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The Society

Guatemala

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NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE SURVEY

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GUATEMALA

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The Society

The survival of indigenous influence in the syncretic religious practices at Chichicastenango symbolizes the effect of the attempt to impose the Hispanic pattern on Indian cultures in Guatemala. Despite four and a half centuries of interaction, the society remains culturally divided. (U/OU)



A. Introduction (C)

Although slowly evolving toward a more unified community, Guatemalan society is still divided into two distinct cultural groups, a large, subordinate Indian minority, bound by religious beliefs and social customs to a traditional way of life, and a Ladino majority, whose values and institutions have evolved from those introduced by Spaniards in the 16th century. Both groups in the main are illiterate, impoverished, and unorganized, conditions that stand in stark contrast to the advantages enjoyed by a small Ladino elite, which controls the country. This social order, virtually unchanged since the colonial era

except for the gradual emergence of a small middle class, was seriously threatened by socioeconomic reforms of the revolutionary 1941-54 period. Although these reforms were later reversed, the revolutionary experiment served to awaken among some of the lower sectors of society an awareness of new channels for the attainment of social goals. In addition, it established the conceptual and institutional foundations for subsequent modest progress in improving levels of health, education, and welfare.

The reversal of the social reforms of the revolutionary period set the stage for a polarization of

attitudes emphasizing radical social reform on the one hand and the preservation of the *status quo* on the other. In turn, this polarization has engendered endemic violence. The underlying cause of this internecine struggle in the view of reformists is the widening gap between the economically marginal sectors of Indian and Ladino society and the privileged upper class, an economic imbalance which to a large degree has come to parallel cultural disparity as a major obstacle to social integration and national unity. Official efforts to attack the economic bases of these problems are represented by the development plan for 1971-75, directed in large part to raising living levels for the poorest rural inhabitants. As in the past, however, implementation of reform measures has tended to center at high levels of government, and little attempt has been made to involve the lower sectors through the formation of grass roots organizations. As a result, social change continues to depend upon the good will of those in power rather than upon the interaction of all elements of society in the political process.

Social patterns derive largely from those established during the colonial era, when Hispanic institutions and values were superimposed upon those of the indigenous Indians. The Spaniards who arrived by way of Mexico in 1524 met little resistance from the tribes inhabiting the highland areas. To support the colonists, the Spanish Crown allowed them to exact tribute in the form of agricultural goods and personal services. Corporate Indian communities were formed in those areas where the population was scattered, and, where possible, civil servants and missionaries were sent to administer the new settlements. In general, however, neither the civil nor the religious functionaries were able to replace indigenous ways with Hispanic culture and religion. Adaptations and compromises were made by both sides: Hispanic legal and religious patterns were superimposed upon the Indian culture, but the latter remained largely intact, especially in remote areas.

Concomitant with the evolution of this basic social pattern—that of a large Indian majority subordinate to and exploited by a Spanish minority—there began to emerge an intermediate social grouping, consisting at first of acculturated Indians, mestizos, Negroes, and mulattoes. In time, Negroes and mulattoes lost their separate racial identity through miscegenation, and the intermediate social grouping, called Ladinos, came to include persons of any racial category who belonged neither to the traditional Indian community nor to the privileged Spanish group. By the 19th century the term "Spaniard" disappeared from

common usage, and the term "Ladino" came to encompass all persons who did not participate in the life of a traditional Indian community.

The lower class Ladino, however, was largely exempted from the more blatant forms of social and economic discrimination inflicted on the Indian, whose situation deteriorated rapidly toward the end of the colonial era and in the period following independence from Spain in 1821. A series of laws pertaining to land tenure rights and to labor relationships—promulgated by the government in the 19th century ostensibly to protect the Indian from exploitation—enabled the aristocracy to acquire control over indigenous lands and to institutionalize the bondage of the Indian. During the first half of the 20th century, more subtle forms of legalized forced labor replaced the old laws, solidifying the preeminence of a small group of privileged Ladinos. Until the mid-20th century virtually nothing was done to integrate either the Indians or the growing numbers of marginal Ladinos into the mainstream of society.

Throughout most of its history as an independent nation, Guatemala had been ruled by conservative autocratic *caudillos* (strongmen) supported by the small but powerful upper class. Even the advent of the liberal administration of President Justo Rufino Barrios (1873-85) failed essentially to alter the established socioeconomic structure. With the influx of large-scale foreign investment in the Central American fruit and coffee-growing industries during the administration of President Manuel Estrada Cabrera (1898-1920), Guatemala became the stereotype of a "banana republic," in which large profits accrued to upper class entrepreneurs and foreign investors while rural development languished and urban slum areas proliferated.

The bases for socioeconomic reform were established, paradoxically, during the administration of President Jorge Ubico (1931-44), last of the old-line *caudillos*. Noted for his devotion to honesty and efficiency in government, Ubico managed to achieve considerable material progress for the country. His restrictions on civil rights and his lack of a dynamic social policy, however, resulted in the coalescence in the early 1940's of opposition elements within the emergent middle sector, which included industrial workers, businessmen, professionals, teachers, students, and junior military officers. Following the ouster of Ubico in 1944, these newly articulate forces elected Juan Jose Arevalo, a professor who had spent much of his adult life outside the country, as President.

Under Arevalo (1945-51), serious attempts were made for the first time in Guatemalan history to extend the benefits of socioeconomic development to a broad spectrum of society. A comprehensive labor code was enacted, a basic social security program was inaugurated, public education was expanded to reach lower class Ladines and the Indians, and the organization of the lower sectors of society was initiated. These innovations seriously threatened the traditional social structure and the monopoly of the elite on the instruments of power. In an effort to bring about drastic social change in a minimum amount of time, the subsequent administration of Jacobo Arbenz Guzman (1951-54) inaugurated reform at an increasingly rapid pace. Arbenz came to rely heavily on Communists as skilled organizers and advisers, particularly in the areas of trade union organization and agrarian reform, a step that disturbed conservative political factions and led to a coalescence of opposition among the traditionally anti-Communist middle and upper elements of society. In addition, the substitution of political parties and agrarian committees for traditional organizations of local political control in Indian communities represented departures from established patterns of authority and caused considerable local turmoil.

The most controversial of the reforms, however, was the Agrarian Reform Law of 1953, the land distribution program which was the key measure of the Arbenz administration's social program and the one which represented the most serious challenge to the established order. Generating increasingly vocal opposition from the upper class, the church hierarchy, and the armed forces, the Agrarian Reform Law contributed to the overthrow of Arbenz in June 1954 by a U.S.-supported force of exiles led by Col. Carlos Castillo Armas.

The 10-year experiment in social revolution left a legacy of mistrust and suspicion both on the part of those who received benefits that were later withdrawn and on the part of the elite whose power was for a time seriously threatened. Since 1954, attempts to deal effectively with the nation's social problems have been limited, despite generally satisfactory advances in the macroeconomic sphere. Certain modernizing influences, including increased educational opportunities, improved transportation facilities, and a more extensive use of radio, newspapers, and television, have tended, however, to break down the isolation that characterized many communities prior to the 1940's, adding to the potential for social ferment generated by the revolution. Under President Julio Mendez Montenegro (1966-70), a left-of-center law

professor, some limited progress was made in the areas of health, education, civil service reform, and tax reform, but the major thrust of his administration was directed toward maintaining itself in office in the face of opposition from some army elements who felt that Mendez could not handle the subversive threat.

Further gradual progress has been made under President Carlos Arana Osorio, an army officer who was elected in 1970 on a "law and order" platform with the support of a conservative political coalition. To the discomfort of his less progressive backers, Arana has demonstrated an unexpected concern for the economic betterment of the least privileged groups of society, but implementation of his development programs depends in large measure upon his ability to gather the necessary human and financial resources for a large-scale attack on social problems. Moreover, questions of internal security continue to plague the Arana administration, siphoning off meager funds available for social development and seriously inhibiting progress in the area of social integration. A yearlong state of siege lasting from November 1970 to November 1971 hampered opposition attempts to organize trade unions, cooperatives, peasant leagues, and grass roots political organizations, exacerbating political and social tensions and thwarting Arana's efforts to promote feelings of national unity.

In general, little progress has been made towards the achievement of a consensus as to national goals or the means to achieve them. Although certain elements within the military establishment have shown increasing concern for the social welfare of the underprivileged sectors of society, the army remains a powerful counterbalance to any moves that might seriously threaten the position of vested economic interests. The Roman Catholic Church, despite the progressive influence of some foreign missionary groups and the impact of recent Vatican pronouncements on social justice, continues to be an essentially conservative force in society. The inherent cultural conservatism of most Indians, moreover, constitutes a serious obstacle to the implementation of reforms which might threaten the distinctive pattern of their culture and result in the loss of their identity as a group. Although there is no evidence of a movement to free the Indians from their subordinate position, an increased awareness among some Indians of the possibility of achieving material progress is resulting, according to some observers, in growing discontent. Such a development, combined with the widening gap between the "haves" and the "have nots," could portend increasing instability in Guatemalan national life.

B. Structure and characteristics of society (C)

Guatemalan society has been shaped by an interplay of various cultural elements that have failed to forge a national entity despite almost four and a half centuries of interaction. A relatively homogeneous Ladino sector, united by a common language and religion, contrasts with an Indian population which, while sharing certain basic values, is itself a plural society composed of many groups. Basically incompatible value systems have served to maintain the distance between these two segments with the result that the Indians, today comprising about 40% of the total population, have remained in a position of utter subordination.

1. Ethnic and cultural groups

The common characterization of Guatemala as a dual society masks certain complexities which combine to give the country a nonnational character. The Ladino group, made up of disparate racial elements ranging from pure Caucasian to pure Indian, represents the national culture, derived from Spanish origins and Western in its outward manifestations. The Indian sector, on the other hand, is an amalgam of many cultures which share certain attitudes, values, and norms of behavior, but which may differ radically in external cultural trappings. Ladinos and Indians constitute what is best described as social races; that is, they are distinguished on the basis of sociocultural criteria rather than ancestry. In fact, Guatemalan physical types comprise a considerable range, the mestizo makeup varying according to the predominance of Caucasian or Indian blood (Figure 1). Language, clothing, and social organization are the basic differentiating factors. If a person speaks an Indian language as his mother tongue, wears Indian dress, and lives in a traditional Indian community, he is considered an Indian. Similarly, one who speaks Spanish, dresses in Western attire, and does not participate in Indian affairs is considered a Ladino, irrespective of his racial origin. White upper class Guatemalans may regard themselves as constituting a third division, but the rest of the population do not recognize the distinction.

Because the Indian population vastly outnumbered the Spanish immigrants during the colonial period, interbreeding was frequent, and the mestizos soon were more numerous than the Spaniards. Eventually, the term "Ladino" came to encompass mestizos, persons of pure Spanish blood and Hispanicized

Indians as well. Although the Ladinos of Guatemala share in the general Hispanic culture common to most of Latin America, they range in type from wealthy pure-blooded Spanish families to poor peasants whose level of living is indistinguishable from that of their Indian counterparts.

The Indians are classified according to degree of "Ladinoization," or acculturation. Those who adhere most strongly to indigenous values and customs, wear typical Indian dress, and reside in an Indian community are termed "traditional" Indians. Those who show some acceptance of the Ladino way of life are described as "modified" Indians. Many modified Indians are seasonal wage laborers who leave their communities for months at a time and during their absence adopt certain Ladino ways for the sake of convenience. While away from home, they may speak only Spanish, wear Ladino-type clothing, and even alter their eating habits. Upon returning to their native communities, they revert easily to the traditional ways. Other modified Indians can be found residing permanently in Ladino areas. Their language and dress may not be altogether changed, and they still retain the feeling that they are Indian. Clothing is an important factor in distinguishing Indians from Ladinos. In the past, each *municipio* (the basic administrative unit) was represented by a distinctive native costume, with local variations bringing the total number to about 500. While some styles are rapidly dying out, there is still substantial variety in Indian dress.

The percentage of the population who regard themselves as Indian (or who are so regarded by census takers) has declined as follows, reflecting both the process of Ladinoization and, at least in the past, the extent of racial intermixing:

CENSUS YEAR	INDIAN	LADINO
1778	78.4	21.6
1880	64.7	35.3
1921	64.8	35.2
1940	55.7	44.3
1950	53.6	46.4
1964	41.4	58.6

Indians predominate in rural areas and Ladinos in urban centers, following the pattern established during the colonial era. In 1964, some 82% of all Indians lived in rural communities; Ladinos were fairly closely divided between town and country but made up the bulk of the urban population, even in predominantly Indian regions. Ethnic composition varied markedly by department in 1964, as indicated by the fact that Indians accounted for 95.4% of the total population in the Department of Totonicapan



FIGURE 1.
Representative physical types



and for only 0.2% in El Progreso. Ladinos constituted the majority group in 12 departments, Indians in 10. Within each department, however, the ethnic makeup often varied substantially by *municipio* (Figure 2).

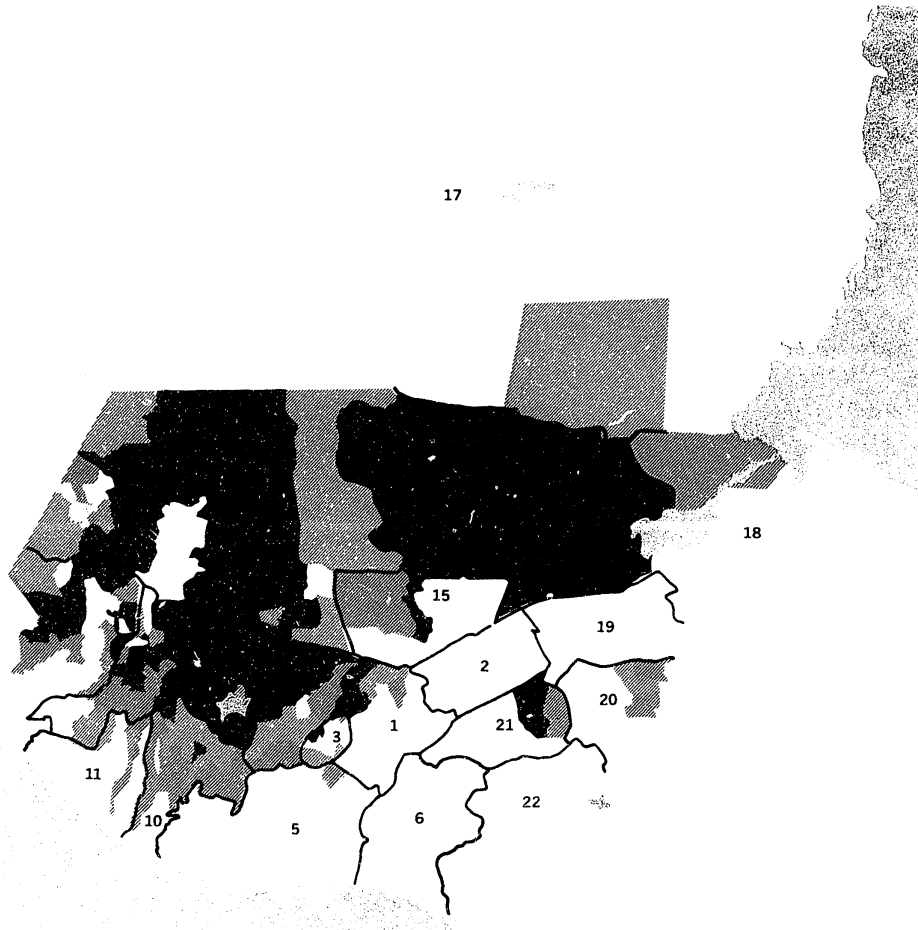
Most Indians live in the central and western highlands, particularly in the area around Lago de Atitlan¹ (Lake Atitlan). In 1964, some 67% of the total Indian population was concentrated in eight

¹For diacritics on place names see the list of names at the end of the chapter.

departments in the central and western highlands, and another 14% lived in the Department of Alta Verapaz, in the center of the country.

The Indians speak 21 distinct languages, which are loosely classified into six major linguistic groupings. Speakers of a particular language do not necessarily exhibit any cultural cohesiveness or sense of unity, although certain groups are associated with particular sections of the country (Figure 3).

Linguistic differences emphasize the divisions in society. Although the use of Indian languages is



DEPARTMENTS		Percent Indian
1 Guatemala	12 San Marcos	80-100
2 El Progreso	13 Huehuetenango	60-79
3 Sacatepéquez	14 El Quiché	40-59
4 Chimaltenango	15 Baja Verapaz	20-39
5 Escuintla	16 Alta Verapaz	0-19
6 Santa Rosa	17 Petén	
7 Sololá	18 Izabal	
8 Totonicapán	19 Zacapa	
9 Quezaltenango	20 Chiquimula	
10 Suchitepéquez	21 Jalapa	
11 Retalhuleu	22 Jutiapa	

FIGURE 2. Distribution of the Indian population, by *municipio*, 1964 (U/OU)

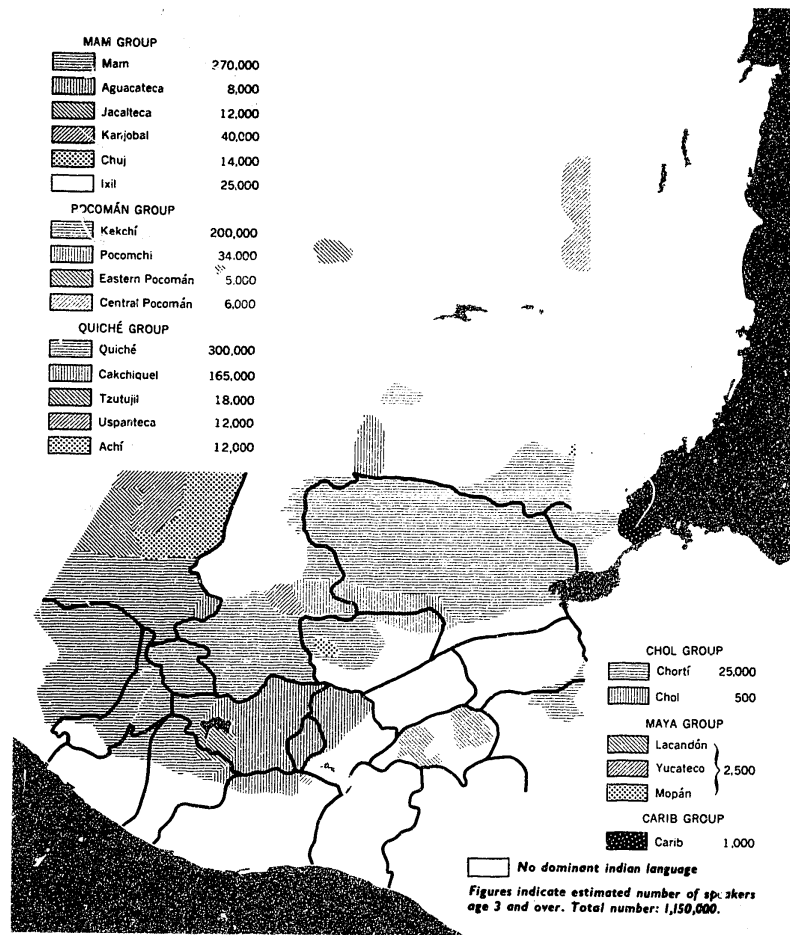


FIGURE 3. Geographic distribution of Indian languages, 1964 (U/OU)

declining, an estimated one-third of the total population still speak an Indian language as their primary tongue. All but one of the Indian languages are of the Maya-Quiche linguistic family, which is subdivided into five language groups; Black Caribs speak a Carib-Arawak derivative. In general, the various languages are mutually unintelligible, and even among speakers of the same language, local variations in grammar, vocabulary, and pronunciation may make communication difficult. Increased

contacts with Ladinos, government programs promoting Spanish, and improved communications have combined to further the use of Spanish and some Indians use Spanish as their primary language. It is likely that most Indians know at least a few words of the language. Among some Indian-language groups Spanish is the lingua franca.

Unique among the Indians are the Lacandons, who are found in a part of Peten Department which was ceded by Mexico in 1882 and who are related to

neighboring groups in Mexico. Many of these people have resisted domination for centuries and still live in seminomadic clans.

Ladinos inhabit the coastal regions, the eastern highlands, and the Department of Peten. In addition, some Ladinos are found even in the most heavily settled Indian areas. A small number of aliens and fewer than 5,000 Black Caribs together constitute less than 1% of the population; for census purposes, these groups are counted as Ladinos.

There are few Negroid traces in the population because the Negroes who were brought from Africa during the colonial period and in the 19th century were quickly absorbed. The Negro element is present, however, in the Black Caribs, descendants of escaped Negro slaves who had intermarried with Carib Indians in the Leeward Islands and eventually settled along the east coast of Central America. The ports of Livingston and Puerto Barrios and surrounding areas are largely populated by Black Caribs.

2. Social organization

a. Class

Reflecting the dual nature of the society, class membership is assigned according to ethnocultural as well as socioeconomic factors and varies according to national and local perspectives. At the national level Ladinos and Indians constitute distinct classes. Ladino society, like other Western capitalist societies, is itself stratified along lines of lineage and wealth, with three classes discernible in urban centers and something closer to a two-class system predominating in rural areas. Indian society, on the other hand, is largely classless, although various levels of prestige have been recognized in the traditional Indian communities.

Four basic sectors are identifiable within the general society: the urban elite, the provincial upper class, the middle sector, and the lower class, of which the Indians are a part. Each has certain distinctive characteristics, which, however, do not necessarily provide cohesion within the particular group.

The urban elite and the provincial upper class, distinguished mainly by wealth and status, together constitute probably less than 3% of the total population. The former, defined in terms of lineage and/or material possessions, includes both "old" families descended from the colonial aristocracy of planters and merchants and newer elements which have achieved status by virtue of more recently acquired wealth. Many members of the urban elite are

absentee landlords who continue to derive most of their wealth from plantation agriculture.

Pride of family and a tendency to marry within the group make the urban elite the most cohesive class. Generally well educated and sophisticated, its members try to combine the aristocratic colonial tradition with modern comforts and convenience. They are cosmopolitan in outlook, usually maintaining contacts in other countries and associating with members of the foreign colony in the capital. Most have been educated abroad, speak at least one foreign language, and pride themselves on having an extensive cultural background. Virtually all are residents of Guatemala City, living either in old colonial mansions near the center of town or in modern residences in the suburbs; many divide their time between the capital and a country home. They have homes appointed with fine furniture and modern appliances and staffed with numerous servants, drive the latest model cars, frequent expensive clubs, and send their children to school abroad or to private schools in the capital. Nevertheless, the elite does not possess the degree of wealth characteristic of its counterparts in many other Latin American countries. Moreover, the political power once derived from the concentration of wealth in a few hands has been eroded somewhat by the increased political importance of the middle group and urban labor, and by the growth of new centers of power resulting from diversification of economic interests. Members of the elite still serve in diplomatic posts, as government advisers, and sometimes as Cabinet ministers; as a class, however, they tend to leave active political participation in the hands of the middle sector, remaining as a powerful behind-the-scenes force. Basically conservative, the elite is not likely to be the source of any substantial movement for social change.

The provincial upper class is the local version of the urban elite. Residing in provincial capitals and other towns, this group includes moderate-to-large landowners, as well as business and professional people. The landowners grow both export crops and products for domestic use. The business and professional element is composed of owners of local enterprises and some physicians and lawyers. Members of this sector tend to emulate the life style of the urban elite. They look to it for social and cultural leadership and attempt to enter its ranks if they move to Guatemala City. Because their status is of a local nature, however, such a move is likely to lead them into the middle sector. On the local level they try to improve their standing by increasing their landholdings or by seeking business and professional

connections in the capital. Prior to 1944, this group had a monopoly on provincial political power, providing the only link between the rural masses and the national government. But the development of political parties and the organization of rural labor in the 1940's opened the way for the rural population to bypass this link, and new influence groups arose to communicate directly with urban power centers, leaving the provincial upper class with little political power.

Guatemala's middle sector, estimated at less than 20% of the total population, does not constitute a class in the strict sense of the term. Embracing such varied groups as intellectuals, teachers, army officers, technicians, officeworkers, shepherders, most government officials, and some prosperous independent farmers and skilled laborers, it has been aptly described as comprising an emerging "middle mass." The components, while marked by variations in wealth, education, and social status, share certain characteristics. As a group they are primarily urban, performing functions identified with urban areas. They value education highly as a means of social and economic mobility, and they seek investment in land for economic security. In emulation of the upper class, most of them hold manual labor in low regard and place a great deal of importance upon maintaining what they consider to be a proper social image. Extremely nationalistic, they tend to resent all things foreign, while implicitly accepting many of the values of advanced industrial societies. In politics, the professionals and well-to-do farmers usually side with the upper class, but the middle sector as a whole can be said to make common cause with the urban lower class. The leadership of the labor movement, the political parties, and the agencies working in social and economic development for the most part has come from its ranks. Many members of the middle sector are active proponents of change and are willing to take the risks involved in the process, since they have few claims on the organs of production and little commitment to any particular sphere of economic interest.

Lower class elements, including both Ladinos and Indians, constitute 70% to 80% of the population. Whether they live in urban or rural areas, most Guatemalans in this segment are characterized by low levels of living, dwelling in substandard housing with inadequate sanitation facilities, and having insufficient medical care and little opportunity for education.

