE 3.1

Years	Official Secondary and Normal Schools	Pupils
1944	13	1,861*
1954	22	7,098*
1965	49	13,137**

*Orellana, Historia, p. 375.
**Felix Hermandes Andrino, La Educación en Central America, IIME (Guatemala: Universidad de San Carlos, 1965), p. 108.

The rising educational aspirations evidenced by the above data constitutes a new social force which will influence the total education process. Educational opportunity now spreads out vertically and horizontally throughout the social structure. This in turn affects the locus of

[40]Economic Commission for Latin America, Human Resources of Central America, Panama and Mexico, 1950-1980, in Relation to Some Aspects of Economic Development (New York: United Nations, 1960), p. 4 and Table 17.

control, as the degree of tension between the controllers and consumers of education increases as shown by the occuring demand for reform.

There has been a movement away from the teaching of purely intellectual skills to include a greater emphasis towards pupil needs during the adolescent years. This can be seen in curricula reforms which grew out of the National Teachers Congress in 1955, reforms taking effect in 1961. Ladinos and Indios are becoming assimilated into the national education program, shifting the goals of the school.

While the degree of reform is not dramatic when compared to the political and social changes, nonetheless, significant change has occurred within formal education, some of which are mentioned below.

In 1945 the teachers of El Salvador and Guatemala met at Santa Ana, El Salvador, to formulate educational plans based on common interests and scientific pedagogy.[41] By 1946-1947 new programs of study were put into practice in both elementary and secondary schools. Teachers' salaries, which before the Revolution ranged from $7 to $30 a month,[42] were increased; a teachers' union was formed; and the Faculty of Humanities at San Carlos was established to provide teacher training at the university

---

[41] Orellana, op. cit., p. 364.

[42] Ibid., p. 435.

level. Federation Schools, a new school design intended to facilitate modern methods of teaching and school organization, were built in several cities. Teachers in these schools were paid $15 more a month than those in the regular schools. However, the architectual design had several flaws, and later these schools were discontinued. The changes in the educational system during the first six-year period of the Revolution were matched by increased financial expenditures. The per-pupil expenditures, $.79 in 1944, had increased in 1954 to $3.27.[43] The cumulative efforts of the Arévalo-Arbenz administrations were probably greater than those of any of their predecessors in this century.

The political crisis in 1954 brought a nation-wide governmental re-evaluation of social, economic and political policies. Education, which had gathered momentum during the first phase of the revolution, still had many unsolved problems. Significant changes in education could be seen in the First National Congress of Teachers held early in 1955. A special committee of the Congress was authorized to make recommendations to the Ministry; and nearly all of their suggestions were implemented later that year. Principally the changes focused on secondary education, the most crucial problem.

---

[43] OPIE, op. cit., pp. 49-50

A "pre-vocationa;" cycle of three years and a "diversified cycle" of two years were set up in 1959, and all major recommendations evolving from the Congress were in practice by 1961.

Prior to this reorganization, secondary curricula consisted of long lists of unrelated subjects, lacking globalizacion, or integration. Now, although students do not have electives for the first cycle, some electives are permitted in the second. Traditional education operated with a high degree of dysfunctionalism: society's needs and activities changed but those of the school did not. Therefore, curriculum reform began to emphasize real life experiences, courses which directly related to the needs of the students, and objectives of education were more frequently stated in terms of human behavior. Concern for education in citizenship and democratic awareness increased. "The designers of the new programs in Guatemala were convinced that their future citizens should be equipped not only with the convictions but also with the skills to make democracy work."[44] Social Studies programs now emphasize the relationship between the community and school, and educational planners intend that school activities shall reflect basic democratic concepts.

---

[44]Robert B. MacVean and Francisco C. Nieves, "Educational Reorganization in Guatemala," Comparative Education Review, Vol. I, No. 3 (February, 1958), pp. 18-24.

The importance of guidance programs to the school has been recognized since 1956 when the Ministry established a new department in charge of vocational and educational guidance.

Historically, secondary education was organized to prepare the elite for entrance to the University of San Carlos: the number so prepared was very small. Even today school expansion at the secondary level is much slower than primary. But the significant change is in attitude, and one "of the aspirations of Guatemalan educators is to educate all adolescent youth."[45]

Extra National Assistance

Ever since the Revolution, Guatemala has received extensive technical assistance, from 1946-1950 more than its proportionate share. From the United States alone, Guatemala has received more dollar aid per capita than any other country in Latin America.[46] During the next three years the political climate changed as interest in such programs declined. In 1950 the government ordered an American educational mission to leave, and effectively restricted the activities of the other technical assistance specialists. When the political crisis subsided

---

[45] Ibid., p. 22.

[46] Arthur T. Mosher, Technical Cooperation in Latin American Agriculture (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), p. 20.

in 1954, technical assistance programs again proliferated as Guatemala received nearly $16 per capita.[47] In addition during the period from 1954 to 1958, "Guatemala was also the recipient of aid amounting to $1 million each from the United National technical assistance and children's relief programs of substantial loans from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the United States Export-Import Bank."[48]

Bi-lateral programs in rural and technical education were initiated under the Institute of Inter American Affairs (IIAA) in 1945. When the International Cooperation Administration (ICA) was organized, it took over the above programs and added teacher training and pre-vocational training. Many of the recommendations of the National Teaching Congress in 1955 were implemented with the aid of these technical assistance programs. Currently the Agency for International Development (AID) is assisting in school construction, building a vocational school, and undertaking a pilot project for sixty teachers who teach in the native languages. The total amount of AID educational assistance during 1962-1963 was approximately one and a half million dollars, covering projects

---

[47]Parker, op. cit., p. 112.

[48]Ibid.

in vocational, urban, rural and mass education, as well as the work of the educational servicio (SCIDE).[49]

There is no one set of criteria for effectively evaluating the total impact of educational technical assistance. Difficulties in various programs due to differing ideological views between the countries involved hinders any such evaluation. While the Ministry of Education reacted unfavorably to the ROCAP textbook series, other programs have had noted degrees of success. "Operación Escuela" started during Ydigoras' administration, built many schools in isolated areas where none had previously existed. These schools were financed equally from U.S. AID, national government and local community funds. Many of the In-Service teacher training programs and workshops of ICA-AID have been very well attended and have often had more requests than they could handle. The United States Information Service (USIS) has sponsored over five hundred persons, all teachers or lawyers, of different socio-economic backgrounds, on scholarships to the United States. During the post war period UNESCO has also run cooperative programs with ICA-AID. The UNESCO programs generally have emphasized teacher training for Adult Education and vocational education guidance programs. The Ministry

---

[49]Howard B. Leavitt, "U.S. Technical Assistance to Latin American Education," Phi Delta Kappan, Vol. XLV, No. 4 (January, 1964), pp. 220-225.

of Education, in cooperation with the above agencies, has assisted in various in-service and workshop programs in teacher education.

The impact of these projects has been felt in many sectors. Most of them had United States advisors at the start; now there are considerably fewer. Many people through exchange programs and scholarships have acquired basic teaching skills and now require guidance only in the planning of practical programs. The important factor is that there has been significant feedback. As one technical assistant advisor put it:

> Before we used to have U.S. advisors. Now we don't need advisors; we have consultants. Due to the exchange of people, the Guatemalans that have been sent to the States have come back here and become educated in their specialities; they have the knowledge but lack the planning. In this aspect of foreign aid there has been feedback and the feedback is good. They know that the AID program is working and they have proof.[50]

The Role of Military and Rural Education

The link between the military, the rural Ladino and the education of the Indio is close. For many who enter the military ranks are illiterate and come from the lower classes. Since rural educational facilities are deficient, the Indios have always had a high degree of illiteracy and their connections with the school have

[50]Taken from Interview Schedule, No. 29.

been weak. These rural areas and their populations react to the effects of social change much more slowly than urban areas, yet the aspirations for social change are perhaps greater. The Ministry of Education has expanded its budgets and technical assistance programs in the rural areas. But birth rate increases have negated many of the gains. In 1946, there were 300,000 school-age children in the rural areas and only 35,000 in school. Thus 89 per cent were illiterate and not in school.[51] Clearly the Ladino has a better chance of becoming literate than the Indio.

Budgetary expenditures of the Ministry alone do not explain the discrepancy. Certain cultural values and attitudes held in rural areas inhibit the school's functioning as an integral part of the local society. While the laws of the country require school attendance, they are seldom enforced. The average teacher, with only a superficial knowledge of the Indio, usually does not fully appreciate native customs nor does he wish to learn native Indian dialects. The dearth of textbooks and other teaching materials hinder the classroom learning processes. Even now long lists of unrelated items are memorized, few of which have any connection with what the child faces in everyday life. Furthermore, the Indios consider school attendance more an obligation than an opportunity. The parents generally do not see school

[51] Orellana, op. cit., p. 353.

as having any practical value: the father wants his sons in the fields and the mother wants the daughters in the house. The few who do go to school often drop out before grade three, hindering any development of the intellectual or creative child. Consequently, the bond between the child and the school in rural areas is weak.

Of course the school is not the only source of education. The military is now playing a significant educational role which affects rural areas. The defense needs of the country are not crucial, so its army can be diverted to peace-time activities. Many of those who enter the ranks are illiterate, and in order to function within the military system they are taught how to read, write and further expand their skills. The military has been politically influential; however many times the educational programs of the Ministry have been disrupted or discontinued, its literacy programs have been continuous. As one who has been on the scene over the past two decades puts it:

> The military's significance must be noted and appreciated especially in literacy and adult education.
>
> The majority of the military come from a completely illiterate background and they have to educate their own people, as they don't have any great pressing defense needs. The military gives them books; books which are free, and it isn't the Ministry of Education! That with these books the people become educated. There is here a distinct role of social change. . . .
>
> Teachers ask for the books quite often and they are able to get them from the military!

> These books can be seen in the campesino's home. You enter some very poor homes and up on the top shelf you will see a few books, many of them tattered. They were given by the military and they are still there and still being used. There has been a change of attitude; there has definitely been a change!
>
> You must realize that we are in a country where 70 per cent of the people are illiterate, and therefore the military's role was quite significant in its social impact. Another thing to notice is that the military's adult education and literacy program have survived through all these political upheavals. . . .
>
> The first thing that Castillo Armas did when he took office as President was to rule that rural education was to be stopped because it was putting communistic ideas into the people's minds; for all practical purposes rural education came to a halt--but the military program in adult education and literacy still continued. . . .[52]

The University of San Carlos

The University of San Carlos has not recently matched the academic status it was known for during the eighteenth century Enlightenment. During the greater part of the nineteenth century the University produced very few outstanding scholars; many times its doors were closed. Nor did the first part of the twentieth century bring much improvement, for authoritarian rule often restricted university life. Finally the University entered the modern age on March 11, 1945, when it was granted autonomy by the Constitution of 1945. This was further re-enforced in January, 1947, with the passage

[52]Taken from Interview Schedule, No. 22.

by the national congress of Decree No. 324, "the organic law of the University of San Carlos."

A typical Latin American University, San Carlos is composed of a federation of faculties, schools and independent research institutes. Since 1945 it can establish and modify its internal political structure, select and regulate its own administrators, make its own budget, and determine curriculum requirements as it sees fit. In addition, a Superior Council composed of the representatives of the ten faculties, the professional colleges, the alumni, and students now governs the university.

Students have increasingly participated in the governing of the university. Their representation on the Council gives students a voice in the administration, as most important policies are made by that body. The 1965 student strike over the General Studies program was supported by two kinds of students enrolled in the university: those who were studying for degrees and those who were political activists. One of the students involved in the strike, a serious degree candidate, summed up the situation in the following way:

> The strike was concerned with the inadequacy of the General Studies program, which is supposed to prepare students for the vocational aspect of his university training. Both student groups objected to the program as it was.
>
> The difference between the student groups was in the methods employed. The FEUP was the most active and leftist. They take everything

> they can get their hands on, make a cause out of it, get a martyr and proclaim a strike to get publicity. These people are leftist to the extent that some have received training in Cuba and have definite contact with the FAR, the guerilleros. . .
>
> The political activists and the students who study have hardly any physical contact with each other while at the university, and there isn't any social contact outside either. Both groups will only come together when there is a university need such as the above strike.
>
> The result of the strike meant that reform did come and the students won their point. Now the curriculum of San Carlos is reorganized to fit the needs of the students.[53]

San Carlos suffers from too many part-time professors and students. Classes begin late in the afternoon and continue into the evening hours. The professors have occupations elsewhere, so their university activities constitute a form of "moonlighting." They are underpaid and often retain their university relationship for professional prestige. By 1966 the staff of the San Carlos numbered 744, but only 65, or 8.7 per cent, were full time.[54] Many of the students are part time; they are employed in the daytime and attend classes in the evening. "Oftentimes this employment is not regarded as financially necessary to remain in school, but as a

---

[53] Taken from Interview Schedule, No. 30.

[54] Willard H. Mitchell, CSUCA: A Regional Strategy for Higher Education in Central America, Occasional Publications, No. 7, Center of Latin American Studies (Lawrence, Kansas: The University of Kansas, 1967), p. 38.

professional apprenticeship of at least equivalent importance to their classroom studies."[55] University enrollment at San Carlos has more than doubled between 1950 and 1962, yet the average number of students graduated remained the same: 2,176 were enrolled in 1950 with 112 graduating, and in 1962 there were 4,879 and only 115 graduated.[56] This corresponds with IIME's research that the average length of time to complete a degree at San Carlos is 13.32 years.[57] The introduction of the General Studies program has contributed some university reform, but the traditional faculties of Economics and Law are generally opposed to internal change and reform or any regional cooperative activity with other Central American universities.

The creation of the Faculties of Humanities, a long sought goal, had special implications for pedagogical studies, as within this faculty was created the Department of Education. Historically, and today, teacher education has been a specific function of the normal schools which operate on the secondary level. Since 1945 teacher training has received university status, but has produced only a few graduates. What is

---

[55] Ibid., p. 10.

[56] Ibid.

[57] IIME, A Case Study: Academic Progress of University Students, University of San Carlos, 1963 (Guatemala: Universidad de San Carlos, 1964), p. 2.

encouraging is the increasing number of teachers who have several years of professional and liberal arts training as part-time students at the various universities.

Summary

Differences within Guatemala's educational system are reflections of the existing social and cultural differences of the society at large. It is change in the socio-economic, political and religious spheres at the local and regional levels which precedes change in educational systems. The local school tends to operate as a conservative agent rather than as a radical instrument for social change. So formal education only assists processes of social change which are well under way. Now that clear evidences of socio-economic, political and religious value change are apparent to all, formal education is beginning to enter a significant period of transformation. This transformation is manifested in what the Ministry calls the "actual crisis in education."[58] Guatemala, like many other developing countries, has certain characteristics in common with its neighbors; but some, in the opinion of the Ministry, are unique to Guatemala. Their causes are found in the following factors:

---

[58]OPIE, op. cit., p. 1-3.

The educational philosophy of the country has never been clearly defined. In some documents may be found scattered attempts; yet there does not exist anywhere a clear statement. Until one is found, "the ideals of the nation" are on fragile grounds. Consequently, a "national political education" which is "stable and fixed" is impossible. Not having clear ends and means, educational institutions as well as technology have drifted. Lack of school discipline, poor teaching methods, and the insufficient or deficient professional formation of teachers, all manifest the lack of a clearly defined philosophy. In strict sense, there has been no national system of education because of this fact.

The past shows little or no evidence that the government desires to maintain a minimum educational standard for all the people; it has forgotten the actual conditions of the Guatemalan social integration and its "low index of cultural development." Certainly the formal education system and its links with the people have been extremely poor, and in many cases, never existed. Finally, in Guatemala the techniques of educational planning have never been utilized. While there have been isolated attempts, no full scale plan has ever been implemented. When it comes, such national planning must

recognize fully the social structure, the various cultural patterns, and the economic realities of the country's resources.

The present social structure of the country must be reformed. In a country where 71.9 per cent are unable to read and write, social reform can only be initiated by establishing a plan that will educate all the population of school age.[59] The Ministry of Education and the people now realize the need for universal participation in education. With this awareness may come the actual processes of educational change.

---

[59] OPIE, op. cit., p. 2.

CHAPTER IV

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOL

Backgrounds

The American School is a unique institution. While it relates to the national system of education and its traditional practices, the School is a private, community-type non-profit organization. Therefore, in a sense it is a hybrid institution, built upon a foundation basically Guatemalan, but different, having adopted many educational practices from the United States.

Historical influences permeate present-day Guatemalan society, and these are reflected in the centralized educational system. Educational ideas stemming from the colonial times continued to exert influence when Guatemala achieved nationhood. Throughout the national period private and church-related schools have been more valued than the public schools. Social class structure from the colonial times influenced the educational patterns. The coming of independence did not basically change educational thought, nor could succeeding authoritarian governments substantially change

educational practices. Up to and including the period of Ubiquismo Guatemalan education was a product of its Hispanic past.

While not part of Guatemala's long-term development, the School has been affected by the Hispanic past. The School began on a private basis, tuition fees being the major source of financial support. The secondary program includes the official Bachillerato which emphasizes university preparation; so the greater part of the student body comes from that segment of the population where children expect and parents can afford university training. Today the School is obligated to follow the curriculum syllabus drawn up by the Ministry of Education; the School's calendar is identical to the one used in the public schools.

Yet the School has illustrated a new kind of institution as it parted with traditional practices, introducing many innovations. Its establishment came during an auspicious period, as Guatemala was beginning to break with the past and to try new ideas. The American School is non-sectarian; and its student body comes from diverse religious, national and socio-economic backgrounds. This is novel in Guatemala for most private schools are oriented to a particular clientele and are not concerned with the community at large. The School is organized as a non-profit organization, and its board

serves without compensation; these are contrary to customary practice. Later in 1949 the School was designated as the country's first laboratory school, which permitted it to attempt a number of educational innovations.in addition to its regular duties. The original permission granted the School this status and enabled it to modify curricula, hire foreign personnel and change examinations. This status has been renewed, elaborated and amplified several times since 1949. It will be discussed in detail in the following chapter.

