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CROSS-NATIONAL SOCIAL WORK: A RESIDENTIAL MODEL FOR HOMELESS CHILDREN IN GUATEMALA

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CROSS-NATIONAL SOCIAL WORK: A RESIDENTIAL MODEL FOR HOMELESS CHILDREN IN GUATEMALA

by

STEPHEN E. TORKELSEN

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Social Welfare in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Social Welfare, The City University of New York.

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Abstract

CROSS-NATIONAL SOCIAL WORK:
A RESIDENTIAL MODEL FOR HOMELESS CHILDREN
IN GUATEMALA

by

Stephen E. Torkelsen

Adviser: Professor Paul A. Kurzman

Cross-National Social Work: A Residential Model for Homeless Children in Guatemala was a project designed to help homeless and abandoned Guatemalan children between the ages of six to twelve years old by providing them with full residential and social services.

There were three overall objectives to this project. The first was to describe the process of adapting a proven successful model of child care using propositions of exchange and contingency theories of organizational expansion and change. Secondly, this project tested the process of model adaptation in an international context, with emphasis on cross-national and cross-cultural locality development. The third objective was to use this study as a planning document for model replications in Guatemala and other developing urban societies.

Evaluation strategies used to assess the project were those of the case study, that is, the program was monitored under developmental conditions. Evaluations were conducted at three, six, and twelve

month intervals in order to assess the progress of the project during its first year of operation. Qualitative and quantitative methods were used, including participant observation, formal interviews, analysis of group meetings (e.g., staff meetings, case conferences, and so forth), and content analysis of various written documents.

Overall findings indicated that the project was most successful in terms of organizational planning, gathering of necessary resources, and providing residential care and social services to homeless children. Findings related to administrative policy indicated that the parent agency's total control of the funding, top staff, and the size and composition of the program's Advisory Board, insured internal accountability and protection to the parent agency. However, this administrative control created a structural isolation of the project from some of its social and community networks.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER I

NATURE OF THE UNMET NEED

"The child shall in all circumstances be among the first to receive protection and relief..."

"(He) shall be protected against all forms of neglect, cruelty, and exploitation..."

"The child shall enjoy the benefits of security. He shall be entitled to grow and develop in health...(and) ...shall have the right to adequate nutrition, housing, recreation and medical services."

--UN General Assembly, Declaration of the Rights of the Child.

"Depending on whose estimates one uses, there appears to be between 3,000,000 and 30,000,000 children without families in the Western Hemisphere between the Rio Grande and Tierra del Fuego.

Depending on whose definition one uses, these children live in one or another degree of deprivation and abandonment, 'de facto' or 'de jure'.

But definitions and statistical measurements mean little to the youngster who has, for whatever reason, lost the basic support mechanisms of his family and come face to face with the daily need to survive, one way or another, on his own."[1]

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[1]Peter Tacon, My Child Minus Two (New York, New York: UNICEF, April 1981), p. 1.

The above quotations state graphically the dilemma we face regarding homeless children. On the one hand is the Ideal--that is, society's vision that all children should receive the care and attention that they need. On the other hand the Reality--between 3 million and 30 million living in poverty and abandonment. In between the Ideal and the Real is the Unmet Need.

This chapter discusses the nature and extent of the unmet need for homeless children in Guatemala through an exposition of: the geography and governmental structures of Guatemala; its history and economic development; as well as through an analysis of demographics with particular emphasis on the numbers and kinds of groups which were already working with this population at the time the doctoral project was implemented (1981).

Geography

Guatemala, with a 1980 population of 7,262,000 people,[1] is the most populated country in Central America. Its total land area is 42,042 square miles, which is about the size of the state of Tennessee.[2] Guatemala has 200 miles of coastline on its Pacific side, and a 70 mile shore line on the Caribbean.[3] Mexico borders Guatemala on the north

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[1]United Nations Economic and Social Council, Country Programme Profile: Guatemala (New York, N.Y.: UNICEF, 1982), p. 2.

[2]U.S. Department of State, Background Notes: Guatemala (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, January 1979), p. 1.

[3]Guatemala also claims an additional 200 miles of shore line on the Caribbean,under current dispute with the country of Belice, formerly British Honduras.

and west; Belice borders it on the east, and Honduras is on the east and on the south, along with El Salvador.

The land in Guatemala is approximately 50 percent mountains and 20 percent dense jungle. It is on the remaining 30 percent of very rich land that the country's agricultural crops: coffee, cotton, sugar, bananas and vegetables are grown, and where the major cities are located. Some industrial development (both roads and a hydroelectric plant) has started in the northern jungle areas to assist in mining and oil explorations.

Government

The nature and organization of government in Guatemala has undergone many changes through the country's history. This section is a brief overview of governmental structure in a historical framework. The details and influences are discussed in the next section "History."

- 200 BC--900 AD, Guatemala was a theocracy, with a strict and formal, hierarchical religious social organization. The people were ruled by priests who governed through strong rituals and rules of conduct, with a minimum amount of conflict.[1]

- From 900--1524 AD, Guatemala went through its first militaristic period. Although it is not certain because there are few records, it appears that warlike kings, descendants of the Toltec in Mexico, either conquered or expanded into various Mayan sites. They exacted

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[1]Eric Wolf, Sons of the Shaking Earth (Chicago, Ill.: The University of Chicago Press, 1959), p. 79.

tribute from the people, and dominated all aspects of the government.[1]

- From 1524--1821, Guatemala was conquered and ruled by the Spanish, who established and maintained a system of governors for the land of Guatemala, as well as other lands in Middle America that were once ruled by the Mayans.

- In 1821, Guatemala declared its independence from Spain, and was aligned with Mexico. After two years of rule by Mexico, Guatemala again declared its independence from its northern neighbor in 1823. At this point Guatemala became a member, and was the capital seat of the newly-formed Central American Federation (along with Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and El Salvador).

- Then in 1839, Guatemala declared itself an independent republic from these other countries due to the weakening of the Federation, which lacked a strong economic and constitutional base.

- From 1839 until the present, Guatemala has been ruled by a succession of military and civilian dictator-presidents. This system has been broken only by two short periods of truly representative government (that is, during the presidency of Dr. Juan José Arévalo, 1945-1950; and Jacobo Arbenz Guzman, 1950-1954). Thus, even though Guatemala's current constitution--that of September 1965--lists the country as a "representational democracy,"[2] elections are controlled by the resident military leader, and voting is at the 30 percent level.

Formally, there are three main branches of government:

a) Executive branch consists of a President, Vice-President, and a Council of Ministers (the Cabinet is appointed by the President).

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[1]Ibid., pp. 130-151.

[2]U.S. Department of State, op. cit., p. 1.

The entire executive branch is elected on the same ballot, and may only serve one four year term.

b) Legislative branch consists of a unicameral, 61 seat Congress, representing 22 departments (comparable to the U.S. "states"). These representatives are elected to a single four year term. A new Congress sits every four years.

c) Judicial branch consists of a seven-member Supreme Court, whose members are appointed by Congress to four year terms.

- Administratively, Guatemala is divided into 22 departments, each with a Governor appointed by the President. Within the country are also 326 municipalities, each with its own elected mayor.

- There are five major recognized political parties; and there is universal suffrage for all people 18 years old and over.

History

A look at the history of Guatemala and the changes which have influenced its cultural, social, and economic development, will help to explain the situation of the growing numbers of homeless children in Guatemala, the changes in family structure and society, and the lack of adequate policies and programs to protect them. This section on "history" highlights some of the key people, events and laws which account for the formation of the country today.

It is divided into five periods:

- Pre-Hispanic;
- Conquest and Colonial Period;
- Independence and the Liberal Period;

- "Revolutionary" Period; and
- The Period 1954 to the Present.

Pre-Hispanic Period

Guatemala is a land that contains with it a very ancient and highly developed civilization. This civilization, called the Maya, dates back to 8,00 BC.[1] The formal, pre-Hispanic period, however, can be divided into two eras: the Theocratic (1,000 BC-900 AD); and the Militaristic (900 AD-1500 AD). During the Theocratic Period, the Maya not only developed a remarkable governmental structure, but achieved through their art and architecture (the corbeled arch), their astrology and religion, the exactness of their calendrics, and through their writing and mathematics (their evolution of the concept of zero), a level of civilization not attained in the Western hemisphere for another 1000 years.[2]

The Theocratic period ended in approximately 900 AD, with the advent of the more warlike Toltec warrior-kings from Mexico. The Toltec and their descandants (the Quiché)ruled Guatemala from approximately 900 AD-1500 AD, in what has been called the Militaristic Period. It is important to note here two issues. One, even though the militaristic period of 900-1500 AD was the first of many military dynasties in Guatemala, the rulers at that time maintained the base of the Mayan

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[1]Wolf, Sons of the Shaking Earth, op. cit., p. 51.

[2]Thomas and Marjorie Melville, Guatemala: The Politics of Land Ownership (New York: The Free Press, 1971), p. 13.

culture and values. Second, although not everyone possessed property, and although the people had to pay tribute (taxes) to the rulers, there was still the joint ownership of the land by the community (the land was sacred--it belonged to the gods, and was shared by all). Individuals could hold land, either together or by family title. There was no starvation on the part of the peasants, even though food had to be transported great distances. Compared to the diet of the Europeans at that time, the Maya ate well.[1]

The Spanish Conquest

From 1519-1524, Pedro Alvarado, one of Cortez's lieutenants, had orders to subdue the various tribes in Mesoamerica, and find new sources of gold and land. Part of his mission upon encountering a new people, was to read a document called the "Requirements" to the leaders of that tribe. The "Requirement" stated that if the Maya would give tribute (in gold or land) to the Spanish, and give obedience to the Pope and the King of Spain, then the Maya would receive the protection of the Spanish crown. If the chiefs refused, they were to be destroyed. After having the decree read to them, the chiefs of the Quiché sent their response back to Alvarado, "...they sent me word (that) they did not know either of them (i.e., the Pope or King)".[2*]

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[1]Susanne Jonas and David Tobis, Guatemala (New York, N.Y.: North American Congress on Latin America, 1974), p. 16.

[2]Footnote from a "Letter from Pedro de Alvarado to Hernán Cortés April 1524", quoted in Jonathan L. Fried, et al. (Eds.) Guatemala in Rebellion: Unfinished History (New York, N.Y.: Grove Press, Inc.), pp. 9-10.

*This response gives a symbolic indication of the Mayan's understanding of both personal and contractual forms of relationships--author's note.

The Maya, however, were no match for the Spanish horses, armor, and guns. They were also no match for the second invasion of the Spanish--colds, influenza, syphillis, and plagues. From 1519 to 1610, the Spanish destroyed between 2/3 to 5/6 of the population in Mesoamerica. In numbers, the indigenous population went from 14,000,000 to 2,000,000 people.[1]

The year 1524 marked an irrevocable change in Guatemalan history. This year not only ended the lives of millions of Mayans through war and sickness, but also the events of the conquest brought dramatic changes in religion, culture, and laws. The Catholic Church, through its various Religious Orders (e.g., The Jesuits, Franciscans, and Dominicans), set out to convert the Indians to Christianity. "These Orders were assigned to clearly defined geographical areas, and made a substantial contribution to the consolidation of the Spanish conquest."[2]

Along with a new religion, the Spanish also transmitted a new culture. One of the first manifestations of this culture was the singular admixture of identity, pride, and ego--called machismo--which was antithetical to the Mayan Indian's view of man and his relationships with men, with women, and with the world. Also, the Spanish brought a new sense of "individuality" to Guatemala, which was expressed by aggression and competition, particularly shown by the constant search

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[1]Wolf, Sons of the Shaking Earth, op. cit., pp. 31, 195; Melville and Melville, Guatemala, op. cit., pp. 16-17; Fried, et al. (Eds.) Guatemala in Rebellion, op. cit., p. 12.

[2]Edna Nuñez de Rodas, Cultural Policy in Guatemala (Paris, France: UNESCO, 1981), p. 14.

for the individual possession of land. Previous to the 1500s, the Maya held and used the land communally. The soldiers and Spanish settlers took ownership of large tracts of this land, in accord with the decree of King Ferdinand V, who dictated in 1513, that all land may be distributed to those who colonize new lands, according to the will of the Governor.[1] The Indians were forced to withdraw from the fertile plateau lands to live on small subsistence plots on the mountain sides ("altiplano"). In addition, through various forced measures, the natives had to work on the Spanish plantations a certain percentage of time, both to feed their families (since their new subsistence plots were insufficient to provide enough food), and to pay their taxes to the King.

The Spanish soldiers and settlers also intermixed with Indian women. However, under their new colonial law, the offspring of these unions, could not bear the Spanish surname, could not own land, and therefore could not inherit land. Thus, the Spanish "created" a new class of people--the Ladino. And although the ladinos were not taxed like the Indians, they were the new landless and destitute poor, who became one of the sources of cheap labor on the newly acquire plantations.[2]

These changes in the culture, laws, and policies during the colonial period explains the genesis of a number of situations that

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[1]Melville and Melville, op. cit., p. 16.

[2]Severo Martínez Peláez, La Patria del Criollo (San Jose, Costa Rica: Editorial Universitaria Centroamericana, 6th ed., 1979), pp. 355-360; also in J. Fried, et al., Guatemala, op. cit., pp. 17-18.

today still affect both the rural Mayan Guatemalan, and the poor ladino, who live fringe existences economically and under the law. Of primary importance to our understanding are:

1. Ownership of the land--after 1524, land was not owned and shared communally by all people. Land was owned individually, and only by a small percentage of the people--namely, the criollo (and by the 19th Century, by upper class ladinos).

2. Quality and quantity of the land--the largest and best quality land on the plains and the lower slopes (latifundias) are owned by the fewest people (cf. ownership statistics in Section on Economic Development, in this chapter), while the smallest polots of land on the high slopes, and in the mountain regions (minifundias) are owned by the majority of the people--the Indians.

3. Land use--the large tracts of land were not used to diversify crops; they were planted and harvested for European markets--i.e., the major crops were cacoa, indigo, and cochineal which were exported to Spain in return for manufactured products of questionable value to Guatemalan "consumers." The poor (Indians and Ladinos) were left with a lack of food, malnurishment, and eventual starvation for the first time in their history. Much of the land use pattern established at this time by the Spanish conquerors is still causing problems for much of the population (cf. Section on Economic Development).

Independence From Spain

Guatemala declared its independence from Spain in 1821 in an attempt to: lessen Spain's direct monopoly on import/exports; free

themselves from Spain's excessive taxes; and from the latter's control and restrictions on Indian labor.

Britain and France supported Guatemala's efforts toward independence because they also wanted to lessen Spain's influence and control over the "colonies."[1]

In the 1850s, and especially from 1870 onward (under the "Liberal" tenancy of President Barrios--1871-1885), Guatemala changed its export crops to sugar, cotton, and especially as the western European demand increased, to the production and export of coffee. However, coffee (and later bananas) needed larger plots of land than the indigo and cochineal industries had needed, to be most profitable. Coffee could also be grown higher up on the mountain slopes. Therefore, beginning in the 1870s, President Barrios and succeeding regimes nationalized lands that belonged to the Catholic Church and sold unused state lands at inexpensive prices to plantation owners. Previously "safe" Indian lands (because of the altitude) were also now appropriated by the government, through various legislative processes around land titles. By 1926, only 7.3 percent of the Guatemalan population owned land.[2] Poverty and malnutrition of the Indians and poor ladinos continued to rise, as well as the requirements for forced and seasonal labor on the plantations. Guatemala was also becoming more dependent on the vagaries of the foreign export market.

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[1]Andrea Brown, "Land of the Few: Rural Land Ownership in Guatemala," in Susanne Jones and David Tobis, Guatemala, op. cit., p. 18.

