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An analysis of social-political attitudes of the middle elite in Guatemala, and the impact of AID training programs. The younger (under 40) members of the middle elite in Guatemala are politically sophisticated and aware, but are not revolution-minded. They advocate peaceful changes in the law and in government institutions. They emphasize education as the best vehicle for improvement and change. The middle elite are potentially assimilable into the top elite if the latter will permit it. The problems they cite most frequently are unemployment, illiteracy, the political domination by the military, high death rate and tax rate, unequal distribution of wealth, the high cost of living, and "violence" in the country. An evaluation of the impact of the training programs at Loyola, Landivar, and IDF showed that they have made no impressive changes in attitudes or behavior. The "benefits" are virtually unspecifiable, partly because some are intangible and could not be measured well with the instruments employed. Attitude changes resulting from the training are modest, although participation in community affairs has increased. However, the basic purpose of the training programs needs to be re-examined.

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VALUE SYSTEMS AND YOUTH IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Report
Submitted To The
Agency For International Development

In Fulfillment of Contract No. CSD-824
Brandeis University

Principal Investigators:

Professor Roy C. Macridis, Brandeis University

Professor Eugene J. Meehan, University of Illinois

REPORT

SUBMITTED TO THE

AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

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November 15, 1969

I N T R O D U C T I O N

AID Contract CED-824, as amended 11 April 1968 and 10 June 1969 provides funds for a multidimensional inquiry into the value systems of youth in developing countries. The prime contractor is Brandeis University in Waltham, Massachusetts. The principal investigators are Professor Roy C. Macridis, Chairman, Department of Politics, Brandeis University, and Professor Eugene J. Meehan, Department of Political Science, University of Illinois. Field was arranged in Guatemala, Central America. Some related field work was carried out in the Virgin Islands using other resources and the results obtained from that study are included in this report.

The heterogeneous character of the final report is due primarily to the great difficulty experienced in locating a suitable overseas site--following the unfortunate situation that occurred in Brazil during the so-called "Camelot" study. The initial grant was made to support a comparative study of the political attitudes of young persons in the developing countries, and their implications for the future. By the end of 1967, it was clear that no site could be found for that inquiry, though the tools and instruments had been prepared and were ready for use. The contract was then amended to allow the investigation to focus on "the value systems of young persons in developing countries as expressed in attitudes and preferences . . ." Particular emphasis was placed on the way in which such attitudes and preferences might be altered by education and training. Furthermore, interest was concentrated on those values and preferences related to the social, political, and economic development of the nation, so far as they have been identified. Early in 1968, a site was secured in Guatemala through the good offices of the AID agency there. It was agreed that the

research would include a study of the impact of AID-sponsored training programs on the national of Guatemala who took part. In June of 1969, the contract was amended again to allow for some experimental work relating to the findings (within the limits of available funds). The particular goal of this additional experimental work is to suggest modifications of existing training programs, or wholly new training programs that might have a greater impact on the developmentally-related attitudes and behavior patterns of the participants.

The study has developed around four primary foci: (1) theoretical-methodological questions; (2) cumulation of information regarding attitudes and behavior patterns current among young persons in Guatemala as they relate to national development; (3) the impact of AID-sponsored training on those attitudes and behavior patterns; and (4) ways in which suitable modifications of attitudes and behavior patterns might most efficiently be achieved. Part (4) of the study is incomplete at the time of writing; that segment of the final report will be delivered prior to December 31, 1970.

(1) Theoretical-Methodological

One major achievement of the research was a thorough reexamination and restructuring of the methodological premises on which inquiry into value systems and their relation to behavior can be based. Two points are of major significance here: (a) we were able to develop a conception of scientific knowledge, and the kinds of structures and processes that it involved, which is linked directly to the considerations that relate to policy decisions in any area, and therefore suggests the kinds of criteria that might be used to justify or evaluate policy; (b) a restudy of the much-discussed relation between facts and values demonstrate the inextricable linkages between these two dimensions of thought and behavior and suggests ways in which policy decisions can be subjected to logical-empirical criticism and not left as expressions of opinion, beyond our

capacity to criticize or evaluate. The findings relating to these questions are embodied in two published volumes, Eugene J. Meehan, Explanation in Social Science: A System Paradigm, (Dorsey Press, 1968), and Eugene J. Meehan, Value Judgment and Social Science: Structures and Processes, (Dorsey Press, 1969).

(2) Attitudinal

The second emphasis of this study, related to be sure with the methodological analysis published by Professor Meehan in two books that accompany this report, is the study of attitudes and the impact of AID programs on attitudes and values. Before we began our work in Guatemala, Professor Macridis was able on his own to test some survey material in studying political attitudes and values in the Virgin Islands. A major part of his study appears in a forthcoming volume (to be published in April 1970) The Virgin Islands-American Outpost, copies of which will be sent to the AID office upon publication.

(3) The Impact of AID-Sponsored Training

Given a theoretical structure that relates attitudes and behavior to development, one of the important questions facing those responsible for policy toward underdeveloped nations has to do with the manner in which attitudes can be modified appropriately through training programs of various kinds. A major part of the resources allocated for the study after 1968 were expended in a detailed study of the impact of three AID-sponsored training programs on Guatemalan participants.

(4) Experimentation

In June of 1969, the contract was amended to allow some experimental work to be carried out. In 1970, we shall explore the implications for training of some of the findings of the Guatemala study. Within the limits of available funds, we shall try to test a number of propositions about the relation between cognition

skills or habits of thought and perception and the trainee's capacity to translate normative commitment into constructive social behavior. In particular, we shall try to determine what kinds of modifications of existing training programs seem most likely to produce the skills needed to increase both the amount and quality of individual participation in the social, economic, and political life of the nation. That part of the final report will be submitted to AID prior to December 31, 1970.

The body of this report then deals exclusively with our field work and survey in Guatemala. The first part deals with middle elite attitudes in Guatemala. The second part deals with the impact of the AID training programs.

T A B L E O F C O N T E N T S

I. Attitudes Of The Middle - Elite In Guatemala.

Appendix A

Percentages Based On Total Sample Of 165 Respondents.

Appendix B

Percentages Based On Youth Sample, Ages 18 - 29.

Appendix C

Comparison Sample, Total Sample Vs. Youth.

I.

ATTITUDES OF THE MIDDLE - ELITE IN GUATEMALA

Roy C. Macridis
Eugene J. Meehan

The study that follows is based on interviews conducted between December 1968 and May 1969 when some 150 interviews were conducted. Our purpose was primarily to elicit responses that gave us a picture of the attitudes of the middle elite groups in Guatemala with particular emphasis on the residents of Guatemala City itself. We were interested in gauging the degree of political information and political awareness, the extent of participation, the degree of identification with the polity, and the level of maturity of these elite groups.

It will be clearly seen from the sample that this was a middle-elite group of the population. Some 75% were male. The vast majority (90%) declared themselves to be Ladinos, over 90% lived in Guatemala City, and almost half had been born in Guatemala City. It was also a young group, 65% being between the ages 18 and 29, and 22% between 30 and 40. Only half of them were married. The rate of literacy, as it can be expected, was very high with 94% of them being able to read and write. Among them 32% had some university education, 26% vocational training, and 13% had completed primary education. Fourteen percent were working for the government; 8% were teachers, and 36% were employees. Only 1% were farmers, and 18% declared themselves to be laborers. By all Guatemalan standards, the majority belonged to the middle and upper middle income groups. Fifteen percent of them earned between 100-150 Guatemalan dollars a month, 7% between 150-200 dollars, 10% between 200-300 dollars, 7% between 300-500 dollars, and 7% over 500 dollars a month. However, about 40% declared their earnings to be below 100 dollars a month. Most of the respondents declared themselves to be satisfied with their jobs (55%); 35%, however, declared themselves not satisfied. The majority among them set their sights to governmental, educational, and white collar positions.

The majority declared themselves to be Catholic (79%), but a relatively

strong minority of 13% declared themselves to be without any religion. Even among those declaring themselves to be Catholic, regular church attendance (once a week or more) was low--only 37% of them did so. Thirty-three percent stated they "hardly" or "only occasionally" attended church, and a strong 19% never attended church. Thus, the total number of those who severed relations with the church or profess never to have had any religion amounts to almost one-third of the respondents.

There were a number of reasons for selecting this particular sample of the population. One factor is expediency. This is the group that is most easily accessible and responsive to the interviewer. But there were more important reasons! The large number of the population consisting primarily of the bulk of the peasantry is quite homogeneous in its values and attitudes. Probing through interviews tends to be met either with hostility or indifference and often with both. Further, it will not provide significant variations. The bulk of the peasantry is alienated to the political system, is generally uninformed, and shows great apathy. The top elite on the other hand--the one that controls the main leverages of government and the economy--if not inaccessible to the interviewer, will often give the answers that are constantly proclaimed in the controlled press and in their own public utterances. "The Oligarchy," as some of our respondents termed the governing elites--the military, landowners, top religious leaders and government officials and political leaders--shows at least overtly the same uniformity of values and outlook that the vast bulk of the population does. To be sure, probing will indicate the existence of a greater degree of variations--for the governing elite is well-informed and sensitive to political, social and economic problems--when compared to the peasantry. Yet, it shows a tendency to digest and present facts and trends in terms of a uniform set of

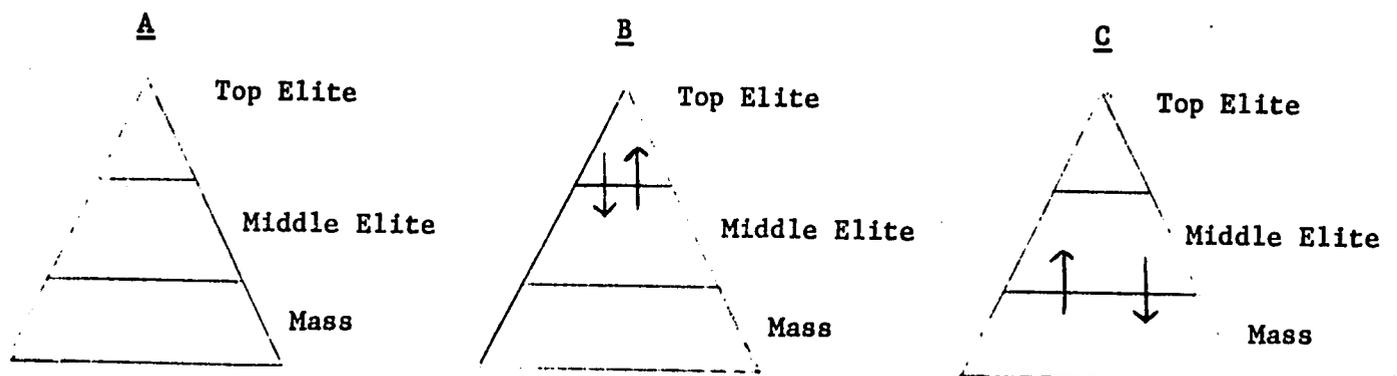
concepts and values.

Lying between the top elite of the country and the bulk of illiterate peasants and unskilled laborers that comprise the population, the middle-elite plays a crucial role in the dynamics of modernization. If assimilable into the top elite, it becomes a factor in a gradual political and socio-economic development that will inevitably produce an opening up of the political system and pave the way to a growing legitimization of political institutions and identification with the political regime. If, on the other hand, there appear to be sharp frictions and conflicts between it and the top elite, reformist and gradualist approaches may give place to a violent and revolutionary stance. The perceptions, therefore, of the representative sample of middle-elite that we interviewed is of key importance in gauging likely future development in Guatemala.

It is trite to point out that the top elite in any modernizing society--and modernization is the general phenomenon we are witnessing everywhere as the very name "developing" societies indicates--has to rely upon middle-echelon groups. Some play a strictly coercive role--the police and the army; others play subordinate roles that are far more complex and least amenable to coercive controls--education, communication, managerial roles--in the farm or the factories and workshops, and the bureaucracy. Even at the first stages of modernization, these subordinate elite groups or middle elite groups are quantitatively more significant than the top elite. This can be illustrated in the form of a pyramid with the top governing and socio-economic elites at the very apex and the large base representing the mass of people. In between is the intermediate or middle elite acting as a link between the two. It is an agency of communication, persuasion, and often coercion. Its disaffection will leave the top elite suspended at the top and will cut it off from the base. On the other hand, a close association between top elite and middle and middle elite will "open up" the top elite: status,

remuneration and influence will become increasingly accessible to the middle elite which will produce in turn an inevitable "sharing" between the elites and the masses. By the same token, however, pronounced and prolonged disaffection may move the middle elites away from the top elite in the direction of the masses whose leadership they may try to assume against the top elite. In the first case, (B), the system will move along gradualistic lines; in the second case, (C), sharp discontinuities and violence directed against the top elite may well develop.

Sketch B represents a situation where top and intermediate elites communicate and begin to share roles and values; Sketch C the situation in which it is the middle elite that communicate increasingly with the masses against the top elite. B represents a gradualistic and reformist situation; C a highly unstable and revolutionary one.



The propositions stated above derive from a general hypothesis of political development according to which elite attitudes and the level of socio-economic development are the two key variables. As the society develops and as it becomes differentiated into functions and roles, the socialization of new groups--given a coherent value structure about the community and the regime, i.e. given national unity and consensus--becomes increasingly associated with development of skills and preparation for roles to which access is open on the basis of merit. Thus, the young people and persons trained in new skills are assured within a given stable context of access to position of status, power, and income to which they can aspire. Political roles are generally only a fraction of the available roles. Hence, in mature and developed societies, middle elite groups--especially the young--will show little activism and little partisanship--indeed they accept the "system."

This hypothesis relates to stages of development illustrated in the table we append.

GOVERNING ELITE ATTITUDES AND MIDDLE-ELITE GROUPS

- D Stable - - - - - "Modernizing" Governing Elite PLUS Economic Development = gradual change; increased legitimization of polity; youth assimilation & participation; support of intermediary elite groups.
- C Unstable - - - - - "Modernizing" Governing Elite MINUS Economic Development = recurrence to violence-- possibly interference of army; youth activism.
- B Unstable - - - - - "Conservative" Governing Elite PLUS Economic Development = violence and possibility of youth activism; disaffection of intermediate elites.
- A Stable - - - - - "Conservative" Governing Elite MINUS Economic Development = potential long-drawn stability.

A corresponds to a traditional society; elites are rooted into their traditional ways derived from the past and there is no economic development. B and C correspond to modernizing societies irrespective of whether the impetus comes from a conscious effort on the part of the elite or from the injection of incentives and inputs that come from elsewhere--foreign investment, tourism, a loan to build factories, new techniques in farming, urbanization, education, etc. In both cases, however, the two related variables are a) the attitude of the elites and b) the rate of modernization. Each and both as they relate to each other must be studied on the spot and take into account specific factors.

B corresponds to what may be generally called the Latin American situation. In many Latin American countries, expectations and opportunities have been aroused by economic development. A conservative elite, however, denies to the young and the new groups the opportunities and the mobility derived from economic development. The elite is rejective.

The young people and the new groups denied mobility, status, and income, either resort to activism or violence and consider political activity to be the only channel for them to attain power and status. This is associated with their rejection of the governing elites and an effort to replace them. It is also associated with intensely ideological and millenial attitudes. This is, I think, what inspired C. Wright Mills to write "that the students and the intellectuals are the radical agencies of change" and Lipset to attribute much too much to a university--when he wrote that it is important in the process of cultural transformation in formulating an effective ideology and creating an adequate collective and national image.

Finally, A represents the combination of responsive elites and socio-economic maturity. It is the case of the United States, of England after the Reform Act and the Repeal of the Corn Laws, in a limited way of Japan--and of most of the

Western European countries.

The two crucial variables then are the attitude of the elite and the pace of economic development. The two must be carefully related. It is a matter of both quantity and quality. The one must be carefully related to the other in a given time context--about which we do not know much. A rejective elite may under certain circumstances be a factor for stability while a reformist elite may be an element of instability. Under different circumstances the reverse is true. The role of young people and new groups is very often functionally related to this delicate balance between elite attitudes and socio-economic development. Depending on one or the other situation, middle elites and young people gradually assimilated and adjusted or became a source of explosive and violent political agitation and revolt.

What is the situation in Guatemala? Whatever the answers and the attitudes gleaned from our interviews, it must be clearly understood that unless there appears to be a great identification between top and intermediary elites--which is highly unlikely--or unless the middle elites shares the same attitudes--an equally unlikely hypothesis--the situation is bound to be highly fluid. Particular alliances connecting the middle elite with the top elite are likely to be made and remain strong; but alliance between middle elites and masses are likely also to evolve and prove to be equally durable. In other words, the middle elite may be split facing both toward the base and the apex. Some of its segments may act as reliable agencies of coercion and persuasion on behalf of the top elite, while others may reject its status and power and challenge it in alliance with mass movements that they often instigate, organize, and lead.

In the first section we shall discuss and analyze the attitudes of our middle-elite representative sample as a whole. In a second section we shall limit ourselves to a survey of the same attitudes as they were reflected by those who were

between 18 and 29 years old. Both in section A and B we shall try to relate attitudes with some of the most important socio-economic variables and particularly income, occupation, and education.

In our survey we are primarily interested in finding out:

- a) the degree of information and awareness
- b) the extent and level of participation
- c) the political maturity and civic consciousness of the respondents

Contrary to current notions, and as it will become readily clear when we analyze the various responses, the Guatemalan middle-elite shares the same general attributes with comparable elite groups in developed and even Western societies. It remains, of course, to be seen whether their responses are more than verbal, and occasionally this appears to be the case. But the overall picture is one of a highly motivated part of the population able to identify and evaluate problems, well informed, quite articulate, and problem-solving oriented.

A. Information and Awareness

Information and awareness of political and socio-economic issues is very high. More than 51% discusses as many as six issues confronting their society and political system, and another 20% four or five. Only 4% indicated that they do not care to discuss any. The issues discussed, some of which of a timely character, were the following:

79% discuss matters of unemployment and job opportunities

80% the high cost of living

74% are concerned with "violence" in Guatemala

64% mentioned the water supply system in the City of Guatemala

73% expressed concern with the high taxes imposed upon them

Problems not related directly with the Guatemalan scene left them relatively unconcerned. Only 44% talked about the war in Vietnam with the balance of the

sample giving a negative answer. Only 37% talked about the U.S. presidential elections and its results.

When we asked our respondents to identify on their own the most serious problems in Guatemala, again more than 22% mentioned five separate problems. Some 47% mentioned three or four problems, and again only 4% failed to mention any. The problems mentioned in order of importance were the following:

Unemployment 19%

Illiteracy 18%

The "political situation" 12%

The high level of deaths--taxes 7%

The unequal distribution of wealth 7%

The high cost of living 7%

"Violence" in the country 7%

5% indicated tersely that the lack of food was the most important consideration

Here are some typical quotes with regard to economic, education, health, political, social, and agrarian problems:

ECONOMIC

- "1. Lack of job opportunities.
2. The state of under-development of many towns.
3. Price of consumer goods.
4. Deficient distribution of wealth.
5. Bad distribution of public income.
6. High living costs.
7. People are exploited economically.
8. Indebtedness to other countries.
9. Anachronistic socio-economic structure that a group tries to maintain.
10. North American economic invasion--exploitation of the resources of the country.

11. A Central American Common Market.
12. Little support is given to national products. Little attention is given to the cultivation of coffee, especially in what refers to taxes.

EDUCATION

- "1. Extremely high rate of illiteracy.
2. University education should have a better evaluation and the programs of studies should be more concise.
3. The governments are not interested in solving these problems in a practical way without political demagogism (education and housing).

HEALTH

- "1. Child under-nourishment.
2. Sanitation.
3. Water supply.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

- "1. Political violence.
2. Bad public administration.
3. Lack of free political action.
4. People lack political maturity.
5. The military who control the country.
6. Administrative disorganization.
7. Government lacks political philosophy.
8. Lack of a defined policy from the government capable of changing the structures.
9. Lack of patriotism in the national as well as in the local authorities.

SOCIAL PATTERNS

- "1. Living so near the United States.
2. Living with imported cultural patterns.
3. Lack of culture among the people.
4. Lack of national conscience towards development.
5. Social injustice.
6. Integration of the Indians to the national culture.
7. The living conditions of the Indians.

AGRARIAN SITUATION

- "1. Conditions of roads for transportation.
2. Inadequate distribution of the land.
3. The agrarian reform is badly organized.
4. Roads are in bad conditions and this bothers the people who live in far-away places."

Of particular significance, but again the answers indicate the remarkably high degree of involvement, were the answers given to the question: "Are you satisfied with the education in Guatemala?" Only 23% were satisfied, 2% of which "very much." Some 69% were dissatisfied, 28% of whom "very much." Some 30% did not know exactly why they were dissatisfied, but the others gave specific answers such as "a bad curriculum," "not enough schools" (22%), "not enough teachers," and "poor administration."

Typical answers related to education in Guatemala were as follows:

INEQUALITY OF THE SYSTEM

- "1. The system doesn't give equal opportunity.
2. Education is concentrated in the urban areas, while the rural areas are forgotten; it is there where illiteracy exists in a higher percentage.

3. The Indians have very few opportunities of studying.

UNREALISTIC GOALS

- "1. It is not based on Guatemala's social reality but on the imitation of foreign systems.
2. The government spends the people's money in studying in foreign countries and then the money is not enough to build schools or to grant scholarships to the poor (like the respondent).
3. Education is too theoretical and isn't aimed toward production of goods and to productivity.
4. They haven't elaborated a scholastic plan that will respond to the cultural necessities and national development.
5. The school programs are not adapted to the national reality; authorities in charge of planifying education are not practical.

PHILOSOPHY

- "1. It doesn't have a philosophy.
2. It doesn't contribute to create conscience of the country problems and obviously it doesn't motivate to find the solutions to these problems.

POLITICAL

- "1. More money is spent in political campaigns than in schools and improving the university.
2. Because the people who get to the key positions change the educational systems, there is a tendency to make careers longer. This affects the poor.
3. The men in the Department of Intermediate Education are impossible to deal with.

ADULT EDUCATION

- "1. More schools for adults.

2. There are little opportunities for the people who work during the day to study something they like at night."

To the delicate question of "how to improve Guatemala's governmental system," a remarkable 62% gave answers and 38% found discretion to be the better part of valor. Twenty percent stressed the need of honesty of governmental officials; 11% asked for a greater degree of self-government, and 9% the improvement in the bureaucracy. Again a number of typical answers are listed below:

- "1. A law obliging the candidates to know the needs of the people should be proclaimed.
2. A dictatorship would save the country from many problems.
3. Free elections.
4. Avoid the loss of foreign currency.
5. Decentralize the government's activities.
6. The government should be separated from the church.
7. Improve education.
8. Employ officials without personal lucrative ambitions.
9. Absolute power of the executive. A dynamic president with an ample view of the country's needs.
10. The President should choose the members of his cabinet from among the people without party discrimination.
11. Giving the peasants and laborers political and legal support so that they can decide their own destiny.
12. Establish civil service avoiding bureaucracy and demanding industry type production from the employees.
13. Break the "rings" that damage the country.
14. Give the people more instruction to develop social conscience.
15. The greatest error is that each government wants to change the majority of the employees and doesn't want to continue the work that has been started.

16. Restructure the administrative system. (Many were concerned with this).
17. Politics should work on the basis of realities, not on promises.
18. Provide more support and help agriculture and education instead of the army.
19. By improving the banking systems and having opportunity of creating new private enterprises.
20. Training of officials and government employees, not only in the field of administration but also in the civics plan.
21. Abolish the army. (Many felt so).
22. The President should be a civilian.
23. Public positions should be carried out by capable persons who are aware of the national reality.
24. Change it into a democratic and civil government, not sponsored by the U.S.
25. The government should not be controlled by groups (U.S.)." (This sentiment was emphasized in many of the questionnaires).

When it came to direct relations between citizens and the government or the relations between the middle-elite and the government officials, the lack of awareness and information dropped. Few were able to mention more than one deputy in the National Congress. To be specific, 58% mentioned none, 16% one, 8% two, 19% three or more.

The assessment of the political regime in Guatemala and the evaluation of the freedoms and rights of the citizens shows both sensitivity and realism. Some 56% did not believe that all people had the same rights in Guatemala, and 16% indicated that "it depended." Only 30% believed that this was the case. The same applies with both "equal opportunities for a job," and "equal opportunities for a good education." An impressive 75% did not believe that all people had equal opportunities for a job and only 9% believed it to be the case. An even greater

percentage, 83%, did not believe that there were equal opportunities for education and only 7% believed this to be the case.

B. PARTICIPATION

Whether misleading or not the answers registered in our survey indicate, at least overtly, the remarkable civic commitment and interest on the part of the Guatemalan middle-elite. As we have said, since the interviewers were natives and there was no indication of any official support of the survey conducted, there can be no reason to assume any fear or intimidation was felt by or exercised upon the respondents. This becomes even more apparent with the frankness of the answers registered regarding many problems that concern them.

More than 85% of our panel were registered to vote. Only about 15% had not done so, did not remember, or did not know. Again the percentage of the participation in the elections was remarkably high by all counts. Sixty-six percent had voted in the last election. Those abstaining gave diverse answers such as not being interested in politics, not liking the candidates, its not being worthwhile.

The registration and voting correlates with general interest in politics although in this regard the level of interest appears to drop considerably. Some 25% of our panel stated that they talked about politics "often" or "very often." Thirty-seven percent did so "occasionally." On the other hand 26% confessed to never talking about politics and about 20% said that they did so "little" or "very little." Talking about politics seems to be primarily a family and a social activity. Thirty-four percent stated that they talked primarily with their family, and 66% with their friends, and another 51% with the people with whom they work or their fellow students. Interestingly enough, only 10% indicated that they talked politics with public officials, 11% only with politicians, and a surprisingly low (7%) with their neighbors.

Guatemalans listen to political news and read about politics in the newspapers to a degree only slightly less than the one we find in most of the Western European countries. A surprisingly good 60% listen to political news with the other 40% doing so only "very little" or "never." Another 36% "always" read politics in their newspapers, but the rest do so only "once in a while" (38%), "hardly ever" (8%), and "never" (16%).

The discrepancy from listening to or talking about politics to actual involvement in politics is quite striking. More than 90% of Guatemalans never worked in any form whatever for an election. Seventy percent did not plan to do so in the forthcoming election, and only 7% said that they did. The others evaded the question with "maybes" and "don't knows." Equally interesting but an understandable pattern is that of the communication between members of our panel and members of the government. Sixty-four percent had never had any contact whatsoever with members of their government and another 31% had only sporadic contacts. The majority of such contacts were with the bureaucracy rather than with political leaders.

C. MATURITY

Guatemalans seem to have an unexpectedly high sense of pride in their nation-state. Ninety percent identify themselves as Guatemalans, and only 10% indicated an affiliation such as their department or municipality. Further, they indicated that they owed obligations to their country. Among them patriotism was cited by 12%, civic obligations like paying taxes and voting by 16%, and obedience to the law and the constitution by 13%. On the other hand, more diffuse values such as being a good citizen and work to improve one's country and regard for the rights of others were mentioned by about 45%. Despite the general poverty of the country and the likelihood that the middle elite of our panel may not enjoy the social

mobility that they associate with their own education and position, only 25% stated that they would emigrate if there were no job opportunities in Guatemala. Forty percent said they would stay there and work to improve things, and 26% said in effect the same thing but stating that they would work in Guatemala for social justice. Again we cite some of the typical answers given:

- "1. Defend Guatemalan sovereignty.
2. Work to help the country.
3. Respect the rights of others.
4. Obey the law.
5. Vote.
6. Pay your taxes.
7. Cooperate as much as possible in projects that can benefit the country.
8. Abolish social injustice.
9. Acceptance of the Indian into the national life. Work for the Indian who is the authentic Guatemalan.
10. Elect a government conscious of the people's problems.
11. Defend the country from an enemy; North Americans and Communists.
12. Work in the teaching profession in order to create interest in the development of the country.
13. Avoid the foreign economic invasion as much as possible."

The attachment of Guatemalans to their own society and the apparent commitment to see things through there is associated with a critical evaluation of their government. Forty-eight percent did not think that "the government is doing all it can for Guatemala." Only 16% thought it did and the rest were more discriminating in their answers by indicating the desire for reform and a very slow pace in bringing them about. Here are some typical responses from among those giving

negative answers:

- "1. It's doing much to benefit imperialism, oligarchy, and the national bourgeoisie, and it is tying up the people to a reformatinal policy.
2. Possibly, but very little can be done due to the pressure from economic and social groups which are the ones that actually make decisions here and every where else.
3. No, because we don't see beneficial effects from the loans from foreign countries.
4. No, it could do more and better work if there weren't so many unable workers and thieves in the government.
5. It is doing all it can but the people don't cooperate.
6. No, because the governments always try to satisfy their interests. If they were interested in the country the economic situation would be better and there wouldn't be so many foreigners, especially, "gringos."
7. No, in his opinion it is only one more administration, like the previous ones."

It is not at all a surprise that the sense of trust among citizens in Guatemala is not particularly high. Only 8% felt that most persons can be trusted. Another 12% felt that this was unusually so, and 48% indicated this was so, but only "sometimes." Over 30% said "never" or "not too much." Whether there is a low sense of trust or not, Guatemalans value highly civic virtue. They also favor a number of reforms. Forty-four percent felt that spiritual and moral betterment was of high value but 56% disagreed. Seventy-two percent stated that the elimination of injustice was the most important obligation, and 65% felt the same way about creating better schools. Strangely enough there was less attachment to concrete and material advantages. Thus only 42% mentioned "enough money to live on" and only 29% "having better homes" and a very small 3% considered it important to cut down foreign investments. However, better economic conditions in general were mentioned

by 69% of our panel. There is an obvious trend here indicating a tendency to think in general rather than in concrete and specific terms and to put the matter of personal welfare in terms of generalized social and welfare categories.

The members of our panel did not seem to be at all awed by politics. Only 24% felt it was too complicated while almost 50% did not feel it was so and said they understood politics well. Their perceptiveness seems to be supported by their realization that "powerful groups control the government" and that "often the interests of the people are ignored." Fifty-nine percent stated that this was true, and 5% said it was not so with the others preferring the anonymity of a neutral "I do not know." Among the "powerful groups" the military were mentioned first, capitalists and the rich second, outsiders like the U.S. Government etc., third. Seven percent did mention the political parties. Here are some typical answers given:

- "1. The military officials.
2. Pressure from foreign government.
3. North American influence through AID and through the Alliance for Progress.
4. Owners of production divide.
5. The capitalists who form closed circles so as to avoid competition.
6. Confederation of Association of Agriculture.
7. Church.
8. The bourgeois partners of the North Americans."

There do not seem to be any clear perceptions in the minds of the respondents of what channels to use in order to make their own interests known. They do not seem to be aware of any structured or any institutionalized form that link them to the governmental process. Twenty-four percent said that they can do so by talking with members of the government, and only 19% by participating in elections.

"Demonstrations" were mentioned by 80%, and "revolution" by 5%. The same generally appeared to be the predicament with regard to how to go about looking for a job. Twenty-seven percent only mentioned the government officials and 8% their deputies. Thirteen percent would go to their father and 47% would seek other means, mostly going to their friends.

A surprising degree of maturity was displayed with regard to law abidance. If people disagreed with a given law, 75% said that they would try to change it, 21% would tolerate it, and only 1% urged disobedience. The same tolerance, however, does not seem to apply to the police. Only 18% of the respondents would go to the police if they had any problems; 21% said they would not, and the rest said that "it depends." This is reinforced by their perception of the manner in which the police would treat them. Seventy-six percent stated that all people are not likely to be treated equally by the police with 11% indicating that they expected full equality of treatment for all.

General agreement that the law should be changed rather than disobeyed was corroborated by the manner in which our respondents want to settle their arguments. A remarkable 67% said that arguments should be aired until an agreement is reached, and another 11% stated that their points of view should be incorporated in the party program. Less than 10% argued that one should fight to make his ideas prevail. In this very same context almost 65% believed that strikes and demonstrations should be allowed, but they clearly distinguished them from violence. Eighty-two percent disclaimed the notion that violence is the only possible solution.

The weakness of the party structure in Guatemala is apparent when we examine the motives for voting. Only 4% of those voting claim that they did so because of party affiliation, while 78% said that their particular reason was to select the candidate who was the best one for Guatemala. In the same sense, party membership is not high and most of the organizations to which our respondents were

members are the church cooperatives and clubs. About 45% do not belong to any organizations. Thirty-nine percent belong to one, 12% to two, and only 17% to more than two.

There is no great pessimism about the future, but again characteristically enough the main hope lies in education. Seventy percent mentioned it as the best way to get ahead in the world, and 13% supported this by indicating that working hard and saving was another way. Not a single member of our panel indicated that becoming a politician is a channel of advancement. Fifty-four percent felt that their children shall have a better life, and 36% did not know. Only 8% felt that they didn't expect it. Again the same response was given to the kind of place Guatemala would be in the future. Fifty-five percent thought it would be a better place to live, 35% did not know, and 9% were pessimistic.

YOUTH ATTITUDES

From our panel of some 165 respondents, we decided to isolate its younger members and study their attitudes and perceptions. By "young" we meant those between 18 and 29 years old. Unfortunately our panel did not include those below the age of 18 and the definition of youth as lying between 18 to 29 may be a little too generous. But there can be no question about the particular importance of this group since at this particular point it presents those who will play important elite roles for the coming generation. Their attitudes are of critical importance in future political developments that may range from the maintenance of the status quo to outright revolution.

As was the case with the overall sample, the majority of respondents were male (71%) and there were only 27% females. Again the preponderant group came from Ladinos (90%) and most of them (93%) came from Guatemala City, thus representing the most urbanized elite group. However, only 43% had been born in Guatemala City. The majority were single (77%), and only 23% had ventured in matrimony.

The majority again were Catholic (80%), and 14% declared they had no religion at all. As it could be expected, even for those who declared themselves to be Catholic, religious commitment appeared to be quite perfunctory. Only 36% stated they went to church once a week or more. A strong 33% said that they hardly ever or occasionally did so, and 21% stated tersely that they had never done so. On the other hand, literacy was remarkably high with 94% being literate. Thirty-five percent had some university training, but only 1% had completed the university. Eighteen percent had vocational training (completed) and 14% stated they had "some" vocational training. Only 4% had some primary school education and 5% had none. The employment picture indicates again the middle elite status of our group. Seventeen percent work for the government; 8% were teachers; 34% employees; 8% were merchants, and 2% declared themselves to be professional. Not a single one was a farmer, but 17% could be classified as laborers. Again stability of employment appears to be relatively high. Fourteen percent had their job for a year, 18% for two years, 10% for three years, and 24% more than three years. Eleven percent declared themselves to be unemployed. Some 47% declared themselves to be satisfied with their jobs, while 41% were dissatisfied. Among the latter, the inadequacy of pay was the major source of dissatisfaction (30%).

The average income of our group was lower than that of the larger sample. Forty-five percent declared themselves to be earning between 0-100 Guatemalan dollars, 17% between 100-150 dollars, 8% between 150-200 dollars, another 8% between 200-300 dollars, and only about 10% were earning more than three hundred dollars a month.

A. Information and Awareness

The level of information and awareness of the youth of our panel was high. Fifty percent discussed six or more of the questions we give below; 12% discussed

six or more of the questions we give below; 12% discussed five; another 10% four; 11% three, and only some 15% discussed fewer than two questions. A mere 3% only seem to be totally disinterested. Lack of jobs, high prices, the problem of violence, and high taxes were among the topics most frequently mentioned (80% or more). In contrast, the war in Vietnam, political problems in the U.S., problems of transportation, were the least mentioned.