The urban lower class includes unskilled laborers, domestic servants, vendors, those in menial service

jobs, and the unemployed. Most of these people live in workers' districts or in the slum areas that surround larger cities. Many are recent arrivals from the countryside. For some, the move to the city represents an improvement; for others, however, migration is accompanied by a decline in living conditions, particularly if they fail to find work. Although urban areas offer a better chance for social mobility, the necessary education or training cannot be acquired quickly.

In rural areas, members of the lower class are wage laborers or subsistence farmers. Farmworkers more or less steadily employed by a *fincas*, or plantation, are called *colonos*, and these rural laborers are afforded some degree of security through their attachment to the plantation. They are normally granted a small plot of land to till as their own, enabling them to grow corn and beans for family use, and are provided with housing in the form of a thatch-roofed hut called a *ranchito*, or in the case of industrialized operations, barracks-like accommodations. Other benefits vary. Some *fincas* furnish medical care and maintain schools, provide pasture land for grazing animals, and permit the cutting of wood. In return for such benefits, the *colono* is required to work on the *fincas* for a specified amount of time.

Much of the labor force in rural areas consists of peasants who contract for seasonal or short-term work, usually on coffee and sugar plantations. Since coffee trees mature at different times according to altitude, a migratory worker can work on several *fincas* in a single season. Such workers are usually assigned temporary housing in crowded, unsanitary facilities. They work in gangs under the supervision of a foreman, who is in turn responsible to an overseer. Social distinctions between the laborers and the Ladino supervisory personnel are sharp, and there is an absence of the paternalistic attitude frequently displayed toward *colonos*. As a result, migratory workers have often been receptive to political agitation. Most seasonal laborers are Indians who migrate annually from the west central highlands to the coffee plantations of the Atlantic slopes.

Hardly better off than the rural wage laborer is the subsistence farmer, although his belief in a theoretical economic independence based on his ownership of land places him, in his own view, in a slightly higher status than that of the wage laborer. The subsistence farmer's meager landholdings rarely provide him with work for the whole year. Formerly, there was considerable exchange of labor among small farmers, but this tradition is dying out. Many are turning to

household industries to supplement income, and more and more are being forced into wage labor.

The Indian society is without class distinctions, each individual being considered equal to all others. Traditionally, however, there has been some differentiation on the basis of age and accomplishment, prestige accruing to an individual by means of service to the community through civil and religious officeholding. While there are many variations of the system, in general it consists of a kind of civil-religious hierarchy involving parallel offices embracing a variety of functions. All posts represent public services and are ranked in importance. On the civil side, they range from cleaning public areas to serving as mayor. On the religious side they include tasks related to caring for church premises and images of saints, arranging religious festivals, and assisting the priest during his visits. There is no dichotomy between the civil and religious, officeholders alternating between the two. Starting as a boy at the lowest level, the individual holds each post for a year or two, with an interval between posts, as he gradually moves higher, gaining prestige as he goes. He may eventually become a member of the body of aged and revered men who represent the *de facto* government of the traditional Indian *municipio*. The degree of adherence to the system of prestige-conferring officeholding is declining in those Indian communities which are most influenced by Ladino values. In such communities, wealth, whether earned or inherited, is beginning to play an important part in the achievement of status.

Although there are variations in the pattern of interethnic relations throughout Guatemala, Ladinos generally consider Indians to be inferior, an attitude resulting from a long history of subjugation. The greatest social distance between the two groups is found in the predominantly Ladino east, where rigid rules tend to govern social interaction and the demeaning attitude of the Ladinos may take on racial overtones. In western Guatemala the disparagement is largely in cultural terms.

Deference on the part of the Indian is expected in all spheres of contact between the two groups. Consequently, Indians tend to be rather inhibited in the presence of Ladinos, and those who have many dealings with Ladinos are likely to become sensitive to the latter's image of them. Some may seek to conform to Ladino standards in order to win approval or to compete effectively. Few Indians consciously seek to become Ladinos, however. The process of Ladinoization often occurs simply as a matter of convenience when an Indian leaves his home community to reside in a Ladino area. The process is also taking place on a

larger scale as a result of external forces, such as increased educational opportunity and improved communications. Another factor is the extension of government services to outlying areas; for example, in Indian areas where modern medical care is available it tends to undermine the role of the *curandero*, or local healer. Finally, military experience and seasonal labor away from the home community bring about attitudinal changes.

An estimated 15,000 to 20,000 Indians become Ladinoized each year, a rate of interethnic mobility comparable with the rate of upward social mobility within the Ladino society. The process necessarily involves a transitional period in which Ladino characteristics are gradually acquired, and which may cover one or two generations within a family. During this period the Indian functions in the "modified" cultural state and is not fully acceptable to either Ladinos or Indians. The marginal groups that populate fringe areas of the capital are largely representative of this element of the population.

Most observers foresee little change in the state of ethnic relations in the near future. Given the blatant prejudice to which many Indians are subjected, there undoubtedly exists an undercurrent of hostility which, if exploited, could be a serious source of potential disruption. There are few outward symptoms of antagonism, however, and the degree of Indian resentment toward the Ladino remains a matter of conjecture. It has been suggested that because traditional Indians are usually not in competition with Ladinos, and because to a considerable extent Indians have maintained their own generally satisfying culture, they are largely insulated from the frustrations which the situation might be expected to engender. At any rate, there is no evidence of anything resembling a movement to liberate the Indian from his subordinate position.

b. Family and kinship groupings

Recognized in the Constitution as the basic unit of society, the family exists in both nuclear and extended form. Large and cohesive families are regarded as desirable, and those that do not adequately care for their elderly or incapacitated members incur disapproval. Close family ties have traditionally characterized both Ladinos and Indians. Sibling loyalty is strong, and cousins are considered almost as brothers. The family commonly acts together in economic and social affairs, supporting the efforts of individual members; in rural areas it often functions as a production unit, working the land collectively. Among Ladinos, membership in a particular family

may guarantee a certain status, regardless of accomplishment or wealth. Indians are less likely to judge a person by his family; each individual is expected to prove his own worth and cannot inherit the prestige of his forebears.

Family cohesiveness, a common Spanish heritage in Latin America, is reinforced in Guatemala by traditions dating to pre-Columbian times. This characteristic is typified in Indian society by the *calpulli*, or lineage, a clan-like grouping composed of related families descended from a common paternal ancestor under one surname. A *municipio* may be composed of several such lineages. Family ties have been considerably weakened, however, among urbanized Indians, and Ladinos as well, who live in slums as amorphous groups in which kinship loyalty plays little part. Many rural families are separated as sons migrate to the urban centers in search of work. The forces of modernization are also having an effect as increasing numbers of young women leave home to take advantage of new opportunities for education or to look for employment.

Paralleling the kinship structure based on blood is the *compadrazgo*, or godparenthood system, deriving from the bonds formed between godparents (*padrinos*) and godchildren (*ahijados*) at baptism. Although *compadrazgo* is of little significance today for much of the population, many still regard it as important. Acting as sponsors for the child, the godparents theoretically assume a protective responsibility for him, and the godchild in turn accords them special respect. A distinctive relationship is also commonly forged between the parents of the child and the godparents, who are considered to be coparents—*compadres*. Bound by ties sometimes regarded as surpassing those of blood, they may seek advice and aid from each other in time of need. Differences in social status, however, generally preclude the possibility of intimate friendship. Well-to-do Ladinos of high standing in the community are frequently preferred as godparents in the hope that their wealth and prestige will be of advantage to the child. Ladino couples are sometimes asked to be godparents to Indian children. In such cases, the *compadrazgo* serves as an important cross-cultural link, although the relationship between the parties is of a somewhat different nature. The Indian may turn to his Ladino *compadre* for preferential treatment and protection from Ladino authorities. In return, the Indian godchild is expected to do chores and run errands for his godparents. He may be taken into the Ladino household if his own parents die, but his status then is somewhat between that of a servant and that of a son.

The Ladino, in addition to the services of his godchild, gains prestige in the community as a result of his action.

Marital unions are formed through civil or religious ceremony, by means of local Indian ritual, or simply by establishing a consensual household. Only the civil and religious ceremonies have legal standing. Prior to 1959, legal marriages could be contracted only before civil authorities. Since that time, Roman Catholic priests and Protestant ministers have been authorized to perform legal marriages, but the scarcity of clergy, the expense of a church wedding, and the preference of traditional Indians for their own rituals result in a low proportion of religious weddings. Purely civil ceremonies, on the other hand, are not generally regarded as a proper form of marriage by most of the Catholic population. As a result, the proportion of consensual unions is high, and the proportion is greater among Indians than among Ladinos. In 1964, approximately 57% of those reported as married were living consensually, while 43% had been joined in a religious or civil ceremony.

Marriages occur at a relatively early age, about 16 for women and 18 for men. Few persons actually remain single, but many individuals are counted as single after separating from common-law spouses. The greatest proportion of single persons is found in the cities; single women are particularly numerous in the capital, where the 1964 census revealed that close to one-third of all females age 14 and over were unmarried. Many such women are rural migrants, drawn to the city by employment opportunities.

Guatemala has a low divorce rate, which is largely a reflection of the relatively small proportion of legal marriages. Although many consensual unions are stable, many others are broken at will; moreover, lower class couples, even if legally married, seldom go to the expense and bother of a divorce if they separate. It is the opinion of some observers that Indian unions are more stable than those of Ladinos. In middle and upper class circles divorce is socially unacceptable and, for most women, would present economic problems.

Arranged marriages are largely a thing of the past, although middle and upper class Ladino families still chaperone young girls and see to it that they mix socially only with young men of their own class. Individual dating as practiced in the United States is not yet common. Middle and upper class Ladinos place a high value on female virginity before marriage, but standards are much more relaxed among the lower class.

Indian courtship and marriage patterns differ according to community and degree of acculturation. As in Ladino society, the choice of a mate is increasingly becoming a matter to be decided by the individual. Most Indians choose a mate from their native *municipio*, but outside their own lineage. There is no notion of marrying for family prestige or monetary gain, and some parents prefer to have a son marry a girl of a poor family on the assumption that she will be a good worker. Similarly, a well-to-do family may wish to have a poor son-in-law so that he will be willing to come and live and work on the family land. Some Indian groups regard marriage, whether legal or consensual, as a serious affair to be entered into only after much deliberation, and for these people the possibility of premature parenthood inhibits premarital sexual relations. Others casually accept such relations, although the man is expected to support any children that a liaison might produce. It is not uncommon in certain areas for a woman to acquire a husband by becoming pregnant.

Large families generally are still considered to be ideal, although in practice the size of the nuclear family seems to be decreasing, partly as a result of growing urbanization. While most births are attended at home by midwives, the number of hospital births is rising.

In both Ladino and Indian societies, infants and young children are treated with great affection. Except in upper class families staffed with servants, the pattern of leniency alters at about age 6, when the child is taught to do chores and help with the younger children. A mixture of strictness and permissiveness marks Ladino attitudes toward discipline. The father in Ladino families is a rather remote but definitely authoritarian figure. In contrast, the mother tends to be lenient. In Indian society, both parents take a hand in training the children, but they rarely punish a child physically for misbehavior. Instead, they shame him by comparing him with a cow or a pig.

The respective roles of husband and wife are defined by fairly rigid criteria, although actual practice may vary considerably. In both ethnic groups, the woman is relegated to an inferior position, although her role may be modified according to the part she plays in family economic affairs. An Indian wife who earns some money through the sale of garden produce or handicrafts may have a somewhat larger voice in household affairs than a lower class Ladino woman who does not work. A middle or upper class woman by tradition is confined largely to the home and a circle of kinswomen and friends of the family, although she may participate in church-related

activities and volunteer welfare work. She is expected to exhibit passivity and a willingness to derive her status from that of her husband and family. For women of the lower class, menial labor outside the home may be added to their other chores. The Ladino husband has the final word in all important decisions regarding the family, although he may be subtly influenced by his wife. He is also expected to maintain an image of strength and bravery in contrast to one of gentleness and docility on the part of his wife. Values associated with *machismo*, or masculinity, while not as strong in Guatemala as in some other Latin American countries, prevail to a large extent in Ladino society.

Males of all classes are free to spend their leisure time away from the home without being accountable to their wives and, commonly, to engage in extramarital sexual relations. Among upper and middle class groups the double standard prevails. Men, even those of high standing, do not lose respect by keeping a mistress, provided that such affairs are carried on with a modicum of discretion and their families are not neglected. Infidelity on the part of their wives, on the other hand, is totally unacceptable.

3. Community life

The origins of the basic local unit, the *municipio*, go back to the Spanish conquest. Before the conquest most Indians lived scattered throughout the countryside. To secure better control, the Spaniards tried to concentrate them into settlements and subsequently established territorial units—the *municipios*—which embraced the settlements and their surrounding areas. In some cases the boundaries may have been based on preexisting tribal divisions, but in others they were quite arbitrary. In time, the *municipios* developed different cultural characteristics, and some came to specialize in specific industries, e.g., pottery-making in Totonicapan, flower cultivation in San Juan Sacatepequez, blanket-weaving in Momostenango.

Municipios with a predominantly Indian population exhibit great diversity in language, dress, religious practices, marriage and funeral rites, etc. From the point of view of the Indians themselves, the people of each *municipio* constitute a unique group united by blood and tradition and differing from all others in their culture; persons from other *municipios* tend to be regarded as "foreigners." Two or more contiguous *municipios* may be quite similar if they were originally part of the same larger unit.

A single *municipio* generally contains several villages, one or more large plantations, and many

scattered farms. The larger urban centers with their surrounding rural areas in themselves constitute *municipios*. One community in the *municipio*, usually the largest, is the *cabecera*, or chief town, which serves as the commercial center and the seat of local government and is the channel of communication with the central government. *Cabeceras* generally exhibit a Spanish influence superimposed on native patterns. The typical *cabecera* has a town square, around which are located a church and public buildings, with irregularly dispersed dwellings beyond. Outside the *cabecera*, the settlement pattern varies considerably. Villages and hamlets are not necessarily compact communities. Although this type of settlement characterizes the region around Lago de Atitlan, where the configuration of the land limits site patterns, elsewhere rural communities tend to be made up of dispersed farmsteads. The high degree of rural dispersion has evident implications in terms of lack of community services and limited access to such facilities as schools and clinics. It also limits social intercourse: to some extent, thereby inhibiting national integration and contributing to the persistence of partial viewpoints.

Most rural dwellers make their living either as agricultural laborers or through subsistence agriculture on their own small plots. Some farmers engage in seasonal labor on *fincas* in order to supplement their income. Others work at crafts. A man might make tile and adobe, saddles, rope, or hats, and his wife textiles, candles, or clothing. Both farm products and other items produced in rural areas are sold in the markets held in the *cabecera*. Market days are usually rotated in neighboring *municipios* so that a merchant may travel a circuit, attending various markets on different days of the week. The use of trucks and buses has considerably widened the area that may be covered. *Cabecera* markets also serve as places for recreation and for the exchange of information and gossip.

The large coffee and sugar *fincas* represent a special type of settlement, predominating in the southern part of the Department of Alta Verapaz and along the southern piedmont. The *colonos*, or farm laborers dwelling on the *fincas*, usually have their families with them. Many large *fincas* have their own commissary, chapel or church, and jail, and are to some extent self-sufficient communities, more closely integrated than many of the rural settlements.

Small towns are closely tied to the rural hinterland and retain many of the characteristics of farm communities, but the semitown occupations and living patterns result in different social relationships as friendships develop with coworkers and neighbors and

solidarity is promoted through membership in voluntary associations based on mutual interest, as in the case of unions and cooperatives. Although relationships tend to be more impersonal in the larger cities, there is some degree of community organization among urban dwellers. For example, studies of low-income urban families show that a considerable number have formed or are members of neighborhood improvement associations.

Recreational pursuits reflect the dual cultural patterns. The concept of leisure-time enjoyment is largely foreign to Indians, and some types of recreational activity appear to be engaged in only by Ladinos. The game of billiards is a typical example. While Indians in mixed communities may gather to watch Ladinos play the game, they do not play themselves. Many other activities are segregated along ethnic lines. Both groups form sports teams, for instance, but there are no mixed teams, and Indian and Ladino teams rarely play one another. Social gatherings are also commonly segregated, although an Indian generally considers it an honor to have a Ladino attend a celebration in his home. In this situation, the Ladino may dance with Indian women and converse with Indian men in a friendly manner, but there is a tacit recognition of his "superior" position in any such contacts.

An important aspect of recreation is the fiesta, which usually centers around a religious observance but may commemorate a historical event. An occasion for trade, gossip, and renewal of kinship and social ties, a fiesta is the only organized community activity for much of the populace, Ladinos and Indians alike. Indians, in particular, depend on them to relieve the monotony of their lives. A fiesta may last for 2 or 3 days and customarily includes a procession, dance, fireworks, and other forms of entertainment and is often accompanied by heavy drinking. The fiesta may be of some psychological importance in that, for the Indians at least, it provides an outlet for suppressed tensions that might otherwise erupt into violence in potentially explosive situations involving the two ethnic groups. In any case, the fiesta is acknowledged to be a national custom of great cultural and social significance.

4. Values and attitudes

National society operates within the bounds of an essentially Hispanic value system as adapted to local conditions and modified by certain elements of Indian belief and custom. Although there are great differences in life styles, depending on class, urban or

rural residence, and degree of removal from Indian society. Ladinos in general share a similar cultural orientation and a common set of values approximating those of other mestizo societies in Latin America. Indians, to the extent that they participate in national society, must adjust to these Hispanic-derived values. In their own communities, however, they espouse a system of values some aspects of which contrast markedly with the Ladino system. Among both Ladinos and Indians, traditional principles and modes of behavior are undergoing modification as changes are brought about by the forces of urbanization and modernization.

Fundamental to the Ladino ethic is a belief in the worth and uniqueness of the individual, a concept known as *personalismo*. In attitude and action, this concept is manifested in a strong tendency to stress personal qualities and interpersonal relations over abstract questions of ideology and institutional loyalty. *Personalismo* assumes a high degree of importance even in business relationships, in which it is assumed that an atmosphere of man-to-man cordiality must be established prior to any serious negotiations. Even casual encounters are characterized by gestures and words of friendship designed to express the respect of one person toward another.

Far from promoting a belief in equality, the emphasis on individualism enables the Ladino to rationalize the class system with the argument that each person has a different potential and that upward mobility is possible only as this potential is realized. Concomitant with this belief is a strong sense of hierarchy and rank that has been fostered by the Hispanic tradition. Implicit in the approach to privilege and leadership, however, is the belief that they carry corresponding responsibilities; the result is a form of paternalism that pervades most relationships between the wealthy and the poor, the powerful and the weak.

The high value placed on the individual does not interfere with the obligations of family membership. On the contrary, the Ladino family is seen as an extension of the individual and as a bastion of support for him, providing material and spiritual reinforcement when called upon. One's closest associates are apt to be kinsmen, and there is a widespread feeling that only members of one's family can be completely trusted. The general suspicion of those outside the family circle constitutes an impediment to group action for social, political, or even economic purposes. For example, Ladino entrepreneurs tend to organize industrial enterprises along family lines and hesitate to delegate responsibility to those outside the kinship

circle, with the result that sizable business concerns often function in much the same way as individually owned craft shops.

The main driving force of the Ladino is the attainment of prestige, for which the traditional measures of family name, wealth, and landownership are still essentially valid. Although a proud family name continues to be the highest prestige symbol, wealth, formerly an important secondary value, is becoming primary for many, but not at the cost of steadfast and laborious effort. There is a well-established preference for white-collar and professional employment, with a concomitant depreciation of manual labor, including technical occupations. The inclination to consider such work as degrading has led to a retarded technology and has had an adverse effect on the economy.

Ladinos jealously guard their personal liberty and do not submit gracefully to authority if it restricts their freedom of choice and action. They are capable, nevertheless, of sustained loyalty to a leader who embodies their own ideals, as attested to by the history of support for various *caudillos*. Most of these men ruled as dictators but retained popular support through their charisma.

In contrast to the Ladino, who seeks to control his environment, the Indian tends to be adjustive and permissive, attempting to establish a peaceful relationship with his surroundings. An individual Indian fulfills his role by striving to preserve and adhere to local *costumbre*—the rules, traditions, and customs that he believes are divinely decreed, will always be operative, and must be observed. By means of *costumbre*, Indians reduce the inexplicable to their own terms, thus obtaining a measure of control over the unpredictable forces on which their security depends. Morality is related almost solely to adherence to *costumbre*. A personal sense of guilt is commonly purged through ritualistic observance, and sometimes through fasting or religious pilgrimage. Although the thought of family or community disapproval is an important factor in discouraging deviant behavior, no one is told what to do or denounced for his performance; the responsibility lies with the individual.

The concept of *personalismo* is alien to the traditional Indian, as is a sense of competition for wealth or material gain. While land is valued as the primary source of economic security, its principal appeal lies in the psychological security which it provides. An Indian identifies strongly with his *milpa*, or corn plot, in a kind of reciprocal relationship. He sees it as the symbol of his existence, establishing his

place in the plan of nature, and he tends it with his own hands, observing certain rituals connected with clearing, planting, weeding, and harvesting. Hard manual labor is regarded as an inevitable and natural part of existence, and privation and suffering are borne with patience and resignation.

The traditional Indian is severely limited in his horizons by his attachment to the *municipio* and his indifference to "foreign" influences. Most Indians have only a vague notion of the Guatemalan nation, although some vote in national elections and participate in local government. Ladinos, on the other hand, can be said to have a definite consciousness of nationhood. Even rural Ladinos develop a feeling of nationality and see themselves as part of the Republic. Historically, however, only the landed Ladinos and the military have actively engaged in politics, which has been characterized by an alternation of dictatorships and revolutions. Under the revolutionary regimes of 1945-54, the Ladino's concept of his political role was somewhat broadened, and a larger number of persons came to influence political decisions as power shifted from the upper class to groups which included both reformers and opportunists. During this period a number of reforms were initiated which benefited lower class Ladinos and the Indians. The modification or reversal of many of these reforms after 1954 led to a reversion to traditional political conservatism and to apathy on the part of the general population. Since the early 1960's, however, political extremists have been responsible for considerable violence, manifested in terrorist actions of leftist guerrillas on the one hand and of extralegal rightist groups on the other, the latter often backed by the military and the police.

Upper class Ladinos, accustomed to dominating the political process, view the government as an instrument to advance their interests, often through corrupt and ineffective administrations. Members of the small, amorphous middle class, while indicating a distrust and lack of confidence in the government, nevertheless look to it for solutions to national problems. More vocal than other groups in pressing their views, they provide a large part of the leadership for the political parties. Lower class Ladinos, unaccustomed to receiving much benefit from the government, tend to exhibit a somewhat cynical attitude toward it, while the Indians, largely illiterate and culturally isolated from the dominant society, have little awareness of the national government and its powers. A fatalistic approach to the hard conditions of life is fairly common among the lower class population, both Ladino and Indian.

Most Guatemalans are uninformed about and uninterested in events outside the country's borders, and even the literate urban minority is not much concerned with the world and its peoples beyond Central America, Mexico, and the United States. Attitudes toward particular countries or societies held by the educated sector of Guatemalan society are determined to a large extent by the policies of those countries vis-a-vis Guatemala and by official reaction to such policies.

Although nationalism is not as significant a force as it is in some other Latin American countries, most of the educated citizens are quite nationalistic, eager for the country to attain a position of leadership in Central America. Many dream of a Guatemalan sphere of influence covering Central America and the West Indies, and most politically conscious Ladinos desire the annexation of British Honduras, known in Guatemala as Belize.

As a member of the Organization of American States, the United Nations and its specialized agencies, and other international organizations, Guatemala has consistently expressed support for the maintenance of peace through dialogue. In practice, however, Guatemalans by no means disavow war as a means of resolving conflicts; on the contrary, they have shown a strong inclination to defend their country by force of arms against real or imagined threats to its sovereignty. Border conflicts with neighboring countries have been common since independence, and armed hostilities have occurred numerous times.

The civilian population regards the military with mixed emotions. Many are fearful of its power, recalling the long dictatorship of Manuel Estrada Cabrera (1898-1920), when the army was used as an instrument of terror. In more recent years, a concentrated program of civic action in such fields as medical care, nutrition, sanitation, and road construction has been undertaken by the army in an effort to enhance its image and establish a rapport with civilians. Conscripts are taken almost exclusively from the lowest socioeconomic levels of the population, and some resentment has been engendered by this practice in the past. Today, however, improved opportunities for the education and training of enlisted personnel have made military service more desirable, as evidenced by an increase in the number of volunteers.

C. Population (U/OU)

As the result of a high birth rate and a high but declining death rate, the population, estimated at 5.6

million in mid-1972, has doubled in the 22 years since the 1950 census, offsetting a substantial portion of the economic gain realized during that period. Moreover, a high birth rate has produced a population in which children comprise a very large proportion of the total. Such a development is not only seriously hampering official efforts to expand access to health and educational facilities, but it is also highly conducive to accelerated population growth in the future. With increasingly larger numbers of women annually entering the principal reproductive years, the population can be expected to continue to grow rapidly during the 1970's and 1980's whether the birth rate declines or not.