[2]Ibid., p. 19.

The twentieth century has seen the continuation of the same economic and social policies, along with the rise of foreign companies and concerns, especially Germany and the United States, and recently other companies with interests related to nickel and oil. Much of the technical infrastructure of the country was developed by these companies including the early roads, railways, and telegraphs; and later water, sewage, and telephone systems. These companies were also responsible for much of the initial national administrative services, such as the postal service. In return, the Guatemalan government gave the multinationals numerous concessions. For example, between 1906 and 1945, the government allowed the United Fruit Company unlimited profit remittances, exemption from stamp and port taxes, and from import taxes on all goods and machinery, and unlimited access to the best land and water for 99 years. By 1950, United Fruit would be the biggest landowner in all of Guatemala, possessing over 500,000 acres (of which only 15 percent was in use).[1]

Several other incidents in recent history need to be highlighted to set the context for the present situation for homeless children in Guatemala.

In 1945, Dr. Juan José Arévalo was elected president. Over 60 percent of the people voted, in what has been termed Guatemala's freest election. Using Franklin D. Roosevelt as his model for social policy, Arévalo abolished the onerous Vagrancy Laws of 1935; instituted

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[1]Ibid.; Melville and Melville, op. cit., p. 21; Stephen Schlesinger and Stephen Kinzer, Bitter Fruit The Untold Story of the American Coup in Guatemala (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc.), p. 70.

Social Security legislation; and established the Labor Code of 1947, which included a national minimum wage, unemployment compensation, pregnancy benefits, compulsory labor-management contracts, and the right of the workers to organize.[1] Although Arévalo instituted reforms in education, social security, and labor practices, he was not able to change the tightly-knit patterns of the ownership and distribution of land.

Arévalo's successor, Jacobo Arbenz Guzman (1950-1954) announced in his presidential address that he would modernize the economy and raise the standard of living. In 1952, he instituted the Agrarian Reform Law, whose purpose was to take any unused portions of state land and plantation land, pay the owners through government bonds, their book value according to the owner's declarations on their 1952 taxes. In 1952, 107 state-owned farms were distributed through agrarian committees. By 1954, 1002 plantations, covering over 2 million acres were distributed to over 100,000 families.[2]

However, these land reform measures were far from popular with vested economic powers; and in 1954 the Arbenz government was overthrown by Castillo Armas (1954-1957), with the assistance of the United States Central Intelligence Agency (under Allen Dulles), and the support of the U.S. Department of State (under John Foster Dulles). The United States had been petitioned by the United Fruit Co. for the return of their lands. The U.S. government had also acted against

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[1]Ibid., p. 38.

[2]Melville and Melville, op. cit., pp. 55-58; Andrea Brown, op. cit., p. 20.

what they terms was a Communist government in this hemisphere.[1]

Castillo Armas returned all the distributed land back to the large landowners. He also disbanded the labor unions; and instituted the Committee of National Defense Against Communism, whose purpose was to search out and destroy communist and other subversive elements in the society.

Since 1954, Guatemala has experienced (except for President Mendez Montenegro--1966-1970) an unbroken chain of military rulers.[2] Between 1954 and 1981, there have been at least 80,000 deaths from oppression and politically motivated violence.[3] Of the 3,617 people who died violent deaths in the first 10 months of 1980, Alvaro Conteras Velez, the publisher of the newspaper Prensa Libre (in Guatemala City) stated that 86 of those deaths were university professors, 389 were students, and 326 were elementary school teachers.[4]

The military has controlled not only the political system (in the five elections from 1958 to 1978, the military presidents have been elected by 8-12 percent of the adult population; in 1978, 63.5

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[1]For an extensive analysis of the overthrow of the Arbenz government, cf. Richard H. Immerman, The CIA in Guatemala (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1982); and S. Schlesinger and S. Kinzer, Bitter Fruit: The Untold Story of the American Coup in Guatemala, op. cit.

[2]George Black, "Garrison Guatemala," NACLA Report on the Americas, v. XVII, 1, January-February 1983, p. 7.

[3]Washington Office on Latin America, Special Update, Guatemala: The Roots of Revolution (Washington, D.C.: WOLA, Preprint October 1982), p. 1.

[4]Eric Stover, "Human Rights Conditions and Scientific Freedom in the Americas," in Human Rights and Scientific Cooperation (Washington, D.C.: American Association For Advancement of Science, 1981), p. 66.

percent of the voters abstained),[1] but has also managed to develop control over business and development projects. As of 1980, military men direct 46 semi-autonomous state institutions--including the Army Bank, the National Reconstruction Committee (established as the conduit of development and aid funds after the 1976 earthquake), and an investment and pension fund, among others.[2] Along with the increased militarization of the country, has been the development (since the 1960s) of both a number of guerrilla organizations and various paramilitary death squads. There has also been increased expenditures for defense and military training, both in Guatemala and abroad.

Concomitant to these expenditures has been an increase in the economic development of the country, and an increase in the poverty of the urban ladino and the rural Indian. Both of these issues will be explored in the next sections of this chapter.

Economic Development

This section analyzes the current Guatemalan economy--its growth rates, GNP, inflation rates, and industrial development--and its effects on the large number of poor and abandoned children.

Although Guatemala is a rich country with a strong economy, the skewed ownership of the land and the uneven distribution of income, has led to a numerically small but wealthy elite, while the great

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[1]Black, Garrison Guatemala, p. 20.

[2]Ibid., p. 24.

majority of the people are not only poor, but are getting poorer. Thus, the current poverty, malnourishment, and homelessness (especially among children) are not merely "individual" problems demanding "individual" solutions; they are systemic issues. The poverty and abandonment seen today have been woven into the economic and social infrastructures of the country.

Economic Growth

From 1960 to 1980, the Guatemalan economy, with its oil and nickel deposits and growing agricultural exports such as: coffee, cotton, sugar and beef, was one of the strongest in the Central American region. Its economic growth rate for this period was between 5 and 8 percent a year.[1] Guatemala's inflation rate during this period (up intil the mid 1970s) was less than 1 percent. Between 1976 and 1979, it was 13-17 percent.[2] Guatemala has also provided, historically and in the present, excellent tax and investment incentives to businesses. As of 1981, there were over 300 U.S. multinational corporations (in the industrial, commercial and agricultural sectors) in Guatemala that had equity participation.[3] Such

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[1]U.S. Embassy, Foreign Economic Trends and Their Implication for the United States: Guatemala (American Embassy, Guatemala City, Guatemala, June 1980), p. 5.

[2]U.S. Department of State, Background Notes: Guatemala (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, January 1979), p. 1.

[3]Guatemala: Hungry for Change (San Francisco, CA: Institute For Food and Development Policy, March 1981), p. 3; also the North American Congress on Latin America's book, Guatemala lists by name 77 of the Fortune 1000 companies that are located in Guatemala, as of 1974, in David Tobis, "The Largest U.S. Corporations in Guatemala," NACLA, op. cit., pp. 167-174.

investors have routinely enjoyed a 30-35 percent annual return on their investments.[1]

Although the Guatemalan economy continues to grow, its growth rate has slowed since 1979 due to such factors as: changing world prices for certain commodity export items (especially coffee and sugar); internal political instability affecting the important tourism industry; also the country is still feeling the impact of the earthquake of February 1976. This quake killed 23,000 people, left over 1 million homeless, and cost the government well over $400 million (which might have gone into other development). This combination of factors was sufficient to drop the 1979 growth rate in GNP to 4.5 percent, well below the 5.2 percent of 1978, and the 7 percent plus rates of previous years. Predicted growth rates for 1980-1981 were approximately 3 percent, with an inflation rate of 15 percent.[2]

However, despite the growth in light industry stimulated, in part, by the creation of new markets through the Central American Common Market (CACM) in 1961, agriculture still accounts for over 25 percent of Guatemala's gross national product, over 60 percent of its total employment of its people, and over 66 percent of its export value. Coffee alone accounted for 40 percent of total export earning in 1979.[3] In dollars, in 1979 the overall average per capita

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[1]Washington Office on Latin America Guatemala, p. 2.

[2]U.S. Embassy, Ibid., p. 4.

[3]Ibid., p. 8.

income was $1,014 (based on a GNP of $6.9 billion); 78 percent of the population, however, earned less than $300/year, and are, according to accepted international definitions, "poor".[1]

In spite of the fact that Guatemala is a country rich in land and resources, and with an economic growth rate that is one of the strongest in Central America, the majority of Guatemalans are poor and getting poorer. In 1950 the top 5 percent of the population received 48 percent of the national income. By 1978, their proportion had grown to 59 percent. In contrast, between 1950 and 1978, the poorest 50 percent saw their meagre share of the nation's wealth shrink from 9 percent to 7 percent.[2]

This economic decline is fueled by the pattern of land ownership coupled with the above mentioned employment profile. In terms of the quantity of land owned by Guatemalans, 2 percent of the landowners ("farm units") control 66 percent of available agricultural land. Most of these farms are over 315 acres; and 90 percent of landowners control 16 percent of the arable land. These "units" consist of plots of less than 17 acres.[3] What this means, according to a U.S. AID study, is that 9 out of 10 Guatemalans quantitatively live on plots of land too small to provide enough food for the average family--i.e., for a family of 5-7 people (as measured by a

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[1]Washington Office on Latin America, Ibid., p. 2.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Taken from an analysis of Land Distribution in the Washington Office on Latin America's Special Update Report, 1983, at Cayman Gallery, Guatemala: A Testimonial, September 1983.

fertility rate of 5.7).[1] In addition, these figures also mean, qualitatively, that even if this 90 percent had slightly larger farms, the land where they are now forced to live--i.e., on the upper mountain slopes (the altiplano) is too steep and of too poor quality to give adequate yield, even with modern farm methods.

Large landowners continue to push for more land to provde for more export crops. Thus the Indians-- 1) have been pushed off their original lower lands; 2) have had to migrate either to the higher mountain land; or 3) have had to leave the land and migrate to the city, where industrial and service jobs have not grown to provide enough employment either. The history of development has shown that Guatemala is economically dependent on export prices, has little home industry or diversified markets, and little incentive to upgrade its workforce.

Moreover, despite its apparently healthy economy, Guatemala has one of the weakest public sectors in Latin America because of the low tax revenue it collects. The state receives low revenues because:

- money goes out of the country and the internal tax base is low;

- revenues generated by state enterprises are generally inadequate to cover expenses, and rarely make a profit for the central government.[2]

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[1]"Fertility and Life Expectancy," in James P. Grant, The State of the World's Children 1981-1982 (New York, N.Y.: UNICEF, 1982), p. 153.

[2]U.S. Embassy, op. cit., pp. 9-10.

This weak tax base, therefore, does not provide for an adequate social service system, again compounding the situation for poor families and children.

Demographics

This next section reviews population statistics for Guatemala with a breakdown of: rural and urban populations; ethnic composition; and age and sex of the population--with a focus on the numbers of children 0-18 years, with approximations on the numbers of poor and abandoned children. Then the issues of food, water, education, and access to health services are described. This section will serve as a bridge to Section 6 - Prior Work and Current Programs.

The sources of data for this section are from the United States World Population and Its Age-Sex Composition by Country 1950-200; Demographic Estimation and Projection as Assessed in 1978; UNESCO's Statistical Yearbook, 1977 and 1978-79; the U.S. Bureau of the Census, International Population Dynamics 1950-1979; Demographic Estimates for Countries with a Population of 5 Million or More. These reports, and others have been compliled into the statistical tables in UNICEF's annual report, The State of the World's Children, 1981-82, which is cited in the footnotes.

Population of Guatemala

The population of Guatemala for 1980 was 7.262 million.[1] The increase in the overall population from 2.3 million in 1950, and 5.5

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[1]United Nations Economic and Social Council, Country Programme Profile: Guatemala (New York, N.Y.: UNICEF, 1982), p. 2.

million in 1973, represent an annual growth rate of 2.7 - 2.9 percent.[1] The majority of the population is rural, although statistics and estimates vary depeding on the source. In 1980, according to the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), rural inhabitants consisted of 61.08 percent of the population; the urban was 38.92 percent.[2] The World Bank's figures for the rural population in 1980, was 75 percent.[3]

Though the majority of the population is still rural, its percentages have dropped about 15 points over the last 30 years, with the increased migration to the capital city. In 1973, there were 63.6 percent rural inhabitants, and 36.4 percent urban. In 1950, Guatemala was 75 percent rural.[4] The Government's Economic Plan for 1979-82 fostered economic and social development schemes along the pacific coast, and in some of the other sections of the country, in an attempt to reverse the trend toward industrialization and urban migration to the capital.[5]

Ethnic Composition

The 1973 Census (the last official census of the country) divides the population into two ethnic categories: Indian and Ladino (although there are small percentages of white criollos--decendants of the Spanish, with no Indian blood; and a small number of blacks,

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[1]Steven Hudgens, "Guatemala: A Population Profile," in Barton, et al. (Eds.), Guatemala: The Interaction of Health and Development (University of Alabama: The Rural Health Clearinghouse, 1978), p. 8.

[2]UN Economic and Social Council, Ibid.

[3]World Bank, 1980, in Oxfam, America, Facts For Action (Boston, MA: Oxfam, American Educational Publication, no date), p. 2.

[4]Hudgens, op. cit., p. 13.

[5]US Embassy, op. cit., pp. 12-13.

who live and work mostly on the Caribbean coast. Again, opinion varies on the exact percentage of Indians and Ladinos. Hudgens[1] lists the percentage of Indians in 1973 at 43.8 percent. This is a drop from the 1950 rate of 53.6 percent. Others, like the Oxfam report, give the figure of 55 percent for the Indian population;[2] and the Washington Office on Latin America lists the Indian population as 65 percent of the whole.[3]

The question around the numbers and percentages of Indian and Ladino is not so much an issue of whose data is more accurate statistically, but it is more a question of definitions and cultural distinctions,with some racial overtones. An Indian, by definition, is a person who

> ...recognizes his Mayan heritage by wearing one of the two hundred eighty-eight distinct indigenous costumes, by being married to a woman who so dresses, by speaking a dialect of one of the twenty-two indigenous languages, by having a value system that is more communal than individual, and/or by being considered Indian by his neighbors.[4]

A ladino, on the other hand, by strict definition,is a "Central American of pure or mixed Spanish descent who does not belong to an Indian community.[5] However, an Indian can become a ladino by: dropping his Indigenous name, language, and dress, and by dressing in western

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[1]Hudgens, Ibid., p. 10.

[2]Oxfam, America, Ibid.

[3]Washington Office on Latin America, op. cit., p. 3.

[4]Melville and Melville, op. cit., p. 9.

[5]Webster's Third New International Dictionary (Springfield, MA: G & C Merriam Company, 1981), p. 1263.

tradition; by learning and speaking Spanish; and by adopting competitive and individualistic values.[1] Finally, if there is a doubt regarding a person's ethnicity, the 1973 Census sheet instructs that, "...If there is a doubt, one turns, as a last resort, to asking the person whether he is a Ladino or Indian, noting the answer that the individual gives."[2] Many Indians have "become" ladinos in order to secure work, and to protect themselves and their families, as well as to avoid negative categorizing or political trouble in certain areas.

Thus, although Indians make up well over half of the Guatemalan population, official statistics list them as 42.8 percent of the population in 1973, as compared to a 53.6 percent of the population in 1950.[3] The gradual lessening of the Indian percent of the population has been interpreted by government groups to show the success of the educational policy of aphabetizacion and the cultural policy of ladinoazicion of the Guatemalan people.[4] The highest percentage of the Indians live in the mountain regions of the North Central and Northwest (with between 70 to 90 percent of the entire population of these departments). The central (including the capital) and eastern regions have the fewest Indians (i.e., between 6 - 17 percent).[5]

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[1]Melville and Melville, Ibid.

