

**Master thesis**

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**Social justice of the Maya people in the Guatemalan education system**

## **Abstract**

During the Guatemalan Civil War, which lasted from 1960 to 1996, the indigenous Maya people of Guatemala have suffered immensely. Namely, 170.000 Mayas were killed and thousands have had to flee to Mexico. In 1996, the Peace Accords were signed and promises were made for social justice of the Maya people in the education system, which had excluded them for centuries. At the same time, the World Bank started sponsoring a programme of heavily decentralized schools in Guatemala, called PRONADE schools, where local communities could easily open and manage primary schools through funding of the Ministry of Education. This thesis seeks to test to what extent social justice of the Maya people has been realized in these PRONADE schools compared to traditional public schools. Thereby, the approach of the World Bank in schooling will be evaluated, using Fraser's three-dimensional model of social justice as an indicator of success. Fraser's dimensions of social justice consist of economic justice, cultural justice and political justice, which have frequently been applied to the education system. Fieldwork in Guatemala was carried out in March-April 2017, combining source analysis with in-depth semi-structured interviews. The results of this research show that, although the goals of the World Bank of equal access to quality education and the provision of bilingual education might have been partially realized, social justice still has a long way to go in the Guatemalan education system. Realization of economic justice in the PRONADE schools remains ambivalent, however, the PRONADE schools did score slightly better on cultural and political justice compared to traditional public schools, although by far not satisfactorily.

## **Resumen**

*Durante la Guerra Civil de Guatemala, que duró desde 1960 hasta 1996, el pueblo indígena maya de Guatemala ha sufrido inmensamente. Es decir, 170.000 Mayas fueron asesinados y miles tuvieron que huir a México. En 1996 se firmaron los Acuerdos de Paz y se hicieron promesas de justicia social para los mayas en el sistema educativo, que los había excluido durante siglos. Al mismo tiempo, el Banco Mundial comenzó a patrocinar un programa de escuelas altamente descentralizadas en Guatemala, llamadas escuelas PRONADE, donde las comunidades locales podrían fácilmente abrir y administrar escuelas primarias, mediante financiaciones del Ministerio de Educación. El propósito de esta tesis es comprobar hasta qué punto la justicia social de los mayas se ha alcanzado en estas escuelas PRONADE en*

*comparación con las escuelas públicas tradicionales. De esta manera, se evaluará el enfoque del Banco Mundial en la escolarización, utilizando el modelo tridimensional de justicia social de Fraser como indicador del éxito. Las dimensiones de justicia social de Fraser consisten en la justicia económica, la justicia cultural y la justicia política, que se han aplicado con frecuencia al sistema educativo. El trabajo de campo en Guatemala se llevó a cabo desde marzo hasta abril del 2017, combinando análisis de diferentes fuentes con entrevistas semiestructuradas en profundidad. Los resultados de esta investigación demuestran que, a pesar de que los objetivos del Banco Mundial, de igualdad de acceso a una educación de calidad y la provisión de educación bilingüe podrían haberse realizado parcialmente, la justicia social aún tiene un largo camino por recorrer en el sistema educativo guatemalteco. La realización de la justicia económica en las escuelas PRONADE sigue siendo ambivalente, sin embargo, las escuelas PRONADE obtuvieron un puntaje ligeramente superior en la justicia cultural y política en comparación con las escuelas públicas tradicionales, aunque con mucha insatisfacción.*

## **Introduction**

Generations after generations the indigenous Maya people of Guatemala have been discriminated against. During the Guatemalan Civil War, which lasted from 1960 to 1996, up to 170.000 Mayas were killed and thousands have had to flee the country to Mexico (CEH, 1999). In 1996, the civil war ended and Peace Accords(PAs) were signed. One of the goals of these accords was to strive for social justice in the Guatemalan education system to address the issue of discrimination against the Maya people, which still constitute around half of the population (Poppema, 2009). The PAs promised “the expansion of educational opportunities and the overall inclusion of the Maya culture and language in the curriculum” (Poppema, 2009). For decades, the Maya people had been excluded from the education system in Guatemala and with the signing of the PAs an important step was made for the integration of the indigenous people of Guatemala as equals in the Guatemalan education system and in society.

However, the Guatemalan government has not been the only influential actor regarding the realization of the promises of the PAs and the realization of social justice of the Maya people in the Guatemalan education system. Due to a global synchronization of education policy, national governments no longer have distinct education policies like they used to have (Robertson et al., 2007). International governmental organizations (IOs) have become to play an important role in the creation of education policies in developing countries, following their own education agenda and ideology. Accordingly, Guatemala has been affected by the international education agenda, which has affected the presence of social justice in the Guatemalan education system.

In Guatemala, the World Bank has been a highly influential actor through promotion and sponsoring of PRONADE (*Programa Nacional de Autogestión para el Desarrollo Educativo*) schools: heavily decentralized schools organized by communities (World Bank, 2005). According to Di Gropello (2006), these schools were “one of the most proactive managerial, administrative, and financially decentralized activities undertaken in Latin America”. The first PRONADE schools originated in 1992, aiming to make pre-primary and primary education more accessible to rural and isolated areas in Guatemala, especially inhabited by the indigenous Maya people (World Bank, 2009). Teachers of the PRONADE schools were excluded from teachers’ unions and were not paid directly by the government, but by the local

communities which received money from the Guatemalan Ministry of Education. While overall literacy and school participation in Guatemala have increased significantly because of the PRONADE schools, teachers' unions have criticized the schools for the underpayment of its teachers and the quality of its education (Ganimian, 2016). This led to the eventual abolishment of the PRONADE programme in 2008, although the transition of PRONADE schools into regular public schools has not been completed and schools run by local communities have continued to exist over time (World Bank, 2016). Obviously, the PRONADE schools have made education more accessible for the indigenous people of Guatemala, but to what extent social justice of the Maya people has been achieved in these schools compared to traditional public schools remains disputable.

Accordingly, the following research question will be answered in this paper: *how does the Guatemalan education system reflect social justice of the indigenous people of Guatemala and how has this been affected by the education agenda of the World Bank?* In order to answer this research question, the approach of the World Bank in schooling in Guatemala will be evaluated taking social justice as an indicator of success. The accomplishments of the PRONADE schools funded by the World Bank will be compared to the accomplishments of traditional public primary schools in Guatemala on the basis of social justice of the Maya people. The education policy of the World Bank will be judged through a different approach to education policy, namely through a three-dimensional model of social justice as constructed by Fraser (2008), consisting of economic justice, cultural justice and political justice, and applying this model to the education system.

Above all, insights on how decentralized schools, as promoted and sponsored by the World Bank, affect the presence of social justice will be relevant information for education policy makers of IOs as well as of national governments. The results of this evaluation will be useful for reflection on the global education policy of the World Bank, followed as well by other IOs, providing insights into how minority groups can be integrated into the education system. Contrary to global education policy, the social justice approach stresses the importance of context in education policy, supplementing the approach of the World Bank and providing useful information on how to take contextual and cultural factors into account in order to achieve quality education for all. Furthermore, successful implication of gained insights on the

achievement of social justice in education systems would also lead to a society that reflects social justice more strongly, as education systems shape social, political and economic factors in society (Robertson et al., 2007). Shaping social justice would be especially fruitful in post-conflict areas, as education is considered to be an important contributor to reconciliation under these circumstances (Shah & Lopes Cardozo, 2014).

In order to answer the research question, this paper is divided into four parts. Firstly, a theoretical background will be provided, discussing the global education agenda of the World Bank, the concept of social justice and its application to education policy. Secondly, the research method of this thesis will be described, consisting of source analysis and semi-structured interviews. Thirdly, the results of the research will be described in the analysis along Fraser's dimensions of social justice. Finally, a reflection on the results will be provided on the basis of the theoretical background, answering the research question, and offering implications and recommendations.

## **Theory**

In order to understand how social justice is reflected in the Guatemalan education system, firstly, the global education policy and the ideology of the World Bank will be described. Furthermore, the influence of the education policy of the World Bank on the Guatemalan education system, the goals of the World Bank regarding the PRONADE programme and critique on the approach of the World Bank to schooling will be discussed. Secondly, the concept of social justice will be examined and explained, using the three-dimensional model of Fraser (2008), since her model has often been applied to education policy. Finally, applications of the three-dimensional model of Fraser to the education system will be investigated, focusing on overcoming economic, cultural and political injustice of minority groups, giving special attention to indigenous people. This final investigation will lead to various indicators of social justice within the education system.