Population growth is almost wholly the result of natural increase, immigration and emigration having only a marginal effect.² Reflecting a generally stable birth rate and a declining death rate, the rate of natural increase rose by more than 100% between the 1920-24 and 1960-64 periods before tapering off during 1965-69 (Figure 4). Because births and deaths, particularly the latter, are underreported, it is impossible to determine prevailing vital rates precisely. U.N. estimates indicate that the birth rate rose from 48.3 per 1,000 in 1920-24 to a peak of 50.9 in 1950-54 before beginning a downward trend. It was placed at 43.9 per 1,000 during 1965-69. The death rate, which was 33.7 per 1,000 in 1920-24, had been more than cut in half by 1965-69, when it was estimated at 16.3 per 1,000 population. Concomitant to the fall in the death rate, life expectancy at birth has been rising, as follows (in years):

	MALE	FEMALE
1921	25.6	26.1
1940	30.3	30.5
1950	39.9	41.5
1964	49.3	53.3

Improvement notwithstanding, life expectancy at birth remains among the lowest in the Western Hemisphere.

Because of the unpredictability of future levels of fertility and mortality, it is difficult to predict the level of population growth. The birth rate may continue the downward trend begun in the late 1950's, but the country has not yet reached a level of socioeconomic development in which a substantial portion of the population has voluntarily begun to limit family size. Although the death rate has already dropped dramatically, the current level of mortality is

²During the period 1954-68, a total of 2,754,333 persons entered Guatemala and 2,750,071 left the country, resulting in a positive net balance of 4,262.

sufficiently high to respond positively to improved health conditions, and the death rate probably will continue to fall. In particular, the infant mortality rate, estimated at 92 deaths of children under age 1 per 1,000 live births in 1968, is expected to decline as health conditions gradually improve. Any future drop in the death rate, unless accompanied by a corresponding decline in the level of fertility, will accelerate population growth. Should the birth and death rates decline at approximately the same rate, the population will grow in the future as rapidly as it has since 1964. At the estimated growth rate of 2.8% per year the 1972 population will double by 1997; under these conditions, the population will reach 6 million in 1975, 7.5 million in 1983, and 10 million in 1993.

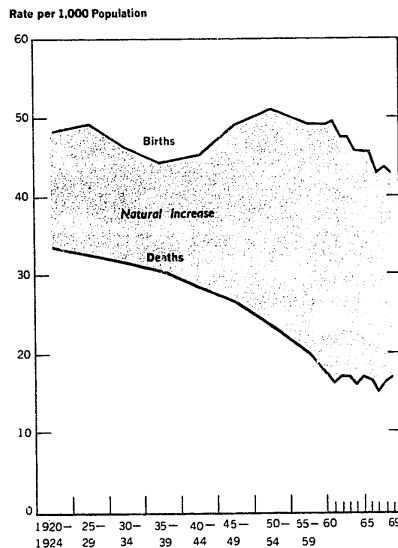
In addition to the problem of rapid population growth, Guatemala suffers from a pronounced imbalance in the distribution of its people; over three-fifths live in the highlands region, which comprises less than one-third of the national territory. In contrast, vast stretches of lowland areas are virtually uninhabited.

Guatemalan authorities have been slow to recognize population problems. To date, no clear-cut policy has been established with respect to population growth and, in fact, there is no general agreement that continued high growth rates are detrimental to social and economic development.

Family planning activities are as controversial as elsewhere in Latin America. Although some priests tacitly support the individual's right to make decisions regarding family size, the Roman Catholic Church remains opposed to any artificial means of birth control. Moreover, family planning evokes a strong negative response in certain intellectual and student circles. Some intellectuals and students view alleged trade discrimination by the developed nations, particularly the United States, as being more responsible for Guatemala's underdeveloped economy than overpopulation, and they resent U.S. encouragement of programs designed to curb population growth.

Officially, Guatemala has no family planning program. All public health centers and regional hospitals, however, have offered family planning services since 1969 as an integral part of maternal and child health care, and those in the capital are reportedly operating at the saturation point. In addition to the public facilities, operated by the Ministry of Public Health and Social Assistance, the private Guatemalan Family Welfare Association, an International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF) affiliate founded in 1962, sponsors nine family

FIGURE 4. Vital rates (U/OU)



planning clinics. Family planning programs are funded in part by the Agency for International Development (AID); other support has come from the Population Council, the Pathfinder Fund, IPPF, and the Swedish International Development Association.

An alternative approach to the population question has centered on resettlement schemes; these have met with little success. Resettlement in areas where land is available is expensive, and the cost-benefit ratios are unsatisfactory. The program has also been hampered by unwieldy administration; at least seven different government agencies are involved. Even more important, many Indians are reluctant to enter into any venture involving a change of traditional ways or abandonment of the home community. Given Guatemala's limited resources, the problem of developing underpopulated areas and facilitating migration from the overcrowded highlands to the lowlands is impossible without outside assistance, and the circumscribed attempts to date to undertake such measures have only proved the futility of half-hearted, ill-planned ventures.

It has been estimated that half of the country consists of vacant public lands, mainly in the north

and east. Most of these are in geographically marginal areas far from markets and devoid of communication and transportation facilities. An example of an effort to settle such lands was a project in a north-central area of tropical forested lowlands known as the Sebol region. Colonization was spearheaded by Maryknoll missionaries, beginning in 1964 at Ixcan in the western part of Sebol. This project attracted numerous Indians from the western highlands, but poor environmental conditions and the lack of roads and markets soon made the place a haven for only the very poor. A somewhat better record has been made under the auspices of the National Institute for Agrarian Reform (INTA) in the eastern Sebol, where in 1966 some 4,000 families, including Indians from Alta Verapaz and Quiche and Ladinos from the southeast, were settled in the Las Casas agricultural colony. Las Casas has also experienced difficulties: heavy rainfall, poor soil conditions, health problems, and a serious rat infestation which developed when malaria spraying killed off cats in the area. After 6 years, no land titles had yet been granted to the settlers.

1. Size and distribution

The population at the time of the 15 April 1964 census, the most recent, numbered 4,287,328, a 54% increase over the 2,790,868 enumerated in 1950. By the end of 1972, according to an official U.S. estimate, the number had reached 5,651,000.³ The most populous Central American republic, Guatemala accounts for almost one-third of the total population of the six countries of the area.

One of the most densely populated countries in the Western Hemisphere, Guatemala had an average of 131 persons per square mile at midyear 1972, a figure higher than that of any other country in Central and South America except El Salvador and more than double that of the United States. The national average, moreover, masks the great variation in density existing among the 22 departments (Figure 5). Even greater variation exists among the 325 *municipios* (Figure 6). In the Department of Guatemala alone, according to the 1964 census, density ranged from a low of 88 inhabitants per square mile in a rural *municipio* to a high of over 8,000 in the *municipio* containing the national capital.

³According to a postcensal survey, the 1964 census was underenumerated by 3.7%—2.8% in urban areas and 4.1% in rural areas. The 1964 census totals and subsequent estimates and projections of the Guatemalan Government do not include an allowance for this underenumeration. The official U.S. estimate, referred to above, takes cognizance of the underenumeration.

FIGURE 5. Estimated population, area, and population density, by department, mid-1971* (U/OU)
(Population in thousands; area in square miles)

	POPULATION	PERCENT OF TOTAL POPULATION	AREA	PERCENT OF TOTAL AREA	PERSONS PER SQUARE MILE
Alta Verapaz.....	315	5.9	3,354	8.0	94
Baja Verapaz.....	119	2.2	1,206	2.9	99
Chimaltenango.....	204	3.8	764	1.8	267
Chiquimula.....	185	3.5	917	2.2	202
El Progreso.....	81	1.5	742	1.8	96
Escuintla.....	338	6.3	1,693	4.0	200
Guatemala.....	1,023	19.1	821	1.9	1,246
Huehuetenango.....	362	6.8	2,857	6.8	127
Izabal.....	154	2.9	3,489	8.3	44
Jutiapa.....	124	2.3	796	1.9	156
Peten.....	250	4.7	1,243	2.9	201
Quezaltenango.....	35	0.6	13,843	32.9	3
Quiche.....	335	6.3	753	1.8	445
Retalhuleu.....	308	5.8	3,235	7.7	95
Sacatepequez.....	147	2.7	717	1.7	205
San Marcos.....	99	1.8	179	0.4	553
Santa Rosa.....	414	7.7	1,464	3.5	283
Solola.....	198	3.7	1,141	2.7	174
Suchitepequez.....	132	2.5	410	1.0	322
Totonicapan.....	228	4.3	969	2.3	235
Zacapa.....	176	3.3	410	1.0	429
	121	2.3	1,039	2.5	116
All departments.....	5,348	100.0	42,042	100.0	127

*Based on official Guatemalan estimates, which do not include an allowance for underenumeration in the 1964 census.

Patterns of Spanish settlement and land tenure, as well as those of the indigenous inhabitants, contributed to the imbalance in the distribution of the population, which is concentrated in the basins of the central highlands, at elevations of over 3,000 feet. Approximately 61% of the people live in the highlands, which constitute only about 30% of the total land area. About 18% live in the piedmont, at altitudes of from 1,500 to 3,000 feet, in an area that accounts for about 13% of the total. Only about one-fifth of the population live at elevations below 1,500 feet, in lands which make up about 55% of the total. The Pacific coastal plain, which extends for 150 miles, is more heavily populated than the other lowland area, which is made up primarily of the Departments of Izabal and Peten.

The Department of Guatemala, with almost 2 1/2 times as many inhabitants as the second most populous department, accounted for slightly more than 19% of the total population in 1971, on less than 2% of the total land area of the country. Together with the highland Departments of Chimaltenango,

Quezaltenango, Sacatepequez, San Marcos, Solola, and Totonicapan, it encompassed about 45% of the country's population, on approximately 10% of the total area. At the other extreme, the Department of Peten, which makes up roughly the northern third of the nation, contained less than 1% of the total population. Highly inaccessible, Peten is virtually uninhabited except for a few dispersed towns and colonization settlements. It was once, however, a center of advanced Mayan civilization.

Guatemala is an overwhelmingly rural country. As ascertained by the 1964 census, 66.4% of the population lived in rural areas,⁴ in villages and hamlets, or on farms ranging in size from single-family subsistence plots to large plantation communities. The remaining population resided in *municipio* seats (*cabeceras*) and were regarded as "urban" dwellers,

⁴In 1950, approximately 75% of the population lived in rural areas. Because the definitions used for rural and urban differed in the 1950 and 1964 censuses, no exact comparison is possible. Had the 1950 definitions been used in 1964, about 71% of the population would have been classified as rural.

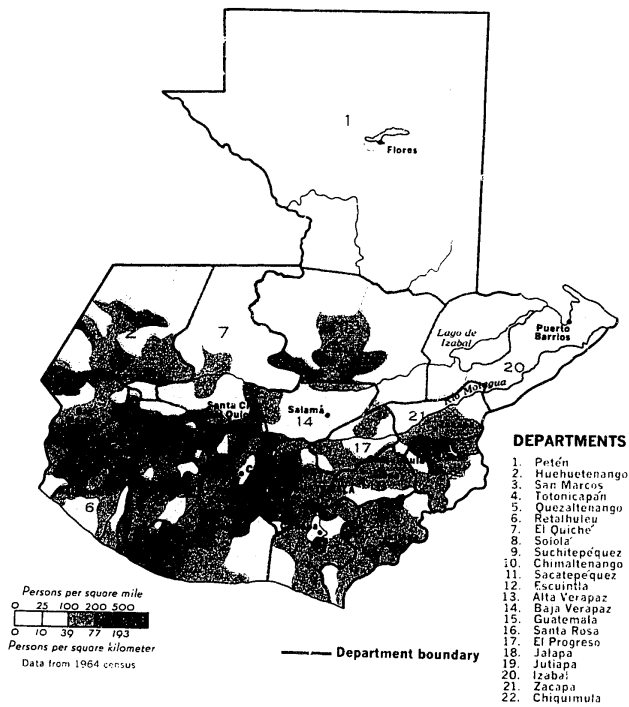


FIGURE 6. Population density, by *municipio*, 1964 (U/OU)

irrespective of the size of their communities. However, most *cabeceras* contain fewer than 5,000 inhabitants and display more rural than urban characteristics.

In 1964, half of Guatemala's departments had populations which were at least 75% rural, and only the Departments of Guatemala and Sacatepéquez had populations which were less than 50% rural. Thus, urbanization has been confined principally to the capital and to the nearby area around Antigua Guatemala. In 1964, there were 14 communities with 10,000 or more residents, but only four had populations in excess of 20,000. Guatemala City, with 572,937 inhabitants in 1964, was almost 13 times larger than Quezaltenango, the second ranking city, and accounted for nearly 40% of the urban population and 13% of the total population. At the beginning of

1971, the capital was estimated to have 731,000 residents.

In addition to the capital, which grew at an average annual rate of about 4.8% during the years 1950-70, other rapidly growing cities include Escuintla and Coatepeque, Pacific piedmont communities that serve as marketing and administrative centers for developing agricultural regions, and Tiquisate, hub of an agricultural colonization area on the south coast.

Even though the rate of urbanization has been modest, Guatemala has been plagued by the disruptions and pressures generated by the permanent movement of peoples from rural to urban areas and by the annual, temporary migrations from the highlands to the piedmont and coastal plantations. The consequences of urban migration are reflected in the



FIGURE 7. Migration patterns (including both Ladinos and Indians) to the Department of Guatemala, 1964 (U/OU)

slums and shantytowns surrounding the capital and several of the piedmont towns.

Although most migrants head for the Department of Guatemala or for the rich agricultural regions along the northern and southern coasts (Figure 7), the pattern varies according to ethnic group. Ladinos, who comprise 80% of the total migrants, tend to move longer distances than Indians (Figure 8). At the time of the 1964 census, 14% of the native-born population were living in a department other than that of their birth. Escuintla and Izabal, on opposite coasts, had the highest proportions of migrants from other departments, totaling 45.7% and 49.8% of their populations, respectively. In contrast, less than 2% of the populations of Huehuetenango and Totonicapan had been born in other departments. In most departments, the majority of migrants were natives of a contiguous department.

Only six departments in 1964 had a positive lifetime net migration. Izabal had the largest amount of net migration followed by Escuintla and Guatemala. The

Departments of Retalhuleu, Peten, and Suchitepequez also had positive migration balances. All of the other departments lost more migrants than they gained. Zacapa had the largest net out-migration.

The magnitude and direction of internal migration has not been measured since the 1964 census. Official Guatemalan estimates indicate that migration to the Departments of Guatemala and Izabal has not abated. The Departments of Alta Verapaz and San Marcos appear to have recorded the largest excess of out-migrants over in-migrants.

In addition to interdepartmental migration, some migration also takes place within departments. About 8.2% of the population in 1964 still lived in their native department but in a *municipio* other than the one of their birth. In general, departments with the largest proportion of interdepartmental migrants also tended to register high intradepartmental migration rates.

Seasonal migration, although it has no permanent demographic significance, is of concern to Guate-

Ladino currents



Indian currents

→ 15,000 persons



FIGURE 8. Ladino and Indian migration currents, excluding Guatemala Department, 1964 (U/OU)

malan authorities because of its social and economic implications. Annually, about 250,000 to 400,000 laborers from the highlands move to the piedmont or to the coast to work on plantations.

2. Age-sex structure

The population is very young and has been steadily becoming younger. The median age in 1964 was 16.8 years, more than 10 years below the figure for the United States. The 1964 figure was 1 year lower than that for 1950 and it is probable, given prevailing levels of fertility, that the median age has continued to fall. In 1964, 46% of the population were under age 15 and 56% were under 20. In contrast, less than 3% of the population were 65 and older and less than 10% were 50 and older. Almost half of the population were in the dependent ages (0-14 and 65 and older); the ratio of 954 persons of dependent ages per 1,000 of working age was some 42% higher than that in the United States. In such countries as Guatemala, however, the formal dependency ratio tends to overstate the degree of actual dependency, as many children under age 15, especially in rural areas, are engaged in some form of work activity and persons age 65 and over often continue to work.

The population profile (Figure 9), shows that the proportion of the population under age 5 is almost double that of the United States, attesting to Guatemala's much higher level of fertility. In fact, Guatemala has a larger proportion of persons in all age groups under 35 than has the United States. Conversely, the proportion of the U.S. population in the middle and older ages is markedly higher, indicative of a lower level of mortality.

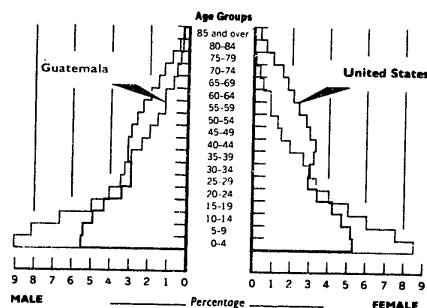


FIGURE 9. Age-sex structure, Guatemala and the United States, 1964 (U/OU)

The 1964 census revealed significant differences in the age structures of the urban and rural populations, differences which appear to have continued. In 1964, children under age 15 accounted for 48% of the rural population, but for only 43% of the urban population. On the other hand, the proportion of persons in all age groups 15 and over was higher in urban than rural areas. In urban areas there were 866 persons in the dependent ages for each 1,000 in the working ages in 1964; in the countryside, the ratio was 1,003 per 1,000.

In mid-1971, according to an official Guatemalan estimate, the population comprised 2,687,436 males and 2,660,351 females, or 101 males per 100 females. In 1964, the figure was 100.1 males per 100 females, but the sex ratio varied markedly according to place of residence. Females outnumbered males in urban areas, reflecting the predilection of young women and widows with children to move from rural districts to urban centers, where opportunity for employment is greater. The Department of Guatemala, which contains the nation's only metropolitan area, had the lowest sex ratio in 1964—94 males per 100 females. In contrast, in Escuintla and Retalhuleu, departments where agricultural and cattle raising activities have been expanding, the sex ratio was high—129 in the former and 115 in the latter. Overall, there were 91 males per 100 females in urban areas in 1964 and 105 males per 100 females in rural areas.

D. Societal aspects of labor (U/OU)

1. The people and work

Opportunities for gainful employment are extremely limited for most Guatemalans. In urban areas, where the need for skilled workers is substantial, few have the requisite training or the means to acquire it. Conversely, many educated Guatemalans are overtrained in fields for which the demand is marginal, and they are frequently underworked or underpaid. In addition, persons whose skills are needed in rural areas, such as medical personnel and teachers, are often unwilling to work outside the cities. In the countryside, the problems of manpower allocation and utilization are even more serious as it has become increasingly difficult to gain a livelihood from farming. Population pressure, the prevalence of archaic agricultural practices, and declining soil fertility have combined to force thousands of peasants into the cities where they engage in menial occupations which offer little satisfaction or hope for advancement. Numerous others have been forced to work of a seasonal nature as wage laborers on *fincas*.

Although directly related to low productivity, the high rates of unemployment and underemployment also reflect a basic cynicism shared by workers concerning their ability to escape the cycle of poverty through work. The high incidence of debilitating diseases is a major cause of the lethargy that is commonplace among laborers, who often express a preference for jobs that provide ample leisure time. Poor working conditions and a lack of opportunities for alternate jobs also combine to stifle initiative, with the result that, by modern industrial standards, the typical worker appears to be lazy. Largely ignorant of the relationship between worker satisfaction and productivity, proprietors and managers in all branches of economic activity have traditionally demonstrated a reluctance to improve conditions of work or to introduce such incentives as a merit promotion system or a graduated wage scale.

The National Employment Service (SNE), an understaffed and underfinanced agency of the Ministry of Labor and Social Planning, is incapable of dealing with the problems of the labor force. Concentrating its efforts on the placement of workers in occupations requiring little or no skill, SNE neither tests nor trains persons desiring work. Headquartered in the capital, the agency operates one branch office at Tiquisate, which serves essentially as a labor exchange for nearby plantations. In 1968, SNE was staffed by only 14 employment specialists, or less than one per 100,000 workers. Technical and vocational training, the facilities for which are virtually restricted to the capital and Quezaltenango, is offered in special annexes of primary schools and in secondary education. Most workers, however, acquire skills through apprenticeship or on-the-job training.

The traditional disdain for manual labor also limits employment opportunities, particularly among middle and upper class Ladinos, who have a predilection for careers in such prestigious professional fields as law and medicine and are uninterested in work in technical fields, such as agronomy and veterinary medicine, for which the demand is great. While aspiring to the status of gentleman farmer or absentee landlord, the Ladin generally regards the Indian's deep attachment to the land as a sign of backwardness.

Unlike Ladinos, Indians accept strenuous labor and admire devotion to work. Most Indians aspire to own and work enough land to comfortably support a family. Despite their deeply ingrained attachment to the land, most Indians who migrate to urban areas readily abandon their traditional life styles and customs, adopting those of Ladin culture. However,

when employed in a nonagricultural rural establishment, such as the textile factory near Quezaltenango, Indians have demonstrated an ability to serve as industrial wage earners without disturbing the basic structure and practices of their local society.

The disdain felt by the Ladin toward the Indian is manifested in the prevalence of discriminatory practices in employment; these, in turn, restrict the Indian's mobility in the labor pool. In keeping with their feeling of superiority, Ladinos invariably supervise Indians. Managers and proprietors generally reject a reverse arrangement. The Indian is also handicapped by the lack of opportunities for training and for exposure to modern technology, as well as by his inability to communicate fluently in Spanish. Despite his dislike for manual labor, the Ladin worker is able to acquire new skills or learn new processes more readily than his Indian counterpart.

Women also suffer from discrimination in employment. The concept that women are capable of holding jobs outside the home has not gained wide acceptance. Moreover, few women have the skills needed to compete with men for employment, especially in white-collar or professional positions. A handful of women have attained high posts in government, but they are prominent only in fields such as education and social service. Despite the existence of so-called equal pay for equal work provisions in the Labor Code, few occupations other than teaching provide equal remuneration and comparable working conditions to persons of both sexes.

Working conditions in industry are poor, but generally comparable with those elsewhere in Central America. In some respects they parallel the primitive conditions under which the typical Guatemalan farmer cultivates his meager landholding. Work techniques and methods are often crude and inefficient. In the numerous cottage industries, as well as in the small-scale workshops, machines, tools, and other equipment are apt to be old. Even in larger establishments, power equipment is in short supply, and most operations are performed by hand. Moreover, inadequate safety measures and poor lighting and ventilation are common; emergency medical attention for injured workers is often unavailable. During the 1960's, an average of about 750 cases of worker disability resulting from job-related causes were reported each year to the Guatemalan Institute of Social Security (IGSS).

Migrant farm laborers probably work under the most difficult conditions. Each year 250,000 to 400,000 highland Indians travel to piedmont and



FIGURE 10. Makeshift shelter used by Indian seasonal laborers on a cotton *finc*a (U/CU)

coastal *fincas* to harvest coffee, cotton, or sugar. Entire families often accompany the breadwinner, suffering numerous hardships. The Indian workers are recruited by labor contractors, invariably Ladinos, who serve *finc*a owners. Laborers normally enter into 30-day contracts, an arrangement which allows the owner considerable flexibility but does not assure workers a full season of employment. Once under contract, and after having received a small stipend in advance, laborers and their families are transported to a *finc*a, often standing in open, crowded trucks throughout the trip. Sleeping accommodations, medical facilities, and a primary school for dependent children are customarily provided at the *finc*a. The quarters, however, often resemble dilapidated barracks; sheds without walls are said to predominate on cotton plantations. Little, if any, furniture is provided, and few shelters are equipped with sanitation facilities or electric lighting. Because of the deteriorated condition of the quarters and because they wish to avoid the long trek to and from the fields, migrant workers frequently erect makeshift shelters for use during the midday meal or for sleeping at night (Figure 10). Although food is supplied by the employer, rations are usually insufficient and must be supplemented by the worker from his own resources. Because of unsanitary living conditions and low resistance to tropical diseases, migrant Indian laborers are especially susceptible to malaria and dysentery. Other health

threats include insecticide poisoning, which is a particular hazard to cottonpickers.

Generally unsophisticated, migrant workers are sometimes defrauded of their rightful earnings by *finc*a operators. Wages are determined by the weight of each worker's harvest, and it is not uncommon for unscrupulous operators to employ a variety of deceptive methods to reduce their operating costs at the expense of the worker. In the face of such practices, a laborer has no recourse and sometimes merely moves on to another *finc*a in the hope of finding better conditions and fairer treatment. If employed throughout the harvest season, a laborer can expect to earn about Q100, whereas the labor contractors usually earn more than 10 times that amount. Government efforts to curtail the abuse of migrant workers have centered around SNE's placement services, which are designed, among other things, to lessen the influence of the labor contractors.

2. Labor legislation

General guidelines concerning conditions of work are found in the 1966 Constitution, with specific stipulations contained in the Labor Code of 1947, as amended. Ostensibly covering all wage and salary earners except civil servants, the code serves mainly as a set of standards, and little effort is made to enforce its provisions. Embodying such traditional concepts as equal pay for equal work, protection of women and

children, paid vacations, and severance payments, the Labor Code also guarantees workers the right to organize and to strike. Obligations of employers and employees are set forth in detail, and working conditions are specified. Under the code, all work disputes are subject to arbitration by labor courts.

Although the code applies to agriculture, landowners are required to observe its provisions only with respect to *colonos*, who are employed on a permanent basis. Migrant laborers, sorely in need of protection but not covered by the code, are treated as inferior beings by *fincas* operators and *colonos* alike. Jealous of their prerogatives and unwilling to share the *fincas* facilities, *colonos* customarily intimidate or abuse the migrants. Legislation designed to end such practices has periodically been introduced and defeated in the Congress, many of whose members are *fincas* owners or their business associates.