Since it is bi-national, the American School serves both U.S. dependents and Guatemalan nationals; the latter group is by far the largest. The combination of American-Guatemalan curricula offered in the secondary program has generated a unique educational program. Basically the School uses the official Guatemalan program, but it has been able to make many modifications. (See Table 4.3 and Chapter 5.) Whenever the School undertook educational innovations, it has had to be keenly aware of the country's national heritage. It has been careful not to introduce changes which could curtail its growth and acceptance. Furthermore, as a bi-national school it operates under permission granted by the Guatemalan Ministry and is supervised by the Minister.

In order to place the American School of Guatemala City in its proper cultural context, we must understand the political, socio-economic, religious setting within which the School operates. The preceding chapters have attempted to develop this background. And the educational situation in Guatemala reflects changes in this background. To summarize, then, when one considers the American School in relation to Guatemalan education, one must remember:

1. The constitution affirms that education is a function of the state;

2. Education is highly centralized in the Office of the Ministry of Education;

3. Although a program of universal education is on the statute books, the laws requiring school attendance are not yet enforced;

4. There is no historical tradition of teaching as a profession in the public schools;

5. There is no adequate well-organized program of teacher preparation (especially for the secondary level) or of upgrading teachers in-service;

6. There is no single central agency to which teachers can look for professional assistance and inspiration, especially regarding Spanish language publications;

7. Textbooks and other teaching materials are

not prepared locally in sufficient quantity and quality to meet requirements of a modern education curriculum;

8. There is no national (or departamento) organized and supported laboratory service where teaching materials, methods and principles can be demonstrated and tested by school officials.

Brief History

The original idea of the parents who formed the School was to build an educational institution using the most advanced educational techniques in order to prepare their children in the best way to become good citizens. They conceived of an institution which was non-profit, non-sectarian and free of partisan political influence.

This original idea has been amplified and enriched since the beginning years, especially along the lines of contributing to national education; the School has striven to organize itself as a laboratory school, offering the results of its experiences and research to the Ministry with the possibility of application to national education. Of course the School does not pretend that all of its work is completely applicable without modification to all sectors of national education. It remains an urban school, contributing wherever it can.

The American School of Guatemala was founded in May, 1945, by a small group of Guatemalan and U.S. parents who wanted a bi-lingual school for their children. The Guatemalan government approved the original statutes on August 24, 1945, establishing the School as a non-profit, non-denominational, community-type organization. The governing body of the school, composed of the original group of parents, became the American School Association (ASA).

From the very beginning, the ASA was very much interested in giving the best education possible for their children, within the framework of Guatemalan needs and which comprehended the American cultures. The Guatemalan government in 1949 designated the School as a laboratory school for a period of ten years, the first such institution in Latin America. As the responsibilities of the School increased because of expanded enrollment and laboratory school status, the original 1945 statutes were modified and the School reincorporated under more adequate statutes. These provided a sounder financial base for the expanding School, permitted the issuance of bonds to finance the building program, and provided for a board of directors of five members instead of three.

The year 1949 proved to be very eventful in the School's development. It initiated a complete academic program,

kindergarten through high school. The Bachillerato program, the Guatemalan equivalent to the United States high school, was introduced. The Lenshen High School, a private English language secondary school combined with the American School. By combining facilities and thus avoiding duplication a larger student body and faculty gave greater stability to the American School.

This growth made a larger site necessary. An active financial campaign raised funds to purchase property and erect temporary buildings. The School moved to a seventeen-acre site, Las Conchas Finca, located in the residential part of Zona 13 on the outskirts of the city. Classes began with over 400 students in attendance. The School continued there until 1961 when it moved to its present location. While it was not possible to take up a permanent building program in the early 1950's, the School concentrated its energies on improving its academic activities. During this twelve-year period, preliminary discussions were held with architectural and construction consultants concerning the future and permanent buildings to be erected.

While the School had received permission to employ up to 50 per cent of foreign teaching personnel, it never used the full amount. In fact, as time went

on the Guatemalan staff was improved by various means, enabling the School in 1958 to request a decrease from 50 per cent to 40 per cent of the foreign personnel hired, a request granted in early 1959. This was followed by a twenty-year extension of its laboratory status by the Guatemalan government. By 1960 the School was ready to begin the building plan. It exchanged the Las Conchas site for one in Vista Hermosa III. With the assistance of local banks, donations and a long-term loan from the U.S. government, the School began the construction of permanent buildings. The first phase was completed in 1961; the second and third are scheduled for 1967.

Reasons for Its Establishment

Generally, Guatemalan public educational institutions have not met the needs of the Euro-Americans, the Cosmopolites, the local upper middle classes and elements of the middle class. Their educational needs have historically been met by private institutions of different types: schools established for the various Catholic orders, several English-type schools run by one or two individuals, and schools which were basically profit-making adventures. As long as these schools functioned there was no apparent need for an American community-type school.

The need for quality education and the idea of a bi-lingual school hastened the establishment of the American School in 1945; but events prior to the School's establishment were equally as significant. The German School had established a long tradition of academic excellence and conducted part of the instruction program in English. However, during World War II the German School became exceedingly pro-Nazi in its program and the British and United States governments influenced its closing in 1942. To fill the above gap and also to provide a school with a greater U.S. orientation, the Bowman School became quite interesting to a certain group of parents. The school was very small and offered a Calvert-type instruction. It was owned and operated by one individual, Miss Barbara Bowman. Towards the end of World War II, however, Miss Bowman closed the school, sold the equipment and returned to the States. With its closing there was no other school offering U.S.-type instruction within Guatemala City. Also, the number of United States citizens residing in Guatemala increased due to people connected with technical assistance programs, attached to the diplomatic corps, and engaged in various business undertakings. When these people came to Guatemala, they wanted an education for their children which would be comparable to U.S. standards.

The above factors helped establish the need for an American School. The group of American and Guatemalan parents, who now had no way to give their children a bi-lingual education, contacted Miss Bowman; and she agreed to return to Guatemala. Upon her arrival in May, 1945, plans were hastily made; and by June fifty students and Miss Bowman with two teachers, Mrs. Marta de Lusky and Mr. Robert B. MacVean, opened the American School. Even though the school year had started in May, many families who had already enrolled their children in other schools transferred them to the American School, so that enrollment at the end of 1945 was about 75. The school continued to grow rapidly in attendance and the teaching staff was soon expanded. Miss Bowman did not want to undertake the growing administrative responsibilities, and so Mr. MacVean was named director.

During this same period, the country was experiencing its social-political revolution felt by all sectors. Institutions and new laws were being created to meet the expanding needs. The new Labor Code of 1947 directly affected the establishment and operation of the American School, stating that only 10 per cent of the personnel of an institution could be extra-nationals. This provision placed the future of the recently established school on precarious grounds:

either the School had to overcome the restrictive provisions or it would have to close.

This period of Arévalismo was unique in comparison to Guatemala's past: new ideas were tried which influenced various sectors of the country and its social strata; the Ministry of Education became aware of neglected and isolated peoples, and programs were initiated in remote areas; the welfare concept was being accepted and institutionalized, such as the Institute of Social Security (IGSS). A definite ambient prevailed, stimulating the process of open-ended change and the acceptance of new ideas. Another aspect of this period was a corresponding degree of intense national and political feelings which manifested themselves in anti-Gringo feelings. One United States citizen, who was closely associated with the School's founding and early development, summed up the situation:

> You must realize that because of Arévalo Guatemala was going through a very distinct political change. Also at that time, due to the Labor Code, American personnel beyond 10 per cent could not be permitted into the country to work at the School. It was at this point that the School either had to decide what it was going to do and decide drastically or the school would, for almost all practical purposes, be closed.
>
> Then the idea of "swapping horses" was suggested. First that they get permission for more than 10 per cent Americans to be permitted in the country and to work at the school.

> In exchange, the American School would promise to serve as the Guatemalan experimental school so that the country (i.e., the Ministry of Education) could save money. It was an even "swap" and both points were accepted.
>
> One reason why this was possible was because it occurred in a definite context--a political context in which the ambiente was extremely favorable.[1]

While the political climate encouraged change and experimentation, there remained an anti-gringo feeling within the Ministry of Education. They felt that the School represented a profit-making adventure that was contrary to the best interests of Guatemala. Until the Minister of Education visited the School the Ministry tended to ignore the existence of the School. However, shortly after one visit the Ministry changed its opinion. One Guatemalan closely connected to the School's early developments relates his experience with the Minister's visit:

> The Ministry of Education was definitely in the camp of Arévalo. The Minister, Manuel Galich, was very much anti-American and against the United States. Therefore, he did not think too much of the founding, or the need, or even the existence of the American School. . . . Anything that smelled American was labeled anti-gringo to the Guatemalan mind, especially during Arévalo's time, was not considered to be necessary or even good . . .
>
> "Why don't you [Galich] come out to the American School and see it for yourself that it is not necessarily pro-gringo, ni lujoso y no es lucrativo."
>
> One day he brought Galich to the School. There sitting outside in front of the School were three clergy--a rabbi, a Maryknoll priest, and a protestant minister. They

---

[1]Taken from Interview Schedule, No. 17.

> had come there to give their religious classes. Then the clergymen were presented to the Minister. Naturally they continued talking and had a very informal discussion. Afterwards, they went inside and met Miss Bowman who showed them the School . . .
>
> The Minister was very much impressed and very moved. Soon afterwards the governmental document allowing the American School to become an Escuela de Ensayo was made.
>
> This visit to the School by the Minister was directly related to the subsequent document (i.e., which granted Laboratory Status). It certainly changed the opinion of the Ministry of Education, and everything could proceed from that point.[2]

The School, since it is a private institution supported by tuition, has a definite social class orientation. Children of low income families are generally unable to attend. The School has to maintain its tuition level so that it can continue to provide the student body with the best education possible. Therefore, it is the economic realities, rather than any philosophical considerations, that limit who is served by the School.

To counteract this, the School has maintained an active scholarship program, creating opportunities for deserving poor students to get an education. Parents of such students have made great sacrifices so their children may attend; and the School itself is most interested in having a general cross section. The School firmly believes that:

---

[2]Taken from Interview Schedule, No. 21.

> students from middle class and lower middle-class families who graduate from the American School will have a chance to make a contribution in business and the professions in Guatemala. The School is interested in having a cross section rather than exclusively students from families who can afford to pay the tuition. At the same time, the School has no real need for the students, from another point of view, for there are plenty of applications for the admission of students from families who could easily pay the tuition charges of the American School . . .
>
> The increasing cost of operating the American School makes it constantly more difficult for many families to afford the tuition charged. The only counterbalancing effect is the granting of scholarships to outstanding students from deserving families.[3]

Even while there is a built-in factor of class orientation which limits the student population, its laboratory school experiences are widely known. Perhaps while the influence is not proven in one sense, in another it has at least been recognized. One U.S. technical assistant advisor summed it up in the following way:

> . . . the influence of the American School is widespread. It is not public knowledge, and it always has been that way. But everyone knows. You cannot always prove the influence of the School, but it won't be too far in the distant future that we will be able to use scientific instruments to prove the influence.[4]

---

[3]"Important Points Concerning the Scholarship Program of the American School of Guatemala," Second Bi-Annual Report to the Inter-American Schools Service, Washington, D.C., 1960 (Guatemala: The American School, 1960), following p. 7. (Hereinafter referred to as Report to IASS.)

[4]Taken from Interview Schedule, No. 22.

Objectives as Seen by Different People

The stated objectives of the American School in 1945, 1948 and today have remained essentially the same: first, to give students the best education possible utilizing the most advanced techniques and methods available; second, to share its experiences for application to Guatemalan education. The ASA, the Board of Directors and the parents have maintained these basic objectives without any major deviation since the founding of the School. Even though the national system of education has undergone significant changes, nevertheless its structure and philosophical orientation reflect the traditional values of Guatemalan society. The American School represents a drastic departure from the average Guatemalan educational institution. And in its twenty years of experience the School's objectives have become generally known and accepted by the community at large.

Unfortunately for some people the School's stated purposes are distorted and deliberately misrepresented for several reasons. This uninformed sector is significant not only because it exists but also because influential individuals are often involved. The following represent the major misunderstandings (note that some conflict with others):

1. The American School is a profit-making institution. Before the School existed the concept of a non-profit community-type private school did not exist in Guatemala. Most private schools were based on tuition fees and operated on a profit-making basis. Even today there are people who believe that the School's board members get paid for their services; they cannot imagine that board members freely devote their time and energies.

2. The American School is only for the "rich, Jews and foreigners;" conservative and traditional Guatemalans often express such thoughts. Education which is not Catholic is not considered "correct," especially since the School does not maintain the traditional doctrina. Many believe the American School is not a real Guatemalan institution because it is non-sectarian and admits anyone, regardless of race, creed or religion.

3. The School is only a Gringo School, a comment made by the person whose knowledge of the school is quite limited. The name "American" suggests to some that only gringos attend. This attitude has persisted since the School was established.

4. The School is a Guatemalan institution. This impression usually comes from the Euro-American community, and especially from those Americans who are

in Guatemala for a short time only. There are some Americans who believe that the School should be for Americans only, and object to the percentage of Guatemalans in the School; other Americans feel that their children should be educated in a completely American environment. Such people have been influencial in the establishment of the Mayan School, a private English-speaking school for Americans only. This school is not recognized by the U.S. Embassy or by the Guatemalan Ministry of Education.

Those who are familiar with the American School see it quite differently. While the twin objectives of quality education and experimentation are recognized by all, however, interpretations of them differ. American and Guatemalan officials, founders and members of the ASA and the Board, and former students--all have their own viewpoints.

Governmental Officials

Both Guatemalan and U.S. governmental officials differ in their views of the School. Those involved with technical assistance, especially those whose tour of duty is short, are limited in their knowledge and direct association with the School. Certainly there is no unified view among these officials. While one U.S. official will say

> The direct purpose of the American School is focusing the American image abroad in technology and methods. . . . if we could have a broader base for the financial status then the American School would be achieving its objectives of providing an academically sound program and to function as a laboratory school.[5]

But another U.S. official comments:

> that the American School is basically a Guatemalan institution serving Guatemalan needs . . .
>
> If you have money you can do what you want and this is true of the American School. The American School is apart from the main stream of education and its effect on Guatemalan education is extremely small, even if it can be seen.
>
> The Minister of Education has to work with the limited resources that he has. The American School and other private schools can draw on resources from foundations and anywhere else to get money to put forth the education that it wants. But the Minister of Education does not have this alternative.[6]

The principal objective of the School, as seen by a significant Guatemalan official, is directly to assist education in Guatemala. "The administration of the School is the greatest ongoing contribution," especially "in comparison with a great many schools where there is a great lack of organization of any kind." This official felt that the average Guatemalan teacher would learn a great deal just by observing the School in action, which in itself would be helping Guatemala's educational development.[7]

---

[5]Taken from Interview Schedule, No. 14.

[6]Taken from Interview Schedule, No. 29.

[7]Taken from Interview Schedule, No. 36.

Former Students

The basic reason for the existence of the American school is to give a quality education to its students. As the student succeeds, so does the School; graduates are the best evidence of progress. While the following student comments do not necessarily reflect the views of all students who have attended the School, they give a fair picture of their variety. While often students compare the American School to other schools in the capital because many of their family and friends have attended these other schools, as one Guatemalan student said:

> The purpose of the American School is to give a piece of your mind--in the sense to think independently and to work by yourself. At X school they don't teach the students to think independently as they do in the American School. At X school it seemed to depend more upon what the teacher said, that the teacher is God, and there is no discussion . . .
>
> In Guatemala there is a closed mind in the schools. The schools don't change. They are conservative, afraid of change and know nothing else.[8]

Many times while the students could not exactly state the School's objectives, they perceived them through the instructional methods used, comparing these to methods used in other schools. Another Guatemalan felt that:

---

[8]Taken from Interview Schedule, No. 6.

> The methods at the American School are distinctive and different from the regular public school. One never memorizes. In other schools there is a great tendency to treat the pupils uniformly and the individual differences are not noted. Another objective of the American School is to teach English as a second language. Here the influence of the United States is very great. . . .[9]

Other students did not note the laboratory school aspect, nor did they seem to be aware of the special nature of the School and its concern with the community at large. What they wanted was a good education. In the School they were able to learn English and to have association with U.S. ways; if that could be done, then their objectives were achieved. One former Guatemalan scholarship student expressed it in the following way:

> The objective of the American School is to learn English, and to receive a good education. Another objective is to learn about some U.S. ways, as many do not have the opportunity to go there. . .[10]

One particular comment appeared many times from Guatemalan students (often those who had graduated and had been working for several years). It was expressed simply in the following way: "the objective of the American School is helping with Guatemalan education." This comment, in itself, shows a significant perception of the School's stated objectives.

---

[9]Taken from Interview Schedule, No. 7.

[10]Taken from Interview Schedule, No. 27.

Founders, the Board of Directors and the American School Association

When these men speak of the School's objectives, they reflect their own personal backgrounds. Their backgrounds include British, American and Guatemalan educational experiences in both private and public schools. Some see the objectives as pure ideals, while others are more concerned with methods and practices. When a particular objective has not been met, all have generally admitted it. And all of them blend their own personal backgrounds into their present feelings of what the needs of Guatemalan education are and how the American School can assist. Here is one man's view:

> The School's efforts to reform the Guatemalan bachillerato program has been a real contribution. Prior to this the bachillerato program was in a mess. With our special course of study here, we've been able to act as a pilot school to help guide public education in Guatemala.
>
> The lower-middle class person is the one we want. This the American School can do: it can train the managerial type of person who speaks two languages and who is not going to be university trained. Guatemala needs this type very much.
>
> We want the lower-middle class, or what is called the artisan class, if they have the necessary IQ, especially the student who is not going to a university. This type of person will make the greatest impact on the community, and the School can be part of this through the scholarship program.
>
> The above idea does not imply that the American School should become a trade school. However, the above emphasis will change the school in the sense that the curriculum will eventually include perito mercantil (accounting) and similar subjects.