### *Global education policy*

The process of globalization has had an important influence on education policy worldwide (Verger, Novelli & Altinyelken, 2012). Nations no longer have distinct education policies, but because of the interconnectedness of the modern world, policies are distributing more rapidly around the world, resulting in a synchronization

of education policy. Education policies undergo similar reforms and a common education jargon has originated. This global education policy does not take social and cultural diversity of nations into account, which remain clearly present worldwide. Globalization fosters the role of IOs in the making of global education policy, such as the World Bank, UNESCO and OECD, resulting in the loss of centrality of nations in the education policy process.

Specifically, the World Bank has extended influence on education policy of low-income countries, partly through its Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) since the 1980s (Robertson et al., 2007). These SAPs contain loans to nations with economic problems in exchange for far-reaching modifications of economic policy, having its implications for education policy as well. The ideology of the World Bank since the 1980s can be characterized as neoliberal, which is the dominant political-economic ideology in the world (Ball, 1998). Neoliberal reforms are characterized by measures of privatization, deregulation and other forms of limitation of government intervention. Consequently, education policy of the World Bank has advocated a limited role of the government, privatization of schools, and a process of decentralization (Robertson et al., 2007). Furthermore, Rates-of-Return analysis has been used as a tool of analysis to measure the success of education policy, justified by human capital theory which assumes that investment in education is a key promoter of economic growth. Neoliberal ideology has limited the social role of education, which was more emphasized before the 1980s, and, contrary, has advocated the economic role of education.

In Guatemala, the influence of the World Bank on its education system can be seen most clearly by measures of decentralization, as the World Bank has sponsored PRONADE schools, which are heavily decentralized and organized by local communities. The goal of the PRONADE schools was to make pre-primary and primary education more accessible to rural and isolated areas in Guatemala, especially inhabited by the indigenous Maya people (World Bank, 2009). Furthermore, an objective was to “improve efficiency and quality through the support of bilingual education and multigrade teaching methods” (World Bank, 2004).

The approach of the World Bank and its measures of decentralization in Guatemala and in other countries have been criticized on various points. While inclusion of the

Maya people was argued to be central in the process of decentralization of the Guatemalan education system by providing the indigenous people with a voice and a higher level of participation, according to Shah & Lopes Cardozo (2014), tokenistic or restrictive participation could lead to intolerance and distrust between the indigenous population, other citizens and the state. Consequently, this could lead to cleavages and rising inequality within the national education system, especially in post-conflict areas. Also, the 2008 Global Monitoring Report (GMR) noted that decentralisation of the education system often enlarges education inequality as well as the achievements between students with a low socio-economic status and a high socio-economic status. Finally, the World Bank has been criticized for a too narrow focus on the second Millennium Development Goal (MDG) of achieving universal enrollment in primary education, neglecting enrollment in secondary and post-secondary education as well as achievement levels in primary education (Tikly & Barrett, 2011).

### *Social justice*

Social justice has historically been regarded as justice relating to economic conditions, such as socio-economic equality, exploitation and poverty of certain social groups (Fraser, 1995). However, since the fall of the iron curtain and the collapse of communism, identity politics have become central to the debate around social justice, focusing on themes such as cultural imperialism and 'misrecognition' of cultural groups and their ways of thinking and living. Fraser (1995) argued that social justice consists of both dimensions – the socio-economic dimension of social justice and the cultural dimension. Redistribution would be the solution for socio-economic inequality and recognition would be the solution for cultural injustices. In order to achieve social justice, both economic and cultural justice must be achieved. While both dimensions are distinguished in this conceptualization of social justice, Fraser (1995) noted that political economy and culture are imbricated with one another in reality.

Olson (2008) criticized the two-dimensional model for leaving out a political dimension of social justice. A political dimension would be analytically distinct from the socio-economic and cultural dimensions, so it would be possible to have a situation where socio-economic and cultural justice is achieved, but where political justice lacks. Political justice is about the parity of representation of social groups



amongst the people with the power to shape conditions for social justice in society. While Fraser (2008) originally categorized representation of social groups under the cultural dimension of social justice, in response to this critique, she added the political dimension to her model, making it a three-dimensional model. The political dimension of social justice is described by Fraser (2008) as a *sine qua non* for the other economic and cultural dimensions: without representation of the voice of minority groups there can be no social justice for them.

Fraser (2001) noted that issues of political justice require an adequate frame on the subnational, national or transnational level and called issues targeted with a frame on the wrong level problems of misframing. For example, certain issues of economic maldistribution (economic injustice) cannot be solved on the national level, but would need to be solved on the transnational level, e.g. within the neoliberal global economy. On the other hand, certain issues of misrecognition of minority groups require a more local and contextual approach and, in that case, international human rights organizations would be too global to deal with local issues of cultural injustice.

Finally, Fraser (2008) noted that a strong focus on the cultural dimension in the strive for social justice could cause problems of reification of cultural minority groups. By overemphasizing the cultural dimension of social justice, the economic dimension would be neglected and highly necessary material redistributions would be overlooked. Moreover, overemphasizing the cultural dimension of social justice could create tensions in society and create a single and simplified identity of social groups, instead of overcoming cultural domination. This could lead to separatism, intolerance and group cleavages rather than social justice realized in the form of society where people interact with each other as peers. In order to overcome these problems of reification, Fraser (2008) proposed to strive for social justice that maintains a balance between the economic and the cultural dimensions of social justice. Furthermore, she proposed to treat the matter of recognition of social groups as a question of social status, where cultural domination has to be overcome. Recognition requires that individual group members have the same status in social interaction, it does not require a specific group identity.

#### *Fraser's model of social justice applied to education policy*

Fraser's model of social justice applied to education policy goes beyond the

frameworks provided by human capital theory and the human rights approach. According to Tikly & Barrett (2011), a social justice approach on education policy is a promising point of departure to reconceptualize the meaning of education policy, because the social justice approach, stresses the importance of context in education policy. It assumes that not all students are equal and require a contextual approach according to their unique circumstances and backgrounds, such as attention to bilingual education for indigenous students. Namely, the social justice approach to education policy assumes that inequality in the education sector is characterized by an interaction of various determinants of inequality, such as race, gender, mother tongue and socio-economic status that require a more contextualized understanding. This approach contrasts sharply with a 'one-size-fits-all' approach, especially stressed by human capital theory (Robertson et al., 2007).

Numerous authors have applied Fraser's model of social justice to education policy (e.g., Balwanz, Moore & DeStefano, 2006; Halai & Durrani, 2016; Keddie, 2012; Tikly & Barrett, 2011). For example, Keddie (2012) analyzed the applicability of Fraser's three-dimensional model of social justice to education policy, giving special attention to how education policy could reflect social justice of indigenous groups. Taking a different angle, Tikly & Barrett (2011) combined lessons learned from human capital theory with other education approaches and integrated them into Fraser's three-dimensional model of social justice. These combined applications of Fraser's model to education policy supply useful information about the indicators of social justice within the education system.

#### *Indicators of social justice within the education system*

According to Keddie (2012), economic injustice in the education system is reflected as the inequality of distribution of material benefits by schools on one side, and the unequal position of students' capacity to make use out of these benefits on the other side. Marginalized students seem to have more problems on the achievement of standardized tests due to their underprivileged position. Social justice theory assumes that there is a link between poverty, poor schooling performance and early school desertion, which leads to further economic marginalization in the future.

Redistribution of this economic injustice has been realized primarily through extra funding and resources to students with a low socio-economic status. Other measures of redistribution of material and human resources include: specialized counseling and

therapy services, parenting education, family services, housing assistance, transportation assistance and childcare services.

Adding to the dimension of economic justice applied to the education system, Tikly & Barrett (2011) noted that pre-school interventions are especially successful for students with a low socio-economic status. Also, provision of breakfast or other nutrition programmes and school feeding seem to help students with a low socio-economic status in their performance at school. Furthermore, textbooks and other learning and pedagogical materials can boost student performance, but need to be adequate to the context of the student as well as to the student's language and cognitive level, and the use of the materials needs to be explained. ICT can help student learning as well, but would need to be integrated into practice in schools and national education policy. Finally, in order for every student to perceive quality education, every school would need to have not just a fair distribution of material resources, but also of quality teachers, because they appear to have significant influence on student performance. Especially schools in remote rural communities are disadvantaged by unequal distribution of quality teachers, because of poor working environments and travel costs (Halai & Durrani, 2016). In order to realize an equal distribution of quality teachers, measures of hardship/transport allowance, safety assurance, accommodation in remote rural areas and improvement of infrastructure and school facilities could be taken.