The prescribed workweek is 48 hours, with a maximum normal workday of 8 hours, or 6 hours for nightwork. Overtime must be paid if these limits are exceeded. The length of the industrial workweek, which averaged 46 hours in manufacturing during 1968, normally is less than 48 hours. In agriculture, *colonos* probably average between 30 and 35 hours of wage labor per week, since they are presumed to require time to work the individual plots which are customarily assigned to them as part of their pay. Workers have 13 paid holidays a year, and paid vacations are theoretically granted after 1 year's employment, the length of vacation varying according to branch of industry. Workers are also entitled to severance pay amounting to 1 month's wages for each year worked for the same employer.

Minimum wage provisions contained in the Labor Code have been largely ignored. Although minimum wages were in force for some 22 urban industries as of the early 1970's, these were generally lower than the wages that actually prevailed and bore little, if any, relationship to the cost of living. The adequacy of wages in agriculture is difficult to assess, as payment in kind often represents a large portion of a worker's remuneration. According to the Constitution, workers must be paid in legal tender except in rural areas, where up to 30% of the remuneration can be in the form of foodstuffs and other benefits. *Finca* owners are required by law to furnish housing, food, medical service, and schools for workers' children, but compliance is irregular. While payments in kind serve as a hedge against inflation, they also tend to reduce participation in the money economy.

An Inspectorate General within the Ministry of Labor and Social Planning is responsible for enforcing

compliance with the Labor Code, but inspection is sporadic and minimal and usually occurs only as the result of formal complaints concerning alleged violations. Implementation of the labor statutes is hampered by a lack of money and trained personnel, as well as by the complicated machinery for hearing grievances and settling disputes. The Ministry of Labor and Social Planning has had the lowest budget of any ministry. Moreover, the ministry's tradition of filling inspectorate posts with political appointees has resulted in a high staff turnover and an inability to focus on cohesive long-term plans.

Government employees were not covered by labor legislation until 1969, when the first civil service law became effective. The law, which regulates the working conditions of some 45,000 civil servants, calls for the reclassification of all civil service positions in order to eliminate inequities in salaries paid for comparable work in different ministries. A National Civil Service Office was created under the law supposedly to guarantee impartiality in government appointments.

3. Labor and management

In the early 1970's the Guatemalan labor movement, still not fully recovered from setbacks suffered after the overthrow of President Arbenz, constituted more of a potential than an actual force for group action and social change. Labor's "12 years in the wilderness," as trade union leaders have described the period from 1954 to the inauguration of President Mendez Montenegro in 1966, were characterized by a virtual stagnation of the movement and by the repression of militant unionists, particularly during the administration of Carlos Castillo Armas. Further handicapped by a lack of competent leadership, by personal rivalries, and by fragmentation into several national confederations and some 20 independent local unions, organized labor has witnessed a decline in membership, from a peak of 100,000 in 1953 to an estimated 70,000 to 75,000 workers in 1972, or roughly 5% of the labor force. The tightly organized management-employer sector, ever fearful of a return to the union-dominated days of Arbenz, and the nature of the labor force itself, half of which is comprised of agricultural laborers, present additional obstacles to the development of a strong movement.

Procedures for the attainment of legal status by newly organized unions are complicated and lengthy. Without legal recognition from the Ministry of Labor and Social Planning, a labor organization can neither enter into collective bargaining agreements nor avail itself of the labor courts. Attempts to organize

unions have at times been hampered by the summary dismissal of union organizers, a practice which violates provisions of the Labor Code. Union activities were at a virtual standstill during the state of siege imposed in the country from November 1970 to November 1971, a period during which two of the country's top union leaders were assassinated.

During the period 1944-54, labor and political leaders concentrated on organizing the peasantry. By 1954, the National Confederation of Guatemalan Peasants (CNCG), founded in 1950, had nearly 200,000 members, representing almost 80% of Guatemala's peasants. Although many of its component groups technically were political entities rather than unions, the CNCG, with government help, made substantial gains for many of its members. When Arbez was overthrown, however, the CNCG was dissolved and its leaders prosecuted, leaving a legacy of bitterness and resentment among the rank and file. Thereafter, and until the late 1960's, the peasantry remained largely uninvolved in organized labor.

By the end of the 1960's, however, the thrust of organizational efforts shifted back to the agricultural sector and embraced both *colonos* and subsistence farmers. The latter were organized into peasant leagues, which serve as organizations for promoting group interests. This development, in the face of concerted opposition from landowners, who equate organizational successes among the peasantry with the spread of communism, would have been impossible without the support of the Mendez government.

Since President Arana assumed office, relations between government and organized labor have again been characterized by distrust. Despite its avowed concern for the welfare of the rural masses, the Arana administration has curtailed the activities of the peasant leagues.

Unions are enjoined by the Constitution from engaging in politics and are subject to dissolution for so doing. Except for the Autonomous Trade Union Federation of Guatemala (FASGUA), whose executive board includes members of the clandestine Communist organization, the Guatemalan Labor Party (PCT), no union is directly affiliated with any political party. Nevertheless, during the Mendez administration both the Revolutionary Party (PR) and the Guatemalan Christian Democracy party (DCG) provided moral support to the organizational efforts of various labor groups. Moreover, organized labor has engaged directly, albeit unofficially, in political activities by endorsing specific parties in elections and by running candidates for political office. The two

largest confederations supported the PR's presidential candidate in 1970, while several other federations and unions openly backed the DCG candidate. Since the election, organized labor has paid a price, in the form of governmental harassment, for its support of the opposition groups.

Nevertheless, organized labor has retained a voice in national affairs, although to a much lesser extent than in the early 1950's. Under Mendez, two of the 15 members of the Council of State, the president's highest advisory body, were labor representatives. Labor is represented on the National Minimum Wage Commission, the Board of Directors of the Workers' Bank, and the Board of the IGSS. Attempts by labor leaders to play a more significant role in economic planning have generally been rebuffed, as shown by the fact that labor is not represented on the National Planning Council or in such agencies as INTA and the National Institute of Housing (INVI).

Until 1970, the largest and most influential labor organization was the Confederation of Workers of Guatemala (CONTRAGUA), encompassing well over half of the nation's organized workers. Its major components were the Union of Railroad Workers' Action and Betterment (SAMF) and the Independent Peasant Movement (MCI). Active in organizing new unions, CONTRAGUA had some of the most competent and experienced leaders in labor's ranks. The closest rival of CONTRAGUA was the Trade Union Confederation of Guatemala (CONSIGUA), which declined almost in direct proportion to CONTRAGUA's success. Early in 1970, it had a total membership equal to about one-third that of CONTRAGUA. Although there were no important ideological differences separating the two confederations, CONSIGUA leaders had for several years resisted merger with the larger organization. In March 1970, however, the confederations united to form the Central of Federated Workers (CTF); the new organization then affiliated with the U.S.-backed Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers (ORIT).

The National Confederation of Workers (CNT), which was formed in 1968, is oriented toward the DCG. Its main affiliate is the Central Federation of Workers of Guatemala (FECETRAG), but it includes two other important groups: the urban-based National Federation of Transport Workers (FENOT) and the rural-based Peasant Federation of Guatemala (FCG). Although representing fewer than 5,000 members, CNT is well organized, and its influence has increased. However, in 1967 the FCG suffered a serious internal division, stemming from disagreement over relation-

ships with the parent organization's affiliation with the Latin American Confederation of Workers (CLAT), then known as the Latin American Confederation of Christian Trade Unionists. At that time, FCC leader Tereso de Jesus Oliva y Oliva left to form the MCI, which eventually affiliated with CONTRAGUA. The MCI enjoyed a considerable following along the south coast, but Oliva y Oliva's assassination in 1971 left the peasant movement devoid of effective leadership.

FASGUA, the only labor grouping known to be under Communist control, has been allowed to operate freely, perhaps because its membership and influence have declined markedly since the early 1960's. Most of its constituent groups are little more than paper organizations. Having concentrated its effort on the ambitious goal of promoting solidarity within the working class, FASGUA has sometimes joined other labor groups in supporting popular issues. In concert with Communist front groups elsewhere in Central America, FASGUA has endorsed the concept of regional integration.

Most management associations arose during the Arbenz administration in answer to what many businessmen felt was a growing threat from organized labor. The resulting network of organizations includes Guatemala's wealthiest businessmen and landowners. A Coordinating Committee of Associations of Agriculture, Commerce, Industry, and Finance (CACIF) unites the various associations in a closely knit entity which acts both indirectly on public opinion and directly on policy through the Policy Advisory Committee of the Ministry of Economy, on which several of its members serve.

Another business-oriented group is the Association of Friends of the Country. Founded by seven businessmen in mid-1966, it has been devoted to counteracting Guatemala's "bad press" in the United States. By 1969 it had some 120 members. The association sends a newsletter to numerous U.S. newspapers, commenting on business conditions, commercial news, and happenings in the political and social spheres. It also undertakes social and economic studies.

Some of the largest landowners are grouped in the Association of Guatemalan Agriculturalists (AGA). During the revolutionary period of the early 1950's, AGA was supposed to assist its members in participating in agrarian reform, but instead it became the haven of extremely conservative landowners who then, as now, consider efforts at peasant organization and social improvement to be little short of Communist activity. In 1968, it expressed deep

concern over the church's support for unionization efforts in rural areas. The AGA persistently maintains that the poverty of the peasant has been grossly exaggerated, and that conditions do not allow reforms.

The management groups claim to be nonpolitical. However, because of close ties to rightist parties and because their members often hold government positions, they are effective in bringing their influence to bear on politics. Some groups actively encourage their members to seek elective office.

To some extent, the managers and representatives of foreign business enterprises operating in Guatemala constitute a pressure group. Prior to 1944, foreign companies, chiefly U.S.-owned, exerted effective pressure on the executive and on members of Congress, but their influence rapidly declined with the growth of nationalistic and anti-U.S. sentiment during the succeeding revolutionary administrations and following the disclosure of a U.S. role in the overthrow of Arbenz in 1954. The economic importance of such entities as the United Fruit Company nevertheless constitutes a form of indirect pressure on government.

E. Living conditions, welfare services, and social problems (U/OU)

1. Levels of living

According to virtually every indicator of socioeconomic well-being, levels of living rank among the lowest in Latin America. For the predominantly Indian rural lower class, moreover, living conditions are deteriorating as decreasing per capita agricultural yields force thousands into seasonal wage labor. The most extreme poverty is found in the west central highlands, where subsistence farming is prevalent. Urban poverty is scarcely less serious. Illiterate, unskilled workers with little opportunity for advancement live on the outskirts of the cities in slums where overcrowding, poor nutrition, and inadequate sanitation contribute to the spread of disease. The rural poor, however, have even fewer opportunities for health care, education, and employment.

In urban areas, few breadwinners earn the Q5.38 (1 quetzal = US\$1) per day which Guatemalan authorities consider necessary to adequately support an urban family of four. The average industrial wage in Guatemala City amounts to less than Q4.00 a day, while service workers may earn considerably less. Moreover, legal minimum wages, set lower than prevailing wages, offer little protection. Rural laborers fare less well, rarely earning more than Q1.00 per day. In general, plantation workers in the coastal and

piedmont regions earn more than highland farmers. Many highland subsistence farmers supplement their incomes by hiring out as seasonal laborers on coastal plantations, where they earn up to Q0.80 per day. Formerly, weaving, pottery-making, and other handicrafts added considerably to family income, but many of these skills have been lost.

For the vast majority, earnings are barely enough to provide the basic necessities of food, shelter, and clothing. Most highland farm families spend nearly two-thirds of their income on food and beverages, while landless agricultural laborers spend an even higher proportion. What is left is allotted to clothing, housing, medical care (including folk medicine), transportation, and community functions. In traditional communities, some Indians still spend large proportions of their income in connection with office-holding duties in the civil-religious hierarchy.

Urban residents use far less of their income for food and drink, averaging slightly more than 40% in 1953, the latest year for which information is available. Comparative data suggest that expenditures for clothing are gradually rising because of an increasing preference for readymade clothes over those that are handwoven and homemade.

Most people have little or no opportunity to save. Many well-to-do Ladinos distrust financial institutions, and investment, except in land, is not popular. Some Ladinos tend to engage in conspicuous consumption for prestige purposes.

Despite complaints about the rising cost of living and the decreasing purchasing power of the quetzal, the consumer price index indicates that for a number of years Guatemala has had one of the most stable price structures in Latin America. Slight increases occurred during the latter half of the 1960's, but in any given year throughout the past decade the index has rarely registered an increase of more than two percentage points over the previous year. Seasonal price increases generally occur during June, July, and August, when some foods become scarce.

Food costs have risen more rapidly than have other items, occasioned in part by shortages of basic commodities, such as beans. Brought about by floods or droughts, food shortages have at times led to hoarding and speculation, causing serious hardship in some rural sectors. In addition, a number of merchants have taken advantage of 1971 world monetary adjustments to increase prices beyond the level necessary for alignment with new world price structures. As a result, the government has actively prosecuted speculators in basic commodities and temporarily exempted scarce items from import taxes in order to make them available at reasonable prices.

Even if money is available, most rural inhabitants have access only to limited supplies of consumer goods. Although highland market towns generally provide an assortment of articles from the surrounding region, these are largely restricted to foodstuffs and handicrafts. Machinery, fertilizers, and insecticides, besides being beyond the economic reach of most highland farmers, are not available in most towns. Some rural markets, moreover, because of local topographical and climatic factors, offer a much smaller variety of fruits and vegetables than others. Although highland products are often available in piedmont and coastal areas, the reverse does not usually occur.

The generally low level of material welfare is also evident in the poor quality and condition of the clothing worn by large numbers of the lower class, both Indian and Ladino. Because most of the average family's meager income is devoted to food and housing, replacement of clothing occurs only when absolutely necessary. As a result, worn, patched garments are common. Moreover, the custom of wearing handmade clothing is declining, as the local textile industry has expanded. Many Indians and Ladinos go barefoot.

Adequate housing is both scarce and expensive. Population growth and replacement needs add approximately 27,000 units annually to the housing deficit (calculated in terms of families without permanent housing and those living in substandard dwellings), while construction proceeds at the rate of less than 5,000 units per year (Figure 11). Rental

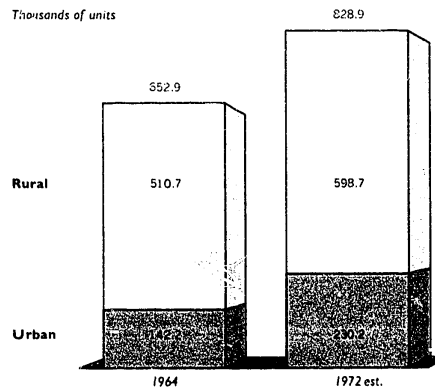


FIGURE 11. Housing deficit, 1964 and 1972 (U/OU)



FIGURE 12. Improvised housing in Guatemala City. Tile, tin, and cardboard roofs cover dilapidated structures crowded together in narrow ravines and on steep hill-sides around the capital. (U/OU)

property is scarce and rents are high, especially in the capital, where they average about twice as much as in Quezaltenango. Many low-income families build improvised housing on land owned by others.

The condition of the existing housing stock points up the plight of the lower income and subsistence groups. In 1964, the year of the latest housing census, only slightly more than half of the existing stock, comprising 804,940 dwelling units, were classified as "formal," a designation presumably implying permanence. Almost 10% were described as "improvised," including huts, caves, and slum shacks crudely constructed of scrap materials (Figure 12). The remainder, characterized as "rustic" and "other," were simple rural structures affording little protection from the elements.

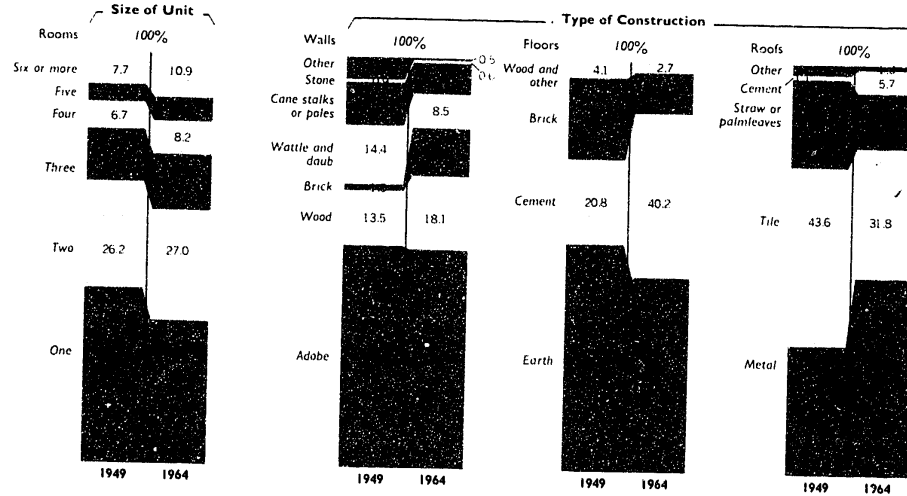
Between 1949 and 1964, larger dwellings were erected in urban areas, using more durable construction materials (Figure 13), but in absolute terms more substandard units were in existence in the latter year. Most urban residents still live in *barracas*, one- or two-room dwellings with a doorway opening directly onto the street. In rural areas, the one-room adobe *ranchito* with earthen floor is prevalent; most houses in rural areas are crude structures usually built by the owner (Figure 14). Formerly, families in many communities constructed houses by exchanging labor, thereby eliminating the high cost of masons and carpenters, but today this tradition has largely died out.

Basic sanitary facilities are grossly deficient, and other amenities are also scarce. Most dwellings have no toilet arrangements and no piped water. In 1964, only 22% of Guatemalan dwellings had electricity, 85% still used wood for cooking, only 4.5% of all households had refrigerators, and 1.2% had washing machines. Telephone service was restricted to 2%. Overcrowding, moreover, exacerbates the problems generated by poor construction and lack of sanitary facilities. About 44% of all houses in 1964 consisted of only one room, while less than 12% had more than three rooms.

As in the case of housing, unemployment and underemployment constitute serious problems. Although the 1964 census indicated that only 19,260 persons, or 1.5% of the labor force, were unemployed, the actual figure was probably closer to 10%. Official statistics for more recent years, available only for Guatemala City, are limited to unemployed persons registered with SNE; in the early 1970's, registered workers totaled less than 1,000, far fewer than the actual number known to be out of work.

Unemployment in the formal sense is highest in the cities and the commercial farming zones of Escuintla, Santa Rosa, Suchitepequez, and Retalhuleu. Far more common, however, is underemployment, a critical problem in both urban and rural areas. In the cities, many persons engaged in services function at an extremely low level of productivity in tedious menial jobs which offer little opportunity for upward mobility. The situation is even worse in rural areas where two-thirds of the labor force reside. Many subsistence farmers own plots too small to provide year-round work. In addition, disease, malnutrition, and antiquated farming methods diminish productivity among both mobile and stable agricultural laborers.

Approximately 120,000 youths, moreover, reach the age of 15 annually. Because the labor market cannot



Note: In percent of total dwelling units
FIGURE 13. Urban dwelling units, by size and type of construction, 1949 and 1964 (U/OU)

absorb all of these new workers, the problem of unemployment and underemployment is compounded each year. At the same time, Guatemala is experiencing an acute shortage of skilled labor, exacerbated by the lack of industrial training facilities and the persistence of attitudes which denigrate manual labor. The National Training and Produc-

tivity Center, a facility which specializes in training managerial and administrative personnel, is being expanded to provide instruction in industrial and technical fields.

2. Social services

a. Developmental activities

Government efforts to improve the material well-being of the bulk of the population have been inadequate, sporadic, and directed primarily to the welfare of the Ladino sector. Many members of the elite actively oppose any measure which would tend to cause change in the status quo or in the structure of society, including such measures as agrarian reform and mass education. In addition, there is widespread opposition to enacting new taxes or improving the collection of existing taxes. Moreover, funds have been diverted from social welfare projects to internal security requirements.

The reversal of the last major effort at social reform, initiated by the revolutionary Arevalo and Arbenz regimes, left a legacy of suspicion and mistrust among the thousands who had benefited from agrarian reform and other measures. The administration of Mendez Montenegro, labeling itself the "Third Government of the Revolution," made some attempt to recapture the momentum of those years, moving



FIGURE 14. Typical one-room rural dwelling (U/OU)

ahead in such areas as civil service reform, social insurance, and education. In addition, it prepared a 5-year development plan for 1971-75. Accepted by President Arana shortly after he took office in July 1970, the plan comprises a series of related projects designed to provide an integrated attack on the endemic poverty of the most depressed areas of the country. Both the 1971 and 1972 budgets have reflected the plan's goals, stressing agricultural development and social services, especially in the fields of education and health. Financing is being supplemented by AID loans of US\$23 million for agricultural development, \$7 million for rural electrification, and \$2.5 million for rural health programs. Major funding, however, is expected to come from ordinary government revenues. In 1971, in an effort to increase these revenues, the government reorganized the Ministry of Finance to coordinate and improve tax collecting operations.

The government's National Program of Community Development (PNDC) has been chosen to implement many of the plan's programs in rural areas. Its functions cover a wide range of projects in such areas as literacy, agricultural extension, home economics, health, cooperatives, and community organization. Like numerous predecessors, the PNDC is supposed to provide technical and material aid that is beyond the resources of impoverished communities. Its role is not well defined, however, and its activities tend to encroach upon those of other government agencies. In addition, it faces the same major problem of previous organizations: manipulation as a personal political vehicle. As of 1972, PNDC maintained personnel in 89 *municipios* in 10 departments, mainly in the west-central highlands; these individuals were engaged in community organization, livestock development, training in home economics and handicrafts, and cooperative assistance. Twenty local and four regional training centers plus a handicrafts center are the focal points of PNDC activities.

The reaction to the program has been mixed. Accustomed to receiving exaggerated promises that fail to materialize, many rural residents have become inured to announcements of new programs to improve their living conditions. On the other hand, President Arana's emphasis on the need for each community to take the initiative in solving local problems is thought to represent a departure from old-style political pledges. In personal visits to most *municipios*, Arana has told local residents that government aid will depend largely on matching local contributions.

A major feature of the development plan is making credit available to low-income groups. Inasmuch as

commercial banks are unwilling to underwrite loans for high-risk borrowers, such as small farmers and small businessmen, the government has initiated loan guaranty programs to stimulate lending in these sectors. Although loans are being granted at a rapid rate, they are largely confined to the capital and to the manufacturing components, bypassing those areas of the economy in most dire need.

More directly affecting small rural development projects, a Q250,000 guaranty to the Penny Foundation, a private entity engaged in rural development, was granted under another program, the Overseas Private Investment Corporations' Community Credit Guaranty Program. The National Agricultural Development Bank, established in 1971, is also designed to provide credit to innovative producers, basically small farmers. In urban areas, the Workers' Bank has stepped up its loan activities.

Public efforts in the field of housing are hampered by a critical shortage of funds. Many building materials must be imported at high cost, and the need to initiate or expand water supply and sewerage systems before construction constitutes an added drain on scarce financial resources. In addition, planning has suffered from a lack of such basic items as small-scale maps, and from a dearth of architects and engineers specializing in low-cost housing, although the School of Urban-Regional Planning at the University of San Carlos, established in 1965, is expected to increase the supply of skilled personnel.

Responsibility for planning and executing the housing program is shared by INVI and INTA. INVI has overall administrative responsibility for urban public housing projects, while INTA is similarly involved with rural projects. Inadequate financial resources have plagued INTA's activities, but urban construction goals have been largely met by INVI. Most of INVI's units were in the Q1,000 to Q4,000 price range and were made available to families with a monthly income of from Q35 to Q180.

Middle-income families purchasing houses in the Q5,000 and up category find adequate financing through commercial banks, whose funds are supplemented by an AID housing guaranty loan of \$3 million. In addition, loans are granted by the Workers' Bank for the purchase or repair of houses but are limited to twice the borrower's monthly salary. An Insured Mortgage Development Institute, established in 1961, further encourages private sector construction by insuring mortgages up to Q25,000. Private savings and loan associations were incorporated into the national mortgage insurance system in the mid-1960's.

Private efforts in the developmental field supplement those of government agencies. The Penny Foundation, financed largely by Guatemalan businessmen, and the Maryknoll Fathers sponsor cooperatives, credit unions, and agricultural projects in such fields as soil conservation, experimental farming, irrigation, pest control, and livestock and poultry improvement.

b. Welfare services

Although the Constitution recognizes the right of all citizens to social security, in the sense of public provision for those who cannot care for themselves, little progress has been made in developing a comprehensive social insurance program. Most persons in need are still dependent on family, community, or paternalistic employers. Many, caught in a state of transition, are without even this form of assistance, having broken family ties, forsaken the protection of the community, or traded a personal relationship with a rural employer for impersonal ties with an urban enterprise. A general attitude of indifference on the part of the public, combined with a chronic lack of financial resources, is responsible for the extremely slow evolution of the social insurance system. A Social Security Law permitting the establishment of a national system was passed as far back as 1946, but until 1968 only two forms of coverage were available: one, a comprehensive workmen's compensation program providing work-injury and general accident protection, was operative in 21 departments; and another provided maternity benefits in Guatemala Department only. In that year the system for Guatemala Department was extended to include sickness benefits, and in 1969, disability, old-age, and survivors' assistance.

