Measuring Subtle and Blatant Prejudice: A New Assessment tool for Guatemala's Bilingual

Education Program

By

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Esta tesis está dedicada a los organizadores del Movimiento Maya. Que los que sigan en esa

lucha tengan ánimo y éxito.

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Introduction

The room is painted a cheerful mint green, sparse in decorations, but full of energetic teenage children. The teacher is dressed in a *corte* and *huipil*, traditional Maya Kaqchikel clothing, as she teaches her language and culture to a class of mostly Spanish-speaking, non-indigenous students in Guatemala City. Within living memory people from Maya communities in Guatemala were punished in schools for speaking their native languages. The civil war ended only 24 years ago. It was marked by violence, including genocide, towards Guatemala's indigenous communities. This teacher has little time to teach many students, but her presence is significant. Her class is the result of decades of organizing, study, and political engagement leading to today's version of the Bilingual and Multicultural Education Program. As it stands, all students in Guatemala are required to learn two national languages, meaning Spanish and an indigenous language.

This version of the bilingual education program comes in light of the 1996 Peace Accords which officially ended Guatemala's 36-year civil war. National policy in the Post-Peace Accord era is largely characterized by efforts "to overcome the historic discrimination towards the indigenous peoples" through "the transformation of mentalities, attitudes, and behavior of all citizens" (MINUGUA, 1996, p. 194). One of the primary apparatuses for doing so is the Bilingual and Multicultural Education program, under the Ministry of Education. Despite these important goals, there is currently no monitoring or evaluation regarding the extent to which this program may be successfully transforming mentalities and attitudes towards indigenous people. To shed light on this issue, this exploratory study pilots a verified survey tool to measure changes in students' self-reported prejudice in bilingual education classrooms at two schools in Guatemala City.

Guatemala is one of the few countries in the Americas that maintains a very large indigenous population. According to the 2018 census data, there are 14.9 million citizens living in Guatemala. Of this number about 6.49 million people self-identify as indigenous with 6.2 million, or about 42%, identifying as Maya (INE, 2018). While definitions of indigeneity can be complicated and fluid (Cumes, 2007), the vast majority of the country has some indigenous heritage. However, the forces of colonialism and racism discourage many people from claiming their indigenous identities. Markers of indigenous identity include language spoken (Fischer 1996), wearing traditional dress or political projects (Cumes, 2007). In addition to the population of Guatemalans living within the Guatemalan state boundary, many live outside of the country, most notably in the United States. As of 2017 there were an estimated 864,000 Guatemalans living in the United States (Noe-Bustamante et al., 2019).

This research was done in partnership with a Maya owned and staffed organization in Guatemala called Maya Wuj. This organization has a number of projects including developing the bilingual education curriculum used in Guatemala City, training and placing Maya language teachers, producing Maya-styled business wear for professionals, and publishing books. Maya Wuj is largely funded through the sale of these items. In 2018, the time of my field research, Maya Wuj employed 12 teachers in Guatemala City, four teacher coaches, and two administrative coordinators. This team was responsible teaching over 10,000 students and served as the sole entity providing Maya language curriculum in the capital city.

This thesis has four chapters. The first presents a historical review of nation, state and nationalism in Guatemala. It begins with the emergence of Guatemala as nation state in the 19th Century and examines how Spanish language and bilingual education programs have been used in attempts to build a national identity, including the post-war goals of multiculturalism. This is

followed by an overview of some political and economic consequences of these systems, with special attention paid to the relationship between these policies and indigenous communities. This background information highlights the connections between language, ethnicity, and their political consequences in Guatemala concerning bilingual education.

The second chapter is a theoretical review to frame the survey and this study's methods. It is based in Gordon Allport's intergroup contact theory (1954), claiming that intergroup contact with the correct mediating factors is often associated with prejudice reduction. Building off this theoretical body, Pettigrew and Meertens' (1995) developed an assessment of subtle and blatant prejudice and intergroup contact. This assessment was later adapted and implemented to measure prejudice and intergroup contact among Guatemalan University students by Mendoza Casaús (2006). This study presents an updated and modified version of her instrument to explore what factors may be associated with levels and types of prejudice among students attending Maya language and culture classes in the bilingual education program in Guatemala City.

Chapter Three presents my exploratory study in piloting the survey instrument, and the analytic strategy for the quantitative analysis of its results. Under the direction of Maya Wuj, two schools were selected for this study – here called the *Instituto Básico Isabel Ruano* and the *Instituto Básico Humberto Ak'abal.* The names of these schools have been changed to protect to privacy of those who work and study there. My research explores two central questions. The first asks whether school-based factors or non-school-based factors may be associated with the reduction of prejudice. The second examines if, among the students surveyed, intergroup contact with indigenous people has an impact on attitudes of prejudice. This chapter concludes with a brief discussion of the implications of this project.

Chapter Four discusses the concluding thoughts of this thesis. Drawing on the value of educational program evaluation, it offers some suggestions for how this study's assessment tool may benefit both Maya Wuj and the broader bilingual education program. This paper calls for greater institutional support and accountability to meet the goals of reducing prejudice through teaching indigenous languages and culture to students in Guatemala. It invites further study into specifying what classroom factors might affect students' attitudes towards indigenous Guatemalans, with specific focus on development of positive emotional association and support for healthy mediating factors for classroom intergroup contact situations.

CHAPTER ONE

Historical and Political Context: Multiculturalism and National Identity in Guatemala

Like many other Latin American countries, the modern Guatemalan nation-state emerged in the 1820s. Early nation builders sought to develop a cohesive idea of Guatemala among the inhabitants within the newfound state boundaries by imposing a European model of the modern, liberal nation-state. This project, led by Creole elites, attempted to homogenize numerous groups divided by language, ethnicity, and geography through segregation, education policies, and violently enforced assimilation. Since the end of the Civil War in 1996, Guatemalan national identity has been officially located in a multiculturalism that seeks to shift from past nation building efforts of assimilation to acknowledgement and inclusion of the numerous ethnic and linguistic groups within the country. Despite the optimistic rhetoric of post-war multiculturalism espoused by the government and international organizations, the national concept remains contested and, in many ways, it continues to resemble forms of compulsory assimilation to hegemonic projects and internal colonialism. While the literature highlights these issues, it also shows a lack of measured outcomes demonstrating to what extent the national project may (or may not) be successfully meeting its proclaimed post-Civil War multi and pluri-cultural goals. I suggest addressing this need by piloting a previously verified survey tool to measure the bilingual education program's outcomes.

This chapter reviews Guatemala's concept of multiculturalism as national identity and how educational systems contribute to the national project to both frame the emergence of today's Bilingual and Multicultural Education program and its need for assessment. To do so I present historical currents that illuminate the challenges and complexities faced by those working in bilingual and multicultural education. I begin with a brief definition of nation, state, and

nationalism (Anderson, 1983; Hobsbawm, 1992, 2010; Calhoun, 1997) followed by a historical outline of education policy and nation building leading up to the Peace Accords (Richards and Richards, 1996). Next, I integrate several key works to understand the concept of a multicultural Guatemalan nation (Morales, 2002; Tetzaguic and Grigsby, 2004; Bastos, 2007), including the emergence of pan-Maya organizing and ethnic nationalism (Rodríguez, 1992; Warren, 1998; Fischer, 2001). Finally, I review the effects of multicultural policies, like the bilingual education program, on Maya people (Maxwell, 2009; Cojtí, 2015), Ladino people's understanding of themselves in relation to Mayas (Hale, 2006), and the role of Mayas in politics (Hale, 2004). This chapter concludes with thoughts regarding how the work of my collaborators fits into this context and my suggestions for moving forward.

National Identity and Education

The terms nation and state, and their multifarious meanings, are contested concepts. According to Hobsbawm, "Nationalism comes before nations. Nations do not make states and nationalisms but the other way around" (1992, p. 10). For Hobsbawm, the modern state serves as a rational, administrative apparatus to establish political boundaries, establish who is within these boundaries, and convince those inside and outside of its legitimacy. Regarding the nation, Calhoun (1997) suggests, that it is associated with "passion and identification" (p. 3). Nations often find strength in communicating that they are primordial in nature, yet in fact they are modern, "invented traditions" (Hobsbawm & Ranger 2010, p. 1). Hobsbawm finds "three overlapping types" of invented traditions, all of which are relevant to the case of Guatemala: "a) those establishing or symbolizing social cohesion or the membership of groups, real or artificial communities, b) those establishing or legitimizing institutions, status or relations of authority,

and c) those whose main purpose was socialization, the inculcation of beliefs, value systems and conventions of behavior" (2010, p. 9). Where Hobsbawm would categorize nations as "groups, real or artificial communities" (p. 9), Benedict Anderson refers to them as "an imagined political community" (1983, p. 6). As such, most members of a nation will never meet one another, though they share not only an awareness of each other's existence, but also "an image of their communion" (p. 6) and even "a deep, horizontal comradeship" (p. 7). The modern imagined community is made possible in part due to mass communication, including the advent of print media, and state institutions, including public education. The state apparatus works to draw upon the link between nationalism and identity to build a nation.

While notions of state, nation, and nationalism may vary from one place to another, in the case of Guatemala, the state came before the nation and utilized ideas of nationalism to fuel its nation building project. Shortly after the Spanish arrived in 1524, colonizers and Creole elite forced indigenous communities into *reducciones* and *congregaciones* in order to collect, pacify, and manage disparate peoples into more manageable European-patterned towns. This transition was followed by policies of "castilianization" which imposed the Spanish language and Christianity onto the native population (Richards and Richards, 1996, p. 209). In 1821, the European "module" of a modern nation-state was "transplanted" to Guatemala by the national Creole elite (Anderson, 1983) as the country became independent of Spain. After observing the fragmentation of New Spain and the United Provinces of Central America, Guatemalan national leaders wanted to avoid the disintegration of their new nation-state into indigenous groups or territories autonomously governed by regional Creole elites. Thus, the state sought to establish its national identity and legitimacy, in order to designate the status of its citizens and their

relationship to authority. Despite the state's early, violent efforts to castilinize its indigenous peoples, most remained monolingual in their indigenous language until the late 20th century.

The year 1965 brought a wave of influential language policy change in Guatemala as the state sought to socialize its citizens, inculcating beliefs, value systems and conventions of behavior among Maya communities. The new constitution of that year declared Spanish as the official language of Guatemala and that "the state was to play a key role in facilitating indigenous groups into the 'national culture' (article 110)" (Richards and Richards 1996, p. 210). These attempts at homogenizing the population into a cohesive, non-indigenous national identity were characteristic of state policies towards indigenous communities in Latin America, named *indigenista* policies (Barre, 1982). Generally, indigenista policies understood indigenous peoples as socially and economically inferior, in need of integration into national culture, but also with some positive aspects that should be developed as part of the national project (Batalla, 1981, p. 14). Despite the slight recognition of value in indigenous communities, these policies served to exclude indigenous people and their own projects from the national agenda (Fischer 1996, p. 53). That same year, the state implemented the *Ley Orgánica de Educación* which required education at all levels be carried out in the national language, with the exception of teaching more prestigious foreign languages or a Mayan language with the purpose of castilianization. Guatemala's first bilingual education program, called the *Castellanización Bilingüe,* was also implemented in 1965. The program trained native Mayan speakers who spoke Spanish as "bilingual promoters" to enter schools and "castilianize the children, alphabetize the adults, and contribute to the social and economic development of the country" (Richards and Richards 1996, p. 211). In contrast to the explicit goals of later bilingual education programs, this program sought to assimilate Mayas into the national culture through the imposition of Spanish and the

reduction of Mayan languages. By 1982, this policy had expanded to include 13 linguistic groups, 1,200 bilingual promoters, and 57,000 students (Richards and Richards 1996, p. 210). Despite the problematic nature of forced assimilation and associated violence during this period, the program did successfully increase Maya achievement in school and reduce dropout rates.

The process of nation building and maintenance led to extreme levels of violence during the Civil War (1960-96). The most violent period was from 1981-83 under Ríos Montt's military regime. In response to this violence, "The Memory of Silence Commission for Historical Clarification" aimed to assess what occurred during the Civil War. This multi-lateral, UN-mediated examination analyzed documented cases of violence and human rights abuses. It concluded that the Guatemalan State committed acts of genocide towards Maya people in the western highlands (CEH 1999, p. 41). In total, more than 200,000 Guatemalans were believed to have been killed or disappeared during the Civil War, and 83% of these victims were Maya (CEH 1999, p. 41). After the overthrow of Ríos Montt in 1983, the first iterations of multicultural policy in Guatemala began to emerge. One element of these new policies was the founding of the *Programa Nacional de Educación Bilingue* (PRONEBI) in 1984. PRONEBI implemented a parallel model of bilingual education for the first time, offering instruction in both Spanish and the local indigenous language through the fourth grade. This vanguard program was both the project of and contributed to the emergent Pan-Maya movement—an effort for Mayan cultural revitalization and pan-indigenous identity formation that worked both inside and outside the given political framework for its own subversive interests. Though PRONEBI was in its infancy and no political camps were satisfied with it, it marked the first time that a government policy attempted to recognize and integrate multiple identities within the

Guatemalan nation without officially seeking to castillianize them. As such, it was an important victory in Pan-Maya organizing.

Bilingual education policy in Guatemala today is constitutionally dependent on provisions for regional linguistic variation created by the constitution of 1985. Article 76 on bilingual education states, "In the schools established in zones of predominantly indigenous population, teaching should preferably be done in a bilingual form" (1985). Along with this, Article 143 states, "the official language of Guatemala is Spanish. Vernacular languages form part of the cultural patrimony of the Nation" (1985). Section 3, Article 66 explicitly states that "the State recognizes, respects and promotes their (indigenous communities') ways of life, customs, traditions forms of social organizing, use of men's and women's indigenous dress, languages and dialects" (1985). Additionally, Article 58 officially recognizes the cultural identity of indigenous communities, specifically including their languages.

The "official" end of the war was marked by the signing of the 1996 Peace Accords between the Government of the Republic of Guatemala and the *Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca* (URNG). The Peace Accords and CEH report serve as the official account of the wartime violence and specify a path towards a "firm and lasting peace" in newly proclaimed pluricultural, multilingual, and multiethnic Guatemala. Within the Peace Accords, the *Acuerdo sobre Identidad y Derechos de los Pueblos Indígenas* (AIDPI) is the accord that most directly addresses the problem of ethnic discord and cohesion in Guatemala. It states that, "to overcome the historic discrimination towards the indigenous peoples requires the transformation of mentalities, attitudes, and behavior of all citizens," in part through the expansion of educational coverage, funding, and curriculum reforms to more accurately align with indigenous values (MINUGUA 1996, p. 194). The Peace Accords, however, are not law in Guatemala. In the same

year, 1996, Guatemala signed on to the International Labour Organization Convention 169, called the Indigenous and Tribal People's Convention (1989). Within the context of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1976), and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966), ILO C169 sets international standards to prevent discrimination "with a view to removing the assimilationist orientation of the earlier standards" (1989), that protect indigenous people's "identities, languages and religions, within the framework of the States in which they live" (1989). To be a signatory on this convention is to officially declare that the Guatemalan State agrees with and is working towards the convention's mandate, which necessitates reform from previous educational policies described above.