> This must be explored by the School very soon and it will not be difficult to initiate into the present curriculum although there will be some adjustment.[11]

Another felt that the education of the School should be modeled after a particular private school in the United States. While this would necessitate a wider financial base (he did not suggest how this was to be achieved), it would enable the School to have a definite cross section from society in the student body:

> The objective of the School is to give the Guatemalan kid the opportunity to learn some of the U.S. ideas and have exposure to the U.S. type of life.
>
> We want a cross section of kids here, divided equally. We don't want the School to be limited just because of the economic factor. We want, although we cannot bring as many deserving types to the School.
>
> What our graduates do and what we want them to become is a great difference. Even though the School is not X school (a private school in the United States) it can do the same: give every deserving student a good quality education.
>
> The School's objectives, to give a quality education to the students and to operate as a laboratory school, must be met. At no time can these be unbalanced. I believe that the School is working at its capacity in doing what it can for Guatemalan education and serving both objectives very well.[12]

One member of the ASA saw the School's objectives in relation to historical perspective compared with present-day conditions: the simple fact that the School existed in 1945 was significant because of what

---

[11] Taken from Interview Schedule, No. 36.

[12] Taken from Interview Schedule, No. 16.

it attempted. He appreciated the type of education offered at the School and saw this reflected in his children's successful adjustment. And he felt that the School's being a non-profit organization was a significant achievement.

> In the past, twenty years ago and before then, the Catholic had his life, the Protestant had his life and the Jew had his life--they all kept everything separated including education. Therefore, to have the American School existing, and being coeducational at the same time, and bringing these religious groups together--was quite avant garde and dramatic.
>
> My children, who attended the School, were well prepared with an education that was adapted to Guatemalan needs and yet had the American philosophical points that were indeed necessary.
>
> Another objective of the School lies in the fact that it is non-profit, or non lucrativo. To realize that the Board does not receive one cent for the time and energy that they put into the School is a revolutionary idea itself here in Guatemala. Many of my friends have had the misunderstanding that I get paid and take a profit home. Most of the private schools all have a particular point of view to put across, and financially they pay. So this concept of serving and not getting paid is tremendous.[13]

Status as a Bi-National School

School Organization and Operation

The School currently operates under statutes (articles of incorporation) approved in 1949 when the Guatemalan government granted it laboratory school

---

[13]Taken from Interview Schedule, No. 21.

status: the original statutes were inadequate for the School's expanding plant and program. The 1949 statutes are still in force with only minor modifications made since then.

The American School is owned and operated by a non-profit corporation called the American School Association (ASA) which holds legal title to the School's property; the ASA is responsible for general policy and education personnel. Seventeen individuals comprise the current membership of the ASA; new members are admitted by invitation.

Since the School is a non-profit association, ASA members perform their function ad-honorum. The ASA members buy qualifying shares of Q 100 (one hundred dollars) dominations which pay no dividends nor do they increase in value. In fact, the statutes specifically provide that no individual may profit from the organization, even if the School should be closed and its assets liquidated. If any revenue is received by the ASA, it is used for urgent needs or in accordance with the Board's decisions regarding the School's development. Out of the membership of the ASA, five individuals are elected to form the Board of Directors. The direction and administration of the ASA is in the hands of the Board. It is responsible for general school policy and reports bi-annually to the ASA. The five members are

elected for a period of two years, and each member serves a term of five months as president.

The functions of the Board, described in Article 20, are the following:

a. Execute the resolutions and recommendations adopted in the General Meetings.
b. Authorize the transfer of shares. Resolve to acquire the same when they receive word of a transfer.
c. Control the expenses and dictate all the dispositions and rules necessary for the government of the administration of the Association and the establishment.
d. Designate the director and staff of the school and their separation when it is necessary.
e. Prepare the agenda for the General Meeting; approve the programs and rules presented by the Technical Director of the School.
f. Fix the fees to be paid by pupils.
g. Prepare the agenda, balances and general accounting of expenses in order to account for them at the General Meetings.
h. Supervise the conservation and maintenance of all the installations of the School.
i. Approve or not the plans of construction, estimates, financing, contracting of architects, purchase of materials.
j. Start and continue construction necessary so that the pupils will have the best possible accomodation.
k. Accept the presentation of assets, whatever they may be, and authorize the Chairman to accept them for the Association. Such authorization implies the power of signing legal papers, etc.
l. Authorize the Chairman to make payments exceeding $3,000,00.

The director of the School is responsible to the Board for the administration of the School. Assisting him in the daily functioning of the School, the Directive Council consists of the following individuals: the director, the sub-director, elementary and secondary

principals, and elementary and secondary curriculum coordinators. They discuss all the plans together, coordinate programs, and exchange views on all phases of the School's operation. In this way, with the Council meeting weekly, each member of the administrative staff is aware of all the current activities and problems confronted by each department and by the School as a whole.

The School began with 50 students in 1945; by 1957 it had over 650 students. This growth had placed new burdens on the administration. Dr. Ralph Noyers, Dean Emeritus of Ball State University, Indiana, visited the School in 1956 and made a study of its administration and executive functions. He concluded by saying:

> It is recommended that a clear distinction be maintained between administration and executive functions; that more time be taken for strictly administrative consideration and therefore more deputizing of persons on the staff for executive responsibilities, thus relieving the administrative officer (or officers) for strictly administrative and supervisory duty.[14]

The Board and Directive Council took into consideration Dr. Noyer's recommendations. They decided that an executive secretary be added to the Board and Council. This change relieved the Director and the elementary and secondary school principals of certain

---

[14] First Bi-Annual Report to IASS, 1957, p. 16.

executive responsibilities, thus increasing the time members of the Council had available for administrative and policy considerations.

The study, "Bi-National Schools in Latin America," examines these schools.[15] The American School, when placed alongside other bi-national schools, compares favorably in regard to school function and organization: the board is bi-national; the executive officer has the necessary authority and there are written statements of policy; the director is a qualified professional; and the School is aware of the problems of cross-cultural education.

School Population

The School's population, especially in relation to the secondary program, comes from the segment of the population where children expect and parents can afford university education. Furthermore, the School is organized on a private basis and is able to develop its own criteria for selecting the student body. It is different for public schools. Guatemalan law and statutes guarantee a program of universal education for all. However, economic and educational realities prevent

---

[15]Paul G. Orr, "Bi-National Schools in Latin America" (unpublished doctoral thesis, Michigan State University, 1960), pp. 88-89. (Hereinafter referred to as "Bi-National Study")

attaining this guarantee, and as a result many are denied the opportunity for a formal education. The American School recognizes this, and within its limited capacity has established a policy to admit every deserving Guatemalan. Also, the composition of the School's population reflects its dual objectives: to give quality education and to aid Guatemalan education. Even since the School began in 1945 the percentages of Guatemalan, American and other nationals have remained constant. While there have been minor fluctuations, the percentages have been about 85 per cent Guatemalan, 12 per cent American and 3 per cent other nationals. Table 4.1 shows the School's population from 1945 through 1955 with respect to the percentages of each nationality represented.

The policy has been to admit deserving Guatemalans and as many Americans as possible. Because of the very large and growing American community, it is impossible for the School to include all American dependents of school age. Equally, it is impossible to provide an opportunity for all the deserving Guatemalans that the School wishes to enroll. The present ratio of Guatemalan to American was established early in the School's history and has been maintained, as a policy,

TABLE 4.1

ENROLLMENT BY NATIONALITY

Year	Guatemala	America	Other	Primary	Secondary	Total
1945	40 (80%)	8 (16%)	2 (4%)	50	-	50
1946	95 (76%)	25 (20%)	5 (4%)	125	-	125
1947	160 (81%)	30 (16%)	3 (3%)	193	-	193
1948	240 (83%)	45 (15%)	6 (2%)	260	31	291
1949	325 (80%)	75 (18%)	6 (2%)	300	106	406
1950	350 (78%)	90 (20%)	12 (2%)	330	122	452
1951	305 (75%)	90 (22%)	11 (3%)	300	106	406
1952	425 (80%)	90 (15%)	19 (5%)	400	134	534
1953	443 (81%)	76 (14%)	29 (5%)	415	133	548
1954	516 (84%)	80 (13%)	18 (3%)	428	186	614
1955	508 (82%)	88 (14%)	24 (4%)	443	177	620
1956	552 (84%)	93 (14%)	11 (2%)	407	189	656
1957	560 (83%)	110 (16%)	10 (1%)	462	218	680
1958	581 (86%)	89 (13%)	5 (1%)	458	217	675
1959	579 (82%)	120 (17%)	5 (1%)	474	231	705
1960	607 (85%)	98 (14%)	6 (1%)	483	228	711
1961	626 (85%)	100 (14%)	5 (1%)	475	256	731
1962	646 (88%)	82 (11%)	6 (1%)	463	261	724
1963	647 (88%)	79 (11%)	12 (1%)	465	273	738
1964	685 (85%)	97 (12%)	25 (3%)	509	298	807
1965	704 (82%)	131 (15%)	21 (3%)	544	302	856
1966	772 (81%)	153 (16%)	30 (3%)	635	320	955

since then. The School's policy in regard to American parents is represented in the following:

> An attempt is made by the American School to accomodate children of North American families even though they arrive in Guatemala during the school year and even though the grade for which they request admission is full, since most of these families naturally look to the American School for the education of their children while in Guatemala; the School also feels that it has a real responsibility to the North American families especially in view of the help which the School has received from the IASS in the United States and because of the constant cooperation of U.S. Embassy in Guatemala.[16]

While the American community has grown considerably since World War II, there has been much pressure from within it to alter the present percentages of the school population. The School feels that any basic change in the percentages would unbalance the relationship which it has with the Guatemalan community. In one report written in 1956 to the IASS (before the School received its long-term loan from the U.S. Government), the School stated its policy. Even with the subsequent building program, the School's policy has remained constant.

> It has even been suggested by the oil companies and the United States employees that the percentage of North Americans be increased by reducing the percentage of Guatemalan students. Following this suggestion would reveal a complete disregard for the help that the School has received during the past twelve years from Guatemalan community. With the exception of the help

---

[16] January-June Report to IASS, 1952, p. 3.

> from the IASS, all financial support has come from the parents and friends of the School in Guatemala. No large donations have been received from the United States government or U.S. companies. Very small donations have been received from a few companies to support the scholarship program, but these donations do not help the school accomodate more U.S. children.
>
> As the school looks forward to its permanent building program, it must insist on enrollment limits that have been established in order to maintain high standards of education. If these limits are to be raised, it must be on the basis of solid support over a long period of time.[17]

During the latter part of 1949 the School began a campaign to acquire its own property and erect buildings. From 1950 to 1961 the School resided in temporary buildings on the Finca Las Conchas site; during this period the School's population grew from 452 to 731 students. In 1961 the School moved to its present site and permanent location in Vista Hermosa. While not all the buildings have been completed, the eventual capacity will be approximately 1,100 students. The present population is over 900 students. The demand for admission increases more than the present physical plant will hold. In 1960 alone there were over 300 requests which the School had to turn down, and this situation continues.[18] Presently, the American School does not have

---

[17] Second Bi-Annual Report to IASS, 1958, p. 4.

[18] "El Colegio Americano de Guatemala: 1945-1960." (Pamphlet.)

any plans for increasing the student population beyond the already mentioned 1,100.

The populations of the bi-national schools differ widely in percentages of nationalities and in size. The average populations presented in the "Bi-National Study" were 53 per cent Latins, 40 per cent Americans and 7 per cent other nationals.[19] It appears that other schools do not follow any pattern in regard to distribution by nationality of the students. The schools varied in size from a population of 54 students to 1,500.

The bi-national schools are increasing their populations about 5 per cent a year.[20] This confronts the schools with the choice of limiting enrollments or expanding facilities. The American School of Guatemala has expanded its facilities and plans to level off its enrollment at 1,100 students; there are no plans to go beyond that figure.

Characteristics of Academic Personnel

When the American School began in 1945, its academic staff consisted of one Guatemalan and one American teacher. But by 1965 there was an academic bi-national staff which totaled 96 individuals, 83 teaching personnel and 13 in non-teaching positions.

---

[19] "Bi-National Study," op. cit., p. 89.

[20] Ibid., p. 92.

broken down by nationality this represents 69 Guatemalans and 27 Americans.[21]

The limited financial resources it has to operate on, and the growing demands created by its laboratory school status, place a great responsibility upon the School in maintaining its high standards of academic excellence. The School has always sought to hire the most qualified teachers. At the same time it has continually strengthened its regular staff by in-service training, conferences and special scholarships for extra training abroad.

The professional status of teacher education must be considered in proper historical perspective. During the Ubiquismo period many schools did not function, others were militarized, fees were collected in public secondary schools, teaching rights were restricted and several departmental normal schools were closed down. The training and status of the teaching profession at the close of World War II were very low. While there were teacher training institutions, (the normal schools), professional education did not enjoy university status or recognition. So the teachers available were not adequately prepared for the prevailing conditions of post-war Guatemala.

---

[21]"Colegio Americano de Guatemala Presupuesto para El Ano 1965." (Mimeographed.)

Realizing the above, the American School set out to upgrade its Guatemalan staff, the main problem being their academic preparation. Although the teachers are skillful in their work, most have no university training. While only a few have their university degree (which is equivalent to the six-year program for the licenciado), more of the Guatemalan teachers have additional years of university training. The school has supplemented this with numerous in-service programs, special conferences, and scholarships for foreign specialized training. The School's policy of quality teaching has been maintained since the School began.

> Essentially the policy is based on two fundamental points--to try to get the best teachers available by offering the best salaries possible, and not to maintain in the the teaching staff beyond the first year of trial any teachers who obviously do not meet the high standards set.[22]

This policy has been reinforced and reiterated many times since it was first announced.

The laboratory status has no doubt helped maintain a qualified academic personnel for both the Guatemalan and the American. In a brochure written for American teachers considering employment, the following points are stressed:

> Minimum requirements for United States teachers are at least a bachelor's degree and teacher's certificate in some state in the

---

[22] August-November Report to IASS, 1949, p. 14.

> United States. Since the American School operates as a laboratory school in Guatemalan education, however, and as such has accepted heavy responsibilities in elementary and secondary education, qualities of maturity and leadership are also sought in United States teachers.
>
> . . . the School places more emphasis on attitude and point of view than it does on advanced degrees. . . .
>
> Since all the activities of the American School are carried out cooperatively by the North American and Guatemalan teachers, applicants from the United States must keep in mind that the ability to get along with and respect people of different cultural and educational backgrounds is an important requirement.
>
> It is imperative that the United States teacher be willing to seek solutions to novel educational problems within the framework of Guatemalan culture rather than try to transplant ready-made educational procedures. The United States teacher can make a lasting contribution to the development of the American School if his skills are combined with a favorable attitude toward solving problems in terms of different needs and resources.

To maintain its quality status as a laboratory school, the one-year probationary policy is strongly enforced. Because of the unique conditions of work and the responsibilities the School has, this policy seems entirely justified.

> Certainly the increasingly effective staff being built up indicates that this policy is a sound one. Few teachers, either Guatemalan or North American, come to the School with adequate training and experience to carry out the work of the school . . . ."[23]

Another historical practice which must be considered is the tradition of part-time teaching,

---

[23] First Bi-Annual Report to IASS, 1953, p. 2.

especially at the secondary level. The professional preparation of Guatemalan teachers is not designed to make them teachers in several secondary subjects, but rather in only one subject which is taught in several different schools. So they cannot serve the American School as full-time teachers because they think in terms of their subject matter instead of the overall problems of the School. The policy of the School has always been to de-emphasize the part-time teacher. The real solution is to pay higher salaries to the full-time teachers than the part-time and to locate Guatemalans who are willing to teach more than one subject. By 1961 the School had 59 full-time and 21 part-time Guatemalan teachers. In addition, there were 15 full-time U.S. teachers and 3 part-time. This made a total of 74 and 24 full-time and part-time teachers.[24]

The American School's teacher-holding power is significant in two ways. For the Guatemalan staff there has been a significant increase in the teacher-holding power as tenure has increased. However, for the corresponding American teacher the teacher-holding power has not been significant and the teacher turnover is greater. Part of this situation is directly related to the salary schedule (see Table 4.2). No distinction

---

[24]Carl M. Horn, The American Schools in Central America (East Lansing, Michigan: College of Education, Michigan State University, 1962), Table 9, p. 39.

TABLE 4.2

THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF GUATEMALA
SALARY SCHEDULE FOR TEACHERS

Base salary, Bachelor's degree and teacher's certificate	$1,500
Increase for university study in education or related disciplines, for the first 4 years, $200 each year	800
Consequently the base salary for the Bachelor's of four year is	2,300
NOTE: In case the Bachelor's (licenciatura) is more than four years, the extra years receive increases of $300 each, not exceeding two years	600
Increase for each year of study towards the doctorate, not exceeding two years, $300 each year	600
Doctorate	300
Teaching experience, one to five years at $50 each year	250
Teaching experience at the American School	
a. For the first year	100
b. For each following year without limit .	25
Bi-lingual ability (English and Spanish (Increase determined by ability and. .from	25
use made of) . . . . . .to	150
Extra responsibilities or services . . . .from	50
to	1,000
Travel and moving expenses: (Paid only to candidates who move to Guatemala to work at the American School; not applicable to employees hired locally)	
a. Paid monthly with salary (10 monthly payments of $20)	200
b. Due and payable upon completion of year's contract	400

is made between nationalities as is often the practice in other bi-national schools. The salary the Guatemalan teacher can earn at the American School is more than at average private schools in the capital. This factor increases the School's holding power.

> The average tenure of our Guatemalan teachers is growing. Increased tenure indicates that the School is building up a corps of Guatemalan teachers adequate to the School's purpose. In fact, the American School can probably be prouder of its Guatemalan staff than any other thing in connection with the School. The excellent Guatemalan staff has not developed by accident; systematic programs of selection and training have been in effect practic ally since the School started.
>
> Each year the American School has a reasonable number of applications from Guatemalan teachers who want to join the staff.[25]

On the other hand, for the U.S. teacher the salary schedule is low, and therefore not considered too attractive to the stateside applicant. Such factors as salary, distance, customs and academic year, the salary schedule definitely limits the number of years that Americans who come down and teach will stay. The School is aware of this and from time to time has raised the basic salary. However, with the limited financial resources at hand and its extensive program, the salary increases are too gradual to be really effective. Perhaps with the building phase almost completed, opportunities will develop to alter this situation.

---

[25] First Bi-Annual Report to IASS, 1957, p. 12.