The system is administered by the (IGSS) Guatemalan Institute of Social Security, an entity established under the 1946 law and financed by payroll deductions and contributions from employers and the government. As of 1969, more than 447,000 persons, almost 30% of the economically active population, were insured under the workmen's compensation program in effect in all departments except Peten. Over 122,000 of this number, or 8% of the gainfully employed population, were also eligible for the general illness and maternity benefits available only in Guatemala Department. The latter group was also eligible for disability, old-age, and survivors' assistance as of 1970, the first year of that program's implementation. Civil service personnel are included in the system, but domestics and the self-employed are not. Many occasional workers probably avoid

payment of contributions and consequently forfeit coverage.

Workers in the primary sector, the bulk of them full-time plantation laborers, comprised more than 60% of the total enrollment under the workmen's compensation plan; those in the secondary sector, 15%; and those in the tertiary sector, 25%. The high proportion of insured agricultural workers, unusual in Latin America, suggests considerable progress in extending social security to rural areas.

A separate Institute of Military Welfare covers career officers in the armed forces, providing disability, retirement, and survivors' benefits. The system is financed primarily through contributions from participants.

IGSS facilities in 1968 included 28 hospitals with 970 beds. Because of a serious shortage of personnel, only 11 of the hospitals were more than 50% occupied during that year, and the average for all 28 was 36%. The largest hospital, in the capital, contains 325 beds and 100 cradles. IGSS also operates a rehabilitation center, polyclinic, family planning clinic, and social service department. Like similar agencies in other Latin American countries, the IGSS has been plagued by a serious shortage of funds since its inception, mainly as a result of the government's failure to keep up its contributions. In 1969 alone, the Guatemalan Government owed IGSS some Q45 million. Consequently, facilities are grossly understaffed and personnel underpaid. IGSS is nevertheless fairly well organized and has been described as one of the more effective government agencies.

Rehabilitation of the physically handicapped has received special attention from both public and private sources. By 1970, facilities included a well-equipped poliomyelitis center treating some 200 patients daily, a new school for blind and deaf children, a workshop for blind adults, a modern school of physical therapy, and the IGSS-administered rehabilitation center for accident victims. The rehabilitation program operated by IGSS, in addition to medical care, provides vocational training in such areas as handiercrafts, tailoring, radio and shoe repair, and clerical work.

Efforts of private and religious groups in the field of social welfare have paralleled and often superseded those of the government. Among private entities, the Association of Infant Welfare provides child care in some 30 day-care centers and operates two temporary placement homes. Other organizations supplying various types of welfare services include the National League Against Tuberculosis, the League Against Poliomyelitis, the Guatemalan Red Cross, CARE, and

Catholic Relief Services. A number of orphanages, homes for the aged, and hospitals are operated by the Catholic Church, which has in many cases provided welfare services in areas neglected by government agencies.

3. Social problems

Serious social problems have been overshadowed during the past decade by the high incidence of political terrorism. In many cases, crimes perpetrated by politically motivated groups are difficult to distinguish from those committed by common criminals. As robberies, kidnappings, and assassinations have become commonplace, increasing cynicism has developed toward police and judicial efforts to cope with this type of crime. Because judges are reluctant to sentence criminals for fear of reprisals, police and army elements have resorted to extralegal procedures in handling suspected terrorists. Common criminals have undoubtedly taken advantage of the accompanying social disruption to commit crimes which are imputed to terrorist groups.

The Arana administration, which came to power on a "law and order" platform, has taken a strong stand on the issue of crime, directly linking criminal acts to the state of unrest engendered by terrorist groups. Vowing to attack the problem through legal means, President Arana in 1971 announced an extensive reform of the penal code, including stiffer penalties for such acts as publicly justifying crimes, aiding in escapes, creating disorder at trials, and falsifying documents or license plates. On the other hand, the revisions spell out penalties for public officials who illegally detain persons, imprison suspects without due process of law, or disregard release orders. In addition, a new Police Academy accommodating approximately 400 trainees annually was inaugurated in January 1972 in an effort to professionalize the police force. Extensive administrative reorganization has also taken place, along with improved maintenance of facilities and equipment.

Drug abuse is not a major problem, although hard drugs smuggled in by foreigners are available in small quantity and the government has expressed concern about the problem. Many of the synthetic drugs can be obtained in pharmacies without prescription, but deaths from overdoses are virtually unknown. The use of marijuana among middle and upper class elements has increased in the past decade, leading to more vigorous enforcement of existing laws, as well as new legislation to provide stiffer penalties for cultivators and traffickers. In many instances, the local suppliers of marijuana are unaware of its illegality.

Sometimes described as the "national vice," alcoholism is a serious problem. It is particularly prevalent among Indians, who commonly consume hard liquor on social occasions and in connection with religious rituals and festivals. Drinking, for example, is a social requisite during planting and harvesting celebrations, and at parties, weddings, and funerals. In some areas during the dry season, moreover, a scarcity of water results in excessive consumption of homemade liquor. Alcohol among both Indians and Ladinos serves largely as a psychological crutch, providing a release from the drudgery of daily existence, from hunger, and from the discomfort of endemic illness. To some extent, widespread drinking during fiestas has become a substitute for the songs and dances which formerly provided an emotional outlet. The clandestine distilling of liquor has become an important enterprise in some areas. The crime index is closely related to the consumption of alcohol, most crimes being committed by inebriated persons. More than half of all traffic accidents also involve drunkenness.

Mental illness does not appear to be an acute problem, and the suicide rate has remained fairly stable—at approximately 2.1 deaths per 100,000 population. In any case, facilities for treating mental diseases are grossly inadequate, although psychiatric services are reportedly now being planned for departmental hospitals. A General Directorate of Mental Health was established within the Ministry of Public Health and Social Assistance in 1965.

F. Health (U/OU)

Deficient diets, inadequate medical care, rudimentary or nonexistent sanitation services, and poor personal hygiene combine to give Guatemala one of the lowest standards of health and sanitation in the Western Hemisphere. Although disease and unsanitary conditions plague urban centers as well as rural areas, the most severe health and sanitation problems are found in the countryside. Middle and upper class urban residents have access to adequate medical facilities and consequently enjoy better health, but the bulk of the population suffers from a high incidence of preventable infectious and communicable diseases. As with other indexes of material well-being, health conditions reflect the gap between Ladino and Indian, the latter being consigned to lower levels of health because of greater poverty, fewer opportunities for medical attention, and cultural inhibitions.

Low literacy levels and a corresponding lack of knowledge of basic health and sanitation principles militate against the use of preventive measures and frequently result in a failure to recognize disease when it occurs. Illness is thus often far advanced before medical aid is sought. Folk beliefs concerning the nature and treatment of disease also tend to retard health care, particularly among the Indians, who traditionally have believed that illness results from the influence of evil spirits. Severe psychological distress, sleeplessness, and loss of appetite often follow upon imagined encounters with such spirits, predisposing the victim to real physical illness. The extreme shortage of physicians and other health personnel in rural areas impedes the spread of information on the causes of disease and of modern medical practices and fosters continuing reliance on *curanderos*, or native healers. Treatment by a *curandero* usually consists of herbal remedies or the performance of a ritual of one kind or another. Some *curanderos* also stock a few patent medicines. Lower class Ladinos still commonly share some of the Indian folk beliefs, but, in general they have greater access to modern medicine and are readily accept the ministrations of a physician, and are better informed about the causes of disease.

The difficult topography of Guatemala and the enervating climate of the lowlands are not conducive to good health. Mountainous terrain makes transport to health centers impractical in some areas, and mobility health services do not reach the more inaccessible places. In the lowlands, heat and humidity combine to provide favorable conditions for the propagation of disease-carrying insects and parasites during most of the year, and heavy rainfall increases the possibility of infection and contagion through surface drainage. Children are particularly vulnerable to the health threats posed by environmental conditions in the lowlands. According to one study, preschool-age children accounted for over 70% of all deaths in coastal areas, compared with less than 30% in the central highlands.

I. Environmental sanitation

Among the most important factors in the overall health problem is the low level of environmental sanitation, reflected in contaminated water supplies, inadequate provision for waste disposal, and unsanitary food handling. These conditions exact a heavy toll in terms of the spread of disease. During the 1960's, the mortality rate from dysentery—more than 40 deaths per 100,000 population—was the highest in Latin America.

According to a survey in 1967, only 38.8% of the population had access to piped water; improvement since 1964 is indicated in the following urban-rural breakdown, in percent:

	1964	1967
Urban centers	70	88
Rural areas	8	11

Most rural residents obtain their water from a community well or from a nearby river, lake, or stream. The drinking water is subject to gross contamination, since it comes from sources which serve as places to wash laundry and bathe, as well as depositories for sewage and garbage. Few localities have water treatment facilities, supplies being utilized directly from the source. Private bathing facilities are limited. Public baths are generally available to urban residents, but rural people must rely on the closest body of water for bathing purposes. Highland Indians often use warm springs and streams, persons of both sexes and all ages customarily bathing together (Figure 15). In addition, "sweathouses" (*temuseales*), similar to a sauna bath, are popular in certain regions (Figure 16).

Most dwelling units are without toilet facilities of any kind. The types of sanitary facilities available in 1964, as percent of total dwellings, were as follows:

TYPE	URBAN	RURAL	TOTAL
Flush drain	30.1	7.0	15.0
Toilet	25.7	1.1	9.6
Cesspool	14.8	1.4	6.0
No facility	29.4	90.5	69.4

Sewerage systems serve but a small portion of the urban population, and there are no sewage treatment plants in the country. Guatemala City has a combined sewerage and storm drainage system covering little more than half its total area; only 10% of the area of Quezaltenango is served by such a system. Open ditches for waste disposal, often flushed out only by rainwater, are found in many urban areas. In the countryside, disposal of human waste is even more haphazard.

Garbage and trash accumulation also poses serious problems in heavily populated areas. Most urban centers have no regular collection, and refuse is dumped at the outskirts of the city, attracting scavengers and pests. Household in Guatemala City pay a fee for garbage collection; trash is collected free of charge at specified pickup points. Collections are burned in an obsolete incinerator or dumped in one of two sanitary landfills.

Inadequate facilities for processing, storing, and marketing food often result in spoilage and



FIGURE 15. Outdoor bathing at a warm spring, Momostenango (U/OU)



FIGURE 16. Temascal, or sweathouse. Water is poured over stones heated inside the adobe structure, creating a steam bath used both for bathing and for medical purposes. The door is covered with a blanket. (C)

contamination. Open-air markets are common; meat and other perishable foods are displayed without refrigeration and are exposed to dirt, insects, and handling by customers. Virtually all meat is sold on the day of butchering. A municipal code requiring inspection of food and food handling conditions in Guatemala City is not generally enforced, although meat is inspected to some extent.

Although efforts to improve sanitation facilities are complicated by a lack of funds and trained personnel, some progress has been made. In 1965, the Ministry of Communications and Public Works began a program to supply potable water and sewerage systems to communities which could not afford to finance such projects on their own. Other programs are being undertaken by various agencies of the government.

2. Common diseases

For many years, gastrointestinal disorders have been the most common ailment of Guatemalans. The country also suffers from a high incidence of helminthiasis, influenza and upper respiratory infections, childhood diseases of all kinds, dysentery (both bacillary and amebic), and onchocerciasis. Tuberculosis, although declining, is still widespread, particularly in Guatemala Department, pointing up the effect of urban crowding. Syphilis, gonorrhea, and other venereal diseases also have high incidence rates.

For the population age 5 and over, the principal causes of death as of 1968 were gastrointestinal ailments, influenza, and pneumonia. Because of fluctuations in reported mortality rates for various

diseases during the 1960's (Figure 17), it is difficult to chart trends in most instances. The number of deaths resulting from tuberculosis and pneumonia, however, is clearly falling, while those resulting from measles and homicide have risen markedly, the latter reflecting terrorist activities.

Approximately 50% of all deaths in 1968 were those of children under age 5. Gastrointestinal ailments, respiratory infections, measles, and whooping cough are high on the list of reported causes of mortality among young children. Most of the deaths can be traced to environmental factors or malnutrition.

FIGURE 17. Principal causes of death (U/OU) (Number of deaths per 100,000 persons)

	1960	1965	1968
Gastritis, duodenitis, enteritis, and colitis.....	217.2	242.8	230.6
Influenza.....	186.5	125.0	142.2
Pneumonia.....	132.9	126.7	103.8
Measles.....	48.0	105.8	93.2
Whooping cough.....	65.5	79.2	65.8
Dysentery.....	41.2	42.4	45.9
Anemias.....	30.5	40.0	42.3
Accidents (except motor vehicle accidents).....	29.4	28.5	28.7
Bronchitis.....	34.6	21.8	26.9
Malignant neoplasms.....	24.7	24.1	25.4
Tuberculosis of respiratory system.....	30.6	25.7	22.0
Homicide.....	9.7	10.2	18.7
Arteriosclerotic and degenerative heart disease.....	16.0	15.2	17.1

Studies have shown that malnutrition is a contributing factor in almost half of the deaths of children, although it is reported as a direct cause in only a small proportion of cases. Ignorance of proper treatment for common childhood diseases also frequently results in complications leading to death. For example, the customary treatment for measles and whooping cough in many Indian communities is a steam bath, which is often responsible for severe pulmonary difficulties.

Smallpox, yellow fever, and typhus, once prevalent, have been largely eliminated, although localized outbreaks continue to occur. Malaria, the leading cause of death in 1950, is still present in the coastal regions, spread by mosquito vectors. Control efforts have had considerable success, however; only 25 deaths from malaria were reported in 1966. Programs for reducing the incidence of the disease have included an AID-sponsored spraying campaign carried out in conjunction with the National Service for the Eradication of Malaria. The Pan American Health Organization has provided technical assistance.

3. Diet and nutrition

Most Guatemalans suffer from low nutritional levels that exact a high toll in terms of health and productivity. Inadequacies in both the quantity and the quality of food consumed result in a shortage of nutrients essential for proper growth and sustenance. Food deficiencies are due in large measure to low agricultural productivity, caused by an outmoded land tenure system and primitive farming techniques little changed in some areas from pre-Columbian times. Other factors contributing to the low levels of nutrition include limited purchasing power, lack of adequate facilities for transporting and storing foods, popular ignorance of nutritional values, and cultural inhibitions. For most of the population, high protein foods, such as milk and meat, are too expensive for frequent consumption. In many areas there is a failure to exploit available resources, for example, by fishing or hunting small game.

Although there are social and regional variations, most Guatemalans depend on a diet of corn, supplemented by black beans, squash, chili peppers, tomatoes, onions, fruits, and occasionally meat. Ladinos, in general, consume a larger variety of foods than Indians, reflecting greater economic resources and more varied tastes. Corn, the basic food of both groups, is usually eaten in the form of tortillas. Other common items of diet utilizing corn are *atole*, a drink of gruel consistency which is sometimes flavored with spices or cocoa butter, and tamales, made by wrapping cornmeal in leaves or husks and then baking

or steaming them. Tamales may include meat mixed with cornmeal on special occasions. Second in importance in the national diet are beans, usually made into a thick soup or mashed and fried. Coffee is the most popular beverage, despite its high cost, and is given even to infants and young children. The alcoholic drinks most widely consumed are *aguardiente* (distilled sugarcane juice) and beer.

In 1966, per capita daily intake of calories was estimated at between 85% and 90% of the recommended norm, and cereals contributed most of the calories and protein, resulting in a grossly unbalanced diet (Figure 18). In addition to a shortage of protein of animal origin, the typical diet is markedly deficient in vitamin A and riboflavin; there is also a lack of adequate amounts of vitamin C. The intake of iron and thiamin generally exceeds requirements, and consumption of calcium and niacin has been judged sufficient on the whole. It would appear that the nutrition of children is less adequate than that of adults, partly because of prejudices which prohibit children from eating certain foods. Many of the dietary problems of the general population are related to the dependence upon corn. Although efforts are being made to improve the nutritive value of the corn consumed, and to supplement it, only a diversification of the diet can solve the nutritional problems stemming from the dominance of one food.

Both the quantity and quality of the diet vary somewhat according to region. Because of their greater poverty and their dependence upon local sources of food, rural residents are less well fed than their counterparts in the cities and towns. Subsistence

FIGURE 18. Per capita daily intake of calories and proteins, by item of consumption, 1966 (U/OU)

	CALORIES		PROTEINS	
	Number	Percent of total	Grams	Percent of total
Cereals.....	1,484	66.8	39.8	70.1
Sugar.....	291	13.1	0.2	0.4
Fats and oils.....	155	7.0	Insig	Insig
Vegetables (other than tubers).....	118	5.3	7.9	13.9
Meats.....	81	3.7	5.1	8.9
Milk and milk products.....	45	2.0	2.3	4.0
Fruits.....	25	1.1	0.4	0.7
Tubers.....	13	0.6	0.2	0.4
Eggs.....	7	0.3	0.5	0.9
Fish.....	2	0.1	0.4	0.7
Total.....	2,221	100.0	56.8	100.0

farmers in the west central highlands are the most disadvantaged. The diet of the townspeople of the region also compares unfavorably with that of urban dwellers in other regions.

For many Guatemalans nutritional deficiencies are so great as to affect the ability to lead a normal life. In extreme cases, death results from diseases directly related to nutritional insufficiency. Over 1,300 deaths from vitamin-deficiency and related diseases occurred in 1968. The most serious consequences of the generally poor diet are seen in children aged 1 to 5, the age group in which severe malnutrition occurs most often. In its most extreme form, child malnutrition leads to multiple deficiency diseases similar to the kwashiorkor found in Asia and Africa and characterized by edema, skin and hair changes, anemia, and retarded growth and development. Victims usually die unless treatment is given, and in Guatemala death is often precipitated by the popular notion that a liquid diet will aid recovery. Even if a child survives the disease, growth retardation may be such that he never makes up for losses incurred during the crucial first 4 years of life.

Government, private, and international agencies have joined in a many-faceted effort to improve nutritional levels. The Nutritional Institute of Central America and Panama (INCAP), carrying on programs in research, education, and applied nutrition, has probably made the greatest impact. One of its major contributions has been the development of a low-cost dietary supplement known as *Incaparina*, a high protein food made from corn, cottonseed meal, and other local products fortified with vitamins and minerals. When cooked with water, *Incaparina* becomes a dish of gruel consistency resembling the widely consumed *atole*. At a cost of 4 centavos per four-serving packet, it provides protein and vitamins equal to that contained in fresh milk. INCAP has also attempted to establish standard diets, based on available local foods, which can meet minimal nutritional demands at low cost. Other activities sponsored by INCAP have included pilot programs in nutritional education in government health centers and publication of a series of pamphlets for homemakers. To combat the dearth of professionals in the field, the organization initiated university-level courses for dietitians and nutritionists at the University of San Carlos in 1966. In addition, it works with private groups in promoting an awareness of nutritional problems.

Other international agencies providing assistance include the United Nations Children's Fund, CARE, and Catholic Relief Services, which have combined to

establish feeding programs in schools and health centers, largely through the provision of U.S. Food for Peace commodities. Under a law passed in 1971, moreover, all public and private schools are required to establish such programs. The school lunches generally consist of hot soup, rolls, and fruit and are frequently accompanied by practical lessons in nutrition. Problems in enlisting community support for transporting, storing, and preparing foods have been encountered in some areas, however. Many schools, furthermore, cannot afford to establish the necessary kitchen facilities for preparing lunches, and few of the poorest children are able to make the small monetary contributions needed to cover local costs.

4. Medical personnel and facilities

Human and material resources to combat disease are inadequate in terms of numbers, distribution, and quality. In 1970 medical personnel per 10,000 population numbered as follows:

Physicians	2.5
Dentists	4
Graduate nurses	1.5
Auxiliary nurses	5.2
Laboratory technicians	3

Because of substandard facilities and difficult living conditions, few medical and paramedical personnel chose to work in rural areas. As a result, medical manpower is concentrated in urban centers, particularly Guatemala City, where an estimated 80% of all physicians in the country practice. Several attempts have been made to establish compulsory medical service in rural areas for medical students or interns, but not until 1971 did the University of San Carlos initiate such a program.

The shortage of doctors is such that only Honduras, El Salvador, and Haiti in Latin America have fewer physicians in proportion to their population. Moreover, no more than 50 doctors are graduated annually from Guatemala's one medical school, the Faculty of Medical Sciences at the University of San Carlos, although at least 1,000 doctors will be needed in the next decade merely to maintain the 1970 ratio of physicians to population. Paramedical personnel will probably continue to play a major role in providing health care to the population.

Paramedical personnel are trained in two nursing schools, a school for auxiliary nurses, a school of dietetics and nutrition, a pharmacy school, and a public health training center. Rural health centers, in addition, provide some training in environmental sanitation, health education, disease control, and

midwifery. There is a severe shortage of nurses, and many trained in the profession do not practice. The shortage is partially alleviated through the use of nurses' aides. In Indian areas, many of the midwives, mostly elderly women (Figure 19), also receive some training as auxiliary nurses.

Almost all hospitals are located in urban areas. More than half of the 13,003 hospital beds available for use in 1970 were located in the Department of Guatemala, and specifically in the capital, where the General Hospital alone accounted for over 10% of all beds and for more than 15% of all hospitalizations in the country. The number of hospital beds has increased considerably since the early 1950's, resulting in a ratio of 2.5 beds per 1,000 inhabitants in 1970.

In an effort to provide medical care to a larger proportion of the population, the Ministry of Public Health and Social Work has been promoting regional outpatient facilities. In 1971 some 70 health centers and well over 100 health posts, some staffed only by a nurse or midwife, offered at least elementary medical care. Supplementing the health centers and health posts in rural areas are several AID-sponsored mobile units, usually staffed by a doctor, a nurse, and a chauffeur-assistant. These units provide immunizations, examinations, emergency medical treatment, and health education programs.

Among the factors hindering effective health care is a severe shortage of pharmaceuticals and medical equipment. Most must be imported, and there is little stockpiling. In addition to the shortages, the high cost of drugs prevents many persons from obtaining proper medication. A step toward alleviating this situation



FIGURE 19. "Granny midwives" displaying certificates and supply bags after graduation from a public health school in Chimaltenango (U/OU)

was taken in January 1970 with the opening of the first of a series of state-owned pharmacies selling drugs at cost.

A comprehensive effort to improve medical care in the countryside was initiated late in 1971 when AID agreed to loan the government \$2.5 million as part of a \$6 million Rural Health Program. According to the program, health posts will be established in each of the 325 *municipios* through a cooperative effort in which the community would contribute land, labor, or cash for the facility; staffing and equipment would be provided by the Ministry of Public Health and Social Work. The posts would be manned by rural health technicians trained in administration, health care, and biomedical equipment maintenance. The plan also calls for the establishment of a training school for technicians in Quirigua. In addition, all posts would be linked by radio to larger health centers and to regional hospitals for reference purposes, ordering of supplies, and rapid notification of epidemics.

G. Religion (C)

Roman Catholicism is the dominant religion, although the proportion of the population claiming adherence to the church has been declining and probably did not exceed 90% at the beginning of 1972. For most Guatemalan Catholics, moreover, religion is largely a formality; few fully comprehend or practice the teachings of the church. Yet Catholicism, a major element in the Hispanic cultural heritage, continues to shape Ladino values and attitudes to a significant degree, while the syncretic folk Catholic religion of the Indian permeates almost every aspect of his daily life. Protestants, known as *evangelicos* in Guatemala, constitute about 3% of the population, two-thirds of all adherents being Ladinos; those professing no religious affiliation comprise about 7% of the people.

1. Roman Catholic Church

Christianity was introduced by Roman Catholic priests who accompanied the Spanish conquerors. Despite early efforts to instill Catholic doctrine, aboriginal practices continued in most areas. Too few priests were available to impart sustained, effective instruction in the faith, and the rugged topography further limited missionary attempts to Christianize isolated areas. Moreover, the existence of somewhat similar elements in both the aboriginal and the Christian religions caused considerable intermingling of the two in the Indian mind.

For the most part, pre-Columbian beliefs and practices still extant today relate to the agricultural

cycle and to healing and divination practiced by the shaman. Among the Mayan gods associated with the cultivation cycle and still revered by the Indians are the rain and wind gods and the sun and moon deities. Healing rituals vary but usually involve an appeal to special gods, often performed in one of the many outdoor shrines found throughout the country, and the use of herb remedies. Divination usually occurs in conjunction with the interpretation of the sacred Mayan calendar, as a particular god is believed to control each day. Only the shaman knows how to use the calendar, his knowledge being a closely guarded secret handed down only to chosen individuals. The shaman is usually consulted for such purposes as ascertaining the cause of illness or bad fortune, or determining the propitious time for traveling or planting and harvesting. Some shamans who specialize in malevolent powers are believed to cause bodily harm or death to the enemies of their clients.

In addition to these and other purely indigenous components of their faith, Indian religion is characterized by many Christian elements, some adapted to Indian beliefs. For example, Christian religious figures such as Christ and the Virgin are confused with pre-Columbian deities; in addition to its Christian meaning, the cross is believed to represent the four sacred directions; baptism is associated with the Indian concept of "holy rain." Indians, moreover, tend to worship the images of Christian saints. Every community has its special patron saint represented by an image kept in the church and cared for by the *cofradia*, or local Indian brotherhood, which is in charge of certain religious activities. Dressed in robes, the figure is carried in fiesta processions along with images of the Holy Family.