[2]Translated from the VIII Censo de Poblacion y III de Habitacion 26 de Marzo de 1973, in Hudgens, op. cit., p. 10.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Melville and Melville, Ibid.

[5]Hudgens, Ibid.

Age and Life Expectancy of the Population

The median age in Guatemala, in 1973, was 17.2 years. In 1950, the median age was 18.5 years. This suggests that the population is younger today than 30 years ago.[1] Moreover, the number of children 0-15 in 1980, were 3.36 million--or 44 percent of the entire population. This figure contrasts quite sharply with the United States, which has 24 percent of its population 0-15 years.[2]

The total fertility rate (indicating the average number of children each woman would bear if the present rate of childbearing remains unchanged in her life) in Guatemala is 5.7. In the United States, it is 1.8. Average life expectancy in Guatemala in 1980 was 58 years. However, the World Bank's report of 1980, gives 58 years as the overall figure for the general population. For the rural Indian, it is 49 years.[3] This compares to an average life expectancy in the United States of 73 years.[4]

The infant mortality rate (number of deaths of children 0-1 year) in Guatemala is officially listed at 69 per 1000.[5] However, the Washington Office on Latin America's October 1982 report states that the Central American Nutrition Institute thinks that the real rate is over 100 deaths per 1000.[6] The rate in the United States is

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[1]Ibid., p. 11.

[2]UNICEF, The State of the World's Children, 1981-82, p. 149.

[3]Oxfam, America, Facts For Action, p. 2.

[4]UNICEF, The State of the World's Children, 1981-82, p. 153.

[5]Ibid., p. 151.

[6]Washington Office on Latin America, Guatemala, p. 3.

12 per 1000. Of Guatemalan children who die before 5 years old, UNICEF gives the figure of 12 per 1000. It lists the U.S. figure at 1 per 1000.[1] The death rate for poor, rural Indian children is 1.7 times higher than it is for non-Indians.[2]

Priority Problems and Needs of Children

Food and Health. Of the total population of 7.2 million in Guatemala for 1980, 79 percent (or close to 6,000,000 people) are defined as poor:[3] with 81 percent of the rural population (mostly Indians), and 75 percent of the urban (poor ladinos) without sufficent means to acquire even minimum amounts of food. The Centeral American Nutrition Institute (INCAP) estimates that 82 percent or over 1,000,000 children under 5 years old are malnourished--30 percent in a severe way.[4] And 60 percent of these malnourished children also suffer from a critical growth pattern.[5]

The high infant mortality rates are due to the high incidences of gastro-intestinal, and pulmonary diseases. The high morbidity rates are caused from parasitic and infectious diseases. Only 40 percent of the urban, and 18 percent of the rural population in 1980 had access to drinkable water; and 18 percent of the entire population

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[1]UNICEF, Ibid.

[2]Washington Office on Latin America, Ibid.

[3]UN Economic and Social Council, Profile Guatemala, p. 3.

[4]Washington Office on Latin America, Guatemala, p. e.

[5]ECOSOC, Ibid.

has access to bathrooms and other excreta disposal facilities. Moreover, only 28.5 percent of the total population, and 5.4 percent of rural inhabitants have electricity.[1]

In summary regarding food and health, on the national level, only 17 percent of the entire population has access to some form of health service.[2] Basic health services in the capital city for the majority of the people are "fair" at best (there are three "good" private hospitals in the capital. Most of the doctors in those facilities have been trained in the United States, England or in West Germany.[3]

Educational Situation. Added to the inadequate number of facilities and the insufficient access to health, housing, water and other human services, is the high rate of illiteracy for Guatemalans. The overall published literacy rates for adults in the country are 54 percent for males, and 38 percent for females.[4] These rates are considered by UNICEF to be the lowest in Central America; they are, at best, only one-half of the literacy figures for the United States (i.e., 98 percent).

According to the Washington Office on Latin America's special report, October 1982, only 25 percent of the Guatemalan population has had up to three years of schooling (although the government's

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[1]Washington Office on Latin America, Ibid.

[2]UN Economic and Social Council, Profile Guatemala, p. 3.

[3]Author's note.

[4]UNICEF, Ibid., p. 154.

educational policy states that there is compulsory schooling up to six years).[1] The UN Economic and Social Council lists gross school enrollment rates for the first level (ages 7-12) at 64 percent overall (and 58 percent for girls).[2] However, this percentage drops at least 10-15 percent each year after the first year.[3] Only 12 percent of the youths in Guatemala attend either high school or vocational school.[4]

The educational situation for rural Indians is worse. According to the figures from the 1973 Census, the rural literacy rate is 29.5 percent, compared to 71.3 percent for the city.[5] Moreover, two-thirds of rural children 7-14 years do not attend school. In the altiplano (high mountain areas), the figure is closer to 90 percent.[6]

Numbers of Abandoned Children in Guatemala and Their Needs For Social Services

Peter Tacon, a Policy Specialist for UNICEF, has conducted a number of studies on the status of abandoned children during his ten years of work in Latin America. In one of his report, My Child Minus Two, he estimates that about 8 percent (or 250,000) of the child population--0-18 years old in Guatemala, is in a state of "family

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[1]U.S. Department of State, Background Notes: Guatemala, p. 1.

[2]UN Economic and Social Council, Ibid., p. 2.

[3]Unofficial estimates gathered by the author from interviews with local school principals, and an educational administrator, Antigua and Guatemala City, Guatemala, June-July 1981.

[4]Washington Office on Latin America, Guatemala, p. 3.

[5]Hudgens, "Guatemala: A Population Profile," p. 15.

[6]Washington Office on Latin America, Ibid.

crisis" because of poverty, malnutrition, urban migration, abandonment of the family by the father, urban violence, and a general lack of access to bacic human services.[1] Tacon also estimates that there are about 30,000 abandoned children without families living on the street or in the parks in the urban centers. In 1977, the Guatemalan Department of Social Service (La Secretaria de Bienestar Social), in a study based on a survey by the Economic Planning Council in 1973, acknowledged that out of a total child population (0-18 years), of 2,789,000, approximately 1,194,000 (or 43 percent) are "in need." Of the number "in need", about 19,091 (or less than one-tenth of 1 percent of the total child population) receive some form of social service. These services (which will be discussed in the next section --"Current Programs"), cover about 1.6 percent of the population in need.[2]

Peter Tacon and others are quick to point out regarding the population in need, that these figures are "guesstimates," because accurate statistics either are not available or do not exist. However, both he and other experts from local government and non-governmental organizations, as well as from the observations conducted by this author in the poor areas of Guatemala City, believe that these figures are conservative.

The majority of the children on the streets in the capital city and various towns are boys. Young girls, more often than not,

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[1]Peter Tacon, My Child Minus Two, pp. 2-8 and 22.

[2]Diagnostico preliminar de Servicios de Bienestar Social, Unidad de Bienestar Social CNPE, Agosto 1977, quoted in Planificacion del Consejo de Bienestar Social de Guatemala (Guatemala: Impresos Industriales, 1978), p. 28.

work at home with their mothers or relatives, or are sent out to work as servants in upper class homes.

Many of the abandoned and neglected children are from racially mixed families that have left areas of rural poverty, and have migrated to the capital city. Since 1980, however, there have been increased numbers of Indian children from the mountain areas that have been orphaned because of political violence. Many of these Indian children live in large designated refugee camps and specially designated strategic hamlets in the north and central regions of the country. In these camps, the children experience poor housing, lack of privacy and family connections, inadequate food, poor health care, and a lack of educational and recreational facilities. Other orphaned Indian children have fled to the capital city where they joined the ranks of urban street children.

Impoverished young children begin the process of leaving their homes at three or four years of age, when they accompany their mothers to the market workplace. There they sleep, assist in the selling of their mother's goods, or beg money from shoppers and tourists.

From the age of six years, young boys accompany their older brothers and friends to parks, restaurants and hotels. There they beg money, watch parked cars for tourists, and shine shoes for businessmen and tourists that frequent the area. Younger children usually return home at nightfall, where they may be able to eat a little food, and sleep on the floor in the kitchen-living room area or in a bed crowded with brothers and sisters. Older boys (nine years old and over), because of pride, their desire to help the family, or by house rule,

do not return to their home till late at night. Some may only return to the house if they have a dollar or two--their profit from the day's labor.

Year by year, unless there are major economic changes in the household (e.g., increased employment for the mother, or a marriage to a man who is employed), the boys spend more and more time on the street, drift away from school, and increasingly adopt the unstructured street life-style. They perfect the street "hustle", i.e., they try to charm strangers in the midst of intense competition and violence with their peers to attract the meagre tourist dollar.

Before adolescence, the boys begin to engage in activities such as drinking, smoking marijuana, and sniffing glue. By ages 10-11, many choose not to return home. Congretating in gangs, they sleep on park benches, in doorways and under porticoes. Huddled against the cold, they fear theft from older youths, and being struck by the butt-end of a police rifle.

Many impoverished boys, as they reach adolescence, cannot return home if their mothers re-marries. As the new couple begins to have children, there is less room for the older male children from a previous union, because of competition and jealousy by their new step-father. Thus, the older the children become, the more they are spun from their homes to drift into further cycles on the street of neglect, abandonment, poverty, crime, drug use, and prostitution.

Life on the street for homeless young boys is described in the following case examples.

Antonio, aged 12, spends most of his time in the park near a taxi stand. He lived at home, until his mother remarried two years ago. Tony and his stepfather argued constantly, and Tony left home after his stepfather, returning home drunk one night, beat him. He shines shoes in the park, and recently has been "adopted" by one of the taxi drivers. In return for washing the car and guarding it at night, Tony is allowed to curl up in the back seat at night to sleep. He begs food from the local restaurant owners, or buys food from his day's earnings. Tony left school three years ago, after repeatedly failing his second grade exams.

Tony aspires to be a chauffer in one of the upper-class families, and hopes to return home, if his stepfather leaves. When Tony is not working with the car, he congregates in the park. He has begun to gamble with the older youth and taxi drivers in the park; and has begun to drink during the day.

Peter, 13, and his brother Julio, 8, spend their days in front of a major tourist hotel in the capital, trying to watch parked cars for businessmen who come for lunch. At night, the two boys roam the streets in the "red light" district, selling stolen newspapers or running errands for patrons of the cantinas. After midnight, the boys return to the rear of a large office building where they sleep amidst cartons and an old refrigerator which stores their few possessions. Both have lice and are malnourished.

Peter, at times, is the protector of his younger brother from the older street youth. At other times, Peter is the stern disciplinarian. He beats his brother regularly, both to teach him "manners," and to vent his own frustrations at living alone on the street. Peter and Julio have three sisters and a younger brother, who live with their grandmother in a two room hovel in the downtown area. The boys have never known their father; their mother, a waitress, left the family with her mother so she could look for work in another town.

In the next section, we will analyze some of the prior work and current programs that exist in Guatemala by the public and voluntary agencies around the issues of poor and homeless children.

Prior Work and Current Social Service Programs

This section presents some of the prior work and current social service programs that exist in Guatemala for the care of homeless and abandoned children. The main groups that provide human development and social service projects are divided into these headings:

1. Government international economic development groups;
2. United Nations organizations;
3. International private, voluntary aid organizations;
4. Guatemalan public social service agencies; and
5. Guatemalan private, non-profit social service agencies.

1. Government International Economic Development Agencies

In Guatemala there are a number of international, government-based development agencies that seek to assist the Guatemalan government in its own developmental efforts. For example, the country's Social Action Plan for 1980-1982, as part of its four year Development Plan, calls for aid projects in the areas of: health, education, housing and child nutrition. This Action Plan has a projected budget of $566.7 million.[1] Assisting the Guatemalan government in these projects are: the United States Agency for International Development (USAID); the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany; the Government of the Netherlands; the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA); and the World Bank; Inter-American Development Bank; and the

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[1]U.S. Embassy, Foreign Economic Trends, p. 10.

Central American Bank for Economic Integration. All told, these agencies, through a combination of loans and contributions, will provide for 49 percent (or $277.3 million) of the projected costs of these ventures.[1]

2. United Nations Organizations

The United Nations, through its various agencies, e.g., the World Health Organization (WHO), and the Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), provide funding for health, education, culture, and social services, and coordinate research and scientific studies in all areas of human development. Most prominent among the United Nation's groups in Guatemala for the provision and coordination of social wervices, especially to children, is the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). In Guatemala, UNICEF has selected these areas for assistance:

- child health; water supply and sanitation;
- social welfare services for children;
- formal and non-formal education; and
- planning and project support services.

Although the areas outlined by UNICEF in their goals and objectives are targeted very well, their average annual budget for these services hovers between $400-600,000(for example, the projected 1981 budget was $637,000).[2] This projected budget allows for only $18,000 in

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[1]UN Economic and Social Council, Profile: Guatemala, pp. 5-8.

[2]Ibid., p. 4.

the category of "social welfare services for children."

Although UNICEF has limited amounts of money for the provision of direct social services, the agency has done fine work in the identification of the needs of children and families, and has acted as a support and coordinating body to other social service groups. An example of their coordinating work has been: the provision of $3,000 from the nutrition budget to provide research funds, honorariums and technical assistance in the preparation of the government's national food and nutrition plan, which was then included in the National Development Plan of 1979.[1]

3. International Non-profit, Voluntary Aid Organizations

The third type of organizations thatprovide development assistance, material aid, and social services in Guatemala are the international, private, non-profit organizations. These organizations were particularly effective in reconstruction efforts in Guatemala after the earthquake of 4 February 1976.

Examples of these organizations from the United States can be found through the American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service, Inc. This council (and especially its Technical Assistance Information Clearinghouse--TAICH) offers a forum for cooperation and information sharing among voluntary agencies. In 1981, TAICH listed 55 private, non-profit U.S. agencies working in Guatemala. Financial

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[1]Ibid., p. 6.

data from 39 of the agencies indicated that these groups spent, in money, staff, donated goods and services, about $22 million.[1]

Representative examples of some of these agencies are: American Dentists for Foreign Service; CARE; Catholic Relief Services -USCC; Family Planning International Division; The Rockefeller Foundation; Rotary International; World Vision Relief Organization; and YMCA. The majority of these groups provide care in the form of medical attention; education; housing construction; day care; and other forms of community development. Of the 55 agencies presently working in Guatemala, only 14 have a social welfare components, which consists usually of day care or child care centers, individual and group counseling, a boys club, and some assistance of refugees. Only one organization in this listing (American Friends of Children--Mi Casa), provides residential care for homeless children.[2]

4. Guatemalan Public Social Service System

The fourth group that provides non-residential and residential services to children, is the Guatemalan public social service system, which is under the state's Department of Social Welfare (La Secretaria de Bienestar Social). The Department of Social Welfare has the responsibility for all children 0-18 years who are in need of care because they

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[1]American Council of Voluntary Agencies For Foreign Service, Inc., TAICH Country Report, Development Assistance Programs of U.S. Non-Profit Organizations for Guatemala (New York, N.Y.: TAICH, 1982), p. 1.

[2]Ibid., pp. 12, and 53-59.

> ...suffer or may be exposed to suffer deviations or upsets in their physiological, moral, or mental state; and those who are found in abandonment or danger.[1]

The Department of Social Welfare works on a "voluntary" basis with the above children, and/or receives referrals for assistance from the Family Court. Through its social workers, the department cares for these children and their families, on a "short-term" or "long-term" basis.