Curricula Organization

The curricula organization at the American School reflects elements of the Guatemalan system. The School is obligated to follow the curriculum syllabus drawn up by the Ministry, and the School offers the official Bachillerato program at the secondary level. In describing the curricula organization several references will be made to the corresponding curricula organization found in the public Guatemalan schools.

The American School is organized on a kindergarten through twelfth grade basis and offers instruction in both English and Spanish. The School's classes are held during the months of January to October, which is the local school year. The primary section begins with kindergarten and goes through the sixth grade. The secondary program offers two basic curricula, the American high school program and the Guatemalan Bachillerato. In 1966 a fused program was introduced which combines certain elements in both secondary curricula.

The curriculum of the elementary public schools has undergone several revisions since 1944 as new courses of study were put into effect and were substantially revised. By these revisions, the courses of study have progressed from lists of rather isolated points of content to comprehensive statements of the

educational experiences the students are to have. The traditional course of study outlining content only has now been combined with the guidance the teachers need in a prescribed, centrally controlled program. The courses cover in detail the usual content of mathematics, sciences, social studies and language as basics, in addition to courses in music, art, physical education and manual arts.

Teaching in the public schools varies from traditional to progressive. Materials utilized in teaching are usually furnished by the Ministry. The teachers select the best they can find from the various commercial sources and the students pay for the materials, usually via a list given out by the teacher at the beginning of the year. Thus, teaching methods, especially in relation to beginning reading, vary substantially in accordance with the teacher's experience, preparation, enrollment, size of classroom, materials available and the attendance of the pupils. Attendance in these public elementary schools varies from locality to locality and is often times irregular because of sickness and familial problems; accordingly, the drop-out rate is high after the third grade.

Kindergarten in the American School is for five-year-old children. Following that are grades one through seven in the English program and <u>preparatoria</u>

(transition) plus grades one through six in the Spanish language program. The School follows the local grade nomenclature. The English language program is continuous, however, from kindergarten through twelfth grade. The relationship between the two programs is shown in Table 4.3.

In the elementary school all academic subjects are taught in both English and Spanish. Precautions are taken to avoid confusion and unnecessary duplication for the children who are bi-lingual. These children are taught almost entirely in English. Children who enter the School without knowledge of Spanish receive special instruction in Spanish until they can do the regular work of their grade, which is determined by achievement tests constructed by the School's research program. Sometimes a student will be able to work in the Spanish group after six months of special language instruction; other students are not competent in the Spanish language even after several years. Art, music and manual training classes are conducted in English and Spanish. Playground and sport activities are usually conducted in Spanish.

The secondary school curriculum is divided into two cycles, the pre-vocational cycle of three years and the diversified cycle of two years. The pre-vocational program is a prerequisite to all of the programs in the

TABLE 4.3

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE TWO CURRICULA PROGRAMS AT THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF GUATEMALA

Age	Grade at the American School	Program	
		English	Spanish
5	Kindergarten	Kindergarten	Kindergarten
6	Transition	1st. grade U.S.	Preparatoria
7	1st.	2nd. " "	Primero
8	2nd.	3rd. " "	Segundo
9	3rd.	4th. " "	Tercero
10	4th.	5th. " "	Cuarto
11	5th.	6th. " "	Quinto
12	6th.	7th. " "	Sexto
13	1st. Secondary	8th. grade U.S.	1o. Educacion Basica
14	2nd. "	9th. " "	2o. " "
15	3rd. "	10th. " "	3o. " "
16	4th. "	11th. " "	4o. " "
17	5th. "	12th. " "	5o. " "

diversified cycle: agriculture, commerce, military, teacher training (which requires an additional year) and the college preparatory course. The following Table 4.4 presents the college preparatory course of the Bachillerato program given in the Guatemalan secondary schools and the American School.

TABLE 4.4

A COMPARISON OF THE BACHILLERATO PROGRAM OF THE GUATEMALAN SECONDARY SCHOOL AND THE AMERICAN SCHOOL

Curriculum in the Pre-Vocational Cycle

Guatemalan Secondary School	American School
First Year (8th Grade)	
Mathematics	Mathematics
Spanish	Spanish
Social Studies	Social Studies
General Sciences	Natural Sciences
Foreign Languages	English
Music	Music and Chorus
Art	Plastic Arts
Physical Education	Physical Education
	Home Economics
Second Year (9th Grade)	
Mathematics	Mathematics
Spanish	Spanish
Social Studies	Social Studies
General Sciences	Natural Sciences
Foreign Languages	English
Music	Music and Chorus
Art	Plastic Arts
Physical Education	Physical Education
Industrial Arts	Home Economics

TABLE 4.4--Continued

Guatemalan Secondary School	American School
Third Year (10th Grade)	
Mathematics	Mathematics
Spanish	Spanish
Social Studies	Social Studies
General Sciences	Natural Sciences
Foreign Languages	English
Music	Music and Chorus
Art	Plastic Arts
Physical Education	Physical Education
Industrial Arts	Industrial Arts
Typing	Typing
	Home Economics
Curriculum of the Diversified Cycle (College Preparatory)	
(First Year (11th Grade)	
Mathematics	Required:
Social Studies	Mathematics
World Literature	Social Studies
Physics	Spanish
Foreign Language	English
Biology	Psycho-biology
Applied Statistics	Art
Art or Music	Physical Education
Physical Education	Electives (2):
	Chemistry
	Human Geography
	Latin
	Industrial Arts
	Home Economics
Second Year (12th Grade)	
Mathematics	Required:
Social Studies	Mathematics
Spanish-American Literature	Social Studies
Chemistry	Spanish
Foreign Language	English
Psycho-biology	Fund. of Philosoph. Problems
Introduction to Philosophy	Physical Education
History of Art of Guatemala	Art
Art or Music	
Physical Education	

TABLE 4.4--Continued

Guatemalan Secondary School	American School
	Electives (2): Physics-Chemistry Accounting Latin Industrial Arts Home Economics

One will notice that between the two there are many similarities. However, the American School offers an extra course annually in the pre-vocational cycle. Furthermore, the diversified cycle at the American School offers a number of elective courses.

Teaching methods found in the public Bachillerato program, like in the elementary program, range from the purely traditional to the most modern. However, there is one significant difference between the teaching methods of the public and American School. The vast majority of public secondary teachers are part-time, teaching only one or two classes in any school, and generally they use the lecture method of instruction. Although laboratories and manual shops are on the increase in the public schools, the majority of curricula instruction is theoretical in nature.

The American School, unlike a high school in the States, serves two distinct populations and needs. About 85 per cent of the secondary students are Guatemalan, and many of them will continue their

education in Guatemala at the various local universities. The Bachillerato program, the Guatemalan equivalent of a college preparatory high school curriculum, has been historically and is presently well defined by a centralized Ministry of Education. Because of this, the Guatemalan student must follow the prescribed program as approved by the Minister of Education. Although the School's laboratory status has allowed for many significant changes, the basic organization and philosophy follow the Guatemalan pattern.

The high school program is oriented to the college-bound, English-speaking individual who plans to have his university education in the United States. While this particular program has not gone through extensive revisions, like the corresponding Bachillerato program, it has reflected the curricular orientations and changes currently found in the States. The students who plan to enter college in September may enter an accelerated program at the beginning of June to complete his year's work at the end of August.

Table 4.5 shows that since the School's beginning there has been a significant shift in the academic program. The needs of the graduates have definitely reflected a change in the curricular programs. While the high school program began as the most significant, the Bachillerato has become the predominant curricular

program. If this trend continues, the high school program might be phased out in time.

TABLE 4.5

GRADUATES OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOL

Year	High School	Bachillerato	Magisterio	Total
1949	11	-	-	11
1950	6	-	-	6
1951	13	-	-	13
1952	8	-	3	11
1953	4	4	3	11
1954	21	9	-	30
1955	18	6	-	24
1956	17	9	-	26
1957	11	7	5	23
1958	12	10	6	28
1959	7	16	-	23
1960	12	16	-	28
1961	15	22	-	37
1962	17	21	-	38
1963	15	28	-	43
1964	14	28	-	42
1965	20	33	-	53
1966	18	27	-	45
Totals	239	236	17	492

The Fused program was initiated in 1966 which combines elements of both the Bachillerato and high school programs. This has required much consultation and study on the part of the School's officials over the past several years. While it is too early to evaluate its effectiveness or determine its impact, it does represent a step towards a greater integration of

the two curricula. Mathematics, Science and English are taught in English, while Social Studies and Spanish are taught in Spanish; Physical Education, Industrial Arts, Home Economics, Art and Music are taught in both languages. The following diagram shows how each curriculum program works in relation to the Fused program. (See Table 4.6).

TABLE 4.6

BASIC CURRICULUM OUTLINE

BACHILLERATO (Sect. A)	FUSED[oo] (Sect. C)	HIGH SCHOOL (Sect. B)
Mathematics	X.....	.....Mathematics
Ciencias	X.....	.....Science
Estudios Sociales.....	X	Social Studies
Idioma Espanol.....	X	Spanish
Ingles	X.....	.....English
Educación Fisica.....	X.....	.....Physical Education
Artes Industriales.....	X.....	.....Industrial Arts
Educación de Hogar		Home Economics
Arte.....	X.....	.....Art
Musica.....	X.....	.....Music
	X.....	.....French#
	X.....	.....German#

Note:
- .....X Instruction in Spanish
- X..... Instruction in English
- ...X... Instruction in both English and Spanish
- # Alternate years
- oo Initiated 1966

All curricula are designed primarily for the college-bound student. The only curricular area which is not adequately covered is terminal education in

certain vocations such as technical and commercial high schools often teach in the United States. Failure to offer a well-rounded program in terminal education is not to be considered as a weakness in view of the select student body and educational goals of the pupils. There have been informal discussions and thought about altering the School's present curricula in this direction; but for the present it will most likely continue basically the same.

Maintaining a secondary program for the college-bound student necessitates standards which the School meets. Since 1952 the School has been accredited by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools on the basis that it owned property and buildings, that it had reasonable educational equipment and that it maintained acceptable standards of teacher preparation and experience. The accreditation, which has been maintained since then, automatically accredits the School in any other of the regional accrediting associations in the United States. Graduates of the School are, therefore, admitted to colleges and universities on the same basis as the graduates from accredited schools in the United States. For the Guatemalan, the School's laboratory status in the opinion of the Ministry of Education gives the School's Bachillerato program official status. In conclusion,

the Guatemalan or American student, upon successful completion of his course work at the American School, is able to continue his education at the university level.

School Revenue

A review of the School's budgets during 1951 and 1965 shows that tuition and matriculation fees account for three-fourths of the income in the operating budget. Since the establishment of the School, this proportion has remained fairly constant. From 1951 to 1965 the operating budget increased threefold while at the same time the student population showed a twofold increase.

The School's laboratory status, the quality of its academic programs and its expanded physical plant account for the increase in the School's operating costs. Correspondingly, several increases in student fees have been made during the past several years. To help pay for the building program, the parents asked to purchase bonds bearing no interest. In addition to these are the regular and special fees for each student. The quotas cited below are taken from the mimeographed circular "Information for Parents: New Enrollments 1966":

> The School construction program is financed partly through the sale of long-term bonds. Parents who enroll at the American School are required to purchase two bonds for each child or pay a surcharge to the building fund. The bonds are good for the enrollment of the children as long as they remain in school and come due twenty years after date of issue. The surcharge, however, is a yearly fee which is not returned. The bonds pay no interest and are Q 100.00* denomination; the surcharge is Q 100.00 per pupil per year. All income from bonds and surcharge is used for the building program. Although bonds are a requirement for admission, they do not automatically give the holder the privilege of admission. [*Quetzal (Q) equals 1 U.S. Dollar ($).]

In addition to the bonds are the regular and special fees also required for the admission of each student. Quoting from the above cited source,

Fees for 1966

Grade	Yearly Fee	
	Complete	Reduced
Kindergarten and transition	Q 225.00	Q 210.00
1st, 2nd, 3rd grades	300.00	280.00
4th, 5th, 6th grades	350.00	325.00
Secondary	500.00	450.00

> The complete fee applies to the oldest child enrolled in each family. The reduced fee is charged for the second and each succeeding child in the same family . . . The above fees include tuition, transportation, swimming, accident fee, use of laboratory, use of typewriters in typing classes and all regular school expenses. . . .

The special fees which must also be paid include deposit for school supplies and books, and the matriculation required for new students.

Another source of income prior to 1963 was the grants-in-aid provided by the Inter-American Schools Service (IASS), a division of the American Council of Education, Washington, D.C. These grants-in-aid provided for grantee teachers, and assisted with the salaries of other instructional personnel. While the IASS existed, it helped lower the rising costs of maintaining the School.[26] These funds originated by Congress, channeled through the ACE by the State Department and given to the IASS. Growth of other bi-national schools in Latin America necessitated further attention. After 1963, congressional funding of grants-in-aid were handled by the Organization of Overseas Schools, a newly created agency within the State Department. Other income has come from individual donation, contributions through the efforts of the Parent-Teachers Association, and contributions from individual companies in support of the scholarship fund. Total donations (including the IASS grants-in-aid) were 9 per cent in 1951 and 15 per cent in 1965.

A comparison of the operating budgets of 1951 and 1965 reflects the School's growth and development. The major expense was the teachers salaries, accounting for 61 per cent in 1951 and 54 per cent in 1965.

---

[26] Second Bi-Annual Report to IASS, 1959, p. 19.

Non-academic employees, transportation and general expenses follow in rank order. Per-pupil expenditures, obtained by dividing the operating budget by the total number of school enrollments, have almost doubled during that period. For selected years during that time the per-pupil expenditures were as follows:

TABLE 4.7

AVERAGE PER PUPIL EXPENDITURE

Year	Expenditure
1951	$232
1955	256
1960	300
1962	376
1965	435

A comparative analysis with other bi-national schools throughout Central and South America might be of value. But many factors would have to be taken into consideration, invalidating the comparison; for example, American business and industries pay premium salaries and benefits for overseas work; and the U.S. government pays housing allowance, a cost of living differential, and provides other benefits to its employees outside the U.S. In addition these schools operate under different national laws and charters, have various systems of budgeting and accounting which make it practically impossible to present a reliable comparative analysis of per-pupil expenditures of bi-national schools.

It would be helpful to have a comparison of the school revenues of the various public and private schools throughout the country. However, such factors as conflicting revenue standards of the different private schools, the budgetary procedures of the public schools, the high rate of dropouts within the public schools, just to mention a few factors, make it impossible to make any definite comparison with the American School. However, general data obtained from the 1965 OPIE document, Diagnostico de la Educación de Guatemala, shows that expenditures of the public schools, when compared with the above information of American School, are less.

School Plant

In more than twenty years, the School's physical plant has utilized three separate sites. During the first five years the School operated in a rented building. In 1949, with an enrollment of more than 400 pupils, it was necessary to obtain a new site and to build temporary buildings until permanent structures could be financed. A financial campaign was undertaken among friends and parents of the School during the later part of 1949. Seventeen acres were purchased on the Las Conchas Finca located in Zone 14, and classes started in the temporary buildings in 1950. The School The School continued in these buildings for a period of eleven years.

It was soon recognized that the seventeen-acre site would not be large enough to accomodate the possible future development of the School. An appraisal of the Las Conchas property as for residential use revealed that it was worth $600,000. On the basis of this evaluation it was possible to exchange Las Conchas for 52 acres in Vista Hermosa III, Zone 15. A satisfactory arrangement was made with Urbanizadora, S.A. in charge of the land development project in Vista Hermosa. In exchange of property no funds were involved, but Urbanizadora, S.A. agreed to build the necessary access road, to provide water, light, and sewage to the site, and to build a swimming pool on the new site at half the cost of the swimming pool on the Las Conchas site. The third phase was begun and the permanent buildings were constructed.

The School is not only interested in physical expansion for its own value, but also for producing a favorable climate where its educational mission can be achieved more effectively. This philosophy behind the School's building program can be summarized in the following as described in the brochure, El Colegio Americano de Guatemala: 1945-1960:

> Although the spirit of an institution is not necessarily revealed by the aquisition of more property and better equipment, it is consistent with the spirit of the American School constantly to improve its facilities

> so that its teachers may fulfill their educational mission more effectively.[27]

The Board of Directors in 1959 drew up a permanent building plan in three stages. The first stage was completed in 1961. The second stage, on which construction was begun in 1964 and finished in early 1966, provided additional classrooms and offices permitting the School to expand to its maximum enrollment of approximately 1,100 students. The third stage, not yet started, will consist of the cafeteria-auditorium building and gymnasium.

There are strengths and weaknesses of the construction program. Laboratory school activities were limited, the teacher training program was curtailed, and the over-all energies of the director and the board were consumed in this activity. The new facilities presented greater classroom space and flexibility and a larger playground area. The costs far exceeded the amounts contributed by donation, bond purchases, payment of surcharge, and the fund-raising activities of the parents. As mentioned in the 1965 budget, all construction funds were obtained through short-term loans or credit at 8 per cent interest.

---

[27] El Colegio Americano de Guatemala: 1945-1960 (Guatemala: The American School, 1960), p. 1.

In round figures the cost of the construction at the end of 1962 was $750,000. The income for the construction program was as follows:[28]

U.S. government donation, fiscal year 1959	$250,000
Loan, 10 years 8% (three local banks)	200,000
Loan, 1 year, June 30, 1962 (local banks)	100,000
Donations from parents	50,000
Donations from companies	10,000
School's reserve fund	50,000
Short-term credit with suppliers and contractors	90,000
Total	$750,000

While the immediate goal of completing the first stage of construction program had been achieved in 1961, an adequate solution to the School's debt had yet to be found.

The ASA and the Board drew up a study for reducing the School's debt and financing the second stage of construction. This was presented to the United States government via the American Embassy and made it possible to secure a thirty-year loan at low interest, enabling the School to complete the second stage of the building program. Four hundred thousand dollars was used to reimburse contractors, suppliers and banks, and $300,000 was used to finance that stage of construction and to provide furniture and equipment for the School.