Syncretic beliefs and practices vary widely from one locality to another. In some *municipios*, such as San Juan Ixcay in Huehuetenango Department, aboriginal beliefs predominate, while in others the efforts of local priests and catechists have done much to eliminate animist elements. Whatever the degree of intermixture, however, the Indians do not recognize the dual nature of their faith and consider it to be one religion. Despite continued adherence to aboriginal beliefs and practices, moreover, the local Catholic church is always considered the center of religious faith.

As a group, Ladinos observe more conventional forms of Catholicism. Urban Ladinos, particularly members of the middle and upper classes, are more orthodox than rural Ladinos, whose Catholicism has been described as an "illiterate, popular Christianity," containing many pre-Columbian elements.

Ladino practices associated with religion include participation in the public fiestas, which involve most of the community, and in private ceremonies, limited to the family and close friends. Major fiestas honoring the town's patron saint or celebrating holy days usually feature elaborate displays of pageantry. The Good Friday procession in Antigua Guatemala, for instance, is said to rival that of Seville. Hundreds of worshipers dressed in biblical costumes take part, and numerous floats are decorated with flowers and Christian images. In general, fiestas are organized by men from prominent families or by committees appointed by the municipality. Where Indians are found in significant numbers, however, they arrange the fiesta, and the Ladinos celebrate separately, sometimes on another day. Although the typical Ladino fiesta has sacred aspects, it is predominantly secular.

Private religious ceremonies, important vehicles of social contact in Ladino circles, consist mainly of baptism and wedding celebrations and novenas. Baptism takes place as early as possible after a child's birth, depending on the availability of a priest. Confirmation is less common, as it depends on the visit of a bishop, who is rarely able to accommodate the numbers waiting to be confirmed. Novenas are celebrated in private homes, largely by women, and in some towns they assume the character of social events. At intervals, prayers are offered before the small altar found in Ladino homes of every social and economic level. When death occurs, the novena serves a function similar to that of a prolonged wake.

Ladino men usually participate in religious activities only during times of personal or community crisis or on special feast days. In fact, practically all lay assistance to the church on the part of Ladinos comes from women, especially those of the upper class, who place great emphasis on the formal aspects of Catholicism and regularly take part in church rites and special observances. In families in transition from Indian society, however, there is more participation by men.

Pilgrimages, although generally thought of as an Indian religious practice, are probably made more frequently by Ladinos. Usually traveling by bus, pilgrims visit numerous shrines in Guatemala and several in neighboring El Salvador and Honduras. The shrine of the Black Christ at Esquipulas, by far the most important center of pilgrimage in Guatemala, draws visitors from Mexico and other countries in Central America as well as from all parts of Guatemala. From late December until after Easter the shrine is filled with worshipers.

Although the church was a strong social and political force during colonial times, it was stripped of much of its wealth and privilege in the 19th century, when anticlericalism became the dominant theme of church-state relations. As a result, the church has tended to be poorer and less influential politically than in much of the rest of Latin America. During the first anticlerical period, from 1829 to 1839, the Archbishop of Guatemala City and a number of priests were expelled, monastic orders were abolished, the government assumed the right to appoint church officials and to confiscate church property, civil marriage was made obligatory, divorce was legalized, and cemeteries were secularized. In 1839 the church was largely restored to its former position, and in 1852 Guatemala became the first Latin American country to sign a concordat with the Vatican. By 1871, however, severe restrictions, most of which continued well into the 1940's, were reinstated. In addition to the confiscation of all church property and the denial of juridical personality to the church, monastic orders were once again barred and all foreign-born priests deported. The church remained in the background, gave tacit support to the government, and its hierarchy identified almost exclusively with conservative elements. In rural areas the influence of the church was further weakened as laymen took charge of religious practices in the absence of clergy.

Church-state tensions rose in the 1945-54 period, despite vigorous attempts by the Arevalo administration to dispel an antichurch image. Although the priesthood generally favored the social reforms advocated by President Arevalo, the church became increasingly concerned over the presidential candidacy of Jacobo Arbenz in 1950, and after Arbenz was elected, church opposition to his administration grew as its Communist orientation became more apparent.

With Arbenz' overthrow, prominent Catholics, including a number of priests, were allowed to participate in the drafting of a new constitution. Although the document (and its 1966 replacement) did not reestablish Catholicism as the exclusive religion, it conferred on the church a number of rights not enjoyed in years. The church was granted a juridical personality, was allowed once more to acquire and possess property (although only for religious, educational, or charitable uses), and was permitted to provide Catholic education in church schools and to offer instruction in religion in public schools. Priests were given the right to officiate in marriages, but divorce remained legal. No restoration

or indemnification for confiscated church property was made, however.

Since 1954, the church has improved its position somewhat, despite the general anticlerical tenor of official policies. Although as an institution it continues to reflect the basic conservatism of Guatemalan society, increasing numbers of clergy and laity are advocating a more active role in political and social affairs. For a number of years, for example, the church has refused to commemorate the victory of Castillo Armas in 1954, thereby engendering the antagonism of the National Liberation Movement (MLN), the political party founded by Castillo Armas. In 1968, three Maryknoll missionaries were expelled from the country by their superiors for involvement with guerrilla groups in a highly publicized affair which, although an isolated incident, adversely affected the church's position vis-a-vis the government. In late 1970, moreover, two foreign clergymen, one a Catholic priest and the other an Episcopalian bishop, were also expelled, this time by the government, for having signed a petition condemning violence as evidence of moral depravity and requesting an end to the state of seige then in force. (Both foreigners and religious personnel are prohibited by law from participating in politics.) Cardinal Mario Casariego has evinced some sympathy for both leftwing and rightwing political factions and has attempted to moderate the excesses of both. His kidnapping in February 1968, reportedly by rightists, gained international attention, although he was released unharmed after 4 days.

Activities of the church in the social field have also resulted in friction between the hierarchy and the administration. In 1967, for example, the primate issued a pastoral letter which reiterated the precepts contained in the papal encyclical *Populorum Progressio*, generally considered the most progressive of recent papal pronouncements on social doctrine. Calling for "massive social reform," he denounced the "tremendously unjust and unbalanced" distribution of wealth, citing inequitable landholding patterns and antiquated farm hiring practices. In matters of social reform, the hierarchy has tended to follow the lead of the Vatican and has also been influenced to some degree by other Latin American bishops, particularly through participation in the Latin American Episcopal Committee, a leading force in restoring a dynamic character to the church.

Individual priests are outspoken in their concern for social action, but their number is small, and they are not as influential as their counterparts in some other Latin American countries. Among the most active

proponents of increased church involvement in social spheres are the Maryknoll missionaries. Spanish Jesuits at Rafael Landivar University, and the Bishop of Quezaltenango. In 1970, over 70 Maryknoll Fathers were active in four dioceses, plus more than 50 Maryknoll Sisters in the Huehuetenango area. In addition to usual missionary efforts, the Maryknollers have instituted credit unions, cooperatives, agricultural training programs, literacy courses, and numerous other projects which have contributed to the socioeconomic development of one of Guatemala's most isolated areas. As a complementary activity to their rural work, Maryknollers have introduced the *cusillo* among the urban well-to-do. This type of training program, designed to create awareness of the Christian layman's role in society, has been instrumental in modifying the conservative attitudes of many upper class Catholics in regard to social problems. In addition, Maryknoll nuns in the capital operate a prestigious school for girls.

Reform-minded priests are organized into the Confederation of Diocesan Priests of Guatemala, but this entity has not yet demonstrated much effectiveness. Reform elements were instrumental, however, in organizing the celebration of National Pastoral Week, held in late 1968, when over 1,000 clergy and laymen gathered for the first in-depth analysis ever made of the church's role in contemporary Guatemalan society.

The church is organized in the traditional episcopal manner. Under the authority of the Archdiocese of Guatemala, created in 1534, are eight suffragan dioceses, and two prelatures, one encompassing the shrine at Esquipulas. In addition, there are two apostolic administrations under the jurisdiction of the Vatican. The Cardinal Archbishop of Guatemala City is aided within the archdiocese by three auxiliary bishops; two other auxiliary bishops are assigned to the dioceses of Huehuetenango and San Marcos. Completing the 26-man hierarchy are eight resident bishops, 10 vicars general, and two apostolic administrators.

Most of the suffragan jurisdictions were established by the Vatican after 1950 in order to reduce the power of the archbishop and to strengthen local administration of areas outside the capital. Long characterized by the centralization of authority, the church has begun to experience a broadening of decisionmaking power. On controversial matters, however, the bishops invariably function within the framework of universal church policy as dictated by the Vatican through its nuncio. If a conflict arises over a purely local matter, the archbishop normally prevails over the nuncio. By

and large, the laity have little influence in the formulation of diocesan policy. In the Huehuetenango Diocese, however, because of the intermediary role played by the catechists and the department's isolation from the capital, the bishop usually responds to local needs as articulated by the laity.

As of 1970, there were 352 parishes, more than twice the number existing 10 years previously. The average number of parishioners per parish was still approximately 15,000 in 1970, or more than six times the ratio in the United States. Many parishes in rural areas cover vast expanses of territory, parts of which can be reached only by foot or on horseback.

According to official church statistics for 1970, there were 608 priests, almost half of whom were serving in the archdiocese. Although the 1970 figure represents a sizable increase over the 160 priests active in 1952, a serious shortage of ordained clergy continues to restrict church activities. The 1970 ratio of roughly one priest per 10,000 inhabitants was higher than that in any other Latin American country. Only 81 seminarians, moreover, were training to be priests, largely because few young men possess qualifications for, and interest in, church service. Some parishes have no resident priest, and hundreds of chapels in villages and hamlets are served by a priest no more than once a year. In these places, Indians may regard the shaman as a substitute for the priest.

Prior to 1943, most of the clergy were secular, or diocesan, priests. Following the subsequent influx of foreign clergy, this ratio was reversed, so that by 1970 more than two-thirds of the priests were members of religious orders, including the Maryknollers, the largest group. Jesuits, Benedictines, Franciscans, Lazarists, Marists, Redemptorists, Dominicans, Stigmatine Fathers, and representatives of several Spanish orders. Assisting the clergy in 1970 were 869 nuns and over 400 lay brothers, as well as numerous lay missionaries. Almost all U.S. church personnel in Guatemala, of whom there were 140 men and 165 women in 1968, are members of religious orders, principally the Maryknoll Order.

Foreign-born priests constitute approximately 80% of the total body of clergy, with Spaniards predominating, followed by Italians. U.S. Maryknoll priests alone accounted for 13% of all priests in 1970. Of the 13 bishops, only six are native Guatemalans. Cardinal Casariego and two other prelates are Spanish by birth, two bishops are Italians, and the two bishops from the Maryknoll Order are U.S. citizens. In addition, most lay brothers, nuns, and lay missionaries are of foreign extraction.

The presence of a large number of foreign priests has at times aroused resentment on the part of the native-born clergy, whose younger members in particular feel that foreigners play too prominent a role. Foreign-born priests are sometimes prone to regard the native clergy as poorly trained and as more interested in maintaining external appearances than in ministering to the needs of their parishioners.

In 1970 the church operated 93 charitable institutions and 171 schools; the number of schools was more than double that in 1960 but was small compared with that of most Latin American countries. The Maryknoll Order has also trained a number of lay catechists to work among the Indians. Catechists have made a considerable impact in many rural communities, particularly in bringing religious beliefs and practices more in line with Catholic norms. In some areas, however, attempts to modify traditional forms of religious expression have met with strong opposition from entrenched *cafandus*, demonstrating the tenacity with which Indian society defends its customs. In some cases, enraged Indians have driven priests or catechists from their villages and rebuilt destroyed images used in syncretic rites. In addition, lay members of reform groups, such as Catholic Action and the Third Order of St. Francis, work in both urban and rural areas. Through home visits and study groups, these laymen attempt to purify Christian doctrine by emphasizing simple ritual and daily prayer in place of fiesta celebrations. In doing so, they run the risk of antagonizing friends and neighbors, who sometimes refuse to enter a church when the reform advocates are worshipping.

2. Protestant churches and other groups

In 1967, the Protestant community was divided among 18 different denominations, the largest of which were the following:

	COMMUNICANT MEMBERS	TOTAL COMMUNITY
National Evangelical Presbyterian		
Church of Guatemala	8,300	21,500
Friends Church	7,000	12,000
Church of God	6,900	11,000
Assemblies of God	6,800	27,700
Evangelical Church	6,600	22,000
Seventh-day Adventist Church	5,300	15,800

All together, the Protestant community comprises no more than 150,000 persons, or about 3% of the total population. Protestants are found in all parts of the country but are proportionately most numerous in the departments of Izabal and Zacapa, where they constitute about 7% of the population.

Protestants first entered Guatemala in 1842, but missionary endeavors were confined to European settlements until the early 1880's. Since that time, the number of Protestant groups has gradually increased, the larger, traditional denominations operating in rural areas and among middle- and upper-income urban groups, and the Pentecostal sects working in low-income urban areas. Almost all Protestant groups are associated with and financed by a parent organization in the United States or the United Kingdom, but at least two have been reorganized as independent, national churches. Although encompassing a community smaller than that of the Assemblies of God, the Evangelical Church is the strongest Protestant group in Guatemala, while the National Evangelical Presbyterian Church is the oldest and the first to become national. The Pentecostal churches, however, are experiencing the fastest rate of growth, largely because of their aggressive evangelism.

Protestantism has made its greatest inroads in small towns and in low-income urban areas, where Protestant groups offer a substitute community to recent migrants from rural districts. These groups, generally small, provide opportunities for establishing new social relationships. Converts, however, sometimes leave the church after having established themselves in the new environment. Attitudes among Protestants range from moderately liberal to traditional but, for the most part, Protestant missionaries are not engaged in socioeconomic experiments to the extent of their Catholic counterparts. An exception would be the Episcopal Mission on Lago de Izabal, which is promoting activities similar to those undertaken by Maryknollers in Huehuetenango. Most Protestant churches, however, support educational, health, and social welfare facilities serving both Ladinos and Indians.

While instances of local discrimination exist, Protestants have generally been allowed to practice their religion in accordance with constitutional provisions guaranteeing freedom of worship. Relations between the Catholic Church and the Protestant denominations have not always been smooth, however. The ecumenical revolution of the 1960's has to some degree modified the former rather harsh attitude of Catholic clergy toward Protestant missionaries, and certain priests have made individual efforts at accommodation. On the whole, however, the Catholic hierarchy considers Protestantism a serious threat to its interests, and Guatemalan prelates have joined with those from other Central American countries in efforts to combat Protestant influence.

The greatest ill-feeling, however, has not been between Catholics and Protestants but between different Protestant groups, each vying for dominance. Most Protestant churches operate independently of one another, although in a few instances facilities may be shared. The *Alianza Evangelica de Guatemala*, formed in 1953, is a joint endeavor of the traditional denominations but does not encompass the fundamentalist sects.

Jews have been resident in Guatemala since the late 19th century. Although the Jewish community numbered 329 members at the time of the 1950 census, it has since grown to an estimated 1,500 persons in 1970. Nearly all Jews live in the capital, the site of an orthodox synagogue.

The number of Guatemalans claiming no religion has been rising steadily in the 20th century, particularly since 1950. As of 1969, perhaps 7% of the population claimed no religious affiliation. Many of these persons live in the Department of Guatemala, chiefly in Guatemala City.

II. Education (U/OU)

Education has made a very limited contribution to the creation of a unified, modern society, despite significant improvements in the educational system during the past quarter-century. What has been described as the "ultimate in formalized and sterile intellectualism" permeates education, hindering efforts to tailor the system to the needs of the country. Primary and secondary education are still dominated by traditional theories and practices which emphasize encyclopedic learning and the superficial aspects of culture, while higher education concentrates on the liberal arts and on certain prestigious fields at the expense of the technical specialties that are a requisite for national development.

1. The people and education

Intellectual life is limited to a small minority, which has exhibited little interest in providing instruction for the masses. This minority has generally accepted the traditional Latin American concept that education is an adjunct to social status rather than a means for mobilizing human resources. Upper class families have customarily patronized private schools or sent their children abroad to be educated, and the middle sectors, often the bulwark of public education, have been too weak and disorganized to promote a system to serve all of the people. Despite major deficiencies in the educational system, most urban Guatemalans recognize that education is the primary means for

breaking out of the cycle of poverty. During nationwide tours in 1971 and 1972, President Arana was besieged by requests for more and better schools.

The Indians, for their part, have taken little interest in acquiring a formal education beyond that necessary to deal with Ladino society. Formal schooling is alien to the Indian's way of life; consequently, many remain in school only long enough to learn how to write their names and to count. For centuries, Indian children have been taught practical skills and cultural values by observing their elders, who feel that a boy should learn to plant and harvest, and a girl to cook, weave, and perform other household tasks. The content and methods of an educational system developed by and for people with different values are seen as conflicting with Indian tradition.

The educational system as a whole is Ladino-oriented, reflecting the deep cultural divisions in society. Spanish is the language of instruction, and no provision is made for teaching Indians in their own languages. On the contrary, considerable importance has been attached to the *castellanizacion* program, designed to give preschool Indian children a basic comprehension of Spanish; during 1969, over 29,000 children were enrolled in the program. Without a working knowledge of Spanish, Indian children are seriously disadvantaged. Moreover, in schools attended by both Ladinos and Indians, the latter generally encounter considerable discrimination. Because it is easier to work with Ladino children, teachers, who are themselves invariably Ladinos, tend to give them a disproportionate amount of attention, thus compounding the disadvantage of the Indian pupils. Ladino pupils are also favored over their Indian counterparts in any extracurricular activities. Many children of migrant Indian laborers suffer because their studies are interrupted, or even curtailed, by seasonal migrations.

Guatemala has the lowest level of literacy in Central America and one of the lowest among all the countries of Latin America, literacy being defined as the ability to read and write a simple paragraph in any language. According to the 1964 census, the literacy rate for the population age 7 and over was 37% (having risen from 28% in 1950), but the rate varied considerably between groups, as follows:

Urban ...	63		Male ..	42		Ladino ...	55
Rural ...	22		Female .	32		Indian ...	15

In 1964, the average Guatemalan age 7 and over had attended school for 1.2 years, a level of education implying a lack of functional literacy. Nevertheless, overall educational attainment showed modest

FIGURE 20. Educational attainment, by urban-rural residence, sex, and ethnic group, 1964 (U/OU)
(Percent of population age 7 and over)

LEVEL OF ATTAINMENT	URBAN	RURAL	MALE	FEMALE	LADINO	INDIAN	TOTAL POPULATION
None.....	41.7	81.6	63.8	71.6	51.4	89.2	67.7
Primary*.....	48.5	18.1	32.3	25.1	42.2	10.7	28.6
Secondary*.....	8.6	0.3	3.2	3.1	5.6	0.1	3.2
Higher*.....	1.2	Insig	0.7	0.2	0.8	Insig	0.4

*1 or more years completed.

improvement during 1950-64. As in the case of literacy, educational attainment varies according to group (Figure 20). The 1964 census revealed that less than 20% of the rural population had ever attended school, and almost all of those with any schooling above the primary level lived in urban centers. The Indians were shown to be particularly disadvantaged. In 10 of the departments, more than 90% of the Indians had no schooling. Of the 1,367,620 Indians age 7 and over, only 1,320 had attended a secondary school and only 40 had any university training.

Because of the low levels of educational attainment, individuals having more than a primary education are regarded as privileged, particularly in rural districts. Thus, the secondary school graduate, or *bachiller*, is likely to exert considerable influence within the local community. Some university students attempt to influence the shaping of national policy. The nature of their involvement varies from a simple expression of opposition to the government to mass demonstrations and strikes. University students had a significant part in the overthrow of Jorge Ubico in 1944, provided much of the backing for the revolutionary regimes of Areyvalo and Arbenz, and formed a substantial segment of the leftist guerrilla movement in succeeding years. Militant students act as the urban arm of leftist terrorist elements operating in rural areas, arranging for food, medical supplies, and arms; law students often serve as defense counsel for political detainees.

Secure in the knowledge that the hard core of activists comprises a small minority of the university student body, and aware of the admiration in which the students are held by the largely illiterate population, most administrations seek to avoid confrontation with the students. Operating through student organizations attached to the various university faculties, the activists vie for the support of the uncommitted majority of students, many of whom attend classes only in the evening. As of the early 1970's, the principal student entities, all of them

operating within the University of San Carlos in Guatemala City, the nation's leading institution of higher learning, were the University Revolutionary Front (FRU), the Social-Christian Student Front (FESC), and the PR-sponsored Revolutionary Youth. The Marxist FRU, together with several smaller far-left groups, has traditionally dominated the Association of University Students (AEU), which functions as the student governing body at the University of San Carlos. The FESC, however, had made increasing gains since the mid-1960's and appears to be growing at a faster rate than its rivals. Perhaps as a result of the diminution in the FRU's influence, student political activity had decreased markedly by the early 1970's. Furthermore, the AEU was being pressured by nonactivists to confine its activities to the realm of legitimate academic problems. Student organizations at four small, private universities, all established since 1962, are enjoined from engaging in partisan activities.

2. Educational system

The education system comprises four levels: preprimary, primary, secondary, and higher. Both public and private facilities operate at all levels. Preprimary schooling, regarded by some observers as the most efficient level of the educational system, is confined to urban centers. Primary education theoretically encompasses 6 years of training, but rural primary schools usually offer only the first two or three grades. Secondary education has two major divisions: a first cycle consisting of 3 years of basic, or general, instruction, and a second, so-called diversified cycle, in which students choose among five different specialties. Several specialized schools of a non-university character at the postsecondary level offer training in such fields as social service, nursing, domestic science, preprimary teaching, and diplomacy. University education is available in the 10 faculties of the University of San Carlos, a state-

supported institution, and in four private universities offering a more limited number of specialties. In 1970, about 82% of the nation's university students attended San Carlos. The largest private institution of higher learning, Rafael Landiver University, is based in the capital and offers extension programs in three other cities; in 1970 it was attended by nearly 13% of all university students. The remaining private universities, Mariano Galvez University, University of the Valley, and Francisco Marroquin University (founded early in 1972), are also located in the capital; all have small enrollments.

In addition to the regular educational system, specialized adult education courses provide basic literacy training in Spanish. Such training is carried on mainly through a network of centers administered by the Ministry of Public Education, with assistance from the armed forces. Despite a substantial effort over many years, little progress appears to have been made. Handicaps include general indifference, the dispersed settlement pattern in many areas, and the language problem, compounded by ineffective teaching methods. Unfamiliarity with the Spanish language results in a high dropout rate among Indians.

Adult education designed to improve the skills of workers exists on a very limited scale, hampered by a lack of facilities and qualified instructors. The industrial training centers which are attached to some urban primary schools are open to adults, and some industrial concerns sponsor short courses to train their workers in needed skills. A few send selected workers to the Vocational Technical Institute for special training courses, but employers are generally reluctant to pay for courses for employees or to give them time off to attend classes.

In the regular educational system, the law permits some variation in the school calendar to take into account climatic or economic factors, such as the planting and harvesting cycle in rural areas. Most schools are in session from 2 January to 31 October, operating 5½ days a week.

The traditional method of instruction by rote, with little emphasis on comprehension, is used in both urban and rural schools. Teaching methodology based on learning by doing, problem solving, or independent thinking is rarely employed. Often lacking books, students are not assigned homework, so that learning is largely restricted to the classroom. Until recent years, moreover, the primary school curriculums included considerable subject matter beyond the capability of the students. The curriculums now in use represent an effort to correct this situation and to make primary

education more relevant to the needs of the children being taught.

Beset by an unwieldy, inefficient structure, a severe shortage of laboratory and library facilities, and outdated curriculums, the University of San Carlos does not inspire enthusiasm in those students who are seeking innovative solutions to the country's problems. Traditionally, education in its various faculties has been carried on in such an isolated and restrictive manner that the students in any one discipline have acquired a very limited outlook and a decidedly incomplete view of the society which they are expected to serve. Teaching methods are anachronistic, with little discussion or critical evaluation of the material presented in lectures. Almost all students and faculty are part-time, many of them working elsewhere during the day. Because of financial pressures, interruptions in the course of study, and a high rate of failure in exams, the average length of time taken to complete a program of professional study is 13 years.

School enrollment is heavily weighted in the lower grades, with almost three-fourths of all students being concentrated in the first three grades of the primary level. In 1969, 40% of the total primary enrollment was concentrated in the first grade alone. More than 80% of all pupils who enter primary education fail to complete the full 6-year program. Similarly, attrition rates are high in secondary education, where more than three-fourths of the pupils who enroll in the first year fail to complete their studies in either the academic or the vocational programs. Few secondary students, in fact, progress beyond the basic cycle, which contains over two-thirds of the total secondary enrollment. The poor university retention rate is manifested in the small number of graduates. Only 283 students obtained university degrees in 1969; the figure was, however, nearly double that recorded annually during the decade of the 1950's.

Because of expansion in school facilities since the mid-1950's, the proportion of school-age children enrolled in educational institutions has increased substantially. Among youngsters in the 7-14 age group, the proportion of those enrolled in school rose from 34.8% in 1956 to 44.2% in 1968; by 1975, it is anticipated that 57.0% of all children in that age group will be enrolled. Nonetheless, because of the rapid growth in the school-age population, the number of children not attending school has continued to increase; by 1975, it is estimated that the number of youngsters age 7-14 not enrolled in schools will reach 570,000.