Members of the panel identify a number of serious problems in Guatemala and some 90% identify two or more problems. Forty-five percent identify four or more problems. Among them 21% mentioned unemployment--obviously sensitive point with the younger people. Eight percent mentioned the "political situation," another 8% the level of economic employment, another 8% poverty and the unequal distribution of wealth, 7% the high cost of living, and 7% the existing state of violence in Guatemala. In addition, however, to the high cost of living, illiteracy continues to be perceived as a very serious problem being mentioned by 18% of our members. As a result, again dissatisfaction with the educational system in Guatemala appears to be frighteningly high--with 75% being "dissatisfied" or "dissatisfied very much." Only 2% were "very much satisfied," and another 17% indicated its general satisfaction. The reasons given for dissatisfaction were generally the same as with our overall panel--curriculum unsuitable to the needs of the country, a small number of schools, poor teachers, poor administration.

Only 36% of our panel failed to give specific suggestions for the improvement of Guatemala's governmental system. Twenty-four percent stated that better leadership and more honest government officials are needed; 8% asked for a greater degree of self-government. Seven percent wished for more effective and expanded governmental services, and about 10% for the improvement of the bureaucracy. However, only 3% of the panel mentioned the elimination of military influence.

As compared with our overall panel, the young people seemed to be less aware of their representative in the National Assembly. Fifty-nine percent did not know any deputy, 24% mentioned one or two, and 16% three or more. In contrast, their evaluation of the political system as a whole appears to be quite critical. Fifty-four percent "did not believe" or "did not believe at all" that all people have the same rights in Guatemala. Only 30% believed that this was so. The same applies to the availability of equal opportunities for jobs. A whopping 75% "did not believe" or "did not believe at all" that equal opportunities existed in contrast to a mere 9% which claimed that this was the case. Similarly 79% did not believe that children in Guatemala had the same opportunities for a good education. Only 7% believed this to be so.

The evidence does not obviously allow anything but tentative generalizations, and the one we can venture to make here is that the younger people are less conversant and in tune with the governmental institutions and that they tend to evaluate them more critically than it was the case with the overall panel. This applies particularly to the very sensitive question of equality. Deprivation of equal opportunities, as perceived by our young panel, is undoubtedly a serious source of potential protest.

B. Participation

The level of participation of involvement despite the concluding generalization made above appears to be unexpectedly high. Eighty percent were registered to vote; however, only 66% had voted in the last election. Seven percent of them were not interested in politics; 4% did not like the candidates, and the rest were not registered. Fourteen percent talked about politics "very often," 8% "often," and 32% "occasionally." A relatively high proportion, some 45%, talked "only a little," "very little," or "never." Again the pattern of conversation about politics was analagous to the reactions of the overall panel. Thirty-nine percent

talked in the family, 59% with friends, 55% with their working mates or fellow students. Only 8% talked with neighbors, 9% with public officials, and 12% with politicians. The conclusion is inescapable--discussion of politics is restricted only to those groups where either intimate relations or friendship removes the distrust and suspicion and perhaps even the fear that many experience. In other words, political conversations are highly personalized and presuppose effective personal ties.

Political news is listened to by 59%; 17% do not care to listen, and 22% do so a little. Similarly reading about politics in the papers was not as extensive; 45% do so "once in a while," and 20% "hardly ever" or "never," but a faithful 35% stated "they do so always." There is no great enthusiasm or involvement in political activities and elections as such. Ninety-one percent had never worked for an election; 64% declared they were not planning to do so in a future election; and another 15% said "maybe." Only a mere 8% stated its intention to do so. Government officials are not very much sought after. Sixty percent had never had any conversations with any members of the government, and only 36% said they did so sometimes. A mere 3% only talked often to the government officials. Among the officials most sought out are the mayor and the civil servants. Only 3% had talked with a deputy.

C. Identification and Maturity

Since our sample is urban and it is a middle elite one, parochialism appears very low. Eighty-eight percent identify with Guatemala, and only about 11% with localities or ethnic groups. They also do mention the obligations they hold to their national community. More than 90% mention one or more such obligations, but again the obligations tended to be cast in diffused rather than specific terms. Thus, the majority (37%) mentioned good citizenship and work to improve one's country as opposed to 17% who mentioned obedience to laws, 9% mentioned patriotism,

and 14% indicated specific acts of loyalty such as paying taxes, or defending the country. A remarkably low percentage, 5% mentioned "respect for the rights of others." When it came, however, to the determination to stay in Guatemala and improve things, the commitment appears to be high. Only 24% stated they would leave for another country to look for other opportunities while the rest indicated their determination to stay home, work for social justice, and "to improve things." The need for improvement seems to be widely felt since 56% of our respondents stated that the government is not doing all it can for Guatemala.

The political and social atmosphere in Guatemala does not lend itself to one of trust and good fellowship. Fifty-percent of our panel indicated people can be trusted "some time," and 13% said that this was usually the case. The rest said "not too much," or "never." Again with regard to the perception of citizenship problems, the tendency was to cast them generally in highly abstract terms such as spiritual betterment, the elimination of inequality and injustice, and better economic conditions. Among the more specific answers given, better schools was again the highest--it was mentioned by 64%. In contrast, cutting down future investment, having good homes or making enough money to live on were mentioned by 36%. Our panelists understand politics and they refuse to consider it a complicated topic. At least 50% so stated with 20% refusing to answer. Twenty-three percent seemed to avoid the question by agreeing it was too complicated.

However, the evasiveness that the above percentages hide is quickly exposed by the responses of our respondents to the question of whether powerful groups control the government and that in so doing they neglect the interests of the people. Sixty-four percent felt that this was so. Among the groups mentioned, 36% mentioned the military, 11% capitalists and the rich. The land owners were not mentioned by anybody, again an indication that our group was predominantly urban.

In case jobs are needed, only 27% said they would go to a government official; 47% mentioned friends, and 17% their father. The same generally applies to those who needed a favor; 51% would seek family help, and only 7% would go to representatives of the government.

Despite the overall dissatisfaction with the government, despite the perceptions that equality does not exist and that equal opportunities are unavailable, a huge 75% stated that if they disagreed with the law they would try to see it changed. Only 2% said they would disobey it and another 18% that they would tolerate it; 23% said they would not seek help from the police if they had a problem, and only 17% said that they would. The majority (59%) evaded the question by saying--it depends. Indeed, it is very clear that "it depends!" since 76% did not believe that all people are likely to be treated equally by the police.

As was the case with the general inclination of respondents to change rather than violate the law, settlement of arguments and disagreements may be decided also in a peaceful way; 66% said they would discuss things until an agreement was reached; 12% hoped to see the ideas for change incorporated by a political party; 11% mentioned their commitment to fight until one's ideas prevailed. More than 70% favored strikes and demonstrations but a remarkable 84% refused in the same context to agree that violence may be the only solution. Eight percent only advocated violence.

Education was preferred by the great majority--75% to be the best and only way to get ahead in the world, and optimism was quite high about the future of Guatemala with 54% thinking that it would be a better place for their children, and 9% thinking that it would not be so, but 35% simply did not know.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

It would be foolhardy to attempt to generalize on the basis of the above observations and responses. If accurate, they indicate a heretofore unexpected set of attitudes from which unanticipated development may well emerge.

If we backtrack to the original scheme we suggested and the hypothesis we offered, a number of things become clear: (1) Guatemala is a developing society; (2) middle elite groups seem to share in their perceptions and attitudes--a general outlook that is characteristic of all mature and developed societies. In other words, the middle elite as a group is one that looks upon the outside world with views and attitudes that one is likely to find in the middle elite group of Rome, Paris, or New York City. Intellectually they have crossed the threshold of political sophistication that separates the modern from the traditional. In terms of awareness, participation, and information, they are like all other middle elite groups. The same seems to be the case in terms of cognition and effect. There is hardly any doubt, therefore, that the middle elite constitutes the most representative and historically the most likely agency of political change. And there is no doubt, in terms of the responses we received, that it is an elite group that is both reform-and-future oriented.

Contrary to all expectations, it is not a revolution-minded or violence-prone body. On the contrary, the existence of violence in the country--meaning by that guerilla warfare in some of the regions of Guatemala--was decried by the vast majority of respondents, and peaceful change in the law and in governmental institutions was advocated by most of them. Disaffection that can bring revolt exists but only potentially--most respondents seemed willing to try the system out and try political solutions out before taking to the hills, metaphorically speaking. There could be nothing more reassuring than the constant emphasis

upon education as the best vehicle for improvement and change, nor can there be anything more refreshing than their commitment to stay home and improve things. For a society like Guatemala that has had various types of military government and dictatorships, and for one in which democratic forms are often empty shells that hide the actual rule of few, political participation in the form of voting and the remarkable awareness of problems and political mechanisms is quite astonishing. The middle elite seems to espouse the values of democratic processes and to be therefore potentially the vehicle for a liberalization of the regime in the direction of a reformist and gradually democratized polity. If only it were given power!

It is the lack of power for the middle elite and relatedly the struggle for power upon which it may well engage itself in the future that constitutes the most obvious source of instability in the country and potentially the most explosive source of conflict and even revolution. For our responses make it clear that the existing mechanisms for change and governance do not satisfy the middle elite. Thus, their reformist, even gradualistic tendency, if met by resistance by a rejective top elite will force them to an association with the mass of alienated and discontented in their effort to increase their share of political power.

Our study therefore leads us to the following tentative conclusion: the middle elite groups seem to display at the cognitive, affective, and attitudinal levels traits that correspond to a fairly developed, mature, stable, and open political system. They are potentially "assimilable" to the top elite if the latter would permit it; they are potentially able to assume the leadership of the mass of people and lead them gradually through economic and social reforms, but also through gradual politicization, to an open and gradually democratic political system. But their ability to do so depends upon the attitudes of the

two sides of our pyramid that we have not discussed and for which we do not have here adequate data--the base (the masses of the peasantry) and the apex-- (the top elite).

Even without adequate data about the two, it is easy to spell out hypothetically the critical role of the middle elite in the coming years. If their ranks increase thanks to socio-economic changes and modernization, if education allows their number to grow, and if, as the structure of the economy and the society changes because of economic modernization, they are given, as it seems inevitable, more roles to play--both quantitatively and qualitatively, the values of the middle elite are likely to prevail unless the top elite and more particularly its military component becomes increasingly rejective. If, on the other hand, the top elite become increasingly responsive, the middle elite may well play the role the middle classes played in the past--but without a revolution--in many of the contemporary democratic systems. Its task of course will be made difficult by a small minority that demands very radical and very rapid changes. This minority coming from among the very ranks of the middle elite will gain in political influence among the masses the more the top elite becomes rejective. The crucial variable, in other words, is the attitude and behavior of the top elite. It can find in the middle elite an ally for gradual change or a potentially effective enemy, if it refuses change. It can assimilate the middle elite and thus pave the way to a gradual transformation of the system or it can oppose it and thus open the way to an inevitable confrontation with it and with the masses of the people. The time for reforms is now and the grounds for it quite propitious. The time for conflict, if reforms are not made, will inevitably come in the near future.

A P P E N D I X A

Percentages Are Based On Total Sample Of 165 Respondents

July, 1969 Brandeis-INAD Project

Guatemala, #3

Card 01

<u>Question</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Sex (1)	
Na	02
Male	71
Female	27
Ethnicity (2)	
Indian	06
Ladino	89
Na	06
Place of residence (3)	
Na	03
Guatemala City	93
Other	05
Place of birth (4)	
Na	01
Guatemala City	43
Other	56
Age (5)	
18-29	1.00
Marital Status (6)	
Na	00
Married	23
Single	77
Number of children (7)	
0	73
1	15
2	08
3	02
4	02
5 or more	00

<u>Question</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Father's Occupation (8)	
Na	09
Farmer	23
Laborer	15
Government	08
Teacher	03
Employee	08
Merchant	16
Professional	10
Other	06
Doesn't know	02
If you live only with your mother, give her occupation.	
Not applicable	90
Teacher	02
Housework	08
Office work	01
Other	
Religion (9)	
Na	03
Catholic	80
Protestant	03
Doesn't have any	14
Other	
Church Attendance (10)	
Na	05
Once a week or more	36
Once or twice a month	07
Hardly ever	33
Never	21
Literacy (11)	
Na	01
Yes	94
No	05
Education (12)	
Na	05
Some primary	04
Completed primary	09
Some pre-vocational	07
Completed pre-vocational	08
Some vocational	14
Completed vocational	18
Some university	35
Completed university	01
Post-graduate	

<u>Question</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Education (12)	
Na	05
Some primary	09
Completed primary	13
Some pre-vocational	06
Completed pre-vocational	08
Some vocational	13
Completed vocational	13
Some university	32
Completed university	01
Post-graduate	
Employment (13)	
Na, unemployed	05
Student	04
Farmer	01
Laborer	18
Government	14
Teacher	08
Employee	36
Merchant	06
Professional	03
Other	05
How long have you worked at your present job? (14)	
Na, unemployed	08
Less than one year	16
1 year	12
2 years	14
3 years	07
More than 3 years	42
How many kinds of jobs have you had in the last 3 years? (15)	
Na	08
0	00
1	55
2	24
3	10
4	02
More than 5	01
Are you satisfied with your present job? (16)	
Na	10
Yes	55
No	35
Doesn't know	01
Other	

<u>Question</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
If you are not satisfied, why not? (17)	
Na	09
Not applicable	55
Not enough money	27
Works too hard	02
Doesn't get along with work-mates	01
Few opportunities for promotion	01
Mean boss	00
Other	05
If more than one reason mentioned, the 2nd (19)	
Not applicable	88
Not enough money	00
Works too hard	02
Doesn't get along with work-mates	04
Few opportunities for promotion	04
Mean boss	01
Other	01
What else would you like to do? (18)	
No change, Na	21
Farmer	01
Laborer	01
Government	04
Teacher	08
Employee	25
Merchant	10
Professional	18
Other	11
If more than one mentioned, the 2nd	
Not applicable	93
Farmer	00
Laborer	00
Government	01
Teacher	00
Employee	02
Merchant	02
Professional	01
Other	01
If more than 2 mentioned, the 3rd	
Not applicable	99
Farmer	
Laborer	
Government	
Teacher	
Employee	
Merchant	
Professional	
Other	01

<u>Question</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
What do you plan to do to accomplish this? (18a)	
Na	22
Apply for the job	18
Save/obtain money--establish a business	07
Study	38
Hard work	04
Through friends	
Doesn't know	02
Other	10
If more than one way mentioned, the 2nd	
Na, not applicable	90
Apply for the job	05
Save/obtain money	-1
Study	00
Hard work	01
Through friends	01
Other	01
Salary per month (19)	
Na	10
0-100	44
101-150	15
151-200	07
201-300	10
301-400	03
401-500	04
501 or more	07
Wife's/husband's job (20,21)	
Na, not married	59
Doesn't work	26
Farmer	01
Laborer	01
Works for government	02
Employee	06
Merchant	02
Professional	01
Teacher	02
Other	00
His/Her salary (20a)	
Na	60
Doesn't work	27
0-100	06
101-150	02
151-200	01
201-300	02
301-400	01
401-500	01
501+	01

<u>Question</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Where else have you lived in the past 5 years? (22)	
Na	01
1-2	25
3	01
4	
5 or more	
Only here	73
(22) continued--country/city breakdown	
Na, only here	75
Only in the country	04
Only in the city	20
Both	01

INFORMATION AND AWARENESS

Do you ever discuss any of the following questions with other persons? (23)

# mentioned	
0	04
1	05
2	07
3	13
4	10
5	10
6 or more	51
The lack of jobs	
Yes	79
No	21
Water	
Yes	64
No	36
The price of things	
Yes	80
No	20
The conditions of roads and transportation	
Yes	61
No	39
Violence	
Yes	74
No	26
Taxes	
Yes	73
No	27

<u>Question</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
The vietnam War	
Yes	44
No	56
Elections in the United States	
Yes	37
No	63
Say which are, in your opinion, the most serious problems in Guatemala. (24)	
# mentioned	
0	04
1	10
2	18
3	29
4	18
5 or more	22
Specifics--1st mentioned	
Na	04
Poverty, unequal distribution of wealth	07
Political situation	12
Poor public administration	03
Economic development, indebtedness	07
High cost of living, low salaries, high taxes	07
Rigid political, economic, and social stratification	01
Educational system	04
Unemployment, few job opportunities	19
Lack of medical facilities, illness	00
Water and electricity, sanitation	00
Roads and transportation, communication	01
Violence, law and order	07
Illiteracy	18
Lack of patriotism	01
Agrarian reform (need for)	01
Other	01
Housing	01
Not enough food	05

(24) continued

<u>Question</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
If more than one mentioned, the 2nd	
Na	13
Poverty, unequal distribution of wealth	04
Political situation	04
Poor public administration	09
Economic development	05
High cost of living	11
Rigid political, economic, and social strat.	01
Educational system	10
Unemployment	11
Lack of medical facilities	02
Water and electricity, sanitation	01
Roads and transportation	01
Violence, law and order	07
Illiteracy	12
Lack of patriotism	01
Agrarian reform	02
Other	07
Housing	02
Not enough food	01
If more than two mentioned, the third	
Na	31
Poverty, unequal distribution of wealth	02
Political situation	05
Poor public administration	05
Economic development	05
High cost of living	07
Rigid political, economic and social strat.	02
Educational system	02
Unemployment	09
Lack of medical facilities	02
Water and electricity, sanitation	02
Roads and transportation	02
Violence, law and order	05
Illiteracy	03
Lack of patriotism	01
Agrarian reform	02
Other	07
Housing	02
Not enough food	04

(24) continued

<u>Question</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
If more than three, the fourth	
Na	60
Poverty, etc.	03
Political situation	04
Poor public administration	03
Economic development	02
High cost of living	03
Rigid political, economic, and social strat.	02
Educational system	02
Unemployment	04
Lack of medical facilities	01
Water, electricity, and sanitation	01
Roads	01
Violence	04
Illiteracy	01
Lack of patriotism	00
Agrarian Reform	01
If more than four, the fifth	
Na	78
Poverty, etc.	01
Political situation	01
Poor administration	01
Economic development	02
High cost of living	02
Rigid political, economic, and social strat.	00
Educational system	01
Unemployment	02
Lack of medical facilities	01
Water, electricity, and sanitation	01
Roads	01
Violence, law and order	01
Illiteracy	01
Lack of patriotism	01
Agrarian reform	00
Other	07
Housing	01
Not enough food	00
Are you satisfied with the education in Guatemala? (25)	
Na	01
Satisfied very much	02
Satisfied	21
Dissatisfied	41
Dissatisfied very much	28
Doesn't know	07
Other	00

<u>Question</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
If not, why not? (26)	05
Na	30
Is satisfied, or doesn't know	11
Not doing an effective job	11
Dissatisfied with curriculum, doesn't meet needs	22
Not enough schools; geographic distribution unequal	08
Not enough teachers; poor teacher training	00
High cost of education	06
Poor administration	03
Other	04
Not enough resources devoted to improvements	
If more than one reason given	84
Na, is satisfied, doesn't know, only one	01
Not doing an effective job	04
Dissatisfied with curriculum; doesn't meet needs	04
Not enough schools; geographic distribution unequal	02
Not enough teachers, poor teacher training	01
High cost of education	02
Poor administration	02
Other	01
Not enough resources devoted to improvements	
Can you give any suggestions of how to improve Guatemala's governmental system? (27)	38
Can't give any	07
Widening scope of government's activities, or increased activity in areas already under government control	11
More self-government, introduction of democratic processes	09
Improvements in bureaucracy	20
Need for more capable, honest government officials	02
Efficiency	02
Elimination of political patronage	08
Other	
If more than one, the second	68
Can't give any, only one	05
Widening scope of government's activities	07
More self-government	07
Improvements in bureaucracy	05
Need for better leadership, etc.	00
Efficiency	01
Elimination of military influence	00
Elimination of political patronage	07
Other	

(27) continued

<u>Question</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
If more than two, the third	
Can't give any, only 1 or 2	83
Widening scope of government's activities	05
More self-government	01
Improvements in bureaucracy	01
Need for better leadership, etc.	01
Efficiency	01
Elimination of military influence	01
Elimination of political patronage	01
Other	07
If more than three, the fourth	
Can't give any, only 1, 2, or 3	95
Widening scope of government's activities	02
More self-government	01
Improvements in bureaucracy	01
Need for better leadership	00
Efficiency	00
Elimination of military influence	01
Elimination of political patronage	00
Other	01
# of improvements mentioned	
0	38
1	31
2	15
3	12
4 or more	05
Do you know any deputy to the National Congress? (28)	
Na	58
Mentions one	16
Mentions two	08
Mentions three or more	19
Do you think we all have the same rights in Guatemala? (29)	
Na	00
Firmly believes so	09
Believes so	21
Believes so, but it depends	16
Doesn't believe so, but it depends	03
Doesn't believe so	24
Other	00

<u>Question</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Do you think we all have the same opportunities for a job? (30)	
Na	01
Firmly believes so	04
Believes so	05
Believes so, but it depends	11
Doesn't believe so, but it depends	04
Doesn't believe so	40
Doesn't believe so at all	35
Other	00
Do you think that we all have the same opportunities for a good education? (31)	
Na	01
Firmly believes so	02
Believes so	05
Believes so, but it depends	10
Doesn't believe so, but it depends	04
Doesn't believe so	04
Doesn't believe so at all	74
Other	
Card 02	
<u>PARTICIPATION</u>	
Are you registered as a citizen to vote? (32)	
Na	01
Yes	86
No	13
Doesn't know	01
Other	
If not, why not? (33)	
Na	01
Is registered, or doesn't know	87
Doesn't know it should be done	00
Is not interested in politics	05
Hasn't been able to	05
Doesn't think it's worthwhile	01
Other	02
Did you vote in the last elections? (34) (35)	
Na	01
Yes	66
Doesn't remember	01
Wasn't registered	16
Is not interested in politics	06
Didn't like the candidates	-2
It wasn't worthwhile	01
Other	07

<u>Question</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Do you talk about politics frequently? (36)	
Na	02
Very often	16
Often	09
Occasionally	27
A little	05
Very little	15
Never	26
With whom do you talk about politics? (37)	
# mentioned	
0	27
1	24
2	20
3	17
4	06
5 or more	06
With my family	
Yes	34
No	61
With my friends	
Yes	56
No	44
With my work-mates or study-mates	
Yes	51
No	49
With my neighbors	
Yes	07
No	93
With public officials	
Yes	10
No	90
With politicians	
Yes	11
No	89
Other	
Yes	08
No	92

<u>Question</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Do you listen to political news? (38)	
Na	02
Yes	60
No	18
A little	20
Do you read about politics in the paper? (39)	
Na	01
Yes, always	36
Once in a while	38
Hardly ever	08
Never	16
Have you ever worked for an election? If so, what did you do?	
# mentioned	
0 never worked	89
1	04
2	02
3	02
4 or more	02
Specifics (41)	
Na or never worked	89
Made a speech	02
Attended meetings	04
Prepared or distributed propaganda	04
Ran for office	
Obtained votes	
Took part in a demonstration	
Contributed money	
Fought with the opponents	
Other	01
If more than one, the second	
Na, or only one	93
Made a speech	00
Attended meetings	01
Prepared or distributed propaganda	02
Ran for office	00
Obtained votes	02
Took part in a demonstration	02
Contributed money	
Fought with the opponents	
Other	

<u>Question</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
(41) continued	
If more than two, the third	
Na, or less than three	96
Made a speech	
Attended meetings	
Prepared or distributed propaganda	01
Ran for office	
Obtained votes	
Took part in a demonstration	02
Contributed money	01
Fought with the opponents	
Other	01
Do you plan to work in the coming elections? (42)	
Na	02
Yes	07
Maybe	12
No	69
Doesn't know	10
Have you ever had conversations with members of the government? (43)	
Na	01
Never	64
Sometimes	31
Often	04
With whom? (43a)	
Na	01
Never	64
President	04
Governor	01
Official	15
Deputy	03
Mayor	02
Other	02
All or any four	02
Any three	06
If more than one, the second	
Na, or never, or only one, three, or four	88
President	
Governor	
Official	01
Deputy	04
Mayor	03
Other	05

<u>Question</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Have you ever written to the deputies for your Departamento? (44)	
Na	01
Yes	03
No	96

Are you a member of a party? (45)	
Na	01
Yes	05
No	94

IDENTIFICATION

What do you consider yourself before anything? (46)	
Na	01
Guatemalan	89
Ladino	00
Native	02
Departamento	03
Municipality	01
Other	01
Guatemalan and Ladino	01
Guatemalan and Native	01
Guatemalan, Ladino, and Departamento	01

People speak about the obligations they owe to their country. In your opinion, what are these obligations? (47)	
# mentioned	
0	06
1	38
2	39
3 or more	17

Specifics	
Na, or none	05
Community loyalty	04
Behavioral, (voting, paying taxes, defending)	16
Value (respect, be patriotic)	12
Regime	00
Government (obey laws, constitution)	13
Be a good citizen, work to improve the country	38
Doesn't know	01
Respect the rights of others	04
Other	03

If more than one, the second	
Na, none, only one	43
Community loyalty	01
Behavioral	05
Value	07
Regime	01
Government	07
Be a good citizen, etc.	21

Question Percentage

(47) continued

Doesn't know	01
Respect the rights of others	01
Other	15

If more than two, the third

Na, etc.	82
Community loyalty	00
Behavioral	02
Value	01
Regime	00
Government	01
Be a good citizen	05
Doesn't know	01
Respect the rights of others	00
Other	08

If there were no job opportunities in Guatemala, what would you do? (48)

Na	03
I would go to another country.	25
I would stay here and work to improve things.	40
I would seek help from my family.	04
I would go to the bank for a loan.	00
I would work for more social justice.	16
Other	02
Stay here to improve; work for more social justice.	10

Do you think the government is doing all it can for Guatemala? (49)

Na	04
Yes	16
No	48
In some areas, yes. In some, no.	14
Doesn't know.	09
Moving too slowly, is doing a little.	08

Card 03

MATURITY

Some people say that most persons can be trusted; others say you have to be careful in dealing with people. What do you think? (50)

Na	01
Can be trusted most of the time.	08
Usually	12
Sometimes	48
Not too much	23
Never	08
Other	

<u>Question</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Which of the following problems are the most important? (51)	
# mentioned	
0	01
1	13
2	08
3	38
4	19
5 or more	21
Spiritual and moral betterment	
Yes	44
No	56
Making enough money to live on.	
Yes	42
No	58
Eliminating inequality and injustice.	
Yes	72
No	28
Having good homes	
Yes	29
No	71
Cutting down foreign investment.	
Yes	30
No	70
Better schools	
Yes	65
No	35
Better economic conditions	
Yes	69
No	31
Some people say that politics are too complicated for us. What do you think? (52)	
Na	01
Politics are too complicated	24
Understands them	47
Doesn't know	28
Other	

<u>Question</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
It is said that powerful groups control the government and that the interests of the people are ignored. What do you think? (53)	
Na	01
Not true	05
True	59
Doesn't know	34
Other	01
If true, can you mention some groups? (54)	
Na, thinks not true, or doesn't know	45
Military	27
Religious groups	00
Capitalists, the rich	13
Landowners	00
Outsiders (U.S. Government, Alliance for Progress, CIA)	04
Social elite	01
Government officials	01
Political parties	07
Other	02
If more than one, the second	
Na, etc.	64
Military	08
Religious	02
Capitalists, the rich	11
Landowners	03
Outsiders	04
Social elite	01
Government officials	02
Political Parties	03
Other	01
If more than two, the third	
Na	84
Military	02
Religious	01
Capitalists	05
Landowners	01
Outsiders	03
Social	00
Government officials	01
Political parties	02
Other	01

<u>Question</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
How can you make you interests known? (55)	
Na	10
By talking with the members of the government.	24
By participating in elections.	19
By working with the Church.	02
By protesting and joining public demonstrations.	08
Through revolution	04
Other	28
Participating in elections and demonstrating.	02
Revolution and demonstration	01
If more than one way mentioned, the second	
Na, only 1	88
By talking with members of the government.	02
By participating in elections.	04
By working with the Church.	00
By protesting and joining public demonstrations.	01
Through revolution	02
Other	01
Participating in elections and demonstrating	01
Revolution and demonstration	
In your experience, people looking for a job are likely to go to: (56)	
Na	01
Priest	04
Father	13
Mother	00
Deputies	08
Government officials	27
Other--Note: Many wrote in "friends."	47
If more than one, the second	
Na, only one	84
Priest	00
Father	01
Mother	03
Deputies	01
Government Officials	07
Other	05
If more than two, the third	
Na, etc.	96
Priest	00
Father	00
Mother	01
Deputies	00
Government Officials	02
Other	01

<u>Question</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
If people need a favor, to whom do they go? (57)	
Na	04
Priest	05
Mother	04
Deputies	04
Government Officials	04
Other	27
If more than one, the second	
Na, only one	68
Priest	00
Father	03
Mother	19
Deputies	01
Government Officials	03
Other	06
If more than two, the third	
Na	93
Priest	00
Father	00
Mother	02
Deputies	00
Government Officials	01
Other	04
If people disagree with a law, what do you think they should do? (58)	
Na	02
Disobey it	01
Tolerate it	21
Try and see it changed	75
Other	01
If you had a problem, would you seek help from the police? (59)	
Na	01
Yes	18
No	21
It depends	61
Other	00
Are all people likely to be treated equally by the police? (60)	
Na	01
Yes	11
No	76
Doesn't know	12
Other	00

<u>Question</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
When people disagree about politics, how can they settle their argument? (61)	
Na	04
Discussing until they reach an agreement	67
Doing nothing	10
Trying to have his party incorporate his ideas	11
Fighting to make his ideas win	08
Other	00
If more than one, the second	
Na, only one	97
Discussing until they reach an agreement	00
Doing nothing	00
Trying to have his party incorporate his ideas	02
Fighting to make his ideas win	01
Other	01
Do you think strikes ought to be allowed? (62)	
Na	02
Yes	63
No	12
Doesn't know	17
It depends	06
Do you think demonstrations ought to be allowed? (63)	
Na	01
Yes	06
No	10
Doesn't know	18
It depends	05
Do you think violence is the only solution? (64)	
Na	01
Yes	06
No	82
Doesn't know	09
It depends	01
Do you generally vote for any of the following reasons? (65)	
Na	08
Because the party to which you belong says to	04
Because the candidate is the best one for Guatemala	78
Because you know the candidate personally	02
Because the candidate is your friend	01
Because you think the candidate will do you a favor	00
Because the candidate is your relative	01
Other	05

<u>Question</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
If more than one, the second	
Na, only one	94
Because the party to which you belong says so	01
Because the candidate is the best one for Guatemala	02
Because you know the candidate personally	02
Because the candidate is your friend	01
Because you think the candidate will do you a favor	01
Because the candidate is your relative	00
Other	00
Do you belong to any of the following organizations? (66)	
# mentioned	
0	44
1	39
2	12
3 or more	05
Specifics	
Na	44
Church	18
Union	02
Club	06
Cooperatives	05
Associations	24
Other	02
If more than one, the second	
Na, only one	82
Church	00
Union	00
Club	04
Cooperatives	01
Associations	12
Other	01
How can one get ahead in this world? (69)	
Na	01
Getting a better education	70
Having more luck	05
Knowing the important people	02
Saving and working hard	13
Becoming a politician	00
Other	01
All of the above (1-5)	04
1-4	05

<u>Question</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
(69) continued	
If more than one, the second	
Na	67
Getting a better education	00
Having more luck	05
Knowing the important people	09
Saving and working hard	16
Becoming a politician	02
Other	01
If more than two, the third	
Na	92
Getting a better education	00
Having more luck	00
Knowing the important people	00
Saving and working hard	07
Becoming a politician	02
Do you think your children will have a better life? (70)	
Na	01
Yes	54
No	08
Doesn't know	36
Other	01
Do you think Guatemala will be a better place to live some years from now? (71)	
Na	01
Yes	55
No	09
Doesn't know	35
Other	01

A P P E N D I X B

Percentages Are Based On Youth Sample

Ages 18 - 29

July, 1969 Brandeis-INAD Project

Guatemala, #3

Card 01

<u>Question</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Sex (1)	
Na	02
Male	77
Female	21
Ethnicity (2)	
Indian	05
Ladino	90
Na	04
Place of residence (3)	
Na	02
Guatemala	92
Other	06
Place of birth (4)	
Na	01
Guatemala City	42
Other	57
Age (5)	
Na	01
18-29	65
30-39	22
40-49	09
50-59	03
60-69	
70+	
Marital Status (6)	
Na	01
Married	42
Single	56
Number of children (7)	
0	55
1	13
2	10
3	11
4	05
5 or more	06

<u>Question</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Father's Occupation (8)	
Na	15
Farmer	25
Laborer	13
Government	07
Teacher	03
Employee	09
Merchant	13
Professional	08
Other	06
Doesn't know	01
If you live only with your mother, give her occupation (8)	
Not applicable	87
Teacher	02
Housework	10
Office work	01
Other	
Religion (9)	
Na	03
Catholic	79
Protestant	04
Doesn't have any	13
Other	01
Church attendance (10)	
Na	04
Once a week or more	37
Once or twice a month	07
Hardly ever, occasionally	33
Never	19
Literacy (11)	
Na	01
Yes	94
No	05

<u>Question</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Employment (13)	
Na, unemployed	07
Student	05
Farmer	00
Laborer	17
Government	17
Teacher	08
Employee	34
Merchant	08
Professional	02
Other	03
How long have you worked at your present job? (14)	
Na, unemployed	11
Less than one year	21
one year	14
two years	18
three years	10
More than three years	24
How many kinds of jobs have you had in the last three years? (15)	
Na	09
0	00
1	49
2	26
3	12
4	02
More than five	02
Are you satisfied with your present job? (16)	
Na	11
Yes	47
No	41
Doesn't know	01
Other	
If you are not satisfied, why not? (17)	
Na	11
Not applicable	47
Not enough money	30
Works too hard	03
Doesn't get along with work-mates	01
Few opportunities for promotion	01
Mean boss	00
Other	08

<u>Question</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
If more than one reason mentioned, the second	
Not applicable	88
Not enough money	00
Works too hard	01
Doesn't get along with work-mates	05
Few opportunities for promotion	04
Mean boss	01
Other	02
What else would you like to do? (18)	
No change	21
Farmer	01
Laborer	01
Government	04
Teacher	09
Employee	23
Merchant	10
Professional	23
Other	08
If more than one mentioned, the second	
Not applicable	93
Farmer	00
Laborer	00
Government	01
Teacher	00
Employee	03
Merchant	03
Professional	00
Other	01
If more than two mentioned, the third	
Not applicable	100
What do you plan to do to accomplish this? (18a)	
Na	20
Apply for the job	21
Save/obtain money, establish a business	04
Study	43
Hard work	04
Through friends	00
Doesn't know	02
Other	08

<u>Question</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
If more than one way mentioned, the second	
Na	89
Apply for the job	07
Save/obtain money	01
Study	00
Hard work	02
Through friends	01
Other	02
Salary per month (19)	
Na	12
0-100	45
101-150	17
151-200	08
201-300	08
301-400	04
401-500	03
501 or more	03
Wife's/husband's job (20, 21)	
Na, not married	75
Doesn't work	11
Farmer	00
Laborer	01
Works for government	01
Employee	07
Merchant	03
Professional	01
Teacher	02
Other	00
His/Her salary (20a)	
Na	75
Doesn't work	12
0-100	07
101-150	03
151-200	01
201-300	02
301-400	01
401-500	00
501+	00
Where else have you lived in the past 5 years? (22)	
Na	00
1-2	28
3	01
4	
5 or more	
Only here	71

<u>Question</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
(22) continued	
Country/city breakdown	
Na, only here	72
Only in the country	04
Only in the city	22
Both	02