---

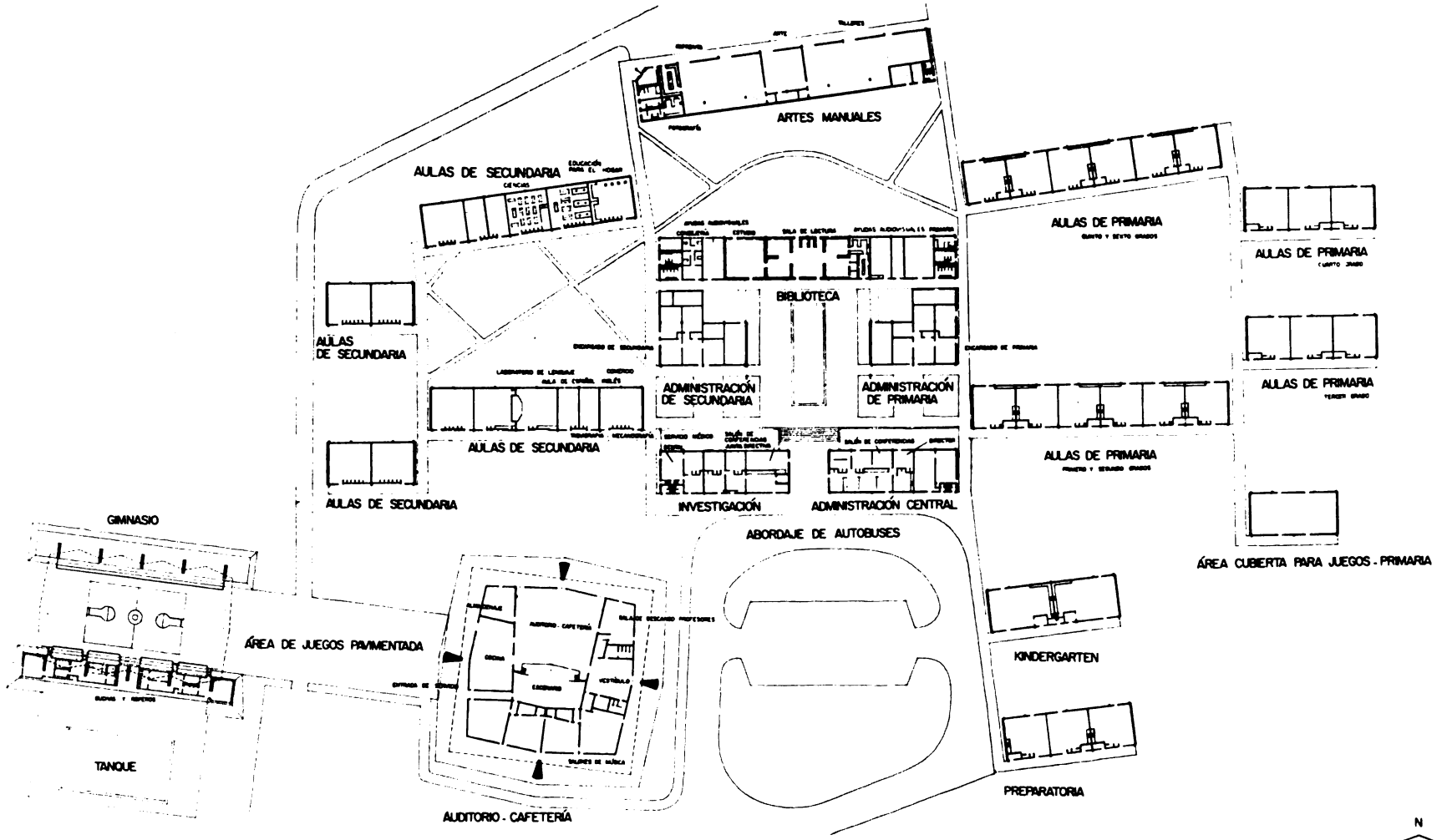
[28] Second Bi-Annual Report to IASS, 1962, p. 7.

The School's indebtedness has now been converted into long-term credit by the thirty-year loan at 2 per cent from the U.S. government, and by the bonds purchased by parents and friends totaling $131,000 and falling due from 1966 to 1984.

The educational program of the School calls for a complete educational plant adequate for approximately 1,100 students. The buildings are divided into three principle areas, the elementary department, the secondary school, and the facilities common to both. A diagram follows which shows an outline arrangement of the School plant.

The kindergarten, transition and elementary grades comprise the elementary department. There are school offices for the principal, his assistant and a secretarial staff, including work and conference rooms. The instructional area contains 18 classrooms, each of about 1,000 square feet, and 6 teaching stations for kindergarten and transition grades. Special facilities such as smaller classrooms, a visual aids room, a library and a shop are shared with the secondary school.

Grades 7-12 are designed for the Bachillerato and High School programs which comprise the secondary school. In addition to the regular administrative offices workroom, and conference and guidance rooms,



PLANO DE LA PLANTA

are classrooms specialized for departmental use in mathematics, sciences, social studies, language, speech, business education, home economics, art, shop and music. Special facilities consist of several smaller classrooms, a visual aids room, a photography room, the library and a student activities room.

The common shared facilities serve both the elementary department and secondary school. The administration and research section contains offices for the director, the business manager and his staff, and the research and health departments, as well as conference room and related facilities. The library is under central control serving kindergarten through grade 12; it includes an adjacent workroom, cubicles, and a study hall. The shops comprise an art room, and manual training and shop facilities for carpentry, woodworking, metal working, electricity and printing. The outdoor athletic and playground facilities include fields for the various sports. The third stage in the building program will be the construction of an Auditorium-Cafeteria building and Gymnasium.

The School plant reflects the "lighthouse" philosophy. While the construction program was an ambitious one, it introduced to the Guatemalan community at large a new low cost type of school construction utilizing local materials. The design reflects

simplicity, economy and flexibility, and hopefully it can provide an example for other school construction in the country. Reinforced concrete, because of its low cost and availability, was used extensively. Its structural system and exterior design are especially suited to the climate and materials. The repeating structural bay permits many partition arrangements and room sizes. And additional pavillions may be constructed when needed without altering the basic architectural design.

Furthermore, the construction of the new facilities makes an ideal home for the emerging Universidad del Valle. The University, being an outgrowth of the School, will use the same facilities, especially in the evenings and weekends. As the University grows, it will, in addition, assume more of the School's laboratory functions in terms of research and development.

Summary

The establishment of the American School was significant, occuring in an auspicious time when the political climate accepted the concept of open-ended change. This enabled a small group of U.S. and Guatemalan parents to organize the first private, community-type non-profit school. While the new institution began quietly, it soon grew and attracted the attention of the

community. While the School incorporated some traditional patterns such as the national curricula programs, the same calendar year, at the same time it added many U.S. practices. Throughout the process people such as governmental officials, former students, founders and board members expressed their support to the School's objectives.

Shortly after its beginning the School parted with some of the traditional practices and introduced many innovations. The School was not known just as another private English-language school but as a bi-national school: the curriculum, student body and academic personnel blended the American and Guatemalan influences. The recently constructed educational plant, modern in its architectural concepts, facilitates the learning process.

The Guatemalan government later granted special laboratory status which allowed the School to undertake, in addition to its regular program, special activities. This enabled the School to establish and further relationships with education in Guatemala. Chapter V will explore these relationships in detail.

CHAPTER V

A DESCRIPTION OF THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOL TO EDUCATION IN GUATEMALA

For nineteen of its twenty-two years the American School has been operating as a laboratory school. In this connection, it has built extensive relationships with various representatives of Guatemalan education. While its primary objective is to provide a quality education for its students, at the same time it attempts to contribute to the development of Guatemalan education: this second objective will be the theme of this chapter.

The School's laboratory school status has continued and been expanded. New curricula and program materials have been developed and modified for various educational institutions. Data obtained from longitudinal studies of child growth and development now provide a scientific basis for Guatemalan study and comparison. Tests and testing procedures have been developed and have since been utilized by other institutions. Teacher education and in-service activities have brought increased professionalization of its own staff and others. The school has shared its experiences with personnel of the Universidad de San Carlos and has

assisted its personnel in various projects. The Ministry of Education has been in close touch with the School's activities, assisting in special projects, conferences, programs and informal discussions. And the School has also maintained relations with non-governmental institutions and educators, both within and outside Guatemala.

In addition the School's institutional growth has entered a new phase: the Universidad del Valle de Guatemala was established in 1966, the culmination of the research and development programs of the School as a laboratory school, which had outgrown the support capabilities of an elementary and secondary school. The appropriate arena is now the new university. Within its framework an institute of educational and psychological research was established, giving impetus to the university's purposes in training teachers, educational specialists, and research workers, and in conducting educational and psychological research as a requisite dimension in educational development at all levels.

The need for such an institute, with its capability of contributing immediately to the development of education and at the same time establishing the basis of a permanent activity, was obvious in view of the dearth of educational research in Latin American universities and ministries of education. It is too early to assess the impact of the university and its institute on

Guatemalan education. But they certainly hold great potential for future contributions.

Status as a Laboratory School

The original statutes of the American School were drawn up on May 17, 1945, and published in the official newspaper on August 24 of the same year, thus establishing the School as a non-profit, non-denominational, community-type school. This concept was considered revolutionary at that time: the idea that a school could operate on a non-profit basis and its board would serve freely was completely new. Furthermore the School's accepting foreigners and Guatemalans together differed dramatically from traditional practice; formerly each national and religious group operated its own separate schools. The School's orientation as a community-type school, which served not only its constituents but attempted to serve others, was also a novelty. These represent the significant contributions of the School under the original statutes.

Unfortunately the original statutes did not permit the School enough latitude to develop and expand its educational program. The Labor Code of 1947 had placed a 10 per cent limit on foreign personnel to be employed in the country. This law naturally limited the School's activities. Then a reciprocal agreement was

developed: the American School was permitted to employ more than 10 per cent foreign personnel in exchange for assistance in the advancement of Guatemalan education. The agreement was accepted and the American School became the first laboratory school in the country, perhaps in all of Latin America.

On November 29, 1948, a presidential decree was signed by Arévalo granting the School laboratory status for a ten-year period:

"PRESIDENTIAL DECREE NO. 537

"National Palace
Guatemala
Republic of Guatemala, C. A.

"November 29, 1948

"THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC DECREES: To authorize the American School of Guatemala to function during a period of ten years as a laboratory school (Escuela de Ensayo), as well as, in such character, to emit corresponding courses of study, examination regulations and others that are considered pertinent, as well as to be able to contract with and accept the services of foreign teachers and technical personnel when, because of the nature of the teaching, it is necessary. All of these activities will be subject to the supervision of the Ministry of Education.

"Communicate

"JUAN JOSE ARÉVALO

"The Minister of Education
"R. CASTANEDA PAGGANINI"

Prior to this authorization, the School had to follow the prescribed methods authorized by the Ministry of Education, which in turn influenced its curriculum and affected its teaching methods. For comparison, the following is taken from a School report before laboratory status was granted. It reflects the wide differences under which the English and Guatemalan instruction took place:

> It is difficult if not impossible to care adequately for individual differences of children and at the same time follow a rigid program on which examinations for promotion are based. An official program with accompanying official examinations at the end of the year bespeaks an attitude toward education based on the idea of education is a set of rules but which children must be taught and are to learn. . . .
>
> Since the American School follows the official program . . . is therefore faced with this very problem, how are individual differences cared for? . . . It is observed, for example, that in the English reading classes several groups are soon formed, each proceeds more or less naturally at its own rate. However, in the Spanish reading classes, invariably the class is treated as a single unit, all of the children proceeding at the same pace . . .[1]

Those conditions were greatly changed when the laboratory status was granted, enabling the School to develop its own syllabuses and teaching materials. While many modifications occurred, the School's attitude remained the same. Its emphasis is reflected in the following:

---

[1] July-September Report to the Inter-American Schools Service, Washington, D. C., 1948 (Guatemala: The American School, 1948), p. 18. (Hereinafter referred to as Report to IASS.)

> the success of the laboratory school program depends on this attitude: seeking a better and more effective education without any idea of defending ideas, pet solutions, tricks of the trade, or past practices, which they have discovered; it is the problem-solving attitude rather than the let-well-enough-alone attitude. The desire of the American School is to know and to achieve better education, not to prove some theory.[2]

The School was re-incorporated under more adequate statutes on September 25, 1949, because of increased responsibilities as a laboratory school and a rapidly expanding enrollment. (See ch. 4, pp. 140-144 for more detail.) These new statutes provided a sound financial base for the growing School, permitted the issuance of bonds to finance the building program, and provided for a board of directors having five members instead of three.

Increasing complexity of the labor laws necessitated a clarification of the permission to hire foreign personnel. After much consultation, the School received more explicit permission. On February 29, 1952, President Arbenz issued Decree No. 1781 which stated that the School could hire up to 50 per cent foreign personnel:

> That the American School of Guatemala has obtained good results as laboratory school, but for the complete development of its activities requires a numerous, specialized personnel which is not easily found in Guatemala . . .
>
> That by authorizing the entry of foreign technicians and teachers for the employ of the said Laboratory School no Guatemalan workers are

---

[2] February-June Report to IASS, 1950, p. 3.

> displaced, firstly, because there is not enough specialized personnel in Guatemala, secondly, because all the personnel in the project is of Guatemalan nationality and the foreigners will occupy only supernumerary positions; in addition, Guatemalan citizens will be given the opportunity to specialize in the educational branches which the American School of Guatemala offers; . . .
>
> The American School of Guatemala is authorized to contract or accept the services of foreign teachers and technicians when the type of instruction requires it, using for this purpose up to 50 per cent of the total number of said positions.

Two full years before the original laboratory school permission expired, the School began preliminary discussions about its renewal. The application was under study by the ministry for more than a year, during which time changes in government took place with accompanying changes in the Ministry of Education. Eventually a twenty-year extension was granted by the presidential decree of Castillo Armas, February 28, 1958. Conditions of the decree were similar to those in the original, but were more specific and complete.

Article 1 granted laboratory school status for twenty more years. Specific designations were found in Article 2, permitting the School to:

- --formalize its own curriculum and program of study . . .
- --elaborate its own measurement tests and call instruments of evaluation that correspond and concur with the educative process . . .
- --formulate its own testing regulations and take the necessary arrangements that it considers necessary for its functioning . . .

> --undertake work of a research nature in official establishments of kindergarten, primary and secondary . . .

Article 3 stated that the School's past accomplishments "have official validity within the territory of the Republic. . . . This acknowledgement refers to promotion, continuation of studies, equivalences and expedition of diplomas and degrees."

The School's first decade had witnessed many outstanding achievements with the laboratory status, significantly a continuous development of qualified Guatemalan personnel which enabled the School to request a 10 per cent reduction in the number of foreign personnel needed. During the administration of President Ydigoras Fuentes on February 5, 1959, this request was granted, in accord with the School's accepted principle "that the number of foreigners should be reduced as time goes on and as more qualified Guatemalans are available to perform the job required by the work of the American School's laboratory program. . . . Both the President and the Minister of Education visited the school and agreed to granting the request."[3]

The documents referred to demonstrate the development of the School's status. Several other documents will be included in subsequent sections of this chapter;

---

[3]First Bi-Annual Report to IASS, 1958, p. 1-2.

all clearly testify to the government's recognition, approval and validation of the School. Far from being questioned, the School's position has been strengthened in twenty-two years of service. And the Ministry of Education expects the School to maintain its present role:

> In addition to the decrees mentioned, the school has been authorized on several occasions by specific ministerial or presidential decree to carry out educational research projects, often requiring a different arrangement of the studies from that of the official program. Although Guatemala's centrally controlled system of education is not conducive to educational experimentation and trial of new procedures, the Ministry of Education has never seriously challenged any previous authorization and has not put any obstacles in the way of the School's work as a laboratory school. On the contrary, the Ministry has come to expect that the school will carry on advanced work in education which it can base many of its changes in programs, procedures, examination regulations and other modifications.
>
> The school's policy of carefully documenting and specifically regulating its work in order to have the legal backing of the Guatemalan government has proved wise. . . . The school believes that the best evidence of the Guatemalan government's support is its willingness to authorize the school to continue to operate and its willingness to respect previously made agreements. The additional fact that the Ministry of Education looks to the school officially for the leadership in education is also evidence that the school has the full support of the Guatemalan Government.
>
> An analysis of the authorizations granted the school reveals they have been granted and maintained under several governments of varying political attitudes. The school to believe that the respect of the Guatemalan government is based largely on non-controversial aspects of education in which governments of very different political orientation may agree.[4]

---

[4] First Bi-Annual Report to IASS, 1959, p. 3-4.

The School does not publicize its activities with the ministry, the university, or with the various schools. Nor does its name appear directly on the joint publications which it has helped to develop. This policy has been strictly maintained on the basis that undue publicity might adversly affect its work as a laboratory school.

> Consistent with the School's policy and its work as a laboratory school since 1948, the school name has not appeared in any of the programs and the school has not attempted to publicize its participation in any way. The Ministry of Education is free to accept or reject any materials or suggestions made by the American School. It is found, however, that there has been an increasing receptiveness to the ideas and suggestions from the school.[5]

During the late 1950's there were several attempts within the Guatemalan community at large to establish similar laboratory schools. In 1957 a German School (not to be confused with the old German School, closed in 1942) was hurriedly established and opened at the beginning of the 1958 school year. It was designated as an escuela de ensayo for a ten-year period, financed by bonds and tuition.[6] After much initial publicity and enthusiasm the school withdrew its request because it could not keep its commitments.[7]

---

[5] Second Bi-Annual Report to IASS, 1960, p.3.

[6] First Bi-Annual Report to IASS, 1958, p. 18.

[7] Second Bi-Annual Report to IASS, 1960, p. 4.

Also during the year 1957 the International Cooperation Administration (ICA) and the Ministry of Education asked the American School to train six teachers for the Guatemalan government's first escuela de ensayo.

> It soon became evident that the only institution in Guatemala with the experience and resources available to carry on systematic in-service training was the American School.[8]

> [The teachers] were introduced systematically to the various procedures of modern methods and techniques in the classroom and were also given some training in curriculum development so that they could perform these activities on their own in the . . . first laboratory school in the public school system.[9]

As of 1963 three other laboratory schools, including a demonstration school (escuela de aplicacion), have been established by the Ministry of Education. Due to the special demands of a school of this nature, however, the American School, because of its experience and preparation, remains the significant escuela de ensayo currently operating within Guatemala.