According to Keddie (2012), cultural injustice in the education system is reflected by the misrecognition of cultural minorities and this assumes that there is a link between issues of race and poor schooling performance, noting that indigenous students consistently underperform. As Keddie (2012) described: "Concerns about the underperformance of these students have illuminated the cultural exclusivity of western education contexts in their privileging of white and middle class ways of knowing and being and marginalising of 'other' ways of knowing and being. Such privileging reflects and reinscribes inequitable patterns of cultural recognition". In order to overcome cultural exclusivity of education contexts, the education system has to become more inclusive of knowledge derived from indigenous cultures, along with their history, contributions and perspectives. This would lead to greater motivation and participation of the marginalized indigenous groups. Furthermore, creating understanding and acknowledging the value of knowledge derived from indigenous

cultures would tackle problems of racism, and xenophobia towards indigenous groups.

Tikly & Barrett (2011) added that minority groups require an education policy that recognizes their lifestyle and pedagogic texts. For example, schools could be re-conceptualized as buildings that are receptive of nomadic groups (Balwanz, Moore & DeStefano, 2006). Furthermore, students from local communities require regulative texts that are not too distinct from texts used in these communities in order to understand them, especially in their early years and in primary school (Tikly & Barrett, 2011).

Political injustice in the education system is reflected by the lack of representation of social groups in the sphere of power in the education system, e.g. the number of teachers that represent social groups (Keddie, 2012). It assumes that under-representation of indigenous teachers causes poor schooling performances of indigenous students. Additionally, segregated schools, e.g. indigenous schools, are seen to foster school performances of indigenous students, providing “a political space that represents the voices and thus the educational needs of particular minority or marginalised groups” (Keddie, 2012). Finally, in order to tackle problems of reification of cultural groups in the education system, Keddie (2012), in line with Fraser, argued that there has to be a focus on cultural criticism. Critical engagement of knowledge derived from both dominant and subordinate cultures impedes the exaltation of the minority other and creates a situation where status subordination can be overcome.

Tikly & Barrett (2011) added that in order to realize a greater voice for a minority group in the education system, creation of advocacy groups rooted in civil society, such as local NGOs, grass roots campaigns for change in the education system, and community and religious organizations advocating for educational change have appeared to be increasingly effective. Finally, providing teachers with a voice in the formulation of education policy is necessary for political justice and, additionally, helps teachers to be more motivated in their job (Halai & Durrani, 2016).

## **Method**

To investigate how social justice of the Maya people is reflected in the Guatemalan education system and what the role of the PRONADE schools sponsored by the

World Bank has been, fieldwork in Guatemala was carried out, combining source analysis and in-depth semi-structured interviews. Both methods were conducted as qualitative research and the reason for this is the highly complex nature of the concept of social justice and its dimensions. While the source analysis did provide more statistical information than the interviews did, the data was interpreted qualitatively along the three dimensions of social justice. The semi-structured interviews aimed to get a deeper insight into the formation of social justice in the Guatemalan education system, not deemed possible by source analysis, because this method lacks personal communication. In the end, both methods intended to complement each other to give a complete picture of the presence of social justice in the Guatemalan education system. The fieldwork was carried out in March and April of 2017 in the provinces of Quetzaltenango and Huehuetenango in Guatemala. The interviewees were recruited by snowball sampling.

For both the semi-structured interviews and the source analysis, the indicators of social justice within the education system found in the theory section of this paper were used as a guideline for the analysis. This means that, in this investigation, indicators of social justice pertaining to the economic dimension were: equal access to quality education, school desertion, enrollment in secondary and post-secondary education, material benefits for poor students, quality of the teachers, working conditions of the teachers and material distribution in between the school systems. Indicators pertaining to the cultural dimension were: bilingual education, inclusion of the Maya culture in the classes at school, problems of reification, focus on cultural criticism and recognition of the Maya culture in the schools. Finally, indicators pertaining to the political dimension were: representation of indigenous teachers, representation of the voice of the Maya people and the organization of the school systems.

### *Source analysis*

For the source analysis, reports from the World Bank regarding their financial assistance in the Guatemalan education sector were analyzed, focusing on reflection on issues of social justice within the PRONADE programme and in the Guatemalan education system as a whole. An evaluation report from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) was also used for the analysis. Furthermore, the national curriculum of Guatemala during the PRONADE era was studied as well as

reports from the Guatemalan Ministry of Education on the effectiveness of the PRONADE schools. Finally, the academic literature was searched on issues of social justice in the Guatemalan education system and the functioning of the PRONADE schools.

### *Semi-structured interviews*

Seven semi-structured interviews were carried out with two school directors (one from a former PRONADE school and one from a traditional public school), two teachers (one from a former PRONADE school and one from a traditional public school), a former employee of the Ministry of Education, a former employee in the organization of the PRONADE programme and with a university professor fighting for inclusion of the Maya culture in the Guatemalan education system. The interviews aimed to gain insights into the presence of social justice in the Guatemalan education system, and more specifically, within the PRONADE schools compared to traditional public schools. The interviews were not done according to a strict questionnaire to give the interviewees room to talk about their field of expertise. However, key questions were formulated beforehand in an interview guide, along the dimensions of social justice applied to the education system (Appendix A). Finally, some personal questions about the background of the interviewees were asked and, because of the course of the first interview, some questions about the successes and failures of the PRONADE schools were asked from the second interview on.

The interview guide was composed for school directors and teachers in the first place, but was also used for the other interviewees. All interviews were held in Spanish and were fully recorded. After the completion of the interviews, a list of key points was made along the dimensions of social justice. The key points were classified by subject and dimension in a table per interviewee (Appendix B).

### *Interviewees*

1. Marlo Torres, 27 years of age, is a teacher at an urban public secondary school. He has studied pedagogy and has working experience in a PRONADE school and a public primary school. He has grown up in the rural area of Guatemala and studied at a traditional rural primary school.
2. Obispo Rosales Yax, 48 years of age, is professor of the Maya language of K'iche' at the university and member of the movement Tzu Kim Pop where he

fighters for the rights and the inclusion of the Maya culture in the Guatemalan education system.

3. Juan Mejia, 43 years of age, is a former teacher at an urban primary school and has given sessions at various other primary schools relating to drug prevention.
4. Santos Zarat, 43 years of age, is a former employee for the *Instituciones de Servicios Educativos*, where he provided technical assistance to the organization of the PRONADE schools and facilitated the management. Currently, he is a teacher at a traditional public school.
5. Cayetano Ultimo, 50 years of age, is a former employee for the Guatemalan Ministry of Education, where he was in charge of the training of bilingual teachers in traditional public schools as well as in PRONADE schools.
6. María Cristina Vásquez Alvarado, 44 years of age, is a director of an urban primary school and is a former teacher at a rural public school. 25/30% of the students of her school is indigenous.
7. Patricia Alvarado, 55 years of age, is a former director of an urban PRONADE school and, currently, a teacher at an urban public school. 25% of the students of her PRONADE school were indigenous.

### **Analysis**

In this section, the success of the PRONADE schools will be tested in relation to traditional public schools, using Fraser's three-dimensional model of social justice as an indicator of success. Firstly, the introduction of the PRONADE schools, their growth and the organizational system of the PRONADE schools will be described shortly. Secondly, both school systems will be evaluated on the basis of the three dimensions of social justice: economic justice, cultural justice and political justice. Just as Fraser (2008) mentioned, the dimensions are imbricated with one another in reality, therefore, there will be some overlap of the themes in between these different parts.

#### *The PRONADE school system*

In 1992, before the signing of the PAs, the Guatemalan government already started to experiment with schools organized by communities to tackle the problems of high illiteracy and the large number of children without access to quality education in Guatemala (USAID, 2007). In 1994, the term PRONADE was coined, and in 1996

there were still less than 500 PRONADE schools (Ganimian, 2016). In the following five years, the number of schools multiplied by nine and over 7000 PRONADE schools were created within this period. This rapid growth was partly due to financial backing of the World Bank and of the German development bank (KfW), although the lion share of the programme costs was paid by the Guatemalan Ministry of Education. Since 2001, the number of PRONADE schools grew relatively slowly and stagnated just before termination of the PRONADE programme in 2008. By pressure of teachers' unions, the Collective Pact (*pacto colectivo*) was signed by the Ministry of Education and all PRONADE schools were converted into traditional public schools within a few years.

The PRONADE schools were organized by local communities which elected seven members who were to manage the administration, finances and organization of the schools (*Ministerio de Educación*, 1998). These seven members comprised the school organization called the COEDUCA (*Comités Educativos*) or the *padres de familia*, because they actually were the parents of the students of the PRONADE schools. The COEDUCA was in charge of hiring, firing and the payments of the teachers as well as payment of the school materials and managing the infrastructure of the schools. Furthermore, they were in charge of the school feeding programme, the school calendar and monitoring teacher and student attendance. The members of COEDUCA were volunteers and were financed by the Ministry of Education on a per student basis.