There are four major divisions in the Department of Social Welfare:

- Administration and Technical Services

- Department of Child and Family Welfare - as of 1979, this department operated 37 day care centers; 5 residences for orphaned and abandoned children; and 1 center for the aging.

- Department of Re-Orientation of Minors (comparable to the state training school facilities for youth in New York State) - has 5 residential centers, all in the capital.

- Department of Special Education - has 5 centers in the capital.

The 1979 budget for the entire Department of Social Welfare has $4,706 million (of which $2,989 million went to the Department of Child and Family Welfare).[2] In 1979, all sections of the Department of Social Welfare provided care to 5,663 children 0-18 years (the Department provided 882 beds in residential care facilities for orphaned

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[1]Title II, Article 5 of the Child Care Law (Codigo de Menores). Draft Copy, November 1979, trans. by Mary Beth Winters (Guatemala, 1981), p. 2.

[2]Plan Nacional de Desarrollo 1979-1982 Sector Bienestar Social, (Guatemala Ciudad, Guatemala, C.A., 1979), p. 3.

and abandoned children).[1]

5. Private Voluntary Social Service Agencies

The fifth group that provides direct social services to children are the local private, non-profit social service agencies. These agencies (whether indigenous or foreign) are all legally incorporated as "Guatemalan Associations." In 1981, these agencies operated 13 day care centers; 7 residences for the elderly; and 16 residences for orphaned and abandoned children. The private agencies do not have any residences or centers for "delinquents" or for "special needs" children.

Programmatically, these groups work with homeless children directly from the street, or upon referral from the Family Court, and/or from the Department of Social Welfare (if the agency is licensed and certified). The private agencies receive no funding from the state Department of Social Welfare. They raise their own money from within Guatemala, from their country of origin, or from international assistance groups, such as: World Vision, Christian Children's Fund, or Catholic Relief Services, and other groups. Together, the public and private voluntary social service agencies in Guatemala provide residential care for 1,708 orphaned and neglected children. Table 1 shows the public and private agencies, both in the capital and in the interior, that give residential care

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[1]Graph #4, el departamento fe Estadistica de la Secretaria de Bienestar Social, in Plan Nacional, Ibid., p. 6.

vary throughout the year, particularly in the private agencies, because of fluctuations in their funding and staffing.

TABLE 1

INSTITUTIONS PROVIDING RESIDENTIAL CARE FOR ORPHANED AND ABANDONED CHILDREN 0-18 YEARS IN GUATEMALA 1980

Capital City	Number of Facilities		Population Served
Public Agencies	3		695
Private Agencies	11		600
Total Facilities Inside Capital:	14	Sub Total Served:	1295
Outside the Capital			
Public Agencies	2		187
Private Agencies	5		226
Total Facilities Outside Capital:	7	Sub Total Served:	413
Total Guatemalan Facilities (Public & Private)	21	Total Served	1708

Source: Diagnosis of Social Welfare Services, Department of Social Welfare. General Secretariat of National Council of Economic Planning, 1979, 1980.

All public and most of the private social service agencies, as well as other educational, cultural and voluntary groups (such as the University of San Carlos, the Women's Club, and Lion's Club, and the Association of Journalists), and some international organizations (e.g., Caritas, Boy Scouts, S.O.S. Villages), have joined together in a coordinating body, called the Council of Social Welfare (Consejo de Bienestar Social). This Council coordinates, supports, and gives technical assistance to its eighty-nine member agencies; and serves as program consultant to the Department of Social Welfare. In this capacity, it provided valuable input to the state Child Care Law of 1979. It also helped to write the document that the Department of Social Welfare has used to evaluate and certify new private agencies that seek to care for children.

Conclusion

An overview of the history, geography and governmental structures of Guatemala shows a country with rich and varied resources, cultures and peoples. However, an analysis of the country's economic and development policies, instituted since 1520, indicates wide disparities in income and distribution of those resources. A small minority controls most of the land and income derived primarily from export crops; while the majority of the population is poor and without access to basic human services.

The lack of sufficient food, shelter, water, health and education affects over 250,000 poor children, who live on the street or with families who are in crisis because of poverty, unemployment, mal-

nurtition and abandonment of the family by the father.

In Guatemala, existing programs consist of various international economic development groups, some United Nations programs, and international private voluntary aid organizations, many of which began after the devastating earthquate of 1976. There also exists in Guatemala a network of public and private social service agencies that has sought to alleviate many of the problems of poor children and families. However, because of increased numbers of poor and abandoned children, a limited tax base to support social services, coupled with government spending priorities more in the areas of defense, oil and mineral development, the combined public and private social service agencies provide help for only one-tenth of one percent of the estimated numbers of abandoned children who are in need of care.

Chapter II, New Application of Knowledge, provides conceptual and cross-cultural frameworks for the development of a model of residential care that addresses some of the needs of the above population--abandoned and neglected children.

CHAPTER II

NEW APPLICATION OF KNOWLEDGE

Introduction

This chapter discusses the philosophical and conceptual framework of this doctoral project. The new application of knowledge invovles a number of theories, including exchange theory, contingency theory, and community development models, which provide (1) the conceptual basis of the model used, and (2) its implementation in a new environment and culture.

Included in this chapter are first an exploration of the definition of "theory" itself, using the work of Hall and Lindsey. This is followed by an analysis and discussion of exchange theory using Max Weber, Talcott Parsons, George C. Homans, Peter M. Blau, and Alvin W. Gouldner. A brief critique of the theory of exchange as expressed by Willer and Anderson, and by Levine and White, is presented. Exchange theory as applied to exchanges between organizations will be discussed again using the work of Levine and White, and including a discussion of its major elements, determinants and dimensions. This analysis of exchange among organizations is germane to the overall theoretical context of this project and provides the basis for the expansion of the conceptual framework and new application of knowledge into an analysis of the exchange theory as applied to a new

environment and culture, i.e. the cross-national exchanges in project implementation.

The locality development model and other community organizational schemes, as expressed by Jack Rothman, will be discussed. In these discussions, emphasis is placed not only on environmental context, but on internal organizational aspects of the project as well--i.e. organizational structures, technology, and the interrelationship between the agency and its members. Together these intraorganizational elements are reviewed as they interact with the environment and culture in which they seek to relate and become established, e.g. other organizations, the political rules and regulations of the new country, and the new client population.

The specific values and culture that provide the environmental framework of this doctoral project are then explored using the work of Florence Schwartz, et al., in their book A Cross-cultural Encounter: A Non-traditional Approach to Social Work Education; and the values discussion of Kluckholn, Montalvo, and Edward T. Hall.

This chapter provides the bridge and introduction of Chapters III and IV, which are detailed descriptions of the design of the project, and its implementation in Guatemala.

Definition of Theory

Before proceding to the various theories discussed in this chapter, it is helpful to review the fundamentals of a theory.

A theory, according to Hall and Lindsey, is a "set of conventions created by the theorist."[1] Ideally, it consists of a cluster of relevant assumptions systematically related to each other; and contains a set of empirical definitions.[2] Using a theoretical framework (1) leads to the observation of relevant empirical relations, not yet observed; and (2) allows for prediction of probable outcomes of both individual and organizational endeavors. And especially for purposes of this project, a theory both:

> permits the incorporation of known empirical findings within a logically consistent and reasonably simple framework; and assists one to abstract in a systematic and efficient manner.[3]

Exchange Theory

Classical Exchange Theories

The primary theory that is used in this doctoral project is the exchange theory. First expressed by Max Weber, in The Theory of Social and Economic Organizations (1947), exchange is "in the broadest sense . . . every case of formally voluntary agreement involving the offer of any sort of present, continuing, or future utility in exchange for utilities of any sort offered in return."[4] The basic notion here

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[1]Calvin S. Hall and Gardner Lindsey, Theories of Personality (New York, NY: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1955), p. 10.

[2]Ibid., p. 11.

[3]Ibid., pp. 14-15.

[4]Max Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organizations (New York, NY, 1947), p. 150; quoted in Sol Levine and Paul E. White, "Exchange as a Conceptual Framework for the Study of Interorganizational Relationships," Administrative Science Quarterly 5 (March 1961), p. 601.

is that "utility" is used in the economic sense. It is the "utility" of the objects of exchange to both sides that produces the exchange.[1]

Talcott Parsons has written that the output of an organization can be analyzed within the framework of "ideas of contract or exchange."[2] Parsons, however, sees that exchange should be centered around the primacy of interest of the self, and the contractual side of a relationship of exchange is expressed by his notion that, "it is inherent in the nature of social interaction that the gratification of ego's need-dispositions is contingent on alter's reaction, and vice versa."[3]

In Parson's terms, for a social system to be stable, " . . . there must be a 'mutuality of gratification,' or the mutually contingent exchange of gratifications, that is, on reciprocity as exchange."[4]

George C. Homans, in his seminal work "Social Behavior as Exchange," also describes social behavior as " . . . an exchange of goods, material goods, but also non-material ones, such as symbols of approval or prestige."[5] The paradigm of exchange, according to

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[1]S. Levine and P. White, "Exchange as a Conceptual Framework," Ibid.

[2]Talcott Parsons, "Suggestions for a Sociological Approach to the Theory of Organizations," in A. Etzioni, A Sociological Reader in Complex Organizations (New York, NY: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1969), p. 34.

[3]Talcott Parsons, The Social System (Glencoe, IL: The Free Press, 1951), p. 21; also see Alvin W. Gouldner, "The Norm of Reciprocity: A Preliminary Statement," American Sociological Review (April 1960), 25:2, p. 167.

[4]Gouldner, Ibid., p. 168.

[5]George C. Homans, "Social Behavior as Exchange," American Journal of Sociology 53 (May 1958), p. 606.

Homans, is that:

> persons that give much to others, try to get much from them; and persons that get much from others, are under pressure to give much to them.
> This process of influence works out at equilibrium to a balance in the exchanges. For a person engaged in exchange, what he gives may be a cost to him, just as what he gets may be a reward, and his behavior changes less as profit, that is, reward minus cost, tends to a maximum.
> Not only does he seek a maximum for himself, but he tries to see to it that no one in his group makes more profit than he does. The cost and value of what he gives and what he gets vary with the quantity of what he gives and gets.[1]

Peter M. Blau describes the behaviors and the social structures within various departments of state and federal agencies as a process of exchange between members.[2] And, according to Homans, Blau shows that those social structures in equilibrium, might be this way as the result of "a process of exchanging behavior rewarding and costing in different degrees, in which the increment of reward and cost varied with the frequency of behavior, that is, with the frequency of interaction."[3]

Alvin W. Gouldner, in his attempt to further clarify the definition of exchange theory, and attempt to bridge the gap between self-interest versus altruism (especially as seen by Parsons and Homans), analyzes the concepts of complementarity and reciprocity:

"Complementarity," he writes, "connotes that one's rights are

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[1]George C. Homans, "Social Behavior as Exchange," Ibid.

[2]Peter M. Blau, Exchange and Power in Social Life (New York, NY: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1964), pp. 224-226; also see The Dynamics of Bureaucracy (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1963), pp. 121-142.

[3]George C. Homans, Ibid., p. 606.

another's obligations, and vice versa. Reciprocity, however, connotes that each party has rights and duties."[1] Gouldner emphasizes that the difference between complementarity and reciprocity is not merely an analytic distinction; it is an empirical generalization of great importance in both individual and systemic relationships. Gouldner stresses that if there were only rights on one side of the equation, and duties on the other side, there would be no exchange as defined above:

> Stated differently, it would seem that there can be stable patterns of reciprocity qua exchange only insofar as each party has both rights and duties . . . It is now clear, at any rate, that reciprocity is by no means identical with complementarity and that the two are confused only at theoretical peril.[2]

Thus, in developing what he calls the "Norm of Reciprocity" in social systems, Gouldner states that:

> . . . The motivation for reciprocity stems not only from the sheer gratification which alter receives from ego, but from alter's internalization of a specific norm of reciprocity which morally obliges him to give benefits to those from whom he has received them.
>
> In this respect, the norm of reciprocity is a concrete and special mechanism involved in the maintenance of any stable social system.

Criticism of Exchange Theory

The first criticism of classical exchange theory, as expressed by Willer and Anderson, is that it is reductionist--

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[1]Alvin W. Gouldner, "A Norm of Reciprocity: A Preliminary Statement," American Sociological Review (April 1960), 25:2, p. 169.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Ibid., p. 174.

that is to say, these theorists attempt to reduce, through the exchange theory, all social phenomena to the individual and psychological level. "There are no general sociological propositions . . . and that the only general propositions of sociology are in fact psychological."[1] Reducing organizational interactions to only the individual or dyadic level, denies that structural elements (i.e. economic, organizational and social) provide the history and context in which specific exchanges take place. The reduction of social phenomena to "individual reinforcement histories and to dyads of individuals"[2] is misleading and brings up Willer and Anderson's second criticism.

The second weakness of operant exchange theory of Blau and Homans, is that only exchange relationships matter; and moreover their analysis of exchange theory does not take into account the reality of coercive networks in the society.[3]

Interorganizational Exchange Theory

Sol Levine and Paul E. White, in their article "Exchange as a Conceptual Framework for the Study of Interorganizational Relationships" (1961), have echoed the concerns of Willer and Anderson when they write that:

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[1]George C. Homans, Social Behavior: Its Elementary Forms (New York, NY: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1964), p. 817; as quoted in David Willer and Bo Anderson, Networks, Exchange and Coercion: The Elementary Theory and Its Applications (New York, NY: Elsevier North Holland, Inc., 1981), p. 11.

[2]Willer and Anderson, Ibid.

[3]Ibid., p. 14.

> . . . the few available definitions of exchange are somewhat limited for our purposes because they tend to be bound by economics, and because their referents are mainly individual or psychological phenomena and are not intended to encompass interaction between organizational entities or larger systems.[1]

Consequently, Levine and White established a theory of organizational exchange and defined exchanges between and among organizations.

Their operational definition of inter-organizational exchange is:

> Organizational exchange is any voluntary activity between two organizations which has consequences, real or anticipated for the realization of their respective goals or objectives.[2]

The above definition is useful for this project because it refers to all activities between organizations (reciprocal and unidirectional); especially if those activities (e.g. an intake referral, or fund raising event) while seeming to benefit one group more than the other, really help to fulfill both organizations' goals and objectives.

This definition also goes beyond the notion of exchange, seen only as a transfer of material goods (Weber), mutual gratification (Parsons), or of exchanges seen only in the light of expediency, self-interest, contract, or complementarity (Gouldner). The notion of "voluntary activities" is, according to Levine and White, also important because although the organizations may be considered unequal (as to size, resources and personnel), and may bargain or negotiate from different strengths, both must enter the exchanges voluntarily,

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[1]Sol Levine and Paul E. White, "Exchange as a Conceptual Framework for the Study of Interorganizational Relationships," Administrative Science Quarterly 5 (March 1961), p. 587.

[2]Ibid., p. 588.

[3]Ibid., pp. 588-589.

and therefore must be free of untoward pressure or coercion.[1]

Operationally, organizational exchange theory can be broken down into three components: elements of the exchange, determinants of the exchange, and dimensions of the exchange. Social service agencies may define elements of exchange as:

1. referrals of clients and case material;

2. giving and/or receiving of labor services--including paid professional, clerical, maintenance, and volunteer; and

3. sending and/or receiving of resources other than labor--i.e. funds, equipment, information, and other technical assistance.

The determinants of exchange between and among organizations depend upon:

1. accessibility to necessary resources;

2. objectives and functions of the organization;

3. degree of domain consensus that exists among various organizations.[2]

In their study for the first determinant--accessibility of resources--Levine and White differentiate between local members of a corporate organization (those who delegate authority downward from a national or state level to a local level), and the "federated" type of organization which delegates authority upward--i.e. from the local to the national level. According to the above operational definition, the Guatemala project is classified as a local subsidiary of the larger "parent" corporation.