Multiculturalism (1996-present)

Currently, Guatemalan national identity is officially housed in the ambiguously defined and often contradictory concept of multiculturalism. The emphasis on a multicultural national identity is in part a response to the Civil War, where a combination of state forces and organized resistance of non-state actors, produced a *de jure* national project of multicultural identity. Social theorist Nestor García Canclini's view of cultural and political hybridization helps us to understand how the state has attempted to develop the post-war Guatemalan nation. He writes that, "hybridization, as a process of intersection and transaction, is what makes it possible for multicultural reality to avoid tendencies toward segregation and to become cross-cultural reality. Policies of hybridization can serve to work democratically with differences, so that history is not reduced to wars between cultures... we can choose to live in a state of war or in a state of hybridization" (2005, p. xxxi). While the State of Guatemala seeks to produce a hybridized

national identity under the label of democratic inclusion, the Pan-Maya movement seeks to revitalize its own indigenous culture as a distinct identity within the nation, understanding the hybridized national culture as an erasure of their own culture and voice.

Mario Roberto Morales, a Ladino novelist and scholar from Guatemala, represents Guatemalan scholars who are skeptical of Maya cultural revitalization projects. Growing up in the early parts of the civil war and educated in the United States, his work focuses on both violence and the role of indigenous people in Guatemala's recent history. In his book, *La Articulación de las Diferencias o el Síndrome de Maximón* (2002), Morales argues that "intercultural mestizaje" is the solution to the so-called "interethnic problem" impeding Guatemala's intercultural and political national project. Intercultural mestizaje is the idea that different cultural groups should unite together under a common identity and goals, elevating their shared identity over group identities. He uses postmodern deconstruction to argue that Maya attempts to reclaim a pure cultural identity is more accurately understood as the invention of tradition and then claiming the invented tradition as their heritage. Though he claims to not be against Maya regional autonomy or the state officially adopting Mayan languages, he believes that policies that support ethnic differences lead to greater division within Guatemala. According to Morales, as neither Maya nor Ladino culture exist in a "pure" form, rather as the result of discursive historical processes, identity politics that emphasize differences support the concept that to be Maya or Ladino are fundamentally different things. In his view, reducing ethnic differences in favor of a common national identity ideally forms "an inter-classist and interethnic popular subject capable of being the protagonist in a national-popular political project that is, itself, inter-classist and interethnic" (Morales 2002, p. 61). The goal of this perspective is to form

an interethnic, democratic alliance against political and economic forces that fracture a cohesive national identity in Guatemala.

Multicultural Education Policies

In 2004, UNESCO International Bureau of Education published a study entitled, "Curriculum Change and Social Cohesion in Multicultural Guatemala," (Tetzaguic and Grigsby, 2004) as part of the larger volume titled *Education, Conflict and Social Cohesion.* The study offers an optimistic view of the post-war education reforms from the perspective of an international organization. The authors claim in the newly declared "pluricultural, multilingual, and multiethnic" Guatemala "education is now considered to be a decisive factor for promoting the cultural identity of each of the peoples that make up the country and for affirming the national identity. It is through education that a peaceful and harmonious coexistence between the people and communities is fostered – a coexistence based on inclusion, tolerance, solidarity, respect, equality, equity and a mutual enrichment that eliminates all discriminatory manifestations" (Tetzaguic and Grigsby 2004, p. 110).

In order to carry out these goals, the Ministry of Education implemented a number of curricular reforms. One of the most consequential arenas for the effort was, as previously mentioned, the bilingual education programming. The 1995 shift from bilingual education to bilingual *intercultural* education under the direction of the newly founded General Directorate of Bilingual Intercultural Education (DIGEBI) was important turning point. This organization began the difficult work of regionalizing educational practices, recognizing and teaching culturally appropriate curriculum about the value of various ethnic and linguistic groups, and requiring that Guatemalan public-school students receive education in their first language and

one other language through the fourth grade. Concepts such as social cohesion, reconciliation, and the official embrace of multiculturalism are generally positive, and indeed, the optimistic view of education reform as a panacea is in the best interest of UNESCO. However, these concepts have proven to lack the power to implement significant change resulting in positive social or material consequences for marginalized groups, as outlined by the human development data below. Meaning, starting new programs or changing existing program names often mask the fact that many of these programs do not have proper resources, support, or means to effectively measure their success and therefore, cannot enact meaningful change.

Santiago Bastos (2007) critiques the views of multiculturalism that Morales and UNESCO reviewed above. He raises the important questions of what inclusion of various voices and stakeholders really means and whether that translates into differences in people's lived experiences. Bastos synthesized the conclusions from four meetings of academics and policymakers on the contested concept of multiculturalism and policy that occurred in Guatemala leading up to 2007. In his study, he defines multiculturalism in Guatemala as "an umbrella category, a container of all the alternative forms of national, liberal assimilation in vogue since the 19th century" (p. 14). His point illustrates how, despite changing the official national agenda and efforts to build a corresponding identity inclusive of marginalized groups and their political desires, hegemonic systems still persist in maintaining their power. Bastos would likely agree with García Canclini that hegemonic powers are not monolithic. However, he deviates by recognizing that while hegemonic powers may officially include subaltern voices, the hegemonic project remains dominant.

In contrast to Morales' understanding that multicultural hybridity creates a democratic bloc to eliminate segregation, Bastos believes that multicultural rhetoric obscures the fact that

segregation still persists and patterns of historic oppression and imbalance of power favoring

Ladino people over indigenous people have not gone away. This reproduction of historic

inequalities is due in part to the fact that that Guatemala's project of cultural mestizaje does not

empower or result in material improvement for those it seeks to include.

The UN Human Development Report on Guatemala (2000) finds that national cohesion is

inhibited through social, political and economic exclusion. The report outlines these three

dimensions as such:

1. The economic dimension, including structural limitations that hinder access to
   and participation in the markets, which, at the same time, curtails access to
   resources and income;
2. the political-judicial dimension, implying that the traditional mechanisms of
   social participation are inadequate to express the interests of the most
   vulnerable groups and, rather impose barriers that prevent citizens from
   exercising their rights; and
3. the social exclusion dimension, ranging from a lack of knowledge of identities
   and particularities regarding ethnic groups, gender, and religion to the
   preferential treatment of certain individuals and social groups (United Nations
   System in Guatemala 2000).

The above report does not directly mention who is subject to the exclusions, but the

historical and political framework above combined with human development data show that

indigenous populations, women and indigenous women are the most excluded groups in the

country. For example, non-indigenous men earn about 250% more per month than indigenous

women (República de Guatemala, 2006, p. 4) and while 59.5% of Guatemala's population lives

below the poverty line (World Bank, 2018), 79.2% of the indigenous population lives below the

poverty line (Instituto Naciónal de Estadística, 2014).

This analysis demonstrates that existence of multicultural policy efforts, including in

educational systems, does not necessarily result in meaningful change. Rather, if the government

does not dedicate resources to teacher training, quality curriculum, and measurement and

reporting of their programs' impact, the same cycles of internal colonialism that were characteristic of earlier national policies of assimilation may repeat, just under a new name. In this way, as Bastos argues, multicultural policy becomes one of the "alternative forms of national, liberal assimilation," (2007, p. 14) characteristic of pre-Peace Accord nation-building.

The Pan-Maya Movement

Maya identity as it appears today is a recent construct, dating back to pan-Maya political efforts in the 1980s. Pan-Maya organizing is largely responsible for the emergence of bilingual education policy as it is currently found in Guatemala, so, to understand these policies it is necessary to understand the pan-Maya movement. Prior to the 1980s, indigenous identity was more closely linked with region and language group, rather than centered on a broader pan-Maya consciousness. This construction of pan-Maya identity and organization of its political projects began shortly after the most extreme violence of the war. It took advantage of the new and more-democratic government of 1985 as evidenced by the launch of PRONEBI. Aura Cumes (2007) writes, "Mayanism can be understood as an ideological current of politics and philosophy that seeks to positively reunderstand what it means to be indigenous as a political connotation centered primarily in ethnic and cultural difference" (p. 87).

Kay Warren points out that Pan-Maya organizing was initiated by Maya public intellectuals to create an imagined community of sub-state nationalism using Benedict Anderson-like methods. The activist intellectuals, such as Demetrio Cojtí and Rodríguez, worked for the promotion of Maya language learning and literacy through efforts inside the state by working in government positions and outside of the state through academic and internationally collaborative projects. They distributed print media with accompanying cassette and video tapes in such a

fashion that built "a sense of identification that transcends face-to-face community" (Anderson, 1998, p. 22). This is what Anderson would call "an imagined political community" (1983, p. 6), to foster "an image of their communion" (p. 6) with one another, despite differences in specific region or language. This effort, Warren adds, is about culture creation and constitutes "an interplay of local, national, and international cultures, movements, and individual relationships" (p. 27). Pan-Maya nationalism also creates the form of nationalism Hobsbawm refers to as "those establishing or symbolizing social cohesion or the membership of groups, real or artificial communities" (2010, p. 9). Cojtí calls this movement "at once predominantly conservative on the cultural plane and predominantly innovative and revolutionary on the political and economic plane" (1997, p. 78).

The cultural revitalization and political action of the pan-Maya movement involves developing a form of ethnic nationalism akin to essentializing Maya identity. Fischer (2001) argues that the State of Guatemala has long essentialized indigenous identities as part of social engineering projects for nation building. However, the emergence of pan-Maya identity is something distinct. Fischer writes that,

> "Maya scholars turn to discourses of modernist essentialism rather than multiculturally sensitive constructivism to justify their reconstructions of ethnic identity. The scientific exactitude of modernist discourse helps Maya activists' legitimate claims on the Guatemalan state, claims largely based on positions of cultural authority and authenticity rendered through cultural continuity" (2001, p. 11).

While the pan-Maya movement is informed and intentional, not all scholars agree with its approach. García Canclini would point out that the movement to create pan-Maya identity and

culture is the result of hybridization and as such inauthentic, while Morales advocates for mestizaje as the solution to interethnic violence. Additionally, in the book, *Maya Nationalisms and Postcolonial Challenges in Guatemala* (2009), Emilio de Valle Escalante suggests that "the 'interethnic problem' does not deal with the construction of new identity constructs, such as 'Maya' but rather with the resurgence of a historic struggle that modern nation-states have been unable to end: economic and ethnic inequality, especially among Maya populations" (p. 122). In order to move forward and exit the cycles of inequality he advocates that the Maya movement should move away from the discourse of cultural politics that seeks to recover an identity stemming from specific biological, regional, and linguistic pasts. Rather, Mayanness as a concept and its corresponding politics should become an alliance of subaltern groups united through "a historical experience and an affective and political relationship from which to think and act" (p. 140). Subtly different from other approaches, his approach seeks to maintain group saliency but to break down perceived binaries between Maya and Ladino, rural and urban, traditional and modern, and male and female by organizing around power dynamics rather than identity politics. Specifically, within the educational system, he argues that this organizing should confront the coloniality of power and "show how the experiences of exploitation, racism, and marginalization lived during the colony have not ended" (p. 123).

Raxche' Demetrio Rodriguez's analysis highlights how the counter approaches to the pan-Maya movement outlined above fail as he calls for a "pluralistic" model of development. Despite the optimism of de Valle Escalante above, breaking down binary categories of Maya and Ladino within a context where Ladinos hold much more political and economic power results not in a multicultural, democratic bloc where subaltern group saliency persists, but rather in the silence of indigenous voices and projects (Rodríguez, 1992, p. 24). In this view, reducing Maya ethnic

saliency is reminiscent of political projects that see the culture of Maya people as a "problem" that "represents the antithesis of what they (Ladinos) aspire to, namely, a unified, thoroughly modern, Western-based nation-state" (Fischer, 1996, p. 52). Cumes (2007) adds that

"egalitarian rhetoric (hegemonic liberal) in this country (Guatemala) has become, by in large, an illusion that hides behind it problems of segregation and racial/ethnic hierarchy based in mechanisms of domination. The social inequality that is experienced now has its origins, precisely, in the way that this country was constructed in ethnic/racial terms" (p. 187).

She points out that dominant groups sometimes view naming ethnic divisions and differences as divisive to national unity. However, she argues that, this egalitarian, multicultural rhetoric is bringing to light that within the multicultural milieu calls to respect differences as an end in itself are too ambiguous and insufficient to enact meaningful change. "Adopting the discourse in this manner, in a politically correct way, brings more advantages to those who benefit from the social order as it has existed and is perfectly compatible with defending the supposed 'national unity' of today" (p. 188). To simply acknowledge the value of cultural differences does not remove inequality. Subaltern groups must claim alternative kinds of power, otherwise they risk becoming supporters of the unequal systems that oppress them.

Rodríguez's pluralistic approach seeks to develop Guatemala in an overlapping, convivial manner among the diverse people groups in the country as Maya people solidify their identity. He argues not for elimination of Maya people and culture, nor to integrate certain indigenous elements of it into the wider Ladino framework, but rather to "neither ladinize the Mayas, nor Mayanize the ladinos" (1992, p. 24). Pluralism resists a monolithic national identity in favor of one the draws on the values of each cultural group present, in this case highlighting the

contributions of Maya communities and allowing them to maintain salience not through integrating their identity into an interethnic mestizaje, but through crystallization of a distinct and shared Maya identity. For Rodríguez, one step towards a pluralistic Guatemala is to "break the centuries-long cultural domination that the Ladino community has maintained over the Maya community" (p. 23). As Pan-Maya movement leaders forged their identity through promotion of Mayan language learning and literacy among Maya people themselves, they also seek to achieve the pluricultural goals outlined by Rodríguez through the bilingual education program by teaching Mayan language and culture to non-indigenous students.

That a bilingual and intercultural education program would exist as a permanent institution in Guatemala's Ministry of Education is a testament to the decades of work by pan-Mayanists within the constellation of national and international political forces. Yet, as Maxwell's (2009) chapter "Bilingual Bicultural Education: Best Intentions across a Cultural Divide" points out, this step does not necessarily result in positive interethnic relationships. In fact, if the government does not treat the program properly, this program invented to reform national consciousness and build a diverse and pluri-cultural national identity may serve to reproduce historically problematic attitudes and social relations. The three significant problems with bilingual education that Maxwell (2009) identifies are economics, personnel, and curriculum. She points out that the program is chronically underfunded, resulting in a too few trained teachers and in too few classrooms to reach more very many communities. Additionally, it has been challenging to find the "trained linguists, educators with advanced degrees, and computer and graphics specialists" in a number of Guatemala's 22 languages necessary to create and implement a bilingual education program (Maxwell, p. 89). Finally, and most importantly, the national curriculum as produced by the government celebrates cultural diversity but remains

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ethnocentric. It is designed with "stories based on other places and climates, language conventions that show different social classification, lesson plans based on other cultural bases, lessons showing Mayan cultural institutions and practices as folklore, and lessons on Mayan religion as polytheistic and supplanted" (Maxwell, p. 90). The effects of these problems in the curriculum are nonsensical lessons at best and affirmation and perpetuation of historical inequalities at worst. These problems with the curriculum serve to de-legitimize Mayan intellectual roots, spiritual perspectives, and cultural institutions and place them as subject under the Creole and Ladino-imposed values and institutions. Though not using violence to delegitimize and subjugate Maya people, the national educational curriculum is still a powerful force for creating the concept of identities and social positions.