The Ministry of Education was responsible for the programme and created the structure and content of the programme by means of a top-down approach (*Ministerio de Educación*, 1998). Also, the Ministry of Education hired the ISEs (*Instituciones de Servicios Educativos*), which provided technical assistance and support for the PRONADE schools. PRONADE schools were primarily located in the rural area, which was mainly populated by indigenous people, and every community could start a school on the premises that: its school is located at least three kilometers away from the nearest public school (1), there are at least 25 students ready to enroll (2), there cannot be a teacher already working for the government within the community (3), and the community must be able to form a COEDUCA (4).



### *Economic justice*

Due to the relatively soft premises for the opening of a PRONADE school, the programme led to a massive success in providing equal access to education in the most rural parts of Guatemala, that had been excluded from the education system before the PRONADE programme. Thereby, net enrollment for primary schools rose from 64 percent in 1990 to 87.3 percent in 2002 and 89 percent in 2003 (USAID, 2007). In 2007, by the end of the PRONADE programme, 24 percent of rural enrollment was due to the presence of PRONADE schools, benefitting almost 400,000 children in the rural area of Guatemala (World Bank, 2009).

Furthermore, the PRONADE schools were more effective in retaining their students in school and promoting them to higher levels (World Bank, 2005). According to a longitudinal study of DP Tecnología (2002), 61 percent of male students and 52 percent of female students reached the third grade compared to a national average of 40 percent. Strict supervision of the COEDUCA (the students' parents) on students' attendance contributed to this low level of school desertion in PRONADE schools. The COEDUCA demanded that the teachers were strict on this matter and hired and fired teachers accordingly. This has as result that, on average, PRONADE students attended 180 days per year compared to 125 days in traditional public schools (World Bank, 2005).

However, equal access to and enrollment in secondary and post-secondary education has remained disappointing in Guatemala, as the World Bank and the PRONADE programme were only focused on primary education and secondary schools in the rural area remained scarce. Especially indigenous students were not eager to continue due to their physical and/or cultural isolation to the urban labor market (Marshall, 2009). The interviewees confirmed that the indigenous students did not see the benefits to keep studying because of cultural differences and accommodated to being poor. Furthermore, rural students did often not have the resources to keep studying as secondary education was geographically more difficult to reach.

Education equality of the PRONADE schools seems to have differed per subject and per phase of the programme. According to a 2003 World Bank study, student achievement of PRONADE students of the third and fourth grade was equal to students in traditional public schools on the subject of mathematics and even higher

on reading, when controlled for characteristics of students and schools (World Bank, 2005). However, a 2009 World Bank report showed that student performance in urban schools was higher than in rural schools, as well as that student performance in traditional rural schools was higher than in PRONADE schools (World Bank, 2009).

Research from Gillies & Quijada (2008) showed that schools are able to provide a productive learning environment when there are classes for a minimum of 180 days a year, the school is opened every day of the year and located in the same community of the student, teachers and students are present every school day, and when instructional materials are available and used daily by all students. PRONADE schools did conform to these measures to greater detail than traditional public schools due to the strict supervision of the COEDUCA. However, PRONADE schools had no regulations on the amount of grades a teacher is allowed to teach, which can negatively affect the quality of the classes, and in 2002 71% of PRONADE teachers were still teaching multiple grades (DP Tecnología, 2002). To overcome this challenge, the World Bank did provide funding for the training of teachers on issues related to multi-grade techniques (World Bank, 2009).

According to Marshall (2009), education quality in PRONADE schools was higher compared to traditional public schools due to the high amount of teaching days, but these benefits would have been largely offset by a lower quality of the teachers. Moreover, PRONADE schools were mainly criticized for the quality of their teachers (del Águila Mendizábal, 2016). Teachers in both school systems had to be licensed for their position and generally were in both school systems, although exceptions were made for highly rural PRONADE schools (USAID, 2007). The interviewees largely confirmed that the quality of teachers was lower at PRONADE schools and blamed this mostly on the lack of expertise of the COEDUCA to select adequate teachers. Members of the COEDUCA did not have the academic capacity to qualify a teacher and were very demanding towards the hired teachers. They gave strict orders to them, but without the academic capacity to justify those orders. However, the World Bank (2009) noted that the fact that the parents chose the teachers made them feel more comfortable to send their girls to school.

A second reason for the poor quality of PRONADE teachers, especially in the last phase of the programme, was the drain of quality teachers from the PRONADE

school system to the traditional public system caused by the lack of labour rights within the PRONADE system. Teachers at PRONADE schools did not have fixed contracts, did not get raises or other kinds of benefits, and, as mentioned before, were excluded from teachers' unions (Ganimian, 2016). The initial salary of PRONADE teachers was a bit higher in 2001, but conditions worsened in the later phase of the programme (Cayetano Ultimo, interview 5). Furthermore, there was no transport allowance for teachers employed by rural schools, and thus, especially in the end of the programme, teachers were happy to switch to the traditional public school system when they got offered the opportunity.

Teachers were not the only ones working under poor conditions in the PRONADE schools, namely the members of the COEDUCA had to invest a lot of time in their job, while they did not get paid as they were volunteers (*Ministerio de Educación*, 1998). The fact that the members of the COEDUCA were volunteers lowered the costs of the PRONADE programme for the government, but posed a heavy burden on the shoulders of the *padres de familia*. According to the interviewees, this would have led to some problems regarding the functioning of the COEDUCA. In some schools, the members of the COEDUCA would have engaged in corruption and have stolen money from the PRONADE schools and fled to the United States. The interviewees noted that corruption has happened in all type of schools in Guatemala, but some saw corruption as the main failure of the PRONADE programme.

Furthermore, low expectations of the *padres de familia* about future returns to schooling of their students may have contributed to a lower education quality in PRONADE schools (Marshall, 2009). Surprisingly, the World Bank (2004) noted the following contradictory information as one of the lessons learned from experience with the PRONADE programme: “local, rural communities can effectively and transparently manage resources transferred by the central level and can hire teachers following established procedures regardless of the participants' educational level. Many of the COEDUCAS consisted of parents that were illiterate, but still had the capacity to effectively manage their local school.”

Generally, the infrastructure of the PRONADE schools was relatively bad compared to traditional public schools (McEwan & Trowbridge, 2007). The reason for this might have been that the COEDUCA did not see the infrastructure of the schools as a

priority and that they had problems to raise financial incomes. The World Bank (2005) noted that PRONADE schools had relatively less access to water, electricity and latrines than traditional public schools. Furthermore, the school buildings were in relative bad state and schools did not always have a playground (Poppema, 2009).

However, the material benefits and services for the students seem to have been better divided between the school systems. The interviewees pointed out that the majority of the money for poor students, e.g. for breakfast, has been given to rural schools.

Because of the funding of the World Bank, there might even have been a bit more resources for student materials, and above all: PRONADE schools would have been more effective in reaching their students with their materials. Furthermore, USAID (2007) noted that PRONADE schools were more successful in creating an opportunity to learn for their students by creating equitable circumstances to include all their students. However, there have not been other services or benefits provided for poor students in all types of schools in Guatemala.

### *Cultural justice*

In Guatemala, a large gap exists between the achievement levels of indigenous students and nonindigenous students, most notably in the subjects of Spanish, and to less extent mathematics (McEwan & Trowbridge, 2007). This achievement gap is explained by the education quality of the schools of indigenous students and the socio-economic status of their families (Zavala et al., 2006). Furthermore, the lack of bilingual education is mentioned as a cause for the underperformance of indigenous students (McEwan & Trowbridge, 2007). Bilingual education during the early years of primary school helps indigenous students to learn foundational numeracy and literacy skills, which would narrow the achievement gap between indigenous and nonindigenous students in the subjects of Spanish and mathematics (USAID, 2007).

However, during the time of the PRONADE schools, bilingual education was certainly not a priority in the national curriculum of Guatemala (CNB). Nationally, only 33% of the students received some type of bilingual education, although this percentage was higher in the rural area, and appeared to be even higher amongst the PRONADE schools (McEwan & Trowbridge, 2007). The PRONADE schools also had a higher number of bilingual teachers than traditional public schools, which can be explained by the organizational structure of the programme (USAID, 2007). Due

to the participative form of democracy, the members of the COEDUCA could adjust their policy to the necessities of the community by prioritizing the recruitment of bilingual teachers. However, these bilingual PRONADE teachers often lacked pedagogical education in bilingualism. To solve this problem, the World Bank did provide training in bilingual education in Guatemalan schools and bilingual textbooks and didactic materials were provided in 18 linguistic areas of Guatemala, covering around 700,000 indigenous students (World Bank, 2009). Despite of this training, in the end, it seemed to depend a lot on the capabilities of different schools and the individual abilities of its teachers to what extent qualitative bilingual education was provided in their classes (Poppema, 2009). Finally, the World Bank (2009) noted that some problems arose on the subject of bilingual education, because some indigenous communities requested to be taught in Spanish in order to prevent exclusion.

