Elites' conceptualization of issues of social cohesion

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Dedication

Este trabajo esta dedicado a toda mi familia quienes me han enseñado a seguir adelante, a luchar y a siempre lograr mis metas. ¡ Sin ustedes esto no seria posible! Gracias por todo el apoyo, la fe y el esfuerzo que han puesto en mi.

Hoy

By Humberto Ak'Abal

Hoy amaneci fuera de mi
Y sali a buscarme

Today
Today I woke up outside of myself
And I went out to find me

Abstract

The purpose of this qualitative research study is to understand, compare and contrast elite perspectives of understanding of national identity and citizenship in Guatemala in the new environment of policies for social cohesion. In-depth interviews of six key personalities in Guatemalan elite society provide insights into the understanding of the construction of these concepts and the cultural logics underlying the initiative of the introduction of the Cabinet for Social Cohesion led by the first lady Sandra de Colom. Critical pedagogy is used as a theoretical framework to understand the future development and implementation of a policy for social cohesion and to pull together and analyze the similarities and discrepancies of elites' perspectives. Finally, the study seeks to highlight the importance of identity politic when developing educational policy and social cohesion, especially citizenship education within the Guatemalan context.

Key Words: social cohesion, citizenship, national identity, Guatemala

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<div align="center">**Chapter I**</div>

Social Cohesion in Pluri-ethnic Guatemala

Guatemala is the northernmost country of Central America. It shares its northern

border with Mexico, the eastern with Belize, the Caribbean Sea, Honduras and El

Salvador, and the southern with the Pacific Ocean.

Map 1

Guatemala's geographical position

Guatemala is a pluri-ethnic, multilingual society and has a population of 13.7 million

inhabitants (World Bank, 2008). Although Guatemala is composed of twenty-one Mayan

linguistic communities in addition to Garifuna and Xinca, the country is divided into two

major ethnic groups: Mayans and Ladinos. The term Ladino refers to a Guatemalan with

a mix of Mayan and European (mainly Spanish) heritage. In addition, Ladinos speak

Spanish exclusively and wear western clothing (Pebleya, Goldmanb, 1995, p. 5). The

term Mayan refers to those descendants of pre-conquest groups who have maintained a

separate cultural identity and a language other than Spanish (Pebleya, Goldmanb, 1995,

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p. 5). Mayans account for 42 per cent of the population, reside primarily in rural areas and are politically underrepresented (ENCOVI, 2000 as cited by Hallman & al. 2007, Brief 16). Indeed, according to the World Bank, in 2006, 72 percent of Guatemala's rural population lived below the poverty line, contrasting with 28 per cent of the urban population. In addition, three-fourths of Mayans are poor, compared with 40 percent of Ladinos (ENCOVI, 2000 as cited by Hallman et al., 2007, Brief 16). As illustrated by these statistics, ethnicity and social class are closely intertwined within the Guatemalan society, which has preserved a highly stratified social structure from the colonial times. Within this stratification, Mayans are usually of low social status, while Ladinos, on the other hand, are members of all social classes (Pebleya, Goldmanb, 1995, p. 6). Large inequalities remain among Mayas and Ladinos in all levels of society. Within education, for example, Guatemala still has the lowest primary school completion and literacy rates of Latin America as well as the highest disparities between Mayan and Ladino students: the Mayan literacy rate is four-fifths the Ladino rate (Shapiro, 2005 as cited by Hallman et al., 2007, Brief 16). In addition, Mayan adults have less than half the level of schooling of Ladinos adults (Shapiro, 2005 as cited by Hallman et al., 2007, Brief 16).

Cultural paradigms affecting educational policy in Guatemala have shifted in the twentieth century, especially after the signing of the peace accords of December 1996, following a 36 year long civil war and Mayan genocide that killed 200,000 indigenous people. The signing of the peace accords provided the space for Mayan intellectuals to help the country's implementation of the new terms for peace. This gave way to a Mayan elite, which with the country's Oligarchy and Ladino bourgeoisie constitutes the elites'

analyzed in this study. From 1900 to 1944, the dominant criteria for educational reform were those following an assimilationist approach. Public schooling prohibited the use of indigenous languages and the government did not consider Guatemala to have a multicultural reality. From 1945 to 1985, however, acceptance of the country's multicultural makeup became the cultural norm. Compensation programs for indigenous communities were developed an indigenist policy implemented. Since 1985, efforts to build peace have led to a Guatemala that is now transitioning into a multicultural state. The right to a cultural identity for indigenous peoples is now recognized. Open intercultural dialogue and active policies to combat prejudice and discrimination have slowly come into place (Salazar, Grisby, 2004, p.104). Discrimination and segregation are still a reality in every day life in Guatemala; however, the philosophical concepts influencing policy have changed. Colom's presidential campaign of 2008-20101 focused on the effort to create a multicultural Guatemala.

Policy for Social Justice

President Colom's new policies for social justice include a myriad of reforms within government. Indeed, in his speech of January 23rd, 2008, Colom presented the "consejo de cohesion social" a council that will be responsible for overseeing financing of projects for social justice and funded by the national fund for the development of peace (FONAPAZ).

Cohesion as defined by President Colom is "the social functions that unify government's efforts for social investment[1]" (01/23/2008). This council, coordinated and

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[1] Translation from Spanish

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run by the first lady, Sandra Torres de Colom, is responsible for establishing social priorities and coordinating a budget with the institutions that it oversees, which are: the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Public Health and Social Assistance, the Ministry of Energy, the Ministry of Food Security and the Ministry of Social Duties. It is to be noted that this council is temporary– the term length of which is yet to be assigned- that will allow time for the Cabinet for Social Cohesion to be implemented. The Cabinet will pave way for a broader reform that seeks to restructure the ministries above in order for their financial resources to be directly focused on the most impoverished areas of the country. Again, specificity of when the Cabinet for Social Cohesion will replace the Council for Social Cohesion is yet to be declared. The cohesion aspect of this Cabinet requires an organizational effort to unite the ministries in order to focus their efforts on the poorest 45 areas of the country. The Cabinet's main goal is to end poverty in these areas. It is believed that by tackling poverty social cohesion will be developed throughout the country.

Different programs fall under the responsibility of the Council for Social Cohesion. Although there is not an exhaustive list that identifies all of these initiatives, some of them are: "Solidarity Scholarships, Open Schools (which is the main educational initiative- it will build 14 thousand classrooms and make public schooling free), Popular Kitchens, Chronic Malnutrition, Maternal Mortality and Urban Social cohesion[2]" (speech from Sandra de Colom, 08/26/2008).

Of the programs with the most media coverage there is also, "governing with the people." This program was introduced in September 2008 and is similar to American

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[2] Translations from Spanish.

town hall meetings. Governing with the people seeks to provide the platform for dialogue between government (President, Ministers, Mayors), community leaders and the people. The first purpose of the meetings is to explain the council and the yet to be implemented Cabinet for Social Cohesion, and to open discussion with the community and each Minister about six specific themes. The themes are the following: education, social infrastructure, health, agriculture, economy and the environment. The program also seeks to prioritize government service provision in the 45 poorest communities of the country by equipping them with services such as education, housing, water, electricity and health care.

Additional programs include, "Conditioned Monetary Funds" to also be launched complementing the work to be done in these communities. This initiative seeks to provide free schooling as well as a monthly income to families who send their children to school and have regular attendance. Finally, the council for social cohesion will help the 20 thousand families that were affected by the 2005 tropical storm Stan by providing them with free housing, health and education services.

Despite these new efforts, Guatemala is still a nation in crisis. On September 10, 2009, President Colom declared the country to be in state of alarm for hunger, as the level of malnutrition rose to more than 54 thousand families and 462 Guatemalans had already died due to starvation. According to UNICEF, 50 percent of Guatemala's children age five years of age or younger suffer from chronic malnutrition, the highest percentage in Latin America and the fourth highest in the world (Prensa libra, 10/09/2009). Colom offers assurances that the council for social cohesion has restrained the crisis from getting

worse, but it is clear that the government understanding of social cohesion as projects of "solidarity with the most needy"(Colom, speech, 03/16/2010) is still superficial.

The cabinet for social cohesion, as put forth by the present government, articulates its resources towards ending poverty and bringing development to the most marginalized. By linking "social cohesion" with development efforts, however, the racial makeup of the "most needy" is still not highlighted nor questioned. The fact of the matter remains that the objects of these programs are in most cases Mayan communities, and the developers of these policies are Ladinos. It is my belief that social, economic and cultural disparities cannot be alleviated without a thorough examination of the structural issues that cause them. In Guatemala, it is the history of discrimination and institutional racism that become the central, and yet avoided, issue that can explain the disparities between Mayan and Ladino populations. The cabinet for social cohesion appears to be yet another example of development policy that fails to examine poverty as rooted in cultural, historical and racial discrimination.

Within this cabinet, the only instance where the President addresses or names issues such as national identity is as a direct call to Mayan communities to make an effort to "harmonize in order to build the nation we want" (Colom, speech of 03/14/2008). The president does not give the same responsibility to the Ladino community or to the country's elites, proving them to be hegemons of the country. The extensive historical work of Arturo Taracena (2002) explains that the construction of Guatemala's national identity has been based on centuries of discriminatory practices and institutionalized racism. For Taracena (2002), a multicultural country such as Guatemala must have a

conversation around national identity. Even if he admits it to be a "complex theme," he believes that "national identity…must be confronted by having a clear understanding of the country's history[3]" (p.208). Historically, Taracena considers Guatemala's national identity to have been built on a bipolar system. This bipolarity was rooted in the country's practice of a "divided citizenship" (Tracena, 2002, p.210). This "ciudadania diferenciada" was the educational model that taught indigenous peoples to be 'civilized;' while non-indigenous peoples or Ladinos were taught to be citizens and hence, Guatemalans (Taracena, 2002, p. 210). Until the 1940's public education's philosophy remained that of " make[ing] of the Indigenous a man, after a man, a citizen" (Taracena, 2002, p. 201). Full citizenship came with full acceptance of one's identity and this privilege was safeguarded for literate Spaniard men who were also landowners. This was the creation of bipolar identities and the institutionalization of a divided citizenship (Taracena, 2002, p.243). In this dichotomy, Guatemalan identity can only pertain to the Mayans *or* the Ladinos. A further complication resides in the fact that neither of these groups is homogeneous within itself; the primary identity of the Guatemalan is thus, built in the negation of diversity and the reflection of the non-other. Furthermore, institutionalized racism within development policy has paved the way to a national identity fixed on the imaginary of everything Ladino; the "triumphant ideology" becomes bipolarity (Taracena, 2002, p.199). Segregation of indigenous peoples, invisibility of Black Guatemalans and perpetual expression of racist stereotypes is still prevailing in the country (Taracena, 2002, p.202). Taracena highlights just a few of the arguments that make linking social cohesion policy with identity and citizenship a necessity. By

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[3] Translation from Spanish.

analyzing elites' conceptualization of identity and citizenship, the root assumptions that influenced the creation of a council for social cohesion will be explored.

According to Greenfeld (1996) national identity is of utmost importance since it is the "bearer of sovereignty, the central object of loyalty and the basis of collective solidarity" within countries (p.136). In order to advance this idea of 'collective solidarity', think tanks in Guatemala, especially private Universities, have refocused the dialogue of social cohesion policy back to issues of citizenship and national identity. A series of forums and panels organized to discuss these issues have been mushrooming in Guatemala City. On October 25th 2008, the forum entitled *perspectives: national identity to what purpose?* organized by four universities and the national newspaper *PrensaLibre* was an effort to understand Guatemala's actual national identity, social cohesion and citizenship. The forum concluded that the country holds a non-identity that can be counter-balanced with the implementation of a history curriculum that teaches the 2,500 years of Mayan civilization.

Research Questions

Influenced by this conclusion, this study seeks to shed light on the understanding of Guatemala's national identity and citizenship in the environment of social cohesion policy. Educational policy in Guatemala has yet to fully transition from an assimilationist practice towards multicultural education. Through the critical analysis of interviews of six participants that belong to either the Ladino oligarchy or the Mayan intellectual elite, I look to understand elites' perspectives on these issues in order to inform their understanding of identity and citizenship towards a critical citizenship

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curriculum that can effectively implement multicultural citizenship attitudes. By understanding elites' construction of identity and citizenship, the issues that have yet been addressed by educational policy will emerge. Furthermore, elites' lived experiences will illuminate the space to understand the importance of identity politics and citizenship construction in Guatemala, specifically in this time of transition from assimilation to multiculturalism. By exploring elites' lived realities of identity and citizenship, their understanding of multiculturalism can inform policy to effectively convey this transition. It is necessary to understand elites' vested interests in order to respond to policy. In doing so, development and educational policy can evolve from remediation towards sustainability. In order to grasp elites' understanding of these issues and connect it to educational policy, this study will be guided by the following research questions:

1. What are the Guatemalan elites' understanding of social cohesion, national identity and citizenship? Does the Cabinet for Social Cohesion align with elites' understandings?

2. How is elites' construction of identity and lived experience of citizenship different from each other? And how does this difference influence elites' vision of social cohesion policy in Guatemala?

3. What strategies would the elites utilize to promote their understanding of social cohesion in Guatemala? How can they inform policy?

4. In what ways can identity politics and citizenship inform development policy in Guatemala?

Definition of Key Terms

The study will address issues of citizenship, citizenship education, construction of

identity and identity politics, elites settlement, and elite formation and the

implementation of social cohesion. The following definitions will provide a common

ground for the understanding of these vast concepts within the specificity of the

Guatemalan context.