In addition to the recognition by the Ministry of Education and accreditation from the Southern Association of Secondary Schools and Colleges, the School has been appraised by other independent agencies. The first independent evaluation took place in 1954 by a representative

---

[8] Second Bi-Annual Report to IASS, 1956, p. 9.

[9] First Bi-Annual Report to IASS, 1957, p. 40.

of the Ministry of Education, the University of San Carlos, US-ICA, and two US university professors.[10] This committee listed six unique characteristics necessary for a laboratory school:

1. Faculties which include men and women who have special training, and who are committed to research.
2. Laboratory school is freed from the normal restrictions that apply to other schools.
3. Laboratory school has access to additional funds for its research.
4. Laboratory school develops relationships with other institutions of learning.
5. Special permission for the development of materials or other methods used for teacher training.
6. Its programs must be superior, and its methods of administration, supervision, and curriculum development subjected to constant evaluation and improvement.[11]

The committee concluded that the School achieved the above, not only in its laboratory school operation but in its regular instructional program as well.[12]

Another evaluation was undertaken by Dr. Ralph Noyer, Dean Emeritus, Ball State Teachers College, Muncie, Indiana, in 1956. This comprehensive study included seventeen recommendations, similar to the above, but

---

[10] El Colegio Americano de Guatemala como Escuela de Ensayo durante 1954 (Guatemala: Colegio Americano de Guatemala, 1954), p. 31-32. (Mimeographed.) (Hereinafter referred to as Como Escuela de Ensayo.)

[11] Clair J. Butterfield, Stephan M. Corey, and Kenneth J. Rehage, An Appraisal of the Laboratory School Activities of the American School of Guatemala (Guatemala: The American School, 1954), pp. 4-5.

[12] Ibid., p. 24-25.

with the following significant additions:

--a calendar similar to, but not identical with, that of other schools in the area
--programs exemplifying standard guidance practices
--a functional library
--a demonstrated ability and technique in solving persistent problems besetting public and private elementary and secondary schools in Central America
--a teaching load in the laboratory school that is not more than three-fourths as heavy as the loads of the average teacher in the area.[13]

Other individuals have visited the School and observed the various aspects of its program, including university specialists, technical assistant personnel and governmental officials. In 1960 the School entered into a cooperative agreement with Michigan State University in general consultation and in-service training. Since this beginning, there have been several workshops and consultative sessions with the personnel of the School, and also with the other Guatemalan schools. While not directly related to evaluation or appraisal of the School's laboratory program, these activities reinforce the laboratory status.

In summary, the School's legal designation has evolved continually, providing stability for its educational undertakings in research and experimentation. This designation is public, as are the results of the

---

[13]Ralph Noyer, "A Report of a Visit to the American School of Guatemala," Second Bi-Annual Report to IASS, 1956, pp. 70-71.

School's efforts. Its status has been evaluated by independent bodies, and its program has been strengthened by the various visiting consultants.

Curriculum - Program Materials

One of the fundamental points of the authorization granted by the Guatemalan government was that the School design its own curriculum. This provision enabled the School to try new ideas and materials and to improve the curriculum on the basis of yearly experience; curriculum development has embraced kindergarten through the twelfth grade.

The School received assistance from various sources: the Ministry of Education, and its technical council and the various departments participated in numerous conferences, projects and programs; the former ICA (now AID) organization and the educational servicio, SCILE, (now ACEN) sponsored joint conferences and projects with the School and the Ministry; individual private and public schools lent their assistance in the development of materials and preparations of various reports; and private foundations, like the Kellogg, and regional organizations, like the Institute of Nutrition of Central America and Panama (INCAP), have conducted a cooperative program in nutrition education. As curriculum descriptions are developed they are tested within

the School and are modified at the end of the year. Sometimes these modifications are initiated within the School by its personnel, and other times changes come through suggestions from other teachers and educators.

The School draws up preliminary drafts when working with the Ministry of Education; these drafts are turned over to the Ministry and its technical council for their approval and modification, and become the property and responsibility of the Ministry.

> Whatever has been adopted by the Ministry of Education has been concluded on the basis of their criteria alone. The American School makes its original suggestions, but has not tried to influence any other school in any way in retraining or removing certain parts of the program.[14]

Furthermore, it is the explicit policy of the School of refraining from making judgements and decisions relating to the programs of study for the various Guatemalan schools. The School's ideas and experiences are made available to the Ministry and interested others for whatever they wish to make of them.

In 1945 only the U.S. High School curriculum was offered at the American School. Then in 1949 the Bachillerato program was introduced. The School began its curriculum reform slowly: a few courses were integrated, the content of the programs was changed somewhat and teaching methods were improved. However, during the

---

[14] First Bi-Annual Report to IACS, 1961, p. 32.

first few years of the 1950's only superificial changes were made.

The courses lacked unity, and ten to twelve courses were required each year; the whole curriculum was rigid and allowed for little variety of interests or individual differences. The Bachillerato program aimed too narrowly at university preparation. Terminal education began too early and was too short in duration, providing the student with insufficient training and sending him out of school at age 15 or 16. The School facilities lacked needed equipment, and most of the teachers had only a secondary education themselves. Therefore, it was difficult to provide a sound secondary education. The curriculum of the elementary grades reflected the same basic problems. Traditional programs of study had often consisted of lists of information that the children should master at the end of the year and they were to know by heart in order to pass the examination for promotion.

Prior to 1954 the School was recognized in the Guatemalan community and had obtained the necessary legal provisions to ensure its status. But after 1954 the School's laboratory activities blossomed as the result of two factors. First, the earlier years of its existence were mainly concerned with building its own K-12 curriculum program, and thus experimentations were on a

limited level. Second, the political events in Guatemala greatly influenced the orientation of the Ministry and its personnel; after 1954 the School's relations with the Ministry greatly increased.

One of the intra-school activities in curriculum development was undertaken in 1952: stating the objectives of secondary education. A special committee of teachers drew up a conclusion which was later published in a report.[15] While the statement was not too different from many other statements of objectives made by other schools and organizations faced with the same problem, this particular experience serv ed a valuable function for those connected with the School. Another activity was the defining of the educational experiences that were most effective in achieving these objectives; this became a faculty-wide project. The report was published in pamphlet form. The University of San Carlos and the Ministry of Education examined it and commented quite favorably. Later it was used by a Guatemalan representative at a Central American conference on secondary education and university training which was held in Honduras during February, 1953.[16]

---

[15]"Los Objectives de la Secondaria en Guatemala," (Committee report of the American School, 1952.) (Mimeographed.)

[16]First Bi-Annual Report to IASS, 1953, p. 11.

While the political crisis brought a nation-wide re-evaluation, as the new leaders restated policy, educational needs were being re-evaluated at the same time. The Ministry expressed a great concern for the status of secondary education and manifest this concern through the First National Congress of Teachers held for one we week during January, 1955. More than one hundred representatives of the teachers met to discuss the needs, objectives and curriculum of the secondary schools. Later in the year several committees were appointed by the Ministry to further delineate the various recommendations. Now, the American School felt, was the appropriate time for making major changes in the bachillerato in order to provide advance experience for the Ministry of Education.

The American School was represented on the commission to reorganize secondary education in Guatemala. One of the members, the assistant director of the school, was also president of the commission. From this particular commission many significant recommendations were made; some were later implemented, while others have yet to be fully realized, especially the status of teacher training. Some of the more important recommendations were:

1. Minimum educational level before specialization could start was raised three years.
2. Teacher training was removed from the secondary school and placed at the college level.
3. Number of required courses were cut down so students could take some electives.
4. Secondary education was divided into two phases:
   a. Three years of work following elementary school more or less the same for all students to provide minimum of experience and training.
   b. Diversified program during the last two years of secondary school to train for vocation or university training.[17]

Late in 1955 the Ministry developed a gradual reorganization plan for the secondary school, which was to be completed by 1961. At this time the School, because of its experience in working with the Bachillerato program and because of the changes already made in that program at the School, requested permission to establish the first three years of the reorganized program instead of just the first. The permission was granted, and President Castillo Armas signed the agreement, No. 396, on November 11, 1956. During the same year another study was begun of the continuing reorganization plan for the fourth year. An additional request was made by the School. After the Advisory Council of the Ministry studied it, they gave a favorable decision, and this was written in the governmental Decree No. 1001, signed on

---

[17]"Commission to Reorganize Secondary Education in Guatemala," First Bi-Annual Report to IASS, 1955, p. 29.

September 27, 1957. The School made preliminary studies on the fifth year and similar permission was granted. This enabled the School to implement the complete reorganized program three years ahead of the public schools.

After the National Teachers Conference in 1955, and a similar one in 1956, it was evident that reforms were necessary in study plans and programs at the primary and secondary levels. Following the two conferences, the Ministry and SCIDE asked the School if it would help develop curriculum materials and assist in in-service teacher training programs.[18] The School accepted the responsibility only on the condition that its work was only preliminary and did not constitute official representation of the Ministry: "In this report it is clearly stated that neither the Ministry of Education nor SCIDE has the intention the American School will elaborate official programs."[19]

Four committees were named to cover the following secondary areas: Language, Social Studies, Mathematics and Natural Sciences. The project for the primary program was organized differently. Rather than setting

---

[18] Ministerio de Educación Publica, Servicio Cooperative Interamericano de Guatemala, y Colegio Americano de Guatemala, "Programa Cooperativo de Adiestramiento en Servicio y Dessarollo de Curriculum," (Guatemala: The American School, 1957), p. 1.

[19] Ibid.

up committees, certain primary teachers were selected to attend weekly seminars, together with a similar group involved with teacher in-service programs. "In this manner it was for the primary teachers to constantly evaluate the development of the projects, the objectives delineated from each area, and the recommended learning experiences for each grade."[20] A special resource library was developed for the various participants, including many works on curriculum and related textbooks, workbooks, and programs of study.

From this contract with the Ministry and SCIDE, the School developed preliminary curricula programs for the Ministry from kindergarten through the twelth grade:

Primary (prepartoria to the 6th grade)	Secondary	
Language	Social Studies	I course
Mathematics	Social Studies	II course
Social Studies	Social Studies	III course
Nature Study	Social Studies (Intro. to Economics and Sociology)	IV course
	Social Studies (Human Geography)	IV course
	Spanish	I course
	Spanish	II course
	Spanish	III course
	Mathematics	I,II,III courses
	Natural Science	I,II,III courses[21]

[20] Ibid., p. 4.

[21] Ibid., p. 17.

Notably the School developed a program of Spanish in 1955 at the secondary level. The curriculum was organized in three phases: obtainment of ideas and impressions, assimilation and arrangement of them, and expression of the ideas and meanings.[22]

The programs were given to the Ministry and ICA in June, 1957. During the next three years these programs were used experimentally in several selected schools within the capital under the supervision of the Technical Council of the Ministry. At the same time the School implemented the programs at the elementary level and made the necessary modifications at the end of each year. During this period nothing was heard from the Ministry. But in 1960 the Technical Council expressed interest in adapting the programs officially and began to make public statements favorable to the new programs. Several analyses of the programs appeared in the papers.

> When it became evident in 1960 that the Ministry of Education would probably adopt the programs, one of the large public schools took the initiative in preparing the final drafts for the Ministry of Education. During the first two weeks of vacation in November, 1960, the teachers of the public school met daily to discuss the programs and make necessary revisions. A representative from the American School was invited to attend their meetings. In this way the improvements that had been made by the American School were incorporated. The final drafts were prepared

> and turned over to the Ministry of Education by the public school. In November the new programs were made official for all the urban elementary schools.[23]

Closely connected to curriculum development is the production of program materials. Since 1951 the School has been involved with developing such materials, especially in Spanish at the elementary level. This program did not represent a duplication of U. S. material, but was carefully developed by the School's personnel over the years in the laboratory school program:

> The American School understands perfectly well that the imitation of the U.S. programs and texts is not the objective in Guatemalan education. It must be remembered, however, that little effective work has been done in the production of pre-reading materials in the Spanish language.[24]

While this was written several years ago, it still largely remains the same.

Another reason why the School initiated this activity was the factor of cost. Expensive materials were of little value since they could not be purchased by most elementary students in Guatemala or even Central America. The emphasis was placed on producing teaching materials such as worksheets which could be easily reproduced on a ditto machine, as well as other visual

---

[23] Second Bi-Annual Report to IASS, 1962, p. 2-3.

[24] January-June Report to IASS, 1952, p. 10.

aids which could be made by the teachers themselves with a minimum of skill and equipment.

Financial limitations have prevented the School from developing these materials as quickly as it originally had wished. The first work was Antes de Leer published in 1952, a pre-primer with teacher's guide that served the inexperienced teacher in beginning reading activities. This experimental edition was used extensively by many teachers. During 1958 the book was revised and published with a new teacher's guide. The publication and distribution rights were given to Editorial Piedra Santa.[25] Since then the following volumes have been completed by the School and distributed by the same publishing concern. The vocabulary of these is controlled and the range and complexity of the texts are graded. The guides not only indicate how to use them in teaching, but also explain how to evaluate the student's performance. They have been used in the School and in other schools in the country and elsewhere:

Antes de Leer (pre-reading workbook)
Miremos (first pre-primer)
Trabajamos y Jugamos (second pre-primer)
Teacher Guides for the above pre-primers
Libro Grande (game of 14 placards)
Juego de Tarjetas (illustrations, words, sentences, word endings)
Tarjetas de Retratos (personages of the texts)
La Familia y Sus Amigos (reading primary text)[26]

---

[25] Como Escuela de Ensayo, 1957-1958, p. 78.

[26] Como Escuela de Ensayo, 1961-1965, p. 17.

In 1961 INCAP became interested in having its nutrition concepts included in elementary teaching materials. In January of the following year the School and INCAP secured financial support from the W. K. Kellogg Foundation for a three-year cooperative program in nutrition education. The School was responsible for the development of the materials and INCAP provided the technical consultation concerning nutrition concepts and the applicability of the material to the various populations throughout Central America and Panama. After three years nine pamphlets and guides were prepared and printed.[27] Six pamphlets were tried out in city schools in Guatemala and El Salvador. Three pamphlets were tried out in rural schools in Guatemala. The three-year study concluded the following:

1. The nine pamphlets, the set of charts and the teacher's guides to accompany them constitute a good beginning in the development of materials to be used in the nutrition education program in the elementary schools of Central America.
2. The suggestions made by the consultants and by the teachers who tried out the materials are also considered an important step forward in the development of those materials.
3. The experience gained by the personnel of INCAP and the American School is extremely valuable, and it can be put to good use on the improvement of existing materials, in the preparation of additional materials, in the training of more personnel (teachers

---

[27] Final Report of the Nutrition Education Program of INCAP and the American School of Guatemala (Guatemala: The American School, 1965), pp. 14-18.

artists, writers, editors), and in the diffusion of materials produced.

4. The cooperation that has been established with authorities and teachers in El Salvador and in Guatemala has helped in making them aware of the existing materials and their possibilities.
5. The pamphlets produced, in addition to serving the main purpose of being used as the basis for carrying out educational experiences on nutrition education and related fields, are attractive and inexpensive supplementary reading materials, of which there is a great scarcity in the schools of the area.[28]

Child Growth and Development

When the School began its laboratory school program in 1948, there was no basic longitudinal study of child growth and development known anywhere in Latin America. Prevailing generalizations concerning the development of Latin American children were based, usually, on simple assumptions, individual experiences, or analogous reasoning from studies done in Europe or the United States, not on empirical evidence. It was clear from the start, then, that this area would be an integral part of the laboratory school program. Since then the program has become quite significant because of the influence increased knowledge of child development has had on teaching and learning procedures.

Development signifies change and differentiation; the evolutionary process that operates in children

---

[28] Ibid., 16-17.

modifies their size, structure and organic functions, as well as their growth and maturity. A progressive and dynamic differentiation predisposes the individual to attain a superior level which permits new forms of conduct; and this is only possible when a given individual has reached those full potentialities which had previously lain in latent form.

The objectives and reasons for such a study require the recognition of certain democratic principles. Democratic education utilizes respect of the individual, understanding of individual differences, understanding of the significance of the child's conduct, and adult tolerance towards the fluctuations and changes from infancy to adolescence.[29] The most important responsibility of the educator is to help the child develop his capacities and aptitudes. So that growth is realized in the best form possible, it is necessary to know and understand the nature of the child and the conditions which influence his development.

The School, concerned for the best knowledge of its pupils and the processes of growth which operate within them, has carried out since 1954 this particular study. The interest that the School places in this

---

[29] Ministerio de Educacion Publica y SCIDE, Cuatro Experiencias del Colegio Americano de Guatemala como Escuela de Ensayo, Primer Seminario Nacional Sobre Problemas de la Educacion Guatemalteca (Guatemala: The American School, 1961), p. 4.

study is based on the following criteria:

1. The knowledge and understanding of development in the diverse stages of school life constitute the major guide line for the excelling of educational systems.
2. The consideration of the student as a unique being assumes the necessity of observing him in all his manifestations and attend to the different aspects of his constitution.
3. The developmental study with the purpose of establishing longitudinal norms for the Guatemalan child assumes a necessity for the improvement of education.[30]

Since 1954 measurements have been made of the pupils' height, weight, number of erupted permanent teeth, strength of wrist grasp, skeletal growth, and academic achievement. The physical measurements were translated into growth ages by months. The result was a group of group growth ages: height age, weight age, dental age, grip age, carpal age and a group of educational achievement ages. By measuring and testing the same pupils annually, longitudinal records were established. While the School has not been able to make extensive use of the data in other public schools, the School staff has used the data on individual and groups of pupils within the School. "In case studies of learning and behavior problems, the longitudinal records have provided objective data as a firm basis for the discussion of teacher observations, impressions and opinions."[31]

---

[30] Ibid.

[31] Warren A. Ketcham, as quoted in First Bi-Annual Report to IASS, 1963, p. 14.

From 1954 to 1961 the School carried on the research with its own funds and resources. No systematic analysis was undertaken due to the lack of funds. But in 1962 the Institute for Educational Research and Development (IIME), in connection with the University of San Carlos and Michigan State University, provided a three-year grant to amplify the School's program and to begin the analysis of the data at hand. This additional help made it possible to extend the data-gathering to include children outside the School. During the past five years 1,600 public school children in Guatemala City were studied. The seminar in Child Development at the University of San Carlos cooperated with these studies. Its students were given further training and participated in the program since 1963. INCAP participated and cooperated in the program throughout the entire period.