Mayan intellectual and former Vice Minister of Education Dr. Demetrio Cojtí Cuxil made significant and positive advancements for bilingual and intercultural education during his tenure in the ministry of education. Notably, *Acuerdo Gubernativo de Generalización de la Educación Bilingue Multicultural e Intercultural 22-2004* establishes "bilingualism in national languages as national policy, which will apply to all students of the public and private sector. A student's mother language will be the first one learned, the second another national language, and the third should be foreign" (Presidencia de la República 2004, Article 1). This change is vital as it addresses the previously unidirectional transition programs of bilingual education designed to castillinize indigenous language speakers. The pre-2004 transition program model resulted in reinforcing a colonial concept of hierarchy of languages moving from supposedly more primitive and less useful indigenous languages, to supposedly more sophisticated and useful European languages. Previously, students in private schools were not required to learn another language and if they did choose to study another language, it was often English or

French rather than an indigenous language). However, with the new policy, non-indigenous students are now required, for the first time, to receive instruction in an indigenous language.

Even as accord 22-2004 was developed under Demetrio Cojtí's time as Vice Minister, he later critiques the results of this very policy in his book *Descolonización y Educación Bilingue* (2015). He argues that even with the new changes, the education system perpetuates colonial cycles of oppression. He shows that within the social and economic context of Guatemala, Mayan languages and Spanish still do not have equal social status, economic affiliations, or power structures (Cojt, 2015, p. 36-37). Considering this and the fact that *Educación Bilingüe Multicultural e Intercultural* only requires this programming through the 4th grade, lacks sufficient funding for quality curriculum and teacher training, results in only cursory instruction. These factors reinforce the idea that indigenous languages, and by association culture and thought, are less valuable or sophisticated than their European counterparts. He argues that, despite the ostensibly positive steps of the Acuerdo 22-2004, the result is a new form of internal colonialism of indigenous people by Ladino people similar to what has been experienced by Guatemalans dating back to the 19th century. Rather than physical *reducciones* and *congregaciones* of the colonial era, hegemonic powers use the education system now to create manageable linguistic, cultural and political *reducciones* of indigenous people that lack the power to challenge the imposed political or economic orthodoxy.

In a turn from much of the other literature, Charles Hale writes on the experience and attitudes of *Ladino* Guatemalans in the post-war era. The title of Hale's book, *Más que un Indio* (2006), is telling for the transitions of identity and power that have occurred in the past few decades. He points out that previously, the phrase *más que un Indio* (more than an Indian) would have expressed an indigenous person's "self-denigrating desire for upward mobility in a racist

society" (p. 11). However, the meaning has now switched to capturing Ladino attitudes of racial ambivalence towards indigenous people. Through ethnographic research in Chimaltenango, he finds that most Ladinos profess that Maya people deserve to be treated better, their culture should be respected, that racism should be eliminated, and that all should have equal rights. Yet, these same people express anxiety about Maya ascendancy, which influences their actions and inhibits the multiculturalism they claim to endorse. As Hale puts it, "Ladinos manifest racial ambivalence when they repudiate racism, express support for the ideals of cultural equality, and view themselves as practicing these ideals, and yet, maintain a strong psychic investment in their dominance and privilege in relation to Indians" (Hale, p. 19). In this sense, Ladinos feel that they are *más que un Indio*. Hale believes that this racial ambivalence is correlated with neoliberal reforms in Guatemala. In a neoliberal system, economic transitions to strengthen the private sectors, weaken the state apparatus, and further individualize Guatemalans would provide ample room for multicultural, yet lacks much accountability beyond what the market regulates. Hale refers to this concept as "neoliberal multiculturalism," which represents a space where racial ambivalence can perpetuate "a rough equivalent to the twentieth-century ideologies of mestizaje, assimilation, and unitary citizenship for the new millennium" (p. 20).

Hale claims that this form of government thrives on cultural difference to its advantage, "not by denying indigenous rights, but by the selective recognition of them" (p. 35). Including indigenous people in the Guatemalan national rhetoric of multiculturalism, and even in government positions, yet by in large preventing economic and social equity, is not the pluricultural nation that Rodríguez (1992) advocates for above. Rather, it proceeds in such a way as to signal inclusion in acceptable ways while proceeding with the same, Ladino, economic and political projects. Hale's neoliberal multiculturalism is of a similar vein to Bastos' (2007)

understanding of multiculturalism, seeing it as a new category that holds the same old items, even as Hale roots it economically in neoliberal reform.

In addition to *Más que un Indio*, Hale's article "Rethinking Indigenous Politics in the Era of the 'Indio Permitido'" (2006) has become part of the canon on indigenous politics in Guatemala. The *indio permitido* is the concept of an indigenous intellectual or activist who is given a position of power or leadership in a government organization, maybe even in one of the indigenous-focused ones such the *Defensoría de los Derechos de los Pueblos Indígenas* branch of the *Procuraduría de los Derechos Humanos*, and the *Comisión Presidencial Contra la Discriminación y el Racismo* (CODISRA). This gives the appearance of inclusion within the state. However, they are not able to go beyond pre-established limits to make decisions or enact changes that improve the conditions of their communities. As he puts it, "This category transmits a straightforward message: one can affirm Mayan culture and identity while also reinforcing the legitimacy and authority of the *Ladino*-controlled state" (2006, p. 297). Thus, the "indio" is permitted in certain positions and spaces, yet tokenized and restricted by Ladinos from having any meaningful power within that space.

Hale's argument does make sense given that little has changed in terms of material gains for indigenous communities or viable state bilingual education programming. However, it must be noted that Maya people who have achieved high-ranking positions in the government have made important advancements. For example, during Dr. Demetrio Cojtí Cuxil's appointment as Vice Minister of Education, he was able to maintain indigenous administrators and teachers, begin curricular reforms, and pass Accord 22-2004, until he was replaced by the subsequent presidential administration. Additionally, as director of the new iteration of PRONEBI, called DIGEBI (Dirección General de Educación Bilingüe-Pluricultural), Raxche' Demetrio Rodríguez

Guaján piloted teaching the Kaqchikel language to Spanish-speaking children from Kaqchikel families, while designing new teacher training materials and methodologies. After stepping down from his position, he has gone on to form Maya Wuj, now the primary provider of bilingual education curriculum, teachers, and teaching in Guatemala City. To say that these two were simply permitted and ineffective is to misunderstand their dedicated work and achievements for teaching and learning of Mayan languages in Guatemala.

Moving Forward

A review of this literature raises important critiques of the multicultural policies in Guatemala. It points to various ways in which national rhetoric and political frameworks ostensibly serve noble purposes, but in effect can be fraught with problems. These arguments, however, are complicated by the presence and work of Maya Wuj in Guatemala. Indeed, multiculturalism in the neoliberal context can be a different box for the same things. But at the same time, the characteristics of deregulation and weakening of the state apparatus within the context of multicultural nationalism has afforded space for Maya Wuj to develop and find success. As the state has largely failed to fulfill its official goals to promote indigenous rights and language learning, Maya Wuj as a private entity has found space to leverage this political framework of multiculturalism for the benefit of Maya people and bilingual education. Being a Maya owned and staffed company, it is an example of a subaltern group developing new kinds of power and political saliency in its distinct identity both by generating new economic projects and improving implementation of policy where the state has repeatedly failed. Above, Maxwell (2009) identifies curriculum, personnel, and economic issues as major inhibitors to successful bilingual education in Guatemala. Through their work, Maya Wuj seeks to meet all of these

needs- an improved curriculum, the right personnel, and improved economic opportunities for those they employ. While the ills of neoliberal multiculturalism persist, Maya Wuj stands out as an important example of Maya ascendancy.

While Guatemala may now proclaim itself to be a pluricultural, multilingual, and multiethnic nation, it is clear that these ideals are not yet achieved. These texts illuminate the deep-rooted contributions of racism to inequitable material consequences for Guatemalans, as well as the layers of complexity involved in meaningful policy solutions. Despite, or perhaps because of these issues, there is also a consistent lack of empirical data and measurement. The CEH found Guatemala to historically be "an authoritarian State which excluded the majority of the population, was racist in its precepts and practices, and served to protect the economic interests of the privileged minority" (1999, p. 17). How then can Guatemala "overcome the historic discrimination towards the indigenous peoples" through "the transformation of mentalities, attitudes, and behavior of all citizens" (MINUGUA, 1996) without examining to what extent the mentalities, attitudes and behaviors" are transforming? The census, UN human development, and ethnographic data that do exist are very important to frame these problems. However, specific measurement pursuant to these goals is necessary. As of now, it appears that Mendoza Casaús's (2006) study on kinds of prejudice and intergroup contact among four Guatemalan universities is the only attempt to fill this gap. As such, in this study I collaborate with Maya Wuj and propose to build upon Mendoza Casaús's work by piloting a new version of her survey instrument to measure student learning outcomes in bilingual education classrooms of Guatemala City.

CHAPTER TWO

Theoretical Framework: Intergroup Contact Hypothesis and the Subtle and Blatant Prejudice Scale

To empirically examine the underlying causes in a racially inequitable system at the individual level requires an examination of the attitudes of the individuals in that system. In colloquial use, racism is often used to describe a discriminatory action or prejudiced attitude. However, scholarship on these topics generally identifies racism as characteristic of a system in which one racial group is oppressed by another under the belief that the dominate group is superior (Wilson, 1973). A racist system is supported by discriminatory behavior of individuals based on their prejudiced attitudes (Quillian, 2006). This is true in Guatemala, as it is in other parts of the world. For Guatemala the groups in question are roughly divided into two – indigenous people (Maya, Xinka, and Garifuna) and non-indigenous people (Ladino and Criollo). The Commission for Historical Clarification's (CEH) post-war (1999) findings highlight the contribution of racist ideology to the state violence towards indigenous people during the war period. This is, in part, why the bilingual education program's potential to changed prejudiced attitudes is so important.

If an educational program can help to change non-indigenous people's minds about indigenous people, it may help to change their behavior towards those groups. To study the extent to which that may be happening in a given context, the literature points to an examination of intergroup contact and prejudice. The theoretical foundations for studies of prejudice are largely based on Gordon Allport's Intergroup Contact Hypothesis (1954), while the measurement of kinds and levels of prejudice, is most often operationalized with Pettigrew and Meertens' Subtle and Blatant Prejudice Scale (1995). This chapter reviews the literature on the Intergroup Contact Hypothesis in the time since Allport (1954) first proposed it. It then examines the merits

and challenges of the Subtle and Blatant Prejudice Scale (Pettigrew and Meertens, 1995). The chapter concludes by raising some questions about the utility of applying this survey tool in Guatemala.

Intergroup Contact Hypothesis is the most well-established theoretical framework supporting studies of prejudice and intergroup contact (Brewer & Miller, 1984; Ihlanfeldt & Scatidi, 2002; Phinney & Rotherham, 1987). This, and associated theories of aversive racism (Dovidio and Gaertner, 1986), provide the theoretical support for the survey tool used in this study. In 1954 Gordon Allport published his seminal book *The Nature of Prejudice*. Here he proposed the Intergroup Contact Hypothesis (ICH), which states that positive contact including certain conditions, also called mediating factors, with an outgroup leads to reduced prejudice towards the outgroup. He defines prejudice as, "an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization' (1954 p. 10). Prejudice remains an inflexible antipathy until it is met with the right kind of contact with the outgroup to which the prejudice is directed. The mediating factors for the ideal contact situation are equal status, intergroup cooperation, common goals, and support by a normative structure or institutional authority. Since 1954 studies generally support the conditions for Allport's positive intergroup contact (Brewer & Miller, 1984; Ihlanfeldt & Scafidi, 2002; Phinney & Rothehram, 1987). Additionally, many publications have supported Allport's hypothesis, demonstrating that positive intergroup contact reduces explicit self-reported prejudice towards Black neighbors, the elderly, gay men, and people with disabilities (Works, 1961; Caspi, 1984; Vonofakou, Hewstone, & Voci, 2007; Yuker & Hurley, 1987).

In 2006 Pettigrew and Tropp carried out a meta-analysis of all previously published studies on Intergroup Contact Hypothesis. Their study analyzed 515 studies including 250,089 individuals from 38 countries. The authors conclude that "those samples that experienced

carefully structured contact situations designed to meet Allport's optimal conditions achieved a markedly higher mean effect size than did other samples" (p. 766) and that unstructured contact can still contribute to prejudice reduction. To summarize this concept Everett (2013) writes, "Allport's proposed conditions should be best seen as of a facilitating, rather than an essential, nature." Al-Ramiah and Hewstone (2011) find negative correlation between prejudice and levels of intergroup contact even in sub-optimal with effect sizes similar to the negative relationships between condom use and sexually transmitted HIV and secondhand smoke with lung cancer at work. Pettigrew and Tropp (2008) find that the effect of contact on prejudice reduction works in two directions, by decreasing negative affect (such as inter-group anxiety) and by contributing positive affect process (such as empathy and perspective taking). In addition to prejudice reduction, several studies point to other positive outcomes of direct intergroup contact. Findings show that it is associated with out-group trust (Tam et al., 2009), forgiveness (Hewstone et al., 2007), and positive attitudes towards others, as opposed to simply the absence of negative attitudes (Christ et al., 2010; Vonofakou, Hewstone and Voci, 2007).

Measurement of prejudice by explicit self-reporting is useful but limited in that it introduces internal validity threats through self-report bias. Aberson and Haag (2007) seek to address this by employing implicit measures of prejudice through computer reaction tasks. They find that intergroup contact helps reduce implicit associations of "good" for one's own in-group, and "bad" for an out-group. Beyond these findings, Blascovich et.al. (2001) find association between positive intergroup contact and reduced psychological threat towards out-groups and Walker et al. (2008) find contact to contribute to perceived similarity in how the brain processes faces of in and out-group members. Researchers also find reduced cortisol reactivity during contact, which indicates a decrease in stress (Page-Gould, Mendoza-Denton, and Tropp, 2008).

For this theory to have relevance in policy interventions we must address whether the positive outcomes of intergroup contact are generalizable beyond a direct contact situation and whether Intergroup Contact Hypothesis may encourage or inhibit social change. It is in these areas that critics raise the main critiques to Allport's hypothesis. Several critics argue that the extent to which individual's attitude shifts resulting associated with intergroup contact may affect societal change is under-researched (Dixon et al., 2005; Forbes, 1997) and that the recorded changes in beliefs may not lead to sustainably equitable outcomes. In response, Hewstone and Swart (2011) suggest that prejudice should not be the sole focus of intergroup contact encounters, rather the contact situation should explicitly address structural inequalities while emphasizing similarities between groups during the contact situation.