Critical Citizenship: "teaching and learning strategies to develop young people's
engagement in the democratic goals of equality and justice in multicultural societies"
(DeJaeghere & Tudball, 2007 p.225). Critical citizenship in Guatemala is yet to be
implemented but it is relevant as one of many ways to counteract the country's still
prevailing discrimination and institutional racism.

Citizenship education: "[education that] promotes the view of citizen entitlements
without being distracted by national symbols of flags or parliament, but would focus on
concrete principles of right and practices of political action" (Gilbert, 1992, p.66). In
Guatemalan classrooms, however, citizenship education is still viewed solely as civic
education, which implies the teaching of patriotic symbols and important historical events
(i.e. battles, peace accords, treaties etc.) rather than the fostering of attitudes.

Differentiated citizenship: this term is specific to the bipolar Guatemalan reality where
Mayans and Ladinos have had historically segregated education. Taracena defines it as,
"education of indigenous peoples in order to 'civilize'. As for the elite, education was in
order to render a citizen" (2002, p. 210). The lived realities of Mayans and Ladinos and
their experience of citizenship is today still aligned within this binary of civilization
versus citizenship.

Elite: "those people at the pinnacles of organizations, who, can appropriate resources
from non-elite...or who are able, through their positions in powerful organizations, to
affect national political outcomes individually, regularly and seriously"(Wickham-
Crowley and Lachman, 1994 p. 545). In Guatemala there is a distinct Oligarchy
composed of ruling families. These families constitute two per cent of the population in
Guatemala and control over 70 percent of the agricultural land of the country (Krznaric,
2006, p.121). Beyond this elite of elites, Guatemala has a barely non-existent middle
class, making the people in the upper-middle class also part of an elite (as they can
appropriate resources from the non-elites), although not the oligarchy. After the end of
the civil war, however, Mayan intellectuals arose, assisting the country in the
implementation of the 1996 peace accords, creating a new Mayan elite.

National identity: "strategy by the State in order to maintain its frontiers and unity. Implies to reunite different groups that inhabit a common space and create the sentiment of pertaining to something in common that can be shared. Generally, national identity can be funded through education, exaltation of symbols, heroes, battles and history" (Forum definition). In Guatemala, national identity was created though negation and bipolarity. Guatemalans are either Ladinos (non-indigenous) or Mayans (non-white).

Social cohesion: "willingness of members of a society to cooperate with each other in order to survive and prosper" (Stanley, 2003, p.5). In Guatemala, social cohesion is rare, as segregation has been the rule more than the exception. Even now with the implementation of the Cabinet for Social Cohesion, social cohesion is understood as providing economic development to objects of policy, rather than fostering aptitudes of cooperation within citizens.

Chapter II

Introduction

This literature review will focus on three key concepts. First, the history of the construction of national identity in Guatemala will be explored. Second, an examination of elite settlement theory will render an understanding of the creation of elites as well as their influence on the identity politics of the country. Finally, social cohesion mechanisms through education, and specifically citizenship education will be detailed.

Identity politics in Guatemala have historically shaped the country's national project and have influenced policies for citizenship, social cohesion and self-determination. By exploring national identity, elite settlement theory and social cohesion, this review of the literature will exemplify the interconnectedness of these themes within the Guatemalan context, as well as the importance of including them in future policy.

Guatemala's Identity Politics

After the signing of the peace accords in 1996, there was a national need to re-construct Guatemala's history and to plan for its future. However, the indigenous account of this history was not included: the Guatemalan national project focused on cohesion rather than provide a space for possible self-determination of the Mayan peoples. Taracena (2002) captures the evolution from 1808 to 1944 of Guatemala's state efforts to become a nation and institutionalize a national identity. By doing so, Taracena brings to light the importance of identity building politics and its repercussion on Guatemalan citizenship and the social cohesion and development of the country. Taracena's work

guided by the question "¿Porque estamos como estamos?" "Why are we the way we are?" can inform public policy, and specifically the Cabinet for Social Cohesion as it defines Guatemala's identity as bipolar, constructed solely around a Ladino versus a Mayan reality. By bringing a critical understanding of the history of discriminatory policies that have excluded the Mayans from the construction of a national project, Taracena highlights the importance to understand identity politics in the Guatemalan context in order to move forward.

Zapeta, a Mayan intellectual interviewed in Casaús Arzú article *Reformulating the Guatemalan State: The Role of Maya Intellectuals and Civil Society Discourse*, counterbalances Taracena and explains that Ladinos have also been at loss (p.155). Indeed, Ladinos fear defining their own identity because it lacks essential features if not contrasted to Mayan identity. Zapeta recommends that Mayan and Ladinos should define a concept of a nation that they both can relate to (as cited in Casaús Arzú, 2007, p.155). Taracena (2002) however, notes that assimilation and segregation have historically defined government policy (p.33). Moreover, Guatemala's policies have historically practiced institutional racism against Mayans (Taracena, 2002, p.34). Indeed, opposed to other Latin American countries, Guatemala's government never opted for mestizaje or ethnic hybridity as the preferred policy to create national unity and identity (Taracena, 2002). In the past 200 years, segregationist policies have maintained the economic and political interest of the oligarchy composed of 22 families (Casaús Arzú, 1992, p.75).

Even though the peace accords gave indigenous peoples a platform to express themselves, it was not a democratic process and it only allowed space to those few

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"Sanctioned Indians" (as cited in Casuas Arzu, 2007, p.151). Developing Taracena's

work further, Casaús Arzú focuses her studies on the consequences of central mono-

cultural government rule in a multicultural society. The result, she realizes, is a state in

crisis. In response, a new "indigenous elite" has emerged focused on the recuperation of

ethnic identity and the affirmation of human and ethnic rights (Casaús Arzú, 2007,

p.153). This new elite demands the creation of a legitimate plural state and a

multicultural nation. Casaús Arzú reminds us that in the past three administrations the

participation of Mayan elites has been evident, and their political contributions benefit

the implementation of the peace accords (2007, p.151). The violence targeted towards

Rigoberta Menchú's 2008 presidential campaign, however, illustrated the prevailing

racism against the Mayan community.

Krznaric reminds us that 20 to 50 ruling families constitute Guatemala's

economic elite of "oligarchy" (2006, p.118). In other words, two percent of the

population in Guatemala controls over 70 percent of the agricultural land of the country

(Krznaric 2006, p.121). The political power of these economic elites is considerable

Taracena (2002). Indeed, as Krznaric (2006) describes, since the end of the civil war,

two out of the three presidents have been part of the oligarchy, and have worked to

prevent the implementation of any political reforms (land reform, tax increase, improved

labor rights etc.) that would challenge their economic privilege (p.132). Moreover, the

elite safeguard their political power by having an "effective veto over government

policy" (Krznaric, 2006, p.122) by controlling Guatemala's most important business

association: the Coordinating Committee of Agricultural, Commercial, Industrial and

Financial Associations (CACIF). Although many studies suggest that it is almost impossible to eradicate the Ladino elites' power, some recommendations have been made. Krznaric (2006) implies that a significant reason for this divide between the oligarchy and non-elites is the isolation of the oligarchy from the poor indigenous Guatemalans. Cultural programs of awareness that expose the elites to the experiences of poor indigenous peoples might trigger cooperation (Krznaric, 2006, p.133).

For Casaús Arzú (2007), however, the solution resides in the creation of a more inclusive and dynamic citizenship model that recognizes ethnic differences within an intercultural milieu (p.152). Taracena's position also resonates with this solution as his study implies that change must be cemented in the development of a national identity of a state that recognizes differences and works towards equality (2002 p.31). For Zapeta, however, the national should come before the ethnic, placing the "citizenry before the community and the communal rights before differentiated rights" (as cited in Casaús Arzú, 2007, p.155). He even centers his critique of the 1996 peace accords as an "indigenous agreement" that resulted in a divisive construction of the Guatemalan nation because it further focused on Ladinos' and Mayans' differences rather than their shared values (as cited in Casaus Arzu, 2007, p.155)

For Zapeta, a new nation has to be built around inclusive citizenship, regardless of specific rights or collective identities. Zapeta's arguments are of extreme importance as he re-centers the debate around the concept of citizenship rather than that of ethnicity or class (as cited in Casaús Arzú, 2007, p.155). Zapeta further explains, "if responsibility is to be shared by all citizens and political will is required by all individuals, the national

project no longer is exclusively imposed by the state but rather results from a social pact that includes all Guatemalan inhabitants" (Casaús Arzú, 2007, p.156). He continues, "Guatemala's problem is rooted in the state model, which is exclusive, racist, sexist and authoritarian" (Casaús Arzú, 2007, p.158). Zapeta does not, however, provide a concrete solution of an alternative model of governance.

Elites' Role in Guatemala

The segregationist practices that have enriched the elites and left Mayan communities impoverished can find an explanation in elite settlement theory. Highly and Burton (1989) and Lachman (1994) have defined elites as "the top position holders that can appropriate resources from non-elites." (1989, p. 18). In addition, "through their positions in powerful organizations, [they can] affect national political outcomes individually, regularly and seriously" (Wickham-Crowley, 1994 p. 545). Moreover, the political stability of a country's regime is influenced by elites and their interaction. In the Guatemalan context, elite settlements were created based on race and historical context. The Guatemalan oligarchy was first established after the independence in 1826, when a few ruling families had control over almost all the land. These families were composed of Criollos: full-blooded Spaniards born in the Americas. Since the oligarchy had access to most of the land, Ladinos (persons of mixed native and European ancestry) became the bourgeoisie of the country. Today, they are businessmen that have become part of a financial elite –they represent the upper-lower and upper-middle class- but are historically and economically distinct from the oligarchy. Finally, after the 1996 signing of the peace accords, there was a need for Mayan intellectuals to help the country plan for

its reconstruction and implement the accords that would remediate the 60 years of genocide the Mayan community suffered. It was in this context that a Mayan elite rose, albeit with little financial and decision power. The Mayan elite is composed of Mayan intellectuals that hold graduate degrees, generally from universities abroad. Because of their lack of influence, however, Mayan intellectuals are perceived as a restricted elite that only represents the very few "permitted Indians" (Casaús Arzú, 2007, p.150).

Elite settlement theory also highlights the importance of cross-elite interaction; the theory identifies two different interactions: *unity* and *disunity,* each with a direct outcome towards democracy and regime stability (Highly and Burton, 1989, p.18). Highly and Burton (1989) explained that national elites' disunity is when its members "share few understanding about the proprieties of political conduct"(p.18). Furthermore, they, "engage in only limited and sporadic interactions across fractional or sectoral boundaries" (1989, p.18). The main political consequences of elite disunity are an unstable regime illustrated by high political violence, frequent changes in governing cabinets and coalitions, and finally, the never-ending threat of coups d'états and government overthrows (Highly & Burton, 1989, p.20). In Guatemalan society, this lack of political stability has been illustrated in the past three years by the violent attacks on Nobel Prize Laureate Rigoberta Menchu's presidential campaign, by the Rosenberg case[4] and the kidnap and torture of the Guatemalan Human Rights Procurator's wife, to name but a few.

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[4] Guatemalan Lawyer that was murdered May 10, 2009 leaving a declaration linking president Colom as well as other high ranking officials and bankers as the responsible for his murder (El Periodico, 05/11/2009)

National elites' disunity is also apparent as the Ladino versus Maya mentality is institutionalized. In order for countries to benefit from stable democracies, elites must share the same ideologies. Elite settlement theory aims to understand how the historical settlement of elites resulted in their cooperation (unity) or rupture (disunity) and how this influences the political stability of a country. Cannack (1990) critique Burton and Highly for not explaining why such settlements occur (as cited in Wickham-Crowley, 1994, p.423). Furthermore, the two main critiques of this theory are the following: First, elite settlement theory does not pay attention to the fact that some elites may be excluded from elite settlements or to the fact that some elites could not be involved in a settlement (Cannack 1990 as cited in Wickham-Crowley, 1994, p.550), and second, it does not uphold a class-based analysis that would explain the uproar of lower-class political movements (Wickham-Crowley, 1994, p562). Despite these critiques, the Guatemalan oligarchy has been studied as part of a settlement in the work of Casaús Arzú. Elite settlement theory does, furthermore, provide the basis to explore the impact the new Mayan intellectual elite might have on the country's political stability and policy formation.

Social cohesion mechanisms through citizenship education

The Presidency of Colom is focused on the country's need for unity, which is being promoted through the creation of the council for social cohesion. Historically, the traditional central and mono-cultural Guatemalan state has had an exclusive relationship with its Ladino citizens. Colom's leftist presidency, however, is aligned with a model of acceptance and diversity. The concept of social cohesion has evolved from an

assimilationist approach to an intercultural one. For Borhek (1970), an ethnic group's

cohesion can only be achieved by breaking through the differences and creating "a set of

attitudes favorable to assimilation"(p.34). Stanley (2003) breaks away from this

assimilationist approach, and defines social cohesion as "the willingness and capacity to

cooperate" (p.5). Stanley (2003) clearly states that social cohesion does not benefit from

a homogeneous environment; rather it seeks to incorporate diversity and refuses to

exclude it (p.9). According to Stanley (2003) a high degree of social cohesion

contributes measurably to economic growth and investment, to good governance, health,

and social security (p.10).

Social cohesion produces desirable outcomes in a broken society such as the

Guatemala, but in order to produce it, Heyneman (2000) states, four mechanisms need to

be in place within the educational system. First, providing quality educational

opportunities for all citizens. Second, achieving public consensus on what to teach the

young about citizenship and history. Third, providing an ethnically tolerant climate in the

classroom environment. Finally, establishing democratic institutions to adjudicate when

there are differences of opinion and to evaluate the achievement of the first three

mechanisms (p.177). These four steps recall Zapeta's (as cited in Casaús Arzú, 2007,

p.156) critiques as they would allow citizens to stop considering each other cultural

strangers and allow them to adhere to social contracts because the same norms and

expectations would govern all (Heyneman, 2000). Helly (2003) complements Heyneman

by incorporating the necessity of strong social participation and involvement in order to

develop solidarity and facilitate cooperation between citizens in the notion of social

cohesion (p. 25). All in all, to obtain social cohesion, "civic cooperation" must first be institutionalized (Green & Preston, 2001, p.248) to prevent against democracy without citizenship.