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[1]Ibid., pp. 588-589.

[2]Ibid., p. 589.

Regarding differences between a locally funded agency and a local project of a corporate organization, Levine and White hypothesize that local members of corporate organizations, because they are less dependent on the local service system, and can obtain necessary elements from the community-at-large or from the parent organization, interact less with other local agencies, than do local or federated organizations. Two consequences of this type of relationship or network could be:

1. The corporate organization can maintain its essential organizational structure, and avoid procedures from a coalition that could result in a displacement of goals; and

2. The corporate organization's relative independence of the local network and dependence on outside elements (e.g. the parent corporation), may at times, produce disagreements or tensions with other agencies in the local service community.

The second determinant of exchange between and among organizations relates to the scope and depth of the functions of the organization. "Functions" are not only the means the organization uses to gather elements for itself, but also the degree of interdependence determined by functions, i.e. what the agency offers from within versus what the client needs.

The third determinant of exchange is the degree of domain consensus that exists among the organizations in the local network. Domain is the specific goals of an agency, and the objectives ("functions") it pursues to implement those goals. In popular operational terms, domain is the area ("turf") that the agency carves out in terms

of the population served, problem areas (intake criteria), services provided,[1] and locus (place) where those services are provided.[2]

Levine and White point out that delineation of domains among similar organizations is highly desirable to prevent overlap and competition for either resources or clients. This situation may be lessened if the "needs outweigh the services"--i.e. both agencies are operating at or near capacity. If, however, delineation of domains is vague, and/or the agencies are operating below capacity, then competition and conflict can occur. For human service agencies, one way around this difficulty is for the organizations to develop specific criteria for referrals and service[3] based, for example, on age, type of problem accepted, length of stay, and so forth. Thus, achieving domain consensus may involve negotiation, orientation, or licensing of an organization to operate in a particular community by another organization. Readjustment and compromise to achieve domain consensus may take up much time among organizational members. However, these interactions are necessary preconditions for exchange, because " . . . without at least minimal domain consensus there can be no exchange among organizations."[4]

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[1] Ibid., p. 597.

[2] The place where services are provided is particularly important in domain consensus for the client group in terms of accessibility, for other agencies, and for the community (i.e. for the proximity of the project to homes or other agencies).

"Place" is not included in Levine and White's original scheme of domain consensus.

[3] See S. Torkelsen's Memorandum, "Criteria of Intake," May 1981, in Appendix D.

[4] Levine and White, op. cit., p. 599.

Organizational determinants in Levine and White's operational definition of organizational exchange includes four primary dimensions of an exchange situation. They are:

1. parties to the exchange;

2. kinds and quantities exchanged;

3. agreements underlying exchanges; and

4. direction of the exchanges.

Each of the above dimensions plays a unique role in the composite of interorganizational exchanges. "Parties" to an exchange are the key publics--the different types of organizations and their functions, size, prestige and personnel; also included are the numbers and types of clients. "Kinds and quantities" refer to the actual things exchanged--i.e. referrals, labor services and other than personnel services (OTPS). "Agreements" underlying the exchanges may be implicit and informal, or explicit and highly formalized through documents and contractual obligations. It is important that participating parties understand the conditions and have consensus concerning the agreement, so that confusion and misunderstandings may be minimized.

"Direction" of the exchange consists of three types:

a. unilateral--elements flow from one organization to another, with no elements given in return;

b. reciprocal--elements flow back and forth from one organization to another (dyadic); and

c. joint--two organizations act in unison toward a third group. This type demands a high degree of consensus and coordination, and usually does not involve the actual transfer of elements.

Implementation Strategies

> The lack of concern for implementation is currently the crucial impediment to improving program operations, policy analysis, and experimentation in social policy areas.[1]

Both the classical exchange theories and the analysis of inter-organizational exchanges provided the conceptual framework for the development of a residential care model to be discussed in Chapter III. However, for an exchange model to be applied effectively in a specific locality, it is necessary to analyze various implementation strategies. The following section discusses the locality development model in program planning, and the contingency theory of program design and implementation.

Locality Development Model

There are three primary approaches to the development of a social service project. Jack Rothman has distilled these approaches into formal categories: the locality development model, the social planning model and the model for social action.[2]

Locality development is a community action strategy, whereby change is effected through participation of a wide spectrum of people

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[1]Walter Williams, "Implementation Analysis and Assessment," Policy Analysis 1:3 (Summer 1975), p. 531.

[2]Jack Rothman, "Three Models of Community Organization Practice, Their Mixing and Phasing," in Fred M. Cox, et al., Strategies of Community Organization (Itasca, IL: F.E. Peacock Publishers, Inc., 1979), pp. 25-45.

on the community level. In this model various individuals and groups are involved in both the establishment of the goals of the project and their implementation through: democratic procedures, self-help groups, development of indigenous leadership, and various educational objectives. Examples of locality development, as presented in Rothman's scheme, are: settlement houses, VISTA, village-level work in some overseas community development projects, some Peace Corps activities, as well as other cooperative ventures.[1]

The social planning model involves a technical process of problem resolution regarding substantive (macro) social problems, such as welfare reform, housing, or a jobs program for youths. There may be minimal community participation depending on the problem and its focus. Rather, this approach assumes that in the industrial urban society, there needs to be expert planners, who because of their extensive technical know-how, can navigate through and manipulate large bureaucratic organizations in order to effect needed social change. Notions of social policy, planning and program design are important aspects of this model, as well as implementation in cost-effective ways. Also, there is legitimate concern and dedication by planners to provide goods and services to those in need. These services are provided <u>in</u> the community and <u>to</u> the community, rather than <u>with</u> the community as co-equal sponsors or partners.[2] Departments of public administration, urban planning, community welfare

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[1] Ibid., pp. 26-27.

[2] Author's note.

councils, as well as the city, state, and federal departments of human service are examples of the social planning approach.

The third model for social change, according to Rothman, is social action. This approach "presupposes a disadvantaged segment of the population that needs to be organized, perhaps in alliance with others, in order to make adequate demands on the larger community for increased resources or treatment more in accordance with social justice or democracy."[1]

Social action models seek to redistribute power, resources and/or decision-making (e.g. a local control of the school system), as well as making major changes in the policies and practices of larger organizations in the social system. Examples of the social action model include: civil rights and women's groups, labor unions, welfare rights and consumer protection groups, as well as social, student and other political action coalitions and networks.

It should be noted here that in actual practice, aspects of these different models may overlap, depending on the social issue and the particular program implementation. For example, federal and state social planners (Model B) may decide that a day care or jobs program could best be effected through a purchase-of-service contract with local voluntary agencies (Model A).

Of particular interest to this project is Rothman's note on the overlap of organizational models cross-nationally. He remarks that community locality development projects that are conducted

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[1]Rothman, op. cit., p. 27.

overseas in developing countries may represent a composite of the locality community organizational model of type A, along with broad social and economic planning at a national level in accord with Model B. He then states that this blending could constitute a distinct and additional model whose characteristics could be described independently.

In designing the Guatemala project, an approach mostly from Model A--locality development--was selected. Model A of locality development of community organization is presented in detail in Chapter IV, which deals with the specifics of the project's implementation.

Contingency Theory of Organizational Design

A valuable theoretical approach to both planning and implementation finds expression in contingency theory--an organizational design approach encompassing both ideas of exchange as well as sensitivity to the community and its needs. Basically, contingency theory proposes that an organization and its delivery systems must be developed in accord with the "contingencies" of its specific environment (location, population, rates of change, levels of conflict and competitition, and so forth), and must remain flexible and responsive to those variables in order to be "successful"--in other words, a "match" or equitable exchange must be maintained with relevant operating communities.[1]

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[1]Jay W. Lorsch and Paul R. Lawrence, Organization and Environment: Managing Differentiation and Integration (Homewood, IL: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1969), pp. 185-210.

Moreover, contingency theory asserts that the internal functioning of a project (organization) must be consistent within itself, but also consistent with the demands of the organization's environment, if the organization is to be effective.[1] What this means is that the practititioner, instead of looking for the one "best" design for all organizations and situations, needs to develop the functioning of the project in relation to both the internal conditions (i.e. organizational systems and the needs of its members), and the external conditions (environment) facing the organization at various time periods.

March and Simon's development of the concept "satisficing" in program design and implementation also has relevance to contingency theory. The authors stated that an organization, rather than searching endlessly for the best possible pattern of organizational structure, should seek a "satisfying solution, rather than an optimum one. Thus, planning for more change is stopped once a design is found which is "acceptable" or "reasonably good." New changes in organizational structure are initiated when performance falls below that acceptable level.[2]

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[1]Ralph H. Kilmann, Social Systems Design: Normative Theory and MAPS Design Technology (New York, NY: North-Holland, 1977), p. 25.

[2]J.G. March and J. Simon, Organizations (New York, NY: Wiley, 1958), in A. Etzioni, Modern Organizations (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964), pp. 30-31.

Environment and Culture

Introduction and Framework for Analysis

> The objection to American enterprise is not that it is American, but that it is efficient, purposeful, direct, single-minded, and materialistic.
>
> In Latin American culture, business is part of the total scheme of things: it is part of the family, of the compadre relation, of friendships, and of the Church. . . .
>
> The efficiency and single-mindedness of American enterprise is unaware of, or indifferent to, this scheme of ethical and aesthetic values. Its very egalitarianism and familiarity are offensive to the Latin American.
>
> It is conspicuously different, not because it is American or foreign but because its scheme of values is different.[1]

This section of environment and culture follows the earlier analyses of the importance of theoretical underpinnings of a project, its design and the contingencies of its implementation. For a project to be designed well and implemented as effectively as possible, planners must know their environment.

In order to gain an understanding of these issues, first basic definitions of culture and values are presented. Then, using several theorists, some comparisons of the differences in value orientations and preferences will be presented and summarized, along with a discussion of specific primary values (personal, social, familial, business and religious). The major conceptual base of this section is from Kluckholn and Triandis. The final portion of this chapter will highlight, with examples, the importance of language in Guatemalan society.

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[1]Frank Tannenbaum, Ten Keys to Latin America (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1963), p. 129.

Definition of Culture and Values

Defining the terms culture and values presents a number of problems:

1. there are as many definitions of "culture" as there are authors in the sociological and anthropological fields, but there is very little consensus among them; and there are no systematic paradigms to follow in any investigation of culture; and

2. many analyses of culture are really descriptions and comparisons of nations. In effect, cross-national differences have been interpreted as cross-cultural differences.[1]

A better approach, as suggested by Bhagat and McQuaid, is to use an emic approach. That is, rather than try to describe social phenomena in relatively culture-free, universal terms using variables that can be generalized across all cultures (the etic approach), they suggest it is more effective to describe a particular culture by examining the historical and social developments that have shaped its people, as well as using concepts and descriptions specific to that culture.[2]

Moreover, even though there are limitations to the emic approach, (e.g. the lack of universal applicability of conclusions because analysis is drawn from only two particular cultures), nevertheless a description of relevant aspects of the subjective cultures in

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[1]Rabi S. Bhagat and Sara J. McQuaid, "Role of Subjective Culture in Organizations: A Review and Directions for Future Research," Journal of Applied Psychology Monograph, 67:5 (October 1982), pp. 653-654.

[2]Ibid., p. 655.

Guatemala and the United States will lead to an increase in theoretical and practice knowledge, regarding the implementation of a cross-national social service project. The authors then suggest a definition of "subjective culture" that refers to ". . . a group's characteristic way of perceiving its social environment, and provides a more rigorous basis for the definition and interpretation of similarities and differences among people."[1]

Studying the similarities and differences between subjective cultures, for example, of Guatemala and the United States, Triandis (1977) proposed the following classification of variables:

1. ecology--the physical environment, geography, resources, climate, flora and fauna;

2. subsistence system--methods of exploiting the ecology to survive: agriculture, fishing, mining, industry;

3. cultural system--man-made part of the environment, including the "objective culture" (roads, tools, factories), and "external subjective culture" (norms, roles, values as they exist outside the individual);

4. social system--interaction patterns, such as roles, family structure, and institutional behavior;

5. individual system--perceptions, learning, individual attitudes; also perceived norms, roles, values and other parts of subjective culture which connect the individual system with the cultural system;

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[1] Ibid.

6. inter-individual or socialization system--conformity, helping, aggression, intimacy, and especially methods of child rearing;

7. projective system--myths and fantasies.[1]

These classifications of variables are discussed in various sections of this dissertation. Chapter I of this project describes the issues of the ecology and the subsistence systems. This section of Chapter II discusses the cultural, social and individual systems, with an emphasis on the "subjective" parts of Guatemalan culture, rather than the "objective." In Chapter III and in following sections, the inter-individual or socialization systems will be explored with particular emphasis on the roles and activities of the children in the project residence. The projective systems,[2] however, are not reviewed in depth because they are outside the purposes of this cross-national social work project.

Moreover, discussions on personal, social, organizational and community values; or differences in perceptions and attitudes with respect to time, space, relationships and agreements (Edward T. Hall, 1960), refer to the values of the ladino Guatemalan, and not that of

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[1] Harry C. Triandis, "Cross-cultural Social and Personality Psychology," Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin (Spring 1977), 3: 2, p. 144.

[2] For further study on the projective system of the Maya, see: Ralph Nelson, Popol Vuh: The Great Mythological Book of the Ancient Maya, (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1976); Eric R. Wolf, Sons of the Shaking Earth (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1959); John S. Henderson, The World of the Ancient Maya (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1981); Sylvanus G. Morley, Revised by George W. Brainerd, The Ancient Maya, 3rd edition (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1956).

the Maya, because most of the homeless children served by the residence developed in the project are poor ladinos.

The following discussion of the similarities and differences in value and subjective cultural orientation draws from the literature of social work, anthropology and organizational theory.

Cultural values, according to Frank F. Montalvo, are:

> guides for living, and composed of relatively uniform, enduring and organized set of predispositions toward action developed by a group in its efforts to solve basic human concerns for security, support and significance.[1]

More specifically, "values" from the cross-cultural and psychological perspective, are those variables that:

> . . . represent relationships among abstract categories with strong affective components, implying a preference for a certain kind of desirable state of action, being, or affairs.[2]

Differences in Value Orientations

Though all peoples have values and pursue them according to their own histories and traditions, different societies have different orientations and expressions of those values.

Florience R. Kluckhohn and Fred L. Stodtbeck (1961) developed a framework for comparing value orientations, which is based on the premise that certain issues are common to all people, and that particular groups respond to these areas in different, but proscribed ways.

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[1]Frank F. Montalvo, et al., Mexican American Culture Simulator for Child Welfare Trainer's Manual (San Antonio, Texas: Our Lady of the Lake, University of San Antonio, 1981), p. 3.

[2]H. C. Triandis, et al., The Analysis of Subjective Culture (New York, NY: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1972), p. 16; quoted in Bhagat and McQuaid, "Role of Subjective Culture in Organizations," p. 656.

The variables used by Kluckholn and Stodtbeck are: the character of human nature; the relation of man to nature and the supernatural; the time orientation of life; the activity orientation; and the relationship orientation.

> . . . this schema rests on the assumption that there are a limited number of common human problems which have variable solutions within a range of possible solutions; that all alternatives are present in all societies at all times, but are preferred differently in rank ordering of dominant and variant patterns.[1]

1. Human nature. In many of the latin cultures, " . . . man is born with a propensity to do evil. Little can be done to change this state, so the only hope is to control evil propensities."[2] North American core cultures either see man with natural propensities for good and evil; or see that is neither good nor bad innately. Rather he is shaped or conditioned by the environment.