Hewstone and Swart (2011) take into account much of the research regarding Allport's hypothesis during the past 50 or so years. They consider critiques that the literature is lacking in the areas of longitudinal studies regarding duration of positive effect and along with behavior modifications based on attitudinal change. In addition, others raise questions to what extent changes in individual prejudice affect collective process (Forbes 1997), and how the contact situation may have the unintended effect of souring intergroup relations (Pettigrew 2008). Even weighing these needs for further research, Hewstone and Swart (2011) argue that Allport's core assertion that positive intergroup contact has a sufficiently verified ability to reduce implicit and explicit prejudice, is repeatedly proven enough to be elevated from Intergroup Contact Hypothesis to Intergroup Contact Theory (ICT).

To employ the Intergroup Contact Theory for this study, two issues must be considered. First, to what extent can changes in attitudes towards out-groups be measured? And second, what is the cross-cultural viability of this North American and Western European theory to a Latin

American context? The first question is explored below by psychometricians Pettigrew and

Tropp (1995) who developed a survey tool to measure changes in attitudes towards out-groups.

The second question is addressed by a number of scholars who examine the ways in which this

theory and associated survey tools may, or may not, be applicable in Latin America (Mendoza

Casaús, 2006; Cárdenas, 2010; Arancibia-Martini et al., 2016; Unagaretti et al. 2018).

Measuring Prejudice: Subtle and Blatant Prejudice

The measure of how prejudiced attitudes may be changing as part of Guatemala's

Bilingual Education Program requires a verified psychometric tool. The preeminent survey tool

for these purposes is Pettigrew and Tropp's (1995) Subtle and Blatant Prejudice Scale. As

previously mentioned, this tool was previously used to examine prejudice among university

students in Guatemala by Mendoza Casaús (2006), who combined it with Rueda and Navas's

(1996) Emotional Affect Scale. She interpreted her survey results using Dovidio and Gaertner's

(1986) theory of aversive racism, finding that prejudice among students surveyed is transitioning

from manifest forms to more subtle forms, producing what Dovidio and Gaertner (1986) call

aversive racism. The section that follows explores these survey tool and theoretical frameworks,

examining the merits challenges they present and demonstrating why they are useful for

adaptation into an assessment tool for the bilingual education program.

Dovidio and Gaertner (1986) find a general trend that racial prejudice is shifting from

manifest forms, which translate into openly racist actions, to subtle forms, which translate to

aversive racism. An aversive racist defends that they are not racist. They often "support public

policies that, in principle, promote racial equality" (p. 62). However, they feel anxious at doing

or saying something that may be perceived as racist when in the presence of an ethnic outgroup.

The negative effect that an aversive racist has for the outgroup is not hate, but rather "discomfort, uneasiness, disgust and sometimes fear, which tend to motivate avoidance rather than intentionally destructive behaviors" (p. 63). Despite these feelings, they perceive their interactions with an outgroup as positive. The occurrence of aversive racism has strong parallels to what Hale (2006) calls "racial ambivalence" among Ladino people in Guatemala. Given the stated goals of the Bilingual Education Program, empirically measuring this phenomenon in Guatemala as an outcome (or not) of the Bilingual Education classes would be important for assessing the extent to which the program is meeting its political goals.

Pettigrew and Meertens (1995) draw on the phenomenon of aversive racism with their survey instrument to measure subtle and blatant prejudice. In their words blatant prejudice is the "traditional, often studied form; it is hot, close, and direct" (p. 57). While subtle prejudice is "the modern form; it is cool, distant and indirect" (p. 57). Using seven independent, national samples from Western Europe they seek to empirically measure both kinds of prejudice. They develop a psychometric tool that consists of subtle prejudice scales and blatant prejudice scales, with factors indicating several dimensions of each. The subtle indicators capture what they refer to as "covert components (of subtle prejudice), each of which is deemed normative and acceptable in western societies" (p. 58). Using exploratory factor analysis, they selected 10 questions out of an initial group of 50 along three dimensions of subtle prejudice. The dimensions they chose based on relevant literature are defense of traditional values, exaggeration of cultural differences and denial of positive emotions. Using the same methodology for the blatant prejudice measures they identified 10 factor items along two dimensions, threat and rejection, and anti-intimacy (see Table 1).

Table 1: Pettigrew and Meertens' Subtle and Blatant Prejudice Scale (Pettigrew and Meertens, 1995 p. 23)

Threat and rejection factor items: the Blatant Scale
1. West Indians have jobs that the British should have. (strongly agree to strongly disagree)
2. Most West Indians living here who receive support from welfare could get along without it if they tried. (strongly agree to strongly disagree)
3. British people and West Indians can never be really comfortable with each other, even if they are close friends. (strongly agree to strongly disagree)
4. Most politicians in Britain care too much about West Indians and not enough about the average British person. (strongly agree to strongly disagree)
5. West Indians come from less able races and this explains why they are not as well off as most British people. (strongly agree to strongly disagree)
6. How different or similar do you think West Indians living here are to other British people like yourself--in how honest they are? (very different, somewhat different, somewhat similar, or very similar)

Intimacy factor items: the Blatant Scale
1. Suppose that a child of yours had children with a person of very different colour and physical characteristics than your own. Do you think you would be very bothered, bothered, bothered a little, or not bothered at all, if your grandchildren did not physically resemble the people on your side of the family?
2. I would be willing to have sexual relationships with a West Indian. (strongly agree to strongly disagree)
3. I would not mind if a suitably qualified West Indian person was appointed as my boss. (strongly agree to strongly disagree)
4. I would not mind if a West Indian person who had a similar economic background as mine joined my close family by marriage. (strongly agree to strongly disagree)

Traditional values factor items: Subtle Scale
1. West Indians living here should not push themselves where they are not wanted. (strongly agree to strongly disagree)
2. Many other groups have come to Britain and overcome prejudice and worked their way up. West Indians should do the same without special favour. (strongly agree to strongly disagree)
3. It is just a matter of some people not trying hard enough. If West Indians would only try harder they could be as well off as British people. (strongly agree to strongly disagree)
4. West Indians living here teach their children values and skills different from those required to be successful in Britain. (strongly agree to strongly disagree)

Cultural differences factor items: Subtle Scale
How different or similar do you think West Indians living here are to other British people like yourself . . . (very different, somewhat different, somewhat similar, or very similar)
1. In the values that they teach their children?
2. In their religious beliefs and practices?
3. In their sexual values or sexual practices?
4. In the language that they speak?

Positive emotions factor items: Subtle Scale
. . . Have you ever felt the following ways about West Indians and their families living here . . .
(very often, fairly often, not too often, or never)
1. How often have you felt sympathy for West Indians living here?
2. How often have you felt admiration for West Indians living here?

Each of the 10 factor items associated with each style of prejudice is posed as a question on a Likert scale. Responses range from 1-5, which correspond with strongly disagree to strongly agree, respectively. The responses sort participants into a typology with categories of equalitarians, subtles, and bigots. Those who score low on the subtle prejudice scale and low on the blatant prejudice scale are identified as equalitarians. Those who score high on the subtle prejudice scale and low on the blatant prejudice scale are identified as subtles. Those who score high on the subtle prejudice scale and high on the blatant prejudice scale are identified as bigots. Additionally, those who score low on the subtle prejudice scale and high on the blatant prejudice scale are labeled as an error, representing less than 2% of respondents (see figure 1). Of particular interest to them are the so-called subtles. Low scores are 30 and below while high scores are 31 and above on a possible range of 10-50.

subtle prejudice

		-	+
blatant prejudice	+	type 0 error (<2%)	type 3 bigots
	-	type 1 equalitarians	type 2 subtles

Figure 1: Typology of Prejudice (Pettigrew and Meertens 1995, p. 24)

Previous research indicates that there are positive correlations between prejudice and nine independent variables- ethnocentrism, approval of racist movements, intergroup friends, political

conservatism, group relative deprivation, political interest, national pride, education, and age (Allport, 1954). To assess criterion validity of their subtle and blatant prejudice scales, Pettigrew and Meertens (1995) test these items as predictors for three policy issues regarding rights of immigrants, immigration policy, and preferred means for improving relationships between immigrant and non-immigrant groups. Next, they use structural equation models (SEMs) in confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) supported by theory regarding their dimensions of subtle prejudice (defense of traditional values, exaggeration of cultural differences, and denial of positive emotions) (Pettigrew and Meertens, p. 59). They find acceptable reliability for both blatant and subtle dimensions with alphas for the blatant scale consistently high and significant at 0.87 to 0.90, and those for the more complex subtle scale at 0.73 to 0.82 (p. 64).

Coenders et al. (2001) contest Pettigrew and Meertens' (1995) argument that there is a distinction between subtle and blatant prejudice and that each is empirically distinguishable. Coenders and colleagues argue that the dimensions of subtle prejudice as Pettigrew and Meertens conceptualize it, specifically the cultural difference factors, are arbitrary and created by sloppy methodology (p. 283-84). They claim that the exploratory factor analysis and subsequent confirmatory factor analysis were designed to prove Pettigrew and Meertens' hypothesis, rather than test its validity. Pettigrew and Meertens' subtle prejudice scale rests in part on what they identify as cultural difference factors. Coenders et al. question Pettigrew and Meertens' measurement writing, "perceiving cultural differences may be a *conditio sine qua non* for forms of prejudice, but are perceptions of cultural differences *per se* an expression of (subtle) prejudice?" (p. 288). They continue by arguing that when a respondent answers 'very different' on the cultural differences scale, which would indicate a high level of subtle prejudice according to Pettigrew and Meertens, the respondent is simply "acknowledging a social reality, not

necessarily expressing a subtle prejudice" (p. 288). To empirically test their argument, they fit a

multiple regression model comparing the two factors they believe to better measure what

Pettigrew and Meertens set out to do- general prejudice and perceived cultural difference, as

predictors for political viewpoints relating to immigrants. They find adjusted R-squares of 0.505

for general prejudice and 0.088 for perceived cultural difference to conclude that "the

discriminatory power of the perception of cultural differences is poor in the sense that it does not

bring out social categories to be prejudiced in some other way than the general prejudice

measure does" (p. 291). Finally, they challenge Pettigrew and Meertens' typological sorting of

survey outcomes. They began this step by replicating Pettigrew and Meertens' (1995)

typological analysis and finding the same correlations between equalitarians, subtles and bigots,

and responses of the same participants to questions of policies relating regarding immigrants.

They argue, however, that Pettigrew and Meertens assume the policy options to be independent,

but do not treat them so in their analysis. So, Coenders et al. recode responses to treat them

independently, for example "by recoding the responses such that respondents who only

mentioned the policy option of sending back all immigrants would also not oppose the less harsh

policies" (2001, p. 293). The results of their initial replication of the analysis and then those after

recoding for independent response are displayed in figures 2a and 2b below.
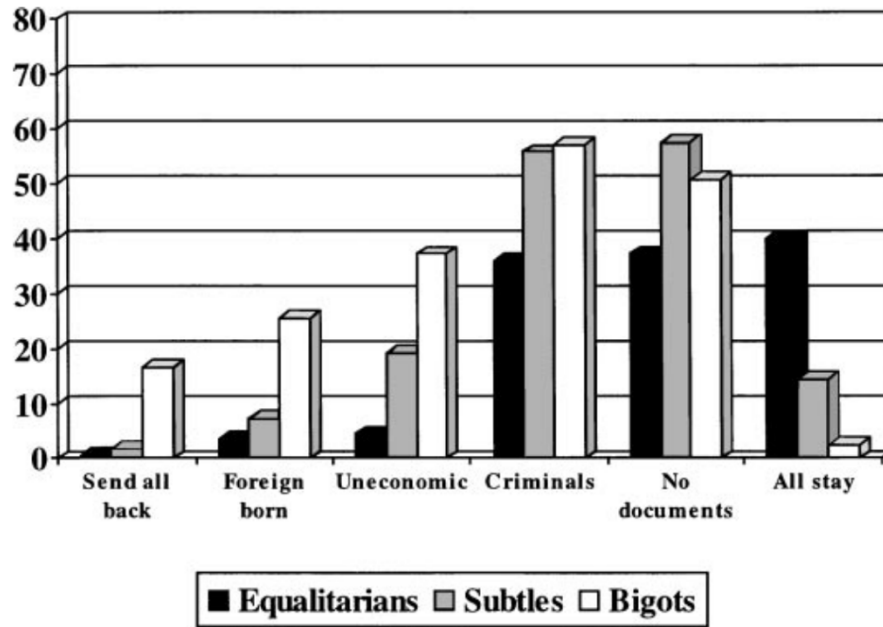
Figure 2: Three Prejudice Types and Preferred Immigration Policies Before Recoding for Independent Response (Coenders et al., 2001, p. 293)
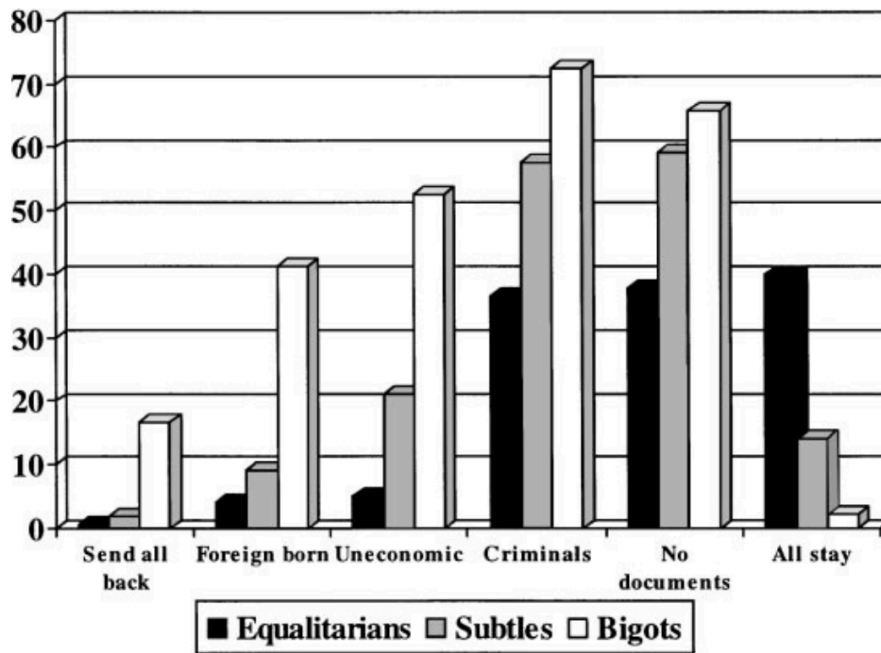
Figure 3: Three Prejudice Types and Preferred Immigration Policies Controlled for Response on 'Send All Back' (Coenders et al., 2001, p. 293)

Coenders and colleagues claim that the vital characteristic feature of subtles outwardly not claiming prejudice but supporting racist policy when it is convenient to them, such as voting to deport criminal immigrants and those without documents disappears after controlling for the response on 'send all back.' They conclude that this invalidates the subtle prejudice distinction, once again giving way to general prejudice as the valid explanation.