In Guatemala's context, however, practices must be more specific as Ladinos and Mayans have yet to learn to cooperate and multiculturalism has not yet been assumed (Taracena, 2002, p.210). Citizenship education must target a multicultural society that has had years of institutionalized segregation and discrimination. In addition, in order to increase democratic participation, Arnove (1973) suggests, that "grass-roots" organizations and education systems must develop individuals' competencies in knowledge, values and worldviews which enable the understanding of the political system and trigger critical thinking and participation to "manipulate the political system to their advantage" (p.199). These competencies must be supported by "opportunities to participate" (Arnove, 1973, p.199). Nonetheless, the truth has been that in Guatemala, educational systems have denied opportunities for participation by producing a "differentiated citizenship" (Taracena, 2002, p.210).

Applying the four concepts described by Heyneman (2000) within the Guatemalan context, citizenship education is not only urgent, but must be critical. DeJaeghere (2009) defines critical citizenship as the "teaching and learning of strategies to develop young people's engagement in the democratic goals of equality and justice in multicultural societies" (DeJaeghere & Tudball, 2007, p.225). Critical citizenship applies practices of multicultural education and critical pedagogy and applies them to education for citizenship (DeJaeghere, 2009). Furthermore, Arnove (1973) asserts, political change

has to occur in order for education systems to become an effective instrument for overcoming social inequalities and promoting participation (p. 199). A citizenship education must be developed as a perspective to reconstruct democracy in a multicultural society. By providing a citizenship curriculum that is critical, students will be able to understand the different viewpoints that construct a multicultural society and will challenge discriminatory and racist practices (DeJaeghere, 2009) that have been institutionalized in the country. Critical citizenship as a framework would also provide the space and language for students to explore their double consciousness, the idea of making one's own identity and being made by others. Other applicable concepts that can adapt this framework to the Guatemalan context would include multicultural citizenship and indigenous knowledges.

This literature review seeks to provide the groundwork of the analytical concepts that will inform this study. Elites' conceptualization of national identity, citizenship and social cohesion will be used to understand policy and to analyze the existing similarities and gaps between Ladino and Mayan, their understandings of such concepts, and their lived realities of policies such as the Cabinet for Social Cohesion.

The Guatemalan educational context can only foster social cohesion and break down existing inequalities if there is an effort to understand how Mayans as well as Ladinos construct their identities.

Chapter III

A Qualitative Approach

As has been explained by the review of the literature, issues of national identity

and citizenship are interconnected with development policy. Moreover, the elites'

perspective permits elucidation of these concepts from the standpoint of those who can

affect policy. In addition, the study's focus on elites' understanding of the environment of

social cohesion policy calls for a qualitative approach. A qualitative approach will

provide the methodology for in-depth understanding of Guatemalan elites' nuances

within bipolarity. Rich description will illustrate elites' lived experience and hence

contextualize social cohesion to the specific Guatemalan realities.

Data for this study was gathered by conducting open-ended interviews with six

Guatemalan elites. In-depth interviewing became the method of data collection in order

to access the experiences, events and understandings (Rubin & Rubin, 2005, p.3) elites

hold vis-à-vis the issues of citizenship, national identity and social cohesion. A detailed

understanding of elites' perspectives of social and political processes is key to trace the

cooperation or rupture among elites. Finally, qualitative interviewing elucidates elites'

personal opinions and will provide a new body of knowledge to the literature.

In order to inform this qualitative study the data will rely "on the participants'

views of the situation being studied" (Creswell, 2009, p. 8). In order to have rich data,

six interviewees of either the Ladino oligarchy or the Mayan elite of Guatemala

responded to a series of open-ended questions. These open-ended interviews followed

Gall, Gall and Borg's (2003) process, having a "predetermined sequence and wording of

the same set of questions to be asked of each respondent in order to minimize the possibility of bias" (p.240). The focus on the interviewees' construction of meaning allow for a theorizing of elites' understanding of national identity, citizenship and social cohesion. The assumptions that shaped the constructivist approach used in this study are the following:

1. Participants can share their views and have the liberty and platform to talk out of subject for their opinion to be better understood.

2. A personal connection to the context, culture, language and setting allows for a better understanding of the context of the participant.

3. Meaning is generated from the data using an inductive process. (Creswell, 2009, p.18).

The Data

Data Sample.
The interviewees were chosen based on convenience as part of a single-stage sampling method (Creswell, 2009, p.148). I had limited access to the elite Ladino and Mayan populations to which all interviewees belong. Because of this, the sample was restricted to those participants that I could contact and were willing to be interviewed. Despite dealing with a convenience sample, interviewees hold positions of power, are renowned in their field of work, and are identified as belonging to an elite (as mentioned in Krznaric, 2006 p.148, Casaús Arzú, 1992, p.75). All interviews were conducted in person in Guatemala City in the month of December of 2008. The study presents perspectives from the Oligarchy, the Ladino bourgeoisie and the Mayan intellectual to provide a more holistic understanding of Guatemalan elites as well as to understand the

differences among elites' construction of identity and lived reality of citizenship. Finally,

it is to be noted that the data collection was approved by IRB[5] study number 0811E54581

and that all participants' names have been changed in order to assure confidentiality. The

following table presents interviewees' respective elite status: Oligarchy, Ladino or

Mayan; as well as their occupation and gender.

Table 1
Description of interviewees

Elite type / Gender	Ladino Elites			Mayan Elites
	Historical Oligarchy	Upper Class		Intellectual
		Commercial	Intellectual	
Male	Marco (Business owner)	Juan Luis (National Director of Mercy Corps)	Eduardo (Professor, researcher, writer)	Ramiro (Political activist, researcher, writer)
Female		Ana María (Minister of Education)		Marta (Consultant)

Data collection.

In order to have access to participants that are part of Guatemala's elite I had to

rely on a network of acquaintances, friends and family. All of the participants agreed to

be part of the study because they personally knew a member of my immediate social

circle.

The primary source of data collection was through an open-ended interview[6]. The

purpose of these interviews was to explore elites' understanding of their influence in

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[5] Refer to appendix A for IRB approval
[6] Refer to appendix B for interview protocol

informing policy as well as their conceptualization of issues related to social cohesion in the country. The interviews took place only after receiving verbal consent for audio-recording and explaining the purpose of the study. Interviewees were aware of the identity of other interviewees involved other interviewees involved. Probe questions were utilized to have a deeper understanding and have more detail on participants' definitions of concepts such as: identity, citizenship and social cohesion. Also, some participants, depending on their personality, familiarity and profession allowed the space for casual conversation. These conversations will also be part of the analyzed data. Each interview lasted between 40 minutes and an hour and a half. All interviews were conducted in Spanish and recorded with the permission of the participant and then transcribed and translated into English for further analysis.

After the interviews were collected, I proceeded to study publications written by some of the interviewees in order to deepen and validate my understanding of their viewpoint. Also, I have been following some interviewees -especially those in public office- through the national press.

Data Validation.

The internal validity of the data will be ensured by an extensive research of the literature and related documents. I will further ensure validation by clarifying the researcher's subjectivity (Creswell, 2009). Additionally, I have shared my transcripts with a Ph.D. student who is fluent in Spanish, and having an on-going dialogue regarding the interpretations of the data, its reality, and meaning, I will ensure the "truth value of the data." Finally, by articulating my personal subjectivity into a subsection of this

chapter, I intend to strengthen the reliability of the gathered and analyzed data (Creswell, 2009, p.200).

Data Analysis.

As I transcribed all the interviews and typed field notes I arranged the data into different categories. In order to better compare and contrast participants' understandings of different concepts, I clustered participants with similar responses (Creswell, 2009 p. 186). By doing so, recurrent themes emerged naturally. Indeed, by clustering interviews in twos, I soon realized the pairing was consistent as themes started to appear, showing that ethnic similarities and class characteristics correlated with cultural constructions of identity and lived realities of citizenship. The clusters became the following:

1. Mayan Cluster (MC): composed of Marta and Ramiro. Both participants are Mayan and ethnically similar. Their responses are therefore tied to a similar personal experience. Discrepancies between responses were mild and differed only in degree, not in content.

2. Education (Ed.C): composed of the Minister of Education (Ana María) as well as Eduardo, professor, research and writer. Both participants are education experts with graduate degrees and are actively working in the field of education and/or academia. Their responses varied in some respects, (for example, highlighting research-based objectivity (Eduardo) with personal experience subjectivity (Ana María) but overall they complemented each other.

3. Entrepreneurial cluster (En.C): composed of two businessmen: Juan Luis, who is the executive director of different NGOs across Guatemala; and Marco, whose

family –including himself- has been described part of the "Oligarchy of Guatemala" by Marta Casaús Arzú (1992, p.75). Although Marco holds a much higher socioeconomic status, these two men are culturally similar. Indeed, their responses were parallel and harmonized showing that their entrepreneurial Ladino male-ness is a shared identity.

Clusters were only a first step in the effort to "obtain a general sense of data" and provide the basis for a "detailed analysis with a coding process" (Creswell, 2009, p.186). After comparing and contrasting each participant within clusters, general themes started emerging. From these themes, five will become the basis of analysis, which are and will follow the order of: identity, citizenship, fostering of values, awareness, and change. Participants identified these themes as central to the production of social cohesion, within the cultural logic of change: interviewees all regarded the present state of Guatemala's social cohesion with dissatisfaction. Although interviewees shared different realities, the hidden cultural assumption implies that social cohesion is viewed as a goal to be reached that will provide the betterment of the actual Guatemalan situation (whatever that may be for each participant).

Limitations

The small convenience sample of participants does not permit transferability to a larger scale of the population of Guatemala as respondents are restrained by their specificity and locality. In the study, only Mayan and Ladino perspectives are captured, which does not represent the multicultural makeup of the country. Specifically missing are the voices of Afro-Guatemalans. As the literature suggests, the Oligarchy, Ladino

elites, as well as Mayan intellectuals in Guatemala are isolated and restricted cliques, which are easy to identify (Casaús Arzú, 2007, p.55, Krznaric, 2006, p.46). This exclusivity, hence, allows an illustrative vision of the elite culture of Guatemala to emerge form this study.

The interviewing process was limited by participants' degree of expertise in the understanding of concepts such as: identity, social cohesion and citizenship. The interviews were also interrupted with casual conversations. These conversations, however, opened the floor for participants in two ways and have also been included in the data analysis. On the one hand, they allowed interviewees from commercial backgrounds to familiarize and work thought their own understanding of concepts they had not grappled with before. On the other hand, these conversations provided the space for those participants that are experts in the subject to further explore the implications tied to these issues. Overall, the interview questions became guiding themes that structured casual and insightful conversations with the interviewees.

I consider myself an insider of both aspects of the elite in Guatemala and provide a participant perspective of the interviewees. My family's social and economical status and their social network aligned with my high school experience in a private French school, provides me with the ability to access the Guatemalan oligarchy. I know and understand their language, culture and I can be considered part of an elite. Moreover, my level of education -which has been international- as well as my research interests provides me with the access to the elite composed of Mayan intellectuals. These personal qualities form my subjectivity as a researcher. I define this subjectivity as the personal

connections that allow me to access both Mayan intellectuals and Ladino elites and, furthermore, give me an insider's understanding of Ladino culture. This insider's outlook does limit my understanding of elite and non-elite Mayan realities, culture and values. My education and travel, however, have allowed me to be aware of and critical of my Ladino subjectivity. These experiences have also provided me with an interest in having a more holistic perspective of my country and a better understanding of Mayan culture. It is in the effort to capture both Mayan and Ladino's conceptualizations that I write this paper, knowing that I am still in the process of understanding the structural forces that have shaped and are shaping my own subjectivity and realities.

Gaining access to such high-ranking people in Guatemala was difficult and their time is very limited, and I therefore relied on interviews. Using other forms of data collection (survey, observation etc.) would have been considered disrespectful. Despite the limitations discussed above, this study provides insight into elites' perspectives in informing and implementing policy for social change.
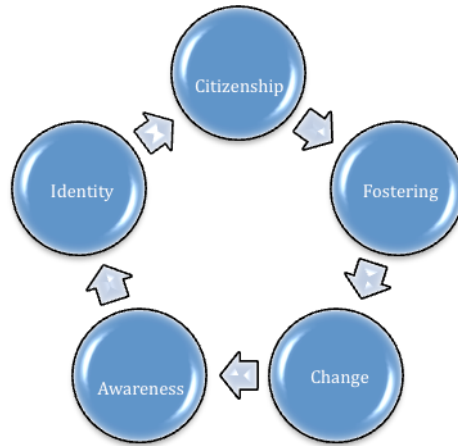
Chapter IV

Clusters and Interviewees

Interviewees were paired into the following clusters:

1. Mayan Cluster (MC): Marta and Ramiro; both Mayan participants shared realities but had at time different voices. Citizenship was experienced similarly but Ramiro questioned the ideal of social cohesion. As for identity, Marta does not believe all Guatemalans want to be considered as being exclusively "Guatemalan."

2. Education (Ed.C): Ana María and Eduardo; as the Minister of Education Ana Maria questions the state while Eduardo blames it completely. Eduardo believes education is key for multiculturalism to flourish; Ana Maria gives the responsibility to the family institution.