Similar to bilingual education, there was no real inclusion of the Maya culture in the national curriculum of Guatemala during the time of the PRONADE schools.

Moreover, the dark history of Guatemala relating to the war crimes and genocide committed to the indigenous people was concealed in the curriculum by the national education system (Rubin, 2016). Besides, the curriculum was not supportive towards the local necessities of (indigenous) communities. Obispo Rosales Yax stated that (interview 2):

The Guatemalan education system is 'monocultural', it reproduces the culture that is born in Europe.

According to the interviewees, inclusion of the Maya culture in the classes at school was treated as a secondary theme and was not treated as important. It depended a lot on the individual teacher to what extent knowledge derived from the Maya culture was included in the classes. However, indigenous teachers were also trained within the education system dominated by Western knowledge, so they were not that different from nonindigenous teachers within the Guatemalan education system. The World Bank (2009) did help to create textbooks about the Maya culture for grades 1 to 6, but this was no serious measure to realize inclusion of the Maya culture in the classes. Individual teachers at PRONADE schools, however, did include some knowledge derived from the Maya culture in their classes, like information about Maya medicine, the Maya calendar and the day of the harvest. COEDUCA was very

demanding of the teachers to understand the necessities of the community (USAID, 2007). Because of this, PRONADE teachers did include the Maya culture to greater extent in their classes compared to traditional public schools, but this was by far not sufficient to talk about real inclusion.

According to the interviewees, the PRONADE schools provided at least more critical engagement of knowledge derived from Western and Maya culture than traditional public schools did, although this was not deemed sufficiently. In both school systems, there was no creation of a simple and solo identity of the Maya people. Finally, the interviewees pointed out that there was no real recognition of the Maya culture in both types of schools, because the Maya culture is being dominated by Western culture. This is seen in the diminishing of the traditional clothing of the Maya people and the more limited use of indigenous Maya languages. As Obispo Rosales Yax noted, Guatemala is a colonized country, where colonial power structures are still very much present (interview 2).

#### *Political justice*

Like bilingual education, representation of indigenous teachers can significantly boost the achievement level of indigenous students, especially on the subject of mathematics (Marshall, 2009). Much more indigenous teachers have been employed in rural schools compared to urban schools and PRONADE schools employed even a higher number of indigenous teachers. Like with bilingual teachers, this can be explained by the demands of the COEDUCA for the teachers to adopt to the local necessities of the community. Being able to speak an indigenous language was an important factor in those decisions and, obviously, more indigenous teachers had that property.

The interviewees pointed out that on the local level, the voice of the indigenous people was satisfactorily represented through the influence of the COEDUCA, which represented and was chosen by the local community. During the PRONADE era, civil participation was high in the rural communities and by converting the PRONADE schools to the official school system, the ideal of civil participation was neglected and communities did not have a voice in the education system anymore. The PRONADE schools gave the Maya people a voice and helped them to develop in Guatemala, which resulted in the situation that the Maya people were now well organized in their

communities. On the national level, the voice of the Maya people was also well represented by NGOs, advocacy groups, and community and religious organizations. NGOs have also helped the PRONADE schools with the delivery of quality education (Carter, 2012). Indigenous people were now represented on a higher level within the Guatemalan education system and their voice was heard, but they lacked real decision power as well as the power to influence policy (Poppema, 2009).

Representation of the voice of PRONADE teachers and the members of the COEDUCA within the national education system was minimal during the era of the PRONADE schools. Since the start of the PRONADE programme, the school system was organized completely separate and parallel from the traditional public school system (Poppema, 2009). Commissions that fought for the inclusion of the Maya culture in the education system, COPARE (*Comisión Paritaria de Reforma Educativa*) and CCRE (*Comisión Consultiva para la Reforma Educativa*), were not heard during the negotiation process about the formation of the PRONADE programme. There was no representation for the COEDUCA within the programme and there was no way for its members to express discontent about futures of the programme. Policy was decided top-down and the COEDUCA was relegated to an administrative function by the large number of rules and restrictions from the organization (USAID, 2007). Even the World Bank (2005) admitted that a challenge of the PRONADE programme was to institutionalize it as an integral part of the Ministry of Education.

According to the interviewees, the PRONADE school system and the traditional public school system appeared to be in competition with each other. On the local level, schools from the different school systems organized some social activities together, but on the national level there was no help from the traditional public school system towards the PRONADE system. The traditional school system had, mainly due to its teachers' unions, a much stronger voice in the national education system and was much better organized. It was more professional and had more expertise and all interviewees agreed that the PRONADE system would have been a much bigger success when there had been more collaboration between the two systems and when the PRONADE teachers would have been included into the teachers' unions. Eventually, the teachers' unions, who saw their position being weakened and threatened, won the political battle against the PRONADE programme by pressuring

president candidate Alvaro Colom Caballeros into the institutionalization of the PRONADE schools.

There was not enough political will to include the Maya culture in the education system, but according to Obispo Rosales Yax (interview 2), that is exactly what is needed to change the current system of cultural domination. Although the PRONADE schools converted to traditional public schools and COEDUCA ceased to exist, the influence from the parents of the students was seen as a success and included in the public system through the large-scale introduction of *Juntas Escolares*. The parents of the students were no longer responsible for the management tasks of the schools though, but kept an advisory role in the schools of their children. Furthermore, the coverage of primary schools remained existent as the PRONADE schools were not closed, but converted to traditional public schools.

Finally, the World Bank has been criticized for its role in the PRONADE programme. According to Azaola (2014) and Hale (2002), the World Bank would not prioritize poverty reduction and cultural recognition of the indigenous people in Guatemala. The main objective for the World Bank would be accumulation on a global scale and advocating decentralized education systems could also be explained as attempts to cut governments' education budgets. This would be in accordance with the neoliberal ideology of the World Bank, which advocates small governments and a strong role of the market. However, in its 2004 report, the World Bank advised the Guatemalan Ministry of Education to increase its education budget in order to improve its education system, since this would be lower than the standard in other Latin American countries (World Bank, 2004). Despite this, Poppema (2009) concluded that the World Bank has reformulated concepts of social justice in order to fit its own neoliberal agenda and that the World Bank has not strived for real participation and recognition of the indigenous people of Guatemala.

### **Discussion & conclusion**

The biggest success of the PRONADE schools was undoubtedly the high increase in access to primary education in the rural area of Guatemala, mostly inhabited by indigenous people. The PRONADE schools also scored well on retaining their students and preventing school desertion, but they did not ensure that their students were ready to enroll in secondary schools due to lack of resources in the rural area.



Critique on the World Bank for a too narrow focus on the second MDG of achieving universal enrollment in primary education might have been justified in Guatemala. Education and organizational quality of the PRONADE school were arguably lower in the PRONADE schools due to a lack of labor rights for the teachers and the lack of salary for the COEDUCA. Although the PRONADE schools did have the same amount of material resources for their (poor) students as traditional public schools, this lack of financial support for the organization and the teachers of the PRONADE schools does imply economic injustice. The Guatemalan government and the World Bank were not willing to sufficiently redistribute the education budget in favor of the indigenous people.

Furthermore, inclusion of the Maya culture in the Guatemalan education system was not treated as an important theme by the Ministry of Education. A large achievement gap continued to exist between indigenous people and nonindigenous people which implies a lack of cultural justice. However, the PRONADE schools did perform a bit better than traditional public schools on this matter by providing more inclusion of the Maya culture and bilingual education. Although, this was not sufficient, because the initiative had to come from the teachers, not from the system. Furthermore, there were no problems of reification in the Guatemalan education system, because lack of cultural justice impeded this. The neoliberal ideology of the World Bank might have prevented prioritization of recognition of the Maya culture in the Guatemalan education system.

Finally, indigenous teachers and the voice of the Maya people were presented more strongly in the PRONADE schools than in the traditional public schools, which implies political justice. However, because a lack of decision power and political influence, there was no real political participation of the indigenous people in the Guatemalan education system. The complete parallel organization and the top-down structure of the PRONADE system might have led to the perception of political participation as tokenistic and restrictive which could have caused the political battle in between the two school systems. Moreover, there could have been problems of misframing, as the organization of the World Bank might have been too global to be able to adequately address the local issue of social justice of the Maya people in the education system, whereas local commissions that fought for the inclusion of the

Maya culture in the education system were not heard during the creation of the PRONADE schools.

To conclude, the PRONADE schools have increased economic justice for the young indigenous people by the largely expanded access to primary education, but lack of payment and labor rights for the COEDUCA and PRONADE teachers (mostly indigenous) resulted in economic injustice of the older indigenous generation.