Coenders et al.'s (2001) critiques, especially their cultural difference dimension of subtle prejudice, appears to be valuable criticism. Indeed, perceived cultural difference may be a description of a social reality and must not always indicate outgroup prejudice. However, the literature suggests that there is a distinction between subtle and blatant prejudice and it is empirically verifiable (Arcuri and Boca,1999; Vala et al., 1999; Rueda and Navas, 1996; Akrami et al., 2000; Álvarez-Castillio et al., 2018) and that perceived cultural difference can be a factor of prejudice (Rokeach, 1960; Moe, Nacoste and Insko, 1981; Brown and Turner 1981). The process in which Pettigrew and Meertens (1995) built their subtle and blatant prejudice scales is acceptable practice within the field. They begin with theory to root the exploratory factor analysis process, followed by confirmatory factor analysis with acceptably high Cronbach's alphas. As Maruyama puts it, "Unfailingly, structural equation models need to start from a conceptually derived model specifying the relationships among a set of variables. Theory provides the centerpiece for structural equation methodologies… Without theory, there is little to distinguish among the numerous alternative ways of depicting relationships among a set of variables" (1998, p. 4). While Pettigrew and Meetrens (1995) ground their model in theory, Coenders et al. (2001) do not theoretically ground their alternative model, which poses threats to the validity of their model and subsequent claims. Regarding Coenders et al.'s critique about the bigot, subtle and equalitarian typology, Pettigrew and Meertens (2001) point out that respondents

to the survey about political attitudes towards immigrants were instructed to select all answers that apply, rather than only one policy option given. Thus, manipulating the data by controlling for the 'send all back' response invalidates the results without repeating the survey. Additionally, even if it were valid to control for a single response, subtle prejudice is conceptualized as a step between no prejudice and blatant prejudice (Pettigrew and Meertens 2001) in which case Coenders et al.'s (2001) figure 2(b) appears to support. In a recent study, Castillo, Fernandez-Caminero, and Gonzalez-Gonzales (2018) comment on this debate concluding, "although direct, blatant or classic prejudice shows consistent correlation with indirect, modern, subtle or symbolic prejudice these are in fact different intergroup biases" (p. 3).

Arancibia-Martini et al. (2016) also raise concerns about the construct validity of Pettigrew and Meertens' (1995) subtle and blatant prejudice scale, most compellingly calling into question the cross-cultural validity of their psychometric tool. They argue that the political and historical context of Europe and Anglo-America in which Pettigrew and Meertens' model has enjoyed support is distinct from that of Latin America in such a way that threatens its validity. To test their hypothesis, they reanalyze the data from Cárdenas (2010) study of Pettigrew and Meertens' (1995) subtle and blatant prejudice in scales in Chile using their own theoretically framed model. Cárdenas' (2010) findings supported Pettigrew and Meertens' model, but Arancibia-Martini et al. (2016) believe that Cárdenas did not carry out sufficiently rigorous CFA. This critique is warranted given that the initial conceptual framework and theory on which Pettigrew and Meertens' model is built is explicitly Western. As they themselves state regarding the key element of subtle prejudice, "we propose that subtle prejudice is revealed by three or more covert components, each of which is expressed in ways deemed normative and acceptable in western societies" (1995, p. 58). It follows that Arancibia-Martini et al.'s (2016)

analysis resulted in different conclusions. First, they found a different distribution of Bigots, Subtles, Equalitarians, and Error, which these authors claim threatens validity of this typology. This is unfounded, however, as it only makes sense that different populations would have different distributions of people with varying attitudes. The results of their CFA, however, are compelling as they were not able to distinguish between subtle and blatant prejudice. Among their suggestions for how to improve this tool are restructuring the questionnaire to be relevant to a new context, to incorporate more demographic data in order to explore the outcomes across different populations (ie sex, age, socioeconomic status, etc.) and to increase number of factors regarding emotions (p. 560). Finally, they call for more exploration in more contexts, specifically ones in which "the social and legal contexts of blatant discrimination are more emphasized" (p. 560). The need to verify cross-cultural validity of the subtle and blatant prejudice scales dovetails with the need to further examine cross-cultural appropriateness of Allport's foundational Intergroup Contact Theory. Pettigrew and Tropp's (2006) meta-analysis highlights this problem, and invites further study. While their analysis shows that there are no significant differences in effects of prejudice reduction related to contact theory between US and non-US samples, 72% of the sample tests came from the United States (p. 765).

A Guatemalan Application

Mendoza Casaús preemptively heeded Arancibia-Martini et al.'s (2016) critiques in her 2006 study of subtle and blatant prejudice among college students in Guatemala City. Guatemala is indeed a country in which "the social and legal contexts of blatant discrimination are more emphasized" (Arancibia-Martini et al., 2016, p. 560). While still in Latin America and sharing some similar elements of colonial history with Chile, the treatment of inter-ethnic and linguistic

relationships is quite different. Her primary research focus was to learn if blatant prejudice is giving way to subtle prejudice among Guatemalan college students in the capital city. She surveyed 231 students from four different universities with a version of Pettigrew and Meertens' questionnaire adapted for relevancy in the post-civil war Guatemalan context. She translated the survey into Spanish, reworded questions to reflect the local context and added additional questions to capture types of and frequency of contact with indigenous people along with demographic information. Finally, she incorporated Rueda and Navas' (1996) Emotional Affect Scale.

While she did not examine the construct validity of her adaptation of the Subtle and Blatant Prejudice Scale, she did conclude that manifest prejudice is giving way to subtle prejudice and some egalitarian views (Mendoza Casaús 2006, p. 80). She attributes this shift to the political action of the pan-Maya movement, greater Maya participation in political and economic arenas, political incorrectness of manifest prejudice in university communities, and greater interaction among groups. Her study is important as it is another step in exploring the validity of Intergroup Contact Theory and the Subtle and Blatant prejudice scales in other contexts. As such, it sets a precedent for the survey tool's utility in Guatemala that I build off of in order to meet the need for assessment in the Bilingual Education Program.

CHAPTER THREE

Exploratory Study in Guatemala City

The political context in Guatemala positions multicultural nationalism at the forefront of political conversations and frameworks. Yet, as demonstrated above, systemic inequalities persist in a form of internal colonialism, at times obscured by the very political rhetoric that claims to address these problems. The post-war Commission for Historical Clarification (CEH) report (1999) identifies prejudice rooted in racism as a primary cause of these issues. The bilingual education program is ostensibly an important part of the state's solution to the persistent problems of racism and its associated effects. While the goals and political frameworks for a peaceful multiculturalism exist, lack of empirical data on the bilingual education program's student learning outcomes prevents meaningful measurement of its success, or failure. The survey instrument I propose to meet this need operationalizes Allport's Intergroup Contact Hypothesis (1954) and Dovidio and Gaertner's (1986) theory of aversive racism. It is a version of Pettigrew and Meertens' (1995) Subtle and Blatant Prejudice Scale seeking to measure change in prejudice among students in bilingual education classrooms of Guatemala City and explore what factors may be associated with these changes. In the following chapter, I first explain my research methodology and analysis of the survey results, I then discuss the results and implications of the findings.

I originally set out to compare two different classrooms, one with an indigenous teacher and one with a non-indigenous teacher. My version of the survey tool was intended to measure if levels and kinds of student prejudice in the classroom with the indigenous teacher were different than those in the classroom without the indigenous teacher. I had a two-week window to carry out my research activities. In those two weeks I intended to survey each classroom, sit in the

classes for daily observations, and interview the students and teachers about their experiences with the bilingual education classes. However, upon arrival at the school, I discovered that the conditions were different. I found one teacher, who was indigenous, responsible for teaching Kaqchikel language and culture to all 19 classes of students across three grade levels at the school. Students met for 35-minute periods, twice every other week. This gave me just enough time to explain the study, distribute consent and assent forms, and conduct the study with students who had both forms signed. During the second week of my two-week data collection window, my collaborators requested that I survey first-year students at a second school. This second school had only implemented bilingual education classes at the beginning of that school year (my data collection window was near the end of the school year), but provided much more institutional support, including three, 35-minute periods every week and two teachers. Given these conditions, I had to reconsider the approach of my project.

While the schools' conditions and time available to gather data were not what I had anticipated, they allowed me to gather more data and approach broader questions more conducive to general evaluation of the bilingual education program. Rather than investigating the impact an indigenous teacher or non-indigenous teacher might have, I used the survey questions that were already written to explore the influence school-based factors, non-school-based factors, and intergroup contact might be having on students' attitudes. Considering this context, input from my collaborators, and the survey tool I had available, I ask the following research questions:

RQ1: At schools implementing the bilingual education program in Guatemala City, are school-based factors associated with reduction in prejudice towards indigenous people? If not, what factors are associated with reduction in prejudice towards indigenous people?

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RQ2: Among students at *institutos basicos* in Guatemala City, is greater intergroup contact with indigenous people associated with a reduction of prejudice towards that group?

Sampling Strategy

The sample frame for this study consists of 208 students at two *institutos basicos* in Guatemala City. Based on recommendations from my collaborators and the school leaders themselves, I used stratified, purposive sampling methods to carry out this survey research. Both are public schools roughly analogous to middle schools in the United States that serve students of about 13-15 years old for first, second, and third grades of *básico.* As public schools, they serve primarily economically disadvantaged students from families that cannot afford to pay for semiprivate or private schools. The students from both schools are bussed in from some of the more impoverished neighborhoods in the city, supported by public funds that pay for transportation. According to the school director, students at Isabel Ruano cannot be expelled for bad grades or behavior under the assumption that being in school, even if not engaged with schoolwork, is better than being somewhere else outside of school.

The actual conditions at the schools allowed for surveying many more students in many more classes than I had anticipated. At the first school, *Instituto Basico Isabel Ruano*, there are three levels, with 4-5 classes (called sections) in each level. I surveyed two sections of each level, totaling to six classrooms of students. All classes were bilingual education courses teaching Kaqchikel language and culture as mandated by the above policies. Response rates are displayed below in Table 2 below. Of the 236 students across the six sections surveyed at Isabel Ruano, I received completed surveys from 167, for a response rate of 71%. At the *Instituto*

Basico Humberto Ak'abal, I received completed surveys from 41 of 49 first-year students from

one, for a response rate of 83%. In total, I collected surveys from 208 students out of a total

number of 285 students in all sections surveyed, giving an overall response rate of 73%.

Table 2: Response Rates

School Name	Total Students in Sample Frame	Number of Completed Surveys	Response Rate
Isabel Ruano	236	167	71%
Humberto Ak'abal	49	41	84%
Total	285	208	73%

The high response rate of 73% is a strength of the sampling process and is also

understandable given the survey conditions. The surveys, assent and consent forms were all

distributed in a classroom setting with support of the teachers and school administration. Student

participants and their guardians provided informed consent, but they did so in this classroom

context which required almost no extra time or effort out of their daily routine. Additionally, the

students from the sections I surveyed at the Isabel Ruano school were of the on-task groups with

the strongest parent support. As students cannot be expelled, administrators sort students into

classrooms of more engaged and less engaged students. The goal of this sorting is to allow those

who want to learn to be engaged in schoolwork while giving those who are less engaged a safe

place to be during the day. While not representative of all the students at the school, selecting

these sections was done with the goal of having students actually return signed parental consent

forms. Non-participation did not occur in a meaningfully systematic way. Students who failed to

participate mostly did so because they forgot to return the signed consent form, or they did not

feel like participating.

Measures

My adapted version of this survey tool (Appendix A) is based off of Mendoza Casaús's (2006) version of Pettigrew and Meertens' (1995) Subtle and Blatant Prejudice Scale, which Mendoza Casaús combined with Rueda and Navas' (1996) Emotional Affect Scale. The Subtle and Blatant Prejudice Scale consists of five sections, described in detail in Chapter 2 above. The three Subtle Scale sections include factor items relating to traditional values, cultural differences, and positive emotions, while the two Blatant Scale sections include factor items relating to threat and rejection, and intimacy. Mendoza Casaús (2006) translated the survey into Spanish and changed the wording from the original which identified the outgroup as West Indian immigrants, to identifying the outgroup as indigenous Guatemalans. She also included her version of Rueda and Navas' (1996) Emotional Affect Scale, which consists of emotions on a Likert scale, ten from Rueda and Navas' original version and eight additional emotions that she added herself. On the Emotional Affect Scale, respondents rate their emotional association with the outgroup from 1-6. Mendoza Casaús added additional questions to further operationalize intergroup contact theory, including questions about types and extent of contact with indigenous people, familiarity with indigenous people, and proximity of living situation with indigenous people.

My version of the survey maintains the translation of Mendoza Casaús with a few additional adaptations. In collaboration with Maya Wuj, we added a several questions to address the experience of being in a bilingual education course. I also changed several questions from the Subtle and Blatant Prejudice Scale to make sure all were appropriate for a younger age group. For example, I changed the wording on the Intimacy Factor section of the Blatant Scale to address friendship with indigenous children, rather than sexual relationships with indigenous

people. These additional questions allowed me to collect information about the school-based and non-school-based factors that became an important direction for the study.

I define school-based factors as elements in the students' experience that the school has some control over, such as class level and section. Non-school-based factors are those over which the school has no control. I used the following as independent variables to measure school-based factors— school name, class level and section, and number of indigenous teachers. I used the following as independent variables to measure non-school-based factors—age, native language, gender, and ethnicity. Through factor analysis of the Emotional Affect Scale, explained below, I developed new variables consisting of students' score from 1-6 on positive emotions associated with indigenous people and negative emotions associated with indigenous people. Ultimately, I used these scores as independent variables that are not strictly school-based or not but are elements that could be developed in the classroom. There are several other questions that I included in the surveys, but chose not to include as variables in my models. These are discussed below in the data analysis section. I treated the output of the Subtle and Blatant Prejudice Scale as the dependent variable with which to measure the association with the independent variables. Pettigrew and Meertens, (1995) and Mendoza Casaús (2006) have both used the Subtle and Blatant Prejudice scale output as dependent variables in their own studies.

The original version of this survey included a likert scale with five response options, ranging from "1" as strongly disagree to "5" and strongly agree. In my version I included six options on the Likert scale so as to avoid an exact middle choice and remove the possibility that the children surveyed might mark many answers down the middle instead of considering and responding to each question. Even though I put six options to response on my surveys instead of five, I still selected to choose a score of 30 as the cut off for being sorted into positively or

negatively into the subtle and blatant categories used to construct the typologies of prejudice. I chose this as 30 is the mean score on a 60 point scale, and while it raises the ceiling from the original 50 point scale, Pettigrew and Meertens (1995) offer no justification why they selected 30 as the cutoff on their 50 point scale so I assume their selection was arbitrary and sorting by the mean was thus warranted.

Data Analysis Strategy

      I used linear multiple regression to test the following hypotheses based on the theoretical frameworks and needs identified in the literature and by my collaborators.

      H$_1$: Given the goals of the Bilingual Education Program, school-based factors will be associated with reduction of prejudice among students enrolled in *institutos básicos* implementing the Bilingual Education Program in Guatemala City.