3. Entrepreneurial cluster (En.C): Juan Luis and Marco; Sharing similar cultural background, their responses complemented one another, however, Marco's caution to protect his reputation provided more general statements than Juan Luis'.

Clusters were created in order to complement, validate and highlight discrepancies and similarities among groups of respondents. In order to understand nuances within the bipolarity of identity politics, each interview was analyzed individually. Also, the last two themes will be discussed simultaneously as they are intertwined. The following chart provides a graphic representation of the interconnectedness between the themes.

Figure 1
Themes to be analyzed

These themes -Identity, Citizenship, Fostering of Values, Change, Awareness-
will structure the outline of this chapter. The interpretation of the data will be made
through the lens of critical pedagogy, and in particular through red pedagogy as proposed
in the work done by Sandy Grande.

National Identity or Ethnic Identity?

Discussion around national and ethnic identity became the centerpiece of the
interviews. As a Ladino woman, however, I wish to revisit my own subjectivity as I try
to understand identity politics in my home country and their influence on the responses to
social cohesion policy. As explained in the introduction, Guatemala's identity has been
defined as bipolar, homogenizing diverse groups into two categories: Ladinos (non-
Mayan) and Indigenous (Mayan) (Taracena 2002). This bipolarity is apparent in the
responses of the participants. When I revisited the questions I chose to ask in interviews,
my own Ladino ethnocentrism became apparent. For example, when I asked, *"Why do*

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you think it is important to create a national identity for Guatemala?" My assumption

that a national identity was lacking and was the solution for social cohesion is evident.

This realization exemplifies the degree to which identity politics have been crucial to my

personal and professional development as a citizen and hence, central to the construction

of my understanding of social cohesion.

Negation as the basis of national identity.

The Mayan cluster differentiated national identity from ethnic identity. Ramiro

defined national identity as the legal identity of the citizens of a country: to be recognized

as Guatemalan because one holds a passport and a *"cedula de vencidad"* (national

identification card). Ramiro, however, explained he did *not* believe Guatemala would

benefit from constructing a broader sense of national identity because this would imply

"sobreponer la identidad colectiva de uno sobre la identidad colectiva de otro," "to

superimpose one's collective identity above the collective identity of another." Indeed,

Ramiro is in favor of a fully autonomous state for Mayan people within Guatemala. His

responses explained that national identity was not the issue, that I should refocus my

question. His comments reflect Grande's description of "the 'problem' of identity (social

representation) [as] a distraction from the need for social transformation," (Grande, 2004

p.65). In this context, social transformation for Mayan people means the creation of a

sovereign state. The crisis, Ramiro explained, was the lack of Mayan representation in

government, the assimilationist logic of public schooling, and the lack of self-

determination of the Mayan people. His responses imply that colonialist forces in

Guatemala cannot be "interrogated" or "disrupted" as they are too entrenched in our

Guatemalan mind. For him, to fight against colonization is to fight against the imagination of Guatemala, which is based around Ladino-ness. Ramiro links political self-determination to the valorization and preservation of Mayan identity. It is to be noted, however, that Ramiro is considered to be one of the most extreme Mayan intellectuals on this issue, and he is often critiqued by both Mayan and Ladino academics to be a "separatist" (Morales, 2002, p.189).

Marta's responses around national identity were also tied to the complicated role of ethnic identity. National identity for her was "una designación mas que una autodesignación," "a designation rather than an self-designation." In addition, she explained, "en el caso guatemalteco me parece que todas las id se empiezan a formar a partir de la negacion de lo que no se es," "in the Guatemalan case, I believe, all identities start to be created based on the negation of what one is not," making negation the expression of bipolarity in identity politics. She concluded by also re-centering the question, and re-focusing the debate on the benefits of creating a national identity, rather than on whether national identity is to be created. "A mi me parece que lo mas importante sería debartir si se quiere o no una identidad nacional" "I believe that the most important thing would be to debate whether or not we want a national identity."

Ramiro and Marta's responses expressed the need for Mayans to truly understand what it means to be Mayans in the modern world in order to effectively battle against stereotypes that negate the complexities of indigenous identity (Grande, 2004). As Grande suggests, "indigenous people need more than a spirit of resistance" –which is being subdued in Guatemala by Ladinization- "they need a pedagogical structure that

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provides methods of inquiry and analysis that exposes, challenges, and disrupts the

continuing colonization of their land and resources." Furthermore, Mayans are in need of

tools to defy the "tangential questions of identity which only serve to deflect attention

from vital issues of tribal sovereignty" (Grande 2004, p.88).

National Identity through assimilation.

With the exception of Eduardo, the Ladino perspective was unified in opposition to

the Mayan cluster's responses. National identity was viewed with the same three-fold

assumptions with which I viewed it when creating the interview protocol. The first

assumption that national identity is yet to be attained was reflected in the responses of

Juan Luis, Marco and Ana María, who all referred to the creation of national identity in

the future tense, as a goal yet to be reached. They also agreed with the second

assumption that the creation of a national identity will automatically provide change, and

hence, progress to Guatemala and with the third assumption that national identity can be

built in juxtaposition to ethnic identity. By exploring these three assumptions in contrast

to Eduardo's statements a clear picture of the worldview of Ladino identity will be

drawn. When considering that a national identity does not exist in the country and is yet

to be attained, Eduardo explains,

> Yo creo que Guatemala tiene una identidad deformada subalternizada muy desagradable pero la
> tienen, la han construido, los guatemaltecos la han construido. Si usted dice 'Guatemala tiene una
> identidad no construida, en unitariamente, que no ha logrado unidad' estoy de acuerdo
> completamente. La identidad guatemalteca que el estado ha construido no hace una unidad, esta en
> crisis, pero hay una. El problema es como reformarla y transformarla y no decir 'no existe nada y
> ahora vamos a construir una, y solo se va a hacer por enseñar cultura Maya', pues no. […]
> Guatemala tienen que tener una identidad que respecte la diversidad.

> Guatemala has a deformed, subaltern, very unpleasant identity, but it has one, the state has
> constructed one, Guatemalans have constructed one. If you say that Guatemala has an identity that
> is not constructed unitedly, that has not achieved unity, I agree completely. The Guatemalan
> identity that the state has constructed does not produce unity, and is facing a crisis, but there is

one. The problem resides in how to reform it and transform it and not to say 'an identity is non-existent and now we are going to construct one, and it can only be done by teaching Mayan culture,' well no. Guatemala has to have an identity that respects diversity.

For Eduardo, the state should construct an identity based on unity in diversity, believing it is the model of true acceptance of diversity. The first step to achieving this is by becoming aware of the model of identity that has already been institutionalized and that is now in crisis. For Eduardo, the isolation produced by bipolarity needs to be transformed into cooperation. He explains that this non-identity[7] is produced by the lack of "deseo de conocer al otro no hay deseo de valorizar al otro "desire to know the other, there is no desire to value the other." This isolation provides the ground for the construction of identity based on negation: I *am* Ladino because I am *not* Mayan. When considering that transforming national identity would produce change, Eduardo explains that 'change' as in a 'democratic change' is not part of the agenda. When revisiting president Colom's speech to the country, he calls for indigenous people to "harmonize" in order to "create the country we want"(speech 05/07/2009) proving once more that progress and change are still linked to assimilation. When considering the assumption that national identity can be created in juxtaposition to ethnic identity, Eduardo explains that it has been created, but based solely on Ladino identity, which is also the claim of Mayan intellectuals. Indeed, in a country created on racist and segregationist foundations, Mayans and Mayan culture become folkloric commodities (Casaús Arzú, 1999, p.83). Mayans are still not viewed, respected nor understood as living peoples.

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[7] Term utilized by the conclusion presented by the Forum "national identity to what purpose?" that stated that Guatemala holds a no-identidad, which I have translated from Spanish as: non-identity

In contrast, echoing the presidential speech, Ana María provided a well-grounded step-by-step plan to build national identity in order to pave the way for improvement and progress of the country. First, she explained, people must be committed to the country and become positive contributors to its development. Second, Guatemalans must be willing to change for the country. Thirdly, Guatemalans must recognize the multiplicity of culture present in the country and understand that "el gran desafio es el reconocimiento de nuestra diversidad y que está alli la riqueza de nuestro pais", "the biggest challenge is to recognize our diversity and that the richness of our country lies within it." Next, institutions must become transparent and trustworthy. Finally, attitudes, behaviors and mentalities need to align with the country's goals. Although these steps may seem comprehensive for a plan of action, they are vague, and likely to be implemented.

Both participants of the Entrepreneurial Cluster defined national identity in terms of perceptions of Guatemalans in an international context. Juan Luis explains it, "necesitamos una educación mas sobre la gente global, las ventajas de ser guatemalteco, las cualidades, toda la gente que diga que excellente la gente de guate, que amable son, que buena gente, los de afuera lo ven" "we need an education based more on the global people, the advantages of being Guatemalan, the qualities: everybody should say how good Guatemalan people are, how kind they are, how good they are- people abroad notice it." As Juan Luis compared national identity to an advertisement campaign, Marco continued by explaining the mechanism of such, "identidad nacional es ser orgulloso de ser guatemalteco, como le haran los Mexicanos?" "national identity means you are proud of your country, how do Mexicans do it?" The fact Ladinos are culturally and

intellectually dependent on the western world results in reference and comparison to Mexico, or other more developed countries. The fact that they are discriminated against abroad and are at the same time discriminating against Mayans obligates them to be close to the former and detached from the latter (Casaús Arzú, 2002,p.177), making them oppressed-oppressors. Indeed Eduardo explained, "Sigue siendo esa necesidad de ser occidental europeo de ser validad la raiz blanca. Y lo otro dejarlo a un nivel de folklore es decir no asumimos esa diversidad" "There is still that necessity of being western European, of validating the White origin. And to leave the rest at a level of folklore, is to mean that we do not assume that diversity." By imitating the western world the Ladinos become incapable of creating their own knowledge and accepting the contributions Mayan culture has made to their value system. This "mental colonialism" becomes the real predicament of Ladinos to assume the country's multiculturalism and free themselves from the oppressor-oppressed dichotomy (Casaús Arzú,2002 p.118). An oppressed-oppressor Ladino identity fails to fight against racial segregation, compromising even more the "power of indigenous communities to mediate the forces of colonialism and capitalism" (Grande 2004 p.95).

The mental colonialism on Ladinos make them renounce their traditions and culture in the name of progress. Assimilation becomes the basis of the national imagination of "full humanity" (Freire, 2000) providing the example for Ladinization. From Juan Luis' perspective, in order to attain national identity, Guatemalans must,

ver las particularidades pero también ver lo global para que evitemos esos rollos de no 'yo no soy indigena, yo no soy ladino' etc. Ser guatemalteco,

see our specificities but also see what is global in order to avoid that game of 'I am not indigenous, I am not Ladino etc.' Be Guatemalan.

As Marta stated previously, Juan Luis also realizes that Guatemalan identity is based in negation; however, he does prioritize being Guatemalan as necessary for national unity. The discrepancy between seeing specificities and 'the game' of identity negation illustrates this idea that Guatemalan progress can only be attained by 'seeing what is global' which can be interpreted as Ladinization.

Both Juan Luis and Marco presented this contradictory vision when referring to the local Mayans identities as exemplars of identity. They, at first, provide a positive value to Mayan community identity, but then stating Mayans have been glorified to the expense of Ladinos automatically discredits it. Juan Luis states,

> que entre mas rural te vas, hay mas identidad, aunque sea con tu pueblo con tu comunidad, pero entre mas urbano se va perdiendo.

> The more you go into rural areas, the more you will find identity- whether it is with your village, your community- but the more you are in an urban area you start losing it.

For Marco, identity has to do with trust and he expressed it in this matter, "confianza en el interior es mas, sin embargo creo que en la ciudad se ha perdido por la situación," "trust in the highlands is more, however, in the city you are losing it due to the situation[8]". Both Juan Luis and Marco seem to praise Mayans local identities as being a model to follow. Further along in the conversation, however, they dismiss the same qualities they had admired of Mayans' sense of identity. Juan Luis continued,

> yo tambien siento que ha habido mucho romanticismo de pensar que las comunidades tienen la razon en todo. No es cierto, hay que encontrar un balance. Porque ni los didacticos tienen toda la razon en lo que proponen, y tampoco la comunidad. Porque tambien hay constumbres y tradiciones que en su momento fueron adecuadas pero ahora ya no.

> I also believe there has been a lot of romanticization to think that [indigenous] communities are right in everything. It is not true, we need to find a balance. Because experts do not have all the reason in

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[8] By "situation," Marco is referring to the high levels of violence in Guatemala City.

what they propose nor does the community have all the reason. Because there are some customs and traditions that in their moment were adequate, but they no longer are.

Marco, however, is more subtle when he explains,

porque hay muchas tendencias actuales que ser guatemalteco es ser indigena Maya, y eso no lo veo que sea asi, porque Guatemala es una mezcla de culturas.

There are many tendencies today that equate being Guatemalan with being Mayan indigenous, but I do not see it like that because Guatemala is a mixture of cultures.

This tendency to provide positive attributions to Mayan culture and to later on discard it can be understood by what Cojti Cuxil (1999) has coined to be "racismo al reves" or "reverse racism" (p.189). Racismo al reves is directly linked to the Ladino's "weak concept of national identity" (Cojtí Cuxil, 1999, p.213). This new type of racism includes considering Guatemala as private property, where Ladinos see natural resources, as well as Mayan communities, as commodities (1999, p.213). Furthermore, Mayans are only considered 'good' if they are aligned with the Ladino ideal of what Mayans people should be like –in this case, the ideal would imply that communities hold strong identity. In addition, the new racism accepts a limited mobility of the Mayan and perceives policies of affirmative action to favor Mayans as racist policies – as can be seen with Marco's resistance to consider Guatemalan "all that is indigenous Maya."