FIGURE 21. Enrollment, by type of school (U/OU)

	1959			1969		
	Public	Private	Total	Public	Private	Total
Preprimary.....	13,273	3,948	17,221	15,012	6,509	21,521
Primary.....						
Urban.....	143,377	31,282	174,659	233,068	46,513	279,581
Rural.....	85,268	22,023	107,291	204,730	33,738	238,468
Total primary.....	228,645	53,305	281,950	437,798	80,251	518,049
Secondary.....	16,019	8,209	24,228	32,403	35,102	67,505
Industrial training centers attached to primary schools.....	2,626	0	2,626	2,983	0	2,983
All schools.....	260,563	65,462	326,025	488,196	121,862	610,058

Much of the expansion in school enrollments has occurred in the postprimary levels. Whereas primary school enrollment increased by nearly 84% during the years 1959-69, secondary enrollment rose by about 179% (Figure 21). In the latter year, girls comprised 43.7% of those enrolled in primary education and 41.2% of those in secondary education. In 1948, only about 2,000 students pursued university studies; by 1970, the nation's universities had a total enrollment of 15,125 students, nearly 20% of them women.

Physical accommodations throughout the school system are almost universally substandard, but they tend to be worse in public education, where emphasis has been placed on expanding the number of school plants rather than on renovating or improving existing ones. During the years 1959-69, the number of schools increased by 37%, with the most rapid expansion occurring at the preprimary and secondary levels, where increases of 63% and 97%, respectively, were recorded. In the latter year, the following schools were in operation:

	PUBLIC	PRIVATE	TOTAL
Preprimary.....	72	21	93
Primary:			
Urban.....	737	296	1,033
Rural.....	3,125	896	4,021
Secondary.....	75	293	368
Industrial training centers attached to primary schools ..	17	0	17
All schools.....	4,026	1,506	5,532

The worst conditions prevail in the rural schools, most of which are one-room structures. They are generally overcrowded, poorly lighted and ventilated, and completely lacking in sanitary facilities. Urban schools, although also overcrowded, are usually divided into separate classrooms and may have the

benefit of electric lighting and some sort of sanitary arrangements. School equipment is inadequate, and much of what is in use is primitive. Textbooks and other teaching aids, such as blackboards, charts, and maps, are scarce. Many pupils in rural schools must share textbooks. Schools in or near the capital are the best supplied. Some textbooks, school equipment, and teaching materials have been provided through AID and various international agencies.

While the inadequacy of school plants constitutes a basic obstacle to progress in education, the shortage of instructors is equally serious. Although the number of available teachers increased by about 600 per year during the 1960's, the growth in staff, particularly in public education, failed to overcome a longstanding teacher deficit, primarily because of the rapid increase in enrollment.

The highest pupil-teacher ratio in the educational system, 46:1, existed in the publicly operated rural primary schools; public urban schools at the preprimary and primary levels recorded the second highest ratio, 39:1 for both types.

A greater problem than the scarcity of instructors is the high proportion of poorly qualified teachers. Persons without pedagogical training are found in teaching posts at all levels, and a large number of teachers have had no education beyond the level at which they teach. Fewer than 1% of all secondary teachers hold a university degree, or baccalaureate, which theoretically is a requisite for teaching at that level. In an effort to raise the level of proficiency among uncertified primary instructors, evening courses and a summer training program have been offered.

The chronic shortage of qualified teachers derives in part from the fact that teaching holds little attraction as a profession. Teaching conditions are poor, particularly in rural areas. Few teachers care to remain

in the small rural schools; many commute to their jobs from the closest urban center, where they hope eventually to obtain positions. Salaries are low, and raises amounting to 20% of salary are given only at 5-year intervals. Finally, little prestige accrues to the profession. The average teacher is not regarded any more highly than any other literate person. Many teachers use teaching as a small step up the social ladder, leaving as soon as possible for more rewarding jobs.

Because they usually have smaller size classes and more textbooks and instructional materials, private urban schools are generally considered superior to the publicly operated facilities. Maintained as commercial or philanthropic ventures, the private institutions charge tuition fees and are attended largely by children of upper and middle class families. Many of these schools are operated under the auspices of the Catholic Church or by other religious groups. In rural areas, most of the privately operated primary schools are maintained by commercial plantations as required by law; except for those supported by the United Fruit Company, they are generally of inferior quality.

3. Government and education

A scarcity of financial resources, combined with an elitist tradition of educational privilege, effectively blocked attempts to reform education for more than a century after independence. The era of stagnation was broken in 1944 with the election of Juan Jose Arevalo, an educator, to the Presidency. Although some of the programs were motivated by political considerations, the period 1944-54 was notable for the expansion of schools and for the first serious effort to include Indians in the educational system and, in rural areas, to promote a curriculum better suited to local needs. After the fall of Arevalo's successor, Jacobo Arbenz, education languished for some 12 years, until the election of President Mendez Montenegro, whose administration devoted considerable attention to the problems of education. A progressive 5-year education plan was incorporated into the national development plan, and basic elements—which bear much similarity to concepts adopted under Arevalo—have been implemented by the Arana administration. Foremost attention is being given to rural education, through a network of regional schools intended to operate as teaching, administrative, and work centers, providing guidance to satellite schools in the surrounding area so that they might, in turn, become "functional" units in the communities they serve. Emphasizing the revision of curriculums so as to "take into account the diverse educational requirements of the country's major

cultural concentrations," the plan calls for the abandonment of some of the traditional academic subjects and methods of instruction and for the adoption of practical subjects. A related project calls for the establishment of pilot schools, where educators are encouraged to develop innovative curriculums suited to local needs; after a period of experimentation, curriculums may be introduced into the regional school system. In addition, a large number of single-grade schools are to be constructed in remote areas, and a so-called village education plan, comprising basic literacy training and instruction in farming methods for campesinos having no formal education, is to be launched in 1972.

Education is regulated by the 1966 Constitution and the 1965 Organic Law of National Education. According to these documents, the goals of education include personality development, physical and spiritual betterment, promotion of a sense of individual responsibility, stimulation of patriotism, and inculcation of respect for human rights. Public education is declared to be compulsory and uniform in organization, administration, and supervision. Few of the specific stipulations, however, are energetically implemented. Private schools are regulated by the state and are required to conform to government standards and to use prescribed courses of study.

The Ministry of Public Education is responsible for administering education below the university level. Hampered by a lack of funds and personnel, the ministry offers little opportunity for parents, teachers, and local boards to plan curriculums and activities according to community needs. With the exception of involving local rural communities in school construction, little has been done to overcome the problems wrought by overcentralization.

Public education is financed almost exclusively through central government revenues, with some aid from foreign and international sources. Efforts involving local participation in the task of school construction have also brought assistance from the private sector in the form of manpower and building materials. Since midcentury, educational expenditures have consistently represented the largest single item in the national budget, increasing from Q6.7 million in 1950 to Q47.3 million in 1972. As a proportion of the total budget, such expenditures have fluctuated from a low of 10.9% in 1958 to a high of 18.9% in 1972. Approximately 80% of all money spent on education goes to teachers' salaries. The primary level accounts for the bulk of expenditures, even though the average cost of educating a secondary school pupil is about four times higher.

The University of San Carlos is legally entitled to receive 2.5% of all ordinary public revenues; other sources of funds include tuition fees and income property owned by the university. No more than three-fourths of the university's annual budget derives from the government, however, in part because the institution usually fails to receive its rightful share from the state. A 10% annual increase in the university's operating budget, which totaled approximately Q5.5 million in 1971, is projected. More importantly, the development plan calls for the expenditure of Q30 million during the 1971-75 period for expanding the physical plant, acquiring new equipment, and hiring additional faculty members. Through these investments, government planners hope to stimulate a greater involvement on the part of the academic community in the problems of the nation's socioeconomic development.

Below the level of higher education, private schools, which in 1969 comprised about 27% of the total and accommodated 20% of all pupils, play a less important role than elsewhere in Central America. Nonetheless, enrollment in private secondary schools during the late 1960's surpassed that in public secondary facilities, although a decade earlier enrollment in public secondary education was nearly double that of the private sector. Major emphasis is being given under the development plan to the upgrading and expansion of public secondary schools so as to reestablish their primacy. Eight secondary schools are to be constructed in the national capital and nine in departmental capitals by 1975. The facilities planned for the national capital are to be situated away from the center of the city. While most secondary plants are presently concentrated so as to provide more opportunities to the children of lower income families.

I. Artistic and intellectual expression (U/OU)

Artistic and intellectual expression reflects both Indian and European influences. Although the culture of the Mayan Indians was in a state of decline at the time of the Spanish conquest, between approximately A.D. 300 and 900 it had attained a level surpassing that of most aboriginal peoples and evidencing a sense of esthetics rivaling that of Greece and Rome. Working within a simple Stone Age technology, the Mayas constructed impressive ceremonial centers characterized by wide avenues and tall pyramidal temples (Figure 22); interior walls were decorated with elaborate murals. The ruins of huge stone columns,

carved in bas-relief, are among the finest examples of Mayan sculpture.

Mayan writing, mainly in the form of pictographs but including some use of symbols to represent sounds, is found on monuments and pottery. Only three codices, large books of folded bark paper, survived the destruction of the Spanish conquest. Under the tutelage of missionaries, however, some Mayan works were later written down, among them *Popol Vuh*, a sacred book containing the cosmology of the Maya-Quiche people. In addition, the Mayas had a highly developed system of mathematics and of astronomy, and a calendar more advanced than that in use in Europe.

The folk art of present-day Guatemalans reflects Mayan artistic achievements only obscurely. Objects made for everyday use reveal an artistic sense of color and design, but few items are made for their esthetic value alone, as were many products of the highly sophisticated Mayan artisans. Native handicrafts best exemplify the Mayan tradition in art today. Textile weaving is probably the most highly developed of these, more than 500 different weaving techniques having been identified. Indian women still use the pre-Columbian backstrap loom (Figure 23) for weaving cloth, rugs, and blankets, many with stylized motifs dating back to Mayan times, but the foot or treadle loom is employed in small industry. Pottery is also produced in abundance, either by hand or with molds; the use of a potter's wheel is generally confined to Ladino artisans. Other handicrafts include the weaving of straw mats, baskets, and hats, the decoration of gourds, and the fashioning of masks and costumes for use in regional folk dances.

Prior to the mid-20th century the potential of the Indian cultural heritage was generally ignored. For most of the time between the conquest and independence, Spanish culture predominated. After independence, artistic and intellectual expression, which had flourished under the patronage of the church and Crown, largely declined. Although some influence on art was exerted by Mexican interpretive artists inspired by the 1910 Mexican Revolution, who emphasized Indian themes, it was not until the 1944-54 period that some Guatemalan artists and intellectuals seriously attempted to adopt new ideas and art forms stemming from abroad, while others began to stress indigenous subject matter that would be comprehensible to the populace at large. Since that time, most artists and writers, as well as architects and musicians, have continued to focus on the creation of authentic national expression while remaining open to international developments in the arts.

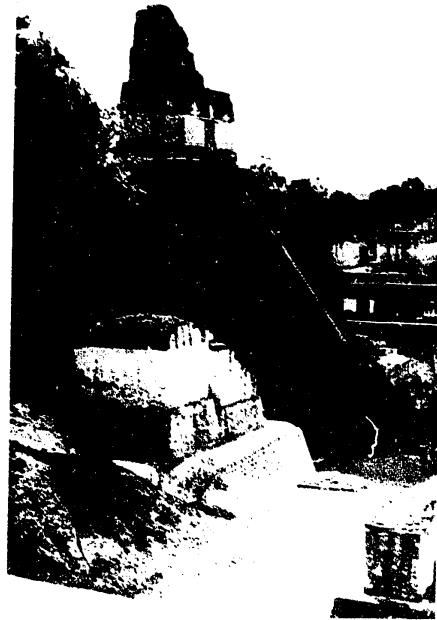


FIGURE 22. Ruins of the temple at Tikal, one of the largest structures built during the classic period of Mayan civilization (U/OU)

Despite a general reluctance on the part of the middle and upper classes to support artistic endeavor or to promote folk art, there are more full-time artists in the country than ever before. It remains difficult, however, to earn a living solely through artistic pursuits. Many artists work almost exclusively on commission or teach at one of the art schools. Few facilities, moreover, have been available for exhibiting paintings or sculpture; as late as 1971, there was only one private commercial gallery, located in Guatemala City. Since 1944 the government has fostered participation in foreign competitions and exhibitions. In addition, during the early 1960's, an attempt was made to encourage public interest in the arts through an annual Festival of the Arts, held in Antigua Guatemala. The custom was revived by the Arana administration in 1971 and is now known as the Permanent Festival of Culture. Unlike painters, sculptors, and musicians, the nation's writers and intellectuals have received almost no support from the

government, particularly following the overthrow of Arbenz in 1954, when large numbers left the country. Despite the difficulties faced by artists and writers, their works are admired by the educated segment of the population, and they enjoy considerable prestige.

During the colonial period (1524-1821) large religious paintings and realistic polychromed *santos* (statues of saints) commissioned by the church were the dominant forms of painting and sculpture. For the most part, colonial painting duplicated European works and was inferior to that produced in Mexico and in Peru. The carved wooden *santos*, on the other hand, were of such superior quality that many were exported. Among the colonial sculptors, Alonso de la Paz (1605-76) was the recognized master, although the statue of Saint Sebastian by Juan de Chavez is considered the finest single piece of sculpture.

Painting and sculpture stagnated in the decades following independence. With the church in a weakened state after its expropriation, commissions declined, and artists, with rare exceptions, found that



FIGURE 23. Backstrap loom, most commonly used by Indians for weaving household articles (U/OU)

wealthy individuals and the government were not so generous as patrons. Not until the late 19th century, when President Jose Maria Reina Barrios commissioned works for the beautification of the capital, was artistic activity revived, although few outstanding works were produced.

During the early 20th century, many artists, influenced by the Romantic Movement, turned to the depiction of local customs and manners, a mode of expression known as *costumbrismo*. One of the earliest painters in this school and still a leading influence in contemporary Guatemalan painting is Andres Curricheche, an Indian whose numerous works portray Indian customs from religious rituals to daily activities. Other *costumbrista* painters include Humberto Garavito (b. 1897), who has specialized in local scenes, and Alfredo Galvez Surez (1899-1946), who painted a mural in the National Palace. The paintings of Arturo Martinez (1912-56) depart somewhat from the *costumbrista* style, exhibiting a highly lyrical quality obtained in part through the use of delicate coloring conveying a dreamlike atmosphere. Perhaps the best *costumbrista* sculptor is Rodolfo Galeotti Torres (b. 1912), who has used Indians as models, later turning to Mayan gods and legendary figures as subject matter.

Guatemala's only 20th century artist with a solid international reputation is Carlos Merida (b. 1891). Although he has lived in Mexico since 1919 and spent much time in Europe at the beginning of the century, Merida was the first Guatemalan artist to incorporate indigenous themes, symbols, and motifs in abstract paintings. His works are replete with zoomorphic themes and triangular geometric elements reminiscent of Mayan art. Merida has exerted a strong influence on modern Guatemalan painting.

Several of the contemporary generation of painters have gained recognition during the past decade, among them Luis Diaz (b. 1939), Elmar Rojas (b. 1937), and Roberto Cabrera (b. 1939). Although most current painting tends to be increasingly abstract, some younger artists are emphasizing highly realistic and overtly political themes, such as a recent series of watercolors depicting the assassination of a political figure. Contemporary sculptors include Roberto Gonzalez Goyri (b. 1924), noted for his stylized stone figures in the manner of Mayan artifacts; Oscar Barrientos (b. 1924), who executes *avant-garde* works in metal; and Efraim Recinos (b. 1936), who specializes in architectural sculpture. Many contemporary artists are graduates of the National School of Plastic Arts and later studied abroad.

In recent decades, both painters and sculptors have received a number of government commissions. This trend toward using the works of native artists to adorn public buildings began during the construction of the National Palace, when sculptor Julio Urruela Vasquez (b. 1910), noted for his work in stained glass, directed a team of Guatemalan sculptors who integrated their work with that of the architects. More recent examples include the capital's Civic Center, a complex of strikingly modern buildings incorporating relief sculpture and decorative elements inspired by indigenous designs, and the glass-enclosed Municipal Building (1956), which contains a famous 3,800 square foot mosaic by Merida.

Because Guatemala was not as wealthy as Peru or Mexico, most early colonial architecture was rather austere. Churches doubled as fortresses, having thick exterior walls and bare interiors. In contrast, many late 17th century buildings incorporated elements of the baroque style. Antigua Guatemala, the capital from 1541 to 1775, contained some of the finest examples of Spanish architecture in the New World. More than 50 ornate churches were built, varying in size from small open structures to large edifices with three naves. During the 1700's, Antigua Guatemala suffered three major earthquakes, which destroyed some of its finest buildings, before the capital was moved to its present site. Outstanding structures include the cathedral (began in 1669), one of the purest examples of Spanish architecture in Latin America, the Church of La Merced (1750), the Old National Palace (1764), and the original building of the University of San Carlos, now the Colonial Museum.

In the new capital, neoclassicism, epitomized by the cathedral (1815), dominated architectural style. Vast building schemes were undertaken by a succession of presidents, beginning with Reina Barrios, who sought to make Guatemala City a "little Paris." In the 1940's, however, architects who had studied abroad began to develop an authentic Guatemalan architecture suited to local climatic conditions. As a result, modern urban construction reflects a blend of contemporary and indigenous design. Guatemala City, for example, contains modern steel and concrete buildings interspersed with Spanish colonial and neoclassic structures. Buildings reflect the Latin American penchant for integrating the visual arts into architecture. Because labor is cheap and building materials expensive, potentially artistic materials, such as mosaic, can be used as alternatives to preconstructed materials. This trend is exemplified in the capital's Civic Center and Municipal Building. Art and architecture are also integrated, but to a lesser degree,

in commercial and residential buildings, particularly in several modern apartment complexes designed by architect Carlos Moscoso.

Much of the literature produced during the early colonial period was written by Catholic missionaries. Among the most outstanding historical treatises was the famous *Brevísima relacion de la destruccion de las Indias* (Brief Story of the Destruction of the Indies), by the Dominican friar, Bartolome de las Casas (1474-1566). In addition, a number of works were written in Latin by members of the clergy, notably Rafael Landivar (1731-93). Missionaries also introduced the traditional Spanish *auto de fe*, designed to impart doctrine, to replace the pre-Columbian dramas which they suppressed as pagan. Certain elements of indigenous drama were retained, including popular language and some use of magic considered necessary to the Indian psyche, but the main figures represented were those of the traditional *auto*—the church, the devil, and death.

The 19th century was marked by new directions in literature. Essayists began to consider political and social problems. Antonio Jose de Irisarri (1786-1868) typified the literary figures of this era, having lived abroad for long periods and published voluminously on highly diverse subjects, including political polemics, verse, romantic novels, and articles on philology. Following independence, a number of treatises on colonial history appeared, together with partisan interpretations of the Central American independence movement. Alejandro Marure (1806-51) and Lorenzo Montufar (1823-98) representing the liberal viewpoint and Jose Milla y Vidaure (1822-82), the conservative. Milla y Vidaure, historian and novelist, produced what is probably the finest Central American prose of the 19th century. Editor of Guatemala's *Gazeta Oficial*, he traveled widely, serving as a diplomat during the regime of Rafael Carrera and writing on both foreign and local customs under the pseudonym of Salome Jil. *Historia de un pepe* (History of a Foundling) is probably the most renowned of all his works, and its main character, Juan Chapin, continues to typify the Guatemalan man in the street. For the most part, drama by Guatemalans did not fare well in competition with the more popular Spanish romantic plays, and during the dictatorships of the early 20th century, plays satirizing Guatemalan society and government were largely suppressed.

Guatemalan writers throughout the 20th century have covered a wide range of subjects but have generally emphasized social and political themes. In a

political novel, *La sombra de la Casa Blanca* (The Shadow of the White House), Maximo Soto Hall (1871-1944) was the first Guatemalan author to criticize U.S. involvement in Central America, while historian and anthropologist Jose Antonio Villacorte Calderon (b. 1879) was among the first to write realistically of Indian society. Although best known for his fantasies, Rafael Arevalo Martinez (b. 1884) later turned to criticism of the social structure. Other authors writing prior to World War II combined social protest with regionalism in novels and stories set in rural and coastal areas.

Not until the revolution of 1944, however, and the formation in 1946 of the Saker-Ti group (named after a greeting in the Cakchiquel language) did the realistic novel of social protest become dominant. Two authors best exemplify the socially committed writers of the revolutionary period, Luis Cardoza y Aragon (b. 1904) and Miguel Angel Asturias (b. 1899). Cardoza y Aragon, ambassador to the U.S.S.R. during the 1940's, was a major figure in promoting social realism and a leading member of Saker-Ti. The most famous of his works, *Guatemala, las lineas de su mano* (Guatemala, the Lines of Her Hand), published in 1955, evokes the complex social and cultural life of his native country in poetic language and imagery.

Asturias, Guatemala's most important 20th century author, has been described as giving "permanence and universality to values ignored or despised for a long time." Drawing heavily from Indian tradition and thought, he has been instrumental in the creation of a national culture through developing an appreciation for neglected aspects of Guatemalan society. Although his works may best be described as falling within the realm of social realism and are influenced by the Spanish picaresque novel in their descriptive force and depiction of cruelty in human relations, they are imbued with the magical overtones of Indian beliefs and customs. Winner of the Lenin Peace Prize in 1966 and the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1967, Asturias began writing in the 1920's and published his first major work, *Legendas de Guatemala*, based on Indian folklore, in 1930. His novels, beginning with *El señor presidente* in 1946, graphically portray the brutalization of society resulting from political and economic oppression. A trilogy written in the 1950's is directed against foreign-owned banana plantations, which he consistently attacked for exploiting the laborer and draining the agricultural wealth of the nation. *Mulata de tal* (Mulatto Woman), published in 1963, is suggestive of his early writings in its poetical evocation of the mythical world of the Indian.

As a result of the political events of 1954, a number of writers left Guatemala and established a "literature in exile." Many of their works are political diatribes. Perhaps the best known is ex-President Juan Jose Arevalo's *El tiburón y las sardinas* (The Shark and the Sardines), depicting the United States as the predator and the small, weak countries of Latin America as the victims. Other authors in exile include Guillermo Toriello (former Foreign Minister under Arbenz), Manuel Galich (presently assistant director of the *Casa de las Americas* in Havana), Raul Osegueda, Jaime Diaz Rossotto, and Mario Monteforte Toledo. The last-named author turned from earlier novels depicting the struggle between man and nature to the portrayal of social problems. For example, *Entre la piedra y la cruz* (Between the Stone and the Cross), published in 1948, is the story of an educated Indian forced to choose between two worlds. Monteforte Toledo is also the first native writer to produce a thorough sociological analysis of Guatemala. Other contemporary authors not belonging to the exile group include Adrian Recinos (1886-1962), who devoted much time to translating and interpreting Quiche and Cakchiquel manuscripts, and David Vela, a journalist and critic noted for literary history and biography.

New forms and subject matter, including Indian legends, social problems, and psychological themes, characterized mid-20th century drama, but the plays of several authors who have written over long periods of time, notably Asturias and Galich, cover a wide range from *costumbrismo* to social criticism. For the most part, the works of contemporary playwrights manifest the influence of international trends in the theater, with the notable exception of Carlos Solorzano, who emphasizes Guatemalan themes. Several groups perform both native and foreign works in Guatemala City, but because of the sporadic nature of interest in the theater, the country has no professional company. The formation of the *Arte Universitario* group under the direction of Roberto and Carlos Menco has helped to recruit and train needed performers.

Music and dance, so important in the cultural expression of pre-Columbian Indians, remain today, with the exception of certain handicrafts, the purest indigenous artistic forms. The Mayas and post-Mayas, like their counterparts in the high Andean countries, used the pentatonic scale, producing a music closely related to the sounds of nature and characterized by melancholy tones and marked pauses. Many native instruments have survived, among them a number of different wind and percussion instruments. The high-

pitched *chirimia* (Figure 24) is the most commonly used of the wind instruments. The national musical instrument, however, used by both Indians and Ladinos, is the marimba, a type of xylophone, with a keyboard of small wooden plates. The Guatemalan version of the marimba produces a deep resonant sound which distinguishes it from marimbas used in neighboring countries.

Ritual dance-dramas, formerly an integral part of Mayan religious ceremony, are still performed by Indians in various *municipios*, each region or language group having its preferred dances, usually with intricate choreography, special music, and elaborate rented costumes complete with carved wooden masks. In the spectacular dance of the *voladores* the performers swing from ropes attached to a rotating platform 50 feet high (Figure 25).

The missionaries who accompanied the Spanish conquerors introduced European music and instruments, teaching the Indians to copy music, to sing Gregorian chants, and to play Western instruments, such as the guitar, mandolin, and organ. Spanish and Italian music was predominant, not only in the church, but in the theater, and Spanish folk songs were sung on many festive occasions. As in most of the other arts, a long period of stagnation in the field of music followed independence.