Generally, Guatemalan schools have hardly provided material benefits for poor students, except for some basic food. With respect to cultural justice, the PRONADE schools clearly performed slightly better than the traditional public schools, although by far not sufficiently. Overall, cultural justice in the Guatemalan education system has not been reached and has a long way to go. Regarding political justice, the PRONADE schools functioned well on the local level due to the influence of the *padres de familia*, but within the national education system, there was no political justice for the indigenous people. However, in the traditional public schools, there was even less political justice for the indigenous people, because the students' parents had no influence in the schools. The goals of the World Bank of equal access to quality education and, although not sufficiently, the provision of bilingual education might have been realized, but social justice of the indigenous people in the education system has clearly not. Realization of economic justice in the PRONADE schools remains ambivalent, but the PRONADE schools did score slightly better on cultural and political justice compared to traditional public schools, although, again, not sufficiently.

Social justice of the indigenous people in the PRONADE schools would have been increased by the provision of labor rights for PRONADE teachers and the professionalization of the COEDUCA through more collaboration with the traditional public school system. Furthermore, the national curriculum would have to be adjusted in order to realize real inclusion of the Maya culture in the classes at school, encouraging critical engagement with knowledge derived from both the Western and the Maya culture. Finally, the World Bank should have fought for inclusion of PRONADE teachers in teachers' unions and for institutionalization of the PRONADE schools from the beginning in order to prevent political division in between the school systems and to increase political participation from the COEDUCA. Education policy makers of the World Bank and national governments should take these lessons into

account when they want to create an education system which reflects social justice, especially if they want to create a decentralized school system similar to the PRONADE programme.

This paper intended to shed light into how social justice is shaped in education systems. It tried to do so by means of qualitative field research in Guatemala, comparing PRONADE schools with traditional public schools. Limitation of this type of research is the bias of the researcher that could have played a role during the investigation, which might have affected the results of the research. Furthermore, the scope of the number of semi-structured interviews was limited, nor did this paper focus on changes in the presence of social justice in the Guatemalan education system after the closure of the PRONADE schools.

Therefore, future research is needed about the formation of social justice in education systems to improve the validity of the insights gained in this paper. It would be interesting to investigate the changes in the presence of social justice in the Guatemalan education system after the closure of the PRONADE schools. Moreover, it would be interesting to compare the Guatemalan case to other countries where a decentralized school system has been introduced, where large minority groups are present or where a peace process has just been initiated. This research would contribute to the facilitation of social justice in education systems and, in the long run, to social justice in their respective societies.

Accordingly, the results and conclusions of this paper will inform education policy makers on how to create a social just education system, which ultimately contributes to a social just society. The World Bank, as well as other IOs related to education policy, would benefit by evaluating the insights gained in this investigation, hopefully improving their approach to schooling. Lessons learned from this paper on the creation of a social just education systems would be especially useful for education policy makers concerning decentralized school systems as promoted by the World Bank, since this paper has focused on such systems.

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## **Appendix A: interview guide**

*Teachers/director PRONADE schools and traditional public schools*

General questions:

- What is your name and age?
- How many years have you been a teacher/director?
- What percentage of the students in your school are/were indigenous?
- Where was your school located?

Economic justice:

- Has your school provided extra funding to students living in poverty?
- Has your school provided material benefits to students living in poverty?
- Has your school provided breakfast or other types of food to their students?
- Has your school provided textbooks or other pedagogic materials to their students?
- How would you describe the quality of the school building? Is/was there a playground?
- Is/was there a possibility for students to use a computer?
- Have there been troubles with school desertion at your school?
- How would you judge the chances your students have had to enrol for secondary and post-secondary education?
- How would you judge the quality of the training of the teachers at your school? How would you judge the salaries? Was there hardship/transport allowance? How was the infrastructure to your school?
- Were there specialized counselling and therapy services, parenting education, family services, housing assistance, transportation assistance and childcare services?
- Generally, how do you feel that the opportunities of indigenous people at your school were to achieve well? Were there obstacles?

Cultural justice:

- To what extent has your school included knowledge derived from indigenous cultures in its curriculum?
- And to what extent have their history, contributions and perspectives been included in the curriculum?



- To what extent has your school provided bilingual education?
- To what extent did education at your school suit with the lifestyle of the students? And how did the regulative texts suit those used in the culture of the students?
- Generally, do you feel that your school recognized the indigenous Maya culture?

Problems of reification:

- Has your school critically engaged with knowledge derived from indigenous cultures?
- Has your school critically engaged with knowledge derived from non-indigenous (Western) cultures?
- Do you feel that education in your school creates a single and simplified identity of indigenous people?

Political justice:

- What percentage of the teachers in your school are/were indigenous?
- Do you feel that the voice of indigenous people is/was represented in your school?
- How do you feel that the contact with your school and the rest of the education system has been? Do you feel that the voice of you and your school was represented? And in the making of education policy? And what about teachers' unions?
- Do you feel that the voice of the indigenous people has been represented through NGOs, advocacy groups and community organizations?

## Appendix B: semi-structured interview key points

### Interview 1

Name: Marlo Torres

Age: 27 years

Occupation: teacher in a public secondary school (urban) and former teacher in a PRONADE school.

Date: 19-04-2017

Location: San Lorenzo, Guatemala

Dimension	Subject	Comment
Economic justice	Equal access to quality education	The PRONADE schools did make the schools more accessible for the rural population.
Economic justice	School leaving	In the rural as well as the urban area, there existed problems with school dropouts, e.g. because they did not have the resources to keep studying.
Economic justice	Enrollment in secondary and post-secondary education	In the rural area, there was lower enrollment in secondary and post-secondary education, because of the difference in culture: 'it's better to work a little more instead of studying'. This mindset depended a lot on the <i>padres de familia</i> . People in the rural area accommodate to be poor and to better not study. Teachers have a very important role in motivating students on this matter.
Economic justice	Material benefits for poor students	There were no extra material benefits for poor students. Material distribution was more or less equal in between the PRONADE schools and traditional public schools. Some basic food was handed out to the students in both types of schools.

Economic justice	Material benefits for poor students	There were no computers available in the schools in the rural area, nor childcare service or other services to help poor students.
Economic justice	Quality of teachers	The members of the COEDUCA chose the teachers. There were more or less 40 <i>padres de familia</i> per school, depending on the size of the school, and they were the fathers of the families: a very democratic system. They favoured friends or family and did not certainly choose the best teachers. They also paid the teachers, the school materials and managed the finances of the schools.
Economic justice	Quality of teachers	There was a lack of expertise/professionalization in the PRONADE schools, e.g. in the field of choosing teachers. COEDUCA also fired teachers that they did not like, even when they were possibly good teachers. They did not have the capacity to academically qualify a teacher, because almost nobody of the rural area had an academic grade. Teachers were hired that did not have diplomas.
Economic justice	Working conditions of teachers	Teachers earned a low wage at PRONADE schools as well as other rural public schools and there was no transport allowance. However, in the public schools, the salary of the teachers augmented every 4 years.
Economic justice	Material distribution in between the school systems	Traditional public schools had more resources than PRONADE schools, the quality of the buildings was better with the traditional public schools.
Economic justice	Corruption	There was a lot of corruption in the schools. In some schools, the <i>padres de familia</i> collaborated

		with the directors to steal money from the PRONADE schools.
Cultural justice	Bilingual education	The classes were all taught in Spanish and there was no bilingual education in both types of schools.
Cultural justice	Inclusion of the Maya culture in the classes at school	The Maya culture was generally treated as a secondary theme instead of a primary theme and was not treated as important.
Cultural justice	Inclusion of the Maya culture in the classes at school	The inclusion (exclusion) of the Maya culture in the curriculum was decided by politics on the national level. It depended a lot on the teacher to what extent the Maya culture was included in the classes.
Cultural justice	Problems of reification	There was no creation of a simple and solo identity of the Maya people in both types of schools.
Cultural justice	Focus on cultural criticism	There was no presence of critical engagement with knowledge derived from Western culture or the Maya culture.
Cultural justice	Recognition of the Maya culture in the schools	There was not much more recognition in the PRONADE schools of the Maya culture than in traditional public schools. The Maya culture is dominated by Western culture and the Maya culture devaluates and adapts to Western culture (diminishing of traditional clothing and Maya language).
Political justice	Representation of indigenous teachers	In the rural schools, 50% of the teachers was indigenous in both types of schools.
Political justice	Representation of the voice of the Maya people	The voice of the indigenous people was represented in the PRONADE schools by its democratic system.

Political justice	Representation of the voice of the Maya people	The voice of the Maya people was represented by NGOs, advocacy groups and other organizations.
Political justice	Organization of school systems	There was some collaboration in local social activities organized by school, but the PRONADE schools and its teachers did not have a voice in the forming of the national education system. Both school systems were very separated. Traditional public schools had a much stronger voice within the national education system, because they were better organized.
Political justice	Success/failure of PRONADE schools	Generally, the PRONADE schools were partly a success and would have been a much bigger success with more expertise, better organization and more collaboration with the government.