The repetitive emphasis on "being global" linked to the affirmation of positive contributions of the Mayan culture and later dismissals of it, could be considered signs of Ladino resistance to share power with the Mayan counterpart. This is even more apparent when discussing the solution the forum presented in order to create identity. For the forum there is a need for including the 2,500 years of history of the Mayan. Respondents in the Mayan and Education clusters all responded that this idea was absurd and superficial from a pedagogical perspective. They critiqued the goal of the

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curriculum; for example, Marta replied "es un poco inocente e utópico que enseñarles una historia Maya," "it is a little innocent and utopian to [reach the goal of national identity] only by teaching Mayan history." For Juan Luis and Marco, however, the reaction was different as they critiqued the idea of having to learn Mayan history. Marco responded,

> es una forma muy tediosa. […] todos tenemos una raiz por allí Maya, eso por supuesto que es conveniente pero hay que tener mucho cuidado de no sesgar esto al lado de generar resentimientos.

> It is a very tedious way. We all have a Mayan root somewhere, so in that way it would be convenient, but we need to be careful not to emphasize that too much, we do not want to create resentment.

This quote illustrates the resistance of accepting and valuing Mayan roots. This new type of racism is rooted in "the adaptation of internal colonialism that has been able to revert racist practices, turning the Mayans into the racist and Ladinos into its victims" (Morales, 2002, p.215). Indeed, the preoccupation on creating resentment on the part of Ladinos for focusing too much on Mayan history, as well as the fear of Mayans gaining upward mobility fast unfolds are the characteristics identified with reverse racism (Cojtí Cuxil, 1999, p.214). For Juan Luis the idea of creating a Mayan history curriculum is seen just as a cultural project. He stated,

Tambien puede ser otra forma de mantener el interés por la cultura, lo que es Guatemala, con un curriculo estudiantil pero complementarlo en acciones. Sino solo [el currculum de history Maya] se queda en *blablabla* y el patojo lo que menos quieren es otro libro.

Also that could be a way to maintain the interest for culture, what Guatemala is, with a curriculum but also it needs to be complemented with actions. If not, [the project of Mayan history curriculum] stays in *blah blah blah* and the kid, the last thing he wants is another book.

Again, Mayan customs are valued as culture but at the same time are diminished as boring and unimportant. Pairing the idea of a curriculum of Mayan history as a way to enhance national identity with the notion of "another book" not only commodifies Mayan

identity, and culture, but is also resist Mayans as modern citizens. In addition, Mayans are still presented as static, past civilizations, which renders them invisible and stripes them form their agency.

Summary.

Mayans are still struggling to effectively negotiate the line between "fetishizing their identities and recognizing their importance to the continuance of Indians as tribal people" (Grande 2004 p.172). Guatemala's national identity does not provide a space for Mayans to be recognized as modern citizens. Mayans-as-folkloric-attraction becomes one of few provided spaces from which Ladinos view Mayans. The fetishism of Mayan identity by Ladinos can be explained by the twofold role of oppression in the oppressor-oppressed dichotomy of their identity. First, by resisting social change through an emphasis on the importance of keeping identity "global" or creating one based on the "mixture." Second, if analyzed through critical pedagogy, by the oppressed nature of Ladinos who are yet to become "fully human" (Freire, 1999). By not being "fully human" themselves, they cannot view others as "fully human" either. By continuing to negate Mayans as modern citizens and their culture as distinct to Ladinos culture, racist practices are reproduced.

Understanding Citizenship

In the environment for social cohesion raised by president Colom, citizenship and citizenship education become a central issue. By asking the interviewees to reflect on the meaning they gave to national identity and citizenship, different perspectives came to light. First, a difference is apparent between Ladino elites and the Mayan elites. Ladino

elites in general view citizenship as a positive experience and hence, a central issue that

needs further development. In contrast, for the Mayan cluster national citizenship holds

an imperialistic and colonialist implication, having a negative impact on the self. For

Mayan participants it is far more important to discuss ethnic identity and its correlation to

citizenship, than a formation of a national identity. When discussing citizenship and its

importance to the creation for national identity, the Mayan and Education Cluster's

perceptions contrasted with that of the Entrepreneurial cluster. This discrepancy became

apparent when each participant provided a definition of what they considered to be a

"good citizen." For the Mayan and Education cluster, citizenship was perceived as

conflicting with the production of national identity. The Entrepreneurial cluster however,

perceived citizenship to be central to the production of national identity.

Citizenship as a dis-unifying project.

In the personal experience of both Mayan participants, their exercise of

citizenship involved assimilation practices. Marta gave personal references to this issue

when stating,

> Si se es indígena hay que dejar de serlo para ejercer la ciudadanía, si se es ciudadano guatemalteco hay que dejar de ser menos indígena para ejercer ese derecho y si se quiere ser indígena se deja de ejercer ese derecho, al final hay una gran contradicción en ese ejercicio.

> If one is indigenous one needs to stop being indigenous in order to be able to exercise Guatemalan citizenship, and if one is a citizen one needs be less indigenous in order to exercise that right and if one wants to be indigenous one stops exercising that right all together, at the end there is a big contradiction in that right.

Becoming a citizen, hence, implies an assimilation process, which in the bipolar Mayan-

Ladino context is referred to as Ladinization. Adams defines Ladinization as the "process

through which indigenous people abandon their culture and customs to transform into

Ladino. Ladinization, however, does not result in upward mobility, rather it supposes the

destruction of the indigenous way of life " (Casaus, 2002, p.124). Both Ramiro and

Marta testified to this 'destruction of the indigenous way of life' by explaining it as an

internal struggle. Ramiro explained,

> Hasta los mismo indígenas contribuimos a la exterminación de nuestra propia cultura
> creyendo que la única forma de superarnos es ladinizándonos.
>
> Even we indigenous people contribute to the destruction of our own culture believing that the
> only way to get ahead is by Ladinizing ourselves.

By requiring Mayans to either commit an ethnic-suicide or accept the status of a second-

class citizenship, the loss of Mayan culture, values and customs is at stake. Again, the

relationship between the exercise of citizenship and ethnicity is crucial. Ramiro,

however, gave this "contradiction" an explanation beyond the self. For him, the internal

struggle indigenous people face when having to decide between being Mayan or a citizen

is regulated by the state that permits institutional racism and discrimination to be the

cornerstone upon which the Guatemalan democracy was established. For Ramiro,

> Los valores racistas son incompatibles con los valores de una democracia, porque los valores
> racistas son las desigualdad, la jerarquía, la desigualdad social, cultural, la inferiorización de
> unos, la superiorizacion de otros, todo eso no va.
>
> Racist values are incompatible with democratic values, because racist values are inequality,
> hierarchy, social and cultural inequality, the inferiority of some, the superiority of others, it
> does not go.

As long as racism co-exists with democracy, he explained, Mayans could exercise

citizenship only through Ladinization. Both Ramiro and Marta expressed apathy towards

citizenship and its relevance to social cohesion in the country. Furthermore, they equated

citizenship with the disunity and reproduction of colonial practices that left Mayans to

civilize before being considered citizen. The reluctance towards citizenship education

makes education for intercultural competency preferable. Intercultural competencies as

workshop classes are being offered as part of teacher training, but for Ramiro, although

they are providing positive effects, they are not enough. He states,

> Ahora los cursillos de capacitación que se dan de multiculturalidad de interculturalidad que lo
> dan el ministerio de educación el ministerio de cultura, a las diferentes dependencias públicas
> eso son como tentativas pero epidérmicas porque ya no cambian, la gente madura ya no
> cambia, ya están establecidas, pero los niños si pueden ser el objeto de una educación a largo
> plazo que en su vida adulta se pueda reflejar en experiencias nuevas.

> Now teacher training workshops based on multicultural and intercultural competencies that
> are offered by the ministry of education and the ministry of culture to different public
> institutions are tentative, but too superficial because adults do not change- they are already
> established, but children can be the object of a long term education that in their adult life
> could reflect a different experience.

Intercultural competencies offer more hope to the creation of a new form of ethnic

hybridity,

> hay que enseñarles y practicar un nuevo tipo de mestizaje. El mestizaje que esta orgullosos de
> sus raíces Mayas y raíces Europeas a las vez. No el mestizaje que esconde sus raíces Mayas y
> resume solo con sus raíces Europeas.

> We need to teach and practice a new type of ethnic hybridity. An ethnic hybridity that is
> proud of its Mayan origins and its European origins at the same time. Not the ethnic hybridity
> that hides its Mayan origins and focuses solely on its European origins.

Although ethnic hybridity is feared to lead to a new form of assimilation, for Ramiro the

necessity to learn from one another in order to disrupt bipolarity between Mayan and

Ladino is urgent. Bipolarity for Ramiro, represents the already present Ladino dominate

society.

      Taracena (2002), who coins citizenship in Guatemala as "differentiated

citizenship," explained how the production of citizens served to reproduce the colonialist

project by denying Mayans people the same rights as Ladinos. He understands Ramiro

and Marta's skepticism towards citizenship, when he stated, " la ciudadania a los

indigenas no la tienen porque nunca les ha llegado y nunca la han querido," "citizenship

has never been given to the Mayan, and they have never wanted it." From an academic

perspective and an objective view he agreed with the Mayan cluster but provided a

different rationale. For him, the contradiction in the construction of citizenship in the

country comes not solely from institutional racism, but also, from a financial interest. He

observes a conflict of interest, between private and public institutions, and he explains,

> Todo esta parcializado y el estado no ha podido crear una educación que diga 'bueno ciudadanía son todos estos puntos.' No lo hacen porque el estado responde a intereses a los cuales no les interesa que hayan ciudadanos.

> All is fragmented in this country, and the state has not been able to create an education that says ' ok, citizenship will be all these things.' They do not do it, because the state responds to interests that do not beneficiate form having citizens.

Detaching citizenship and citizenship education from identity and ethnicity, Eduardo

highlights once more the lack of democratic rule of the country, indirectly stating that

financial elites in Guatemala (the private) are more powerful than the exercise of

democracy (the public). Ana María also highlighted the purposeful tactics of the state to

avoid unity through citizenship. She named it,

> Un principio maquiavélico de que divide y vencerás. Es momento de cohesionar, momento de que justamente la tarea de un gobierno, de un estadista, de un presidente, es la unidad nacional.

> A Machiavelli endeavor in order to conquer through division. It is time to create cohesion; it is the moment where the government, the president, the state, needs to focus on national unity.

By envisioning citizenship in the past as a dis-unifying project, and in the future

as providing unity, Ana María simultaneously validates and dismisses the Mayan

cluster's personal experience of citizenship, hence illustrating the problem of

representation and identity. Mayans do not hold control over the representation of

their identity, which is still perceived as only a folkloric culture form the past.

Hence, by linking citizenship as a dis-unifying project of the past, Ana María

reproduces the fetishism of Mayan identity by Ladinos by not recognizing that

this dis-unifying project is currently still in place – as evidenced by the testimony

of both Ramiro and Marta. Furthermore, by validating the hopes of a future

unifying outcome of citizenship education, she illustrates that Ladinos have based

educational policy on the idea of progress and modernity, and as Eduardo

explained, there is still "esa necesidad de ser occidental" "that necessity to be

Western."

The key attitude for Ana María, to become a good Guatemalan citizen, is to

"contribuir al bienestar y a la mejora de nuestro pais," "contribute to the well-being and

improvement of our country." As Grande (2004) explains, the constructions around

narratives of change-as-progress and progress-as-change legitimate colonialist projects

(p.68) as the still prevailing dichotomy and misunderstanding of Ladinos and Mayan and

the experience of their realities as citizen shows.

Citizenship as a unifying project.

The entrepreneurial cluster presented a much different perspective and

relationship towards citizenship. In general, a project of citizenship was seen as a positive

contribution to the environment for social cohesion. In order to become a good citizen,

one must only consider the advantages of being Guatemalan. By stating, " solo hay que

ser orgulloso de ser guatemalateco" "we just need to be proud of being Guatemalan" or

even ""conocer las ventajas de ser guatemalteco" " know the advantages of being

Guatemalan." Marco and Juan Luis illustrate the disconnectedness between Ladino and

Mayan realities: the birth-right of citizenship against the suppression of an ethnic identity

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in order to exercise citizenship. Both participants minimized the task of reaching and

exercising citizenship, and defined it vis-à-vis their Guatemalan-ness. By doing so, both

Juan Luis and Marco never doubt their own true Guatemalan-ness, implying, that the

'other' must adhere to their vision and interpretation of Guatemalan identity, which is so

ingrained and natural in their discourse that it is never questioned nor defined. When

stating, " a veces te da verguenza decir que sos guatemalteco en el extranjero"

"sometimes you feel ashamed of saying you are Guatemalan abroad" Juan Luis does not

question his Guatemalan identity; rather, he is questioning whether or not to admit he is

Guatemalan when abroad. He continues,

> La identitdad como guatemalteco puede reducir barreras, puede quitar muchos estereotipos
> que tenemos estigmas, porque ya no se dice 'soy kakqchiquel' pero guatemalteco: ya es
> general, nos mete a todos en una bolsa no en bolsitas que no logran encajar en una identidad
> global.

> Guatemalan identity can reduce barriers and take away many stereotypes and stigmas that we
> have, because you no longer say ' I am kakqchiquel' but Guatemalan: it is more general, we
> are all put into a bag rather than in small little bags that do not fit in a global identity.