The lesson of the interdisciplinary approach to research in child development indicates that the individual's growth is not uni-directional but multi-dimensional. During the past fourteen years much has been learned about the possibilities of the application of this research. Dr. Ketcham's report suggests possibilities:

> Some workers in child development have suggested the possibility of identifying universal growth principles which are the source

> of many common human characteristics. The identification of universal growth principles might indicate the extent to which American School children who typify the Guatemalan culture are inclined, as a result of schooling, to change their behavior patterns and values; for example, those related to diet. Evidence of this kind would prove invaluable in planning for the education of native children. There is also the distinct possibility that Guatemalan, American School child and U.S. children are basically more different in their growth than realized. . . .
>
> The greatest potential of the research program at the American School is the possibility that it will create a basis for extensive improvements in education throughout Central America and Panama.[32]

Test Construction

Traditionally, testing has held an important place in Guatemalan education, especially in the development of courses and teaching materials. In fact it has occupied a position of exaggerated importance because the central government determined promotion on the basis of tests made up by the Ministry and administered by it.

In addition to the official program the School and teachers had to follow, there were the corresponding official tests which determined promotion. The character of the tests dictated even more the program and what kind of teaching took place because the teacher soon realized what the final tests would require and taught accordingly. If the tests required memorization of

---

[32] Ibid., p. 10.

isolated facts and points of information (which was often the case), then the teacher would emphasize these in her teaching. Meanwhile the student learned what was expected of him, and on examination day he geared his previous "learning experiences" to pass those final exams. This emphasis of memorizing facts and dates gave little time for the teacher to teach for understanding.

From 1945 to 1949 the School followed exactly the official program and examinations; upon its designation as a laboratory school it was able to develop and administer its own examinations. The objective of its testing program, carefully outlined to the Ministry during the later part of 1949, is still in effect:

1. The objective of teaching is understanding;
2. If we do teach for understanding we must test for understanding.
3. The great influence testing has on teaching and the learning process is immediately noticeable in that teachers tend to teach and children to learn what they will be required to know on the examination. If they are required to report memorized facts and isolated points of information, teachers will tend to emphasize these in their teaching and children will tend to learn only these memorized points of information and isolated facts. However, if the teachers and the children both understand from the beginning that their understanding will be tested on examination day, they will tend to emphasize understanding in teaching and learning.

4. Testing of memorized facts and isolated points of information has been so long perpetuated because of the comparative difficulty of construction which tests understanding.[33]

Contemporary educational practices take for granted that the teacher has available a reliable appraisal of the ability and achievement of her students: the standard intelligence and achievement tests. But prior to 1949 in Guatemala none of these were available to the teachers at the School or any other school. Furthermore, there were no tests for the Spanish-speaking student that took into consideration his cultural environment. While published tests could be bought and imported from the United States at great cost, they had little practical value when applied to the Guatemalan educational setting. The School's belief in testing for understanding, as a basis of promotion, led to the development of related tests of intelligence, aptitudes and interests. The result has been that the School produced tests for elementary, secondary and university students, and adults, in the areas mentioned above.

The School's experience in testing was summarized in the public document Cuatro Experiencias, published in 1961.[34] This explains the two basic ways in

---

[33] August-November Report to IASS, 1949, p. 3.

[34] Cuatro Experiencias, op. cit., p. 10-18.

which tests and measurements are used in the educational setting. First, the application of achievement tests constitute a measurement toward the following ends: as a motivator, in the sense of examinations, as a method of diagnosis, and as a means of grading. The results also have application to some aspects of the school organization: the grading and promotion of students, scholastic and vocational orientation, evaluation of the educational program, and for public relations.

The School began with adaptations of general ability in English. Gradually several intelligence tests were standardized and have found use in Guatemala. Prior to this no intelligence tests had been available to Guatemalan educators.[35] More recently the School has concentrated on standardized achievement and aptitude tests; some are original with the School, and others are adaptations. With permission from the various publishers of the standardized tests, use of adaptations has been granted. As a result of the School's efforts, the following are available for Spanish-speaking students in Guatemala and other Latin American countries:

Intelligence Tests

Pinter-Cunningham, Form A (including norms for the Guatemalan child)
Pinter Non-Verbal, Intermediate, Form K

---

[35] Ibid., p. 6.

Otis Alfa, AS
Otis Gamma EM, Rapid Evaluation
Otis Intermediate, Form A
Otis Superior, Form A
Stanford Binnet, Verbal Form L and M, Primary to Higher
Wechsler Bellevue, Adult Scale, Form I, Verbal (WAIS)
Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children (WISC), Verbal

Interest Schedule

Thurstone Interest Scale

Reading Readiness Tests

Pre-Reading Test
Basic Reading Test
Intermediate Reading Test (the first of a series to cover all elementary and secondary grades)

Aptitude Tests

Differential Aptitude Tests, Form AM
a) Numerical Ability
b) Speed and Accuracy
c) Verbal Reasoning
d) Abstract Reasoning
e) Spacial Relations
f) Mechanical Reasoning
California Aptitude Tests, Battery
Holzinger-Crowder Uni-factor Test, Battery
Crawford Test of Manual Dexterity
Bennet Test of Manual Dexterity

Shortly after the School began its work in testing, it received requests from the Ministry of Education, from various schools and organizations, and even from outside the country. At the end of 1951 the Ministry requested a suitable intelligence test for applicants for scholarships in the public secondary schools. The tests were administered by the School to 800 candidates from all parts of the country. "The results were a

revelation to the Ministry of Education. . . . It was discovered, to their dismay . . . that . . . the achievement of the students was so low that it could hardly be measured on the tests which . . . had been given them."[36]

Much of the standardization of tests in the various public and private schools was helpful towards developing Guatemalan norms. For example, in 1955 the Pinter-Cunningham (oral form) was administered to the kindergarten sections of eight public schools and ten colegios. In addition the Otis test (Superior Form A) was used by four public and seven private colegios.[37] During the following year the Reading test, developed by the School, was used in eighteen additional public schools and twelve colegios.[38] Thus many schools have assisted the School in the development of its testing program: all of the tests listed above have been used in various schools in Guatemala City.

During the same period interest developed in aptitude tests, and the need became recognized in educational circles for this kind of instrument. The Ministry of Education in 1956 established a department

---

[36] July-December Report to IASS, 1951, p. 7.

[37] Como Escuela de Ensayo, 1955, p. 15-19.

[38] Como Escuela de Ensayo, 1956, p. 38-39.

of vocational guidance, and its director was aware of the school's program in aptitude test development.[39] Other public institutions have asked the school for assistance in developing tests for selection of admissions for new enrollments. The School received requests and helped the following institutions: Adolfo Hall, a pre-military school; the School of Social Service; the Escuela Politenica, the national military school; and the Home Life school (developed by ICA and the Ministry).[40] The admissions tests for the University of San Carlos and other private universities were developed by the School, and will be discussed in a following section. In addition, the following received assistance from the School in the development of tests: SCIDE, the Associasion de Bienestar Infantil, Escuela Agricola Panamericana, and INCAP.

In conclusion, the School has helped the educational system of Guatemala since it began in 1949, bringing to the attention of Guatemalan educators the positive values of tests and measurements within the education program. The Ministry and various universities and schools have all benefited from the School's continuing program in testing. And the School itself has gained from its own work in testing by upgrading classroom teaching.

---

[39] Second Bi-Annual Report to IASS, 1956, p. 9.

[40] Ibid.

Teacher Education and In-Service Programs

In-service training has been part of the School's program at both the elementary and secondary level since 1949. Numerous activities such as workshops, conferences and group discussions are organized each year to discuss and try out new classroom procedures. In a general sense the in-service training is an essential and continuing part of the laboratory school program, as it assists both the American and Guatemalan faculties. However, in a more specific sense the in-service program has become a specialized activity since 1955, including development of cadet-teachers program, participation in various public conferences and workshops, and the publishing of several reports.

The basic purpose of the in-service program is to help Guatemalan teachers improve their methods and their understanding of methods of teaching and principles of learning. In addition the program attempts

> to help develop the professional teaching and administrative personnel; to give help to the professional in education when there are problems; to correct deficiencies in the preparation of the teacher in reference to the teaching materials, to methods of teaching and general knowledge.[41]

Early in its experience, the School realized that teachers would have to be trained on the job, not only given certain orientation and guidance, but actually taught how to proceed in the classroom. Furthermore, the dual

---

[41] Cuatro Experiencias, op. cit., p. 36.

purpose of the in-service training experience was to provide the kind of teaching that the school needed and how to use it as a key to improve teaching in the public schools.

This discussion will highlight the School's activities with teacher education and in-service programs. The cadet teacher program will be discussed in some detail as it illustrates a unique activity operating in the country. Since 1955 the School has directly assisted the Ministry by participating in several projects and nation-wide conferences. One such conference was especially organized for the training of industrial arts teachers. Another project was the curriculum development program to help train teachers for Guatemala's first public laboratory school. At a more recent conference the School was asked to present a paper and explain its experiences as a laboratory school. Detailed reports of the above were published jointly by the Ministry, SCIDE and the School.

The School initiated its cadet teacher program in 1955. Trainees are selected from graduates of the normal school. They are paid beginning teachers' salaries and are assigned to regular classroom teachers of the elementary staff with three months' experience at each of three different grade levels. In the secondary school the trainees are placed in the various subject

matter classes during ten months of the year. The relationship between the regular grade teacher and that of the in-service trainee is similar to that between a critic teacher and a cadet teacher (trainee) in a teachers' college in the United States. The critic teacher is selected from the American and Guatemalan faculties, and the administrative personnel of the secondary and elementary coordinate the program.

At the beginning of the experience the cadet teacher observes and helps the regular teacher carry out the work of the class. In time the cadet trainee takes direct charge of certain aspects of the program and gradually takes on more responsibilities for the regular teaching. Incidental teaching materials, like those mentioned in the previous section, are especially emphasized since most of the trainees will later work in the public schools where teaching materials will be limited. In addition to the work with the teachers in the classrooms, the in-service trainees attend special sessions taught by regular staff members in mathematics, language, science and other subjects. They are also introduced to and taught how to use the ditto machine, moving and slide projectors, the library, and various references materials; in general they are given as broad an experience as possible.

Whenever the School has a vacancy in its regular teaching staff, it is often filled by one of the in-service trainees. If the School has no need for their services, they take jobs in various private and public schools or with the Ministry after their one year of training. The School believes that it should have several cadet teachers in training all the time. With the exception of one year (1963), there have been several cadets in training each year. Since having enough teachers available for in-service training requires outside financing, the School has not been able to expand this particular program. Since 1955 there have been on the average three or four trainees a year at the School, or a total of 38 trainees since the program began, of which 13 have become regular members of the staff.

Even though the total number is small compared to the country's overall needs, these teachers who have had regular teaching experiences at the School are greatly valued by the Ministry, as the 1961 conferences on national educational problems illustrate. Many of the former trainees now occupy outstanding and important positions in various schools, within the Ministry, and with technical assistance agencies.

The School planned and carried out a program of in-service training for industrial arts teachers at the request of SCIDE, and with approval of the Ministry. The program took place during a ten-week period between August 22 and October 28, 1955, with 40 selected primary and secondary industrial arts teachers from the capital area and the various departamientos participating. The School planned the program, and SCIDE financed it.

The in-service program sought to provide the industrial arts teachers with an adequate orientation relative to the new curricula organization of the Bachillerato; to improve the techniques of teaching industrial arts by providing efficient methods and means; to enable the industrial arts teacher to further his interests, aptitudes and skills with the objective of attaining reasonable vocational orientation for the students; to give him an opportunity to exchange ideas and experiences; and to help him excel in the practice of his profession.[42] While the program attempted to achieve these objectives, emphasis was placed on practical aspects rather than a great deal of teaching theory. On successful completion of the program the participants were given diplomas jointly by the Ministry and SCIDE.

Prior to this there had been no such activity for Guatemalan industrial arts teachers. And with the

---

[42] Como Escuela de Ensayo, 1955, p. 22.

revised curricula program that had then recently been developed by the Ministry, this in-service training took on added significance. Furthermore, there was no similar institution in the country that could adequately train the teachers because the necessary faculty and equipment were lacking. Therefore the School was called upon to provide this training as "there wasn't any other institution in Guatemala equipped to do the job. . . . The American School had the necessary equipment, the faculty and the organization that could support such an intensive program on short notice."[43]

After the two national teachers' congresses, the Ministry decided in 1956 that several primary schools would function as laboratory schools, with the purpose of carrying out advanced work in curriculum development and teaching methods. In view of the School's experience from 1949, the Ministry and ICA requested the School to accept the responsibility of giving intensive in-service training to six primary teachers who would form the nucleus of personnel for the first public laboratory school to begin in February 1957. Six elementary teachers reported to the School in August, 1956, to begin their training in the classrooms, working in cooperation with the American School teachers assigned to this task. Until the end of that year they were

---

[43] First Bi-Annual Report to IASS, 1955, p. 36.

systematically introduced to the various modern methods and techniques of the classroom and were also given some training in curriculum development. Their training program ended in February, 1957. They they opened Escuela Laboratorio Numero Uno, the first public laboratory school in the country.

Not only is this particular project noteworthy in terms of what it accomplished, but also there was a definite change of attitude among the participants by the end of the project, reflected in the report:

> Apparently, during their stay at the school, there occurred a change in opinion and attitude of those who arrived with scepticism and almost hostility. They were under the impression that the American School was an institution with foreign methods, transplanted to Guatemala, and consequently inapplicable. They believed that the Guatemalan teachers did not have any voice or vote in the educational discussions of the school. They thought that the pupils were exclusively from a privileged economic sector and that, the public school child originating from such dissimilar background, what they (the participants) would see at the American School could not be applied in the place where they would work.[44]

After the six-month period of the intensive in-service training, the participants made the following comments:

> I affirm that mutual cooperation exists between members of the American School.
> I believe that all I observed can be adapted in our situation with some variations.

---

[44]"Programa Cooperativo de Adiestramiento en Servicio y Desarrolo de Curriculum," op. cit., p. 15.

> The techniques and methods observed in general are able to be applied to the public school, even though necessarily with variants that realities impose on the methods.
>
> In general I believe that all I observed will help us a great deal and will help to develop initiative. The [curricula] programs will be the best help that we can have because they satisfy the needs of the pupil and are in accord with the evolutionary development of the child.[45]

In order to study the pressing problems in Guatemalan education, the Ministry and SCIDE decided to organize in 1961 a national conference on Guatemalan educational problems. The School was invited to present a working paper concerning its experiences as a laboratory school.

This particular document, Cuatro Experiencias del Colegio Americano como Escuela de Ensayo, represented a complete summary of the School's activities. The areas covered were child growth and development, tests and measurements, general educational research, and in-service training of teachers. In this report "the school's program of in-service training received more attention than almost any phase of the laboratory school work . . . ."[46]

The final report of the conference included the recommendations of the various study groups. Group VIII's topic was concerned with the actual state of

---

[45] Ibid., pp. 15-16.

[46] First Bi-Annual Report to IASS, 1962, p. 17.

Guatemalan education and the possibilities of a new system of education for Guatemala, and Group IX's topic was concerned with laboratory schools and their function in Guatemalan education. Jointly these groups presented the following recommendations, with No. 19 making specific reference to the School's in-service program:

> 15. It is recommended that the National Council of Education elaborate a special ruling for laboratory schools, with the object that their special works be used in all the country's schools. . . .
> 16. It is recommended that the Public Ministry of Education give, by means of yearly communications or by whatever means convenient, periodically the reports of the various laboratory schools. . . .
> 17. It is recommended that the National Technical Council of Education have the directors or the representatives of the laboratory schools meet together to get to know the methods and systems of teaching which apply and promote their discussion. . . .
> 18. It is recommended that the said council undertake a comparative study on the strengths and weaknesses of systems and methods employed in the said schools.
> 19. It is recommended that the American School and other laboratory schools intensify in-service training of personnel, and extend it to national teachers, who by means of competitive examinations and scholarships, can observe the activities of such schools. . . .
> 20. That groups VIII and IX appreciate the American School for its collaboration in the First National Seminar of Guatemalan educational problems in presenting the document, "Four Experiences of the American School as a Laboratory School."[47]

---

[47] Desarrollo y Resoluciones, Informe Final, Primer Seminario Nacional Sobre Problemas de la Educación Guatemalteca (Guatemala: Ministerio de Educación Publica y SCIDE, 1961), pp. 91-92.

To summarize, the teacher education and in-service programs at the School have been recognized by Guatemalan educators and by the Ministry. While the number of in-service trainees has been small due to the School's limited financial resources, the impact of the program has been recognized in Guatemalan educational circles. Since the School initiated the program in 1955, it has not directly publicized its activities. However, in 1962 a detailed newspaper article summarized the School's activities, including the in-service program:

> The work of the in-service training program of teachers [at the American School] is an ideal way to teach in a vivid and practical way. . . . These in-service teachers are in great demand in the other centers of education.[48]

Relations with the University of San Carlos

The School has maintained a close, cooperative relationship with Guatemala's national university, the University of San Carlos. During the first years of the School there was no direct connection or relations with the University; but in 1954 the School suggested that "cooperation between both institutions could beneficially result in solving the ever present problems . . .

---

[48]Blanca Luz de Rodrigues, "Comentario Femenino: Colegios Ejemplares," El Imparcial, October 12, 1962, p. 18.

that originate from the interdependence of secondary and higher education."[49] Since then its faculty and research specialists have given assistance to the University in special projects and conferences. The following discussion is derived from selected school reports.[50]

The reciprocal relationship has been mutually beneficial to both institutions by sharing their facilities, materials and staffs in several ways. For example, the School has had the University's assistance in the following ways: having the use of Faculty of Humanities library facilities; obtaining lecturers from different faculties and departments; securing the records of former students for making follow-up vocational studies; and obtaining the help of different university specialists in the development of special programs. In return for this help, the School has been able to assist the University. In a general way faculty members have participated on University committees and taught courses. Since 1958 there have been several further opportunities for the School to lend its services, and these will be described in some detail.