INFORMATION AND AWARENESS

Do you ever discuss any of the following questions
with other persons? (23)

# mentioned	
0	03
1	07
2	07
3	11
4	10
5	12
6 or more	50
The lack of jobs	
Yes	80
No	21
Water	
Yes	60
No	40
The price of things	
Yes	83
No	17
The conditions of roads and transportation	
Yes	61
No	39
Violence	
Yes	74
No	26
Taxes	
Yes	75
No	25
The Vietnam War	
Yes	48
No	52

(23) continued

<u>Question</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Elections in the United States	
Yes	36
No	64
Say which are, in your opinion, the most serious problems in Guatemala. (24)	
# mentioned	
0	04
1	06
2	18
3	28
4	20
5 or more	25
Specifics--1st mentioned	
Na	04
Poverty, unequal distribution of wealth	08
Political situation	08
Poor public administration	02
Economic development	08
High cost of living	07
Rigid political, economic, and social strat.,injustice	05
Educational system	06
Unemployment	21
Lack of medical facilities	00
Water and electricity, sanitation	00
Roads and transportation, communication	01
Violence, law and order	07
Illiteracy	18
Lack of patriotism	02
Agrarian reform	02
Other	00
Housing	02
Not enough food	06

(24) continued

<u>Question</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
If more than one mentioned, the second	
Na	09
Poverty, unequal distribution of wealth	07
Political situation	05
Poor public administration	03
Economic development	05
High cost of living	10
Rigid political, economic, and social strat.	00
Educational system	12
Unemployment	11
Lack of medical facilities	04
Water and electricity, sanitation	01
Roads and transportation	02
Violence, law and order	07
Illiteracy	09
Lack of patriotism	01
Agrarian reform	03
Other	09
Housing	01
Not enough food	02
If more than two mentioned, the third	
Na	27
Poverty, unequal distribution of wealth	03
Political situation	07
Poor public administration	05
Economic development	07
High cost of living	08
Rigid political, economic and social strat	03
Educational system	01
Unemployment	09
Lack of medical facilities	00
Water and electricity, sanitation	03
Roads and transportation	03
Violence, law and order	04
Illiteracy	04
Lack of patriotism	01
Agrarian reform	01
Other	08
Housing	03
Not enough food	06

(24) continued

<u>Question</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
If more than three, the fourth	
Na	55
Poverty	03
Political situation	04
Poor public administration	02
Economic development	02
High cost of living	05
Rigid political, economic, and social strat.	03
Educational system	03
Unemployment	05
Lack of medical facilities	01
Water, electricity, and sanitation	01
Roads	01
Violence	06
Illiteracy	01
Lack of patriotism	00
Agrarian reform	02
Other	07
Housing	01
Not enough food	01
If more than four, the fifth	
Na	75
Poverty	01
Political situation	01
Poor administration	01
Economic development	02
High cost of living	03
Rigid political, economic, and social strat.	00
Educational system	01
Unemployment	03
Lack of medical facilities	01
Water, electricity, and sanitation	01
Roads	01
Violence, law and order	01
Illiteracy	02
Lack of patriotism	00
Agrarian reform	00
Other	08
Housing	01
Not enough food	00

<u>Question</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Are you satisfied with the education in Guatemala? (25)	
Na	02
Satisfied very much	02
Satisfied	17
Dissatisfied	45
Dissatisfied very much	30
Doesn't know	05
Other	00
If not, why not? (26)	
Na	08
Is satisfied, or doesn't know	22
Not doing an effective job	13
Dissatisfied with curric;doen't meet needs of country	09
Not enough schools;portions of pop. don't have access	21
Not enough teachers; poor teacher training	09
High cost of education	00
Poor administration	08
Other	03
Not enough resources devoted to improvements	06
If more than one reason given, only one	
Na, is satisfied, doesn't know	83
Not doing an effective job	01
Dissatisfied with curric; doesn't meet needs of country	1
Not enough schools; portions of pop. don't have access	03
Not enough teachers, poor teacher training	03
High cost of education	01
Poor administration	02
Other	02
Not enough resources devoted to improvements	00
Can you given any suggestions of how to improve Guatemala's governmental system? (27)	
Can't give any	36
Widening scope of govnt's activities, or increased activity in areas already under govt control	07
More self-govnt, intro. of democratic processes	08
Improvements in bureaucracy	09
Need for more capable, honest govnt officials, better leadership	24
Efficiency	02
Elimination of military influence	03
Elimination of political patronage	02
Other	09

(27) continued

<u>Question</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
If more than one, the second	
Can't give any, only one	69
Widening scope of government's activities	05
More self-government	08
Improvements in bureaucracy	03
Need for better leadership	07
Efficiency	00
Elimination of military influence	01
Elimination of political patronage	00
Other	08
If more than two, the third	
Can't give any, only one or two	84
Widening scope of government's activities	05
More self-government	00
Improvements in bureaucracy	01
Need for better leadership	01
Efficiency	00
Elimination of military influence	01
Elimination of political patronage	00
Other	01
# of improvements mentioned	
0	36
1	34
2	15
3	13
4 or more	03
Do you know any deputy to the National Congress? (28)	
Na	59
Mentions one	18
Mentions two	08
Mentions three or more	16
Do you think we all have the same rights in Guatemala?(29)	
Na	00
Firmly believes so	12
Believes so	18
Believes so, but it depends	14
Doesn't believe so, but it depends	03
Doesn't believe so	21
Doesn't believe so at all	33
Other	

Question Percentage

Do you think we all have the same opportunities for a job? (30)

Na	01
Firmly believes so	04
Believes so	05
Believes so, but it depends	10
Doesn't believe so, but it depends	05
Doesn't believe so	38
Doesn't believe so at all	37
Other	

Do you think that we all have the same opportunities for a good education? (31)

Na	01
Firmly believes so	03
Believes so	04
Believes so, but it depends	09
Doesn't believe so, but it depends	05
Doesn't believe so	04
Doesn't believe so at all	75
Other	

Card 02

PARTICIPATION

Are you registered as a citizen to vote? (32)

Na	01
Yes	80
No	18
Doesn't know	01
Other	

If not, why not? (33)

Na	01
Is registered, or doesn't know	81
Doesn't know it should be done	00
Is not interested in politics	07
Hasn't been able to	07
Doesn't think it's worthwhile	02
Other	03

<u>Question</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Did you vote in the last elections? (34) (35)	
Na	02
Yes	56
Doesn't remember	01
Wasn't registered	23
Is not interested in politics	07
Didn't like the candidates	04
It wasn't worthwhile	00
Other	08
Do you talk about politics frequently? (36)	
Na	02
Very often	14
Often	08
Occasionally	32
A little	07
Very little	13
Never	24
With whom do you talk about politics? (37)	
# mentioned	
0	26
1	23
2	20
3	18
4	08
5 or more	06
With my family	
Yes	39
No	61
With my friends	
Yes	59
No	41
With my work-mates or study-mates	
Yes	55
No	45
With my neighbors	
Yes	08
No	92

(37) continued

<u>Question</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
With public officials	
Yes	09
No	91
With politicians	
Yes	12
No	88
Other	
Yes	07
No	93
Do you listen to political news? (38)	
Na	02
Yes	59
No	17
A little	22
Do you read about politics in the paper? (39)	
Na	01
Yes, always	35
Once in a while	45
Hardly ever	05
Never	15
Have you ever worked for an election? (40)	
If so, what did you do? (41)	
# mentioned	
0, never worked	91
1	04
2	03
3	02
4 or more	01
Specifics (41)	
Na or never worked	91
Made a speech	00
Attended meetings	06
Prepared or distributed propaganda	03
Ran for office	
Obtained votes	
Took part in a demonstration	
Contributed money	
Fought with the opponents	
Other	01

(41) continued

<u>Question</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
If more than one, the second	
Na, or only one	94
Made a speech	
Attended meetings	
Prepared or distributed propaganda	03
Ran for office	
Obtained votes	01
Took part in a demonstration	02
Contributed money	
Fought with the opponents	
Other	
If more than two, the third	
Na, or less than three	97
Made a speech	
Attended meetings	
Prepared or distributed propaganda	
Ran for office	
Obtained votes	
Took part in a demonstration	02
Contributed money	
Fought with the opponents	
Other	01
Do you plan to work in the coming elections? (42)	
Na	01
Yes	08
Maybe	15
No	64
Doesn't know	11
Have you ever had conversations with members of the government? (43)	
Na	02
Never	60
Sometimes	36
Often	03

<u>Question</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
With whom? (43a)	
Na	01
Never	59
President	06
Governor	00
Official	17
Deputy	03
Mayor	04
Other	02
All or any four	02
Any three	08

If more than one, the second	
Na, or never, or only one, three, or four	88
President	
Governor	
Official	02
Deputy	04
Mayor	02
Other	05

Have you ever written to the deputies for your Depart. (44)	
Na	01
Yes	02
No	97

Are you a member of a party? (45)	
Na	01
Yes	07
No	93

IDENTIFICATION

What do you consider yourself before anything? (46)	
Na	01
Guatemalan	88
Ladino	00
Native	02
Departamento	04
Municipality	02
Other	01
Guatemalan and Native	00
Guatemalan, Ladino, and Departamento	01

<u>Question</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
People speak about the obligations they owe to their country. In your opinion, what are these obligations?47)	
# mentioned	
0	08
1	36
2	37
3 or more	19
Specifics	
Na, or none	06
Community loyalty	05
Behavioral, (voting, paying taxes, defending)	14
Value (respect, be patriotic)	09
Regime	00
Government (obey laws, constitution)	17
Be a good citizen, work to improve the country	37
Doesn't know	02
Respect the rights of others	05
Other	06
If more than one, the second	
Na, none, only one	44
Community loyalty	00
Behavioral	05
Value	08
Regime	01
Government	05
Be a good citizen	20
Doesn't know	00
Respect the rights of others	01
Other	17
If more than two, the third	
Na	81
Community loyalty	00
Behavioral	01
Value	01
Regime	00
Government	01
Be a good citizen	07
Doesn't know	00
Respect the rights of others	00
Other	09

<u>Question</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
If there were no job opportunities in Guatemala, what would you do? (48)	
Na	03
I would go to another country	24
I would stay here and work to improve things	36
I would seek help from my family	04
I would go to the bank for a loan	00
I would work for more social justice	21
Other	01
Stay here to improve; work for more social justice	12

Do you think the government is doing all it can for Guatemala? (49)	
Na	06
Yes	14
No	56
In some areas, yes; in some, no	08
Doesn't know	08
Moving too slowly, is doing a little	09

Card 03

MATURITY

Some people say that most persons can be trusted; others say you have to be careful in dealing with people. What do you think? (50)

Na	01
Can be trusted most of the time	02
Usually	13
Sometimes	50
Not too much	24
Never	10
Other	

Which of the following problems are the most important? (51)
mentioned

0	01
1	14
2	08
3	38
4	19
5 or more	20

(51) continued

<u>Question</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Spiritual and moral betterment	
Yes	44
No	56
Making enough money to live on	
Yes	36
No	64
Eliminating inequality and injustice	
Yes	69
No	30
Having good homes	
Yes	26
No	74
Cutting down foreign investment	
Yes	36
No	64
Better schools	
Yes	64
No	36
Better economic conditions	
Yes	68
No	32
Some people say that politics are too complicated for us. What do you think? (52)	
Na	01
Politics are too complicated	23
Understands them	50
Doesn't know	26
Other	
It is said that powerful groups control the govnt and that the interests of the people are ignored. What do you think? (53)	
Na	01
Not true	06
True	64
Doesn't know	29
Other	

<u>Question</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
If true, can you mention some groups? (54)	
Na, think not true, or doesn't know	40
Military	36
Religious groups	00
Capitalists, the rich	11
Landowners	00
Outsiders (U.S. Govnt, Alliance for Progress, CIA)	02
Social elite	02
Government officials	01
Political parties	05
Other	04
If more than one, the second	
Na	59
Military	08
Religious	03
Capitalists, the rich	11
Landowners	03
Outsiders	07
Social elite	01
Government officials	03
Political Parties	04
Other	02
If more than two, the third	
Na	80
Military	01
Religious	01
Capitalists	07
Landowners	02
Outsiders	05
Social	00
Government officials	01
Political parties	02
Other	02
How can you make your interests known? (55)	
Na	06
By talking with the members of the government	26
By participating in elections	18
By working with the Church	03
By protesting and joining public demonstrations	11
Through revolution	06
Other	28
Participating in elections and demonstrating	02
Revolution and demonstration	01

(55) continued

<u>Question</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
If more than one way mentioned, the second	
Na, only one	92
By talking with members of the government	01
By participating in elections	02
By working with the Church	00
By protesting and joining public demonstrations	01
Through revolution	04
Other	01
Participating in elections and demonstrating	
Revolution and demonstration	
In your experience, people looking for a job are likely to go to: (56)	
Na	02
Priest	01
Father	17
Mother	00
Deputies	07
Government officials	27
Other (Many wrote in "friends")	47
If more than one, the second	
Na, only one	84
Priest	00
Father	01
Mother	04
Deputies	00
Government officials	07
Other	05
If more than two, the third	
Na	96
Priest	00
Father	00
Mother	01
Deputies	00
Government officials	03
Other	00

<u>Question</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
If people need a favor, to whom do they go? (57)	
Na	05
Priest	07
Father	48
Mother	04
Deputies	03
Government officials	04
If more than one, the second	
Na, only one	78
Priest	00
Father	03
Mother	10
Deputies	01
Government officials	03
Other	06
If more than two, the third	
Na	93
Priest	00
Father	00
Mother	03
Deputies	00
Government officials	01
Other	03
If people disagree with a law, what do you think they should do? (58)	
Na	03
Disobey it	02
Tolerate it	18
Try and see it changed	77
Other	01
If you had a problem, would you seek help from the police? (59)	
No	01
Yes	17
No	23
It depends	59
Other	
Are all people likely to be treated equally by the police? (60)	
Na	01
Yes	13
No	76
Doesn't know	10
Other	

<u>Question</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
When people disagree about politics, how can they settle their argument? (61)	
Na	04
Discussing until they reach an agreement	66
Doing nothing	07
Trying to have his party incorporate his ideas	12
Fighting to make his ideas win	11
Other	
If more than one, the second	
Na, only one	97
Discussing until they reach an agreement	
Doing nothing	
Trying to have his party incorporate his ideas	01
Fighting to make his ideas win	01
Other	01
Do you think strikes ought to be allowed? (62)	
Na	02
Yes	70
No	13
Doesn't know	10
It depends	05
Do you think demonstrations ought to be allowed? (63)	
Na	02
Yes	72
No	10
Doesn't know	11
It depends	05
Do you think violence is the only solution? (64)	
Na	01
Yes	08
No	84
Doesn't know	05
It depends	02
Do you generally vote for any of the following reasons? (65)	
Na	10
Because the party to which you belong says to	04
Because the candidate is the best for Guatemala	77
Because you know the candidate personally	02
Because the candidate is your friend	02
Because you think the candidate will do you a favor	00
Because the candidate is your relative	01
Other	05

(65) continued

<u>Question</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
If more than one, the second	
Na, only one	94
Because the party to which you belong says so	01
Because the candidate is the best for Guatemala	02
Because you know the candidate personally	02
Because the candidate is your friend	00
Because you think the candidate will do you a favor	01
Because the candidate is your relative	
Other	
Do you belong to any of the following organizations? (66)	
# mentioned	
0	40
1	39
2	16
3 or more	05
Specifics	
Na	40
Church	18
Union	03
Club	08
Cooperatives	06
Associations	25
Other	01
If more than one, the second	
Na, only one	80
Church	00
Union	00
Club	05
Cooperatives	02
Associations	12
Other	02
How can one get ahead in this world? (69)	
Na	01
Getting a better education	75
Having more luck	04
Knowing the important people	03
Saving and working hard	13
Becoming a politician	00
Other	00
All of the above (1-5)	04
1-4	01

(69) continued

<u>Question</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
If more than one, the second	
Na	67
Getting a better education	00
Having more luck	07
Knowing the important people	08
Saving and working hard	16
Becoming a politician	03
Other	
If more than two, the third	
Na	92
Getting a better education	
Having more luck	
Knowing the important people	
Saving and working hard	06
Becoming a politician	03
Do you think your children will have a better life? (70)	
Na	01
Yes	54
No	09
Doesn't know	35
Other	01
Do you think Guatemala will be a better place to live some years from now? (71)	
Na	01
Yes	54
No	11
Doesn't know	33
Other	01

A P P E N D I X C

Comparison Sample

Total Sample Vs. Youth

July 1969

Brandeis-INAD Project

uatemala #3

<u>Question</u>	<u>P e r c e n t a g e s</u>	
	Total Sample of 165	Total Sample of 107 (ages 18-29)
Marital Status (6)		
Na	01	00
Married	42	23
Single	56	77
# of children (7)		
0	55	73
1	13	15
2	10	08
3	11	02
4	05	02
5 or more	06	00
Church Attendance (10)		
Na	04	05
Once a week or more often	37	36
Once or twice a month	07	07
Hardly ever, occasionally	33	33
Never	19	21
Education (12)		
Na, or none	05	05
Some primary	09	04
Completed primary	13	09
Some pre-vocational	06	07
Completed pre-vocational	08	08
Some vocational	13	14
Completed vocational	13	18
Some university	32	35
Completed university	01	01
Post graduate		
How long have you worked at your present job? (14)		
Na, unemployed	08	11
Less than one year	16	21
1 year	12	14
2 years	14	18
3 years	07	10
more than 3 years	42	24

<u>Question</u>	<u>P e r c e n t a g e s</u>	
	Total Sample of 165	Total Sample of 107 (ages 18-29)
Are you satisfied with your present job? (16)		
Na	10	11
Yes	55	47
No	35	41
Doesn't know	01	01
Other		
Salary per month (19)		
Na	10	12
0-100	44	45
101-150	15	17
151-200	07	08
201-300	10	08
301-400	03	04
401-500	04	03
501 or more	07	03
Are you satisfied with the education in Guatemala? (25)		
Na	01	02
Satisfied very much	02	02
Satisfied	21	17
Dissatisfied	41	45
Dissatisfied very much	28	30
Doesn't know	07	05
Other	00	00
Can you give any suggestions of how improve Guatemala's governmental system? (27)		
Can't give any	38	36
Widening scope of government's activities, or increased activity in areas already under government control	07	07
More self-gov'n't, introduction of democratic processes	11	08
Improvements in bureaucracy	09	09
Need for more capable, honest gov'n't officials, better leadership	20	24
Efficiency	02	02
Elimination of military influence	02	03
Elimination of political patronage	02	02
Other	08	09

Question

P e r c e n t a g e s

Total Sample
of 165

Total Sample of 107
(ages 18-29)

Do you think we all have the same
opportunities for a job?(30)

Na	01	01
Firmly believes so	04	04
Believes so	05	05
Believes so, but it depends	11	10
Doesn't believe so, but it depends	04	05
Doesn't believe so	40	38
Doesn't believe so at all	35	37
Other	00	

Do you think that we all have the same
opportunities for a good education? (31)

Na	01	01
Firmly believes so	02	03
Believes so	05	04
Believes so, but it depends	10	09
Doesn't believe so, but it depends	04	05
Doesn't believe so	04	04
Doesn't believe so at all	74	75
Other		

Are you registered as a citizen to vote? (32)

Na	01	01
Yes	86	80
No	13	18
Doesn't know	01	01
Other		

Did you vote in the last elections? (34-5)

Na	01	02
Yes	66	56
Doesn't remember	01	01
Wasn't registered	16	23
Is not interested in politics	06	07
Didn't like the candidates	02	04
It wasn't worthwhile	01	00
Other	07	08

<u>Question</u>	<u>P e r c e n t a g e s</u>	
	Total Sample of 165	Total Sample of 107 (ages 18-29)
Do you talk about politics frequently? (36)		
Na	02	02
Very often	16	14
Often	09	08
Occasionally	27	32
A little	05	07
Very little	15	13
Never	26	24
With whom do you talk about politics? (37)		
# mentioned		
0	27	26
1	24	23
2	20	20
3	17	18
4	06	08
5 or more	06	06
Do you listen to political news? (38)		
Na	02	02
Yes	60	59
No	18	17
A little	20	22
Do you read about politics in the paper? (39)		
Na	01	01
Yes, always	36	35
Once in a while	38	45
Hardly ever	08	05
Never	16	15
Have you ever worked for an election? (40)		
If so, what did you do? (41)		
# mentioned		
0, never worked	89	91
1	04	04
2	02	03
3	02	03
4 or more	02	01

Question

P e r c e n t a g e s

	Total Sample of 165	Total Sample of 107 (ages 18-29)
If there were no job opportunities in Guatemala, what would you do? (48)		
Na	03	03
I would go to another country	25	24
I would stay here and work to improve things	40	36
I would seek help from my family	04	04
I would go to the bank for a loan	00	00
I would work for more social justice	16	21
Other	02	01
Stay here to improve; work for more social justice	10	12
Some people say that politics are too complicated for us. What do you think? (52)		
Na	01	01
Politics are too complicated	24	23
Understands them	47	50
Doesn't know	28	26
Other		
It is said that powerful groups control the gov'n't and that the interests of the people are ignored. What do you think? (53)		
Na	01	01
Not true	05	06
True	59	64
Doesn't know	34	29
Other	01	
If true, can you mention some groups? (54)		
Na, thinks not true, or doesn't know	45	40
Military	27	36
Religious groups	00	00
Capitalists, the rich	13	11
Landowners	00	00
Outsiders (U.S. Gov'n't, Alliance for Progress, CIA)	04	02
Social elite	01	02
Government officials	01	01
Political parties	07	05
Other	02	04

Question

P e r c e n t a g e s

Total Sample
of 165

Total Sample of 107
(ages 18-29)

If you had a problem, would you seek help
from the police? (59)

Na	01	01
Yes	18	17
No	21	23
It depends	61	59
Other	00	

Do you think violence is the only solution? (64)

Na	01	01
Yes	06	08
No	82	84
Doesn't know	09	05
It depends	01	02

II

THE IMPACT OF AID-SPONSORED TRAINING

ON

DEVELOPMENT-RELATED ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOR

Eugene J. Meehan

Roy C. Macridis

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INTRODUCTION

A major part of the field work carried out in Guatemala under the terms of AID contract ced-824 related to the impact of AID-sponsored leadership training programs on the development-related attitudes and behavior of the participants. Three such programs were operating in Guatemala in the summer of 1968: (1) a leadership training program carried on in New Orleans by Loyola University; (2) a program for training "social promoters," modeled on the Loyola course but operated in Guatemala City by Landivar University; (3) a rural leadership program organized by the International Development Foundation (IDF), a non-profit organization with headquarters in New York City. Since the IDF program had been operating in Guatemala for only a short time when our study began, it was agreed that primary emphasis would be placed on the programs at Loyola and Landivar. However, we were able to interview a substantial number of persons who had completed the preliminary IDF course and the results are incorporated into the report. It was more difficult, however, to obtain a good sample of the results of the second course, hence the results are not always strictly comparable with other training.

In the general context of AID operations, the function of these training programs is to create, or enhance, the leadership capacity available in the underdeveloped nations. The assumption is that changes in attitudes and behavior that can be introduced or reinforced by training will have a substantial impact on national development, both locally and nationally. The task of evaluating that impact is complicated, however, by the absence of clearly stipulated goals and by the ambiguity of terms such as "development." It is very difficult to specify precisely what expectations training is intended to satisfy. For the purposes of the study, it was agreed, after some discussion, that we would distinguish between a person who was "tradition-oriented" and a person who was

"development-oriented" by referring to a set of attitudes or preferences that is widely accepted as an adequate basis for defining the characteristics of a "modernizing" individual by experts in the field (see below, p. , for details). As a check on individual attitudes or preferences, which are usually expressed verbally, participation in the social, political, and economic life of the country was taken as a prime indicator of the kind of developmentally-oriented behavior that the training programs seek to stimulate or reinforce. Narrowly construed, the goal of this part of the study was to examine the impact of training on this specific set of attitudes and behaviors.

THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The conceptual framework used to structure the research program is shown in Figure #1. Each individual can be construed analytically as a combination of cognitive capacities and value systems. He is connected to the external environment, both directly and indirectly, through his sensory apparatus and through a communications network. He is also connected to the environment at the output level through his behavior or actions, whether verbal or physical. Before the impact of changes in the cognitive or normative structure can be evaluated, the communications network must be stabilized. Without some minimal level of awareness of issues, it would not be possible for the individual either to adopt attitudes toward them, or to act in one way or another with reference to them. Making the individual aware of the structure of the communications network or of its content (for example, by creating habits of listening, watching, reading or discussing current events) links the individual to the flow of events in the environment and thus provides the necessary preconditions for awareness, expressions of preference, and goal-directed behavior. The creation of such connections, directly or indirectly, would be an important achievement for any

training program. While we have tried to stabilize the influence of the communications system, we did not examine the characteristics of the communications system in Guatemala, e.g., speed accuracy of transmission, scope of linkages to the network, etc. On the whole, we found the links to the communications network so well established that a detailed examination of the network did not seem necessary or justified, given the primary goals of the inquiry. Connecting the individual to a source of data seems not to be a problem.

The cognitive apparatus, as it appears in the conceptual structure used in the study, is an analytic category and not an observable empirical datum. It comprises the tools and concepts that the individual uses to organize and arrange his perceptions. Man's intellectual tool box must contain all of the concepts needed for dealing with the perceived environment, as well as those needed to generate an adequate language. In effect, these are the basic part of the "Tinkertoy" set that man uses to build the instruments he uses for coping with the world around him. Four basic types of tools are needed: descriptions, forecasts, explanations, and evaluations. While they appear everywhere, their quality varies enormously, ranging from scientific theories of great power, generality and reliability to nonrational propositions about relationships that are folklore and hearsay and not accurate accounts of the perceived universe. The details of these structures, and the processes by which they are created, applied and evaluated, are examined in Part of the Report.

The normative system or ethic, the instrument used to make choices or decisions that have empirical relevance, is in practice wholly integrated with the cognitive apparatus--facts and values are separated analytically, not empirically. Nevertheless, the separation is essential for critical purposes. For the value system we use to make choices always implies some kind of explanation of events, whatever its quality. In effect, value systems are

priority structures or preference scales that can be applied to the sets of alternatives that our explanatory capacity is able to generate for a given situation. Behavior, in our model of the total process, always results from the interaction of an explanatory and an evaluatory structure. The details of the process of value judgment, and the kinds of structures and processes that are involved, are set forth in detail in Part of the Final Report.

The range of behaviors open to the individual in almost any situation is enormous. The act of behavior may be physical or mental, overt and tangible or covert and abstract, and so on. In our study, we concentrate on only a few basic aspects of the interaction of man and environment: (1) the individual's awareness of the major events that occur in the socio-physical environment; (2) his basic values or attitudes (e.g., the elements of the environment that he considers normatively significant) and the order of priorities that he assigns to them in different situations, particularly in situations that relate to modernization of society; (3) verbal expressions of choice or preference, or rules of choice to be applied to particular situations; and (4) actions taken by the individual that indicate the extent to which he is an active participant in the social, political, and economic life of the society. Each human action can, in suitable circumstances, lead to modifications of the environment.

While our model of the interaction of individual and environment is based on a circular flow of effects (environment to individual to environment) there is no need to suppose that all of the operations of the human intellect are rational. Man is often irrational in the sense that a computer (which is a formal logical machine) can be programmed to produce utter nonsense. Poor reasoning can produce behavior just as readily as rigorous calculation, and often seems to produce a powerful bias against criticism of the decisions it engenders. Man

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

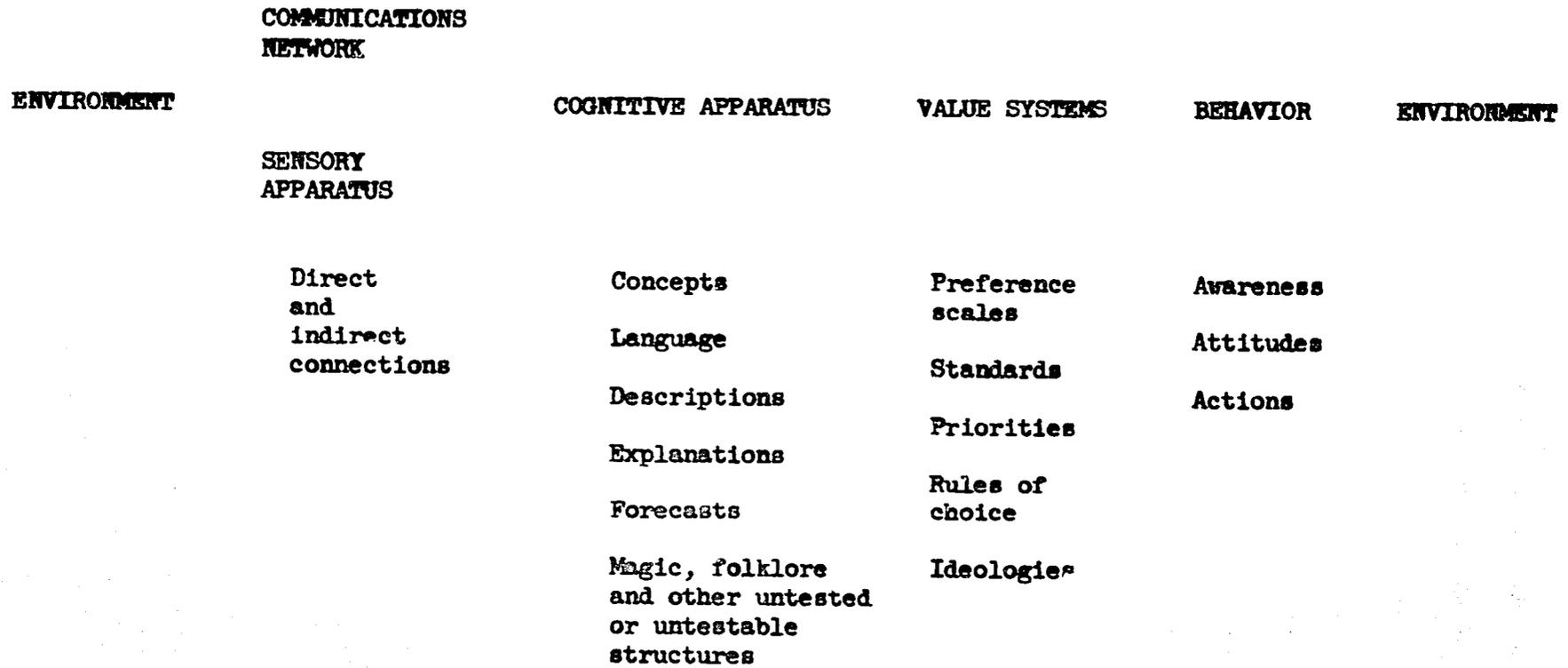


FIGURE #1

accept relations for which there is no evidence, values for which there is no justification, predictions for which there is no warrant, and they act upon them. The quality of the empirical and rational element of thought and behavior can vary enormously.

Whatever the quality of its constituent elements, human behavior, considered as a dynamic process, is the outcome of a complex set of interactions involving the flow of information from the environment (suitably constrained by the communications network) interacting with a set of awareness patterns socialized into the individual, a cognitive apparatus capable of generating expectations with reference to the environmental situation and a normative structure that provides a basis for choosing among the alternative sets of outcomes that behavior can achieve in a given situation. A set of perceived possibilities and constraints is translated into behavior by the application of an evaluative structure. Behind the entire process, of course, lies the concept that we refer to as "motivation," the dynamic of action or impulse to movement that leads man to go forth and meet the environment and not merely regard it passively. For the purposes of this study, little need be said about motivation beyond the fact that (1) it is essential for behavior, whether verbal or physical and (2) it certainly is present in those who undergo leadership training, though doubtless in different degrees. How motivation is generated need not concern us here. The focus of training is on the way in which motivation is utilized and moulded, on the results that follow from training persons assumed to be already motivated. None of the training programs claims to produce motivation, though they do appear to have developed useful techniques for locating the more highly motivated members of rural society, particularly in the IDF program.

One of the major values of the conceptual apparatus employed here is that it allows us to identify quite precisely the ways in which attitudes and behavior can be modified or influenced by education and training and how environmental change can be induced in principle at least, by such modifications. For example, although behavior can be changed simply by altering the environment in which the individual functions, changes in the environment must be perceived, and altering the extent or quality of the communications network may produce change or inhibit change just as effectively as environmental modification. Again, altering the cognitive apparatus, increasing or decreasing the quality of the cognitive structure by introducing new concepts, new dimensions of the environment to take into account, or new patterns of relations for dealing with particular aspects of the environment can also have important consequences for behavior. At another level, behavior changes can be induced by direct modification of the normative structure, or by increasing the individual's capacity to calculate the implications of accepting a particular normative standard or principle. The results of such changes can appear in various forms, e.g., increased awareness, an increase in the amount or quality of the information available for reasoning, an improved reasoning or calculating capacity, more astute and acute criticism, heightened awareness of the normative dimensions of human life, new and different attitudes, an improved capacity to make choices, etc. All such modifications of attitude and behavior are possible in principle in the course of training.

Further, this way of conceptualizing the problem suggests a real need to attend to the qualitative dimensions of training, particularly at the level of cognition and calculation. Given individuals with suitable motivation, we do not know enough about the procedures by which they acquire the ability to learn from experience, deliberately and not merely by accident. And their learning should relate to both explanatory and normative purposes. The question how far such

procedures have been incorporated into public and private education and training programs, particularly those that are expected to generate leadership qualities, and suitable modification of the environment (development, innovation, achievement) is a matter of first importance. And we must divorce ourselves from concepts of development and innovation that are stipulated solely in terms of the needs and potentialities of the highly industrialized, well organized bureaucratic societies, e.g., in terms of research and development programs and strategies, of management policies and organizational structures, of creating new products and technologies using a substantial resource base. Such conceptions of development are much too constrained, and too vague to the extent that they cannot readily be linked, in unambiguous ways, to the kinds of lives that people actually lead in particular situations. Those who work and live in the underdeveloped nations, for example, find themselves searching for means of generating change in an environment that is usually indifferent and sometimes openly hostile. The kinds of change and development that are needed and possible are quite different from the needs and possibilities of advanced societies. So much is commonplace. The primary question, in these circumstances, is "How can development be stimulated and facilitated?" Procedurally, the question is answered in exactly the same way for both developed and underdeveloped nations. Only the substantive content of the answer varies. In a large and poor nation such as India, a 10 per cent increase in the number of primary teachers available would be a major achievement, calling for a drastic effort to mobilize resources. It might even be impossible. In the United States that achievement would be much less impressive. But in both cases, the procedures by which a decision could be made about the adequacy of the goal and the efficacy of suggested means of attaining it would be the same. At this last level, cross-national training becomes a real possibility.

DEVELOPMENT AS INNOVATION

Terms such as "development" must be defined, ultimately, in terms of specific types of human behavior in concrete empirical situations. At that level, the goals of leadership training are to produce behavior that is innovative in terms of the context in which it occurs. Generally speaking, there are three different dimensions of any situation that relate to the amount of development or innovation that can be achieved in that situation: (1) the social and material conditions in the environment, such as resource levels, technological skills, supply of equipment, etc.; (2) the psychic qualities of the individuals in the situation, e.g. anxiety, intelligence, apathy, enthusiasm, etc.; and (3) the properties of the patterns of cognition and evaluation employed by various persons in the situation. Conceptually, in other words, development can be approached in terms of the relation between desired change and environmental conditions, desired change and psychological aspects of the population, and desired change and cognition skills (normative and explanatory). For the most part, research in the area has focused on (1) and (2) and various relations have been established using these concepts. But it is difficult, if not impossible, to say very much about the necessary and sufficient conditions for development using such terms. The point is crucial when our aim is to produce a defensible public policy because we then must have an intervention strategy that will either stimulate or inhibit the kinds of changes that constitute development, and that strategy must be open to testing and refinement. The only sound basis for creating educational and training programs that will actually facilitate development is to begin with a clear conception of the kind of goal that is desired, and a clear and testable notion of the kinds of changes that are expected to flow from the use of a particular intervention strategy or policy.