2. Man-nature. Latin cultures tend more toward "subjugation-to-nature"--i.e. man can do little to counteract the forces of nature to which he is subjugated. His attitude tends toward the fatalistic.

The North American view holds that man has mastery over nature. He is expected to overcome natural forces, and harness them for his purpose. Technology will solve all problems.

3. Time orientation. Traditions of the past and the present way of doing things fits the latin view. The future is not yet known, and is therefore unpredictable.

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[1]F. Schwartz, F.A. Fluckiger, and I. Weisman, A Cross-cultural Encounter: A Non-traditional Approach to Social Work Education (San Francisco, CA: R & E Associates, 1977), p. 9.

[2]John Papajohn and J. Spiegel, Transactions in Families (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, 1975), p. 269.

TABLE 2

THE FIVE VALUE ORIENTATIONS AND THE RANGE OF VARIATIONS POSTULATED FOR EACH*

Orientation	Postulated Range of Variations		
Human nature	Evil mutable/immutable	Neutral mutable/immutable	Good mutable/immutable
Man-nature	Subjugation to Nature	Harmony with Nature	Mastery over Nature
Time	Past	Present	Future
Activity	Being	Being-in-Becoming	Doing
Relational	Lineality	Collaterality	Individualism

*The arrangement in columns of sets of orientations is only the accidental result of this particular chart. Although statistically it may prove to be the case that some combinations of orientations will be found more often than others, the assumption is that all combinations are possible ones. For example, it may be found that the combination of first-order choices is that of Individualism, Future, Doing, Master-over-Nature, and Evil Mutable, now changing, as in the case of the dominant middle-class culture of the United States, or that it is, as in the case of the Navaho Indians, a combination of the first-order preferences of Collaterality, Present, Doing, Harmony-with-Nature, and Good-and-Evil (immutable).[1]

[1]Florence R. Kluckholn, and Fred L. Stodtbeck, Variations in Value Orientations (Elmsford, NY: Row, Peterson, 1961), p. 12.

The temporal focus for the North American is on a bigger and better future which is totally controlled, planned for, and usually expressed in material terms.[1] Many are impatient with the present (see below, Edward T. Hall's analysis of time differences); planning for change is at points away from the present to the future.

4. Activity orientation. Latin culture puts emphasis on being--one is born into a particular family and class, with those social characteristics and ascribed status. Some in the culture are seen as passive or accepting of what is. However, there are also groups that seek change through aggressive social action.

The North American emphasis is on doing--on activities outside the individual, and that can be measured. An individual's worth is determined by what he has done, and his job function. Achieved status is valued over ascribed status.

5. Relational activity. Latin societies value collaterality--i.e. individual goals are subjugated to group goals; relations are based on the laterally-extended group--the family, the extended family, the compadrazgo tradition, the patron aspects of organizational structure. Roles and expectations are based on this extended unit--friendship, dignity, respect, and at time unquestioning loyalty to the values of that unit.

The North American relational orientation is to the individual. Individual goals are preferred to those of the group; relations are based on individual autonomy; and reciprocal roles are based on a

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[1] Schwartz, et al., A Cross-cultural Encounter, op. cit., p. 10.

sense of mutual independence of the relating members, who share mutual self-interests.[1]

The anthropologist, Edward T. Hall (1960) discusses differences in value orientations through an analysis of the dimensions of: time, space, things, friendship, and agreements, as they apply to cross-cultural business interactions.[2]

Concept of time. Hall postulates that the North American businessman, if he is kept waiting beyond the standard length of time by his reckoning (usually a few minutes), feels that he or his issue have little priority to the other party. Also, since his time orientation is toward the future, decisions should be made "right away" so that he can get on to some other activity (e.g. in business, "Time is money"). In the United States, to give someone a deadline for a decision or task, is to show its importance. In certain latin cultures, to be given a deadline is considered a command; and therefore, the person who gives the "command" is also considered to be rude or pushy. Thus, North Americans are instructed to learn to accept without offense delays up to an hour or more when conducting business in latin and certain European and mid-eastern cultures.[3]

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[1]For a detailed analysis of the goals, structures, and roles between Anglo Americans and Mexican Americans on "Family Values and Characteristics," see Frank F. Montalvo, et al., Mexican American Culture Simulator for Child Welfare, op. cit., pp. 8-14.

[2]Edward T. Hall, "The Silent Language of Overseas Business," Harvard Business Review (May-June 1960), 38:3, pp. 87-96. For more extended analyses of these concepts, see Hall's books: The Silent Language (Garden City, NY: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1981); The Hidden Dimension (Garden City, NY: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1966); and Beyond Culture (Garden City, NY: Anchor/Doubleday, 1981).

[3]Edward T. Hall, "The Silent Language of Overseas Business," Ibid., p. 89.

While expecting this difference in time orientations, this author did not experience frequent delays with business meetings in Guatemala. By and large, except for some traffic delays and one or another extended lunch times (because of slow service), most business meetings between government and business people and the author started on or close to the designated time. Whether the time orientation difference did not pertain in this case, or whether the other Guatemalan cultural value--coutesy (i.e. in deference to the North American visitor) applied in this case, was not able to be determined while in Guatemala.[1]

Use of space. North Americans conduct business at different spatial distances than do people from other cultures. Latins tend to sit closer, and touch more during a conversation, and males are more physically demonstrative than their northern counterparts. Crowding or a too close proximity may threaten the composure or status of a northerner, while many northern concepts about space are seen as being isolating or strange from the southern point of view. Regarding differences in time and spatial orientations between latins and northerners, the U.S. worker is ". . . likely to feel left out in time,

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[1]Differences in time orientation were more apparent socially. Having been invited to the home of important friends of the project for a dinner party, and being aware of etiquette in the United States (i.e. when invited for a dinner party, one should arrive no more than 15 minutes late), the author asked two other Guatemalans of the same professional class for their recommendations. Feeling confident that he had made the right decision, he showed up at the home one hour and 15 minutes after the designated time. Not only had no other guests arrived, but members of the family were still preparing themselves upstairs. It was an additional hour before the hosts and guests arrived.

and overcrowded in space."[1]

Attitudes towards things. North Americans are seen as materialistic, and as gadget-crazy.[2] Things in this society, from clothes, a house, to portable phones, are a way of measuring status, and life style. Often a North American will think that the more possessions a person has, the more class and value s/he also possesses. Although many latins want and like material things, these possessions do not equal the person's class, status, or worth. Rather, family, friendship, connections, and style are necessary components for the establishment of a business and/or personal relationship.

Friendship has additional meaning in Latin America. In the United States, close personal friendships are separate from business relationships, or "business friendships." In business, it is perceived that North Americans take people up quickly, and drop them as quickly, depending on their pragmatic usefulness. This type of friendship

> . . . works by means of a series of closely tabulated favors and obligations carefully doled out where they will do the most good. And the least that we expect in exchange for a favor is gratitude.[3]

In Latin America friendships are not formed as quickly as in the United States; but when formed, the bonds of that relationship last longer, and involve real obligations. Aspects of this value of "friendship" will be discussed later as part of the traditions of the

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[1]Edward T. Hall, "The Silent Language of Overseas Business," op. cit., p. 90.

[2]Ibid., p. 91.

[3]Ibid. Also see earlier section on "Exchange theory."

personalismo, dignidad and respeto within the Guatemalan culture and family.

The final point in Hall's analysis of value variations among cultures is the importance of understanding the process of making agreements, i.e. of entering contractual relationships (again, this is relevant to both individual and organizational exchange). These agreements may be:

1. rules that are spelled out technically as law or regulation--formal bonds;

2. ethical and moral practices that are mutually agreed upon, and are taught as sets of principles; and

3. informal customs to which all people conform without necessarily being able to state the rules--the informal system.[1]

Societies vary in the extent of their formal procedures; however, these procedures are usually understood by the participating members. For example, the incorporation of a child care agency as a legal entity, and the formal certification of a children's residence in Guatemala, although different than legal or formal certification procedures in the U.S. (both federally and at the state level), do follow certain well-defined patterns (see Chapter IV--Implementation).

However, it is the informal system of contracts and agreements, and the assumed responsibilities that follow from the agreements, that can be most problemmatic to the outsider. For example, the father of one of the families that housed two of the project team during their

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[1] Ibid., p. 92.

language training and had "incorporated" them into his family, expected the project to hire one of his close relatives as accountant for the program. The man was hurt when his relative was passed over for someone else. He then told the two project team members, and a number of his acquaintances that the project had not lived up to their agreements (see section on "Family").

Examples of Cultural Values in Guatemala

The above analysis has been generally applicable to Latin America. This next section shows how many of these same variables apply to the Guatemalan culture. In Guatemala, one of the most valued qualities in any relationship is the "forms of courtesy (la cortesiá)". Although at times, the rituals and forms of courtesy seem formalistic and cumbersome to the North American, courtesy for the Guatemalan is the attitude, posture, words and grammar--i.e. respect (respeto) that one person shows to another because of the inherent dignity (dignidad) of the person. Because a person exists, because one has been created by God, and is Guatemalan (puro Chapin--a slang expression meaning "pure Guatemalan"), then that person has dignity, and must be shown respect.

One of the worst violations a person (particularly a child) can commit is to break the forms of courtesy. When this is done, the response may be a turned or bowed head, the lack of a return invitation, a change in tone and vocabulary during the conversation, or a response to another that this person is malcreado or maleducado (he is "spoiled" or "badly trained").

Another custom is the courtesies shown to visitors in the home. Upon entering a home, food and drink is offered, and there is the expectation that it will be accepted. A problem, however, with homes in some sections of Guatemala is the lack of access to potable water, and differences in habit regarding the washing of vegetables. These situations demanded of the North Americans extra precautions around various foods and water. During the latter part of the program planning stage one North American staff was invited to the home of a family, whose children and mother he had helped. Aware of the real possibility of getting sick versus continuing the compadre relationship (see below--"Values of Family"), he chose to visit and dine with the entire family at their birthday party. Within a week, he had contracted an amoebic condition, and was sick for approximately two months.[1] Another issue surrounding the offer of food to guests among the poor, was economics. Many families would spend up to a month's wages to offer their foreign gueses the best they could provide.

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[1]Another example concerning food and family visits occurred one time when the adviser returned to the home of his "Guatemalan family" (the home where he lived for language training). As always, he was asked to stay for dinner. What he originally thought was to be a half hour chat, extended into an enjoyable two hour visit. A half hour after dinner, in the midst of making the usual declarations of "time to go; and things to do," the father of the house repeated a rhyme:

"La gente de Coban
después do comer, se van."

When asked what the rhyme meant, the father responded, "The people from Coban; after they eat, they run." He then smiled, said how much they enjoyed their guest's company; how well they thought the work of the project was proceeding; and that the adviser should come back more often. The adviser left smiling, and more knowledgeable from the experience.

Knowledge of courtesy procedures was most important for the project team, because part of the intake process for each child coming to the residence, was a family meeting. These meetings usually were conducted by the project's Guatemalan social worker; however, expecially during the first three months after the program opened, the adviser accompanied the worker of the project, both to learn more about the situation of children and their families; and to observe and evaluate the application of agency and social work principles in Guatemala.

Other particularly operative concepts in Guatemalan society are those of personalism and the extended family. "Personalism (personalismo)" is a concept and reality that sees life as a system of relationships that co-mingle friendship, family, organization and business. Persons and their relationships are important--not just the things they have, or the systems in which they operate. The locus of personalism is the family. The family in Guatemala and in the Latin culture,

> . . . . is a concept as well as an entity. It involves a commitment by its members to the family as a group that transcends the individual, and extends beyond the nuclear family.[1]

This extended family includes not just the parents, grandparents, and all relatives. Close friends, both in the community and in business, can become members of the family when they take on the responsibility of being godparents (padrino/madrina). This compadrazgo tradition allows for an increase in the family network and influence, greater

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[1]Montalvo, et al., Mexican American Culture Simulator, op. cit., p. 8.

support to the children and other individual members, and honor, incorporation, and new commitments and responsibilities for the new family member.[1]

This complex weave combines a deeply personal approach to existence, to business relations, and to organizational structure. Yet it exists within a group framework that includes the family, community, church and business.[2] This framework provides, at its best, a system that institutionalizes otherwise informal structures and commitments; it provides an environment where the individual can achieve, while still receiving necessary group supports. At its worst, this networking can foster favoritism, inequities to "outsiders," and provoke an organizational havoc in matters of law, certification, personnel practices, and performance evaluation.

Another operative social norm in Guatemala is that of machismo:

> Latin American men and women have unequivocal conceptions of their roles and they play them out, if not in harmony, at least in counterpoint. The interpersonal dynamics of the existing social structure afford each sex a complementary sphere of influence that satisfies basic personal and social needs.[3]

Montalvo, et al. assesses relationship values through a defined set of roles, based on sex, ordinal, and generational position in the

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[1] Ibid., pp. 8-9; also Schwartz, A Cross-cultural Encounter, op. cit., p. 12.

[2] For an extended analysis of the differences between U.S. and Latin cultures regarding individual, group, organization, and community values, see Stanley M. Davis, "U.S. versus Latin America: Business and Culture," Harvard Business Review (November-December 1969), pp. 20-30.

[3] Evelyn P. Stevens, "Machismo and Marginismo," Society (September/October 1973), 10:6, p. 57.

family--e.g. father, mother, eldest son, grandmother.[1] In these formalized roles, the father is the ultimate authority, and ideally sets standards for behavior. Success is judged by his ability to keep the family together, and by the esteem he is held in the community. The mother has prime responsibility for the upbringing of the children and the care of the home. She exerts strong influence on the father's decisions. She is formally responsible for the transmission of values, customs and culture, and is the mainstay of family unity. Older children care for the younger; brothers protect sisters, and are cared for (or catered to) by them. There is the double standard of sexual conduct, which means that the boy has more freedom in social or sexual activity. Girls are chaperoned well into their late teens. Although "flirting" is well-ritualized, sexual activity is considered immoral and brings shame (vergüenza) on the family.

This double standard still permeates much of present day conduct and relationships:

> Machismo is the quality that exemplifies man's superiority over women, the value of demonstrating by acts considered virile (such as fathering children, seducing women, being waited on by women, avoiding tasks that are considered "women's tasks," that the man is macho completo (all man). It allows man complete freedom in sexual expression as often with the knowledge and tacit consent of the wife.[2]

With regard to issues of male competitiveness and the machista behavior, it is important to note that these characteristics are

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[1] Montalvo, et al., Mexican American Culture Simulator, op. cit., pp. 11-13.

[2] Hilda Hildalgo, "The Puerto Rican," Ethnic Differences Series (Washington, DC: National Rehabilitation Association, 1973), p. 57; quoted in Florence Schwartz, et al., A Cross-Cultural Encounter, op. cit., p. 13.

by-products of the European, Spanish conquest of Latin America in the 16th Century (see Chapter I). In the adviser's experience with children from predominantly Maya families, there was little observed competition among the males. For example, in soccer, the boys did not enjoy the concept of competitive groups that opposed each other, and scored goals against each other. Their concept of group was a group sharing of work, both in the fields and in the home.

In terms of formal religion, Guatemala has a known tradition of religious and cultural values more than 4,000 years old. At present, about 90 percent of the people in the country are Roman Catholics, but estimates vary as to their active attendance at church.