      H$_2$: Greater intergroup contact with indigenous people will be associated with reduction in prejudice among students at *institutos básicos* in Guatemala City.

To test the first hypothesis, I estimated linear multiple regression in the following form:

(H$_1$) $$\hat{y} = \hat{\beta}_0 + \hat{\beta}_1 x_i$$

where $\hat{y}$ is the predicted level of prejudice for a student, $\hat{\beta}_0$ is the regression coefficient representing a student's score on the Subtle and Blatant Prejudice Scale, and $\hat{\beta}_1 x_i$ is the coefficient estimating the impact of each independent variable on the student's Subtle and Blatant Prejudice Score. I used each student's results of Pettigrew and Meertens (1995) Subtle and Blatant Prejudice scale as the dependent variable in three regression models. Initially, I used respondents' fit on Subtle and Blatant Prejudice typology. However, after poor model

performance, I changed the dependent variable to the mean score on the Subtle and Blatant Prejudice scale (SBPscore), with greatly improved model performance as described below. The independent variables I included to measure school- based factors in all three regression models are School (Isabel Ruano or Humberto Ak'abal), Class Level and Section, and Number of Indigenous Teachers. The independent variables I included for non-school-based factors are Gender, Age, Native Language, and Ethnicity. For the third model I included two new variables, positive emotional affect score towards indigenous people, and negative emotional affect towards indigenous people. Both of these variables emerged from performing Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) on Rueda and Navas's Emotional Affect Scale (1995). Descriptive statistics on each of these independent variables are below in Table 3.

Table 3: Descriptive Statistics for Independent Variables RQ1

		N	%	Cumulative %
School-Based Factors				
School	Isabel Ruano	167	80.29	80.29
	Humberto Ak'abal	41	19.71	100.00
Number Indigenous Teachers				
	1	117	57.64	57.64
	2	54	26.60	84.24
	3	11	5.42	89.66
	4	7	3.45	93.10
	5	1	0.49	93.60
	6+	13	6.41	100.00
Class Level & Section	1-j	30	14.42	14.42
	1-i	28	13.46	27.88
	2-a	33	15.87	43.75
	2-c	24	11.54	55.29
	3-b	23	11.06	66.35
	3-e	29	13.94	80.29
	1-d (Humb. A.)	41	19.71	100.00
Non-School-Based Factor				
Native Language	Spanish	194	97.00	97.00
	Other	6	3.00	100.00
Gender	Male	100	50.00	50.00
	Female	99	49.50	99.50
	Other	1	0.50	100.00
Age	11	1	0.49	0.49
	12	9	4.41	4.90
	13	71	34.80	39.71
	14	67	32.84	72.55
	15	50	24.51	97.06
	16	6	2.94	100.00
Ethnicity	Ladino	108	53.20	53.20
	Blanco	7	3.45	56.65
	Maya	9	4.43	61.08
	Indigenous	9	4.43	65.52
	Natural	25	12.32	77.83
	Mestizo	44	21.67	99.51
	Other	1	0.49	100.00

To test the second hypothesis, I also estimated linear multiple regression in the following form:

(H₂)
$$\hat{y} = \hat{\beta}_0 + \hat{\beta}_1 x_i$$

where $\hat{y}$ is again the predicted level of prejudice for a student, $\hat{\beta}_0$ is the regression coefficient representing a student's score on the Subtle and Blatant Prejudice Scale, and $\hat{\beta}_1 x_i$ is the coefficient estimating the impact of each independent variable on the student's Subtle and Blatant Prejudice Score. For the dependent variable, I again used mean score of the Subtle and Blatant Prejudice Scale. For the independent variables I used the results from Mendoza Casaús's (2006) questions about levels of contact and familiarity with indigenous people. I removed questions about living proximity to indigenous people due to many directly contradictory responses.

I collected data on several other independent variables but chose to remove them from analysis for a number of reasons. These variables included how many years respondents have been studying an L2 language, if they identify their Mayan language teacher as indigenous, and if they have seen their teacher wear traditional dress in the classroom. Between my collaborators and me, these seemed to be good survey questions before surveying students. However, once arriving in the classrooms, it because clear that these questions were not appropriate for the context for the following reasons. Based on bilingual education laws, I had expected that any study of an L2 language in Guatemala City would be a Mayan language, but later learned that a number of students were also in English classes and some students had a Mayan language as their first language. The reality of student experience presented confusing and inaccurate data as we were particularly interested in how many years students had been in Mayan language classrooms, not English or Spanish as a second language classrooms.

I removed independent variables generated from survey questions asking whether students identified their teacher as indigenous and if they had seen their teacher wear traditional indigenous dress in the classroom because my research question had to change once I arrived at the schools. Now that I was no longer exploring what differences may be present in Mayan language classes taught by an indigenous teacher compared to classes taught by a non-indigenous teacher the question about how students identify their teacher became irrelevant.

Previous versions of this survey instrument have been scrutinized for fit and reliability (Coenders et al., 2001), so I performed CFA and tested the Cronbach's Alphas of each component of my version of this survey to test fit and reliability for this specific sample, discussed in detail below. My examination of Rueda and Navas's (1996) Emotional Affect Scale using the same tests showed two the presence of two clear factors, produced two additional independent variables which I named "positive emotions" and "negative emotions." I then added these two new variables into the regression model along with the other independent variables mentioned above.

Findings

I present my findings below in four sections. First, I present descriptive statistics showing the kinds and levels of prejudice found among the students surveyed. Next, I examine the model fit and reliability using Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA). I then revisit both research questions and hypothesis before showing the results of each. Finally, I discuss the implications of the study's results.

Descriptive Statistics of Prejudice

The students surveyed showed high levels of prejudice overall, with the great majority of students falling into the "Subtle" category. Distributed on the subtle and blatant prejudice typology, 58.65% of respondents fit into the "Subtle" category, followed by 23.08% to be in the "Bigot" category, 9.13% in the "equalitarian category" and 19.13% error (see Figure 4 below). The typology is useful to show into which categories of prejudice students are sorted for the purposes of studying subtle prejudice and corresponding aversive racism (Dovidio and Gaertner 1986). That most respondents fit within the Subtle category is consistent with Mendoza Casaús's (2006) findings that among college students in Guatemala City prejudice is shifting from blatant prejudice to subtle prejudice. Beyond that, it indicates a striking result- that 170 or 81.73% of students surveyed fall into the subtle and bigot category. Pettigrew and Meertens (1995) and Meertens and Pettigrew (1997) propose a normal distribution of, Bigots, 37.7% Subtles, 20.0% Equalitarians, and Error of 3.8%. Yet, among the students I surveyed, overall prejudice appears to be much higher with the total percentage of the Subtle and Bigot category is much higher than Pettigrew and Meertens' findings of 57.5% fitting into the two categories. Notably, the percentage of students in this sample in the Bigot category is lower, but Subtles makes up a larger percentage than both Subtle and Bigots combined in Pettigrew and Meertens' samples. These findings corroborate Mendoza Casaús's (2006) conclusion that prejudice among Guatemalan university students is shifting to more subtle forms of prejudice, which is associated with aversive racism (Dovidio and Gaertner 1986).
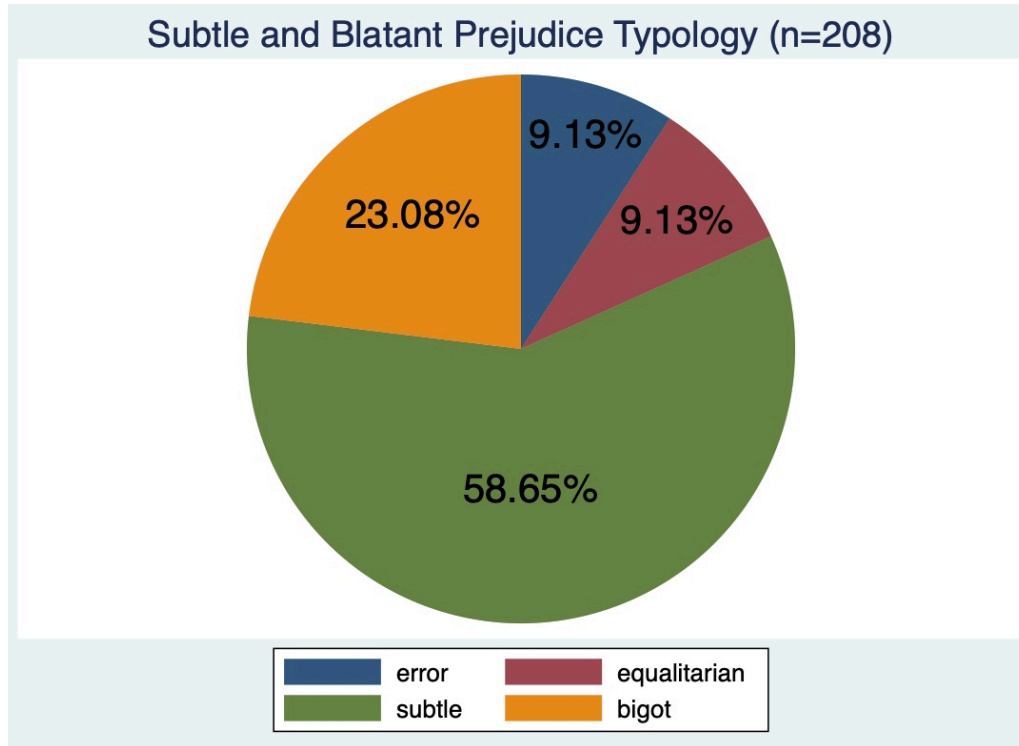
Figure 4: Distribution of Students Surveyed Based on Subtle and Blatant Prejudice Typology

Model Fit and Reliability

As mentioned above, a number of scholars raise important questions about the reliability and cross-cultural validity of Pettigrew and Meerten's (1995) Subtle and Blatant Prejudice Scale, despite being the most prominent psychometric tool of its kind. Coenders et al. (2001) find inconsistencies in the original 1995 version and Arancibia-Martini et al. (2016) argue that there are construct validity concerns with Cárdenas' (2010) study on prejudice in Chile. While other scholars find "adequate psychometric properties for the Subtle and Blatant Prejudice Scale," (Ungarette et al., 2018 p. 1) in Latin American applications, the version previously used in Guatemala by Mendoza Casaús (2006) appears not to have been tested for reliability.

In order to test for reliability, I assessed the internal consistency of the subtle and blatant prejudice scales by calculating the Cronbach's alpha coefficients for each. Ideally, the alpha coefficients should be at least 0.70 to confidently consider this measurement model to be reliable (Nunnally & Bernstein, 1994). Others find alphas of ≥ 0.60 to indicate questionable, but not poor reliability (George and Mallery, 2003). I found that the Threat and Rejection section of the Blatant Prejudice scale performed near questionably with an alpha of 0.57. The Rejection of Intimacy questions also in the Blatant Prejudice section performed slightly better with an alpha of 0.65 overall. The Subtle Prejudice questions made up of questions regarding Defense of Traditional Values, Cultural Differences, and Positive Emotions yielded test scale alphas of 0.50, 0.69, and 0.59 respectively. These values show that the survey as I gave it to the sample students is slightly less reliable than when used on the sample frames of Pettigrew and Meertens (1995). This lack of reliability makes sense given the models' relatively poor performance.

Table 4: Coefficients from Cronbach's Alpha Tests of Survey Sections

Survey Response Section	Alpha Coefficients	Survey Response Section	Alpha Coefficients
Subtle Prejudice Scale Section		**Blatant Prejudice Scale Section**	
Defense of Traditional Values	0.50	Threat and Rejection	0.57
Cultural Differences	0.69	Rejection of Intimacy	0.65
Positive Emotions	0.59	**Emotional Affect Scale**	0.70

I performed the same tests on Rueda and Navas's (1996) Emotional Affect Scale that Mendoza Casaús added in her 2006 version of the survey. The Cronbach's alpha for the Emotional Affect Scale was the best performing with a test scale value of 0.70, and no individual item with an alpha of less than 0.66. I followed this with factor analysis to find that two primary components emerged with Eigen values of 4.3 and 3.1, and a difference of 1.19 to component 3.

I then looked to see if the two primary components aligned with specific emotions on the Emotional Affect Scale to find that component one was made primarily of emotions generally considered negative and component two of non-overlapping emotions generally considered positive. I generated the variable for negative emotional association averaging the score for every variable with an Eigen vector of 0.2 or higher for component one, and that of positive association with every variable of an Eigen vector value of 0.2 or higher for component 2. The variables used for the 'negative emotions' variable are hate, fear, envy, discomfort, disgust, sorrow, distrust, pity, anger, shame, and guilt. Those used for the 'positive emotions' variable are attraction, sympathy, admiration, empathy, friendship, and love.

After generating these two new variables, I included them as independent variables in Model 3 to find that they were estimated to have a statistically significant relationship with the average score on the Subtle and Blatant Prejudice Scale and noticeably improve the R-squared value compared to the previous models.

Research Question One:

My first research question asked whether school-based factors or non-school based factors are associated with reduction in prejudice towards indigenous people. This research question leads to the first hypothesis, that considering the goals of the Bilingual Education Program, school-based factors will be associated with reduction of prejudice among students enrolled in *institutos básicos* implementing the Bilingual Education Program in Guatemala City. The hypothesis was unsupported as the data show that changes in kinds or levels of prejudice were not significant from one class level to the next, from one school to the other, nor relating to the number of indigenous teachers a student has had. The factors that were most strongly

associated with change in attitudes of prejudice are positive and negative emotional affect, both of which are not necessarily school-based, but are topics that can be developed in the classroom. Positive emotions towards indigenous people were associated with a reduction in prejudice while negative emotions were associated with an increase in prejudice. Additionally, some explicitly non-school-based factors were shown to be associated reduced prejudice, including identifying as female and not having Spanish as a first language. These findings are explored in detail below, followed by a discussion of the results.

Table 5 below shows the output for each model used. Model 1 includes the Subtle and Blatant Prejudice typology as the dependent variable. It shows no significant difference in the typology outcomes among first, second, or third year students, and performed poorly with an R-squared score of 0.03. Models 2 and 3 differ significantly from model 1 both in terms of dependent variable and outcomes. To examine the potential outcomes with more detail, I used the mean score rather than category of the subtle and blatant prejudice scale as the dependent variable in the second and third models. Changes in mean score do not represent such a meaningful shift of attitudes from one category of prejudice to another, but it does provide more precise results and improved performance as evidenced by an improved R-squared score. While first model showed no significant change in typology and accounted for 3% of variance with an R-squared of 0.03, the second model showed an R-squared of 0.11, accounting for 11% of variance. In model 2, the only two factors that show statistically significant relationships with the dependent variable are native language and gender. This model indicates that having a native language other than Spanish is associated with a reduction of 0.40 points on the 1-6 scale and being female is associated with a reduction of 0.24 points on the 1-6 scale. Both are significant at the 0.05 level.