It is worth noting, in this context, that an adequate intervention strategy can be generated without referring to every known relation between the change desired and other changes in the environment. The fact that there is a known relation between organizational growth and socio-economic development does not mean that development cannot be fostered except by fostering organizations. In fact, that relation can be ignored completely if another set of relations will provide the kinds of changes that human purpose requires. In practice, of course, it is good strategy to be familiar with as many as possible of the known relations that impinge on the phenomenon being explored, particularly in those areas where explanatory capacity is limited, but there are no methodological reasons for insisting that one set of concepts rather than another should be used to deal with a phenomenon.

Perhaps the most difficult problem facing anyone seeking to control complex human behavior patterns is the need to isolate a set of indicators that will identify the phenomenon unambiguously. Discussions of development and innovation tend to be quite woolly and vague largely because there is no good set of definitions and indicators for such concepts. When conceptual vagueness is coupled with an erroneous notion of the scientific enterprise, as in so much of contemporary humanism, concepts like development tend to be treated like an art form rather than a mode of systematic inquiry. That is, when systematic inquiry is conceived as intellectual browsing, general in nature and not directed at any specific problem, stimulated by curiosity rather than a desire to control the environment on normative grounds, it more resembles the activity of children at play than adult problem-solving. Development is too often treated at the level of mystique, as a miracle of the person that is closed to precise comprehension or specification. The search for development becomes an act of faith and the conduct of inquiry becomes the ritual performance of a mystery. The inquirer combines, in

unspecified ways, the talents of the Delphic Oracle, an organic chemist, and a Freudian or Jungian psychiatrist. Since the goal of inquiry is stated in terms of discovery and not of creation, what is new must be discovered and little can be said about discovery until it has occurred--and even less can be done to improve the likelihood of success. This attitude is extremely popular with those who make their living from R & D, whether in business or academic life, and for understandable reasons. On this view of inquiry, the sponsor can demand no more from the inquirer than a willingness to engage in some unspecified kind of activity known as "research." Since there is no way to know in advance what the results of research will be, the inquirer must be given carte blanche and criteria of success are not determinable. Inquiry, and development, become the prerogative of a priesthood, an art form without art critics.

It is true that no strategy of discovery can be formalized, no formula can be offered for creativity. But it does not follow that every form of inquiry is equally worthy of support, or that nothing can be said about the conduct of inquiry that is worth knowing before the fact. Moreover, the belief that there is something called "basic" research, different from and wholly unrelated to human purpose, worth pursuing for its own sake, is simply nonsense. A distinction can be made, and should be made, between inquiry that is theoretically relevant, justified by reference to existing theories, or to lacunae in the existing theoretical structure, and inquiry that is directed to the solution to particular, concrete problems. But belief in purposeless inquiry is a product of another age, an era when science was the province of the wealthy amateur and the mathematician could rejoice in his uselessness; that era is as outmoded as the belief that government is a necessary evil. The history of science tends to obscure the plebian origins of chemistry and physics and mathematics and the vast expansion of theoretically-relevant questions goes far to explain the seeming lack of relation between scientific activity and human needs,

but without human purposes with respect to the environment there could be no science. And even in physical science, as the body of available knowledge expands, it is doubtful that theoretical relevance can continue to serve as a primary and adequate justification for further inquiries, any more than social scientists can continue to produce doctoral dissertations on any topic that has not yet been treated. The sheer mass of materials should force both to seek means of separating what is presently significant from what is potentially significant. Absence of immediate purpose was acceptable in an era that thought of human knowledge in terms of a jig-saw puzzle; each "new" piece was ultimately relevant to the whole. We now know that there are an infinite number of jig-saw puzzles that man can create, and the argument that any study will be relevant in one of them no longer carries much weight. Romanticized treatments of the lives of the new saints in Western society have doubtless contributed to the confusion by emphasizing too much the role of individual genius, the flash of insight, the laboratory accident. For most scientists, the laboratory has become a sanitized sweatshop, inhabited by well-paid drudges. The flashes of insight that sometimes precede the drudgery and make it significant cannot be predicted, but they are not mysteries either. The discovery of new things cannot be guaranteed, but we know a great deal of the form they will take when they appear, and there is no need to revert to the tedious trial-and-error procedures by which thousands of cultures are tested to see whether they can generate useful antibiotics. The likelihood of development can be increased in some degree, if only by suitably equipping the potential innovator and by eliminating some of the more obvious impediments to development from the environment. An important aspect of that equipment will be the cognition skills or habits that the prospective leader learns from his education and training.

Development, as the term is generally used, is a special type of innovation. We begin, therefore, with the meaning of "innovation." There is no way to

determine what the term "really" means, of course, but we can agree on the kinds of activity that will be considered innovation and then go to the empirical exemplification of the concept for further characteristics of the process and its results. Given an adequate definition and a clear set of indicators, some of the structures and processes involved in innovation can be identified; they in turn allow us to specify some of the conditions that must be satisfied before innovation can occur. The definition must be "real" and not nominal, otherwise the discussion would be an exercise in logic or symbol-manipulation. And, since the concept has rich associations in the language, some of the everyday accretions must be stripped away if we are to eliminate ambiguity.

What kind of behavior should be designated "innovation?" Or, under what conditions should it be asserted that "X has innovated?" The definition should be as consistent with current usage as the need to eliminate ambiguity will permit. The goal is to minimize confusion and still obtain maximum benefit from prior discussions, not merely to create a new definition of the term. Similarly, the indicators used for the concept need to exhaust its meaning; their function is to provide a basis for identifying empirical instances of the phenomenon. In the process of inquiry, we can expect minor modifications of both definition and indicators as knowledge of the phenomenon cumulates.

As we shall define it here, innovation has two primary characteristics: (1) it is a type of individual human behavior, not performed by groups or by organizations; (2) it involves the introduction of something "new" and different into a situation. But "new" is a comparative term, hence a basic reference point is needed against which the "newness" of a particular action can be measured and established. Here we have three possibilities: human actions may be new with reference to the actor, new with reference to the particular situation, or new with reference to the sum of human knowledge. A man may do something "new" by

acting in a way different from any of his own previous actions, in a way different from any actor in any situation, or in a way different from any actor in that same situation. What is the best reference point for our purposes? There seem good reasons to suggest that innovative behavior be new with reference to some point, but without specifying a particular reference. The individual who deals with innovation will then be free to specify his own point of reference. The looseness will allow the use of subclasses of innovations that are very useful. For example, it would be quite legitimate, given this way of construing innovation, to speak of innovation in cases where an individual acts in ways that are new to his companions but not to himself--an important factor in training or teaching. Again, it would be possible to discuss unintentional or unconscious innovation, as in the case of the Peace Corps member who influences the actions of those around him without trying to do so. And most important of all, the usage would force the inquirer to specify the point of reference used to determine "newness" and innovation, much reducing the analytic problem facing the reader. An action may be quite new with reference to one way of viewing things but quite old with reference to another. For example, the use of atomic weapons in Japan in 1945 produced something new with respect to the techniques of killing but quite old with respect to killing as a political technique.

The great value of the cognitive approach to our problem is that it allows us to specify very accurately the common feature of any case of innovation, whatever the point of reference. Innovation is the creation or application of new ways of structuring the relations among things, the creation or application of new patterns or systems of relations. In effect, innovation is a process by which someone in the environment takes advantage of a learning opportunity. The innovation may involve new ways of structuring and ordering perceptions (description), new ways of structuring the relations among events (changes) in the environment (explanation) or new ways of ordering priorities among the conditions that man can

achieve in a given situation by his own actions (normative judgment or evaluation). What is critical, however, is to realize that these changes occur within the person, not in the environment. Innovation refers to something that happens to living persons and not to external events. The environment may change and thus produce innovation just as innovation may lead to changes in the environment, but the two are not identical.

Given this conception of innovation, two aspects of the process are particularly important for those concerned with education and training: first, the act of creating new patterns or systems of relations; second, the application of those patterns to the environment. The two modes of innovation should be kept distinct. The person who creates new patterns for dealing with the environment does not always make use of them, or even verbalize them. Further, application of innovations requires clarity on the part of the innovator, and new ways of conceiving human experience may at first be quite vague and nebulous, useless to anyone seeking empirical guidance. The range of vagueness can be narrowed by limiting the discussion to innovations in moral and empirical knowledge but excluding esthetic innovation and the various kinds of titillations to which man is exposed that are not relevant to environmental control, but the individual's capacity to explicate precisely what has been created will remain partial and imperfect in many cases.

Focusing on creativity rather than application, three situations can be distinguished in which man innovates, adds or creates new knowledge: (1) something new is thrust into the environment by another person and the learner's attention is directed to it--the classic teaching or classroom situation; (2) the individual creates relational structures out of his own experience that are new to him but known to others; (3) the individual creates something entirely new to mankind. What is created (or learned, or innovated) may be normative, explanatory, or

descriptive. Briefly, man creates purposes with reference to the environment and the tools needed to achieve them, though the order of creation is not necessarily the same in all cases because man live in a world already populated by empirical and normative structures. In either case, the innovator must develop or adopt criteria for separating what is merely new from what is both new and significant.

Of the three innovating situations, (2) is crucial. It differs from (3) only with reference to the level of knowledge available to the innovator. The goal of (1), surely, is to generate the conditions that make (2) possible. Innovation implies the capacity to create new patterns from an examination, an interaction, with the environment. In effect, to innovate, to learn, to create new knowledge, is all of one piece. Here the tradition of the schools and universities is misleading when it implies that knowledge is an accumulation of information rather than a capacity to create purposes for man and the means for attaining them. Where education is treated as a device for the transfer of rote skills and the development of the power of recall, there is little hope that the student will be introduced to the structures and processes involved in learning (and creating), to the problems involved in the evolution of tenable human purposes, in the development of critical capacity and a sense of significance. Perhaps nowhere can the need for individuals able to develop and criticize new goals and new means for attaining them be greater than in the underdeveloped nations where indiscriminate transfers of both values and techniques have created cultural havoc without anything like adequate recompense.

In our approach to innovation, the basic question is "What are the properties of the man who can learn from the environment?" We realize that the direction innovation will take in any particular case depends on the social structure, on the editing system built into it in the form of rewards and punishments for different ranges of actions. Furthermore, no amount of tinkering with social structure and environment, or with cognitive skills, can produce innovations in

chemistry from persons who know nothing of chemistry. And in the realm of application, strength of desire and supporting working conditions will go for nothing under some circumstances. But if all of these conditions are perfect, the individual must still have built into his thinking processes the procedures for examining the environment, structuring the empirical situation in particular ways, and coping with feedback obtained from interacting with the environment, or no innovation will occur.

Why is that the case? If innovation is the creation of sets of structured relations among empirically-relevant concepts, then the conditions necessary for innovation (though not the sufficient conditions, certainly) are reasonably clear. First, the individual must "see" relations between significant events in the environment and other events that might be used to control them. Every explanation involves a linkage between two or more changes in the environment; control is achieved by changing the value of one variable in order to influence the others. The search for connecting or intervening variables is the heart of systematic inquiry. But we "see" relations in the same sense that we "see" the trees in a forest or the birds in the trees. We must be "alerted" to them, we must be "looking for" them, in the same sense that a student will not "see" Plato's wave metaphor in the Republic unless he is alerted to look for metaphors, or perhaps for that particular metaphor. The inquirer, in other words, must ask "How did this event come to be?" "Under what conditions would it be different?" "How can it be modified?" While we cannot stipulate the conditions in which those questions can be answered by innovation or creation, we do know that they will not be answered if they are not asked. One function of training, then, is to make certain that they are asked. Formally, for those who deal in such questions, the inquirer must learn to pose questions in the form of counter-to-fact conditionals and try to answer them; when the formal question is solved, an adequate explanation for the event is available.

Second, the inquirer or innovator must learn to test and modify his assumptions or hypothesis according to his experience with using them. As every inquirer knows, it is fairly easy to posit a set of relations and quite another matter to establish a useful set of relations. Fundamentally, what is involved is a form of trial and error, or the use of an experimental method, but there is also required some capacity to distinguish between good and bad argument or reasoning. It would be pointless to train men to look for relations without adding some capacity to criticize suggestions. At the very least, they must learn to avoid trivial errors such as the post hoc fallacy. Further, awareness of the best critical standards available will give the innovator the kind of self-confidence that is needed to make known his innovations and perhaps to act on them as well. Intervention in the environment on the basis of assumed relations is the most fundamental test of any claim to knowledge, but it is not the only test, and some claims can be evaluated fairly well without benefit of such testing.

The structures and processes involved in the search for relations among empirical variables and in testing assumed relations among those variables are complex but identifiable. Indeed, methodological criteria have developed at an astonishing rate in recent decades, even in the social sciences. It is possible to provide quite a good empirical test of an individual's capacity to engage in these activities. In our study of Guatemalans, for example, we made use of the following indicators of cognitive skill: (1) capacity to span temporal distance; (2) capacity to span conceptual distance, or visualize intervening variables, or move from specifics to general concepts; (3) use of trial and error methods to correct assumptions, recognition of cognitive dissonance; (4) orientation to intervention in the environment; (5) orientation to the future; (6) use of counterfactuals in defining and thinking about situations; (7) use of analytic methods (breaking tasks into constituent elements); and (8) use of roundabout

methods for organizing and directing intervention. Doubtless our study, when complete, will suggest still more precise dimensions of the aspect of human thought that we are trying to isolate. Even with these rough indicators, our preliminary work indicates a very high correlation between high levels of cognition skill and high levels of achievement or innovation in a wide range of occupations in Guatemala. Furthermore, the same indicators distinguish very accurately between innovators and noninnovators when individuals are matched with respect to value systems or aspirations, environment, and occupation. The results are incomplete, but still clear enough to warrant an attempt to produce higher levels of innovation, particularly within a bureaucratic framework, by deliberate training in cognitive skills.

Of course, cognitive skill remains as but one factor in a chain of conditions needed for successful innovation. From the point of view of the training director, there are personnel selection and placement problems to be solved, curricula to be defined, materials for training produced, and teachers to be trained. We do not know nearly enough about ways of engendering different sets of values within a population, though we are becoming more skillful at locating persons with appropriate value systems. Nor are we at all sure about the best way to achieve innovation through application in concrete empirical situations. The cognitive-skill development program will do no more than maximize the use that can be had of persons who already possess the requisite values and who work in situations where innovative behavior is badly needed. Some of the work being done with sensitivity training, particularly in the post-T-group era, seems likely to be very useful in this context. Still more work is needed in generating organizational skill and in creating the sets of responses within a population that organizational skill can employ. We need to know more about the placement of trained persons: are they best concentrated in a single spot in the organization or scattered through it, for example? Even the best reward system is often difficult to decide, though it may be worth noting that we found few instances of an overriding influence of the environment that was able to frustrate the individual completely.

MODERNIZING INDIVIDUALS: Attitudes and Behavior

The fundamental purpose of the three training programs operating in Guatemala, broadly construed, is to foster certain kinds of changes in the environment (development) by training Guatemalans as potential leaders or innovators. The training is expected to produce a greater capacity for innovation, but not necessarily to generate a desire for innovation. It can be assumed that training will reinforce motivations already established, and successful training in some degree demands a capacity to locate the individuals in society who already possess some motivation in the direction of social change and development. Recruitment procedures, in brief, are an important part of the total training process.

The training programs seek to achieve their purposes in a number of ways. First, they modify the individual's supply of information about the environment, sometimes by augmenting what is available and sometimes by correcting what has already been accepted. Second, they seek to increase the individual's awareness of the environment, drawing attention to different aspects of the situation in which he lives by introducing him to new concepts and ideas. Third, they try to supply the trainee with new or improved technologies, social and physical. That is, they provide information about agricultural processes or technologies for constructing schools or roads; they dispense technological information about working together in groups, organizing cooperatives, etc.; finally, they supply information about the availability of resources, such as governmental facilities. Fourth, they operate directly at the normative level, seeking to create or reinforce certain standards or values or preference scales, or alter the order of priorities that the individual assigns to different elements of the social situation. The trainee, in sum, is provided with information, offered some opportunities to experience new modes of interaction with others (particularly at Loyola and

Landivar, where sensitivity training is an important part of each course), provided with a range of technological skills for dealing with different aspects of the environment, offered suggestions for aggregating and deploying available resources. Training goals are both attitudinal and behavioral, though the former tend to be stressed most, particularly at Loyola.

With respect to attitudes, the goal of the training programs is to generate or reinforce a set of orientations presumed by most informed observers to be related directly to national development. The conception of development that is implicit in the selection of attitudinal variables involves industrialization, specialization of function and division of labor, raising educational levels, rationalization and bureaucratization of governmental functions, popular participation in the governing process through regular elections and the formation of voluntary associations for a wide range of purposes. The goal is a society that is broadly democratic, pluralistic, with a rising standard of living and widely shared social benefits of economic progress.

The group of values that comprise a "development orientation" can be expressed as a set of continua, each representing a preference scale that refers to a particular class of events in the environment. The orientation that is desired can be defined as a pattern of preferences expressed along these continua. The specific attitudes included in the pattern (and in the training programs) are set forth below. The structure must be used with some caution, obviously, since our knowledge of the details of their influence of attitudes is imperfect. Although we cannot specify the sufficient conditions for development or innovation in terms of attitudes alone, some of the necessary preconditions for development can be stated as attitudinal requirements. The continua do, therefore, provide a loose basis for measuring progress toward development in terms that are related directly to the goals of the training programs. In effect, the selection of attitudes used

to measure achievement in training focus attention on a core of indicators that our experience with developments has demonstrated to be significant and useful. Each attitude is a complex structure and we cannot expect all of an individual's attitudes to be expressed completely in terms of a single set of continua. Nor indeed can we expect the individual to be entirely consistent in his attitudes. In most cases, individual responses will form a pattern that is consistent overall, though inconsistent in particulars. It is this overall tendency, measured in terms of continua known to be relevant to development, that we have tried to measure. In effect, we provided the trainee with an opportunity to express the attitudes included in our set and recorded his responses. The way in which the opportunities were used, taken as an aggregate, locates the individual on an overall development continuum and thus helps us to evaluate the impact of the training program.

(1) Individual/collectivity. Perhaps the most important single set of attitudes involved in development has to do with the respective role of individual and collectivity in determining individual behavior. At one extreme, the individual who is wholly unaware or unconcerned with the collectivity can do no more than generate unintended consequences for his fellow man. At the other extreme, the individual who is totally immersed in a collectivity, if that were possible, would in effect deny his individual existence. We are concerned primarily with the way the individual conceptualized his problems, with the concepts he uses for defining the situation in which he lives and which he may try to alter. Clearly, the extent to which the environment is structured in terms of self, family, locality, tribe, or national state will have important consequences for the kinds of problems that are considered significant and the kinds of solutions that are offered for them. There are four dimensions to the individual/collective continuum that need to be considered:

- a) problem identification
- b) goal identification
- c) choice of instrumentality
- d) focus of loyalty in case of conflict.

From the standpoint of modernization, both theory and experience suggest that the individual whose conception of the major problems that concern him is stated in terms of the collectivity, who identifies as his own primary goals the betterment of the collectivity, who construes the collectivity as the prime instrument for achieving those goals, and who gives his first loyalty to that collectivity, is more likely to further modernization and development than an individual who deals with the environment solely in individual or familial terms. In some historical cases, modernization has been achieved in societies where goals, problems, and solutions were conceived in terms that were predominately individualistic but the fact that a major class of today's problems refers to the so-called "underdeveloped nations," which are characterized by familial loyalties, parochialism, traditionalism, and a "shaft your neighbor" attitude indicates that this kind of historical accident cannot be considered an acceptable solution to the problem. And an examination of the hidden costs of achieving modernization in those countries where it has been tied to an individualistic attitudinal structure suggests the desirability of choosing a different route toward development if those costs can thereby be avoided.

(2) Participation/acquiescence. While individual participation in social affairs does not guarantee progress or development or innovation, it is a prerequisite to social progress, necessarily and unavoidably. Without participation, there is no way for the individual to contribute from his store of knowledge, experience and capacity to the improvement of social conditions. We live in the era of organization; the capacity to form organizations and maintain them is essential to the improvement of the human condition. For that reason, creation and encouragement of the desire and capacity to participate meaningfully in social,

political, and economic affairs, particularly in the creation and use of social organizations, is an important goal of leadership training. Social technology of this kind may, in the long run, be even more important than the engineering technologies whose importance we all too readily perceive.

(3) Institutionalism/personalism. In the short run, personalism and charismatic leadership may be highly beneficial for society and individual alike. In the long run, the development of stable social institutions, the creation of organizations with a capacity to foster better living conditions is essential. That in turn requires an appreciation of the importance of social institutions on the part of the citizenry, and particularly the informed and active leadership.

(4) Change. For development to occur, the population must construe their golden age to lie in the future. Change must be regarded with favor and not suspicion, welcomed and not condemned. If change is tragic, a step in the degradation of man, then development is not likely to be pursued; if change is opposed for its own sake and not for its consequences, the result is likely to be catastrophic for the people of the society. While it is as foolish to welcome all changes as to oppose them, the former attitude is to be preferred, at least in those situations where virtually any major change in social structure and distribution of social benefits is likely to be an improvement.

(5) Optimism/pessimism. Closely related to the individual's attitude toward change is the general quality of his outlook toward the environment. Is his disposition sunny or cloudy, optimistic or pessimistic, hopeful or fearful? Does he regard his neighbor with fear and suspicion or is he open and friendly in his relations with others? Such attitudes are clearly related to the extent of the individual's participation in social affairs, to the effort he is likely to exert to achieve social or even individual goals.

(6) Temporal orientation. Other things equal, development-oriented man must look to the future and live in the present. It is a commonplace that a deliberate delay of present gratification or consumption in the interest of greater gratification in the future is essential for saving, for the accumulation of capital--social or individual. The extent to which leadership training succeeds in leading men to regard the future as well as the past and present as a constraint on present-choice is an important index to its success in fostering development. Without a strong element of future-orientation in society, it would be utterly impossible for the society to attempt by rational means to achieve future specified goals. And that is the heart of the developmental enterprise.

(7) Basis for assigning legitimacy to authority. The kinds of reasons for which the individual ascribes legitimacy to social or individual authority, the grounds on which he decides to obey authority or support claims to authority, are extremely important for social innovation and for change, particularly in the so-called traditional societies. At one extreme, legitimacy claims are examined in terms of their rational grounds, goals are related to achievement, status depends on experience and training, demonstrated capacity and expertise are the primary basis for obedience. At the other extreme, authority is accepted because of traditional practices, statuses tend to be ascribed rather than achieved, there is little or no relation between a claim to authority and a demonstration of competence. The importance of these attitudes in a society where maximization of the rational element of social decision-making is sorely needed could hardly be greater. In this context, the role education occupies is a rather special place, particularly when the educational structure itself is examined critically rather than traditionally.

(8) Discussion and argument. The last of our continua focuses on the extent to which discussion and argument are accepted as a basic device for clarifying issues and developing policy alternatives. Whether discussion is welcomed as a friend or attacked as a danger to received wisdom is an important dimension of the behavior of any group or society. In a society struggling to reduce the crippling influence of outmoded tradition, it may be a matter of life or death.

This set of attitudinal dimensions is a vital factor in our evaluation scheme. What we have tried to do in our study is to measure the extent to which the training programs had an impact on individual participants that could be measured in terms of these specific variables. The limitation is most important. There is no way to determine all of the consequences that flow from a particular training program. The intangibles, the long-range effects, the subtle alterations of conceptualization, skill in learning and teaching, skill in adapting to the environment; such nuances are likely to be lost if their effects are not gross. For evaluative purposes, we must spell out in advance the set of goals that a given activity is expected to achieve and measure achievement in terms of those expectations--including, where it can be determined, such unintended consequences as seem significant whenever they can be determined. Put another way, the question "What impact did training program P have on individual X?" cannot be answered. We can, however, deal with the question "Did training program P alter the values of this particular set of variables for the individuals who attended?"

Narrowly defined, the aim of our study is to determine whether or not AID-sponsored training produced changes in the particular set of attitudes specified above. But attitudes do not produce changes in the environment until they are acted upon, and attitudes are both logically and empirically distinct from behavior. That is, a man may express one kind of choice in his verbal expressions of attitude but act in a way that is wholly incompatible with those verbal statements. And

ultimately, it is the pattern of behavior and not the verbal expression that matters most--with due regard for the influence of verbal expressions on others. Of course, in some cases it is very important to inculcate an attitude, even if it is no more than a verbalization, and much contradicted in practice, the injection of the attitude is important because it creates the possibility of conflict that will be recognized and thus lead to a change in behavior. But in the long run, attitudes and verbal expressions must be supported by actions and choices that have consequences in the environment if they are to rise above the level of meaningless ritual observance of the norms. We have therefore gone on to inquire into the behavior patterns of students who completed training and returned to their homes, particularly with reference to participation in social, economic, and political affairs.

RESEARCH DESIGN

Permission to carry on research in Guatemala was arranged through the good offices of Dr. Donald McQuorquodale, Acting Chief, Human Resources Division, AID/Guatemala. Both McQuorquodale and his successor, Dr. Peter Wright, were most cooperative and helpful, as were the director of the mission and others on his staff. The research was actually done by the Instituto Nacional de Administracion Para el Desarrollo (INAD), an agency of the Guatemalan government that performs staff functions for the President of the Republic and conducts a graduate-level course in administration for government officials from Guatemala and other Central American countries. An agreement was signed between INAD and Brandeis University in which INAD agreed to supply interviewers, translators, all administrative services required by the project, and adequate logistic support. The staff at INAD also provided expert advice on questions relevant to the research design. In the first stages of the project, the work was supervised by Dr. Otto Gilbert, a U.S. trained experimental psychologist with a wide knowledge of Guatemalan society.

After his return from Washington, D. C., the Director of INAD, Dr. F. Jose Monsanto, served as general supervisor of the research program.

The procedure followed in all phases of the research was much simplified by the availability of INAD expertise. The kind of information that was needed was determined by the principal investigators, following guidelines agreed with USAID/Washington, and in general following the theoretical structure accepted by authorities in the field. The specific form in which the information needed could best be obtained from Guatemalans was determined in Guatemala through discussion with interviewers, translators, and others knowledgeable in the particular culture. The value of the INAD association cannot be overestimated, and the assistance provided by Dr. McQuorquodale, who is extremely knowledgeable about Guatemala and its people, was invaluable. Joint meetings with AID officials, supervisors, translators, interviewers, members of the Peace Corps and others working in the field were used to generate specific questions that could be used as a basis for interviewing. These questions were then translated into Spanish and back into English in group sessions. A preliminary sample of interviewees was used to test questions; each interview was tape recorded and the results heard and criticized by the group. Detailed discussion of the interviews produced a set of agreed cues for coding replies to the questions. For example, the interviewers agreed on the criteria that would be used for the research program. That schedule was checked periodically by reference to the tape recordings (which were translated in each case). Almost all of the interviews were recorded, using a small hand recorder with cassette tapes, because they made use of a number of open-ended questions. Translations of each response on the tapes was provided by INAD.

Under the terms of the agreement, the results of the research were available to INAD and Brandeis equally since INAD agreed to undertake the program only because of its interest in the subject matter of the research program. The Spanish version of the questionnaires and transcriptions of tapes was retained by

INAD. A complete set of IBM cards was supplied to INAD when processing was completed. Full copies of all reports are sent to INAD as they appear. We believe that INAD will be able to make use of much of the information in its own work. Processing of questionnaires was carried out in the United States, partly at Brandeis and partly at the University of Illinois, where one of the principal investigators (Meehan) is now employed.

Although the knowledge gained by our work with INAD will be reflected more fully in our recommendations, it is worth noting here that the association proved a most successful way of dealing with the interviewing problem, and with the research design generally. Because Guatemalan nationals, with a good knowledge of their own culture, were actively involved in every phase of the development and application of the questionnaires, the danger of misunderstandings and cultural mismatch were minimized. Further, one of the interviewers had been a student in the Loyola program and was ideally suited to serve as a source person. Since INAD was able to present the material as its own, the Brandeis presence in Guatemala was minimal. After initial work was completed, one of the principal investigators visited the site about every two months. The result was a substantial savings in funds and minimal difficulty with interviewing. The interviews were free and unrestrained for the most part; objections to the interviewing were extremely rare, even in the highly political areas such as the South Coast or East Coast (Jalapa). Finally, because INAD had an equal part in planning, supervising, translating, and interpreting the results, the research program in effect helped to develop a well-trained Guatemalan research team at INAD that can be used for other work of this kind with little additional training--a resource that is able to provide the unbiased information about social attitudes and behavior which is so badly needed in the underdeveloped nations.

THE TRAINING PROGRAM

Although they pursue roughly the same goals, the content and mode of presentation of the three training programs (Loyola, Landivar, and IDF) vary sensibly. Loyola and Landivar are most similar; IDF differs radically from the other two. Strictly speaking, Loyola-Landivar and IDF are not comparable, and it is unfair to compare their respective impacts on students. But some of the parallels that appear in the attitudes and behavior of their students are worth examining providing that conclusions are drawn from the data with some caution.

Loyola. The Loyola University training program in New Orleans is the parent structure for one kind of leadership training. Students come to Loyola from all of the Central American countries; therefore in any course there will be fewer than six or seven Guatemalan nationals enrolled. Expenses are largely underwritten by the local AID offices, though some funds are provided from AID/Washington. Courses are taught by Americans, for the most part, sometimes in Spanish and sometimes in English (with translations, of course). Each course at Loyola lasts for six weeks. It consists, broadly, of two weeks of what is called "sensitivity training," or group dynamics sessions of the type developed by the National Training Laboratory, a subdivision or affiliate of the National Educational Association. The remainder of the time is devoted to both academic and nonacademic experience. Information in a variety of fields is supplied by lecture and reading, usually in a form that is appropriate to Latin America generally--e.g., economic and development information, international relations, international organization, and so on. The students are also introduced to American culture more informally through visits to local homes, local trips by bus, and so on. The heterogeneous character of the training program makes total evaluation out of the question; there are doubtless dimensions to the individual's learning experience that quite escape the external observer.

However, if it could be argued that there are results obtained from the training that go beyond the development and reinforcement of attitudes, skills, and behavior patterns that are directly relevant to national development, the fact remains that the main function of the course is defined in the latter terms and we have limited our set of indicators accordingly.

Landivar. The training program offered by Landivar University in Guatemala City was patterned after the program at Loyola, and in fact developed largely by a group of ex-graduates of Loyola, hence the two programs are in many respects similar. The course lasts six weeks, and about the same amount of time is devoted to sensitivity training as at Loyola (indeed, the same trainers are used at both institutions in many cases). But Landivar has tended to move in the direction of rural leadership training and the content of their training program concentrates very strongly on material relevant to rural needs and to rural Guatemalan needs in particular. Landivar is moving slowly in the direction of regional or multinational training, but the program was, at the time the interviewing was carried out, predominantly aimed at Guatemalan campesinos. As we shall see below, the kind of student accepted at Landivar tends to be quite different from the student at Loyola--doubtless an indication of the rural bias of the Landivar program.

IDF. The IDF program aims at the development of local voluntary cooperative associations which can be brought together to form national federations. Usually IDF organizes an initial set of meetings in which local residents are dealt with in three or four groups, each comprising 35-50 persons. The sessions are held in the region where the people live and are taught by Central Americans who have been trained by IDF. The initial set of meetings serve as discussion forums where information is transferred to the population, chiefly about agrarian matters such as crops and livestock, and the value of forming cooperative organizations is suggested and discussed. Following the initial three-day sessions, each of the

groups elects some of its members to attend a longer session (seven to fourteen days) that follows in a few days or weeks. The elections in effect serve as a selection device, locating those persons who have demonstrated the most interest in the questions raised in the meetings and presumably those who have been most articulate. The objective is to form local cooperative associations and the second course focuses heavily on the technology of cooperation. In addition, IDF does very well in conveying information to the local leadership about the availability and use that can be made of governmental facilities. In effect, IDF serves as midwife between government and rural farmer, helping to bring them together.

At the time of interviewing (late 1968 and early 1969) a number of preliminary sessions had been held, all in the South and East coast areas of Guatemala. Only a few second-order courses had been held, consequently there was little opportunity to study trainees longitudinally. A number of persons who had participated in the first course were interviewed, and one group was interviewed following completion of a second course. The sample is too small to do more than indicate very broad similarities and differences compared to Landivar and Loyola. The persons who were interviewed prior to the first IDF meetings were virtually identical with our control group so far as behavior and attitudes are concerned.

Students

The students enrolled in the three courses studied varied enormously in background and capacity. In all cases, they were male, ranging from 99% with IDF to 84% at Loyola and 89% at Landivar--a reflection of the dominant male ethic of the country. IDF students tended to be older than either Loyola or Landivar students: 32% were more than 50 years old, as against 12% for Landivar and 14% for Loyola, and only 24% of IDF students were below the age of 40, as against 53% for Landivar and 39% for Loyola. The rural element, as might be

expected, predominated in the case of Landivar (83%) and IDF (100%), but only 31% of the Loyola students were from rural areas and a high percentage came from the capital city. The difference between Loyola students and the others was also reflected in levels of education and literacy. All of the Landivar and Loyola students claimed the ability to read and write (with the Landivar students that claim would be somewhat exaggerated if functional capacity were tested), whereas 18% of the IDF group admitted illiteracy, and the real number was doubtless much higher. Similarly, 86% of the IDF group and 52% of Landivar students had less than three years of schooling; only 7% of the Loyola group were so poorly educated as that. At the other extreme, none of the Landivar or IDF students had more than 12 years of education, while 41% of the Loyola group had been at a university. There was very little vocation education in any of the groups (3% at Landivar and 1% at IDF; 2% at Loyola). Vocational distinctions followed the same pattern: 96% of IDF trainees were farmers; 51% of the Landivar trainees were in the same group; only 12% of the Loyola students were farmers. A very high 30% of Loyola's students were teachers. The figures for farmers at Landivar are probably higher if we add the 26% who earned their living as laborers since most of this class probably served as farm laborers. Income also reflects these same distinctions. At Landivar 71% of the students made less than Q50 per month, and 91% made less than Q100. 87% of IDF earned less than Q50 and 98% less than Q100. Among Loyola students, only 12% earned less than Q50 and about 30% earned less than Q100.

The composite picture of the trainees in the different programs that emerges from our data is quite clear. The IDF trainee is an older farmer, operating on a parcelada usually, poor, with little money income, a large family, little education. He is illiterate, or barely literate, though he does listen to the radio and is not wholly uninformed. He attends a course offered in his home town or nearby, brought

there by his interest in the course--usually drawn by the advice for farmers included in the initial program. One fourth of the IDF group is Indian; the remainder Ladino. About half of the group is married. As compared with Loyola and Landivar graduates, the IDF student is poorly informed, hardly aware of national and international issues and only vaguely concerned with local matters.

The trainee at Landivar is younger, though still predominantly a rural dweller and a farmer (though not usually a parcelada owner). He is literate, though only 16% of the class has more than six years of schooling. An average Landivar class will include some non-farming occupations, such as teacher, government employee, or laborer. About half of the Landivar group are Indians; the remainder Ladino. Slightly more than half are married; family size tends to be large. Income is very low; less than Q50 per month for 75% of the group. Like the IDF trainee, the Landivar student listens to the radio but tends to read little, discuss matters only rarely outside the community though his knowledge of current affairs is better than that of his colleague in IDF, particularly with respect to national issues.