The Catholic Church, formerly seen as unified and monolithic, is in reality split according to those who want a conservative, or prophetic church. The landed and upper class laity, by and large, identify with the conservative wing; the poor tend either to remain in an accepting, somewhat fatalistic tradition regarding their life on earch, or are starting to put hope in the more progressive, or social gospel. The hierarchy--priests, sisters, bishops--who are on the conservative side, see the mission of the Church in ideological terms of "spreading the Gospel" and preserving the present institutions of the church. Talk of cooperatives, socialism or alternative economic systems threatens the equilibrium of existing institutionalized structures.[1]

In addition, in the past ten years there has been an influx of

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[1]Penny Lernoux, Cry of the People: The Struggle for Human Rights in Latin America--The Catholic Church in Conflict with U.S. Policy (New York, NY: Penguin Books, 1982), p. 413.

fundamentalist Protestant sects. Many of these groups have an apolitical, or "other wordly" approach to their ministry. They reject political involvement and preach obedience to the existing hierarchy of the government.

Those religious on the progressive side see the issues less in terms of the preservation of an ideology, and more in terms of a reality of social injustice in the forms of poverty, unemployment, and unequal distribution of land and resources.

Both of these more recent traditions (the fundamentalist Protestant of this century, and the European Roman Catholic since the 1520's), are overlaid onto the rich animistic culture and traditions of the early Maya religions. Thus, throughout Guatemala is seen a people of vibrant spirituality. This spirit sometimes expresses itself in passionate social action; or in the rituals of a procession honoring a favorite ikon or saint (e.g. the passion of Holy Week); or in the rural, time-honored celebration rites of birth, the harvest, or the commemoration of the dead.

A section on Environment and Culture would be incomplete without a discussion on language and communication. As has been expressed previously in this chapter, this project was designed and implemented, not only in another nation and culture, but also in a different language. As Schwartz et al. pointed out, understanding a client's language (or a people's language) is essential for the provision of a relevant social service[1]--in this case a residence for homeless

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[1]Schwartz, et al., A Cross-cultural Encounter, op. cit., p. 14.

children. Language, then, is not only the source and mechanism of thought and expression, but through its rules of grammar, vocabulary, and sentence structures, it is also the way in which a people formulate their view of the world, and transmit their identity, culture, and ethnicity.[1] Slight changes in tone, the use of a particular synonym or homonym, the switch to a conditional tense, or the change of the "formal" you to the "personal" you (as in French or German), can intermix politics, humor, sarcasm, and friendship all within a few phrases. It was most important for the North American team to be aware of the subtleties of the language, because accent, pronunciation, tone, and rhythm all convey respect to the listener.

Combining the importance of language with some of the variables previously discussed--e.g. courtesy, time, space, relationship and roles, the following are examples of how these concepts manifest themselves in Guatemalan social relationships:

Before entering a room, a person usually says "con permiso (with your permission)." The response by the person in the office or room is "pasa adelante (come in)." On the sidewalks or street in smaller towns or villages, before passing in-between two people who are talking, before breaking into a conversation or interrupting the flow of another person's or group's conversation or work, the entering person says, "con permiso." The response given by the others, is "es proprio" or "es suyo" (meaning "it's proper" or "it's yours"--i.e. "it's okay").

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[1]Marta Sotomayor, "Language, Culture, and Ethnicity in Developing Self-concept," Social Casework (April 1977), 58: 4, pp. 195-203.

Greetings and goodbys are formalized, both in conversation and in correspondence. A conversation starts with "good morning, how are you?" And the response, "Well; and how are you?" before any other transaction begins. When the conversation is finished, both parties usually thank each other for making or passing the time in this way. The person leaving expresses the wish to see the other soon. The one who remains says in a final remark to the one who is leaving, "Y que le vaya bien (i.e., and may you go well /or "very well" depending on the depth of the relationship/"). The person leaving then responds with a final "thank you."

In correspondence, a letter begins with best wishes to the person and a hope that the person's and his/her family are in good health, or (if the person does not know the one to whom he is writing) that his/her "good" work (and staff or department) continues to go well. After the "business" part is concluded, the last paragraph again expresses the writer's hope to be remembered to the family, or that the reader continues to experience success in his/her ventures. A speed memo or terse, dictational style would be seen as brusque and lacking in what the Guatemalan culture would call an elemental courtesy.

Another form of courtesy is shown with sales people (in retail or grocery stores), and with service people (such as waiters or counter workers). When looking for a particular item that is not apparently seen (e.g. film or cheese), the consumer does not say "do you have film?" He usually asks, "Is there film here?"; or uses the pasive voice, "Is film sold here?" (e.g., Hay película aqui; o se vende película aqui?) The use of the impersonal, or the passive voice keeps

the conversation general; and if the store owner does not have the item, he can "save face" by responding, "No, there is none here today" or "Film is not sold here," rather than, "I don't have it." The consumer then says, "Thank you; that's very kind" (gracias, muy amable); and may or may not ask if another store might have the requested item.

With a waiter or counter person, a request for service is usually not expressed in the indicative tense; in this case, the indicative tense would imply a command, and be seen as improper (e.g. a teacher or child care worker would use the indicative tense with students or residents). It is preferable, then, for the one requesting the service to use a combination of the subjective and conditional tenses--e.g. "It would please us to order the salad (nos gustaría ordenar la ensalada)"; or "We would like two cups of coffee, please (Quisiéramos dos tazas de café, por favor)." The response, from the service person is either, "con mucho gusto (with pleasure)"; or "para servirle (at your service)."

Often foreigners when traveling, are not aware and therefore are not sensitive to local custom. Regarding these variations, the writer has seen various European and North American visitors (both groups are kindly and, at times, disaffectionately called "gringos"), who did not know the language nor the difference in customs, walk to a counter, interrupt a conversation, neglect to say "good day," and because of a personal embarrassment in not knowing the language, start to speak louder than usual, and say, "Give me a cup of coffee"; on the one hand feeling relief at having at least said the words "right," and vaguely wondering why the counter person either turned away for a

moment, fulfilled the order in silence, or delayed the person who had to then rush back to the tour bus.

These courtesies are used not only with service personnel; they exist in all areas of programmatic business. For example, if one wanted to establish an appointment with an administrator in the department of social welfare, courtesy would dictate the same use of the conditional and subjective forms--i.e., "If you would have the time within your busy schedule, it would please me (or "be of great benefit") to set an appointment to discuss _____ (Si tuviera tiempo dentro de su horario muy ocupado, me gustaría establecer una reunión para discutir _____)." The response most often heard, particularly by this author, was "con mucho gusto; á cualquiera hora le guste (with pleasure; at what ever time you would like").

This chapter discussed the new application of knowledge for this doctoral project. New applications of the exchange theory (i.e. both within an organization, and between and among organizations) have been described, as well as the use of a locality development model of community organization, and the need of a contingency model of organizational design. Finally, major aspects of the environment and culture were analyzed as they influence both program planning and implementation.

These themes and theories have provided the basis for the next two chapters; the design and implementation of a residence for homeless children.

CHAPTER III

DESCRIPTION OF THE PROJECT

In this chapter, the structure, principles, and operations of the original project model is described through an analysis of: 1) the foundation and history of the Covenant House program in New York; 2) a description of the five principles of programmatic operation (the Covenant Process as Environment), with an emphasis on the various theoretical points of exchange, contingency and locality development; and 3) a description of how these principles are operationalized in the organization's design, policies and procedures. Emphasis is placed on various components of the project: intake, assessment, child care, medical, educational, and social services; staff care scheduling patterns, types of staff (i.e., paid and volunteer, full and part-time) and their supervision; and communication systems - i.e., the organizational chart, meetings, and decision-making in the agency.

The description of the program model and operations of the parent agency provides the framework from which the initial entry into Guatemala was conceptualized. Chapter IV on "Implementation" and Chapter V on "Evaluation" presents the dilemmas, tensions, compromises and adaptations, i.e., the similarities and differences which resulted in attempting to adapt the model cross-nationally, including

how close the model was adhered to; what changes and differences were found in the behavior and outcome of the children, staff, setting, and communication patterns between the project in Guatemala and the administration and project in New York.

History of the Covenant House Model of Care

Covenant House began in 1968 on the Lower East Side of New York, initiated by a Franciscan priest, Fr. Bruce Ritter and a group of his friends. Initially, this volunteer group provided community organizing services to people of the block and neighborhood (e.g., a block association, housing assistance, rent strikes, etc.). The neighborhood was both poor, and at the time a gathering place for runaway and homeless children. Shortly after their arrival to the area, this informal group saw the need for shelter and a wide range of medical and counseling services for the many homeless teenagers living in the area. These adolescents were mostly runaways and urban nomads and not in touch with or even known to the child welfare and/or juvenile justice systems of the City.

In the winter of 1968-69, Fr. Ritter took some of these youths into his own apartment. As their numbers increased, he and his friends, with their own funds and small donations, rented and repaired various tenaments to function as residential and office space. From this personal effort, Covenant House grew and became established as a community-based service organization.

During its first four years of operation 1968 to 1972, Covenant House existed as an informal, voluntary child care agency, staffed by

volunteers that included a small number of professionals. It was financed by individual staff fund raising efforts (e.g., cab driving, preaching, selling high school reading programs), along with donations from friends.

In 1972, because of the continued increases in the numbers of homeless children and youths in the area, and because the majority of them were unable to return home, and were manifesting multiple problems and needs (medical, educational, and emotional), the original group incorporated as a formal, fully certified non-profit child care agency, under the laws of the State of New York. This procedure allowed the new agency to qualify for city, state and federal funds (where applicable).

From 1972 until 1980, Covenant House grew dramatically, providing both emergency, short and long-term residential care to homeless and neglected young women and men and a full range of medical, educational, social, and clinical services. During this time period the agency operated up to ten group home residences (12-bed facilities) within the New York City area.

In 1976, while exploring potential sites for a group home residence in the mid-town area of Manhattan for runaway and homeless young women, the agency became aware in a dramatic way, of the hundreds of young "street" people, who congregated in front of the theatres, bars, playlands and bookstores in the Times Square area.

These youths are part of over one million children who leave or who are pushed out from their homes each year because of poverty,

neglect or deprivation in their family units or home environment. Many have suffered from physical or sexual abuse from a parent or guardian. Some children who leave home, receive help from the family courts and child welfare system. Others drift to the large cities where they live on the streets, beg for food and money, steal, are raped and/or work as prostitutes (both male and female).

The majority of the street children and youths are undernourished, have colds, veneral disease, tooth decay and suffer the effects of rape and other forms of violence. The majority of the street population is male, is over sixteen years of age (although there are children ten years old and younger), cannot read or write (most have a third grade reading level), are unemployed and unemployable in their present condition. Although demographics on this population vary, in New York City homeless youth are approximately sixty percent black, twenty-five percent hispanic and fifteen percent white, or "other". About seventy-five percent come from single parent, female-headed households. Although greatly in need of food, shelter, medical and other social services these youths initially relate to care givers with suspicion, mistrust and hostility. Many of these symptoms mask a severe depression and pervasive hopelessness concerning most aspects of their life.

In 1977, the agency opened its first 24 hour, emergency residential center, called Under 21, in response to the needs of the homeless adolescents in Times Square. Providing food, clothes, shelter, medical care, education, and individual and family counseling, the

Under 21 Center served approximately five thousand runaway and homeless youths in its first year of operation. By 1980, the multi-service Center had various residential, outreach and administrative components that cared for approximately ten thousand children and youths per year. It had also become well-known as a unique service model in the United States for sheltering runaway and homeless youths. The unique features of the service model consisted of its:

1. philosophy and principles of operation (especially the principle of Immediacy, and the "open intake");

2. location - - i.e., right in, or near the area of need;

3. organization -- ability to work with and plan for, large numbers of older adolescents; and

4. financial operations - - over ninety percent of the agency's funding came from the private sector, supplemented by city, state and Federal grants. This funding pattern is the reverse of most centers that work with adolescents.

Spring 1980, the Executive Director of the agency was invited to Guatemala through the recommendation of an influential U.S. Catholic business leader, to present a paper on the agency's model of residential care to the First Congress on Families in the Americas. The presentation, given in July 1980, was received enthusiastically by officials in the government, church, and social service sector.

In follow-up meetings between the Executive Director and these officials discussing the needs and care of homeless children, various opportunities and exchanges unfolded. Government ministers and social service directors saw an opportunity to have this foreign group help

address one of their major social problems at low economic and political cost - - the agency raised its own operating funds; and the U.S. Executive Director stated the agency would not become actively involved in the politics of the country.

The Roman Catholic Church officials saw an opportunity to further the Church's mission of work with "widows and orphans" through this quasi-religious agency, with a Director who spoke conservatively of the institutional hierarchy, and who explicitly pronounced that the agency's work was "work of the Church". The influential Guatemalan family members who invited the Executive Director to Guatemala and who hosted the Conference, saw an opportunity to bring a second major residential care agency to Guatemala (The same family invited and supported the residence for the homeless elderly of the Sister's of Mother Theresa of India), again at low cost economically, and high benefit socially. All of the Guatemalans saw the Executive Director as a religious, astute, charismatic leader who also saw that opening a residence in Guatemala would be an opportunity to extend the mission, expertise and influence of the agency in the international arena.

At subsequent meetings and after various site visits to locales where homeless children congregated, the officials in the Church and government extended the invitation and support to the agency to open a residence and school for homeless Guatemalan children.

Principles of Operation of the Residential Model of Care

The principles that form the basis of all program operations of Covenant House, the "Covenant Process as Environment," were developed

in 1972 as part of the agency's formal organizing effort. The "Covenant Process as Environment" is part of the orientation of all staff members, and provides in detailed, operational language a unified sense of the mission and overall goals of work with homeless children and their families.

The component parts of the title of the principles, "Covenant", "Process", and "Environment" connotes an entire set of relationships and a therapeutic approach based on a mutuality of respect, trust, care, honesty, and work between two persons or groups. And even though a relationship may be "unequal" in status (e.g., parents/children; counselor/new residents), there are mutual expectations, reciprocal acts, and appropriate exchanges sought, all expressed according to the age or developmental level of the other person. However, before this kind of exchange relationship can be entered with a child or client group, the persons involved (e.g., parents and/or agency staff) must understand and develop honest working relationships with each other. This is accomplished in an agency context when staff share similar visions and goals (assessed through the interview and orientation process); work effectively together; and provide mutual responsibility and accountability, both within and among programs and departments (assessed through daily and weekly staff meetings and supervision sessions). Relationships of care, acceptance, and confrontation are then made explicit to the children and youth who enter the program. In a continuous and growing process, the relationships are manifested with the youths through the provision of food, clothing, shelter,

safety, counseling, and all other services on a "no questions asked" basis, 24 hours a day (through the principle of immediacy).

The covenant relationship with the youths involve exchange - they do not invoke "contracts". In other words, at an intake meeting, programmatic relationships are not defined by "I'll give you food and shelter, as long as you obey all the rules and promise to be good." Services are provided, first and foremost, because the youth needs and deserves care.

"Process" is the "how" -- the movement, the back and forth development that happens in any personal or programmatic relationship on the way to achieving desired ends or goals. In the locality development scheme, process is the union of groups both in an agency and in the community. And in a specific project, the "process" is the entire system of persons (adult and youth), relationships (trusting and exploitive), structures and choices that to together to make the "program."

> . . . it is the process that humanizes, not the program which can merely assist that process, and to a certain extent form it. Programs that provide environments cannot avoid institutionalization. Programs, however, that evolve and derive from mandated and carefully structured relationships of love and trust and caring and confrontation force both adults and children to remain within the context of that infinitely painful but relatively therapeutic process.[1]

Environment is a crucial part of the Covenant principles, because it provides the place in which the exchange processes happen. Environment refers to the physical surroundings of the residence and center

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[1]"Covenant Process as Environment," in Covenant House/Under 21 Policy and Procedures Manual (New York, N.Y.: Covenant House, Inc., 1983), pp. 1-2.