Juan Luis illustrated how Guatemalan identity is an unquestioned part of Ladinos, as they

represent this "global identity" to which other must adhere. Stigmas and stereotypes are

broken once assimilation is completed. Mayans are once more seen as the ones that do

not want to cooperate in the development of the country. Ladino identity is naturally

reflected on others as the essence of being a good citizen. Both participants ignore the

strong correlation between ethnicity, citizenship and the adherence to "a" Guatemalan

identity. Juan Luis' and Marco's unquestioned Guatemalan identity recalls the warning

Ana María made when asserting, " la identidad debe estar vinculada a ese

reconocimiento de nuestros pueblos" "identity must be linked to the recognition of our

peoples." The lack of recognition and identification with the peoples of Guatemala

illustrates the gap in the vision of identity between the realities of Ladino and Mayan but also, between practice and policy. Although the Ladino versus Mayan binary is reinforced in Juan Luis and Marco's quote, there is also space for doubt and confusion. Indeed, the bipolarity of identity construction conflicts Guatemalans, as they have yet to have a clear understanding of a third identity, one that would be more "global" and Guatemalan. When participants understand the other as part of their own identity they shift within the binary.

Furthermore, the definition of "good citizen" within the Entrepreneurial cluster becomes, "integrarse a un plan de pais […] buscar la harmonia […] ser activo" "adhere to the country's plan of action […] look for harmony […] be active." By plan of action, Juan Luis refers to public policy and in this case, the Cabinet for Social Cohesion. This individualistic responsibility to become a citizen places within the individual all the decision making power to either adhere or not to the state plan. Ladinization is implied as "harmonizing" but is never questioned, as true Guatemalan identity becomes Ladino-centric. Both participants express the problem to be outside of them, foreign to them, and provide individualistic and somewhat naïve solutions for how to create citizenship. For Marco, creating citizenship would be " necesario y bonito" "necessary and nice." He continues by defining the good citizen as,

> Una persona que sienta mucho orgullo por su pais, respeto por la tradicion – sabiendo que no me refiero solo a los Mayas- pero a la mezcla que somos personas con mucho respeto y cariño por esas tradiciones de familia.

> A person that feels pride for his country, respect for tradition –not only Mayan- but for the mixture knowing we are people with much respect and caring for family traditions.

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Marco centers citizenship around traditions and family values, and has a need to emphasize the 'mixture' and differentiate himself from the Mayan. His conceptualization of a 'good citizen' is based on differentiation and a hold on the past.

For Juan Luis, becoming a good citizen is key for national identity: " si soy un buen ciudadano voy a apoyar a la identidad national" "if I am a good citizen I will support national identity." The systematic correlation between good citizenship and supporting national identity illustrates Ladino values that would not sustain Mayan self-determination requests. Being a good citizen, however, is perceived as important but remains a vague concept: " si quieres que tu hijo sea un buen ciudadano uno debería de ser un buen ciudadano" "if you want your child to be a good citizen, one should be a good citizen." In addition, the understanding that one already knows how to be a citizen is taken for granted by Marco.

Juan Luis and Marco's understanding of citizenship does not align with the experience of the Mayan cluster, the "differentiated citizenship" studied by Taracena, nor the concerns of the state declared by Ana María. This disconnectedness demonstrates the still prevailing bipolarity between each elites' lived realities but also the existent nuances along the binary. In addition, Juan Luis and Marco's statements bring to light the need for a critical reflection on issues of ethnic and national identity.

Production of Citizenship

The interviewees identified conflicting institutions responsible for the creation of citizenship education. Formal education and the family became competing stakeholders. These discrepancies exemplified more of the resistance towards bipolarity than of its

usual dichotomy providing a crucial understanding of elites' conceptualization of citizenship education.

Fostering citizens through formal education.

Eduardo values formal education because he has witnessed universities in Guatemala become "true multicultural spaces." These sporadic multicultural spaces bring hope to the country, as he explains,

> La universidad son ambitos como pudieramos decir de multiculturalidad temporal y después cada quien vive.[…] el gran laboratorio de la multicultural y la ciudadania esta siendo la ciudad de Guatemala , es allí donde después del terremoto vinieron miles de indigenas. Aunque viven de cierta manera en barrios segregados, van a la universidad, se toman buses, estan en oficinas; es un gran laboratorio. El resto de Guatemala sigue siendo muy bipolar, muy segregado

> Universities are spaces, how could we say, of temporary multiculturalism and then everyone lives in their own house. […] The big laboratory for multiculturalism and citizenship is becoming Guatemala City, it is there after the earthquake that thousands of indigenous came. Although they are still living in segregated neighborhoods, they go to the universities, they take buses, they are in the offices; it is a big laboratory. The rest of Guatemala is still very bipolar, very segregated."

For him, higher education could become the model to follow, where the real interaction in equality between Mayan and Ladino has been possible. This safe space of multiculturalism came to place, states Eduardo because,

> "los Mayas han hecho apuesta a la educación, a la educación que no es necesariamente Maya. Esperemos que si se crea una unversidad Maya no sea solo para los Mayas pero una universidad mas amplia"

> "Mayans have gambled on education, education not necessarily Mayan. Let's hope that if a Mayan university is created, it won't be exclusively for Mayans, but a more open university."

Eduardo places the responsibility of creating a multicultural curriculum that focuses on citizenship on formal education, and in particular, on higher education. His lack of confidence in K-12 schools resides in what he argues to be a historical issue. The Guatemalan government, he explains, gave private institutions the responsibility of

providing education in rural areas that were hard to reach. This allocation of education to

Ladino landowners permitted the proliferation of private schooling and hence, the

segregation of Ladino and Mayan students. Eduardo explains that it is this history that

has maintained disparities, as the state never focused on creating a holistic curriculum

that would focus on citizenship aptitudes. On the contrary, Mayans children saw

themselves cheated in an education system that was only looking to train a cheap

workforce, supported by racist policies. The creation of true multicultural spaces is

limited as the segregation between schools is severe. This reality explains Eduardo's

skepticism that a multicultural curriculum will be created and implemented in all K-12

public and private schools. He places his hope on the democratization of higher

education; he states,

> "la escuela estatal ha ido perdiendo y las escuelas son privadas entonces depende del discurso
> de cada escuela privada. Si en la escuela privada los profesores dicen 'pinche indio entonces
> pinches indios'"

> [K-12] public schools have been losing and private schools are gaining, so it depends on the
> discourse of each private school. If in a private school the teachers say 'stupid Indian, then
> stupid Indian' it is."

Contrary to Eduardo, Ramiro believes in education, but for him, any curriculum

implementation has to come as early as possible. Indeed, he perceives formal schooling

as,

> Vital, estoy de acuerdo que aquí es donde se van cimentando las percepciones las
> interpretaciones de lo que son las diferencias, la multiplicidad étnica y las diferencias étnicas.
> Aquí es donde se va dando el tratamiento, el tratamiento adecuado, entonces su
> responsabilidad es vital para un cambio real, permanente, en ese tema.

> [formal schooling is]vital: I agree that it is here where the base for perception and
> interpretation of what differences are, of ethnic multiplicity and ethnic differences. It is here
> where you can begin to provide a treatment, the right treatment, so [school's] responsibility is
> vital for real change, permanent change-that is what it is about.

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Envisioning a citizenship curriculum as a "treatment" implies equating racism to practices of behavior rather than practices that can be deconstructed. This particular understanding of citizenship education can be problematic, as they do not provide agency to the students, nor hope to critical thinking. Both Ramiro and Eduardo are aware of the difficulty of providing multicultural curricula to a system that is supported by private institutions, but also highlights the importance of schooling in order to foster citizenship.

The mistrust of formal schooling was most present in the interview with Marta. Recalling her mother who, " no la dejaban hablar Kiq'kche" "was not allowed to speak in Kiq'kche", her nieces and her own experience, Marta described school as a repressive system that taught her "muy mal" "very poorly." Her and her family's experiences testify to assimilationist practices. This personal narrative made her question the institution of formal education. She explains, "el tipo de escuela que se esta, que se tiene en el pais. Yo creo que, para mi es un tema demasiado cuestionable, en todo el sentido de la palabra" "the type of school that there is, that the country has. I believe that it is a very questionable topic, in every sense of the word." Marta's mistrust of public schooling can be understood as a mistrust of policy and its history of institutional racism. For her, the responsibility of education for citizenship needs to be understood as individual aptitudes but in no case as mandatory knowledge.

Fostering citizenship through family.

For Marco, Ana María and Juan Luis, family was considered as the central institution responsible for the development of future Guatemalan citizens. Marco explained,

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> La educación del nino la responsabilidad de quien es? de ambos [escuela y familia], y talvez mas la familia, y la familia es quien educa a su hijo con la misma linea de pensamiento para que no haya ningun coflicto.
>
> The child's education, the responsibility of whom? Of both [school and family], and maybe the family even more, family is who educates the son in the same line of thinking, in order not to create conflict.

For him, it is necessary for family to trump over schooling to avoid conflict. Marco's stress over traditions sheds light on Ramiro's call for "an early treatment." Marco's resistance towards change can be understood as a protection of his status, and hence, of his power. Interestingly, Ana María defends the authority Marco has imparted on family traditions, when discussing the creation of citizenship, she states,

> En efecto, allí hay, yo diría, una tarea, fundamental, y es desde la familia, desde la primera escuela que es la familia, en la formación y educación de nuestros hijos. Porque nosotros de una manera replicamos de una manera actitudes, […] esto significa que crear identidad viene a ser una tarea primaria desde la familia. Crear identidad viene a ser una tarea que se complementa en la escuela, pero que no es la única, la escuela, donde se aprende. Por lo tanto tenemos que saber, que, hay un bien publico fundamental, constitucional, que corresponde al estado proteger mucho y es la familia.
>
> In fact, I think there is a fundamental task, there, and it begins from the family, from the first school that is family, in the formation and education of our children. Because we, in a sort, we replicate attitudes, […] this means that creating an identity comes to be the primary task from the family. Creating identity comes to be a task that is complemented by school, but school is not the only place where you learn. Hence, we need to know, that, there is a fundamental public good, constitutional, that corresponds to the state to protect, and that is the family.

It is clear that family practices are viewed as holding the power to foster Guatemalan citizens. Placing the family as "the first school" and the school as simply "complementing" family attitudes has been coined by Taracena (2002) to be the *family discourse*. The family discourse explains how Ladinos have historically and culturally been able to maintain power in three ways (Casaús Arzú, 2002, p.140). First, by decentralizing the power of the state, making the private rule over the public. Next, it permits the renewal of oligarchic marriage practices for the maintenance of financial and

political power by socializing children in the cultural capital of the Ladino elite. Finally, it continues the colonial project of implemented a broken identity that is based on racist and segregationist practices (Casaús Arzú, 2002, p.146). Again, we see the impermeability of the Ladinos towards efforts for multiculturalism, as Ladino families become the main institution responsible to foster Guatemalan citizen.

Fostering social cohesion through media.

Beyond the family, media communication was perceived as a cause of a lack of cohesion in Guatemala. Media in Guatemala was frequently compared with media in Mexico. For Juan Luis and Ana María, it is the lack of heroes, and hence, their representation in the media that is causing Guatemalans not to feel proud of their country. They believe that media representation of Guatemalan heroes would translate to greater social cohesion and national identity. Juan Luis states,

> Es la escaces de heroes que tenemos, aquí tenemos una escaces de herores. Y nosotros le hacemos chistes, los pocos que hemos tenido los hemos somatado.

> It is the lack of heroes that we have, here we have a lack of heroes. And we mock them, the few that we have, we have destroyed them.

Research suggests, however, that Mexico holds a strong national identity due to government policies of *mestizaje* where the credo is based on the "mixture" of many cultures, in contrast to Guatemala that has constructed its national identity based on bipolarity (Taracena, 2002). What participants seemed to admire about Mexico, however, can be considered a sense of strong patriotism rather than social cohesion. Furthermore, none of the participants named Nobel Prize Laureate Rigoberta Menchú as a Guatemalan hero, suggesting the extent to which Mayans "do not enter into a social space in which

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identities compete with equal power for legitimacy, rather they are infused into a political

terrain that presumes their inferiority" (Grande, 2004, p.113). Eduardo refers to this issue

by reminding us that many jokes in Guatemala feature depictions of Ms. Menchú. He

explained,

> Rigoberta se le han llevados todas las tristezas, la brutalidad de los chistes! Igual pasa con la Senora Tuyuc y cuando llegan a representar a Guatemala siempre la critican. Somos incapaces de decir esa es una de las guatemalas, muy difícil, eso tiene que cambiar.
>
> Rigoberta has borne the brutality of the jokes [made about her]! The same happens with Ms.Tuyuc (an Mayans congressional deputy), and when they represent Guatemala they are always critiqued. We are incapable of accepting them as being a part of the Guatemalas, it is very hard, this needs to change.

In addition to racist jokes, Eduardo highlights the reproduction of negative stereotypes

produced by the national media. In addition to a negative representation of Mayans as

peoples of Guatemala within the media, Eduardo also highlights the lack of

representation of Mayan peoples within textbooks. He explains,

> Ve los manuales de educación y Guatemala es rica por sus volcanes, pero alli viven gentes y hay pueblos eso no aparece verdad. Y si aparece hay que ver a los inditos o lo ve en la forma en que se traduce la publicidad. Fume cigarrillos rubios y chico blanco en Tikal fumando, o ponen al ladino hablando por celular y al indito yiendo a la cabina telefonica. Todo eso es una imagen de la construccion de lo nacional.
>
> Look at educational textbooks and [you see] Guatemala is rich because of its volcanoes. But there are people living there, there are villages, but that does not appear. And if it does appear, there is a need to see them as "little Indians" or you see it in the way it is represented in advertisements. Smoke *Rubio* cigarettes and you see the White male smoking in Tikal, or they have the Ladino talking on the cellular phone and the "little Indians" using the telephone booth. All of that is an image of the constructed national [identity].