Model 3 is the best performing in terms of R-squared value and statistical significance. It indicates an association of -0.37 points on the 1-6 point scale for those that report not having Spanish as a native language, and an association of -0.18 points for being female, both significant at the 0.05 level. This model includes two new variables that I created, positive and negative emotional affect. These variables emerged two prominent and distinct components of the Emotional Affect Scale that I discovered through confirmatory factor analysis. These new independent variables which appear to be responsible for the improved performance. Model 3 estimates that a negative emotional association with indigenous people contributes to an increase of 0.21 points on the 1-6 point scale and a negative emotional association with indigenous people is associated with a reduction of 0.17 points on the 1-6 point scale.

While these findings do not support Hypothesis 1, they give some indication about what may be affecting students' attitudes and how they may be affected. These findings do, however, illuminate levels and kinds of prejudice among the students surveyed, and represent an important step in piloting an instrument to measure the bilingual education program's success at improving inter-ethnic relationships. These findings also support important directions for further research and curriculum development, discussed in the sections below.

Table 5: OLS Models for Research Question One

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
	SBP Typology	SBP Mean Score	SBP Mean Score
School-based Factors:			
School- Humberto Ak'abal	0.221	0.00680	-0.108
	(0.213)	(0.156)	(0.138)
Number Indigenous Teachers	0.0214	0.0353	0.0329
	(0.0330)	(0.0353)	(0.0346)
Level & Section			
1-i	-0.284	-0.154	-0.182
	(0.241)	(0.199)	(0.180)
2-a	-0.190	-0.277	-0.167
	(0.260)	(0.184)	(0.170)
2-c	-0.0958	-0.127	-0.0373
	(0.314)	(0.212)	(0.198)
3-b	-0.0821	0.0309	0.0836
	(0.346)	(0.256)	(0.244)
3-e	-0.348	-0.0586	0.0384
	(0.353)	(0.239)	(0.226)
Non-School-Based Factors:			
Native Language:			
Not Spanish	-0.195	-0.403**	- 0.370**
	(0.445)	(0.153)	(0.141)
Gender:			
Female	-0.0475	-0.242**	-0.175**
	(0.137)	(0.0926)	(0.0883)
Age	-0.0120	0.0177	-0.0287
Ethnicity:			
Blanco	0.325	0.361	0.150
	(0.268)	(0.277)	(0.197)
Maya	-0.0210	-0.0677	-0.0652
	(0.343)	(0.272)	(0.250)
Indigenous	0.236	-0.251	-0.116
	(0.342)	(0.277)	(0.241)
Natural	0.150	0.119	0.112
	(0.184)	(0.138)	(0.124)
Mestizo	0.00416	-0.0791	-0.119
	(0.183)	(0.125)	(0.120)
Emotional Affect Factors			
Neg. Emo. Affect			0.206**
			(0.0605)
Pos. Emo. Affect			-0.171**
			(0.0400)
Constant	2.413	3.659**	4.522**
	(1.814)	(1.152)	(1.119)
N	178	178	176
R-sq	0.03	0.11	0.25

Standard errors in parentheses, *=p<0.10, **=p<0.05

Research Question Two:

My second research question asks whether increased intergroup contact with indigenous people may be associated with reduced prejudice. This question set up the hypothesis that intergroup contact with indigenous people would contribute to reductions in prejudice. This hypothesis was also not supported by the data. The first model shows that among respondents, none of the contact factors were had a significant impact on feelings of prejudice. Of the independent variables, feelings of indigenous being strange was the only factor with a significant relationship to levels of prejudice. It is associated with an increase in the Subtle and Blatant prejudice score of 0.192 on the scale of 1-6. The second model's estimations are very similar, but also includes the independent variables of positive and negative emotional affect associated with indigenous people. Once again, it shows that feelings of strangeness are associated with greater prejudice towards indigenous people, positive emotional affect is associated with reduced prejudice and negative emotional affect is associated with increase in prejudice towards indigenous people. Both models perform well with R-squared scored of 0.20 and 0.24, respectively. The lack of support for hypothesis 2 raises some important questions about Intergroup Contact Theory in this context. These findings are explored below in the discussion section.

Table 6: OLS Models for Research Question Two

	Model 1	Model 2
	SBP Mean Score	SBP Mean Score
Contact Category		
Familiarity with Indigenous People:		
Are strange to me	0.192**	0.157**
	(0.0398)	(0.0399)
I know someone a little bit	0.00707	0.0227
	(0.0336)	(0.0323)
I know someone well	-0.0210	-0.00909
	(0.0476)	(0.0496)
I know someone very well	0.00452	0.0124
	(0.0424)	(0.0426)
Type of Contact		
Have met	0.0229	0.0287
	(0.0377)	(0.0379)
Had conversation	-0.0610	-0.0519
	(0.0444)	(0.0480)
Played together	-0.0339	-0.0242
	(0.0328)	(0.0340)
Visited other's home	0.0288	0.0166
	(0.0282)	(0.0280)
Other visited your home	-0.0375	-0.0152
	(0.0316)	(0.0330)
Close contact	-0.0118	-0.00423
	(0.0346)	(0.0337)
Emotional Affect Factors		
Negative Emotional Affect		0.136**
		(0.0643)
Positive Emotional Affect		-0.135**
		(0.0484)
Constant	3.014**	3.027**
	(0.200)	(0.231)
N	189	188
R-sq	0.20	0.24

*Standard errors in parentheses, *= p<0.10, **=p<0.05*

Limitations

This study is limited by survey design, sampling methodology, and questions of cross-cultural applicability. These limitations are all in part due to limitations in time for field research. The questions I added to the beginning of the survey were based on my own research and what my collaborators believed would be useful to include. The true field conditions did not were not relevant for all the questions on the survey, such as identifying if your teacher is indigenous or

not, but the surveys were already printed, and I lacked time to modify them. This survey should be understood as a pilot version to be improved upon for future study.

I used stratified purposive sampling for this exploratory study even as it presents challenges for external validity. This approach was the best sampling methodology for several reasons. First, I trust that my collaborators' recommendations come from vital experience and practice that I lack. Second, I want to respect the agency of the school leaders and teachers. And finally, because they selected class sections that would be most likely to respond in our limited time frame, in this case the sections with more focused, engaged students. To increase the sample size, we selected two sections from each grade level from each school. This sampling method is not representative of all the students at either school, especially as it excludes students deemed to be "off-task" by the school staff. In doing so it introduces threats to external validity for lack of representativeness. However, it was the best option as my collaborators thought it unlikely that many students from the other sections would return their parental consent forms. Time prohibited expanding to a larger, more representative sample or tracking students from one year to the next.

As this sampling method increased the sample size over the two-class comparison I had intended, it also produced cross sectional-like data. While the sample is larger than originally intended, its size could be contributing to why the hypotheses were not supported. It may not have been sufficiently powered to pick up on the effects with a sample size of 176. The theoretical relationships supporting the hypotheses could emerge with a larger or more diverse sample size. A future study could improve by surveying more students and gathering true and representative cross-sectional data from more public *institutos básicos* in Guatemala City that are implementing this program. Since this program has not been implemented at all schools yet, gathering data from comparable *institutos básicos* without the program would allow for a control

group in order to make comparisons between schools that have implemented the Maya Wuj curriculum and those that have not.

Finally, there are limitations of cross-cultural applicability of this psychometric tool, as Arancibia-Martini et al. (2016) and Coenders et al. (2001) point out. The results of my version of the survey confirm that the survey questions as they exist appear to not be as reliable as when Pettigrew and Meertens (1995) employed it in Western Europe. The Cronbach's alpha values above indicate that it is not completely unreliable but that some sections are questionable. This presents limitations for use of the survey as is and also invites modification and further testing of the survey to more reliable results in the context of Guatemalan youth. Mendoza Casaús (2006) does not discuss the reliability or validity of this survey in her study, but that data would be useful to inform the present study.

These limitations, however, also suggests directions future research. They highlight what must be addressed in a more robust study that could lead to implementation of this survey as an assessment tool in the bilingual education program. Such a study would carry out a thorough cross-cultural validation process, gather cross-sectional data, and measure students over time to establish temporal order.

Discussion of Results

The need to adapt the survey strategy and research questions of this project once in the field also opened this project to explore new questions, despite the fact that neither hypothesis was supported. The original design would have provided more robust data on two different classrooms to explore how the presence on an indigenous teacher may be influencing student attitudes. However, this study design provided something closer to cross-sectional data which

allowed it to generate information more broadly relevant to the effects of the bilingual education program at public, urban *institutos básicos*. In doing so, the results of this pilot survey begin to fill in the lack of empirical data to measure the extent to which the program is meeting its goals of developing less prejudiced students.

In summary, the results of the first research question suggest that among the students surveyed, the most important factors related to a reduction in prejudice towards indigenous people are mostly not school-based factors. The findings that the school-based factors included in this study do not have a significant relationship with prejudice levels indicates that the aspect of the program intended to reduce discrimination through transforming prejudiced attitudes is not functioning as intended.

The lack of support for my hypothesis that school-based factors among these students would be associated with be associated with reduced prejudice presents valuable data for the program. With these data it is not possible to compare what student attitudes were before implementing the Maya Wuj curriculum and teachers, nor it is possible to analyze what other factors in the school might be contributing to the students' mentalities. To know that the program is not having its intended outcomes in this area, however, is important. It helps to identify the need for more and better evaluation of this program, including an exploration about why it is not effective for positively changing student mentalities. Comments by the director of May Wuj in the discussion on cross-cultural validity below indicate some factors to consider, including lack of sufficient class time.

The results of the second research question raise important, and somewhat troubling, questions as well. While Intergroup Contact Theory (Allport 1954) suggests that increased intergroup contact with indigenous people should be associated with reduced prejudice, these

findings do not support that hypothesis. One reason may be related to mediating factors. According to the theory mediating factors of equal status, cooperation among those present, shared goals, and support by a normative structure or social/institutional authority should be in place in order to reduce prejudice (Allport 1954). Without these mediating factors in place, intergroup contact may not have this desired effect. In fact, some studies have found that absent the mediating factors, prejudices may be confirmed or even increase in level (Pettigrew 2008). Intergroup contact in schools has the potential to present these mediating factors. However, the questions used in this survey ask about levels and kinds of contact, but do not specifically address the mediating factors. It was beyond the scope of this study to observe intergroup contact of participants, except for that of contact between the teacher and students. While a classroom may potentially present the requisite mediating factors, due to the short duration of my visit, I was not able to make in-depth enough observations to draw any conclusions about intergroup contact with the students and teacher.

The finding that feelings of indigenous people being strange was significantly related to increased prejudice is helpful for those designing bilingual education curriculum. While it is discouraging that students in bilingual education classrooms still had these sentiments with the effect of increasing prejudice, it also indicated that in addition to introducing a specific focus on developing positive emotional affect for indigenous people, bilingual education curriculum should also work to reduce feelings of strangeness towards indigenous people. Maya Wuj appears to be contributing towards positive emotional affect towards indigenous groups by employing teachers who are proudly Maya, wear traditional dress, and teach their language from a curriculum designed by other Maya people.

The ethnic self-identification of the students in these classrooms raises some interesting questions about ethnicity, contact, and prejudice. Considering that Maya, Indigenous, and Natural are all terms used for indigenous identity in Guatemala, the sum total of students identifying as indigenous of in the classrooms surveyed is 21.18%. This indicates that there is intergroup contact in the classroom and as such, one would assume that average levels of prejudice among these students might be lower. Table 7 below shows the distribution of students' ethnic identities in each style of prejudice. Of those in the "Subtle" category, 29 students or 24.2% identify as indigenous in some form. The "Bigot" category contains 9 students, making up 20% of the category, who identify as indigenous in some form. While the "Equalitarian" category only has two students identifying as indigenous, making up just 10.5%. One might predict that individuals would not display prejudice against their own ethnic group and that intergroup contact in the classroom would be associated with reduced prejudice, but this does not appear to be the case among these students.

Table 7: Distribution of Prejudice Types by Ethnicity

Ethnicity	Error	Equalitarian	Subtle	Bigot	Total
Ladino	13	9	61	25	108
Blanco	0	0	6	1	7
Maya	1	1	5	2	9
Indigenous	1	0	6	2	9
Natural	1	1	18	5	25
Mestizo	3	8	23	10	44
Other	0	0	1	0	1
Total	19	19	120	45	203

The presence of internalized racism among indigenous communities offers one potential explanation as to why identifying as indigenous is not associated with lower levels of prejudice. Stuart Hall defines internalized racism as "the 'subjection' of the victims of racism to the

mystification of the very racist ideology which imprison and define them" (1986, p. 26). Several scholars argue that the psychological effects of colonial oppression result in a "colonized mentality" which manifests in feelings of inferiority and desire to be like the colonizers (Fanon, 1963, 1967; Freire, 1970). In a recent study on indigenous peoples' relationship with racism, Ravindran (2020) demonstrates that "despite a process of indigenous revalorization, increasing sense of triumphalism among indigenous people and a reduction of practices of everyday racism, various forms of internalized racism persist" (p. 987). As such, internalized racism in Guatemala might contribute to indigenous people's feelings of shame towards their own indigenous identity. Consequently, indigenous individuals may seek to distance themselves from markers of their indigeneity, especially in more historically Ladino spaces like urban areas. Meaning, internalized racism may contribute to increased levels of prejudice towards indigenous people among indigenous youth themselves. This literature offers glimpses into why, in this study, identifying as indigenous was not associated with less prejudice. However, more research on this topic is needed to more conclusively explore internalized racism and its effects among urban, indigenous youth in Guatemala.

These data suggest that blatant prejudice is continuing to shift to more subtle forms. Thus, this study corroborates Mendoza Casaús's study (2006) that found blatant prejudice, associated with manifest racism, was less common than subtle prejudice, associated with aversive racism. Both studies' quantitative data substantiate Charles Hale's ethnographic data (2006). Hale identifies that historically Ladino people have held outwardly racist opinions towards Maya people. However, he found that most Ladino people today claim to support equal rights for Mayas, want to eliminate racism, and respect indigenous culture. But, this same group experienced anxiety at the thought Maya ascendency and in the presence of Maya people. What

Dovidio and Gaertner (1986) call aversive racism, Hale calls racial ambivalence. Both concepts explain how a hegemonic group advocate for the rights of a subaltern group but refuse to support change that may threaten their privilege and dominance.

Cross-cultural Validity

Examining cross-cultural validity is an involved process including not only measuring construct validity, internal reliability testing, and criterion validity, but also reviewing the fit of the theoretical framework by a panel of experts, and cognitive lab interviews to asses content validity (Cravens 2008). Such an investigation presents important windows for future research but is beyond the scope of this study. In lieu of carrying out the full panel of cross-cultural validity tests, I examined the construct validity and internal reliability by testing Cronbach's alphas of the survey sections and performing confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) and shared my results with a single expert on bilingual education in Guatemala.

After performing the statistical tests explained above, I wrote a summary of the study and its findings, including the reliability tests, to my collaborator Raxche' Demetrio Rodríguez Guaján. He has been active in pan-Maya movement organizing and Mayan language curriculum design and implementation for several decades in Guatemala. While one person is neither a panel of experts nor a cognitive interview lab scenario, some feedback is better than none and is appropriate given the exploratory nature of this pilot survey.