### *Interview 2*

Name: Obispo Rosales Yax

Age: 48 years

Occupation: professor of the Maya language of K'iche' at the university and member of the movement Tzu Kim Pop

Date: 22-04-2017

Location: Xecaracoj, Guatemala

Dimension	Subject	Comment
Economic justice	Material benefits for poor students	There were no extra material benefits or services provided for poor students in both school systems.
Economic justice	Quality of teachers	The COEDUCA did not know how to choose good teachers.
Economic justice	Working conditions of teachers	Teachers of PRONADE schools had lower salaries compared to traditional public schools. Traditional public schools also offered better

		conditions for their teachers. There was no transport allowance.
Economic justice	Material distribution in between the school systems	The national education system always has given better conditions to persons living the urban area than persons living in the rural area, there was not much difference in between the PRONADE schools and other rural traditional schools.
Cultural justice	Bilingual education	There was very little bilingual education and that was equal for the PRONADE schools.
Cultural justice	Inclusion of the Maya culture in the classes at school	“The Guatemalan education system is ‘monocultural’, it reproduces the culture that is born in Europe” (1 min). Postcolonial power structures are very much present in Guatemala.
Cultural justice	Inclusion of the Maya culture in the classes at school	CNB was the same for both types of schools. The culture of Europe is dominant in the curriculum and the schools. Europe came to educate and to civilize other societies (10 min). It is very difficult to talk about inclusion of knowledge derived from the Maya culture in the Guatemalan education system.
Cultural justice	Inclusion of the Maya culture in the classes at school	Indigenous teachers were also trained within and by the dominant education system, so they were not that different from other teachers with respect to inclusion of the Maya culture within the education system.
Cultural justice	Inclusion of the Maya culture in the classes at school	To include the Maya culture in the education system, a political will is needed. “Guatemala is not a country of equals, this is a country of big differences”. Thus, it is very hard to change the status quo. Guatemala is a colonized country and part of the international system of power structures and domination. This international

		system is represented in the Guatemalan education system.
Political justice	Representation of the voice of the Maya people	The PRONADE schools did not create a voice for the Maya people in the education system. The COEDUCA did not have a voice or real power in the education system and was not well organized.
Political justice	Representation of the voice of the Maya people	On the national level, the voice of the Maya people is not represented enough, although there are social movements and initiatives that fight for the rights of the indigenous people. But it continues to be a fight.
Political justice	Organization of school systems	In reality, the PRONADE schools and traditional public schools appeared to be in competition with each other within the education system.
Political justice	Organization of school systems	Both types of schools were separate systems that had their own organizations.

### *Interview 3*

Name: Juan Mejia

Age: 43 years

Occupation: former teacher at an urban primary school

Date: 22-04-2017

Location: Quetzaltenango, Guatemala

Dimension	Subject	Comment
Economic justice	Material benefits for poor students	The PRONADE schools provided a bit more material benefits for their students than traditional public schools. It was not sufficient, but at least a bit better. The resources of traditional public schools were not less in quantity, but the PRONADE schools were more

		effective in reaching their student with their materials.
Economic justice	Material distribution in between the school systems	The resources of traditional public schools were a lot larger than those of the PRONADE schools.
Cultural justice	Bilingual education	There was more bilingual education in the PRONADE schools.
Cultural justice	Inclusion of the Maya culture in the classes at school	The PRONADE schools gave more attention to the necessities to the children, especially in the rural area where the indigenous families live. The methodology and language used in classes of PRONADE schools were more adjusted to the necessities to indigenous students.
Cultural justice	Inclusion of the Maya culture in the classes at school	In the PRONADE schools there was more inclusion of knowledge derived from the Maya culture.
Cultural justice	Inclusion of the Maya culture in the classes at school	The influence from Western culture remains dominant and present in the education system.
Cultural justice	Inclusion of the Maya culture in the classes at school	Inclusion of the Maya culture in PRONADE schools was provided by some teachers in the form of information about medicine of the Maya people. Teachers made that difference, the organization of the schools did not.
Cultural justice	Focus on cultural criticism	The PRONADE schools provided at least more critical engagement of knowledge derived from Western culture and Maya culture, although not sufficiently.
Political justice	Representation of indigenous teachers	The PRONADE schools had more indigenous teachers, because there was emphasis on contracting teachers that were bilingual.



Political justice	Representation of the voice of the Maya people	The PRONADE schools had more inclusion and participation from the Maya people through its <i>padres de familia</i> .
Political justice	Representation of the voice of the Maya people	The voice of the Maya people is represented in the national education system. The voice is heard, but the problem is that there does not follow enough action.
Political justice	Organization of school systems	There was not enough collaboration in between the PRONADE schools and the traditional public schools.
Political justice	Organization of school systems	The PRONADE schools would have been a bigger success if their teachers were included in teachers' unions. In reality, it was like a competition in between the different school systems; it was a political question.
Political justice	Success/failure of PRONADE schools	The PRONADE schools closed because of political reasons. There was not specifically more corruption in the PRONADE schools, but in general in Guatemalan schools.

#### Interview 4

Name: Santos Zarat

Age: 43 years

Occupation: former employee of *Instituciones de Servicios Educativos*, current teacher in a traditional public school

Date: 22-04-2017

Location: Quetzaltenango, Guatemala

Dimension	Subject	Comment
Economic justice	Equal access to quality education	The coverage of schools in rural areas was the biggest success of PRONADE schools, there could exist one school per every three kilometres. With only 20 students it could

		function. There was no community left without primary school because of PRONADE schools and illiteracy decreased significantly. Earlier, there was discrimination.
Economic justice	Enrollment in secondary and post-secondary education	PRONADE schools were local ( <i>de la montaña</i> ) and rural students did not have the resources to continue studying after primary school. There were not many secondary schools in the rural area.
Economic justice	Material benefits for poor students	There were no extra material benefits for poor students in both type of schools. However, in the rural area, there went more money to repairs and school supplies.
Economic justice	Quality of teachers	The serious weakness of the PRONADE schools (20% failure versus 80% success) was that the <i>padres de familia</i> did not have the adequate knowledge to choose teachers or to manage the administration of the schools. They gave strict orders to the teachers, but without the academic capacity to justify those orders. Those orders were sometimes wrong.
Economic justice	Quality of teachers	Academic preparation of the teachers was equal in between the PRONADE schools and the traditional public schools. Without diplomas, teachers could not give classes at PRONADE schools.
Economic justice	Working conditions of teachers	Financial conditions for the teachers were better at traditional public schools. In the PRONADE schools, there were no fixed contracts, so teachers were happy to switch to traditional public schools.

Economic justice	Working conditions of teachers	Urban schools provided better conditions to their teachers compared to rural schools.
Economic justice	Material distribution in between the school systems	Traditional public schools were in better conditions than the PRONADE schools.
Economic justice	COEDUCA	<i>Comite educativa de autogestión (COEDUCA)</i> : an organization of 7 members consisting of the <i>padres de familia</i> , in charge of administering the finance of the school, hiring and payment of teachers, school nutrition and school supplies. This was paid by the MINEDUC. The community choses the 7 members of the COEDUCA, which is also the highest authority
Cultural justice	Bilingual education	The PRONADE schools respected the Maya culture and their language. The <i>padres de familia</i> did not accept teachers that were not bilingual.
Cultural justice	Inclusion of the Maya culture in the classes at school	The PRONADE schools gave room for the inclusion of the Maya culture in their system.
Political justice	Representation of the voice of the Maya people	By closing the PRONADE schools, civil participation as promised in the PAs has been thrown away. The existence of the <i>padres de familia</i> increased the participation of the community in the schools and a success. Nowadays, the communities do not have a voice in the education system anymore.
Political justice	Representation of the voice of the Maya people	The PRONADE schools gave the Maya people a voice and helped them to develop within Guatemala. The Maya people are now well organized in the communities: “the Maya people has awakened”

Political justice	Organization of school systems	With more collaboration with the traditional national education sector, the PRONADE schools would have had more success, but the traditional sector did not want to collaborate.
Political justice	Success/failure of PRONADE schools	The PRONADE schools did not close because they did not have success. They had success, but the traditional national education sector ( <i>magisterio nacional</i> ) signed a pact ( <i>pacto colectivo</i> ) that closed the PRONADE schools. The PRONADE schools were functioning better than the traditional public schools, but the traditional national education sector was afraid of the influence of the COEDUCA/the <i>padres de familia</i> and that every school would convert into a PRONADE school. The PRONADE schools ceased to exist and there are no more <i>padres de familia</i> ; every school was absorbed by the traditional national education sector.