Not only are Mayans rendered invisible within the textbooks but –in the imagery of Tikal

in the cigarette campaign- they are depicted as folkloric commodities: the ruins represent

the lost Mayan civilization and only Ladinos are equated with "modernity." Although

media is, as highlighted by Eduardo, in need of less stereotypical portrayals of Mayans,

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other Ladino participants are only sensitive to the lack of Guatemalan (read: Ladino)

heroes on television. Both the media as a vessel and its content is Ladino-centric and

negates Mayans as part of the modern citizen that constitute Guatemala.

As explained by Eduardo, the lack of interest in knowing the 'other' becomes

the main obstacle for the attainment of social cohesion. In addition, the state has

historically ignored the responsibility to provide public, quality education to the majority

of its population, making the state responsible by omission. The fragmented, bipolar

identity that is in place holds the state as a crucial stakeholder in the true project for

social cohesion. Indeed Ana María explains,

> Responsables por accion o por omisión. Si no hacemos igualmente somos responsables, me parece que los medios de comunicación, instutiones en general, la sociedad civil en si, las instituciones muy organizadas que de alguna manera pueden incidir en generar verdaderamente cambio

> Responsible by action or by omission. If we do not do [something] we are equally responsible. I think the media, institutions in general, civil society, the organized institution are the ones that in a way can generate real change.

Although she validates that the state has chosen not to act, she does not grant it the

responsibility to be part of the change.

Awareness and Change

"*Reconocimiento*" or awareness was a concept that was closely tied to identity as

praxis. Exploring how awareness was referenced may provide an understanding of the

positionality of each participant *vis-à-vis* their identity, their relations to others and

themselves. By providing the basis for self-recognition, reflection and action upon one-

self can be possible. The way in which the participants positioned themselves around this

theme was aligned with how they envisioned change for Guatemala; it is for this reason

that both themes- awareness and change- will be analyzed simultaneously.

Self-recognition: praxis for self-determination.

Both Ramiro and Marta placed awareness as a central concept for the

understanding of identity, citizenship and social cohesion. For Ramiro it is crucial to,

> Trabajar, desarrollar la conciencia étnica de los mismo indígenas sobre todo en los estratos campesinos donde no llega la información […] y donde todavía se considera que el indígena no vale mucho y que hay que tirar a la basura todo lo de la cultura indígena. Hay una auto-etnocidio que se realiza.

> Work to develop the ethnic conscience of the indigenous people themselves mainly in the rural areas where information does not reach […]and where the indigenous is still considered to be worth very little, and that all related to indigenous culture should belong in the garbage. An auto-ethnocide is occurring.

Ladinization again is presented as a resource to access the recognition of "full humanity."

The urgency to self preserve Mayan culture and put an end to the "auto-ethnocide" can

only rise from emancipation through self-awareness as Mayans peoples. For Ramiro,

formal schooling is the space where "ethnic consciousness" can be reached. Ethnic

consciousness evokes a Freirian *concientização* and is defined by Ramiro as the attitudes

needed in order to resist "la uniformidad étnica y cultural y lingüística," "linguistic,

cultural and ethnic uniformity." Ethnic consciousness can be reached by providing

intercultural competencies curricula in order to shape the way teachers view students and

the way students view themselves in order to reach praxis (Grande, 2004). For Ramiro it

is of utmost importance to disrupt the racist values that are learned in the family and that

are not reprimanded in schools. In order for intercultural competence to break from racist

traditions, a program that highlights a new type of ethnic hybridity is urgent. Ramiro

explains,

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> Hay que enseñarles a conocer y a practicar un nuevo tipo de mestizaje. El mestizaje que esta orgullosos de sus raíces mayas y raíces europeas a las vez.

> We need to teach them to know and practice a new type of ethnic hybridity. The ethnic hybridity that is proud of both its Mayan and European origins.

Self-awareness as self-recognition of the Mayan-ness in all of us is the first step towards the emancipation of colonized minds of both Mayans and Ladinos. Multicultural values need to replace mono-ethnic practices of democracy. For Ramiro, Guatemala needs to celebrate unity in diversity and break through forces of assimilation, which does not recognize Mayans as equals.

> Estoy de acuerdo con la formula de la unidad y la diversidad. Pero la unidad no depende de la uniformidad étnica y cultural y lingüística. La unidad depende de los acuerdos que se ponen dentro de los diferentes pueblos.

> I agree with the formula of unity and of diversity. But unity does not depend on ethnic, cultural and linguistic uniformity. Unity depends of the agreements that are established within the different peoples.

Current policy needs to change in order to celebrate multiculturalism and achieve this unity in diversity. Ramiro continues,

> Hay que cambiar esa relación [ref. auto-etnocidio]. Para eso el estado debe cambiar de estructura, de concepto, cambiar de programa, de manera que permita esa multiculturalidad étnica siempre permaneciendo un líder.

> We need to change this relationship [ref. to auto-ethnocide]. For this to happen, the state needs to change structure, change concepts, change programs, in order to allow ethnic multiculturalism while remaining a leader.

For Marta, it is fundamental to have a sense of self that is strongly linked to culture, community and land. This cultural identity is the true expression of identity, whether it be national or ethnic,

> vamos a promover el respeto hacia el otro, es promoviendo el reconocimiento de quien soy, entonces me pareceria mas interesante debatir el quien soy, porque creo que el otro es, y quien es el otro y que del otro que yo lo acepte y que del otro que yo lo conozca, y como quiero yo que me conozcan. Una seria de dialogos en la que se puedan debatir realmente eso.

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> Promoting the recognition of who I am, why do I think the other is, who is the other, accepting and being accepted by the other, knowing the other and having control over how I want the other to know me. A series of dialogues where this could really be debated.

Self-awareness of personal identities is a key concept for both Mayans and Ladinos in order to put an end to binary construction of identity. In addition, it is through dialogue that these identities can be created and sustained. Identity politics are a key component for self-reflection in the make up of Guatemala. In addition, self-recognition of one's self becomes central to the exploration of ethnicity, and the construction of nations within a nation-state. Marta's focus on the ontological self, and her overall suspicion of policy make self-recognition the centerpiece of her understanding of citizenship and identity. She does not perceive change as coming form outside oneself, rather she urges us to "debatir si se quiere identidad nacional," "debate if we want a national identity." By debating the need or desire for a national identity, Marta re-centers the dialogue inward, in order to have the capacity to resist any policy that might commodify and exploit the self. Self-determination becomes the right for Mayans to debate their identity within the creation or not of a new hybrid Guatemalan identity.

Awareness of a multicultural society.

Contrasting with the Mayan cluster, which highlighted the urgency to be self-reflective in order to provide fertile ground for democratic values, the Ladino perspective continues to *otherize* Mayans. For Eduardo, the problem resides in the fact that,

> no hay deseo de conocer al otro no hay deseo de valorizar al otro y eso hace que también desde el mundo Maya haya una reacción a veces masiva e injusta contra todo el que no es m Maya cuando mas bien, el problema del futúro esta en las allianzas como poder acercarse.

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> There is no desire to know the other, to valorize the other, and that also allows that from the Mayan World there is a sometimes massive and unjust reaction against all of which is not Mayan, when the problem of the future will reside in the alliances, in knowing how to close the gap.

Isolation of both Mayans and Ladinos only perpetuates discrimination and segregation.

For Eduardo, the end of the invisibility of the subalternity of the Mayans as well as discrimination and segregation depends on going beyond tolerance and into acceptance.

> Hay que sobrepasar la tolerancia, hay aceptar al otro como es, hay que aceptar la diversidad, hay que aceptar la diferencia y respetar la diferencia y no tolerarla […] Y es lo que no se esta dando en Guatemala por eso es que todo esta tan bipolar y tan separado […] En guate a penas estamos llegando a la actitud de tolerancia a ser políticamente correcto. […] Y mas bien le estamos apostando a lo correctamente político y no al salto cualitativo.

> We need to overcome tolerance and accept the other how he is, we need to accept diversity, we need to accept and respect the difference and not only tolerate them […] and that is why nothing is happening in Guatemala, everything is still so bipolar, so separated […] In Guatemala we are just now reaching the attitude of tolerance and being politically correct […] and we are gambling more on politically correctness than on a true qualitative jump.

Eduardo urges us to end with the "family discourse" which enables the elite to be blinded to the realities of other Guatemalan citizens. For Eduardo this is a key piece: Ladinos must make a qualitative jump, they need to put in practice multiculturalism. Awareness here becomes an act for social justice, a willingness to engage with the 'other' as an equal. In order to achieve this recognition, there needs to be a willingness to go "beyond tolerance and into acceptance." Until one reaches acceptance of the other, we cannot build an identity that respects diversity. For Eduardo it is urgent to provide multicultural education in the form of content knowledge but also in embodied space, in order to create what he calls "multicultural laboratories." He accepts the hard task ahead but he is hopeful that by providing multicultural education, other multicultural spaces will be opened. The proliferation of multicultural education and multicultural spaces would lead the way to awareness and recognition of the "other" and hence, their acceptance. By doing so, subalternity and bipolarity would give way to an "integral citizenship" and

hence, to a true multicultural state. Eduardo envisions the future success of the

multicultural state through the creation of alliances and negotiations between elites, in

order to be transparent of each other's agenda and end bipolarity.

For Ana María, Mayans and Ladinos must first stop denying one another. From a

human capital perspective, she highlights that mutual rejection does not allow the

maximization of Guatemala's resources. In this case, people become the richness of the

country,

> Guatemala esta considerada como un pais que todavía no concluye en una identidad
> y que por lo tanto teniendo las culturas que tiene, siendo tan rica en eso, no lo haya
> potenciado porque no las reconoce, las tiene pero no las reconoce. Yo creo que uno de los
> grandes desafios es el reconociemiento de nuestra diversidad y que esta alli la riqueza. Pero
> que la conozcamos, y la reconozcamos.
> Guatemala is considered as a country that has still not decided upon an identity, and
> thus, being so rich in those cultures that it has, it has not reached its potential because it does
> not recognize them; it has them but it does not recognize them. I believe that one of the
> biggest challenges is the recognition of our diversity, that the richness is there. But we need to
> know that and recognize it.

Ladinos and Mayans have been un-*aware* of the potential the 'other' can bring to

the development of the country. For Ana María, making Ladinos and Mayans aware of

their value would encourage not only recognition but also acceptance. Although Ana

María as well as Eduardo highlight the importance of Mayans and Ladinos to recognize

one another, to do so by making of the other an asset can be problematic in the

Guatemalan reality.   In fact, the problem in the country already resides in the

objectification of the Mayans. When Ana María proposed to focus on,"esa composición

socio-cultural que de una manera u otra es diferente pero que es la riqueza" "that socio-

cultural composition that in one way or another is different but is the richness," she is

merely proposing to raise the current value that is given to the Mayans in their same

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position. A human capital perspective in the Guatemalan reality can be viewed as reproducing of the commodification of Mayans. Although Ana María was tallying the losses of Mayans and Ladinos when un-aware of one another; she also demonstrated her un-awareness of contemporary Mayan realities.

For Juan Luis, awareness becomes central in order to recruit Guatemalans to adhere to a project of national identity. In fact, it would only be a matter of advertising, "las ventajas de ser guatemalteco, las cualidades," "the advantages of being Guatemalan, the qualities," to get Guatemalans to, "buscar la harmonia," "look for harmony." This simple apporach is also presented in Marco's proposition. For Marco, awareness becomes a social responsibility, where Guatemalans should care for the country and hence, work for its progress. In addition to this responsibility, Guatemalans must focus on the mixture of cultures, "no me refiero solo a los Mayas pero a la mezcla" "I am not talking about Mayans only, but of the mixture."

Ana María, Juan Luis and Marco's understanding of 'awareness' are directly linked to identity. In order to be aware of the other one must be aware of oneself. This circularity, however, can be explained by the lack of identity of the Ladinos. In addition, their disconnectedness, and thus, misunderstanding of the Mayans can also be a cause. Their approaches to tackling issues of citizenship and identity highlighted ethno-centrism, perceptions of reverse racism, and resistance of multiculturalism, When envisioning change, however, Ana María, Juan Luis and Marco concluded with a vision that included commercial alliances between the private and the public sector, demonstrating once more, the savior mentality that the Ladino still holds. Indeed, none of

them saw the Mayans as an equal counterpart with whom to have alliances, but rather

envisioned an enterprise that would responsibly share its resources. Juan Luis even urged

the private sector to become more responsible,

> Un sector privado en Guatemala con mas visión social, con mas responsabilidad
> social, que trate de compartir un poco la riqueza que tenemos y no esa mentalidad de quiero
> ser mas rico.
> A private sector in Guatemalan with more social vision, with more social
> responsibility, that tries to share the riches more, and avoids the 'I want to be richer'
> mentality.

This is also a vision shared by Marco. Indeed, as an entrepreneur, he suggests that the

private sector become the government's creditor for social justice projects:

> Se debería de poder hacer algo como para que una institución mixta se le garantice los fondos
> y se ponga a gente responsable u honrada un proyecto de país a largo plazo. Entonces son
> proyectos modelos, porque son empresas multimillonarias.

> We should be able to do something so that a mixed institution guarantees the funds and
> provides responsible and honest people for a long-term project for the country. Then those are
> the model projects, because they are multimillion [Quetzales] enterprises.

These examples show the incredible power and richness the private sector holds as well

as the perception of social justice as a lucrative enterprise. Finally, neither solution

includes Mayans nor provides them with agency.