The Loyola participant tends to be urban, better educated, almost entirely Ladino (four of five), with a better income, higher status occupation, and more information about the world at his disposal.

These differences, obviously, will be reflected in the kinds of responses that appear in our survey since they have a significant influence on the kinds of accomplishment that might reasonably be expected from the programs in a limited time period.

Sampling

Guatemala, though not large, contains a number of important subcultures--there is substantial variance in language, custom, and culture. For sampling purposes, the country was divided into six areas (on the advice of our local experts):

- (1) Guatemala City and its immediate environs
- (2) The East Coast, centered on Jalapa and El Progreso
- (3) The South Coast, focused on Esquintla, Cuyuta and Suchitepequez
- (4) Chemaltenango, including Solola
- (5) Quetzaltenango, Including San Marcos
- (6) Huehuetenango

The trainees from the different programs are not equitably distributed among these geographic regions, obviously. The majority of students in Loyola came from the Guatemala City region, but only a relatively small part of the Landivar group were residents of the capital. All of the IDF trainees are found in the South Coast or the East Coast; they are concentrated on parceladas in these two areas. Few Loyola students, on the other hand, come from the East Coast or the South Coast. Landivar is best distributed outside the capital city, and about 10 per cent of the students in Loyola come from each of the other regions of the highlands (Chemaltenango, Quetzaltenango, and Huehuetenango).

In each of our geographic regions, a sample was taken from each of the available lists of graduates of training programs. The exact percentage of available students included in the sample is not known because of communications problems and social fluidity, but our goals were as follows:

(1) A virtually complete sample of all Loyola graduates. Allowing for movement that would make them impossible to locate without exorbitant expense, we could then expect to locate better than half of the available total. There are usually fewer than 30 Guatemalan graduates of the Loyola course each year and we managed to locate nearly three years worth of students (83) and include in our sample a fair geographic distribution of past graduates.

(2) From the Landivar graduates, a sample of 30-40 per cent of those residing outside the capital city. The sample actually achieved represents about one-third of all of the graduates of Landivar at the time the sample was selected, and the geographic distribution is generally good. The proportion of interviews on

the South Coast is lower than other geographic areas, but that is due to the relative scarcity of graduates in the region, not to a bias in the sample.

(3) The sample of 114 IDF graduates is a substantial part of those who took part in the training program in these two geographic areas, though it is a small sample of the very large group that took the first course in Guatemala (perhaps 1,000 or more at the time the sample was taken). The reason is simple. Since IDF works in a particular region or location, their graduates are always concentrated geographically. Instead of sampling a large number of different locations, we took a large sampling, more than 50 per cent in most cases, of the trainees in a single site. The sites were selected in consultation with Charles Davis, Director of IDF for Guatemala, and Ken Thomas, field supervisor of the IDF program in Guatemala. We chose the sites where IDF felt that they had been most successful, hoping to provide the best evidence possible of what can be accomplished using this approach to rural leadership training. The reason for the choice is the need to have some basis for comparing what can be accomplished using IDF techniques of training as compared to the leadership program developed at Loyola and copied at Landivar. While the results are incomplete and partial, they are worth close examination. In contrast to Loyola and Landivar, where the course is lengthy (six weeks), residential, comparatively expensive, and quite generalized, IDF concentrates its attention on rural farmers, urging the development of cooperatives and fuller utilization of available governmental facilities. There are considerable differences in cost per student, type of student, mode of training, emphasis, and so on. Our study suggests some of the factors that are needed for comparing the results each can achieve, though it should again be emphasized that the IDF program was incomplete. Ultimately, third and even fourth-level courses are provided by IDF as the cooperative structure grows. This development had not yet occurred in Guatemala.

(4) The control group, which consists of about 15 per cent of the total number of interviews, provides a base point for comparing attitude and behavior characteristics of training program graduates. The control group is not identical to the input group of the various training programs. In general, the control group resembles very closely the group of persons who take part in the IDF courses, but the characteristics of the inputs to Loyola and Landivar are quite different. It would have been impossible to produce a control that in effect gave us a "national sample," of the population, and it would have been very expensive given the characteristics of the country. To standardize the impact of training, we selected two courses in each of the training programs and tested all of the Guatemalan members of each course as they entered the training program and as they departed. Our sampling assumption here is that persons entering each of the courses tended, as a group, to resemble one another. Hence the results obtained by testing the persons beginning the two courses would give us a good indication of the relevant attitudes of other groups as they began their courses.

What the control group provides is a cross section, ethnically and geographically distributed to reflect national population concentrations, of the nondevelopmental or traditional point of view--something akin to the "man in the street," though "man on the farm" might be a better label. The control group serves to identify the attitudes we can expect to find in the larger part of the rural population. For that reason, it provided us with a base point in measuring reactions to our test questions and testing our assumptions about the way in which those questions would be answered by different types of persons. As we expected, the control group scored low on the indices we created for dealing with aggregates of attitudes related to development. Again, with respect to particular questions, the responses of the control group provide us with some interesting information about the differences that remain between what might loosely be called the "modernizing" as against the "traditional" element in Guatemalan society. We were

able, by using the control group in this way, to identify some of the crucial points distinguishing a traditional from a modernizing attitude and point to an empirically identifiable group as an exemplar of the former.

(5) At the other end of the continuum, the "modernizing" individual, the person with a powerful orientation to development, also needed exemplification. Here we were very fortunate indeed. INAD in effect is a graduate school of administration, operating under Guatemalan direction and enrolling up-and-coming young administrators in its course. We had at our disposal a group of some thirty men who exemplified, in the best sense of the term, the kinds of attitudes that leadership training was trying to develop. The INAD class, in effect, provided us with the "modernizing" norm for our questions, and our indexes, a base line that could be used to good purpose for comparing trainees in the different programs, an illustration of the other extreme of the continuum on which the control group ranks low.

(6) The last sample group, equally interesting for general sociological and developmental purposes, consisted of a group of secretaries and mayors from local communities in various parts of Guatemala who agreed to answer the questions on our questionnaire. These are men and women very active in local affairs and deeply immersed in governmental problems at the local and regional level. Their responses to the questions provide a most interesting and useful base point for comparing trainees in the different programs.

The availability of these special samples provided us with great flexibility for our analysis. Members of the training programs could be compared entering and leaving; the range of time since course completion varied enough to allow us to compare a variety of attitudes that might be influenced by the time delay since training--assuming that the inputs to the training programs had remained reasonably constant over a two year period. That is, our sample included persons from each course who had completed training as recently as a few days earlier than the

interview, and as long ago as three years prior to interviewing. The effect of time on attitudes and behavior was therefore available for examining the attitudes of these graduates. Further, specific comparisons, question by question as well as in aggregate, could be made between members of the different training programs, persons of known traditional outlook, persons of known modernizing outlook, and persons exemplifying the middle echelons of government. While these comparisons are not always relevant to the subject of this report, in the strict sense, and are therefore omitted from our analysis, the raw material needed to deal with such wider questions is available in the responses and can be seen quite vividly in the summation of responses in the appendices.

Questionnaires

Two questionnaires were used in the study; each questionnaire contained a number of different parts. The content was determined by the characteristics of the population to which they were applied. Basically, there were four types of people to be interviewed:

- (1) controls: persons who had attended none of the courses
- (2) individuals who had completed one of the training programs at some time in the past.
- (3) those just entering a new course
- (4) those just completing a course.

Questionnaire #1 was administered to everyone in groups (1), (2), and (3). This basic questionnaire provides information relating to background information, attitudes, behavior relevant to development, and so on. For persons in group (2), (those who had attended one of the training courses) a further set of questions dealt with their perception of the influence of the course on their behavior and attitudes. For group (4), a second questionnaire was prepared dealing with

self-perception of the impact of training, attitudinal questions that replicated exactly, though in different language, the questions asked in the first questionnaire, and information about the individual's intended use of the information and skill acquired through training. Because of the matching, changes in attitude could be identified quite exactly by comparing specific questions on the two questionnaires, an important factor when the impact of training is being evaluated.

The items in the questionnaires refer to a wide range of factors that are directly or indirectly related to problems of national development. Questionnaire #1, which was administered to all participants, to the control group and the two special groups, and to those entering the two classes that were studied longitudinally, deals with the following types of questions:

(1) Socio-economic factors. Basic information about the individual and his family, including age, sex, rural-urban background, regional association, place of residence, educational level, type of education, literacy status, occupation, income, mobility, ethnicity, language, marital status, family conditions, father's education and occupation, family decision structure, family religious activity, father's role in community affairs.

(2) Links to the communication network. We wanted to establish both the type and amount of connection between the individual and the information network. We asked about reading habits, listening and viewing habits, and the extent to which the individual took part regularly in various discussion groups, formal or informal.

(3) Awareness of social issues. The procedure here was to have the interviewer mention an issue in each of the major areas and evaluate the individual's response on the spot. The interviewers and supervisors agreed after listening to responses on the recorded interviews on the kind of indicators that would be used for evaluative purposes. Generally, a good knowledge of an event required capacity to cite details and explain why the event was important. If the individual knew about

the event, but nothing of its details or import, that indicated some link but little transfer of data. A poor answer indicated an almost total inability to deal with the event. Each person was questioned with respect to an international, national, local, and regional issue. Further, they were asked about the method used to elect mayors in Guatemala, which is standardized for the entire country, and the method by which political parties are registered, which is quite technical and complex and requires a fairly sophisticated knowledge of politics to answer. Finally, the total structure was tested by asking for the respondent's perception of the more urgent problems facing the community.

(4) Analytic capacity. In a very rough way, we tried to get some estimate of the quality of the individual's thinking skills, of the degree to which the individual habitually examined the environment in an experimental or problem-solving way. The specific types of capacity we were looking for were specialization of function and division of labor, cause-effect relations, the relation between zero-sum activity and the effects of cooperations, and the level of conceptual sophistication employed in the responses. Given the complexity of the translating problem, and the very rough nature of the questions, this section did not produce very satisfactory data but did suggest the enormous importance of examining the point in more detail. A fourth questionnaire was therefore prepared in which this dimension of the individual's interaction with the environment was probed in much greater detail. The results of that questionnaire, which was administered to a very high level elite group in Guatemala, will be used as the basis for experimental training designed specifically to improve that part of the individual's capacity to act.

(5) Attitudes or values. Attitudes were measured along a number of separate continua, each related directly or indirectly to a modernizing or development orientation on the individual's part.

- (a) sense of responsibility to family, community, and nation
- (b) relative importance of material and intangible goods
- (c) prevalence of trust/suspicion in relations with others
- (d) commitment to local or national community
- (e) attitude toward conflict, violence, contention, disagreement, discussion
- (f) optimism/pessimism in outlook on the world
- (g) orientation to present/future
- (h) attitude to change
- (i) selection of appropriate instrumentality for social change
- (j) basis of legitimacy, e.g., age, experience, education, etc.
- (k) attitude toward tradition
- (l) preference for men or institutions
- (m) propensity to act or wait for others to lead
- (n) sense of efficacy
- (o) basis for sense of efficacy
- (p) sense of responsibility for others
- (q) aspirations for self and family
- (r) legitimate scope of governmental activity

(6) Participation in social, political, and economic life. Extent of involvement in community affairs. Mode of participation. Extent of displayed leadership. Purposes of participation.

(7) Evaluation of training. Questionnaire #2 deals with the same basic questions, but is more concerned with the short-run. The attitudinal and behavioral questions are exact duplicates of questions that appear in Questionnaire #1. The expectations relating to use that will be made of training are also elicited by the interviewer.

Development and Participation Indexes

Because a convenient way of expressing the influence of a variety of factors on individual attitudes and preferences was needed if the study were not to become too cumbersome, a set of indexes was developed which acted to cumulate the responses of the individual to the whole range of questions included in the interview.

(1) Development Index I. This is a rough measure of the individual's overall orientation toward development as expressed in attitudes or verbal expressions and not in behavior or actual choices. In the content of the first questionnaire, one hundred questions were identified as relevant to the set of evaluation continua that the study is intended to measure. For each question, a "developmentally-oriented" answer was selected and weighed against other possible responses. The actual results achieved by administering the question to the INAD group were used as a standard to check the adopted weighing system. In effect, each question was answered in terms of the theory of development implicit in the literature from which our criteria of achievement were derived. Strictly speaking, Development Index I is a measure of the ratio between the number of opportunities afforded by the questionnaire for expressing an attitude relevant to development to the number of occasions on which the individual responded in the manner postulated or predicted by our model of the development process. The index is a fraction expressing the relation between opportunities for choice and appropriate choices. As the graphs in figure 2 indicate, it discriminates very well among the groups and within the groups, particularly at the lower levels.

It should be noted, with reference to the indexes, that the purposes of the study control the form and content of the questions and they in turn control the manner in which the indexes are developed. We were trying to deal with the presence or absence of a particular set of attitudes, not to inquire into any change in attitude that might appear during training; intensity of attitude could not be examined except as it appeared in appropriate behavior. Further, the questionnaires had to operate

with groups ranging in skill from total illiterates through university-trained professional men and women. When one questionnaire must perform such diverse functions, some qualities must be sacrificed. In our case, capacity to discriminate among the sophisticated was sacrificed for capacity to discriminate among the lower levels of society. A third and fourth questionnaire, designed to deal with the educational and socio-economic elites in Guatemala, was prepared and used later. Available results are found in Part ____ of the report, and in Part ____, which is forthcoming in 1970. There is no question, in any case, of the interview questions being "too easy." Our aim is not to trap the interviewee but to elicit information about attitudes, and for that purpose, the most important point is that the interviewee find the question intelligible and meaningful.

(2) Participation Index I. Participation Index I is compiled on the same principles as the Development Index, but refers to choices indicated in the questionnaire rather than attitudes. Some questions were included in both indexes in an effort to smooth out the responses, but the correlation between the two indexes is in all cases very high (as much as .96 and never less than .86) and the absolute levels of difference between indexes occur in places where there is expected to be a sharp separation between verbal adherence to principle and behavior based systematically and consistently on the principle. As figure 3 shows, the index discriminates nicely among the groups, and the general shape of the curve offers some interesting information about the spread of attitudes and behaviors within each group, and about the absolute differences in scoring level among individuals (no student from Landivar, for example, scored as high as the highest member of Loyola).

(3) Development Index II. Development Index II is prepared in the same way as the other two indexes but it refers to Questionnaire #2. The emphasis here is on attitudes rather than behavior, since the students had not yet been given an opportunity to make use of their training. Expressions of intention were taken as expres-

sions of attitude. Note the peculiar shape of the IDF curve on figure 4, indicating clearly the extent to which the group had been familiarized with a particular set of values, and how regularly they responded.

The development and participation indexes have been calculated for each of the questions in each of the questionnaires and can be found on the margins of the Appendices I and II to this report. The manner in which the values of the indexes varies can be taken as a good indication of the quality of the question, and the relation between question and variance in index value supports the usefulness of the indexes. By that we mean that the indexes are demonstrably good indicators of modifications in the value system of the individual to whom the indexes refer, as evidenced by the results obtained with individuals for whom we could find external corroboration of the relation between index level and performance--as with the INAD class and with the mayor-secretary group.

Figure # 2

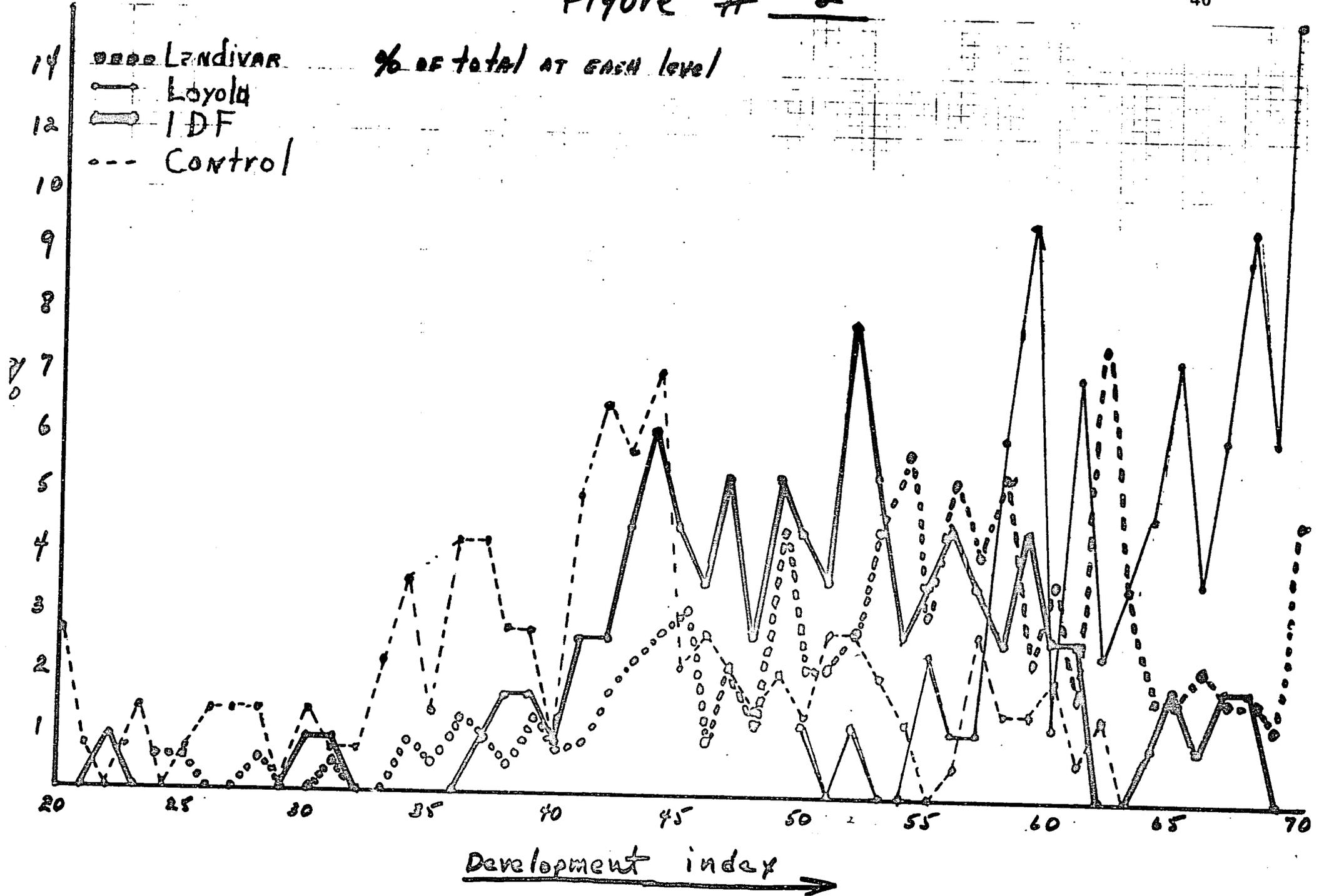


Figure # 3

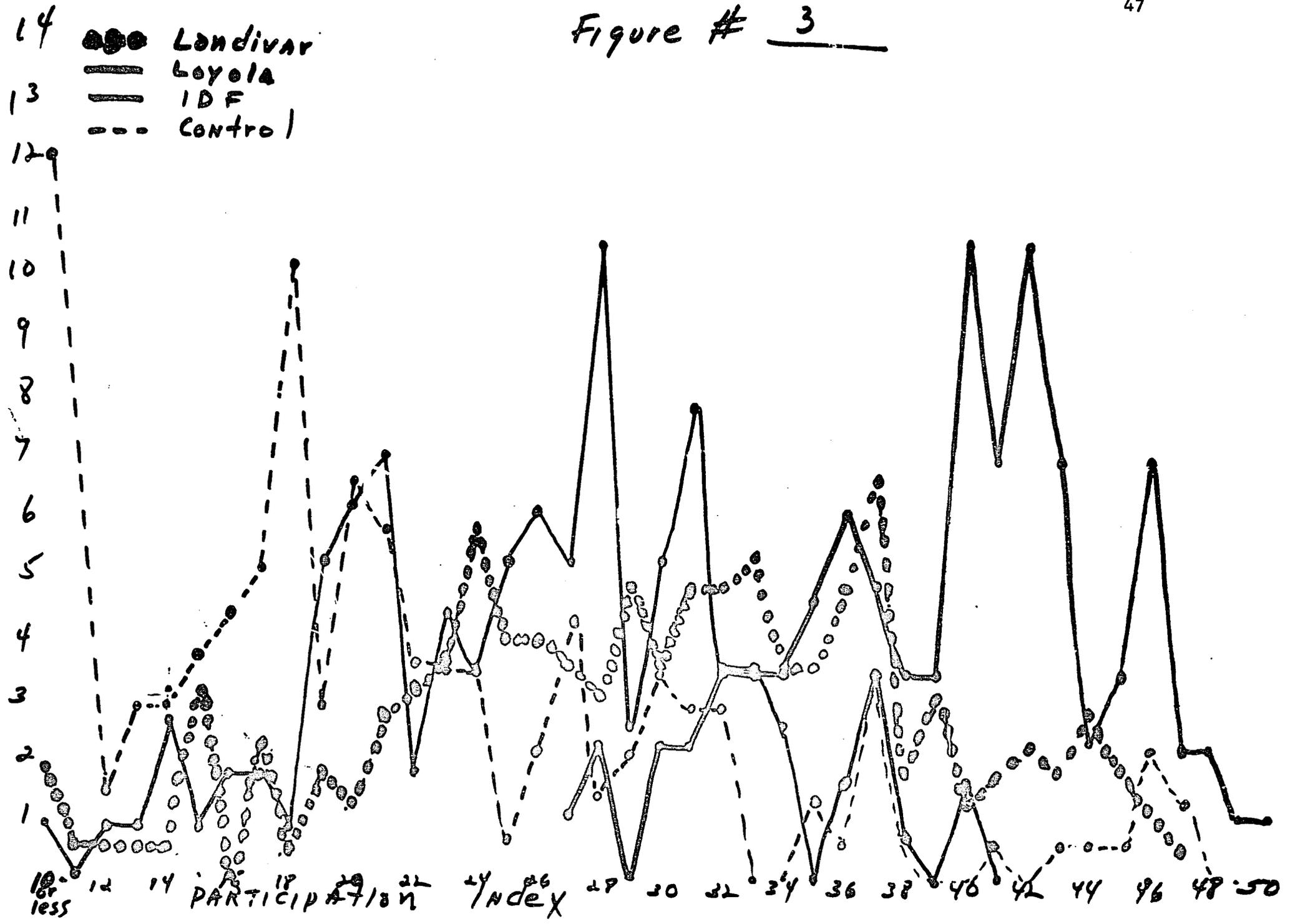
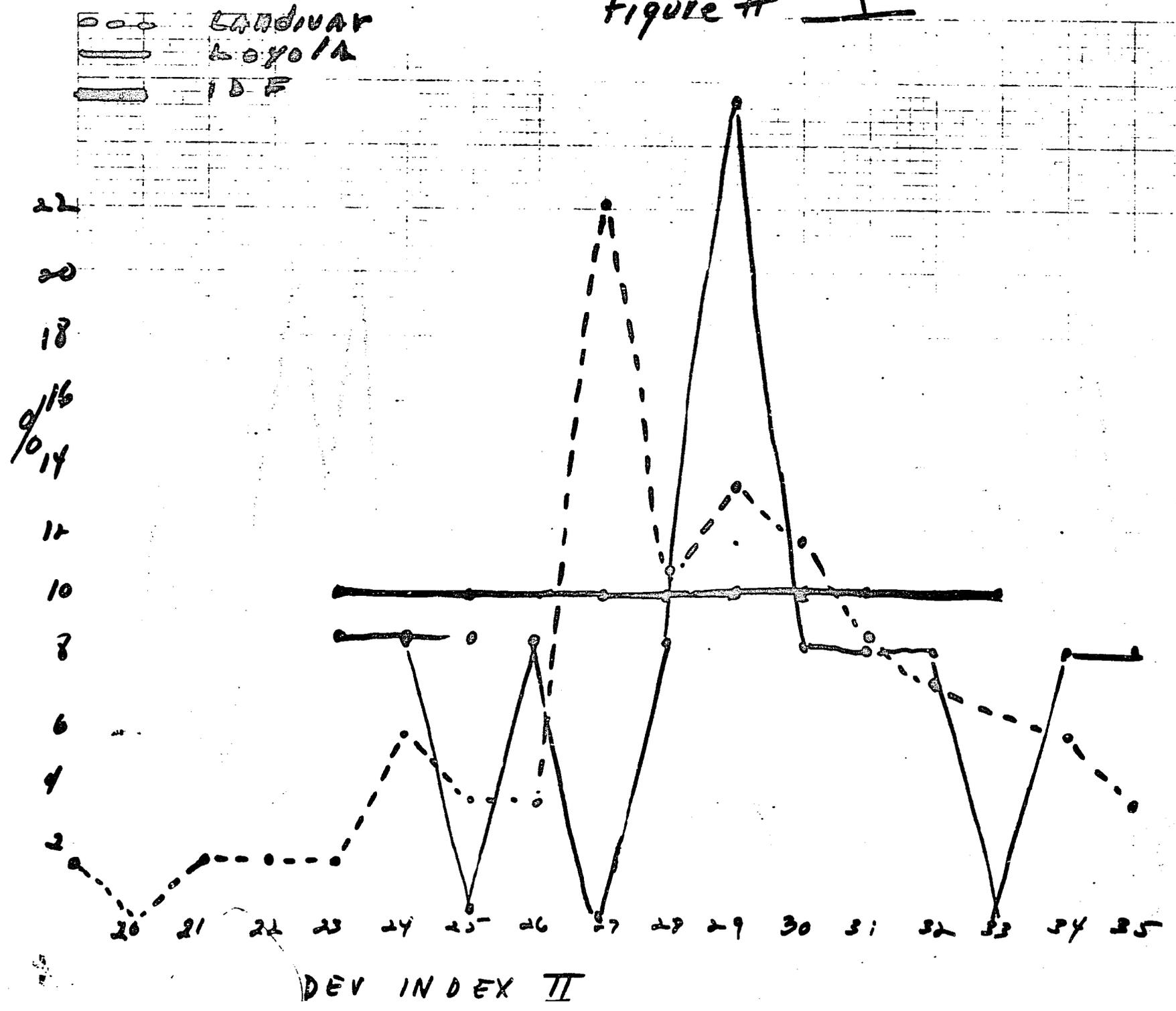


Figure # 4



FINDINGS

The results obtained from our interviewing contain only a few real surprises for those familiar with conditions in the underdeveloped nations and with the type of training program being studied. However, these same observers will realize that it would be futile to expect to generate massive changes in the individual in a few short weeks, particularly when the selection system is not particularly well organized and produces groups that are often quite badly mismatched, and when the situation to which the individual trainee returns after completion of the program is sometimes hostile and often indifferent to his efforts. Further, we must point out very strongly that there are dimensions to the training that our questionnaires do not and cannot measure, and they may be important dimensions of training for development. For example, our interviewers regularly found that trainees were much easier to work with after they had completed their course, and that there was a similar contrast between members of the control group and those who had undergone training. In effect, the training program socialized the individuals to a type of question and answer interactions with others that could be extremely important, as a critical tool, or as a general model of deportment in learning situations. Whether or not interaction skills of this kind were actually used in the field we cannot tell, but they should not be discounted completely. In the early stages of the research, we tried to obtain third-party accounts of the impact of training on the individual trainee, but were soon forced to abandon the effort because of the unwillingness of third-parties to respond to questioning, and because of the time and expense involved when individuals were hard to locate, as in most cases when they resided outside the capital city. Our feeling is, however, that many of these implicit skills are employed by the individual in his own environment, and that such consequences, which are hidden assets of the training programs, should not be discounted.

A brief summary of the major findings of the study will provide a background for the more detailed examination of changes in attitude and behavior produced by training--as they appear in our longitudinal study. In this first part of the findings, we concentrate on the attitudinal and behavioral characteristics of the students in the three training programs who had completed the training courses from three to thirty-six months earlier. Our concern is with the influence of a variety of factors on the development and participation indexes of the individual, since these considerations are of great importance for the design of future training programs. However, we try also to indicate the variance in indexes that is associated with the different trainee groups, considered as subclasses of the total population.

Influence of socio-economic variables.

The relationship between a range of socio-economic variables and the development and participation indexes followed expected patterns in all but a few cases, thus confirming the general conceptual framework employed in the research design. Thus the males, who constituted about 90 percent of the sample, had both higher development indexes (53.4 against 50.8) and higher participation indexes (28.9 against 26.5). The proportionally greater difference in participation is to be expected given the norms of society and their impact on opportunities for women. Age correlates directly with both indexes except at the two extremes. A peak is reached with both indexes between the ages of 25 and 50; below the age of 25 and above the age of 50, each index loses value. The urban dweller has an advantage over the rural resident, in Guatemala as elsewhere; the development index for urban citizens is 59; that of the rural farmer only 51. The difference in participation index between rural and urban resident is even greater, proportionately (27 to 35) reflecting, as we might expect, the vast differences in the opportunity structure, etc. in the two locations.

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Education correlates directly and positively with both indexes and there is no plateau or levelling point discernable; the index value continues to rise, though somewhat more slowly, as education increases. The range extends from 45 for those with no education whatever to 64 for those with more than 12 years of schooling. On the participation index, the influence of education appears in precisely the same form and magnitude, varying from 22 for the uneducated to 39 for those with more than twelve years of school. Proportionately, the impact of education on participation is even greater than its influence at the attitudinal level, as we might expect. Occupation is important, obviously, but in rather complex ways. Farmers and laborers (usually farm laborers) scored worst on both indexes--50 on the development index and 25 on the participation index for farmers, 47 on the development index and 26 on the participation index for laborers. The best scores, in both areas, were associated with teachers, engineers, military personnel, and white collar workers. Curiously enough, they scored better than students, professional men, or even social workers. This is one of the findings that suggests the importance of developing analytic capacity as well as transferring information to the trainee. Analytic skill is usually associated with those who deal in rational activity such as engineers and those who work in formal bureaucratic structures. That relation, if it holds in our further tests, should provide a basis for an important improvement in our conception of the fundamental content of an adequate training program.

The location in which the individual is reared seems to have less impact on attitudes than we might think. Those reared in Guatemala city had some advantage over the others: 58 Development/34 Participation, as compared with 53 Development/29 Participation for the highlands of Chimaltenango, Quetzaltenango and Huehuetenango, and 51 Development/26 Participation for the South Coast and East Coast. Travel outside the home town had the expected consequences. Those who traveled often had a

Development index of 57 and a Participation index of 32, as against scores of Development 49 and Participation 24 for those who rarely or never traveled. The Spanish speaking Ladino scored better than the Guatemalan who spoke Indian only (55 Development/30 Participation against 51 Development/27 Participation). But the influence of the language spoken in the home is less marked: 54 Development and 29 Participation where Spanish was the only language, 51 Development and 27 Participation when Indian was the only language and 52 Development/27 Participation where both Spanish and Indian were spoken in the home.

Our efforts to learn something of the relation between other dimensions of family life and individual behavior and attitudes produced some interesting, and even surprising results. Family attendance at church, for example, has no apparent influence on attitudes. But family participation in community affairs had about as much influence as we expected to find. Those whose parents were very active in community affairs attained scores of 56 Development/31 Participation as against 50 Development/26 Participation for those whose parents were not active. The father's reading habits also correlate directly with index levels. When the father read a newspaper daily, the scores are 61 Development/36 Participation; when the father read a newspaper only once each week (probably an indication of illiteracy, given the context), indexes drop to 50 Development/26 Participation, a very substantial change. Oddly enough, the authoritarian character of the family decision structure seems to have little or no influence on the attitudes of children. Persons coming from an authoritative family structure in which the father made the decisions alone scored 52 Development/28 Participation; those coming from homes where such decisions were made after consultation or discussion scored 54 Development/29 Participation. The difference is trivial.

Links to the communications network.

The connection between linkage to the communications network, general edu-

cational level, and development orientation turned out just about as expected. Those who read a newspaper daily, mainly Loyola trainees (72%) and the INAD class (88%), scored much higher on both indexes than those who read a newspaper only weekly--about 44% of Landivar and 22% each of IDF and Loyola--and very much higher than those who read a newspaper less than once each week, usually an indicator of illiteracy. The scores were: 62 Development/36 Participation for those who read a newspaper daily; 56 Development/30 Participation for those who read a newspaper weekly; 47 Development/23 Participation for those who read a newspaper less frequently than once weekly. Similarly, those who regularly read editorials, international news, national news, and local news scored much better than those who concentrated on local news, sports, or what was vaguely identified as "news." Editorial readers scored well, 60 Development/35 Participation. Omnivorous readers scored best of all, 64 Development/39 Participation. The remainder scored in the low 50's on the Development index and the upper 20's on Participation.

The influence of discussion of current events on developmentally-related attitudes follows a similar pattern. Those who engaged in discussions of current affairs every day (Loyola, the INAD class, and the mayor-secretary group mainly) averaged 62 Development/37 Participation as against 54 Development/29 Participation for those who discussed current events weekly, and 44 Development/21 Participation for those who rarely or never discussed events with others. About half of Landivar and IDF discussed events weekly; perhaps 40 percent of IDF and 25 percent of the Landivar group rarely or never discussed current events with others. Again, those whose interest in current events included both national and international news scored much better (62 Development/38 Participation) than those who concentrated on local and/or national questions (52 Development/27 Participation). The pattern of reading outside the area of newspapers is rather curious. Reading of other materials correlates well with attitude changes, but the focus of interest is vague. The most common form of non-newspaper reading is the large-circulation popular magazine such

as Life or Time; others referred to included materials provided by the cooperative movement, and work related materials.

The links to newspapers and other media followed the pattern found in relation to newspapers. In general, those whose attitudes and behavior were highly developmentally-oriented were most closely tied to the communications network, as we might expect. An important dimension of the training programs, then, is the extent to which it managed to connect the individual to the news media, awaken an interest in further reading, stimulate discussion with others, inculcate habits of reading, and participation in meaningful discussion. As we shall see below, this is precisely one of the changes that were induced by training in most cases, particularly in Loyola and Landivar.

Knowledge of current issues.

Early in the interviewing, we were mildly surprised to learn of the extent to which Guatemalan nationals were hooked into the communications network. Our surprise increased when the interviews began probing awareness of local, national, regional, and international problems. As expected, those with close links to the communications network also had a good knowledge of current affairs; students at Loyola and Landivar, the INAD class, and the mayor-secretary group were all generally well informed. What was surprising, however, was the extent to which knowledge of local affairs was prevalent in all parts of the community. Even our control group, which comprises the lowest socio-economic element of the population, was generally aware of local affairs, and one-third of the control group demonstrated a good knowledge of local matters. Because the result was unexpected, the recordings made during the interviews with the control group and others were examined carefully by an expert committee of Guatemalans until we were convinced that the interviewers were evaluating responses correctly. More than 95 percent of all persons interviewed had some knowledge of the two or three major community issues that were used as a

basis for evaluating awareness. In the control group, as we expected, lack of knowledge was more common than in the other segments of the population, but even in this case only about 25 per cent of the group was wholly ignorant of local problems. That figure seemed to us very low and caused a great deal of surprise among our Guatemalan compatriots as well.