*Interview 5*

Name: Cayetano Ultimo

Age: 50 years

Occupation: former employee of MINEDUC in charge of the training of bilingual teachers in public schools

Date: 26-04-2017

Location: Quetzaltenango, Guatemala

Dimension	Subject	Comment
Economic justice	Enrollment in secondary and post-secondary education	There is not much coverage of secondary education in the rural area. This makes it hard for rural students to continue studying after primary school.

Economic justice	Material benefits for poor students	Food nutrition of schools is a subject that is more political and has less to do with the school systems.
Economic justice	Material benefits for poor students	There were more extra materials available for students in PRONADE schools, helped by funding of the World Bank.
Economic justice	Quality of teachers	The training of teachers of the PRONADE schools was equal to other public rural schools.
Economic justice	Working conditions of teachers	Teachers at PRONADE schools were paid a bit better than teachers at traditional public schools in 2000. However, the teachers at PRONADE schools did not have paid vacations. Furthermore, teachers at traditional public schools got a raise every four years, which teachers at the PRONADE schools did not get.
Economic justice	Material distribution in between the school systems	The PRONADE schools had more resources than traditional schools, partly because of the funding of the World Bank.
Economic justice	Material distribution in between the school systems	The quality of the buildings of PRONADE schools were in worse conditions, although this depended on the influence of the <i>padres de familia</i> .
Economic justice	COEDUCA	The <i>padres de familia</i> are volunteers and that was also a reason why the PRONADE schools had more money available.
Economic justice	Corruption	There was a lot of corruption in some communities and this was the biggest failure of the PRONADE schools.

Cultural justice	Bilingual education	There was more bilingual education in the PRONADE schools, which strengthens the self-esteem and performance of indigenous students.
Cultural justice	Bilingual education	The curriculum is the same in both schools, but there was more and better quality bilingual education in the rural area. PRONADE schools were even better in this matter, but the urban/rural gap was bigger.
Cultural justice	Inclusion of the Maya culture in the classes at school	There was equal inclusion of the Maya culture in the classes of PRONADE schools and traditional public schools. The curriculum was the same for both types of schools. Development in the classroom depended on the (regulative) texts that did have more elements from the Maya culture: e.g. grammar, numbers and the Maya calendar.
Cultural justice	Inclusion of the Maya culture in the classes at school	The teachers at PRONADE schools did include more knowledge of the Maya culture, but not sufficiently. The national curriculum would need to be adjusted.
Cultural justice	Recognition of the Maya culture in the schools	There was more recognition of the Maya culture in the PRONADE schools.
Political justice	Representation of the voice of the Maya people	During the time of the PRONADE schools, there was not enough representation of the voice of indigenous people within the national education system and in the MINEDUC. This has largely improved since then.
Political justice	Organization of school systems	With better collaboration in between the two school systems the PRONADE schools could have been a bigger success, but the ideological differences impeded this.

Political justice	Organization of school systems	The <i>padres de familia</i> functioned well, but needed more control.
Political justice	Success/failure of PRONADE schools	The PRONADE schools did not close because they did not have success, but they closed because of political/ideological discourses. The PRONADE schools were in fact a success.

### Interview 6

Name: María Cristina Vásquez Alvarado

Age: 44 years

Occupation: director of an urban public primary school, former teacher at a rural public school

Date: 29-04-2017

Location: Quetzaltenango, Guatemala

Dimension	Subject	Comment
Economic justice	Equal access to quality education	The PRONADE schools were a success, because they helped a lot of students.
Economic justice	Material benefits for poor students	The urban schools have less resources for poor students (like breakfast), because the majority of the money for poor students is given to rural schools. There exists poverty among students in the urban area too.
Economic justice	Quality of teachers	All the teachers from both types of schools have had the same minimum level of training.
Economic justice	Working conditions of teachers	The salaries of the teachers were equal on both type of schools.
Cultural justice	Bilingual education	There is bilingual education at this school.
Cultural justice	Inclusion of the Maya culture in the classes at school	There is inclusion of the Maya culture in the classes, but this has increased significantly in the last four years.

Cultural justice	Inclusion of the Maya culture in the classes at school	Because the majority of the students of the PRONADE schools were indigenous (because they were mostly located in the rural area), there was automatically more inclusion of the indigenous people when the teachers are inclusive. Thus, it depends a lot on the teacher if there was inclusion of the Maya culture in their classes.
Cultural justice	Recognition of the Maya culture in the schools	Recognition of the Maya culture was more or less equal in both types of schools.
Political justice	Representation of the voice of the Maya people	Representation of the voice of the Maya people is present in this school as well as in the totality of primary schools.
Political justice	Representation of the voice of the Maya people	Because of the influence of the <i>padres de familia</i> , the voice of the indigenous people was presented stronger in the PRONADE schools.
Political justice	Success/failure of PRONADE schools	The PRONADE schools closed because of corruption from the <i>padres de familia</i> .
Political justice	Success/failure of PRONADE schools	On the national level of the education system, fear of success of the PRONADE schools might have played a role as well for the closure of the PRONADE schools, but not on the local level.



*Interview 7*

Name: Patricia Alvarado

Age: 55 years

Occupation: former director of an urban PRONADE school, present teacher at an urban public school

Date: 29-04-2017

Location: Huehuetenango, Guatemala

Dimension	Subject	Comment
Economic justice	School leaving	There was very little school desertion in the PRONADE schools, because the schools were located within the communities.
Economic justice	Material benefits for poor students	There was more equality within the division of materials in the PRONADE schools and there were more materials for poor students.
Economic justice	Material distribution in between the school systems	The PRONADE schools had more resources than the traditional public schools because of the help of the government and the World Bank.
Economic justice	Material distribution in between the school systems	In this PRONADE school, there was no problem with the quality of the school building.
Economic justice	Quality of teachers	The education and diplomas of the teachers of both types of schools were equal. There were no teachers without diplomas in the PRONADE schools.
Economic justice	Working conditions of teachers	The jobs of the teachers at PRONADE schools was more demanding, because the COEDUCA demanded a lot from the teachers.
Economic justice	Working conditions of teachers	The labour rights in official public schools were a lot better and the salaries were better as well.
Economic justice	Corruption	There were a lot of problems with corruption within the COEDUCA, because some members of

		COEDUCA fled with the money of the PRONADE schools to the United States.
Cultural justice	Bilingual education	There was a high level of bilingual education in the PRONADE schools. Directors had to receive a course in a Maya language as well.
Cultural justice	Bilingual education	The bilingual education originated in the PRONADE schools, because of accommodation on the reality of the students.
Cultural justice	Inclusion of the Maya culture in the classes at school	There was inclusion of the Maya culture in the PRONADE schools.
Cultural justice	Inclusion of the Maya culture in the classes at school	The teachers at the PRONADE schools included knowledge derived from the Maya culture in their classes. For example, the day of the harvest.
Cultural justice	Inclusion of the Maya culture in the classes at school	The COEDUCA was very demanding about the adoption of the teachers to the community and their inclusion of the Maya culture in their classes.
Cultural justice	Focus on cultural criticism	The PRONADE schools were more critical of knowledge derived from Western culture as well as knowledge derived from the Maya culture. Thus, there was more critical engagement in the PRONADE schools.
Political justice	Representation of indigenous teachers	None of the teachers of this PRONADE school were indigenous.
Cultural justice	Recognition of the Maya culture in the schools	There was more recognition of the Maya culture in the PRONADE schools.
Political justice	Representation of indigenous teachers	In communities with a majority indigenous students, the PRONADE schools also had a majority of indigenous teachers.

Political justice	Representation of the voice of the Maya people	Because of the members of COEDUCA, the voice of the Maya people was represented in the PRONADE schools and, therefore, also on the national level.
Political justice	Organization of school systems	A disadvantage of the PRONADE schools was that the members of the COEDUCA were volunteers, but spend a lot of time in their jobs.
Political justice	Organization of school systems	There was no help from the official school system for the PRONADE schools. It was like a competition in between the two school systems.
Political justice	Organization of school systems	With more collaboration in between the two school systems, the PRONADE schools would have been a bigger success.
Political justice	Success/failure of PRONADE schools	The primary reason for the closure of the PRONADE schools was the corruption within the COEDUCA.
Political justice	Success/failure of PRONADE schools	Secondly, because of the poor labour rights of the teachers at the PRONADE schools, the best teachers went to the official schools and the quality of teachers at PRONADE schools declined.
Political justice	Success/failure of PRONADE schools	The fear of the official school system could have played a role as well in the closure of the PRONADE schools.
Political justice	Success/failure of PRONADE schools	Generally, the PRONADE schools were a success because of the coverage of the schools and the schools adapted to the necessities of the students of communities.