Summary

A picture of the key issues affecting social cohesion through "unity in diversity"

has been drawn by this analysis. The interconnectedness between these five themes is

apparent and circular. The framework would suggest that without identity, one cannot

hold citizenship; without an integral citizenship exercise, one cannot hold rights and

responsibilities; without responsibilities, one cannot infuse change; and without a deep

awareness of who we truly are, where we stand and where we are going, without an

understanding of self, one cannot be an agent of identity creation. Furthermore, all themes showed discrepancies between Ladino and Mayan elites. Some clusters, such as the Mayan and Entrepreneurial cluster although generally in opposed perspectives did present alternative positions. The Education cluster was mostly in opposition showing the emergence of a gray third stance that breaks away from a bipolar understanding of identity and citizenship construction. The following chart summarizes the positionality of each cluster within the binary.

Table 2
Elites' movement across binaries

Recurrent themes \ Sub-themes	Disunity	Unity
Citizenship	*Conflict* Maya C* / Education C	*Ladinization* Entrepreneurial C
National identity	*Self-determination* Maya C / Education C	*Assimilation* Education C/ Entrepreneurial C
Fostering of values	*Of Education* Maya C/Education C	*Of Family* Entrepreneurial C
Awareness	*Self-recognition* Maya C / Entrepreneurial C	*Recognition* Education C
Change	*Self-determination* Maya C	*Multiculturalism* Education C/ Entrepreneurial C

* C= Cluster

Although the cluster's shift across binaries does allow for new alternatives to emerge, bipolarity is still present and does not permit multiculturalism to be practiced. In this fragmented environment, a true multicultural democracy cannot be established. Ladino identity is still prevailing, with its "power, oppression and absolute domination of the state over indigenous nations" (Grande, 2004, p.51). Racism in Guatemala goes beyond discriminating against physical traits; as participants have demonstrated, Ladino identity targets specifically "cultural poverty," portraying Mayans people as folkloric

commodities and refusing to provide the space for them to be recognized as modern

citizens that are a part of Guatemala. This resistance of recognition is the impasse in the

country's development and social cohesion.   Eduardo suggests that if alliances are not

formed, the country is headed to "un estado de ingobernabilidad" " a state of

ungovernability." Both Ladinos and Mayans must strive to mutually decolonize their

minds, and value the *mestizaje* that has been created and called Guatemala. By being

critical and self-reflective Mayans as well as Ladinos will recognize that they have been

and are being part of colonialist mindsets. New ways of being that contextualize

multiculturalism, national cohesion and citizenship within the Guatemalan context need

to be explored. Through critical self-awareness debates that will provide the guidelines

of a state envisioned by both Ladinos and Mayans can take place. One-dimensional

identities cannot shape the identity off all 23 Guatemalan ethnicities. Ladinos must work

at ending their oppressor-oppressed identity, and Mayans must come together to re-value

their way of life and recognize the substance of their resistance. The "quest for modern

identities remains the quest for sovereignty" both for Ladinos and for Mayans (Grande,

2004, p. 171).

Guatemala needs to provide its students with a citizenship education envisioned

as a navigation tool, one that students can utilize in order to fight against discrimination

and segregation. Without a critical understanding of Guatemalan identity politics, an

accurate citizenship education cannot thrive. As long as government refuses to engage

with issues of race, class and ethnicity, the policies it implements will continue to be as

useful only as charity. By providing a curriculum for critical citizenship, however,

Guatemala can begin to foster through education a national identity based on a critical

knowledge that can better advance social cohesion. By empowering Guatemalans to be

self-reflective, a new generation that is willing to engage in cross-ethnic cooperation can

open the path to a lasting social cohesion.

Chapter V

Recommendation for future research

  Throughout this study, the theories that have framed the understanding of elites' conceptualization of Guatemalan identity have all been structured around binaries. Elite settlement theory positions elites within a unity-disunity continuum. Critical pedagogy dichotomizes the oppressor from the oppressed. Finally, Taracena's (2002) "differentiated citizenship" is based on the bipolar identity of Guatemalans, who are either Mayan or Ladino.

  Although these binaries provide insight around the construction of identity and should be considered for the implementation and design of policy, they can also limit the research with the duality of their scope. Indeed, the complexity of the Guatemalan reality should not be understood within the constraints of these binaries, as elites' showed movements across binaries and were conflicted within bipolarity. A third space of identity where nuances resist the binary is emerging.

  Elite settlement theory does not provide the space to analyze elites that have been formed outside settlements, as it is the case of the Mayan elite. In addition, the theory suggests unity or disunity of cross-elite interaction to impact the political stability of a country. In Guatemala, however, disunity is not only present in elites' interaction but within elite groups themselves. Within the Mayan elite, there is much dispute around Mayan identity. For some intellectuals, such as Morales (1999) and Taracena (2002), identity should be based on hybridity or *mestizaje*. Contrastingly, some Mayan intellectuals believe in a state of autonomy and are critiqued for being "separatists"

(Morales, 1999, p. 140). These are examples of the discrepancies that can exist within an elite and that do not impact the maintenance of democracy in the country. The disconnect between cross-elite interaction and within elites themselves, should not be understood as a rivalry menacing democratic rule, but rather, as the first democratic process to hear the voice of those that until now have been marginalized. Disunity within elites, as has been showed by the different discourses of the interviewees, could be understood as diversity counterbalancing oligarchy and Ladino bourgeoisie: resistance against the asymmetry of power (Grande 2004) in order to ensure the recognition of Mayans as modern citizens against institutional racism.

Additionally, Mayan intellectuals can also present disunifying views as they themselves make sense of what a modern identity should be understood within the political umbrella of the country of Guatemala: should Mayans have an autonomous state? a quota representation in government? localized educational systems? These are questions the Mayan elite are still debating, and for which there is no clear answer.

Through critical pedagogy the interactions between Ladinos and Mayans follow the dichotomy of oppressor and oppressed. Beyond this duality, critical pedagogy also highlights how domination becomes a central issue in the construction of Guatemalans' identity. Ladinos imitate the Western World as their model of development. In the urge to be recognized and base their identity in a transnational context, Ladinos become therefore, "oppressed" by the international sphere. By silencing and negating Mayans and their contribution to their Ladino identity, Ladinos become also, in the national context, oppressors of the Mayans. Ladinos embody the oppressed-oppressor identity while

simultaneously making of the Mayan the oppressed-oppressed: a folkloric commodity that merely garnishes the cultural structure of the country. Within this personalized duality, Ladinos cannot recognize the Mayan as modern citizens, as that would obligate them to discover the true oppressed nature of their identity. In addition, the internalized oppression of the Mayan forces them to Ladinize as the last resource to reach some level of humanity and escape their objectification as folkloric-tradition-attractions. This understanding of power politics within the construction of identity is crucial for Ladinos and Mayans to stop negating themselves.

The understanding of "ciudadania diferenciada" or "differentiated citizenship" advanced by Taracena (2002) follows the bipolar construction of Guatemalan identity though the Mayan or the Ladino realities. The bipolar creation of identity homogenizes two groups that are actually quite diverse, forcing Guatemalans to construct their identity through the reflection of what they are not: identity is based upon rejection. This segregating process provides the basis to advance citizenship: Ladinos are granted full citizenship while Mayans are taught to be civilized. Although this study exemplified the prevalence of bipolarity within the lived experiences of the interviewees, a bipolar understanding of Guatemala's reality is problematic. The Mayan-Ladino dichotomy invisibilizes those peoples who are neither or both, constricting the space for a new form of hybridity to exist and excluding them from research, debates, and policy. Indeed, the invisibility of the Afro-Guatemalan population, also called Garifuna, has made them the most disregarded ethnic group in the country. A multicultural state cannot be understood solely on a bipolar framework; Garifuna peoples need to be considered as much a part of

Guatemala's ethnicities as are Mayans. An alternative space that allows a construction of identity based on hybridity and renders Garifunas visible is crucial for the development of educational policy tailored to Guatemala's multiculturalism.

This study has highlighted the importance of understanding identity politics in the construction of a multicultural democracy in the Guatemalan context. The examination of elites' conceptualizations of identity, citizenship, and social cohesion tied with the discrepancies of their lived realities demonstrate: first, the need to implement curricula that can effectively interrogate bipolarity; and second, the need for identity politics to be taken into consideration when designing and implementing policy, particularly educational policy. Indeed, the Cabinet for Social Cohesion exemplifies the degree in which policy is still viewed as remediation towards objects of policy, rather than sustainable programs that foster critical citizen towards equals. Educational policy should provide a safe space where the understanding of agency and empowerment can be debated and contextualized to students' realities: citizenship education in Guatemala should disrupt institutionalized racism and discrimination.

Implementing citizenship education that allows students to deconstruct and construct their identity as modern citizens can be possible through critical citizenship. As one of many possibilities, critical citizenship is crucial in the Guatemalan context because it allows the understanding of multicultural societies while engaging students to be critical of their engagement within the country. Critical citizenship is defined as, "the teaching and learning [of] strategies to develop young people's engagement in the democratic goals of equality and justice in multicultural societies" and proposes,

"philosophical perspectives and practices of multicultural education and critical pedagogy and applying them to the purposes of […] citizenship" (DeJaeghere, 2009, p.225). By focusing on critical pedagogy and practices of multiculturalism students can find the space to deconstruct their identities and understand critically the forces that until now have defined Mayan and Ladino identities. If students understand the forces that have shape their identity, they will be able to construct a modern identity that engages them as citizens of Guatemala. This would render them agents of their identity and would disrupt the binaries that categorize them, and that until now have justified segregation and institutional racism in the country.

Social cohesion as understood by the present government does not include a conversation around the objects and the subjects of educational policy. Because of this, policy reproduces savior mentalities and creates further dependency. Indeed, providing running water, constructing classrooms and hospitals, providing free schooling, etc. are efforts of remediation. The cabinet for social cohesion does not sustain a long-term endeavor for empowerment and agency of the communities it is targeting. Moreover, the discrepancies between the lived realities of the elites show the degree to which collaboration must be included on the agenda. Educational policy cannot afford to undermine the differences between Mayan and Ladino realities. The Guatemalan government must foster critical citizens - that allows for both democratic processes and self-determination within the reality of a multicultural nation-state.

Elites' lived experiences of citizenship and construction of identity have generally followed the Mayan Ladino dichotomy. Their stories, however, illustrate the need to

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rupture bipolarity as a model of identity. Elites' movements' accross binaries exemplify a third position, one that does not fully align with either Ladino or Mayan constructions of identity. The lack of acknowledgement of these nuances from interviewees, however, demonstrate the degree in which elites' negate a conversation around what this gray area might imply, represent or even look like. An in depth-conversation around this 'third positionality' would help elucidate how Guatemalans (both Mayan and Ladinos) are resisting bipolarity and are re-negotiating their modern identities. In order to complement these nuances, a better understanding of Mayan perspectives as well as Garifuna need to further be researched. In doing so, a new hybrid identity can be debated, one that does not finalize into Ladinization, but rather, is carried out by all ethnicities. Dialogues and debates within elites' will allow cross-fertilization for a better understanding as of where this third positionality could take the country. A better understanding of Mayan, Garifuna voices, and Guatemalan youth could render the framework to interrupt bipolarity and redefine a new Guatemalan hybrid identity. As showed by the data, interrupting is the first step in recognizing the other as part of oneself. In so doing, Guatemala can heal the wounds of segregation and transition into multiculturalism.

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APPENDIX A: IRB

The IRB: Human Subjects Committee determined that the referenced study is exempt from review under federal guidelines 45 CFR Part 46.101(b) category #3 PUBLIC OFFICIALS; SURVEYS/INTERVIEWS; OBSERVATION OF PUBLIC BEHAVIOR.

Study Number: 0811E54581

Principal Investigator: Chantal Figueroa

Title(s): Citizenship and national identity in Guatemala

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Upon receipt of this email, you may begin your research. If you have questions, please call the IRB office at (612) 626-5654

APPENDIX B: Interview Protocol

1. ¿Según usted, qué significa ser Guatemalteco/a?

For you, what does is mean to be Guatemalan?

2. ¿El forum, "identidad nacional, para qué?" Concluye que Guatemala tiene una no-identidad? Esta de acuerdo?

The forum, national identity to what purpose? Concluded that Guatemala holds a non-identity? Do you agree?

3. ¿Por qué piensa usted que es importante crear una identidad nacional para Guatemala?

Why do you think that it is important to construct a national identity in Guatemala?

4. ¿Cual es el propósito de una identidad nacional?

What is the purpose in creating national identity?

5. ¿ Cuál es la responsabilidad de las escuelas en crearla?

What is schools' responsibility in creating national identity?

6. ¿El forum, "identidad nacional para que?" Concluye que la mejor manera de crear una identidad nacional es através de un pensum que prevea aulas de historia donde se incluyan los 2500 anos de civilización Maya? Cuales son otras maneras de crear una identidad nacional?

The forum ,national identity to what purpose? Concluded that a national identity can be constructed with a curriculum that teaches the 2500 years of Mayan civilization? What are other ways to foster national identity?

7. ¿De qué otras formas desarrollamos la identidad nacional?

In what other ways can we foster national identity?

8. ¿En su opinión, qué valores de nuestra cultura nos unen? Cuales nos separan?

In your opinion what values of our culture separate us? Unite us?

9. ¿Como elite guatemalteca, como promovería la cohesión social?

As an elite, how would you promote social cohesion?

10. ¿Como explicaría la relación entre identidad nacional y ciudadanía?

How would you explain the relationship between national identity and citizenship?

11. ¿Según usted, cuales son los valores principales que debemos enseñarles a nuestros estudiantes para que sean ciudadanos guatemaltecos.

What do you think are the values we should teach are students in order for them to be Guatemalan citizens?

12. ¿Quién es responsable de ensenar estos valores? Qué rol tiene la escuela en la enseñanza de la ciudadanía?

Who is responsible in teaching these values? What is the role of schools in teaching citizenship?