When the focus changed from local to national issues, the general pattern of relations between awareness, information, and attitudes remained the same, and those with a good knowledge of current affairs scored much better on our indexes than those with little or no knowledge of these matters (60 Development/35 Participation as against 43 Development/19 Participation). But even with respect to national affairs, one-fourth of the members of the control group had a good knowledge of national issues and knew the details and background significance of current problems, and only one-fifth of the total had no knowledge of these events. Knowledge of regional matters (unrest in Jalapa, for example) followed much the same pattern as knowledge of national issues, but the control group now had markedly less information available than did the other groups. Presumably the high rate of illiteracy within the control group forced reliance upon broadcasting sources and word-of-mouth transmission of information, and these sources were less likely to carry information about events in other regions that did not have national importance than to carry information about national events.

At the level of international events, patterns of knowledge and concern altered sharply. Concern for external affairs is clearly a matter that concerns the intelligentsia and well educated, not the man in the street--at least in peace time conditions. The patterns of scoring on the indexes remained very much the same; high information levels related directly to higher development and participation scores. But the pattern of awareness was much different. In general, knowledge declined drastically and the advantage of the well educated became much more marked. About 80 per cent of the Loyola and INAD students could provide good

answers to questions about international relations, but only 20 per cent of the others were able to do so--including, oddly enough, the mayor-secretary group who might be expected to be better informed.

Turning to specific information such as knowledge of the procedures used to elect local mayors or to register political parties, the patterns produced little that is new or different. Knowledge of the procedures for electing a mayor, which are similar everywhere in Guatemala, is widely disseminated. Only in the control group did we find as many as 20 per cent of the total unable to provide a satisfactory or adequate response; in contrast, 62 per cent of Landivar, 88 per cent of Loyola, 63 per cent of the INAD class, 46 per cent of IDF, 50 per cent of the mayor-secretary group, and 39 per cent of the control group produced good answers--perhaps an indication of the improvement of IDF over the control but not surprising. About one-third to two-fifths of Landivar, IDF, and the control group were aware of the process in rough terms but unable to provide a detailed statement of the procedures involved in the election. With respect to party registration procedures, a much more difficult and technical question, the relation between formal education, general knowledge, and awareness of this aspect of the political process was more marked. About half of the Loyola, IDF, and mayor-secretary groups were aware of the process; in these cases, the index scores were extremely high--66 Development/40 Participation. About 80 per cent of Landivar, IDF, and the control group had no knowledge whatever of the process; their scores on the indexes were 49 Development/25 Participation.

Awareness of information about the availability of governmental services in the local community of the individual, which is an important factor in development in any society, was quite high in all parts of the population tested, but the value of the training programs stands out very clearly. A good knowledge of available services appears in 90 per cent of the Loyola group, 81 per cent of the INAD class,

and 91 per cent of the mayor-secretary group. Even for the IDF, there was a substantial improvement over the capacity of the control group; 56 per cent of IDF provided a good answer to the question while only 39 per cent of control could do so. Put another way, about 30 per cent of the control group had no knowledge of available services, while the figures for Landivar and IDF were about 10 per cent and near zero for the others. Knowledge of the procedures by which such services could be obtained was slightly lower but the distribution of information was about the same. Loyola led the way; 89 per cent of the group had a good knowledge of the procedures. Landivar followed with 68 per cent, then 56 per cent for INAD, 54 per cent for IDF, 50 per cent for the mayor-secretary group (which is surprising) and 31 per cent of the control group. Again, we have some good indication of the value of the training provided by IDF and Landivar; they were substantially better than the control group, though the input to IDF in particular is very close to the level of awareness found in the IDF trainees. Again, to take the negative side of the question, about 40 per cent of the control group had no information about the question while for Landivar and IDF graduates the figure was only about 10 per cent.

Awareness of Guatemala's more pressing and urgent problems varied considerably. The most frequently cited problem was education, followed closely by concern with factionalism and political violence. Other major problems as perceived by the population were jobs and unemployment and their corollaries, hunger and poverty. Perception of social conflict was directly related to scores on the development and participation indexes, though the range of variance is not large. Curiously enough, the mayor-secretary group was less aware, or less willing to recognize, social conflict than any of the other groups. Loyola graduates and the INAD class were generally less conscious of social conflict than either the Landivar, IDF, or even the control group; the mayors, by contrast, cited about

one-fifth as much conflict as any of the others. In general, awareness of conflict was inversely rather than directly related to educational level, and scores on the development and participation indexes not precisely what we had expected by any means.

Cognition Skill

While the tests of cognition skill that we were able to include in the initial questionnaire were less cogent and probing than we would have liked, they are useful as rough indicators of a very serious problem in our present conception of adequate training. During the initial testing period, it appeared that the answers we were getting on the tapes showed little capacity to deal with complex problems demanding high analytic skill without regard to the educational level of the interviewee. Because we wanted some indication of the kind of thinking being used to deal with such problems, we added a brief segment of three questions in the hope that it would serve as a loose indicator. First, we asked about the use that would be made of an assistant--a task that in American circles, even with high school children, leads to a discussion of division of labor, specialization, and goal performance linked to the future. In our responses, about 5 per cent of the total population were quite unable to answer the question and most of the population, whatever the group, could do no more than generate a vague response in the form "put him to work," or "help me." The exact figures are staggering: 42 per cent of Landivar, 37 per cent of Loyola, 75 per cent of IDF, 74 per cent of control, 50 per cent of the mayor-secretary group, and 38 per cent of the INAD class could produce no better response. Worse, another 25 per cent or more could only add the rather vague suggestion that they would "orient the worker to the job," or its analytical equivalent. About 10 per cent of all persons interviewed, on the most generous possible assessment of the responses, were able to produce an answer that was in the least analytic, implying a division of labor, an awareness of the

function of specialization, etc. Even in an area like fertilizer use, which we also queried, where everyone realized that the product was useful, the answers seemed in most cases a routinized or memorized relation rather than the result of analytic procedures or cause-effect thinking.

Other questions that probed cognition skill related to the zero-sum quality of society (whether one person's loss was necessarily another person's gain) produced results that were equally disappointing, particularly with graduates of the training programs since the latter could reasonably be expected to alert the student to the benefits of cooperation--of the properties of nonzerosum games. More than one-half of all persons tested except the mayor-secretary group missed the inference--64 per cent of Landivar, 42 per cent of Loyola, 48 per cent of IDF, 61 per cent of control, and 44 per cent of INAD. In contrast, only 5 per cent of the mayors answered in the same way. The number of persons who were aware of contingency factors was very small, with a slight edge in numbers for the INAD and the Loyola groups, as we might expect.

Some of the differences in awareness of analytic dimensions of social problems are interesting. When asked about the use that would be made of an assistant, the IDF and control groups answered in the same way, and in nearly all cases it seemed clear that the question held no meaning for them, that their training was not relevant to that kind of question. A substantial part of the Loyola-Landivar group was concerned to orient the worker to the job, or in some way take cognizance of the personal or psychic qualities of the assistant being acquired--a tribute, apparently, to the effect of sensitivity training and heightened awareness of the capacities and needs of the other persons in a relationship. Again, when asked how to locate a well in a village (to see the extent to which there was awareness of the need to examine contingencies and unintended outcomes) nearly 60 per cent of the INAD class proposed to seek expert

assistance. The figure for Loyola was 28 per cent, and other groups mentioned the need for expertise only about 10 per cent of the time. Clearly, one major function of the training programs is to sensitize the individual to the need for expert technological assistance in areas where his own competence is limited. For the control group, the question carried no such implications or overtones. To them, it appeared as a simple work problem and they answered it by referring to the dimensions of the problem with which they were most familiar, e.g., to the tools needed to dig the well, or to the physical conditions such as soil or shade that could be used to define a suitable location for the well.

Attitudes and Values

Our exploration of attitudes and values covered a wide range of materials and produced a variety of responses. Of particular interest are the points at which there was near-unanimous agreement, the points of substantial disagreement, and the differences among the sub-groups (Loyola, Landivar, INAD, etc.) where disagreement occurred. We will therefore take the attitudes in that general order.

Agreement. There was near-unanimous agreement with respect to (a) individual responsibility to family and country, (b) the need for education, and (c) the need to avoid conflict, among other things. Everyone agreed that those who left the community to receive specialized training should return to the community after training was completed. Further, there was almost complete agreement on the responsibility of the individual to protect both his family and his country at the risk of his life. With respect to education, there was complete agreement on the need to prefer a good education to a supply of material goods or to the achievement of Guatemalan prestige abroad. In fact, where there was an expressed intention to raise children in a manner different from the way in which the respondent was raised, about two-thirds of the groups with low educational levels (Landivar, IDF, control and mayor-secretary groups) specifically mentioned education as the point of difference that mattered most. Finally, on the question

of avoiding conflict and encouraging discussion, the overwhelming preponderance of the responses urged settlement of all problems by discussion rather than fighting to the point of agreeing that leaders should not propose policies that would cause serious disagreement among their followers. Where disagreement occurred on the latter question, it came from Loyola and INAD trainees, representing the best-educated and most sophisticated elements of the sample being studied.

Disagreement. With respect to other types of questions, the population was frequently divided down the center with sharp divisions appearing among graduates of the different programs. The principal disagreements, suitably divided to show the differential impact of the training programs, are as follows:

(a) Nepotism. Whether it was better to employ a relative or a stranger was a moot point for the total population: about 43 per cent agreed, slightly less than 40 per cent disagreed, the remainder was indifferent. Better than half of the Landivar, IDF and control groups preferred a relative to a stranger; only 13 per cent of Loyola and the INAD class and 5 per cent of the mayors agreed. Conversely, nearly 60 per cent of Loyola graduates and about 40 per cent of INAD disagreed with the proposition, while one-fourth to one-third of the other groups took that view. Only 14 per cent of the control group was indifferent to the question, while nearly one-fourth of Landivar and Loyola and the mayor-secretary group, and one-half of the INAD class, were indifferent and thought it made no difference.

(b) Suspicion/trust. Is corruption avoidable? Suspicion and pessimism with respect to political authority was clearest in the control (61%), Landivar (56%), and IDF (61%) groups, relatively low in Loyola (37%), INAD (6%), and the mayor-secretary group (5%). Again, while the position of the mayors is understandable, it is interesting to note that our two more sophisticated and better informed groups are also most optimistic and in a sense most trusting about this point, although they were almost certainly more aware of the reality of political corruption than any of the others.

(c) Local/national relations. There was a great deal of confusion on this point in the responses elicited from the unsophisticated groups (Landivar, IDF, and control). Faced with the proposition that the primary task of local government is to carry out the instructions of the national government, 79% of Landivar, 91% of IDF, 80% of the control group agree, while only 13% of INAD and 24% of Loyola take the same position. But faced with the proposition that local governments need more authority, more than 80 per cent of all respondents agree, and only INAD breaks the pattern--about 70 per cent of that group concur. While we thought the question might have been misunderstood, a study of the tapes and questioning the interviewers suggests that the Loyola and INAD groups consistently desired greater local autonomy, while the others were largely indifferent to the question in that form--it is not, in other words, a question that they have been led to consider.

(d) Legitimacy and tradition. The extent to which the country is still divided by sharp differences of opinion respecting traditional bases for authority is readily apparent in our findings, and the manner in which these differences appear in the different sample groups in the population is most instructive. Faced with an old folk saying "The poor are born poor," which implies man's incapacity to deal with the problem, agreement was high in the control (57%) and IDF (58%) groups, lower with Landivar students (24%) and very low with Loyola (5%) and INAD (13%). Similarly, on the question whether or not young men should follow the advice of their elders, 98% of IDF, 84% of the control group, 83% of Landivar, and 100% of the mayor-secretary group agreed; at the other extreme, only 19% of the INAD class agreed with the proposition. Loyola occupied a middle position--57% of that group followed the control group. In the same vein, when the question was raised whether it was better to consult an expert or an older person, 94% of INAD, 88% of Loyola, 82% of Landivar,

75% of IDF, 58% of the control, and 45% of the mayor-secretaries chose the expert. Finally, given a forced choice between caring for the young and caring for the old, the better educated groups unhesitatingly chose the young, while 20% of the control and about 20% of IDF and Landivar chose the old, and nearly half of the mayor-secretaries, good politicians all, refused to choose!

(e) Nationalism. The strength of the nationalist sentiment is clearly greatest among the younger persons we interviewed, among most of the uneducated elements of the population, and in the INAD class--an interesting commentary on shared values. Asked about the relative desirability of attracting foreign investors to Guatemala or eliminating foreign influence from the country, 60% of Landivar, 31% of Loyola, 61% of the IDF group, 59% of the control, 63% of INAD, and only 9% of the mayor-secretary group chose the latter. The Loyola group's attitude might well be a consequence of their experience in the United States--certainly it is a sharp contrast to the other highly sophisticated group in our sample, INAD. Interestingly enough, when we asked about the relative desirability of encouraging discussion and conflict or respect for tradition, we obtained much the same results. About two-thirds of Landivar, Loyola, and INAD favored discussion and conflict, while only one-third of IDF and the control group took the same position. Among the mayor-secretary group, the figure was only 5%. Again, when we asked whether they preferred to act themselves or wait for others to lead, INAD (100%) and Loyola (93%) were most clearly committed to action, closely followed by Landivar (83%) and the mayors (86%); the IDF and control groups, on the other hand, were divided--two-thirds favored action and one-third opposed.

(f) Men and institutions. Given a choice between selecting a capable leader to run the country and improving the country's institutional arrangements, our population divided almost evenly. The IDF group and the control group chose

the man most often (68% and 58% respectively); about half of the Landivar and Loyola graduates agreed. Among the INAD students, only one-fourth preferred the man to institutional improvement. If the goal is a transfer of loyalty from men to institutions, none of the programs is particularly successful; even Loyola, which enrolls students that compare well with the INAD class in terms of formal preparation, was much less successful than INAD in generating concern for institutions rather than men.

(g) Present/future orientation. By and large, the division between orientation to the future and orientation to the present favored the former slightly. Curiously, the INAD class and the Loyola group were the least future-oriented elements of the population, while the former Landivar students were significantly more future-oriented than the others. Presumably, these differences are related in some way to differences in the substance of the training program, but we have no way of accounting for them at the present time; hence we can only note them briefly here and pass on to the next set of attitudinal and behavioral problems.

Broadly speaking, the set of attitudes uncovered by our study of Guatemalans differs in only a few respects from the pattern that experts on development had led us to expect by their writings. People were, on the whole, better informed than we had expected; nowhere did we find any great concentration of "tradition-oriented" persons who were actively opposed to change and development. On the whole, the converse was the case--the group was grossly oversold on the efficacy of education and tended to regard it as a panacea for social ills, linking it to expectations that seem to an external observer wholly unrealistic. This is in keeping with the general tone of optimism about the future that we noted in our interviewing. Nine out of ten persons, in every category, thought of Guatemala as a good place to live; further, nine out of every ten, again in every category we examined, thought that it would be an even better place for their children to live in. Yet the sense

of efficacy was markedly low in some of the groups. Questioned about their capacity to influence local affairs, 55% of Landivar, 67% of Loyola, and 73% of the mayor-secretary group thought they could significantly influence the course of events; by way of contrast, 29% of the control group, 33% of the IDF, and 44% of the INAD class agreed. With respect to national affairs, the feeling of efficacy is much weaker or the perception more realistic. Only 9% of the mayors-secretaries thought they could exert influence on national affairs, and figures for the other groups were equally low (14% Landivar, 20% Loyola, 24% IDF, 31% for control, and 31% for INAD). Further, they were pessimistic about their ability to be more influential if they acquired wealth or lived in the capital city. Nor did Indians feel that they would be more influential if they were Ladinos which surprised us somewhat. But again, the faith in education shines through very clearly. Only the INAD class departs from the pattern. 64% of Landivar, 63% of Loyola, 42% of IDF, 41% of the control, and 77% of the mayors believed that they would have more influence if they were better educated; only INAD (19%) was cynical with respect to the possibilities of further education.

Participation

Talk, as the saying goes, is cheap. Verbal expressions of values may be necessary to create the climate of opinion that will legitimate and thereby generate indirectly a given set of outcomes. But it is clear that there is not very much disagreement at the level of attitudes; indeed, the basic attitudinal set of the Guatemalans we examined would tend to be approved by their American counterparts with little or no argument. That may, in fact, be one of the problems--those attitudes may be inappropriate and therefore inapplicable in the Guatemalan social situation. But if verbal commitments are being translated into behavior, and if behavior based on the set of "modernizing" values we have identified as goals of training will produce national development, then we might reasonably expect to find a steady process of transformation and change in those

areas where trainees were functioning. But that is notoriously not the case, though some changes are being made. This suggests that there is either a substantial gap between verbal adherence to values and action based on those values, or that action based on those values will not, in fact, create the kind of change that we call development.

Initially, we tended to assume that the fault lay in the effort to transform verbal values into behavior--that there was too little participation by the trainees after graduation. When our study was complete, however, that seems not to be the case. In about 80% of all cases, there were groups in the neighborhood already operating through which the individual could participate in social affairs. Participation in such group activity was, according to the self-reporting system we used, very high. About 65% of the Landivar graduates, 73% of Loyola, 79% of IDF, and 56% of INAD were involved in community development projects; the figure for the control group was 37%, which seems high. More than 20% of all members of the sample were involved in two or more community projects, education, marketing cooperatives, and community development projects in most instances. More than 65% of the population claimed to contribute regularly to such organizations in terms of time, work, or money, as against 36% for the control groups, and those figures are, of course, internally consistent. Unless we are prepared to question their veracity very seriously, then, we find that the level of participation is actually quite high--would compare favorably with participation in any of the developed nations. Indeed, 79% of the Landivar group, 77% of Loyola, and 46% of IDF claimed that they had tried to initiate a new organization in their home territory after completing training.

By way of contrast, their participation in the political life of the country was for the most part limited to voting in elections. Better than 80% of all persons interviewed voted regularly in elections, even those in the control

group. But membership in a political organization was extremely limited (the figure may be low out of fear of self compromise in this case); only 11% of Landivar, 24% of Loyola, 6% of IDF, 12% of the control group and 31% of the INAD class admitted to membership in a political organization. About the same number took an active role in election campaigns, contributed time and money to the election, and attended political meetings. Asked whether they had ever been a candidate for public office, 14% of Landivar, 30% of Loyola, 7% of IDF, 10% of the control group, 50% of INAD and 9% of the mayors replied in the affirmative. Those who had held office (appointive or elective) were more numerous: 26% of Landivar, 43% of Loyola, 12% of IDF, 14% of control, 38% of INAD. The figures are somewhat misleading because the respondents included in their answers those cases in which they served as officials in private as well as public elective offices, as in a cooperative.

We have here a situation that can be specified very precisely in terms of the conceptual framework employed for the study. In general, the value structure of the population is based on the set of attitudes and standards that is considered essential for development. Further, the level of participation in community affairs is fairly high, all things considered, though it might be said that the low level of political activity might be considered a serious matter IF, and the point is uncertain, the best way for any given community to better its situation is to apply political pressure to the regime. Under the circumstances, lack of progress in development would be due, in broad terms, either to the absence of resources, which is certainly a serious problem, or, if the community were not getting all of the mileage possible out of the available resources, to the absence of what might be called an adequate social technology--by the lack of capacity to intervene in the environment in a reasoned way to obtain desired goals. Without in the least seeking to minimize the importance of resource scarcity, it seems to us that the absence of technology, of engineering skill, of an experimental attitude toward

the environment, is crucial. What is missing from the Guatemalan situation, along with an adequate supply of resources, is a conceptual framework that is conducive to altering the environment, habitual patterns of questioning the course of events in ways that could lead to viable intervention strategies. We are exploring that dimension of human interaction in more detail in our Fourth Questionnaire, which will be used to structure an experimental program in the coming calendar year (1970), and the evidence at hand is inconclusive. But a brief survey of the kinds of responses that we obtained from participants in the training program, of the kinds of changes that occurred in their thinking between the time they entered the program and the time when the course was completed, suggests that a lack of critical capacity is fundamental. The results of training are too vague and nebulous.

The impact of training.

The results obtained from our longitudinal study of two classes in each of the training programs support the thesis very strongly. The effect on the individual is almost wholly diffuse. At the end of the course, asked how the training would be used, most students replied that they would (1) in some vague sense "apply what was learned," (2) return home to "generate interest in community projects or in community development." Similarly, their principal expectation about future behavior was that they would be more active in community affairs. These questions were open so that there would be no prompting and that we might reasonably expect to tap into the programmed structure that the individual was carrying back to his home. They were, as we expected, well informed about current affairs, and about the availability of governmental services in the community, but extremely vague about the implications of their information for future behavior. Indeed, they were virtually helpless when asked for suggestions for improving the quality of the course; more than half of those questioned were not able to make any suggestions,

and those that were made seldom went beyond the desire for "more time" in the course.

In this context, it is most significant that the primary impact of the two major programs (Loyola and Landivar) came from the sensitivity training portion of the course. Some of the IDF trainees, asked about the most important part of training, referred to the agricultural information they obtained; some of the Loyola and Landivar students were unable to specify. But the overwhelming majority of those responding to the question cited sensitivity training as the primary achievement of the course. Further, our research shows that the influence of the sensitivity training is retained well into the future. But sensitivity training is a highly specialized and concentrated form of training in which the individual is helped to acquire skill and knowledge about interaction within groups, and to learn how to adjust himself to life within groups, but he does not learn how groups can be used to intervene effectively in the environment--in the sense that he may learn how to act within the environment to get the group to do something, but that gives him no skill in choosing the action that he wishes the group to take. The sensitivity training is highly specific, as it must be to have an impact on the students, but it is specific with reference to group interaction and not to the purposes that groups can fulfill in the environment and the way in which those purposes can be fulfilled most efficiently. The IDF course, which is agrarian and cooperative oriented, is less troubled by this problem, and perhaps more notably successful in creating appropriate behavior since it tends to prescribe the kind of behavior that is appropriate very concisely (e.g., forming cooperatives). To the extent that forming cooperatives will provide efficient solutions to current problems, the technique is acceptable, but it amounts to offering the peasant a standardized tool for all purposes, a social machete, as it were, that could be

counterproductive if it proved inappropriate to the needs of society (an axe is not useful in the desert, or much less useful than some other instrument). At Loyola, the heterogeneous character of the student body, which is multinational, tends to produce highly generalized information lectures that have very little relevance for students. Not surprisingly, they are not retained very well nor are they used when the student returns to his home. Landivar, by concentrating on rural leadership, is able to link its material more closely to the needs of Guatemala's rural dwellers, though less successfully than the IDF program. This suggests, as we note in our recommendations, the need to develop programs for transmitting generalized problem-solving capacity rather than specific solutions to specific problems that are learned by rote. This generalized skill can then be combined with highly specific training that is situational and related to the individual's social role and its information needs.

Attitude Changes.

Our study of the changes in information level and attitudes generated by the training programs, based on pretraining and posttraining interviews and individual self evaluation of course impact, is striking evidence for our thesis. When information levels changed, as we might expect, it led to greater capacity and not to less. This did not occur very often, and occurred most frequently at Landivar (about 80% of information change occurred in that program). With respect to attitudes, three types of responses were obtained: (1) in some cases attitudes remained unchanged; (2) in other cases, substantial opinion changes occurred, and the change was usually in the same direction; (3) in some very interesting cases, change occurred in both directions. The foci of these different results are extremely interesting.

The areas in which attitudes changed little suggest the inadequacy of the concept of "tradition-oriented" man that is sometimes employed in studies of under-

developed nations. With respect to the importance of education, the responsibility of the individual to this community and his nation, and the need for development and change, we found that the trainees entered the program with a "modernizing" attitude which there was no need to alter. The locus of loyalties between the national and local levels is somewhat uncertain, but that uncertainty seems not to have been modified very much by training. Apparently, local/national conflicts are not an important item in the Guatemalan conceptualization of current problems. Whether they ought to be, of course, is another matter.

The set of attitudes that altered mainly in one direction is interesting both for the focus of the attitudes and the number of persons involved. In those cases (about 10% of the sample) where responsibility to the community was involved, the changes that occurred had the effect of increasing the extent of that responsibility. About 15% of those interviewed changed their views of the relative importance of self and family, augmenting the importance of the latter, a kind of breakdown of selfishness that might be expected given the type of training involved and the sensitivity training in particular. Only about 5% of the sample changed their views on the relative importance of education and material goods, but that was due largely to almost universal acceptance of that proposition by trainees entering the course. About 12% of the group altered loyalty patterns to give more significance to nation than family. The ambiguity of the national/local dichotomy is clear in the responses we obtained to questions on that point. In the first question relating to the relation between these two authorities, about 45% of the total changed view, and in almost every case came down on the side of national government. But an overwhelming 70% also altered their views on the need for local government to have more power. It seemed to us after examining the tapes and discussing the point with the interviewers and with some of the trainers that the question simply did not have the kind of meaning that Americans might attach to it.

One change that seemed to us of the highest significance was the sharp reduction in the number of areas which the individual felt were the prime responsibility of government, and the concurrent increase in the number of areas of human life for which the individual was expected to supply his own assistance and direction. About seven out of every eight trainees changed their views on the responsibility of government for helping the individual to (1) find a job, (2) obtain an education, (3) obtain medical assistance, (4) provide for the aged, and (6) supply food for the family. When they were tested on entry to the training course, virtually everyone assigned responsibility for most of these tasks to government, excluding usually the need to provide food for the family. Upon completion of the course, about 85% had changed their opinions, invariably in the direction of increasing individual responsibility in these areas. The changes were identical in each of the three courses. In effect, the course produced a substantial reduction on the effective (if unstated) demands of population on government. How or why the change was produced we cannot tell, of course, but the wisdom of converting rural leaders to private self-help conceptions of attacking such fundamental dimension of individual life ought certainly to be examined very carefully.

On the virtues of the discussion method, the training programs were a genuine success, though their success tended to be uncritical. In about 80% of all entering students, a change occurred that enhanced the importance attached to discussion. In fact, they departed the course agreeing that leaders should actually encourage discussion and argument or conflict (though not violence and war). A second major change was a movement toward a more optimistic outlook and a more trusting attitude toward those in authority. A third, which was universal, was acceptance of the view that the young must learn to make their own decisions and not wait on their elders. These three changes, all crucial for a modernizing attitude, occur in about 80% of all of the trainees examined, and in all cases lead

to a modernizing rather than a traditional outlook. In addition, we note during training a substantial shift away from acceptance of church and family as the prime loci of authority and source of assistance to reliance upon government (about 40% of the sample) or to friends, cooperatives, or other agencies (about 20% of the sample), a substantial departure from tradition, needless to say.

The areas of ambivalence are equally interesting and perhaps more instructive. With respect to nepotism, for example, about 80% of the sample changed opinions, but although three-fifths of that group moved away from nepotism, the other two-fifths moved to favor it. Similarly, with respect to the extent of trust and suspicion entertained for government and authority, about 60% of the total population changed view, but for every three who became more trusting, two became more suspicious. This seems to be a matter of the impact on the individual of different and conflicting teaching, e.g., the courses contain some information that suggests trust and some that suggests the need for suspicion, and our question forced a choice rather than a balancing of the two tendencies. On the question of foreign influence, the same kind of ambivalence appears. About 40% of the sample changed opinion, but for every four who now desired to attract new investment, three others had changed their minds and wanted to eliminate foreign influence first. On the question of selecting men to lead or improving social institutions, Loyola and Landivar students were ambivalent; change occurs in both directions, about equally, and affecting nearly half of each group. But the change in IDF trainees, which affected nine out of ten enrolled in the course, was in every case in the direction of improving institutions. With respect to past/future orientation, the division is again about equal; some 40% of the total population changed view, about half moving in each direction.

Self perception of training impact.

Before going on to summarize findings and spell out suggestions and recom-

mendations, we need to examine briefly the way in which the students themselves viewed the impact of the training programs on their behavior and attitudes. In most cases, the trainees had completed course work more than six months but less than eighteen months earlier. In only a few cases had the training led to entirely new employment. About 10% of each group claimed to have a better job than before, and perhaps twice that number thought they were doing better work, though in the same job. About one-third of Landivar students and one-fourth of Loyola and IDF graduates failed to answer the question. While the results are inconclusive, it seems unlikely that the training had had any great impact on occupation. Similarly, though about half of all of those interviewed had increased their income since training, most did not seem to feel that this was due to the training itself. About 12-14% of all groups, the figure is remarkably stable, had changed their place of residence.

Very broadly, the consensus seemed to be that the training programs had an impact on the student and that the impact was desirable and useful. But there was very little capacity to spell out the details of that impact, or to specify the kinds of uses to which training had been put. About 60% of each group, for example, asserted that their reading habits had been changed, but when asked how the reading pattern had changed, 35-45% claimed they now read more, and the remainder produced nothing in the way of a clear answer. Again, about three-fourths of all graduates claimed that the training had made them more aware of the environment, but the specification of the object of awareness was broad, vague, and usually circular (social, political, and economic conditions, for example) in about half of the responses, virtually meaningless in the rest. Two-thirds to three-fourths of the trainees asserted that training had changed their personal aspirations, but there was little agreement on the nature of the change beyond vague reference to more education, economic betterment, or "improvement" of work

quality, the community, or some unspecified dimension of their behavior.

At a more specific level, the students were asked whether they made use of the skills or information acquired in training in their daily life. The answer was usually affirmative: 69% of Landivar, 78% of IDF, and 81% of Loyola. But the specification of use was spotty. About half of the Loyola graduates used sensitivity training in their relations with others; just over one-fifth of Landivar cited the same application. Some 65% of the IDF group made use of the farm skills and information acquired in their course. For the rest, there were only vague references to improved relations with the community (less than 5%), and to organization of cooperatives (5% or less). Given a second opportunity to deal with the same question (Was the training beneficial?), in the event the first had proven unclear, we found the same generally affirmative response to the initial question (70% of Landivar, 77% of Loyola, and 81% of IDF), and the same inability to specify benefits--about one-fourth of Landivar and Loyola cited improvement of capacity to deal with others, an obvious reference to sensitivity training, or to communicate with others. Another fourth referred to an increase in capacity without being very clear about the meaning of the term. The rest referred to scattered and not particular useful concepts such as increased awareness or organizational activity. Again, when the question was inverted and we inquired whether training had been harmful, only a tiny fraction said yes, but there were only vague references to the effects of sensitivity training, which apparently did not influence everyone favorably, or to the attitudes of people at home. We found little indication of the feeling that they had been so changed by training that the attitudes of those who remained at home changed toward them.

Finally, there is the matter of course improvement. The suggestions we received were badly scattered and sporadic. About half of the IDF group wanted more time, as did some 20% of the Landivar group. Loyola graduates asked for more

sensitivity training (less than 10%) and more followup (less than 10%). Beyond that, there were isolated requests for a more homogeneous student group, more practical material in the courses, more orientation, better objectives, and more Latin American emphasis (in the Loyola course, obviously).

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Measured in terms of the behavior and attitudes included in our Development and Participation indexes, the impact of the training programs at Loyola, Landivar, and to a lesser extent IDF, is not impressive, at least with respect to the time period to which our inquiry refers. As the data in Figures 5 and 6 indicate, the incoming and outgoing scores of the participants change very little and we are here comparing the incoming scores of the two classes using Questionnaire #1 with the scores made by past graduates of the courses also using Questionnaire #1, so there is no question of comparability. As we have already noted, there are useful changes in attitude and behavior at the level of the individual, and a whole range of intangible and hard-to-measure changes may occur that are not considered in our calculations, but at this aggregate level we are dealing with "benefits" that are virtually unspecifiable.

We are inclined to believe that most of the benefits that accrue from the training occur at the level of the individual, e.g., that social benefits are marginal. Without discounting the new schoolhouse, new road, new water supply, etc., that may have been initiated by graduates of one of the training programs, the major impact, particularly at Landivar and Loyola, was made by the sensitivity training program. Whether IDF will succeed in creating cooperative organizations that will have general benefits for the community we can not tell because the work had not progressed far enough to test before the program of interviewing was completed. Our primary concern here, therefore, is with programs of the Landivar-Loyola type, and with respect to them, it seems clear that they are not producing the specific

results they were designed for. Attitude changes resulting from the training are modest, and if the level of participation in community affairs is increased, as certainly seems the case, the impact of that participation on local and national development is far from clear. Given the complexity of the problem and the nature of our commentaries and recommendations, it seems better to attack the whole structure one point at a time, beginning with the basic purpose of the training operation.

F I G U R E 5

<u>Identification</u>	<u>Before Training</u>		<u>After Training</u>	
	<u>Dev Index</u>	<u>Part Index</u>	<u>Dev Index</u>	<u>Part Index</u>
Landivar	52	27	55	30
Loyola	68	40	65	39
IDF	49	25	51	26
<u>Control</u>	44	21		
Development Index II				
All groups	28.5			
Landivar	28.4			
Loyola	28.8			
IDF	28.5			

F I G U R E 6

Index Means, Questionnaire #1

<u>Group</u>	<u>Dev. Index</u>		<u>Part. Index</u>	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
All	53.2	12.7	28.6	9.6
Landivar	54.8	9.8	29.5	8.1
Loyola	65.3	6.2	39.3	5.2
IDF	50.5	8.2	25.9	6.3
Control	44.2	12.4	21.2	9.4
INAD	60.6	10.7	35.9	7.6
SEC	55.8	8.9	33.5	7.1

<u>Correlation</u>	<u>Dev. and Part.</u>
Landivar	.93
Loyola	.86
IDF	.90
Control	.95
INAD	.86
SEC	.94

(1) Purpose of training. There is an urgent need to spell out in much more detail the specific purposes that leadership training is intended to fulfill, and to project those purposes off onto the society of the underdeveloped nation to show why they are relevant and important. We noted, in the course of the research, that there are considerable differences of opinion among those supporting the training programs about the relative possibility of generating changes and intentions through the government of the underdeveloped nation or through the creation of pluralistic organizational structures that could fulfill specified purposes without reference to governmental action. At Landivar, for example, the emphasis has been placed on the training of rural social promoters; in other programs, the goal has been to train members of governmental agencies, or even to provide funds and resources by which local governments could train their own personnel with little AID involvement.

In this connection, two points can perhaps be made that are a little difficult to deal with at the policy level. First, many people in and out of AID have apparently been much disillusioned about the quality of the governments in the Latin American regions, hence have tended to the view that little can be accomplished working through them. As alternatives, they have supported the creation of cooperatives or agencies of local government, and advocated the extension of AID "directly to the people," through training programs that are recruited more or less directly without intervention from the central government except in a purely formal sense. Closely related to this point is the need for AID to maintain a politically impartial attitude. The two points of view are, of course, contradictory, and that may be one important source of difficulty with training. If the central government of the underdeveloped nation is to become a serious agency of change, then it seems likely that the population will have to be organized to put demand pressure on the government that cannot be ignored, in effect, will have to be organized politically. In the general political atmosphere of the underdeveloped regions, however, there

is no such thing as "neutral" political organization, or political action aimed at the development of the general good, except in popular fiction and in the rhetoric of those who speak for external consumption. Political action can always be construed as action against and usually is. Here we see the significance of the very low level of political participation in Guatemala. Formation of alternative or competitive political associations is not a matter lightly accepted by the regime, and it would be quite impossible for the United States missions in Latin America or elsewhere to become associated with organizations that are denounced as "anti-governmental," let alone foster them.

We suspect that these circumstances tend to emasculate some part of potential training programs by rendering the kinds of actions that common sense would support as conducing to pressure for development as programs attacking the established regime, hence open to charges of foreign intervention in internal affairs. On the other hand, there may well be other pressures against supporting points of view that might be construed at home as attacks on the United States system of values and mode of social-economic-political organization. The answer to this, we feel, must be some effort to place training very largely in the hands of Latin Americans, limiting the role of the United States to advising and supplying technological assistance and skill and resources. We shall return to that point in a moment.