Two faculty members of its faculty, Licda. Beatriz Molina S. and Lic. Ricardo Estrada H., also

---

[49] Como Escuela de Ensayo, 1954, p. 32.

[50] Como Escuela de Ensayo, 1961-1965, p. 23-32.

members of the University Superior Council, were granted special permission to assist the council sessions during school time. In addition Dr. Guido Barrientos, a former teacher at the School, and Lic. Estrada took charge of the evaluation of the faculty schools of Occidente, while the School provided the necessary materials and technical help. The School furnished equipment for the physics laboratory and assisted in the transportation for the activities of the Escuela de Verano of the Faculty of Humanities. Library materials were also furnished for the development of the literature courses at the same summer school. The School assisted and cooperated with IIME in problems related to educational research. It also participated in IIME's first semester meeting which was held in 1962. And several of the School's staff have become members of various University faculties, especially in the Faculty of Humanities. This unique relationship has developed and grown over the past several years. In their University classes, the School staff have been able to use materials (tests, questionnaires, reproductions and the like) developed at the School. In addition, for those who are working on their theses, the School provides additional material and equipment when needed.

While the School has cooperated with the University in these ways, it has lent its services in

several other areas. At the University's request the School assisted in the development of the admissions program, a seminar in university teaching, and a regional conference in testing and admissions programs. Each will be discussed separately.

The right to enter the University upon successful completion of the bachillerato has been upheld, in theory if not in practice, throughout Guatemala's history. But with the increasing changes since 1945, the University has not been able to meet all the demands placed upon it; the enrollments have far exceeded its facilities. In order to uphold the right of admission for those who hold the bachillerato, the University had to develop standards of admission. During these years there was much discussion by the various faculties and university officials on this matter. On their own initiative several faculties promoted the development of an admission program. In 1958 the Admissions Committee of the Medical Science faculty approached the School for assistance, requesting help in the preparation, administration and evaluation of adequate tests for the selection of its in-coming students in 1959. The School agreed to help and developed a program that was satisfactory to the committee. The School elaborated, applied and evaluated tests in the following areas: General Ability, Mathematics, Language, Science, and Foreign Languages.

As a result of this experience, the School established fundamental conditions for the lending of its services. Being a laboratory school and of service to Guatemalan education, it did not accept any stipend or honorarium or charge for its cooperation in the program. After the School's part was finished, it abstained from participating in the committee's decisions concerning actions the committee would take with the test results. And the School reserved the right of the authors and publishers of the tests that were used. These points have been maintained as part of the School's policy in connection with subsequent requests from other institutions.

In 1962 the Medical Science Faculty became interested in developing a program of methods of test evaluation. It introduced in its curriculum a seminar entitled "Seminar of Evaluation Systems of Medical Students." This Faculty called upon the Faculty of Humanities for assistance with the seminar. The latter designated Licda. Beatriz Molina S. and Lic. Robert MacVean, both members of the School, and Lic. Luis Arturo Lemus to assist in its planning, organization, and development. This committee was further strengthened by Dr. Barrientos, Professor Nieves, members of the School, and Ing. Arguelles. These individuals developed the seminar which took place during September 18 through

October 16, 1962. The main areas of discussion were: problems and theory of evaluation, theoretical and practical learning, objective examinations, norms and statistical methods, and final suggestions.

The results of the above became known throughout the University and other Faculties wanted information. The Faculty of Medical Science became interested and asked the Faculty of Humanities for help in developing a program of admissions for its incoming students in 1963. The Faculties of Chemical Science, Pharmacy and Dentistry requested the assistance of the School through the Faculty of Humanities. And the School accepted the responsibility, developing and administering the following tests to the incoming students: General Ability, Language, Mathematics, Natural Sciences and Foreign Languages.

With the establishment of Department Basic Studies at the University, the Faculty of Humanities was placed in charge of the development of the admissions program during 1964 and 1965. The School, with its human and technical resources and experiences in general, was asked to lend its services in the preparation of materials and in the organization and development of the program. The tests developed for the Basic Studies Program were the following:

a. General Ability
b. Numerical Ability
c. Verbal Reasoning
d. Spacial Relations
e. Mathematics
f. Spanish Language and Literature
g. Biological Sciences
h. Chemistry
i. Social Studies
j. Foreign Language
   German
   French
   English
   Italian
k. Comprehension of Scientific Reading

The School was given direct credit for its cooperation by the University, as the following report demonstrates:

> [the Faculty of Humanities] requested the American School of Guatemala, in view of its quality as a laboratory school, its technical resources and the experience it has in this type of work, its cooperation in the preparation of materials and technical help in the development of [admissions] program . . .[51]

The Seminar in University Teaching was another project where the School collaborated with the University. In 1964 the Directive Council of the University asked the Faculty of Humanities to develop a "Course of Evaluation for University Professors" and invited the following members of the School to assist in its development:

Profesora Marina de Vrooman
Licda. Beatriz Molina S.
Ingeniero Miguel Angel Canga Arguelles
Lic. Luis Arturo Lemus

---

[51] Informe, Programa de Admision (Guatemala: Facultad de Humanidades, Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala, 1964), p. 2. (Mimeographed)

Lic. Jorge Lujan Munoz
Profesor Arcadio Madrid
Lic. Robert MacVean
Profesor Francisco Nieves
Doctor Francisco Ocano
Lic. Ricardo Estrada H.

The course was held during March 2 through 6, 1964, in the auditorium of the Faculty of Chemical Sciences. The topics elaborated during the program were the following: evaluation of scientific criteria, general theory of evaluation, principles of test construction, learning theory, and the results and analysis of tests. The materials used throughout the conference were taken from the School's files.

Other universities in the Central American region recognized the need for an adequate admissions program. A conference was organized in Guatemala with the University of San Carlos acting as host. From November 23 to December 4, 1964, the Central American Conference of Programs of University Admissions took place. Particularly, the Faculty of Humanities and the School were called upon to present the topics for discussion. The conference covered the major areas of testing to be found in a university testing program; the purpose of an admissions program and characteristics; the use of test results in admissions programs for advising students in their programs; admission programs and their relationship to secondary education; elaboration of aptitude and achievement tests; analysis and

use of tests, school records, interviews and other data in the admissions program; and problems in test development and usage. Most of the sessions took place at the School where the participants had the use of various materials, tests and technical equipment.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This historical study describes the development of a bi-national school in a particular social context and describes how this school relates to the existing national system of education. This study is not intended as an empirical study proving any particular hypothesis. Rather, it merely orders events descriptively, just as they took place. Certain tentative conclusions can be drawn, which in turn will suggest further investigation.

1. The American School reflects Guatemala's Hispanic heritage, retaining some of the traditional education patterns. The School is a private institution with tuition being the main support. The curriculum at the secondary level, especially the Bachillerato program, is basically college preparatory. The student body comes from that segment of the country's population where children expect and parents can afford university training. The curriculum syllabus is similar to the one drawn up by the centralized Ministry of Education. The school calendar is identical to the one used in the public

schools. The above demonstrates that while the School does not have direct historical links with the Guatemalan pre-Hispanic and Hispanic past because of its relatively short history, the School has been affected by it.

2. The American School's status as a laboratory school has been publicly and legally recognized by the government and was the first such school in the country. Various governmental offices and the Ministry have reviewed, expanded and extended this legal status, which in turn has given the School greater permanency and flexibility to plan and carry out its activities. The various legal permissions since 1945 were granted under different political conditions, but at no time were the School's requests or actions ever challenged by the government or the Ministry, although many other technical assistance projects and programs of the Ministry were altered or discontinued; the School's activities have continued without interruption throughout its entire life.

3. The School trained the staff of the first laboratory school in 1956 and 1957, following much discussion among Guatemalan educators, especially after the National Teachers' Congresses in 1955 and 1956. Since the Ministry asked the School for its assistance on the

training of its staff, it has established several other laboratory schools.

4. The national curriculum currently used in the public schools was developed largely by the efforts of the American School. Public school curricula prior to 1955 greatly reflected the traditional orientations inherited from its Hispanic past. Since 1944, various movements within Guatemala encouraged progressive trends in the public schools, which in turn effected a number of reforms. The American School received permission to implement new programs of study ahead of the public schools. After a period of adaptive experimentation at the American School, many of these programs gradually were adopted by the Ministry and incorporated in the public schools. Curriculum reform was completed by 1961 and clearly reflected the preliminary work of the American School.

5. The American School introduced the concept and use of objective testing for measuring student performance, which in turn led to the development of standardized I.Q., achievement and aptitude tests. Prior to 1944, no testing in the public schools was based on psychological measures. In just two decades the School standardized over twenty tests to fit Guatemalan students and developed and administered some locally constructed tests. Through its research program and

its staff members serving on various faculties of the University, the School has been able to instruct Guatemalan educators in the various kinds of tests and measurements; the University's curriculum now includes instruction in this area.

6. Through its research in testing, the School has been able to help the University develop a selection process on adequate and equitable testing. Since 1958 the School has assisted various faculties in developing and administering admissions tests. Now, the University has its own admissions program and administers its own tests. In addition, a Department of Vocational Guidance has been established at the University which utilizes various tests developed at the School.

7. The School has created an awareness of in-service training in Guatemalan teacher education. Most teachers are products of normal schools and lack university training; many do not possess proper teacher certification. Through numerous conferences, workshops and visitations, the School has introduced modern methods of teaching, program materials, and curriculum guides to many Guatemalan teachers. In 1961 the Ministry recommended that the School expand its program of in-service education.

Implications and Recommendations for further Study

An exploratory study of this kind reveals numerous ways in which the American School assists Guatemalan education. And conclusions summarized above suggest recommendations for further study; among the many possible, the following appear to have special significance.

1. The American School's limited financial resources prevent it from extending its laboratory or experimental activities. If the School is to expand its relationship with other elements of Guatemalan education, it is necessary to find additional financial resources of some sort. These will allow the School and the emerging Universidad del Valle to undertake such activities without disrupting their regular academic program. If such financial resources are not found, the School's laboratory program will be curtailed.

2. The American School, a bi-national, community-type, non-profit school, suggests that a laboratory school approach could be tried by similar schools in other Latin American countries. Its twenty-two year history definitely suggests that the laboratory school idea is workable and has definite value for the system of education. This would enable the American

School to give the children of the U.S. dependents a quality education and in addition contribute to the national system of education. The extent of such possibilities is presently unknown.

3. The relationship between the School and Guatemalan education has been established and described in some detail; it is implicit from this discussion that the School has had a definite affect on Guatemalan education, which in turn suggests that the School has influenced the Ministry's course of action at several points. These effects and influences might now be evaluated and interpreted. This thesis has not sought to prove the precise effects nor evaluate the degree of influence that the School has had on the Ministry and its programs; hopefully they may be evaluated in the future by empirical studies undertaken by social scientists.

4. The emerging Universidad del Valle will most likely assume the American School's laboratory functions in the future. This will mean that the research and development function will shift from the School to the University.

5. A study of the School's long range contributions to Guatemalan education is possible. Some areas of interest might include the following: where the School's graduates go, employment opportunities they find, and the significant leadership roles they have in Guatemalan society.

APPENDIX

A DESCRIPTION OF THE INTERVIEW PROCESS

Throughout the months of June, July and August the writer held a number of depth interviews. He attempted to familiarize himself with the School and its operations before beginning the interviews. Most interviews were arranged; however, several were impromptu and completely spontaneous. The average length approximated an hour. Every effort was made to obtain suitable conditions for an informal, relaxed and uninterrupted conversation. While the writer had permission to take notes, they were de-emphasized to facilitate the flow of conversation. Special care was taken to maintain the interviewee's anonymity; the information obtained has been kept confidential. A complete record of the interviews is available to the members of the doctoral committee; a list of those interviewed has been given to the committee.

Both languages were used: one-third English, one-third Spanish, and the remaining utilized both languages. Upon completion of each interview, the writer arranged and edited the notes. Then the notes were recorded on tape, transcribed and put into

paragraph form with secretarial assistance. The average time to completely process an interview was about four hours. This included the planning stage, the interview itself, arranging and editing of the notes, and finally the taping and transcriptions. Therefore the time factor limited the numbers of interviews to one daily.

The writer interviewed approximately forty people throughout the summer. These included founders, board members, officials and graduates of the School, several Guatemalan educators, U.S. personnel involved in technical assistance programs, and representatives from the diplomatic corps. Many other conversations were held with School officials which added to the writer's understanding but were not transcribed on tape.

There were no exact numbers of questions in the interview schedule nor was there any particular set of questions to be answered. The writer's purpose was to obtain information of the School's development within a social context and discover how it related to Guatemalan education. This enabled the writer to gain insight into different aspects of Guatemalan education, including activities of the School, which were not available from printed sources in Spanish or English. Before the interview took place, the writer formulated

several questions in his mind. For example, when conversing with a board member or a governmental official the following type of questions were raised:

1. What has been (is) your connection and interest with the School?
2. What do you think are (should be) the main objectives of the School?
3. Who do you think is (should be) the over-all role of the School?
4. Who do you think is (should be) served by the School?
5. What are your views of Guatemalan education?

For the graduate of the School the following type of questions were asked:

1. What language do you prefer?
2. What is the purpose of the School?
3. What type of person should the School have as students?
4. What influence do you think the School has had upon the community?
5. Were you prepared for your work when you graduated?

Many interviews centered on one question or just covered a few. The aim of the interview was not to cover all the questions but to obtain insights otherwise unattainable.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adams, Richard N. "Change in Guatemala and U.S. Policy." in Richard N. Adams, et al. Social Change in Latin America Today: Its Implications for United States Policy. New York: Vintage Books, 1960.

_____. "Cultural Components of Central America." American Anthropologist, LVIII (October, 1956), 881-901.

Bi-Annual Reports for the Inter-American Schools Service. Washington: American Council of Education, 1945-1963.

Bennis, Warren G., et al. The Planning of Change: Readings in the Applied Behavioral Sciences. New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1966.

Brembeck, Cole S. "Rising Educational Aspirations and School Learning." A paper for the Joint Seminar on Cultural Factors in Educational Change, Honolulu, August 16 to September 3, 1965. Prepared by the East-West Center, University of Hawaii and the Institute for International Studies in Education, Michigan State University, East Lansing, 1965.

Bumgartner, Louis E. José del Valle of Central America. Durham: Duke University Press, 1963.

Butterfield, Clair J., et al. An Appraisal of the Laboratory School Activities of the American School of Guatemala. Guatemala: The American School, 1954. (Mimeographed.)

Chamberlain, Robert S. The Conquest and Colonization of Yucatan, 1517-1520. Publication No. 582. Washington: Carnegie Institute of Washington, 1953.

El Colegio Americano de Guatemala Como Escuela de Ensayo. Guatemala: Colegio Americano de Guatemala, 1953-1966.

Cuarto Experiencias del Colegio Americano Como Escuela de Ensayo en El Primer Seminario Nacional Sobre Problemas de la Educacion Guatemalteca. Guatemala: Ministerio de Educacion Publica y Servicio Cooperativo Interamericano de Guatemala, 1961.

Diario del Grafico (Guatemala), August 5, 1966.

El Imparcial (Guatemala), October 12, 1962.

Gallenkamp, Charles. Maya: The Riddle and Rediscovery of a Lost Civilization. New York: Pyramid Publication, Inc., 1962.

Haring, C. H. The Spanish Empire in America. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1963.

Holleran, Mary P. Church and State in Guatemala. New York: Columbia University Press, 1949.

Horn, Carl M. The American Schools in Central America. East Lansing, Michigan: College of Education, Michigan State University, 1963. (Offset.)

Instituto de Investigaciones y Mejoramiento Educativo. Plan of Public Expenditures for Education. Guatemala: Ciudad Universitaria, 1964.

_____. A Case Study: Academic Progress of University Students, University of San Carlos, 1963. Guatemala: Ciudad Universitaria, 1964.

Jones, Chester Lloyd. Guatemala: Past and Present. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1940.

Lanning, John Tate. The Eighteenth Century Enlightenment in the University of San Carlos. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1956.

_____. The University in the Kingdom of Guatemala. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1955.

Larroyo, Francisco. História Comparada de la Educación en Mexico. Cuarta Edición, Corregida y Aumentada. Mexico: Editorial Porrua, S.A., 1956.

Loomis, Charles P. Social Systems. Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Company, 1960.

MacVean, Robert B., and Nieves, Francisco C. "Educational Reorganization in Guatemala." Comparative Education Review, I (February, 1958), 18-24.

Nash, Manning. "The Role of Village Schools in the Process of Cultural and Economic Modernization." Social and Economic Studies (Jamaica), XIV (March, 1965), 131-143.

The New York Times, June 20, 1954.

_____, October 22, 1960.

Oficina de Planeamiento Integral de la Educación. Diagnóstico de la Educación en Guatemala: Programa de la Educación para la Republica de Guatemala. Guatemala: Ministerio de Educación, 1965.

Orellana, Carlos Gonzales. Historia de la Educación en Guatemala. Mexico: B. Costa Amic, Editor, 1960.

Orr, Paul G. "Bi-National Schools in Latin America." Unpublished Doctoral thesis, Michigan State University, 1960.

Parker, Franklin D. The Central American Republics. London: Oxford University Press, 1964.

Pike, Fredrick B., ed. Freedom and Reform in Latin America. South Bend: University of Notre Dame Press, 1959.

Plaza, Galo. "Experiment in International Education." The Nation's Schools, May, 1946, 23-24.

Popul Vul, The Sacred Book of the Ancient Quiché Maya. Translated with an introduction by Delia Goetz and Sylvanus G. Morley. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1950.

Programa Cooperativo de Adiestramiento en Servicio y Desarollo de Curriculum. Guatemala: Ministerio de Educación Publica, Servicio Cooperativo Interamericano de Guatemala y Colegio Americano de Guatemala, 1957. (Offset.)

Rey, Julio Adolfo. "Revolution and Liberation: A Review of Recent Literature on the Guatemalan Situation." Hispanic American Historical Review, XXXVIII (May, 1958), 239-255.

Silvert, K. H. A Study in Government: Guatemala. Publication 21 of the Middle American Research Institute. New Orleans: Tulane University, 1954.

Thompson, J. Eric S. Thomas Gage's Travels in the New World. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958.