As an expert and practitioner in the Guatemalan Bilingual Education program, Mr. Rodríguez is well-suited to comment on the content and framework of the study. He supported the premise of the study and agreed that the findings are useful to "improve the strategy of educators and the laws that norm bilingual education" (personal communication, Jan. 2020). In

response to one of my questions about time in class inhibiting student learning outcomes, he pointed to a new law that was passed in 2018, *Acuerdo Ministerial 3833-2018*. During the time of the study, each school was required to give three weekly sessions of Bilingual and Multicultural Education as per the Base National Curriculum (CNB). While Humberto Ak'abal was compliant, Isabel Ruano was not. As such, the new Accord 3822-2018 requires *five* weekly periods of Bilingual and Multicultural Education in each level of *básico*. Mr. Rodríguez pointed out that the new law is not being followed for various reasons that could be new directions for research including lack of value for Mayan culture, lack of nationalism, unawareness of how Mayan culture affects the country's economy, and racism. This expert feedback, while not methodologically rigorous, does offer support for the study and some directions for future research.

Implications for Monitoring and Evaluation in the Bilingual Education Program

According to Scheerens et al. (2003) evaluation in educational systems is important "to formally regulate desired levels of quality of educational outcomes and provisions, to hold educational service providers accountable, and to support ongoing improvement in education" (p. 4). While programs may indeed function without evaluation, it creates space for the "black box" nature of classrooms to persist. The lack of carefully designed assessment tools leaves the successes and effects of program unknowable and may hinder students' learning. In the case of Guatemala, the government officially agreed to reduce discrimination against indigenous people and started programs in pursuit of that goal, such as the bilingual education program. However, due to the lack of suitable evaluation tools for the program, the realization of these goals remains unclear. The lack of support for both hypotheses in this study suggest that the bilingual education

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program might not be succeeding in transforming prejudiced attitudes students. These findings

further suggest that state entities may be using educational policies to demonstrate their support

of anti-discriminatory measures, while in reality allowing prejudice to persist. In this way, the

program itself becomes a vessel through which the state demonstrates its commitment to

indigenous communities, while at the same time failing to enact meaningful change.

This project supports the improvement of Guatemala's bilingual education program by

illuminating the mentalities and attitudes that still persist in classrooms today. Specifically, this

project produced empirical data about the program's impact on students' attitudes and proposed

an assessment tool for potential future use. I do not see this study as an opportunity for the

Ministry of Education to attempt to regulate the levels of quality in Maya Wuj's programming.

Rather, I see this as an opportunity for Maya Wuj to advocate for more government

accountability and support. At first look it may appear that these findings demonstrate a failure

of Maya Wuj's teaching and curriculum. However, these findings are better understood as

demonstrating the need for greater support of Maya Wuj's work. Maxwell's article on the state

of the bilingual education program in 2009 reveals a lack of trained teachers, culturally

inappropriate and orthographically incorrect curriculum, and very few schools implementing the

program. At the time of Maxwell's article, Maya Wuj was in the first years of its work which

seeks to improve Mayan language and culture education in these dimensions.

Maya Wuj grew out of the expansion of bilingual education afforded by Accord 22-2004.

The organization has worked with each government administration since then and is now able to

implement its curriculum and place teachers into schools. In contrast to previous modalities of

the bilingual education program, Maya Wuj selects native speaking teachers and offers them

weekly professional development. Their curriculum is culturally and linguistically appropriate

and they are increasing program implementation. In meetings with members from the Ministry of Education, Maya Wuj draws attention to the legal requirement to provide Mayan language classes and advocates for the placement of Maya teachers in schools. Their organizing has been successful to the extent that DIGEBI (Dirección General de Educación Bilingüe-Pluricultural) now offers workshops on Maya Wuj's materials. Despite this important work, not all schools prioritize the Mayan language courses. For example, one Maya Wuj representative told me that the *Instituto Básico Isabel Ruano*, focuses on science, math, and Spanish while the Kaqchikel language and culture courses are seen as supplemental and less important than other subjects (personal communication, 2018). This mentality is evident in the infrequency that students received classes, two periods of 35 minutes, every 15 days. As Mr. Rodríguez pointed out in his response to this study, this is less than half the legally required amount of weekly class time. An important future study would more directly measure school-based factors in the bilingual education program, including the ways in which each institution supported the programming or not, time spent in class, and class size.

CHAPTER FOUR

Conclusions

The bilingual education program as it stands represents the hard-fought victories of pan-Maya activists. The program, which requires that all students in Guatemala receive education in two national languages (Accord 22-2004), presents one of the best opportunities "to overcome the historic discrimination towards the indigenous peoples" through "the transformation of mentalities, attitudes, and behavior of all citizens," (MINUGUA, 1996, p. 194). Through collaboration with Maya Wuj, this thesis contributes to the work of advancing evaluation of bilingual education in Guatemala. Specifically, this study piloted a student assessment tool that measured the extent to which students in Mayan language and culture classrooms may, or may not be, changing their attitudes of prejudice towards indigenous people. The assessment tool draws on Pettigrew and Meertens's (1995) Subtle and Blatant Prejudice Scale and Rueda and Navas's (1996) Emotional Affect Scale to measure what factors may be associated with higher or lower levels of prejudices among bilingual education students at two schools in Guatemala City. The central research questions were developed from the urgent need to assess the relationship between schooling experience and prejudice; including whether increased contact with indigenous people contributes to a reduction in prejudice. As such, this exploratory study offers a way to measure and evaluate the bilingual education program's success at developing the minds and attitudes of students as intended.

The findings of this study demonstrate that levels of student prejudice remain very high, with the highest percentage of students exhibiting mentalities associated with subtle prejudice. These results are consistent with studies conducted around 15 years ago (Hale, 2006; Mendoza Casaús 2006). Yet, Maya Wuj continues to offer more and higher-quality Mayan language

classes. Taken together, these realities suggest that Mayan language instruction continues to struggle in environments that do not fully support its work. As such, this study calls for holding state entities and schools accountable to provide adequate support and evaluation of their educational programs.

In terms of using this evaluation to support ongoing improvement, this study provides some suggestive data to Maya Wuj. The significant associations of lower levels of prejudice with positive emotional affect, and higher levels of prejudice with negative emotional affect and feelings of strangeness towards indigenous people could be considered in future design of curriculum and pedagogy. Meaning, maintaining or increasing an explicit focus on development of positive affect towards indigenous people and reducing negative feelings, including strangeness, could more effectively change students' minds. This focus would be effectively directed at both indigenous and non-indigenous students, considering the negative effects of internalized racism. While these data are not directional, they are consistent with other research. Pittinsky et al. (2011) found similar relationships between prejudice and positive emotions. They call for actively developing positive sentiments among students, while also creating a new, more robust psychometric instrument to measure positive emotional affect, rather than prejudice. Pittinsky et al. (2011) refer to this positive sentiment tool as the Allophilia Scale. The scale assesses the extent to which respondents feel positively drawn towards the target outgroup. A future study could explore the applicability of using Pittinsky et al.'s (2011) Allophilia Scale to assess the bilingual education program.

Classrooms focused on Mayan language and culture present a context of intergroup contact, both between students and between students and teachers. However, the intergroup contact which the students in this study experienced was not estimated to have significantly

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impacted their levels of prejudice. More data would be necessary to suggest why this was the case and whether contact at school or contact outside school was more influential. Even still, as the theoretical support for the positive effects of intergroup contact is strong, Maya Wuj could consider focusing more directly on cultivating the right mediating factors in its classes – equal status among students, a normative structure everyone adheres to, and shared goals among the group, to name a few. These steps would encourage the right kind of contact in the classroom and would create settings conducive to the reduction of prejudice. Additionally, teachers could help reinforce positive sentiments towards indigenous identity among indigenous-identifying youth themselves to help reduce the negative effects of internalized racism.

Since the time of my field research one of the schools studied has made a slight change in its programming. As of this current year, the Isabel Ruano school has moved to teaching one period of Mayan language and culture per week, instead of two every other week. While still falling short of the required five weekly periods (Acuerdo Ministerial 3833-2018), one weekly class does offer more continuity for the students. This study calls for more data and improved evaluation of the bilingual education program to provide accountability with the Ministry of Education, help to regulate the program's outcomes, and improve overall quality. These steps are crucial to future educational possibilities in Guatemala. Hopefully, taking these measures will contribute to more teachers wearing *traje tipico*, more students learning Mayan languages and culture, and more effective reduction of prejudice towards indigenous people in Guatemala.

Survey Used for Research

Study title: Prejudice and Intergroup Contact in Bilingual Education Classrooms of Guatemala
Institutions: Vanderbilt University and (school name here)
Date:
Name of Teacher:
Survey Questions: Adapted from Alejandra Hurtado de Mendoza Casaús' (2006) incorporating Pettigrew and Meertens (1995) survey of subtle and manifest prejudice and Rueda and Navas (1995) Emotional Affect Scale.
Answer the following questions to the best of your ability. If you have any questions or doubts, please ask the proctor of the study. You may stop participation in the study at any time without consequences to you or your academic success.

Part I: Basic Questions:
1.1 Questions about Identity:
What is your ethnicity? (Choose one):
- Ladino
- Blanco
- Maya
- Indígena
- Natural
- Mestizo
- Otro: _____

What is your gender?:
- Male
- Female
- Other: _____

Age: _____
First Language: _____
Language you are currently learning: _____

1.2 Bilingual, Multicultural and Intercultural Education	
What is your current grade of study?	
How many years have you been studying a second national language?	
How many languages have you studied at the L2 level?	

Would you identify your teacher as: Ladino/a, Maya, Indígena, other:_____? (Choose one)	
How many of your teachers have been indigenous?	
How many of your teachers have been Ladino, criollo, or mestizo? How many of each category?	
Have you seen your teacher wearing typical dress?	

Part II: Scale of Prejudice

Choose 1-6 in the Likert scale: 1 = completely in disagreement, 2 = in disagreement, 3 = somewhat in disagreement, 4 = somewhat in agreement, 5 = in agreement 6= very much in agreement

Mark your answer with an "x" below the number that corresponds with your feelings. Choose one number for each question.

2.1 Threat or rejection:	1	2	3	4	5	6
Indigenous people have occupational positions that they don't know how to utilize.						
The majority of indigenous people that receive social help could do with them if they wanted.						
Ladinos and indigenous people can never really be at ease with one another, even if they are friends.						
Lately, Guatemalan politicians have been too worried with indigenous people and not concerned enough about the Ladino citizens.						
Indigenous people come from an inferior intellectual race; this explains why they live in a worse situation than the rest of the Guatemalans.						
One cannot trust in the honesty of indigenous people.						

2.2 Rejection of intimacy:	1	2	3	4	5	6
It wouldn't matter to me if one of my close family members married an indigenous person.						
Suppose one of your closest family members had children with an indigenous person. How would						

you feel if the child of your family member had physical characteristics of the indigenous person?						
Would you be open to having an indigenous person as a close friend?						
It wouldn't matter to me if an indigenous person, who is competent in their work, were a teacher of mine for a class other than Maya language and culture.						

Part III: Defense of Traditional Values, Cultural Differences, and Emotions

Choose 1-6 in the Likert scale: 1 = completely in disagreement, 2 = in disagreement, 3 = somewhat in disagreement, 4 = somewhat in agreement, 5 = in agreement 6= very much in agreement

Mark your answer with an "x" below the number that corresponds with your feelings. Choose one number for each question.

3.1 Defense of Traditional Values	1	2	3	4	5	6
There are other groups in Guatemala that overcome prejudice and get ahead by their own efforts. Indigenous people should do the same without having to be given extra favors.						
Regarding indigenous people's efforts- if they wanted to put in a little more effort they could be at least as well as other non-indigenous Guatemalans.						
Indigenous people teach their children values and skills that are not adequate to succeed in this society.						
The inconvenient thing about indigenous people is in certain places (public spaces for example) they do not know how to respect established social norms.						

3.2 Cultural Differences	1	2	3	4	5	6
I think that indigenous people are very different from non-indigenous people in their social practices.						

From what I know, indigenous people are very different from the rest of the Guatemalan citizens in the values they teach their children.						
I think that indigenous people very different from non-indigenous people in their language and way of communication.						
Indigenous people are very different from non-indigenous people in their practices of hygiene and need for cleaning.						

Choose 1-6 in the Likert scale: 1 = completely in disagreement, 2 = in disagreement, 3 = somewhat in disagreement, 4 = somewhat in agreement, 5 = in agreement 6= very much in agreement
Mark your answer with an "x" below the number that corresponds with your feelings.
Choose one number for each question.

3.3 Emotions	1	2	3	4	5	6
How frequently have you felt admiration for indigenous people?						
How frequently have you felt understanding for the situation in which indigenous people find themselves in?						

Part IV: How frequently have you felt the following emotions towards indigenous people?

Choose 1-6 in the Likert scale: 1 = never, 2 = very infrequently, 3 = with a little frequency, 4 = somewhat frequently 5 = frequently 6= very frequently
Mark your answer with an "x" below the number that corresponds with your feelings.
Choose one number for each question.

4.1 How frequently have you felt the following emotions towards indigenous people?	1	2	3	4	5	6
Hate						
Attraction						
Hostility						
Fear						
Envy						
Sympathy						
Discomfort						

Disgust						
Sorrow						
Admiration						
Empathy						
Friendship						
Love						
Distrust						
Pity						
Anger						
Shame						
Fault						

Part V: Contact

Choose 1-6 in the Likert scale: 1 = never, 2 = very infrequently, 3 = with a little frequency, 4 = somewhat frequently 5 = frequently 6= very frequently
Mark your answer with an "x" below the number that corresponds with your feelings. Choose one number for each question.

5.1 Type of Contact	1	2	3	4	5	6
Have you met an indigenous person?						
Have you maintained a conversation with an indigenous person?						
Have you done an activity such as a sport or hobby with an indigenous person?						
Have you visited the hosue of an indigenous person?						
Have you received an indigenous person as a visitor in your house?						
Have you had close contact such as holding hands or hugging with an indigenous person?						

Choose 1-6 in the Likert scale: 1 = completely in disagreement, 2 = in disagreement, 3 = somewhat in disagreement, 4 = somewhat in agreement, 5 = in agreement 6= very much in agreement
Mark your answer with an "x" below the number that corresponds with your feelings. Choose one number for each question.

5.2 Familiarity: For me, Indigenous people:	1	2	3	4	5	6
Are strange to me						

I know one or more indigenous person						
I know one or more indigenous person reasonably well						
I know one or more indigenous person very well						

For the following questions, answer "yes" or "no."
Mark your answer with an "x" below the number that corresponds with your feelings.
Choose one number for each question.

5.3 Proximity of housing- where I live, indigenous people:	**Yes**	**No**
Are direct neighbors (live next to me on the same floor, above or below me)		
Are neighbors in a house behind or across the street from me		
Live on the same street		
Live in the same neighborhood		
There are no indigenous people living in my neighborhood		

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