(2) What kind of training seems required for the peculiar needs and circumstances of the underdeveloped nations? The present programs at Landivar and Loyola, and to a lesser extent the IDF program as well, make use of three basic types of instruction: (a) sensitivity training; (b) attitudinal reinforcement and value direction; and (c) transfer of information. All three modes of instruction are clearly valuable and should be retained. Sensitivity training, once it progresses beyond the state of administering T-group training for all of the ills that

beset mankind, seems to be genuinely useful, and even essential, for the kinds of self-centered, indifferent-to-others culture that underdevelopment spawns. It helps create social technology, skills needed for dealing with others, and in a lesser degree, some measure of awareness of the needs of organization for purpose. Attitudinal reinforcement, and even the creation of new values, is closely related to sensitivity training, and can doubtless be carried on as an adjunct of other forms of training. The information transfer system is at present less successful. In most cases, the kind of information that is provided for the trainee is extremely general, particularly in centers such as Loyola where trainees come from a number of different countries, and more important still, where the student groups are not homogeneous, e.g., come with various backgrounds and return to a variety of job and life situations. What is implied here can be incorporated into a set of integrated recommendations:

(a) The goal of the training should be spelled out in terms of creating a capacity for particular persons to perform particular tasks in a given environment. That would make it possible for us to develop training programs whose content could be corrected from experience. The task of spelling out the kinds of persons that are needed in underdeveloped society, and the places where they are needed, should be an important focus of research. Do we need bureaucrats? In what areas? Should they be located in the private sector or in government? Should they be top echelon, middle-level, lower-level, or all three? Should they be structured into integrated units, or spread through an organization or society? With reference to such questions we have far too little information, even at the technological level. The task of identifying needs and spelling them out in enough detail to allow rational design of a training program should be the joint task of host governments, United States Aid missions, and interested scholars, whether American or Latin Americans.

(b) Recruitment for courses should also be rationalized. Until the members of a course have a sufficiently common background and common set of interests, the information that is transferred in the program will have to be general enough for everyone. While there is much to be said for passing along broad gague information that is needed for understanding the position of the underdeveloped nations, for example, it is clear that the operative or behavioral significance of such data are small. That is, as the data grow increasingly general, the application of the information to a specific decision is increasingly a matter of ritual and myth. The content of the course material should include such general information, but it should also include the kind of specific information that a man must have to do a job. When job relevance is clear, creation of interest and desire to learn is no problem. Without it, the task can be inconceivably difficult, and success a matter of luck rather than planning.

(c) That forces us to consider seriously relating the training program to the kind of activity that the individual will engage in when he returns to his home. A course that lumps together employees of the central government, bookkeepers, local farmers, and schoolteachers is likely to be no more than a hodgepodge--reference to future purpose is what gives a rationale for the selection of course material. Further, there should be a serious effort to make certain that people who are trained for a particular slot go to that slot where their training is useful. Nothing brings a program into disrepute so rapidly as ineffectuality and frustration among graduates. A slotting system for the trainees, preferably linked to the recruiting system, seems highly desirable and in fact essential. In this context, it is clear that the location where the trainee will be employed must know he is coming and arrange to make use of his skills whether he is recruited from the job, trained, and returned to the same desk, or trained for another job. The respective merit of each procedure should be fairly easy to establish; in fact,

modern business research can probably tell us a great deal about such questions without any need for further research, though to some extent successful policies will need to be adapted to the particular situation in the underdeveloped nation.

(d) Distribution of AID resources should be geared to the activities of trainees in these programs so that the resources needed to carry out the work for which they have been trained will be available. Such arrangements should, of course, be made in advance. Further, so far as possible, training programs should be geared to the activities of the host country in a way that will force the host ultimately to support the program as its own. So long as services are provided free, they are usually accepted. What is badly needed is the creation of services that are desired by the host country badly enough for them to provide funds and personnel to continue the project after initiation. In that sense, all training programs should ultimately be handed over to Central Americans and not operated by United States citizens using United States funds.

(e) As far as possible, training programs staffed by Central Americans should be regionalized, incorporating a number of countries, and not maintained as national units. There are several reasons for this. Training programs should also be centers for research since the two functions cannot readily be separated. But when training centers are maintained under government sponsorship, they tend to be suspect and in many cases can hardly avoid succumbing to political pressures. That destroys their value as research centers and weakens the value of the training by impugning the graduates. What is desperately needed is training and research that is free from the taint of governmental bias sufficiently prestigious to offer the best possible advice on policy questions and have it taken seriously and without suspicion. For that reason, an arrangement of regional training centers, staffed by teaching and research personnel who are Latin Americans, with full access to American technology in all of its aspects, seems highly desirable. The center

should be located in the area where the trainees live, thus minimizing the effect of culture shock. The centers should be funded centrally, through AID or OAS in the first instance, eliminating the invidious influence of national governments as far as possible. Such training centers could train nationals of the particular Central American nations to return to their own country and establish further centers for training their own people. By maintaining close links between graduates and these regional centers, a network for gathering and disseminating information could be created that would be invaluable. By combining a research function with the regional training center, a justification for the network would be built into the structure; the center would have something to disseminate. Further, it could serve as a focal point for researching problems on which governments needed advice. If it were properly structured, and able to stay clear of national politics, it could develop into the kind of indigenous source of first-class staff work that is so badly needed for policy formulation. Such an organization might, for example, examine problems such as land reform or taxation and produce reports and recommendations that were something better than special pleading by vested interests and still have some chance of having the recommendations accepted.

(3) Finally, whether training is maintained in its present form or regionalized in the way we have tried to suggest, it is clear that some changes need to be made in the content of training. The need to develop organizational skills and awareness of social problems, to alter and modify values and preferences, and to acquire the kind of general information about conditions in the environment needed for an adequate understanding of the role of particular actions will remain for the indefinite future. That argues for continued use of sensitivity training, training aimed at facilitating organization and participation among the trainees, and information transfers that are relevant to development. Such generalized training should be a part of every program, whether the individuals in that program are

going to serve in the bureaucracy or return to their villages to farm. Instruction in particular skills should be coupled to generalized training and not presented in isolation.

However, as we have indicated at various points in the report, a further dimension needs to be added to the general training program--what is best called a problem-solving or experimental approach to the environment, a development of cognition skills for coping with problems. We need to identify the characteristics in our training programs. Without it, we can hardly expect to see trainees systematically seek to transfer their value systems into policy and action except accidentally. Already, a great deal is known about the processes involved in analysis and problem-solving; what is known can be incorporated into experimental programs that will in turn refine our knowledge and suggest further experiments. The goal, clearly, is to create individuals who know how to think without teaching them what to think, people who are able to learn about and adapt to the environment in which they live, who can create the values that will make life worth living and the skills needed to make that kind of life possible. That is the point on which the remainder of our Report, due prior to December 31, 1970, will focus.

A P P E N D I X I

<u>Identification</u>						<u>Indices</u>			<u>Question</u>
<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>Dev</u>	<u>Part</u>	<u>Total</u>	
									<u>(1) Identification of interviewee</u>
								222	1) Landivar
								83	2) Loyola
								114	3) International Development Foundation (I.D.F.)
								137	4) Control
								16	5) INAD class - high development model
								22	6) Mayors and secretaries group
									<u>(2) Geographic region of interview</u>
2	52	0	26	94	27			103	1) Guatemala city
6	4	35	11	0	0			72	2) East coast: Jalapa, El Progreso
14	2	65	15	0	5			129	3) South coast: Esquintla, Cayuta, Suchitepequez
14	10	0	8	0	5			50	4) Chemaltenango - Solola
20	8	0	12	6	9			71	5) Quetzaltenango, San Marcos
15	11	0	9	0	0			54	6) Huehuetenango
30	13	0	19	0	55			117	7) blank
									<u>(3) Interviewer</u>
								254	1) Way
								235	2) Ramirez
								50	3) Castillo

<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>Dev</u>	<u>Part</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>(4) Training status</u>
								171	1) Not enrolled in any program
								95	2) Enrolled, not yet graduated
								12	3) Graduated in past 12 months
								20	4) Graduated in past 3-6 months
								155	5) Graduated in past 6-12 months
								71	6) Graduated 12-18 months ago
								33	7) Graduated 18-24 months ago
								20	8) Graduated more than 24 months ago
									<u>(5) Sex</u>
89	84	99	92	81	100	53	29	541	1) Male
11	14	1	8	12	0	51	26	50	2) Female
									<u>(6) Age</u>
			1			47	20	1	1) under 18 years
7	2	7	11	0	0	46	22	40	2) 18-21 years
18	14	7	12	0	0	52	27	77	3) 22-25 years
28	23	10	23	19	0	54	29	127	4) 26-30 years
33	30	24	22	19	36	55	30	166	5) 31-40 years
11	14	32	17	0	27	53	28	101	6) 41-50 years
1	0	18	12	0	27	48	25	46	7) over 50 years

<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>Dev</u>	<u>Part</u>	<u>Total</u>	
73	31	100	74	0	32	51	27	411	<u>(7) Residence</u>
6	59	0	21	94	41	59	35	115	1) Rural
									2) Urban
									<u>(8) Education</u>
9	2	45	40	0	0	45	22	128	1) None
43	5	41	34	0	0	49	25	193	2) 1-3 years
32	11	10	14	0	27	54	29	115	3) 4-6 years
16	39	4	5	0	32	63	36	87	4) 7-12 years
0	41	0	5	81	5	64	39	55	5) Over 12 years
									<u>(9) Ability to read (self-declared)</u>
100	100	82	69	100	95			529	1) yes
		18	29					47	2) no
									<u>(10) Ability to write (self-declared)</u>
100	100	81	69	100	95			528	1) yes
		19	29					48	2) no
									<u>(11) Vocational education</u>
96	81	99	97	88	68			556	1) none
1	6	0	0	0	9			11	2) one year
2	10	1	1	0	9			16	3) 2-3 years
0	4	0	0	0	2			6	4) more than three years

<u>1</u>	<u>- 2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>- 4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>Dev l.</u>	<u>Part</u>	<u>Total</u>
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<u>1</u>	<u>- 2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>- 4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>Dev l.</u>	<u>Part</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>(12) Occupation</u>
51	12	96	59	0	0	50	25	315	1) farmer
1	2	1	1	31	0	60	33	11	2) student
0	6	0	2	19	0	59	35	11	3) professional man (lawyer, physician, etc.)
4	17	0	1	0	100	59	35	46	4) government employee
3	29	0	2	13	0	66	40	25	5) white collar worker
9	30	0	2	13	0	64	39	50	6) teacher
0	4	0	0	13	0	65	39	5	7) engineer
2	8	0	2	0	0	62	36	14	8) social worker
26	6	3	27	0	0	47	26	88	9) laborer, factory

(13) Number of jobs held in past five (5) years

52	51	45	52	38	23			291	1) 1-2
2	17	1	7	44	9			38	2) 3-4
40	31	52	36	13	41			234	3) more than 4

(14) Mode of landholding by farmers

8	5	16	7	0	0			49	1) renter
39	11	16	38	0	5			167	2) owner
4	0	0	0	0	0			8	3) tenant
4	2	55	9	0	0			86	4) parcelada owner

<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>Dev</u>	<u>Part</u>	<u>Total</u>
38	57	23	24	38	27	57	32	202
29	25	41	36	31	63	53	29	200
32	14	35	39	12	9	49	24	180
71	42	87	74	6	37			402
5	34	3	12	69	9			70
2	28	3	14	63	9	58	34	62
6	7	39	9	0	14	51	26	79
11	4	35	12	0	5	51	26	84
12	10	2	11	0	5	53	29	52
18	11	0	14	6	9	54	29	73
16	10	3	9	0	0	54	29	59
56	18	23	47	0	0	50	26	229
44	82	76	53	100	100	55	30	363

(15) Frequency of travel (to nearest city or equivalent)

- 1) Once per week or more
- 2) 1-3 times per month
- 3) rarely or never

(16) Location where reared rural-urban

- 1) rural
- 2) urban

(17) Geographic location where reared

- 1) Guatemala city
- 2) East coast
- 3) South coast
- 4) Chemaltenango
- 5) Quetzaltenango
- 6) Huehuetenango

(18) Ethnic background

- 1) Indian
- 2) Ladino

<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>Dev</u>	<u>Part</u>	<u>Total</u>	
									<u>(19) Size of family (Consanguine)</u>
5	20	10	21	31	5			75	1) less than 4
26	31	22	32	38	18			163	2) 4-5
37	29	24	19	13	41			171	3) 6-7
21	12	32	20	13	27			128	4) 8-10
10	6	11	8	0	5			52	5) over 10
									<u>(20) Marital status</u>
44	46	44	47	19	14			257	1) single
55	52	56	53	75	86			333	2) married
0	1	0	0	1	0			2	3) divorced
									<u>(21) Number of children (Conjugal family)</u>
32	39	16	28	25	9			165	1) none
20	29	18	26	50	9			135	2) 1-2
40	20	28	31	19	32			191	3) 3-5
7	8	35	13	0	45			90	4) 6-10
0	1	3	1	0	5			8	5) over 10

<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>Dev</u>	<u>Part</u>	<u>Total</u>
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(22) Father's occupation

58	36	82	65	0	13	51	27	343	1) farmer
1	16	1	1	13	9	60	36	22	2) white collar worker
28	7	4	21	13	4	51	27	104	3) laborer, blue collar worker
0	7	1	0	13	0	67	40	9	4) professional man
1	5	1	0	6	18	63	38	12	5) government employee
1	4	2	1	6	9	56	33	13	6) teacher
4	11	0	7	6	5	58	32	29	7) merchant
1	3	1	1	0	0	65	38	8	8) military

(23) Father's education

57	20	68	70	0	5	49	25	317	1) none
22	11	15	13	0	14	54	29	95	2) 1-3 years
13	33	9	7	25	18	59	34	82	3) 4-6 years
4	20	4	4	38	22	63	38	46	4) 7-12 years
0	14	1	1	13	0	65	39	17	5) over 12 years

(24) Languages spoken in the home

47	73	81	60	75	100	54	29	373	1) Spanish only
20	7	2	17	0	0	51	27	75	2) Indian only
32	10	17	23	0	0	52	27	131	3) Spanish and Indian

<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>Dev</u>	<u>Part</u>	<u>Total</u>	
									<u>(25) Family decision structure</u>
46	45	50	63	19	59	52	28	299	1) Authoritarian. Father makes decisions alone
48	46	46	41	63	32	54	29	249	2) Consultative. Family discusses and shares in decision
									<u>(26) Family church attendance; self perception of</u>
30	24	21	21	6	14	54	29	144	1) more often than others in community
48	57	61	52	56	64	53	28	317	2) about the same as others in community
21	18	18	26	31	14	53	29	126	3) less frequently than others in community
									<u>(27) Father's activity in community affairs</u>
37	39	29	18	19	23	56	31	181	1) very active (work, office-holding, etc)
35	37	36	26	19	55	54	29	200	2) moderately active
21	19	23	47	50	14	50	26	164	3) inactive
4	1	8	4	0	0			24	4) doesn't know
									<u>(28) Father's reading habits</u>
18	59	9	14	75	64	61	36	144	1) daily newspaper or more
10	14	16	4	6	9	56	30	60	2) newspaper once weekly or more, less than daily
65	21	61	71	6	18	50	26	336	3) newspaper less than once per week
								24	4) doesn't know

<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>Devl</u>	<u>Part</u>	<u>Total</u>	
									(29) Individual's income (monthly) in Quetzals
75	12	87	80	0	5	49	25	381	1) less than 50 Q.
16	18	10	6	0	27	59	34	76	2) 51-100 Q.
6	37	1	6	25	55	62	36	69	3) 101-200 Q.
1	12	1	4	31	9	65	39	25	4) 201-300 Q.
0	12	0	1	31	0	63	38	16	5) 301-400 Q.
0	7	0	1	13	5	65	42	10	6) 400-600 Q.
									(30) <u>Interviewee's reading habits</u>
19	72	8	19	88	95	62	36	174	1) daily newspaper
40	22	22	12	13	0	56	30	150	2) weekly newspaper
41	6	67	66	0	0	47	23	263	3) less than weekly newspaper
									(31) <u>Focus of reading of interviewee</u>
4	0	1	1	0	14	54	29	15	1) local news
13	6	20	9	0	5	50	25	70	2) national news
1	0	0	1	0	0	52	29	3	3) international news
12	22	2	3	13	23	60	35	57	4) editorials
1	19	2	2	25	19	64	39	32	5) three of first four
9	1	4	2	0	0	53	27	27	6) work-related materials, e.g., farm information
29	17	28	23	18	0	52	28	145	7) "news" vaguely and very generally specified

<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>Devl</u>	<u>Part</u>	<u>Total</u>	
									<u>(32) Linkage to news broadcasting, radio and television</u>
56	72	51	47	75	86	56	31	340	1) daily listening or viewing
18	22	18	17	19	14	53	29	109	2) occasionally, (at least once weekly)
25	6	31	36	6	0	46	22	145	3) rarely or never listens
									<u>(33) Discussion of current events with others</u>
25	71	13	18	68	68	62	37	179	1) daily
51	25	47	31	25	27	54	29	240	2) weekly
24	4	39	52	6	5	44	21	175	3) rarely or never
									<u>(34) Focus of interest in current events</u>
58	22	69	41	0	9	52	27	285	1) local questions
9	18	5	8	6	5	53	29	53	2) national questions
0	0	0	4	0	0			6	3) international problems
14	16	11	15	0	23	57	32	82	4) local plus national news
11	43	3	9	88	64	62	38	80	5) local-national-international
									<u>(35) Reading, other than newspaper</u>
22	61	11	12	63	36	63	38	147	1) regularly (daily or more often)
40	29	26	18	31	55	55	31	185	2) weekly
37	10	59	64	0	9	46	22	246	3) rarely or never

<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>Devl</u>	<u>Part</u>	<u>Total</u>	
									<u>(40) Knowledge of regional issues</u>
44	78	30	20	81	18	61	35	240	1) good, detailed
32	14	32	18	6	50	54	28	155	2) slight
24	6	39	62	0	14	44	21	191	3) poor, no knowledge
									<u>(41) Knowledge of party registration procedures</u>
8	54	4	7	50	45	66	40	95	1) good, detailed
14	27	15	10	13	23	59	34	91	2) slight, poor
78	18	81	82	6	4	49	25	396	3) no knowledge, unable to answer
									<u>(42) Knowledge of procedures used to elect mayor</u>
62	88	46	39	63	50	58	33	337	1) good, detailed
34	11	47	41	6	14	49	25	199	2) slight-poor
4	0	6	20	0	5	37	15	45	3) unable to answer, no knowledge
									<u>(43) Knowledge of governmental services available in comm.</u>
68	90	56	39	81	91			376	1) good, detailed
22	7	32	32	0	0			134	2) fair to poor
10	0	11	29	6	0			76	3) unable to answer
									<u>(44) Knowledge of procedures for obtaining govt. services</u>
68	89	54	31	56	50			351	1) good, detailed
19	6	32	27	0	5			122	2) fair to poor
12	0	11	29	6	0			97	3) unable to answer

<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>Devl</u>	<u>Part</u>	<u>Total</u>
13	20	22	19	6	9			98
34	20	18	29	0	36			161
5	7	15	7	6	0			46
17	14	12	11	13	14			84
3	8	5	1	31	14			30
14	16	17	10	19	23			84
6	10	17	10	19	23			32
38	39	18	14	13	59			171
3	14	6	5	13	5			36
7	6	4	12	13	9			45
13	2	9	12	0	5			57
2	6	3	2	13	9			19
8	12	14	9	44	14			65
7	5	11	5	0	0			38

(45) Perception of Guatemala's most urgent problems

- 1) Political focus; violence, factional dispute, need for democracy, land distribution, land reform.
- 2) Personal emphasis: education, illiteracy, hunger, unemployment, housing.
- 3) Community emphasis: productivity, economic development, schools, water, transport, etc.
- 4) (1) + (2)
- 5) (1) + (3)
- 6) (2) + (3)
- 7) (1) + (2) + (3)

(46) Conception of THE most urgent problem in Guatemala

- 1) education/illiteracy
- 2) economic underdevelopment
- 3) jobs/unemployment
- 4) hunger/poverty
- 5) political democracy/ participation
- 6) factionalism/political violence
- 7) health

<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>Devi</u>	<u>Part</u>	<u>Total</u>	
									<u>(50) Reasons for using fertilizer on crops</u>
6	1	3	8	31	14			37	1) vague or meaningless answer
85	94	76	79	63	82			489	2) improve quality of product, aid plants, growth
0	1	3	3	0	0			8	3) cited personal experience with fertilizer
2	1	13	6	0	0			28	4) related through soil conditions to growth
									<u>(51) How to locate a well site; cognition problem</u>
11	8	4	10	0	9			51	1) unable to answer
13	20	17	18	13	55			103	2) vaguely; look where there is water
40	22	57	51	0	14			256	3) statement of physical indicators of water (low, shady)
0	1	2	2	0	0			6	4) list of tools needed for digging
15	8	4	6	13	9			57	5) awareness of contamination effect
11	28	3	8	56	9			72	6) seek expert assistance
5	11	2	3	19	5			31	7) study local topography, experience in area
									<u>(52) Zero-sum concept; if some richer, are others poorer?</u>
64	42	48	61	44	5	52	27	250	1) yes
35	48	45	36	31	77	55	30	240	2) no
1	8	2	1	13	0	60	35	14	3) depends

<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>Devl</u>	<u>Part</u>	<u>Total</u>	
									<u>(53) Should people who leave community for training return to the community afterward?</u>
100	100	97	99	100	100			558	1) agree
0	0	0	1	0	0			1	2) disagree
									<u>(54) It is better to employ a relative than a stranger</u>
42	13	51	58	13	5			245	1) agree
37	59	24	28	38	59			217	2) disagree
20	28	25	14	50	36			131	3) indifferent
									<u>(55) A man should willingly give his life for his family</u>
99	86	97	93	88	82			560	1) agree
0	8	0	4	6	14			16	2) disagree
1	4	2	4	6	5			14	3) indifferent
									<u>(56) Better to give children good education than house</u>
100	99	98	93	94	95			579	1) agree
0	1	1	4	6	0			8	2) disagree
0	0	0	3	0	0			3	3) indifferent
									<u>(57) Corruption in government is unavoidable</u>
56	37	61	61	6	5			311	1) agree
41	60	32	31	88	82			253	2) disagree
2	2	4	5	0	14			20	3) indifferent

<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>Devl</u>	<u>Part</u>	<u>Total</u>	
									<u>(58) A man should willingly give his life for his country</u>
98	92	97	94	88	86			566	1) agree
2	2	2	4	6	14			18	2) disagree
0	1	0	1	6	0			5	3) indifferent
									<u>(59) The primary task of local government is to carry out the national government's instructions.</u>
79	24	91	80	13	9			413	1) agree
20	73	4	12	81	86			160	2) disagree
1	2	2	7	0	5			16	3) indifferent
									<u>(60) Conflicts should always be settled by discussion</u>
99	100	97	95	94	100			580	1) agree
1	0	0	3	0	0			6	2) disagree
0	0	1	2	6	0			6	3) indifferent
									<u>(61) Local governments need more authority</u>
81	82	95	88	69	95			522	1) agree
10	18	3	9	25	5			58	2) disagree
2	0	1	3	6	0			11	3) indifferent
									<u>(62) Leaders should not propose policies that will cause serious disagreement among their followers.</u>
94	69	93	83	44	95			514	1) agree
4	28	4	9	50	5			56	2) disagree
1	4	1	5	6	0			15	3) indifferent

<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>Devl</u>	<u>Part</u>	<u>Total</u>	
									<u>(63) The poor are born poor (Old saying) No way to change.</u>
24	5	58	57	13	0			203	1) agree
76	95	39	42	88	100			386	2) disagree
									<u>(64) Young men should follow the advice of their elders on important matters.</u>
83	57	98	84	19	100			483	1) agree
16	40	1	15	63	0			100	2) disagree
1	1	0	1	19	0			8	3) indifferent
									<u>(65) The rich should pay more taxes than the poor</u>
91	90	93	94	100	77			544	1) agree
5	5	3	4	0	23			30	2) disagree
4	4	5	1	0	0			18	3) indifferent
									<u>(66) Forced preference for one of following</u>
4	2	3	6	0	0			22	1) improve Guatemala's prestige abroad
95	98	95	90	100	36			547	2) supply better education for the people
0	0	2	2	0	45			15	3) refuses to make choice
									<u>(67) Forced preference</u>
40	64	35	31	31	73			245	1) attract foreign investors to Guatemala
59	31	61	59	63	9			318	2) Eliminate foreign influence from Guatemala
0	4	2	8	6	18			25	3) refused choice or took both

<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>Devl</u>	<u>Part</u>	<u>Total</u>	
									<u>(68) forced choice</u>
8	4	7	20	6	9			58	1) care for old and helpless
62	73	49	43	81	27			333	2) care for the very young
29	21	42	36	13	53			197	3) refused choice
									<u>(69) Forced choice</u>
62	61	39	36	63	5			294	1) encourage discussion and conflict
36	31	54	55	25	68			263	2) encourage respect for tradition
0	6	5	7	13	27			31	3) refused choice
									<u>(70) Forced choice</u>
82	88	75	55	94	45			442	1) consult an expert
16	7	20	39	0	0			118	2) consult an older person
1	2	5	5	6	54			29	3) refused choice
									<u>(71) Forced choice</u>
48	45	68	58	25	9			305	1) elect a capable man to govern the nation
50	52	28	36	69	36			254	2) improve the country's institutions
1	4	3	6	6	14			8	3) refused choice
									<u>(72) Forced choice</u>
33	45	40	41	50	9			222	1) think first of the present
65	49	55	54	44	73			345	2) think first of the future
1	6	4	5	6	19			9	3) refused choice

<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>Devl</u>	<u>Part</u>	<u>Total</u>	
									<u>(73) Forced choice</u>
83	93	66	65	100	86			461	1) act yourself
15	5	31	27	0	0			109	2) wait for others to make decisions before acting
1	2	4	8	0	14			18	3) refused choice
									<u>(74) What would you do with the money if you won the national lottery?</u>
2	2	14	4	0	0			28	1) no answer
22	16	18	15	6	36			111	2) use primarily to aid family
11	22	18	37	19	9			119	3) invest in land or business
14	6	9	8	6	5			58	4) use primarily to benefit community
28	19	17	12	6	23			121	5) use to benefit family and community in that order
14	27	17	15	38	9			100	6) family plus investment
6	2	5	3	13	9			29	7) invest for community benefits
2	2	3	1	0	0			10	8) vaguely, invest for everyone's benefit
									<u>(75) Question eliminated in processing</u>
									<u>(76) Will you raise your children differently from the way in which you were raised?</u>
96	90	91	85	88	95			544	1) yes
4	8	9	14	0	5			45	2) no

<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>Devl</u>	<u>Part</u>	<u>Total</u>	
									<u>(77) In what ways will you raise children differently?</u>
77	47	67	66	25	77			398	1) better education
0	1	1	1	0	0			3	2) more discipline
0	2	0	0	19	0			5	3) allow them to make more decisions
5	4	4	4	0	0			24	4) vague and unclear
11	27	16	12	31	14			87	5) two of the first three above
									<u>(78) Do you save money regularly?</u>
62	73	54	47	81	73			354	1) yes
37	27	46	53	19	27			237	2) no
									<u>(79) For what purposes do you save?</u>
12	23	25	20	13	14			130	1) vaguely "for the future"
6	6	0	2	6	14			25	2) economic improvement
21	13	20	18	0	0			106	3) against calamity, usually unspecified
0	10	0	2	25	40			25	4) for emergencies
4	11	1	1	13	5			24	5) children's education
0	1	0	1	6	0			6	6) education of self
6	7	4	2	0	0			28	7) tools, capital investment

<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>Devl</u>	<u>Part</u>	<u>Total</u>	
									<u>(80) If you were in serious trouble, where would you turn for help?</u>
18	14	11	25	0	0			98	1) church
38	65	40	28	31	45			241	2) family
10	11	17	12	38	5			73	3) friends
16	1	23	19	0	9			90	4) local government
4	0	1	4	0	0			15	5) cooperative
2	2	0	2	6	9			13	6) nowhere
2	0	0	1	6	9			6	7) specialist
1	0	1	0	0	0			4	8) employer or boss
5	5	3	6	13	27			33	9) Church + family
									<u>(81) Which of these five tasks are primarily the responsibility of state and national government rather than the family (a) jobs for workers; (b) education; (c) hospital care (d) roads and water; (e) care for the aged.</u>
39	43	42	50	25	23			247	1) all five
24	19	20	18	31	18			127	2) four of five
17	20	15	14	19	55			105	3) three of five
13	11	14	11	6	5			70	4) two of five
5	6	6	7	6	0			34	5) one of five

<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>Devl</u>	<u>Part</u>	<u>Total</u>	
									<u>(82) Are there citizens groups in your community working to</u>
									<u>(a) improve roads; (b) improve education; (c) supply</u>
									<u>better water; (d) provide health facilities; and</u>
									<u>(d) market local products.</u>
12	31	34	17	19	9			120	1) all five available
15	13	9	12	6	14			75	2) four of five
18	14	14	6	6	27			84	3) three of five
18	8	16	16	6	17			105	4) two of five
18	17	8	15	38	18			91	5) one of five
18	12	16	28	6	0			95	6) none of these
									<u>(83) Do you belong to one of these groups?</u>
64	73	79	37	56	82			371	1) yes
32	23	16	60	25	14			198	2) no
									<u>(84) Which group?</u>
5	1	4	3	0	5			19	1) roads and bridges
16	19	8	9	38	14			69	2) education
7	2	3	2	0	5			25	3) water supply
1	4	6	0	0	9			15	4) health facilities
9	5	24	9	6	0			63	5) cooperative
9	8	8	6	6	5			46	6) community development
								108	7) two or more of these groups

<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>Devl</u>	<u>Part</u>	<u>Total</u>
64	78	81	36	44	73			372
26	13	13	53	38	14			166
6	8	9	1	0	0			32
8	8	6	11	6	14			50
4	4	2	2	0	14			19
18	27	35	10	25	32			128
25	19	13	10	13	5			103
3	4	9	1	0	0			20
2	10	9	2	0	9			27
11	24	6	12	31	0			73
82	72	91	82	69	100			491
82	94	80	81	88	100			497
18	4	18	19	6	0			91
12	25	4	12	38	9			75
87	69	94	88	56	91			508

(85) Do you contribute to such organizations regularly?

1) yes

2) no

(86) What kind of contribution do you make?

1) time

2) work

3) money

4) all three

5) time and work

6) Work and money

7) time and money

(87) Do you belong to a local or national political organiz?

1) yes

2) no

(88) Do you vote regularly in national or municipal election

1) yes

2) no

(89) Do you take an active part in election campaigns?

1) yes

2) no

<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>Devl</u>	<u>Part</u>	<u>Total</u>
9	23	5	10	31	14			68
90	71	92	90	63	86			515
11	31	3	11	38	0			74
88	65	95	89	56	100			511
14	30	7	10	50	9			87
86	67	90	90	50	86			500
26	43	12	14	38	59			145
74	53	85	86	63	36			441
55	67	33	29	44	73			278
45	30	65	70	50	27			309
22	48	15	11	38	50			138
77	51	82	88	50	36			445

(90) Do you contribute time or money to elections?

1) yes

2) no

(91) Do you attend political meetings?

1) yes

2) no

(92) Have you ever been a candidate for public office?

1) yes

2) no

(93) Have you ever held elective or appointive office?

1) yes

2) no

(94) Do people like yourself have any influence in local affairs?

1) yes

2) no

(95) Do you have any influence in national affairs?