Twentieth century composers fall into two general groups, those who emphasize classical European forms and those who attempt to assimilate native folk expression in an effort to create a national musical tradition. The first to incorporate indigenous themes into his works was Jesus Castillo (1877-1946), who published transcriptions of Mayan music and descriptions of Indian musical instruments. Castillo composed Guatemala's first symphony and also wrote operas and musical suites based on Mayan themes. Several other composers, including Castillo's half-brother Ricardo Castillo (b. 1894), have continued this tradition. Classical Western music is represented in the works of such composers as Salvador Ley (b. 1907) and Enrique Solares (b. 1910). Most Guatemalan musicians and composers are graduates of the National Conservatory of Music, established in 1941. Their works are performed by the National Symphony Orchestra.

The most commonly performed dance of European origin is the *son chapin*, derived from 19th century ballroom forms and characterized by a mixture of short Spanish-Indian rhythms. Danced at festivals, the *son chapin* is popular among both Indians and Ladinos. A folklore ballet group produces sophisticated versions of popular dances, often performing the

in commercial and residential buildings, particularly in several modern apartment complexes designed by architect Carlos Haussler.

Much of the literature produced during the early colonial period was written by Catholic missionaries. Among the most outstanding historical treatises was the famous *Brevissima relacion de la destruccion de las Indias* (Brief Story of the Destruction of the Indies), by the Dominican friar, Bartolome de las Casas (1474-1566). In addition, a number of works were written in Latin by members of the clergy, notably Rafael Landivar (1731-93). Missionaries also introduced the traditional Spanish *auto de fe*, designed to impart doctrine, to replace the pre-Columbian dramas which they suppressed as pagan. Certain elements of indigenous drama were retained, including popular language and some use of magic considered necessary to the Indian psyche, but the main figures represented were those of the traditional *auto*—the church, the devil, and death.

The 19th century was marked by new directions in literature. Essayists began to consider political and social problems. Antonio Jose de Irisarri (1786-1868) typified the literary figures of this era, having lived abroad for long periods and published voluminously on highly diverse subjects, including political polemics, verse, romantic novels, and articles on philology. Following independence, a number of treatises on colonial history appeared, together with partisan interpretations of the Central American independence movement. Alejandro Marure (1806-51) and Lorenzo Montufar (1823-98) representing the liberal viewpoint and Jose Milla y Vidaure (1822-82), the conservative. Milla y Vidaure, historian and novelist, produced what is probably the finest Central American prose of the 19th century. Editor of Guatemala's *Gazeta Oficial*, he traveled widely, serving as a diplomat during the regime of Rafael Carrera and writing on both foreign and local customs under the pseudonym of Salome Jil. *Historia de un pepe* (History of a Foundling) is probably the most renowned of all his works, and its main character, Juan Chapin, continues to typify the Guatemalan man in the street. For the most part, drama by Guatemalans did not fare well in competition with the more popular Spanish romantic plays, and during the dictatorships of the early 20th century, plays satirizing Guatemalan society and government were largely suppressed.

Guatemalan writers throughout the 20th century have covered a wide range of subjects but have generally emphasized social and political themes. In a

political novel, *La sombra de la Casa Blanca* (The Shadow of the White House). Maximo Soto Hall (1871-1944) was the first Guatemalan author to criticize U.S. involvement in Central America, while historian and anthropologist Jose Antonio Villacorte Calderon (b. 1879) was among the first to write realistically of Indian society. Although best known for his fantasies, Rafael Arevalo Martinez (b. 1884) later turned to criticism of the social structure. Other authors writing prior to World War II combined social protest with regionalism in novels and stories set in rural and coastal areas.

Not until the revolution of 1944, however, and the formation in 1946 of the Saker-Ti group (named after a greeting in the Cakchiquel language) did the realistic novel of social protest become dominant. Two authors best exemplify the socially committed writers of the revolutionary period, Luis Cardoza y Aragon (b. 1904) and Miguel Angel Asturias (b. 1899). Cardoza y Aragon, ambassador to the U.S.S.R. during the 1940's, was a major figure in promoting social realism and a leading member of Saker-Ti. The most famous of his works, *Guatemala, las lineas de su mano* (Guatemala, the Lines of Her Hand), published in 1955, evokes the complex social and cultural life of his native country in poetic language and imagery.

Asturias, Guatemala's most important 20th century author, has been described as giving "permanence and universality to values ignored or despised for a long time." Drawing heavily from Indian tradition and thought, he has been instrumental in the creation of a national culture through developing an appreciation for neglected aspects of Guatemalan society. Although his works may best be described as falling within the realm of social realism and are influenced by the Spanish picaresque novel in their descriptive force and depiction of cruelty in human relations, they are imbued with the magical overtones of Indian beliefs and customs. Winner of the Lenin Peace Prize in 1966 and the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1967, Asturias began writing in the 1920's and published his first major work, *Leyendas de Guatemala*, based on Indian folklore, in 1930. His novels, beginning with *El senor presidente* in 1946, graphically portray the brutalization of society resulting from political and economic oppression. A trilogy written in the 1950's is directed against foreign-owned banana plantations, which he consistently attacked for exploiting the laborer and draining the agricultural wealth of the nation. *Mulata de tal* (Mulatto Woman), published in 1963, is suggestive of his early writings in its poetical evocation of the mythical world of the Indian.

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As a result of the political events of 1954, a number of writers left Guatemala and established a "literature in exile." Many of their works are political diatribes. Perhaps the best known is ex-President Juan Jose Arevalo's *El tiburón y las sardinas* (The Shark and the Sardines), depicting the United States as the predator and the small, weak countries of Latin America as the victims. Other authors in exile include Guillermo Toriello (former Foreign Minister under Arbenz), Manuel Galich (presently assistant director of the *Casa de las Americas* in Havana), Raul Osegueda, Jaime Diaz Rossotto, and Mario Monteforte Toledo. The last-named author turned from earlier novels depicting the struggle between man and nature to the portrayal of social problems. For example, *Entre la piedra y la cruz* (Between the Stone and the Cross), published in 1948, is the story of an educated Indian forced to choose between two worlds. Monteforte Toledo is also the first native writer to produce a thorough sociological analysis of Guatemala. Other contemporary authors not belonging to the exile group include Adrian Recinos (1886-1962), who devoted much time to translating and interpreting Quiche and Cakchiquel manuscripts, and David Vela, a journalist and critic noted for literary history and biography.

New forms and subject matter, including Indian legends, social problems, and psychological themes, characterized mid-20th century drama, but the plays of several authors who have written over long periods of time, notably Asturias and Galich, cover a wide range from *costumbrismo* to social criticism. For the most part, the works of contemporary playwrights manifest the influence of international trends in the theater, with the notable exception of Carlos Solorzano, who emphasizes Guatemalan themes. Several groups perform both native and foreign works in Guatemala City, but because of the sporadic nature of interest in the theater, the country has no professional company. The formation of the *Arte Universitario* group under the direction of Roberto and Carlos Meneos has helped to recruit and train needed performers.

Music and dance, so important in the cultural expression of pre-Columbian Indians, remain today, with the exception of certain handicrafts, the purest indigenous artistic forms. The Mayas and post-Mayas, like their counterparts in the high Andean countries, used the pentatonic scale, producing a music closely related to the sounds of nature and characterized by melancholy tones and marked pauses. Many native instruments have survived, among them a number of different wind and percussion instruments. The high-

pitched *chirimita* (Figure 24) is the most commonly used of the wind instruments. The national musical instrument, however, used by both Indians and Ladinos, is the marimba, a type of xylophone, with a keyboard of small wooden plates. The Guatemalan version of the marimba produces a deep resonant sound which distinguishes it from marimbas used in neighboring countries.

Ritual dance-dramas, formerly an integral part of Mayan religious ceremony, are still performed by Indians in various *municipios*, each region or language group having its preferred dances, usually with intricate choreography, special music, and elaborated costumes complete with carved wooden masks. In the spectacular dance of the *voladores* the performers swing from ropes attached to a rotating platform 50 feet high (Figure 25).

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FIGURE 24. A *chirimia*, a native wind instrument utilizing a double reed (U/OU)

works of Guatemalan choreographers. One of the most admired is the ballet based on the life of Maximon, a legendary figure venerated by the Indians of Santiago Atitlan.

J. Communications media (U/OU)

Largely because of linguistic barriers, low levels of functional literacy, and inadequate financial and technical resources, the mass media are not well developed. Accordingly, word-of-mouth remains important as a means by which news and opinion reach large segments of the population, especially in rural areas. In small towns, the weekly market and the periodic religious observances, both of which bring large numbers of people together, afford an opportunity for the exchange of news and views. Itinerant vendors and bus drivers are also important sources of news in the countryside. In urban centers, the daily press is the most influential medium among middle and upper class elements and plays a key role

in molding public opinion. Radio, however, is the most important formal channel of communication for the country as a whole, reaching the largest audience. The effectiveness of radio is nonetheless limited by the practice of using Spanish in almost all broadcasts, thereby excluding large numbers of Indians.

Although the government operates libraries, runs the telephone system, registers publications, and licenses radio and television stations, the mass communications media are largely in the hands of private enterprise. All of the important formal media are located in the capital, including the principal daily newspapers, the major radio stations, all of the publishing houses, all of the television stations, and the first-class theaters. In addition, the capital contains most of the telephones in the country.

The Constitution guarantees freedom of the press and of expression. Although various statutes impinge somewhat on these constitutional provisions, comparative freedom prevails. Since 1944, formal censorship has been sporadic, occurring only during periods of political crisis. It was imposed, for example, after the deposal of President Miguel Ydigoras Fuentes in 1963 and after the assassinations of U.S. Ambassador John Cordon Mein in 1968 and West German Ambassador Karl von Spreti in 1970. Normally, however, governmental interference has been slight, in large part because the media,

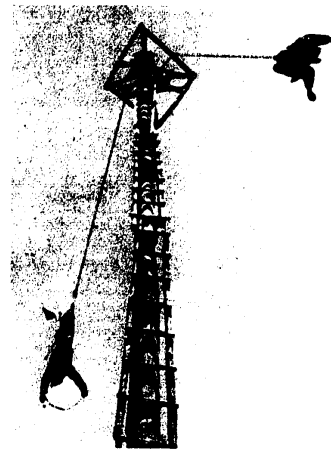


FIGURE 25. Dance of the *voladores*, or pole dance. The performers, representing birds, swing slowly down a 50-foot pole to the accompaniment of marimba music. (U/OU)

recognizing that their continued existence and prosperity depend upon favorable official reaction, exercise restraint in their coverage of sensitive developments. This form of "self-censorship" has been compounded as a result of the assassination or attempted assassination of several prominent newspapermen.

Relations between the media and the Arana administration were strained by the restrictions in force during the year-long state of siege from November 1970 until November 1971. Newspapermen complained that the prohibition on publishing news that might "alarm the populace" was at times interpreted to include any comment unfavorable to the government. Moreover, press circles have condemned a penal code revision in 1971 that makes journalists who rationalize terrorist acts liable for 2 years imprisonment. Many newspapermen have complained that because the government guidelines are vague, they often do not know what can be printed. In cases of doubt, publishers are expected to use official handouts. Sensational newspapers are particularly hard hit during periods of restriction.

On occasion, restrictions have been placed on foreign newspapers and periodicals for alleged misrepresentation of Guatemalan political developments. President Arana is reported to be particularly sensitive to his country's image abroad, but official attempts to suppress unfavorable information have sometimes backfired, as even more damaging versions of an incident appear outside the country. An inhibiting influence on limiting freedom of expression is the existence of the well-organized and vociferous Association of Journalists of Guatemala (APG), which has on numerous occasions championed the rights of threatened newsmen, denouncing both government censorship and terrorist activities.

Radio and television broadcasting are regulated through the Directorate General of National Radio Broadcasting and Television, which operates government stations and licenses and supervises private stations. Licenses may be suspended if programs are too critical of the government, but recourse to such action has rarely been taken, as station owners generally practice more self-restraint during periods of crisis than do newspaper publishers. For a time during the Arbenz administration only temporary licenses, revokable at will, were granted in an attempt to control clandestine antigovernment broadcasts, and in 1954 amateur radio operations were suppressed briefly for the same reason. More recently, action has been taken to regulate the content of news reports; at least one radio newspaper (*radioperiodico*)

was ordered off the air for "repeatedly broadcasting information causing alarm and unrest."

The government has also attempted to regulate broadcasting activities through limitations on foreign ownership and direction of radio stations. In 1970, the Arana administration decreed that preference be given to programs produced by Guatemalan nationals and that ownership and editorial responsibility be limited to native-born Guatemalans or to corporations in which Guatemalans held a majority interest. Minimum power requirements for radio stations have also been established in an effort to eliminate small and often irresponsible stations. In general, however, groups representing the communications media have been able to block the enactment of strict censorship laws on the grounds that such measures would infringe on freedom of expression as guaranteed by the Constitution.

1. Printed matter

Despite limited circulation, newspapers play a significant role in communications because of their readership among decisionmaking groups, the upper and middle classes, and such special interest groups as students and trade unionists. Sophisticated readers, however, constitute only a small portion of newspaper readership. To attract the largest possible audience, most news is reported in a sensational manner with extensive use of photographs. Factual objectivity is not common, and many organizations and government agencies utilize the "fafa," or bribe, to persuade reporters to write stories favorable to their interests.

As a general rule, papers concentrate on local news; they devote little attention to foreign or international news, although most subscribe to one or more of the international wire services. Perhaps the largest information gap is the paucity of coverage given to Central American news. This lack stems from the sparse attention given such news by the wire service and from the fact that papers seldom station correspondents in other Central American countries.

Historically, newspapers have been established to propogate the views of certain groups. After 1944, journalism became more professional as opposition newspapers were established, signed columns replaced the anonymous attack, and a department of journalism was opened at the University of San Carlos. During the 1944-54 period, a wide range of newspaper opinion flourished, setting the stage for the development of a more modern press.

In 1972, nine dailies were published in Guatemala City (Figure 26), along with *Headlines*, a mimeographed news summary in English. Circulation of the

FIGURE 26. Guatemala City daily newspapers, 1972 (U/OU)

	DATE		REMARKS
	ESTABLISHED	CIRCULATION	
DIARIO DE CENTROAMERICA...	1880	12,000	Official government newspaper; absorbed <i>El Guatemalteco</i> in March 1972.
DIARIO EL ESPERADOR.....	1971	na	
EL GRAPICO.....	1961	35,000	Morning paper; Christian Democratic orientation; widest range of editorial opinion; at times sensationalist; published by Jorge Carpio Nicolle.
LA HORA.....	1944	12,000	Issued at midday; ultranationalist; sensationalist; published by former Vice President Clemente Marroquin Rojas and faithfully reflects his personal views; consistently anti-Communist and anti-United States; criticizes pace of reform to Guatemala; rarely in accord with any administration.
EL IMPACTO.....	1959	6,000	Morning paper; published by Oscar Marroquin, son of Clemente Marroquin Rojas; less controversial than <i>La Hora</i> , of which it is a pale imitation.
EL IMPARCIAL.....	1922	15,000 20,000	Moderately conservative evening paper; anti-Communist; pro-United States; caters to foreign community; carries several U.S. columnists; published by Alejandro Cordova.
LA NACION.....	1970	20,000	Issued at midday; independent; published by Ramiro Ponce Monroy and Hector Cifuentes.
PRENSA LIBRE.....	1959	50,000	Morning paper; Guatemala's most popular and respected newspaper; broad appeal; moderate, business-oriented position; issued as a tabloid; published by Pedro Julio Garcia & Co.
LA TARDE.....	1971	11,000	Evening paper; sensationalist; published by same interests as <i>El Grafico</i> and follows same basic position.

na Data not available.

nine papers was approximately 175,000. With an estimated five readers per copy, these papers reach about one-third of the Ladino population... Daily papers in Coban and Quezaltenango, as well as weekly, monthly, and quarterly newspapers, have a combined circulation that is probably equal to about three-fourths that of the dailies of the capital, although no exact figures are available.

Weekly newspapers include *Alerta*, an extreme rightist paper with a low circulation; *Verbum*, the official newspaper of the Roman Catholic hierarchy; and *Ya*, a small anti-American, anti-Communist propaganda sheet. Communist organizations publish several papers and bulletins clandestinely. *Verdad*, a weekly, probably has the widest circulation; others include *Vanguardia Proletaria*, *El Grito Popular*, *FAR*, *Revolucion Socialista*, and *El Estudiante*. All appear sporadically and appeal to a limited sector of the population.

The *New York Times* and the *Miami Herald* are available in Guatemala City the day after publication. Latin American editions of *Newsweek*, *Time*, and *Life*, as well as the Mexican publication *Vision*, are also available, although the two last named have been temporarily banned. Guatemala has no national news magazine, but numerous periodicals are published by

academic groups, private organizations, and government agencies; these serve as information organs, trade publications, and forums for particular interest groups.

The publishing industry is small, producing mainly inexpensive paperback books. Several research centers, notably the *Seminario de Integracion Social Guatemalteca*, which operates under the aegis of the Ministry of Public Education, publishes scholarly books and monographs, while government agencies and regional organizations located in Guatemala publish information for specialized audiences under various formats. Most books, however, are imported. Although Guatemala permits the free importation of books, the cost of books places them beyond the reach of most of the literate population.

Only a handful of reasonably good libraries exist in the country, and even these are handicapped by inadequate budgets. In addition to the National Library, there are 78 public libraries, 29 specialized libraries, 14 university libraries, and 36 school libraries, almost none of which circulate books.

2. Radio and other media

Radio, the most extensive and efficient medium of mass communications, reaches at least half the

population, including persons in remote areas. Since the advent of the transistor radio, even poor Indians have access to radio broadcasts, whereas previously the lack of electricity in many areas precluded the use of receivers. The number of radios in use increased from about 27,000 (10 per 1,000 inhabitants) in 1949 to approximately 360,000 (64 per 1,000 inhabitants) in 1972, some 10% of which were community radios located in central plazas of towns or in places of public gathering in agricultural communities.

Radio, like other forms of mass communications, is controlled by and almost exclusively oriented to Ladinos. Extremely few programs are broadcast in Indian languages, and relatively few Indians understand enough Spanish to listen with ease to broadcasts in that language. Thus, the extent to which the Indian's isolation from national society is ameliorated through radio is probably minimal. A few local stations provide programs in English, and some broadcasts in the Kekchi language are heard over *Radio Havana*.

As few privately owned stations have facilities for broadcasting live programs, recorded music fills most programming time. Information broadcasts are limited for the most part to news, with the exception of those transmitted by *Radio Nacional*, the government-owned station, which also offers programs on general culture, health, and agriculture. Missionary-owned and -operated stations provide both religious and cultural programming. Among the most popular broadcasts are the *radloperiodicos*, which emphasize the sensational aspects of the news and in some respects emulate newspapers. Radio is also used by private individuals for sending messages or for seeking jobs, and occasionally for transmitting critical political commentaries.

Along with its station in the capital *Radio Nacional* operates stations in Flores, Mazatenango, Miramundo, Puerto Barrios, Quezaltenango, San Marcos, and Totonicapan. Although there is no national network, *Radio Nacional* broadcasts can be relayed in an emergency to all stations to achieve nationwide coverage.

One government and two private television stations are located in the capital, and approximately 90,000 receivers are in use. The cost of a receiver limits the use of television to the middle and upper classes. Stations are usually on the air from early morning until night, but rarely transmit as late as midnight. Scheduling is somewhat haphazard. With the exception of some relayed telecasts from Mexico, programming consists for the most part of imported entertainment shows from the United States. Ease of translation in large measure

determines program selection. Live programs are primarily give-away quiz shows, children's programs, or dramatic presentations. News programs are underdeveloped by U.S. standards, as television is not generally considered an important source of news or a molder of public opinion. There are as yet few good television news reporters, commentators, or cameramen. News programs offer little in the way of illustrative films, but usually resort to still photographs accompanied by a description from the reporter. As a result, television has had little impact on newspapers and radio in the dissemination of news and is not yet considered an important political forum.

Motion pictures are a popular form of entertainment among the urban population, although low income levels limit the audience. Throughout the 1960's, attendance averaged 9.8 million per year, with theaters in the Department of Guatemala accounting for three-fifths of the total. As of 1969, there were 105 theaters, including one drive-in; 28 were located in the Department of Guatemala. Feature films are imported, primarily from the United States; films from Mexico, Argentina, and Western Europe are also shown.

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Glossary (U/OU)

ABBREVIATION	SPANISH	ENGLISH
AEU	<i>Asociacion de Estudiantes Universitarios</i>	Association of University Students
AGA	<i>Asociacion Guatemalteca de Agricultores</i>	Guatemalan Association of Agriculturalists
APG	<i>Asociacion de Periodistas de Guatemala</i>	Association of Journalists of Guatemala
CACIF	<i>Comite Coordinador de Asociaciones Agricolas, Comerciales, Industriales y Financieras</i>	Coordinating Committee of Associations of Agriculture, Commerce, Industry, and Finance
CLAT	<i>Confederacion Latinoamericana de Trabajadores</i>	Latin American Confederation of Workers
CNCG	<i>Confederacion Nacional de Campesinos Guatemaltecos</i>	National Confederation of Guatemalan Peasants
CNT	<i>Confederacion Nacional de Trabajadores</i>	National Confederation of Workers
CONSIGUA	<i>Confederacion Sindical de Guatemala</i>	Trade Union Confederation of Guatemala
CONTRAGUA	<i>Confederacion de Trabajadores de Guatemala</i>	Confederation of Workers of Guatemala
CTF	<i>Central de Trabajadores Federados</i>	Central of Federated Workers
DCG	<i>Democracia Cristiana Guatemalteca</i>	Guatemalan Christian Democracy [party]
FASGUA	<i>Federacion Autonoma Sindical de Guatemala</i>	Autonomous Trade Union Federation of Guatemala
FCG	<i>Federacion Campesina de Guatemala</i>	Peasant Federation of Guatemala
FECETRAG	<i>Federacion Central de Trabajadores de Guatemala</i>	Central Federation of Workers of Guatemala
FENOT	<i>Federacion Nacional de Obreros del Transporte</i>	National Federation of Transport Workers
FESC	<i>Frente Estudiantil Socialcristiano</i>	Social-Christian Student Front
FRU	<i>Frente Revolucionario Universitario</i>	University Revolutionary Front
IGSS	<i>Instituto Guatemalteco de Seguridad Social</i>	Guatemalan Institute of Social Security
INCAP	<i>Instituto Nutricional de Centroamerica y Panama</i>	Nutritional Institute of Central America and Panama
INTA	<i>Instituto Nacional para Transformacion Agraria</i>	National Institute for Agrarian Reform
INVI	<i>Instituto Nacional de Vivienda</i>	National Institute of Housing
MCI	<i>Movimiento Campesino Independiente</i>	Independent Peasant Movement
MLN	<i>Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional</i>	National Liberation Movement
ORIT	<i>Organizacion Regional Interamericana de Trabajadores</i>	Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers
PGT	<i>Partido Guatemalteco de Trabajo</i>	Guatemalan Labor Party (Communist party)
PNDC	<i>Programa Nacional de Desarrollo de la Comunidad</i>	National Community Development Program
PR	<i>Partido Revolucionario</i>	Revolutionary Party
SAMF	<i>Sindicato de Accion y Mejoramiento de los Ferrocarrilleros</i>	Union of Railroad Workers' Action and Betterment
SNE	<i>Servicio Nacional de Empleo</i>	National Employment Service
	<i>Asociacion de Amigos del Pais</i>	Association of Friends of the Country
	<i>Asociacion Pro-Bienestar de la Familia de Guatemala</i>	Guatemalan Family Welfare Association
	<i>Asociacion de Bienestar Infantil</i>	Association of Infant Welfare
	<i>Juventud Revolucionaria</i>	Revolutionary Youth

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Places and features referred to in this Chapter (U/OU)

	COORDINATES	
	'N.	'W.
Antigua Guatemala.....	14 34	90 45
Cantel.....	14 49	91 27
Chimaltenango.....	14 40	90 49
Chiquimula.....	14 48	89 33
Coatepeque.....	14 42	91 52
Cobán.....	15 29	90 19
Escuintla.....	14 18	90 47
Esquipulas.....	14 34	89 21
Flores.....	16 56	89 53
Guatemala City (or Guatemala).....	14 38	90 31
Huehuetenango.....	15 20	91 28
Ixcán (<i>locality</i>).....	15 49	91 04
Jalapa.....	14 38	89 59
Lago de Atitlán (<i>lake</i>).....	14 42	91 10
Lago de Izabal (<i>lake</i>).....	15 30	89 10
Livingston.....	15 50	88 45
Mazatenango.....	14 32	91 30
Miramundo.....	14 35	90 06
Momostenango.....	15 04	91 24
Puerto Barrios.....	15 43	88 36
Quezaltenango.....	14 50	91 31
Quiriquá.....	15 16	89 05
Retalhuleu.....	14 32	91 41
Río Sebol (<i>stream</i>).....	16 00	89 59
San Juan Ixcay.....	15 30	91 27
San Juan Sacatepéquez.....	14 43	90 39
San Marcos.....	14 58	91 48
Santiago Atitlán.....	14 38	91 14
Sebol (<i>archaeological site</i>).....	15 47	89 56
Tikal.....	17 20	89 39
Tiquisate.....	14 17	91 22
Totonicapán.....	14 55	91 22
Zacapa.....	14 55	89 32

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