1) yes

2) no

<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>Devl</u>	<u>Part</u>	<u>Total</u>	
									<u>(96) Would you have more influence if you were wealthier?</u>
14	20	24	31	31	9			124	1) yes
85	76	75	66	63	91			459	2) no
									<u>(97) Would you have more influence if you came from an important family?</u>
15	18	17	14	6	9			92	1) yes
82	77	82	84	88	91			490	2) no
									<u>(98) Would you have more influence if you lived in Guatemala</u>
4	6	7	5	0	14			32	1) yes
95	89	92	92	94	86			549	2) no
									<u>(99) Would you have more influence if you were better educated?</u>
64	63	42	41	19	77			319	1) yes
35	36	57	57	75	23			267	2) no
									<u>(100) Would you have more influence if you were a Ladino?</u>
4	4	0	3	0	5			17	1) yes
95	92	99	94	94	95			564	2) no
									<u>(101) Have you ever tried to form an organization in your community?</u>
79	77	46	36	56	32			357	1) yes
20	20	54	64	31	55			226	2) no

<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>Devl</u>	<u>Part</u>	<u>Total</u>	
									<u>(102) Would you intervene if you saw someone being cruel to a small child?</u>
82	94	82	85	75	100			504	1) yes
17	4	13	13	19	0			76	2) no
									<u>(103) Would you intervene if you saw a thief running from a policeman?</u>
66	59	77	64	44	45			387	1) yes
32	34	18	34	44	45			182	2) no
									<u>(104) Would you intervene if you saw an injured man by the road?</u>
88	94	91	88	75	95			530	1) yes
10	5	6	12	19	5			54	2) no
									<u>(105) Would you intervene if you saw a bad fire?</u>
92	84	96	85	44	91			527	1) yes
7	13	3	15	50	9			59	2) no
									<u>(106) Do you feel that Guatemala is a good place to live?</u>
91	92	97	88	94	100			547	1) yes
7	5	1	10	0	0			35	2) no
									<u>(107) Will it be a better place for your children?</u>
93	90	94	90	94	95			547	1) yes
3	4	2	6	0	5			20	2) no
3	5	3	3	0	0			18	3) maybe

<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>Devl</u>	<u>Part</u>	<u>Total</u>	
									<u>(108) Date AID-sponsored training completed</u>
3	5	1						14	1) less than 3 months
5	6	3						21	2) 3-6 months
29	14	68						154	3) 7-12 months
23	12	8						70	4) 13-18 months
11	11	1						35	5) 19-24 months
2	22	0						22	6) 24-36 months
0	11	0						9	7) more than 36 months
									<u>(109) Occupational change since end of training</u>
16	30	18						83	1) no change
1	12	3						16	2) new occupation
7	11	11						37	3) better job
18	14	36						92	4) same job, but performing better
14	7	3						41	5) community relations improved
36	24	26						303	6) blank
									<u>(110) Income change since training ended?</u>
46	48	39						189	1) no
25	33	39						128	2) yes
								270	3) Blank
									<u>(111) Residence change since training ended?</u>
13	14	12						55	1) yes
60	66	69						267	2) no

<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>Dev1</u>	<u>Part</u>	<u>Total</u>	
									<u>(112) Change in reading habits since training?</u>
64	59	59						258	1) yes
9	24	20						63	2) no
									<u>(113) What changes in reading habits have occurred?</u>
48	34	47						190	1) more reading
1	7	4						15	2) work-related reading
5	2	1						13	3) more selective about reading
									<u>(114) Have you joined any organizations since training?</u>
29	42	37						142	1) yes
43	39	44						179	2) no
									<u>(115) Did training make you aware of social, economic, and political problems?</u>
71	76	78						312	1) yes
1	6	4						12	2) no
									<u>(116) Specify some of those problems</u>
51	41	43						196	1) vaguely; cultural-political problems
1	21	0						51	2) group dynamics
2	6	0						11	3) personal relations with others
3	8	11						27	4) meaningless answer
10	6	15						43	5) Community problems, vaguely stated

<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>Devl</u>	<u>Part</u>	<u>Total</u>	
						<u>(117) Have your personal aspirations changed since training?</u>
68	64	75			293	1) yes
4	18	5			30	2) no
						<u>(118) In what ways?</u>
4	11	6			25	1) economic self-betterment
14	14	13			59	2) more education
3	5	1			12	3) need to aid community, improve society
2	1	1			6	4) improve relations with others
1	8	1			11	5) aspirations to lead
9	7	32			63	6) improve quality of own work
14	4	6			41	7) improve community
13	2	4			36	8) improve, vaguely
						<u>(119) Do you maintain contact with fellow students?</u>
54	63	78			261	1) yes
18	18	4			60	2) no
						<u>(120) Do you maintain contact with training center?</u>
64	66	73			281	1) yes
8	14	7			39	2) no

<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>Devl</u>	<u>Part</u>	<u>Total</u>	
						<u>(121) Do you make use of information or skills acquired in your training?</u>
69	81	78			311	1) yes
3	1	4			12	2) no
						<u>(122) How do you use your training?</u>
21	54	4			96	1) sensitivity tng used in relations with others
5	2	3			17	2) supervisory principles and leadership
5	2	0			13	3) organization of cooperatives
9	6	4			31	4) did not understand question
14	2	63			106	5) farm skills used in work
5	4	2			19	6) relations with community
						<u>(123) Do you feel the training was beneficial?</u>
70	77	81			314	1) yes
0	0	0			---	2) no

<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>Devl</u>	<u>Part</u>	<u>Total</u>	
						<u>(124) Can you specify some of the benefits?</u>
18	28	8			74	1) how to deal with others
3	6	5			17	2) organization of groups
4	5	1			13	3) political and social awareness
5	5	6			23	4) problem-solving skills
10	5	3			30	5) ability to communicate with others
34	20	25			100	6) vaguely: feel more capable
						<u>(125) Was the training in any way harmful?</u>
7	4	4			22	1) yes
57	75	76			278	2) no
						<u>(126) How? No clear answer</u>
						<u>(127) How can course be improved?</u>
3	13	0			18	1) more homogeneous student body
3	1	1			6	2) precourse orientation
2	2	2			8	3) more aid applying training to work
4	10	7			25	4) more practical material
1	8	0			9	5) more sensitivity training
20	2	49			102	6) more training time
5	8	5			24	7) more follow-up
14	7	4			43	8) unclear as to meaning, vaguely better objectives for training, more Latin emphasis, content of program, e

A P P E N D I X I I

<u>Identification</u>			<u>Total</u>	<u>Question</u>
<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>		
				<u>(1) Course completed</u>
			57	1) Landivar
			13	2) Loyola
			10	3) I.D.F.
				<u>(2) Interviewer</u>
			29	1) Way
			39	2) Ramirez
			10	3) Castillo
			3)	4) Arenas
			4	<u>(3) How will training be used?</u>
4	0	0	4	1) Form cooperatives
3	0	0	3	2) begin education or literacy programs
2	2	0	4	3) unclear
13	3	1	17	4) generate interest in community projects
26	1	1	28	5) vaguely; apply to others, teach others
1	0	0	1	6) build schools
7	1	4	12	7) improvement of farm procedures

<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Question</u>
				<u>(4) Expectations about changes in future behavior</u>
0	,0	0	0	1) more active in politics
27	11	8	46	2) more active in community affairs
0	1	1	2	3) doing different work
0	0	0	0	4) living in a new community
2	0	0	2	5) sharing learning with others
4	0	0	4	6) improvement of work quality
5	0	1	6	7) politics + community affairs
4	0	0	4	8) (1) + (2) + (3)
16	0	0	16	9) (2) + (3)
				<u>(5) Changemost desired for Guatemala</u>
6	0	2	8	1) education
3	0	0	3	2) health, physical facilities like roads or schools
6	0	1	7	3) productivity; economic development
6	0	0	6	4) political stability
3	0	1	4	5) agrarian reform; social justice
			8	6) (3) + (5)
			15	(7) (1) + (3)
			5	(8) (1) + (4) + (5)
			13	(9) (1) + (5)
13	6	2	21	(10) (4) + (5)

<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Question</u>
				<u>(6) Generality and specificity of answers on questionnaire</u>
21	7	2	30	1) general + specific: coops, development, schools, roads, et.
37	4	8	49	2) entirely general; education, justice, etc.
1	0	0	1	3) entirely specific- school buildings, road, bridge, etc.
				<u>(7) Information about govt services available in community</u>
53	12	9	74	1) good answer; detailed
5	0	1	6	2) fair answer; no detail
1	0	0	1	3) unable to answer
				<u>(8) Knowledge of procedures for obtaining govt services.</u>
46	12	9	67	1) good answer; detailed
12	0	1	13	2) fair answer; no details
1	0	0	1	3) unable to answer
				<u>(9) Most important thing learned in training</u>
29	9	0	38	1) sensitivity tng. understanding others, interaction
4	1	0	5	2) organization of cooperatives and other groups
9	1	1	11	3) everything: unable to differentiate or specify
1	0	3	4	4) agricultural information
6	1	3	10	5) (2) + (6)
5	0	2	7	6) blank, no reply
3	0	1	4	7) (1) + (8)

<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Question</u>
				<u>(10) Suggestions for improving training</u>
0	1	0	1	1) better selection of participants
0	0	1	1	2) better selection of teachers
1	0	1	2	3) improved content of lectures, new materials
3	1	0	4	4) more sensitivity training
1	1	0	2	5) (4) + (3)
21	0	0	21	6) no answer
2	0	0	2	7) more financial aid
5	4	0	9	8) (1) + (2)
6	2	0	8	9) more personal attention
20	3	8	31	10) blank
				<u>(11) Physicians should practice where they can earn most</u>
5	1	4	10	1) agree
53	11	5	70	2) disagree
1	0	0	1	3) indifferent
				<u>(12) It is wrong to give someone a job because he is a member of your family.</u>
34	10	5	49	1) agree
22	1	1	24	2) disagree
3	1	1	5	3) indifferent

<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Question</u>
				<u>(13) A man should be more concerned with his family's future than with his own.</u>
49	11	8	68	1) agree
7	1	1	9	2) disagree
3	0	1	5	3) indifferent
				<u>(14) It is better to spend on land and buildings than education</u>
4	0	1	5	1) agree
50	12	9	71	2) disagree
5	0	0	5	3) indifferent
				<u>(15) You can have confidence in promises made by the government.</u>
10	2	8	20	1) agree
49	9	2	60	2) disagree
				<u>(16) It is sometimes necessary to sacrifice family to nation</u>
59	11	9	71	1) agree
7	1	1	9	2) disagree
1	0	0	1	3) indifferent
				<u>(17) Local government should be less powerful</u>
26	6	0	32	1) agree
33	6	9	48	2) disagree
0	0	1	1	3) indifferent

<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Question</u>
				<u>(18) Conflict is beneficial and should be encouraged</u>
47	5	9	61	1) agree
12	7	1	20	2) disagree
				<u>(19) The young must make their own decisions, not wait for advice from their elders.</u>
47	10	4	61	1) agree
11	1	6	18	2) disagree
1	1	0	2	3) indifferent
				<u>(20) Leaders should encourage discussion and argument among their followers.</u>
52	10	9	71	1) agree
7	2	1	10	2) disagree
				<u>(21) The national government should have more control over local affairs.</u>
47	5	8	60	1) agree
11	5	1	17	2) disagree
1	2	1	4	3) indifferent
				<u>(22) Even if the money is taken from the rich, they will soon have it back.</u>
46	4	6	56	1) agree
11	5	4	20	2) disagree
1	3	0	4	3) indifferent

<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Question</u>
				<u>(23) It is better to find steady work, even if it does not pay well than a job that may not last.</u>
54	10	10	74	1) agree
5	1	0	6	2) disagree
				<u>(24) Each man must take care of himself and his family before trying to aid his community.</u>
55	7	9	71	1) agree
4	4	0	8	2) disagree
0	1	1	2	3) indifferent
				<u>(25) If some members of society are rich, others must be poor</u>
37	4	5	46	1) agree
22	7	5	34	2) disagree
0	1	0	1	3) indifferent
				<u>(26) It is better to depend on friends and relatives than on experts you don't know personally.</u>
18	4	2	24	1) agree
38	8	6	52	2) disagree
				<u>(27) The most important problem today is too much wasted time</u>
55	11	9	75	1) agree
2	1	1	4	2) disagree

<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Question</u>
				<u>(28) People who are not active in community affairs should be criticized.</u>
47	7	9	63	1) agree
11	4	1	16	2) disagree
				<u>(29) The best thing for society is rapid change</u>
55	7	10	72	1) agree
3	3	0	6	2) disagree
0	2	0	2	3) indifferent
				<u>(31) Which is better? Forced choice.</u>
25	6	9	40	1) reduce foreign influence in the country
33	6	1	40	2) seek more assistance from foreign countries
				<u>(30) Forced choice</u>
4	0	0	4	1) invest in roads and equipment for the community
54	12	10	76	2) invest in education for the young
				<u>(32) Forced choice</u>
3	3	1	7	1) restore Guatemalan traditions
55	9	9	73	2) modernize Guatemala as rapidly as possible
				<u>(33) Forced choice</u>
51	11	5	67	1) encourage independence in the young
7	1	5	13	2) encourage respect for tradition and obedience to elders

<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Question</u>
				<u>(34) Forced choice</u>
35	6	1	42	1) rely on men of proven experience
23	6	9	38	2) rely on laws and institutions
				<u>(35) Forced choice</u>
49	11	6	66	1) try to lead others in the right direction
9	1	4	14	2) take care of your own problems; do not interfere
				<u>(36) Forced choice</u>
7	4	2	13	1) maintain social stability
51	8	8	67	2) change society as quickly as possible
				<u>(37) Forced choice</u>
1	2	0	3	1) enhance Guatemalan prestige abroad
57	10	10	77	2) improve living conditions within Guatemala
				<u>(38) Forced choice</u>
1	1	0	2	1) encourage conflict and argument
57	11	10	78	2) encourage agreement and cooperation
				<u>(39) Choice</u>
27	5	3	35	1) teach each man to help himself and his family
31	7	7	45	2) teach each man to help others first

<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Question</u>
				<u>(40) Forced choice</u>
25	7	4	36	1) remedy present-day problems
33	5	6	44	2) plan mainly for the future
				<u>(41) Forced choice</u>
38	8	4	50	1) encourage the development of local government
19	4	6	29	2) strengthen national government
				<u>(42) Forced choice</u>
25	7	6	38	1) teach people to use time effectively and efficiently
33	5	4	42	2) teach people to be better men and women
				<u>(43) What should cooperatives do with their profits?</u>
5	1	0	6	1) distribute to members immediately
12	1	0	13	2) hold for use in hard times
37	10	10	57	3) use to expand activities and enlarge cooperative
				<u>(44) How would you obtain good drinking water for a town?</u>
13	6	3	22	1) get people interested; get the people to do it
4	0	2	6	2) get expert assistance
24	6	0	30	3) (1) + (2)
0	0	1	5	4) blank
6	0	4	10	5) "dig a well"

<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Question</u>
				<u>(45) Which of these persons are you most willing to rely upon?</u>
3	2	0	5	1) postman
3	0	0	3	2) storekeeper
10	2	1	13	3) old friend
23	6	7	36	4) teacher
18	2	2	22	5) member of the government
				<u>(46) Which if these things is most important for children?</u>
52	11	7	70	1) education
2	0	0	2	2) food and clothing
3	0	1	4	3) good health
				<u>(47) Which of these tasks is the individual's responsibility (not the responsibility of the government)</u>
4	0	1	5	1) finding work
0	0	0	0	2) securing education
0	0	1	1	3) securing medical assistance
0	0	0	0	4) providing for older persons in the family
4	0	1	5	5) providing food for the family
19	4	1	24	6) all five are individual problems
15	4	0	19	7) four of five
18	6	8	32	8) two or three of five

<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Question</u>
				<u>(48) Where would you turn for help if you lost your job?</u>
8	7	1	16	1) family
9	3	0	12	2) friends
25	2	5	32	3) government
4	0	0	4	4) church
1	0	0	1	5) employment service
2	0	1	3	6) employer
1	0	0	1	7) cooperative
3	0	0	3	8) Landivar center
				<u>(49) What can be done immediately to make Guatemala a better place to live?</u>
6	3	2	11	1) agrarian reform
3	2	0	7	2) community development
0	1	0	1	3) force rich to invest in Guatemala
9	0	0	9	4) accelerate education
2	1	1	4	5) end social upheaval and unrest
14	1	3	18	6) vaguely: work together, cooperate
3	0	0	3	7) provide more jobs; unspecified how
3	0	0	3	8) improve industry; unspecified
8	0	0	8	9) education plus one other action

<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Question</u>
				<u>(50) Will Guatemala be a better place for your children than it has been for you?</u>
55	11	8	74	1) yes
3	0	0	3	2) no
0	1	1	2	3) it depends
				<u>(51) In what ways do you expect it to be better?</u>
21	4	2	27	1) better opportunities for education
6	1	0	7	2) more modern, better developed
4	1	1	6	3) better job opportunities, unspecified
12	2	2	16	4) vaguely, improved or changed
2	0	0	2	5) better use of natural resources
6	3	0	9	6) more education plus better economic structure
1	1	0	2	7) equal rights for citizens
2	0	1	3	8) meaningless answer in context

A P P E N D I X I I I

Instructions: Processing data for Brandeis-INAD study in Guatemala

Each person interviewed will have two cards. Those who were interviewing coming and going from course will have three cards. Those cards are to be filled from the second questionnaire.

(1) For each question, summarize all responses.

(2) For each respondent, use cards 1 and 2 to break down the answers to the following questions to show the response for each of the subdivisions of question (1), e.g., I need to know how the respondents from Landivar, Loyola, IDF, Control, INAD, and the secretaries' group respond to each of these questions:

45, 46, 47, 74, 77, 80, 81, 83, 84, 101, 119, 120, 122, 124, 127

(3) In the same way, differentiate the responses for Questionnaire II, (Card 3) for each of these questions according to question (1), e.g., Landivar, Loyola and IDF.

3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51

(4) Prepare a Development Index for each respondent, using cards I and II. Questions and weights are listed below. To prepare index, search card and if the answer to No. 30 is 1, add 2 points, if the answer is 2, add one point. The total number of points is 93. An index is needed for each respondent. I also need to know the mean of all indices. Weights are as follows:

Questions: Card I:

<u>Question</u>	<u>Response</u>		<u>Points</u>
30	1	=	2
	2	=	1
31	1	=	1
	2	=	1
	3	=	1
	4	=	1
	9	=	2
32	1	=	2
	2	=	1
33	1	=	2
	2	=	1

VAR 129 = Development Index
 130 = Participation Index
 131 = Cognition Index

Processing instructions, continuation of development index, Card I.

<u>Question</u>	<u>Response</u>		<u>Points</u>
34	1	=	1
	2	=	1
	3	=	1
	4	=	1
	8	=	2
	9	=	2
35	10	=	2
	1	=	2
36	2	=	1
	1	=	1
37	2	=	1
	5	=	1
	6	=	2
	7	=	1
	8	=	1
	1	=	2
38	2	=	1
	1	=	2
39	2	=	1
	1	=	2
40	2	=	1
	1	=	2
41	2	=	1
	1	=	2
42	2	=	1
	1	=	2
43	2	=	1
	1	=	2
44	2	=	1
	1	=	2
45	3	=	2
	4	=	2
	5	=	2
	6	=	2
	7	=	3

Processing instructions, continuation of development index, Card I.

<u>Question</u>	<u>Response</u>		<u>Points</u>
46	2	=	1
	5	=	1
	6	=	1
	1	=	1
47	1	=	5
	2	=	4
	3	=	3
	4	=	2
	5	=	1
52	2	=	1
53	1	=	1
54	2	=	1
55	1	=	1
56	1	=	1
57	2	=	1
58	1	=	1
59	1	=	1
60	1	=	1
62	2	=	1
64	2	=	1
65	1	=	1
66	2	=	1
69	1	=	1
70	1	=	1
71	2	=	1
72	2	=	1
73	1	=	1
74	4	=	1
	6	=	1
	7	=	1
	8	=	2

Processing instructions, continuation of development index, Card II.

<u>Question</u>		<u>Response</u>		<u>Points</u>
7	77	1	=	1
		4	=	1
		5	=	1
		8	=	1
		10	=	2
9	79	2	=	1
		5	=	1
		7	=	1
		8	=	1
11	81	1	=	5
		2	=	4
		3	=	3
		4	=	2
		5	=	1
13	83	1	=	1
14	84	1	=	1
		2	=	1
		3	=	1
		4	=	1
		5	=	1
		6	=	1
		7	=	1
		8	=	1
		9	=	2
15	85	1	=	1
16	86	1	=	1
		2	=	1
		3	=	1
		4	=	2
		5	=	2
		6	=	2
		7	=	2
17	87	1	=	1
18	88	1	=	1
19	89	1	=	1
20	90	1	=	1
21	91	1	=	1

Processing instructions, continuation of development index, Card II.

<u>Question</u>		<u>Response</u>		<u>Points</u>
22	92	1	=	1
23	93	1	=	1
24	94	1	=	1
25	95	1	=	1
26	96	2	=	1
27	97	2	=	1
28	98	2	=	1
29	99	1	=	1
30	100	2	=	1
31	101	1	=	1
32	102	1	=	1
33	103	1	=	1
34	104	1	=	1
35	105	1	=	1
36	106	1	=	1
37	107	1	=	1

The total number of points is added to produce the index. I need to know:

- a) index for each person
- b) average for all persons
- c) average for each class defined in Question (1), e.g. Landivar, etc.

Participation Index: Again From Cards I and II. Compute For Each Person, Same Way.

Participation and behavior index, Card I.

<u>Question</u>	<u>Response</u>		<u>Points</u>
30	1	=	2
	2	=	1

Participation and behavior index, Card I.

<u>Question</u>	<u>Response</u>		<u>Points</u>
31	2	=	1
	3	=	1
	4	=	1
	6	=	1
	9	=	1
	10	=	1
32	1	=	2
	2	=	1
33	1	=	2
	2	=	1
34	1	=	1
	2	=	1
	3	=	1
	4	=	1
	6	=	1
	8	=	2
	9	=	2
	10	=	2
35	1	=	2
	2	=	1
36	1	=	1
	2	=	1
	6	=	1
	7	=	1
	10	=	1
37	1	=	2
	2	=	1
38	1	=	2
	2	=	1
39	1	=	2
	2	=	1
40	1	=	2
	2	=	1
41	1	=	2
	2	=	1
42	1	=	2
	2	=	1

Participation and behavior index, Card I.

<u>Question</u>	<u>Response</u>	<u>Points</u>
43	1	2
	2	1
44	1	2
	2	1
46	5	1
53	1	1
57	2	1
61	1	1
69	1	1
73	1	1

Card II.

7	77	4	=	1
		5	=	1
		8	=	1
10	80	4	=	1
		5	=	1
13	83	1	=	1
14	84	1	=	1
		2	=	1
		3	=	1
		4	=	1
		5	=	1
		6	=	1
		7	=	1
		8	=	1
		9	=	2
15	85	1	=	1
16	86	1	=	1
		2	=	1
		3	=	1
		4	=	2
		5	=	2
		6	=	2

Participation and behavior index, Card II.

<u>Question</u>		<u>Response</u>		<u>Points</u>
17	87	1	=	1
18	88	1	=	1
19	89	1	=	1
20	90	1	=	1
21	91	1	=	1
22	92	1	=	1
23	93	1	=	1
24	94	1	=	1
25	95	1	=	1
31	101	1	=	1
32	102	1	=	1
33	103	1	=	1
34	104	1	=	1
35	105	1	=	1

Index is sum of points scored by respondent. Compute for each individual. Average for total population. Average for each of the subdivisions in Question I, Card I.

Cognition Index: Prepared In Same Way.

Card I

<u>Question</u>	<u>Response</u>		<u>Points</u>	
48	4	=	2	148
	5	=	1	
50	2	=	1	149
	3	=	2	
	5	=	1	
51	5	=	1	150
	6	=	1	
	7	=	1	
52	2	=	1	151

Cognition index, Card II.

<u>Question</u>		<u>Response</u>		<u>Points</u>	
7	77	1	=	1	152
		4	=	1	
28	95	2	=	1	153

Prepare for each individual. Provide average for total population and for each of the subclasses in Question 1, Card 1.

Processing Instructions.

Comparison of Questionnaires #1 and #2.

Take the following questionnaires: (They have 3 cards each)

212, 205, 199, 193, 195, 188, 202, 198, 210, 201, 221, 219, 186, 189, 192, 215, 191, 211, 200, 222, 203, 166, 209, 196, 207, 214, 218, 190, 220, 321, 327, 325, 326, 346, 336, 347, 303, 352, 324, 331, 338, 349, 305, 216, 322, 306, 323, 345, 348, 335, 354, 310, 351, 339, 340, 309, 307, 304, 337, 315, 342, 333, 329, 328, 332, 330, 343, 533, 539, 538, 546, 544, 535, 541, 542, 543, 528.

I want to compare the answers on Cards I & II with the answers on Card III and find out how many are different for each card. The aggregate totals and find mean per card. Then aggregate according to the subclasses on Question I, Card III, and find the mean or average for each subclass.

If the answer to this question is _____ then the answer to this must be _____.
(General format of questions below)

Compare:

Card I Q 45

if 1	then
2	"
3	"
4	"
5	"
6	"
7	"

Card 3 Q 5

10
7
3
10 + 7
3 + 10
7
8

Card 1 Q 43

1	"
2	"
3	"

Card 3 Q 7

1
2
3

Card 1 Q 44

1	"
2	"
3	"

Card 3 Q 8

1
2
3

Comparisons.

Card 1 Q 53

if 1	then
2	"
3	"

Card 3 Q 11

2
1
3

Card 1 Q 54

1	"
2	"
3	"

Card 3 Q 12

2
1
3

Card 1 Q 55

1	"
2	"
3	"

Card 3 Q 13

1
2
3

Card 1 Q 56

1	"
2	"
3	"

Card 3 Q 14

2
1
3

Card 1 Q 57

1	"
2	"
3	"

Card 3 Q 15

2
1
3

Card 1 Q 58

1	"
2	"
3	"

Card 3 Q 16

1
2
3

Card 1 Q 59

1	"
2	"
3	"

Card 3 Q 17

1
2
3

Card 1 Q 60

1	"
2	"
3	"

Card 3 Q 18

2
1
3

Card 1 Q 61

1	"
2	"
3	"

Card 3 Q 21

2
1
3

Comparisons.

Card 1 Q 62

if 1	then
2	"
3	"

Card 3 Q 20

2
1
3

Card 1 Q 64

1	"
2	"
3	"

Card 3 Q 19

2
1
3

Card 1 Q 63

1	"
2	"
3	"

Card 3 Q 25

1
2
3

Card 1 Q 67

1	"
2	"
3	"
4	"

Card 3 Q 31

2
1
3
4

Card 1 Q 66

1	"
2	"
3	"
4	"

Card 3 Q 37

1
2
3
4

Card 1 Q 69

1	"
2	"
3	"
4	"

Card 3 Q 33

1
2
3
4

Card 1 Q 71

1	"
2	"
3	"
4	"

Card 3 Q 34

1
2
3
4

Card 1 Q 72

1	"
2	"

Card 3 Q 40

1
2

Comparisons.

Card 1 Q 73

1 then
2 "

Card 3 Q 35

1
2

Card 2 Q 11

1 "
2 "
3 "
4 "
5 "

Card 3 Q 47

6
10
9
8
7

Card 2 Q 10

1 "
2 "
3 "
4 "
5 "
7 "
8 "
9 "
10 "

Card 3 Q 48

4
1
2
3
7
5
6
9
9

Card Three (3) Only, Development Index II.

Give points on card three only as follows to provide index for comparison of outputs from the three different programs examined.

<u>Question</u>	<u>Response</u>	<u>Points</u>
7	1	2
	2	1
8	1	2
	2	1
11	2	1
12	1	1
13	1	1
14	2	1
15	1	1
16	1	1

Card III, Development Index.

<u>Question</u>	<u>Response</u>	<u>Points</u>
17	1	1
18	2	1
19	1	1
20	1	1
21	1	1
24	2	1
25	2	1
26	2	1
27	1	1
28	1	1
29	1	1
30	2	1
31	2	1
32	2	1
33	1	1
34	2	1
35	1	1
36	2	1
37	2	1
38	2	1
39	2	1
40	2	1
41	2	1
42	1	1
43	3	2

Card III, Development Index.

<u>Question</u>	<u>Response</u>	<u>Points</u>
46	1	1
47	6	3
	8	1
	9	1
	10	2
48	3	1
49	1	1
	2	2
	4	1
	5	1
	9	1
	10	2
51	1	1
	3	1

Total the number of points for each card or number. Find an average for the total. Then find averages for the three subclasses of the population defined in Q1, Card 3.

A P P E N D I X I V

B R A N D E I S - I N A D P R O J E C T

Guatemala
June 5, 1969

REPORT ON INTERVIEWS DONE WITH QUESTIONNAIRES 1 AND 2

1. On the institutions that sponsored the courses and the sample for the application of Questionnaire #1:

The sample for Questionnaire #1 was made up by the persons who received the courses on leadership given by the Inter American Center of Loyola University in New Orleans, USA. (A Program to Prepare Leaders for Youth for Central America and Panama), by persons who received training from the Social Promotors Training Center, CAPS, at Landivar University (A Program to Train Social Promotors) and by those who took part in a Program to Prepare Rural Leaders given by the International Development Foundation, IDF.

The philosophy, organization, programs and activities carried out by the Inter American Center and by the Social Promotors Training Center are very much alike. Courses are of the same length (6 weeks) in both institutions, but the Inter American Center is located in the United States and originally its courses were given for young people from Central America and Panama. Today they include some South American countries and Santo Domingo. On the other hand, CAPS is situated in Guatemala City and its programs are directed to the youth of the country.

The Inter American Center can be considered as the precursor of this type of training because it was due to the initiative of some of its ex-participants and to the cooperation given by AID and by Landivar University that the Social Promotors Center was founded and structured in exactly the same way.

The educational and cultural level of those who attend the Inter American Center can be considered, in general terms, as being higher than the education

and culture of those attending Landivar University; a higher percentage of them come from urban centers since most of the interviewees were found in Guatemala City and in the other urban centers of the country; these people share the courses and experiences with participants from other countries, and they travel to the United States to receive the course which is given by North American personnel. The educational and cultural level of the CAPS participants is lower; they proceed from rural areas and a very high percentage of them is of Indian origin; they travel from the interior of the country to Guatemala City to receive the training, and the personnel as well as the participants are Guatemalan.

Participants for both institutions are selected by a commission named by AID and some of them are suggested by government, private, or international institutions. CAPS participates more in the selection of the candidates they accept suggestions from religious organizations, from cooperatives, and from other organizations that work in the country.

The number of participants in each group varies, in Loyola University, from 4 to 8, and in Landivar University from 25 to 35. These institutions select homogeneous groups, that is, the participants must be of more or less the same cultural and educational level; they must work in similar programs and, therefore, they must have the same interests. This has not been achieved totally; some interviewees from Loyola University manifested that not all their companions shared their interests since they did different work or had different professions. The directors of Landivar University also said that one of their more complex problems was the selection of the participants.

In most cases we found out through talks and through the interviews that the participants did exert leadership before the training but that the course taught them better techniques for group work, gave them more knowledge, made them find more significance in social work, and made them more enthusiastic about the country's development as well as their community's development.

Those who did not exert leadership before the course said that in returning to their communities they would try to get their friends, the members of the community and the community authorities to carry out an improvement project, because after the course they felt stimulated and capable of carrying out work of this kind. In our trips to the interior of the country we were able to observe that in some cases they had done what they had promised, but that in other cases they had not been able to keep their promise, either because they had chosen too difficult a project, because they were not able to get the members of the community interested, or because the authorities gave them no support. These circumstances made them feel frustrated, and they were not able to overcome this immediately.

Both centers include a "Laboratory in Group Dynamics" and a series of lectures more or less adequate to the group's structure or interests in every course. Sensitivity training is almost the same in both institutions because the same personnel or technicians work in both centers. On the other hand, lectures differ sensibly. In Loyola University the lecturers are North American and they consider topics of general nature which can interest people from different countries. In Landivar University the participants, as well as the personnel and lecturers, are Guatemalan. The topics considered refer almost exclusively to Guatemala.

Landivar University tries to keep in touch with its ex-participants. It does this through a series of followup activities such as: visits of the extensionists to the places where they live or work, local or regional meetings, visits of the ex-participants to the Center, exchange of correspondence and publications, and organization of ex-participants' associations at regional and national levels. When we interviewed in Alta and Baja Verapaz, we heard about one of these meetings of the ex-participants with the CAPS personnel. When

interviewing in the High Lands some of the ex-participants were attending a national level meeting that was being held in Guatemala City, so we had to interview there, either at Landivar University, or at their temporary homes.

Loyola University keeps in touch with its ex-participants through correspondence, by sending lists of each new group of participants, through a newspaper called FRANCAMENTE, and through occasional meetings that have been attended by very few ex-participants. The Loyola Ex-participants Association was organized in one of these in 1966 and it started out with great enthusiasm creating the center at Landivar. Today it is completely unorganized.

When we were interviewing we found out that the Center at Landivar University was trying to incorporate the Loyola ex-participants to the regional organizations of social promoters, and from the information we have, it seems as if they are being successful. They hold the thesis that both institutions give the same courses, have the same philosophy, and have the same goals.

Also, the personnel that works in both centers hold regular meetings to coordinate the work, compare techniques, and to interchange experience and knowledge. In short, there is mutual cooperation.

Participants come to Landivar University from different parts of the country; this fact made interviewing difficult because sometimes it was hard to find the persons to keep up with what we had programmed, but at the same time this made it possible for us to obtain a more significant sample since it was integrated by elements from every region of the country.

Through the interviews we were able to observe that what impressed the participants the most about the courses was, in general, the SENSITIVITY TRAINING: this was so probably because it was something new to them and because it was done so that they got to know themselves in relation to the group they were working with; they had the opportunity of telling about their experiences, of

knowing about their companions' experiences, of observing their companions' reactions before unforeseen situations, etc.

The lectures, or academic part as they call it, have not had the same impact because very little activities of group inter-relation are given, since the lecturer plays the most important part. Nevertheless, we observed a greater participation, through questions on the topic considered when the lectures attracted the interest of all the members of the group.

Another activity that has caused a very good impression, especially when the participants are peasants, is the part on agricultural experiments. This we were able to observe when interviewing too.

The structure as well as the programs carried out by the International Development Foundation differ a little from the organization and programs carried out by the other two institutions, but it coincides with them in that its programs are oriented to prepare leaders for rural areas.

This institution carries out its training programs in two different areas of the country: the SOUTH COAST, primarily in the parcelamientos and in two regions of JALAPA: one of them is formed by the municipios of San Pedro Pinula and San Luis Jilotepeque. These two towns are of Indian origin but their Ladinization process is more advanced than the one in the High Lands; they no longer wear their traditional clothing, they do not speak dialect, and they are incorporating themselves to the Ladine groups faster. The other region is formed by the municipios of Mataquescuintla and San Rafael, the last one belonging to the departamento of Santa Rosa. Here the population is more Ladine than in the other two.

In San Pedro Pinula and in San Luis Jilotepeque the private initiative has carried out some community improvement projects through RURAL RECONSTRUCTION programs, and with help from IDF ex-participants, and from members of the community. When we were interviewing, we were able to observe the people from IDF supervising these programs.

The International Development Foundation divides its work in three steps: an initial course in which the people with leadership qualities are selected to participate in the "advanced course," and the third step is formed by the follow-up activities such as help in the improvement of their cultivates, in the organization of peasants' leagues, technical help, etc.

A fundamental difference between IDF and the other two institutions is that IDF gives its courses in the regions where the participants live, while the other two have their participants travel to Guatemala City or to New Orleans for the courses. For this reason the IDF ex-participants lived in either of the two regions, and this made interviewing easier.

In the South Coast the courses have been given to the parcelarios or to their relatives. The population of the sample was concentrated, another factor that made interviewing easier.

In general terms, we were able to observe that the peasants from these parcelamientos are more progressive than those from other regions, possible because the idea of holding land in property and of owning more fertile land stimulates them to improve their agricultural methods. When we talked with them they always said that when they did not own the land, their work was only beneficial to the landowners they worked for and, therefore, they were not able to improve their living conditions. Today their economic improvement is evident. They are proud to show their cultivates and their products and to mention that their children attend grammar school, secondary school, and that sometimes they even get to the university. When we were interviewing at Cuyuta, we had the opportunity to attend a meeting of the cattle cooperative in which they discussed the necessity of buying the machinery needed to industrialize milk, because they were producing over a thousand liters a day.

This is of great significance because those who had nothing only a few years ago are now becoming, through cooperativism, great agricultural enterprisers.

They said that now they work for themselves and their families and that they no longer sell their work to the landowners who were the only ones who obtained benefits from it; but they said that they have received very little technical and financial help from the government. This is why they think of the courses as being of relative importance. They manifested that at IDF they were taught how to improve their homes, their agricultural methods, their relations with others, etc.

We found members of the Peace Corps collaborating with IDF in almost all the parcelamientos we visited. Sometimes we found them helping IDF in follow-up activities or working directly with the parcelarios. IDF cooperates with them in some of their programs.

2. The sample for the control group:

The persons interviewed with Questionnaire #1 for the control group were chosen among the illiterate peasants and laborers from the same regions where the ex-participants lived but that had received no training. Nevertheless, in some cases it was impossible to avoid having to choose a person who had had some contact with the ex-participants because they lived in the same region; in other cases, the person chosen had never attended a course and had not had contact with ex-participants.

In the parcelamientos the control group was selected preferably from among the people who live in the parcelas but who do not own land because it is a very interesting group. Their fundamental interest is to obtain land to work in, like the others have done. They know that meanwhile they have to sell their work to the privileged owners of the parcelas.

The cultural and educational level of this group is much lower than that of the parcelarios, and their economic conditions are worse. This group tends to increase because people from nearby regions or from far away areas go to the

parcelamientos regularly in search of land or job opportunities. When these people count with some economic resources, they build improvised dwellings and install small businesses such as refreshment stands or small stores. This is usually done by the wives, sisters, or daughters of the heads of the families who go out to work to the parcelas.

In most cases these people asked us to help them get a little piece of land (parcela), but unfortunately we could not promise anything so we told them to go to the managers of the parcelamientos or to the corresponding authorities. Four months after we visited one of the parcelamientos, we found a group of these people in Guatemala City and they told us that they had been able to get the authorities to open a new parcelamiento where they were sure to obtain land.

In another parcelamiento they were able to get the government to build a road, and from what they said, the advice we gave them during the interview was very helpful to them in obtaining this.

It is a generalized idea among the people from the rural areas that when someone from the capital city visits their homes, they will receive help in solving their multiple problems.

In order to increase the probabilities of success, a note and a telegram were sent to the ex-participants telling them about our visit. It happened very frequently that when a group of persons had to be interviewed in the same place, they expected to participate in a meeting and we had to improvise one to make interviewing more effective.

3. The sample for Questionnaire #2:

This questionnaire was only applied to five groups from the three institutions right after they had been to the training course. We were able to observe that the persons interviewed with this questionnaire answered the questions faster and more clearly and felt more at ease with the interviewers than when they had

answered Questionnaire #1 before attending the course.

We concluded that the courses had made them more sensible; they felt at ease with the interviewers, and even more, the procedure was now familiar to them. For the interviews done to Landivar ex-participants, we had the advantage of doing them at the university. Unfortunately, this was not possible in the other institutions.

When interviewing with this questionnaire, we were able to see that sharing activities with people from other regions in a different environment had changed their patterns of conduct to a degree where they were not suspicious when dealing with strangers.

They manifested that they felt sad to leave their companions with whom they had shared moments of happiness, of recreation, with whom they had studied and gone to social meetings and tours, etc.

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