("is it clean; and is it beautiful?"); and the place in which the program is located (the block, the neighborhood, city and country). Secondly, environment is the milieu and atmosphere in which the entire series of programmatic relationships (between and among adults and departments and between adults and youths) are created, surfaced and developed in an ongoing process of mutuality and exchange.

The principles that form the foundation of all programs at Covenant House, "Covenant Process as Environment," are:

- Immediacy
- Sanctuary
- Values
- Structure
- Choice

These principles embody much of the theoretical base presented in Chapter II, in that they are applications of exchange and contingency theories of organizational development, and embody aspects of the locality development framework.

3.1 Immediacy

Children and youths who have lived on the street and who decided to come into residential care, are usually in a state of crisis -- they have been rejected, abandoned or are fleeing some form of danger; are hungry, and/or have major personal, familial, medical, and legal problems. Therefore, a response to the immediate needs of these young people must be immediate and specific. Thus, a program must provide direct access in the form of:

1. Location. The agency is located right in the area of "need," or within walking distance;

2. Hours: The agency is open 24 hours a day - 7 days a week;

3. Intake. There is "open intake" -- i.e., no child is turned away his/her first time to the center - all diagnostic workups are completed after the child has been admitted; and

4. Care. The child or youth is immediately welcomed to the residence by an intake staff person, reassured that he/she is safe, and then her/his immediate physical needs are addressed that is food, clothing, shelter, and/or a medical exam.

The initial intake policy, the provision of needs and the first contact between a staff person and child are crucial to the formation of future therapeutic relationships.

3.2 Sanctuary

The principle of sanctuary is understood and implemented in a variety of ways. First, the young person is protected and made safe from the dangers and deprivations of the street. Second, the person is protected, as far as possible, from the consequences of his/her past (i.e., past reports on behavior are not "held against" him). In this context, parents or police are not notified until the youth gives permission; background information from social service agencies, though helpful and requested (particularly for children who have lived in institutions), is not a pre-requisite for admission; the staff are forbidden to conduct a lengthy interview about the youth's

behavior on the street or in the past, during the first contact. Keeping the initial interview brief and generalized reduces a potentially threatening situation to a child who may be in flight from an abusive home, a destructive street life, or from himself; and lessens the need on the youth's part to think that s/he has to fabricate a long and involved personal history, in order to secure a night's shelter.

Another manifestation of the safety/sanctuary principle is reflected in the environment that the young person enters. A clean, plant-filled, well-lighted, and calm residential center is an integral part of the initial relationship. Cleanliness and beauty, food and shelter, and a non-threatening, welcoming interview show to the young person that s/he is a person with dignity, and that there is, perhaps, a possibility for a new beginning.

3.3 Value Communication

The communication of values is part of any personal or organizational relationship, whether conscious or unconscious. There really is no such thing as a "value free" approach to service.

In this context, a value is that which is seen as intrinsically good in itself, and which is to be sought. The agency attempts to keep values articulated and a part of the client's experience. Value communication first takes place through the example of the counseling staff. For instance, the dictum "treat others as you want to be treated" is both practiced and then communicated to the youths, who are expected to live according to those values to the extent they are able. "Rules" are seen, then, as part of the structures and relation-

ships in the "house" (i.e., the rules of no drugs, no violence show the value of respect for self and others). Therefore, violations of the rules in this environment are seen as primarily a fracturing of these new relationships.

Many youths are incapable of the kinds of trusting relationships that have been mentioned above for a variety of reasons; such as: a high degree of abuse/neglect at home; a long history of institutionalization; the inversion of values on the street (e.g., to be "loved" is to be bought or sold).

Thus, the communication of values with homeless young people demands a process of creating and surfacing in them the need for this environment of growth and acceptance. The process takes time, is difficult, and often fails the first few times. Progress is measured in overall outcomes and in day-to-day efforts.

3.4 Structure

The principle of structure includes the daily rules, rituals and the accountability systems that provide for a responsible and predictable agency program. However, structure, here, is also seen as the framework in which the process of relationship is developed. For children in flight from structures and hostile to rules, an overly rigid regimen merely programs them for failure.

> The structure is human. . .not merely human in the sense that we strive to deal humanly and kindly with our children, but human in the sense that the primary responses of our childre are expected to fall within the parameters of responsible and loving

relationships with us and each other, and not within mere guidelines for acceptable or non-acceptable behavior.[1]

It is, of course difficult for the youths to live within these guidelines and parameters of growth. It is also difficult for the staff to consistently implement these standards. Fostering flexibility and openness to supervision and change and repeated orientation to the transmission of values are essential to the implementation of the principles of structure and value formation.

3.5 Choice

The final principle, Choice, is the completion of all the other principles of operation. That is to say that these youths exist in a place (i.e., the residence) and within a process of care (immediacy and sanctuary). They are shown values (of cleanliness, education, work,love, and respect) within a structure that is as individualized as possible in a group setting. Within these parameters, they are then asked to make choices--to leave behind the destructive process of street life and to choose alternatives to that life style, or to support the staff's choice. Examples of these choices are: care and respect for themselves and others; a reduction of lying, stealing, and exploitation; returning home or to school; and/or preparing for independent living. The principle of choice includes much back and forth testing of relationships and limits; failure, recidivism and growth. However, it also acknowledges that growth and change are the

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[1]"Covenant Process as Environment," in Covenant House/Under 21 Policy and Procedures Manual (New York: Covenant House, Inc., 1983), p. 4.

responsibility of the individual, and these skills need to be an ultimate goal of care and the therapeutic process. Thus, when youths cannot or will not abide by these parameters, and instead choose to return to the street, a major part of the process and principle of choice is that they be allowed to choose to return to the program and start over one more time.

Discussion

Although the principles of operation have established the overall framework for various program models, there were other questions for the doctoral project around the application of these principles in the proposed new locality.

Immediacy

Will a targeted intake better serve the multiple needs of the Guatemalan children, rather than the more general "open intake" used in the parent agency? If an open intake were used in the new project, would the structures and systems of the project be so stressed as to cause mistakes in service delivery?

Sanctuary

How will the staff provide safety for the children in central/mid-town area of Guatemala City, particularly if street and political violence escalates?

Values and Structure

While adopting to the cultural values of the new environment, how will the residential project conserve the values and structures

that have brought program success to the parent agency? What policies, funding, staff and Board (type and composition) will be most effective for program development and implementation?

Choice

Will the pragmatic decisions and exchanges necessary to initiate the project, result in a quality, culturally relevant program? Will the overall costs of the new project outweigh the benefits, to the parent agency?

Description of Program Organization and Design

This section describes two major programs of the parent agency - the short and long-term group home residences, and the emergency multi-service youth center. Also discussed is the residential model for homeless children in Guatemala, which incorporates many of the aspects of both of these models. Discussion of both of these programs includes a description of the setting, the type of children in the program, the services provided to them, and the staff who provides that care.

Description of Covenant House Major Programs

Group Home Residential Programs

The group home residential programs consisted of two types of shelters: those for emergency and short-term care (i.e., from one night to three months); and long-term facilities (from three months to two or more years). These homes were located in various brownstones or two-family houses in local neighborhood communities. Each dwelling sheltered up to twelve children.

The group homes housed homeless, abandoned, abused or neglected adolescents (female and male) between the ages of thirteen and eighteen years at the time of intake. The children and youth came to the residences by various means: directly from the street; referrals from local counseling networks (hospitals, schools), or from persons in the local community; voluntarily through the Department of Social Services; or through remands to the agency through the Family Court system.

Goals for the youth in the emergency and short-term facilities were:

1. return to family--either their own or with a relative;

2. long-term placement in a foster home or group home (after appropriate social work investigation and short-term treatment; or;

3. employment and independent living--especially for older youth 17 years and over), and youth who could not enter a long-term group home because of disposition or funding.

The goals for the young people in longer-term group homes were:

1. become reconciled with family (whenever possible);

2. re-initiate or continue to educational or training programs;

3. continue to develop and mature individually and in a group setting; and

4. prepare for an independent living situation (after 18 years old).

Multi-Service Center - Under 21

The Under 21 multi-service Center opened in April 1977, both as a response to the invitation of the community,and as a response to the

needs of hundreds of homeless young people gathered on 8th Avenue and 44th Street (presently the home of the Intensive Care Unit - "out-reach" section). It moved to its present quarters on 10th Avenue and 41st Street due to a need for expansion, in an effort to accommodate the growing numbers of youth using the Center. In 1977, close to 5,000 young people were cared for at the Center. By 1980-81 (at the time of the Guatemala project), over 10,000 young people came to the agency.

The Center provides emergency and short-term services on a 24-hour, 7 day a week, "open intake" basis (i.e., there are no formalized intake criteria or eligibility requirements for entrance). The program facilities contain rooms and residential space for up to 200 youth per night, a soup kitchen, medical clinic, social service department and an educational/vocational center. Youth are provided with services on a night-to-night basis for up to two months. The average stay is three weeks.

The Under 21 Center is open to any youth who is 20 years old or younger. Although most of the youth are from New York (65 percent New York City - 10 percent New York State), the Center has taken in young people from all of the states and from other countries (e.g., Europe, Canada, Mexico, and countries in Latin America). The population is approximately 75 percent male; 25 percent female; 55 percent of the youth are 18 to 20 years old; the next largest percentage (25%) is 16 to 17 years old. Approximately 60 percent of the youth are Black, 25 percent are Latin or Hispanic, and 15 percent are white or other. The majority of the youths who have come to the Center are classified, in social service terms, as being from situations of

abuse or neglect at home or on the street. They have experienced some form of deprivation or disability (e.g., either physical or educational), and are "in need of supervision"--that is to say, they need food, shelter, care, education and vocational training.

The goals for the multi-service Center are similar to the goals of the short-term residential program (i.e., return home and placement in long-term programs, if indicated). However, since the majority of the youth are over 18 years, more emphasis is placed on educational and vocational training, to prepare them for independent living.

Residential Program - Guatemala

In Guatemala the residential program was established to address the long-term needs of orphaned and abandoned children. It consisted of a hotel on thirteen acres of land, twenty-five miles from the capital city, and two miles outside the former colonial capital of Antigua. It contained living residential space for up to one hundred children, and sufficient areas for a school, work and recreation.

The residence in Guatemala was geared for orphaned, abandoned and neglected boys between the ages of six and twelve years of age upon intake. About half of the children were projected to come from the capital, while the rest would be from throughout the entire country. The goals of this project were similar to those of the long-term residences of the parent agency, with a strong emphasis on the educational component, because of the high illiteracy rates in the country (see Chapter I - "Extent of the Need").

Program Services

The Covenant principles were the underpinnings for the services provided in the group homes, the multi-service Center, and the residential program in Guatemala. Services for all the modules included: intake, case planning, counseling, social services, health, psychological and psychiatric services, educational and vocational training.

Intake

At the group homes and Center in New York each youth, whether she/he entered the program from the street or through the child welfare system, is received according to the principle of immediacy and open intake.

During the initial intake meeting, an assessment is made to determine the extent of the crisis, the youth's needs, and his/her responses to the present situation. At this point, it is important to make an impact and to respond to the young person. Therefore, she/he is immediately welcomes, made to feel safe; and then immediate physical needs are taken care of before the further assessment and fuller case plan is developed. On the level of exchange, particularly with scared, angry, or suspicious street youth, before they are asked to give anything (i.e., information, trust, permission to call home), they receive something they need and value (food, clothing, a bed). At the same time, they are able to observe the person and the manner in which these things are given. When the initial meeting and services are handled well (and the damage and deterioration to the youth are not massive), a step has been taken toward other levels of service and

relationship.

Within the first few days, each youth is checked medically and given an appointment for a full physical within the week. Within 72 hours, a full intake and family history is completed in a non-threatening way; and within the first week she/he is drawn into the full services of the program--medical, psychological and social services, education and vocational appointments, if indicated.

In Guatemala, the intake process consists of one or two family visits by the agency social workers to the boy's home environment (whenever possible), in order to assess first-hand the family situation and the extent of need for residential placement. Before the child enters the residence, information is gathered by the social worker to obtain relevant family data (e.g., birth certificate, vacination card and the parents /usually the mother/ written permission allowing the project to care for the child). The intake at the residence is similar to the intake at the parent agency, in that the workers welcome each child, assure them of safety and provide for their immediate needs of food and shelter.

Case Planning

In New York, special case planning starts the first day the youth is in residence. Depending on the extent of the personal and familial difficulties, the child's age and previous placement history, and her/his present needs and desires, planning is done daily by child care and clinical staff. His/her progress is also reviewed at the weekly conference in the group homes, and daily during case review

meetings at the Center. These case review meetings are conducted by the House or shift supervisor in conjunction with the social worker; and is attended by appropriate counseling and clinical staff; and a member of the Executive Administrative staff. Plans and recommendations developed at this meeting are recorded and kept in the youth's private file. These recommendations are reviewed daily, weekly or monthly, depending on their nature and the situation of the youth.

In Guatemala, case planning conferences are held weekly, and recommendations are reviewed at daily change of shift meetings by counselors, social workers and teachers at their review meetings.

Counseling

In the group homes of the parent agency, both individual and group counseling are used to support the youth's growth and development, and to bring abour resolution of problem areas. Each young person is assigned a member of the House counseling staff, who sees him/her twice a week for informal counseling sessions. These sessions, contained in a model called "adoptive counseling", are separate from the daily counseling that goes on with the whole group and is a complement to clinical and social work therapy sessions. The purpose of the "adoptive counseling" is to give each youth (especially in the long-term houses) someone "special", who will maintain a particular interest in him/her. In weekly supervisory meetings with the House manager, the counselor reports general progress or problems with the youth in his/her charge. Specific issues germane to the youth's development or the well-being of the House are discussed.

The youth, in turn, knows that meetings with the counselor are not totally confidential (i.e., certain issues may be discussed with the supervisor). But, the principle of sanctuary does apply in that clinical and confidential material are kept in locked files in the child care and social work offices.

Once a week, in each group residence, the House supervisor conducts a meeting with all the residents. This meeting is not a group therapy session. It is an occasion for youth and staff to discuss responsibilities in the House, register complaints, acknowledge progress, and to plan House activities. In a structured format, this meeting is designed to assist youth in working out problems and increase awareness in the group living situation, both among the young people and between youth and adults.

In the multi-service Center, individual counseling is conducted by the counseling staff on a daily basis. Each counselor is assigned a certain number of youth during each shift, and works with them to produce a short-term plan (e.g., call home, go to the medical clinic, apply for a job). Because of the short stay of youth at the Center, progress is reviewed daily. Also, a group home meeting is held every night by a senior counselor to welcome new residents, review events of the day and to discuss activities for the next day.

Intensive Counseling Unit (ICU)

An intensive counseling unit is a vital part of the multi-service Center. The unit ("outreach team") was formed after the first two years of the Center's operation, to care for youths unable or

unwilling to stay at home or in a residence. In the ICU section, counselors and social workers offer counseling, food and referrals (but no shelter). Progress is assessed by "hours off the street" and periodic expressions of desire to change from a stree life style. It should be noted that although this serivce is not cost-effective in strict program outcomes, a number of youth have stopped a further downslide; many continue to return to the Unit ("...to rap, get some food, check out 'the place') and 'get over a bit"); and have shown a great loyality to the staff. Moreover, a small number have returned home to try, again, to see "...if it can work."

The focus of counseling in Guatemala is similar to the group home model, because it is a long-term residential program. On the individual level, counselors use the "adaptive counseling" method to insure that each child receives individual attention on a regular basis. This model will be matched throughout the implementation stages to see if its effectiveness is maintained as the ratio of children to worker increases. Evaluation will also look at whether a one-on-one verbal counseling technique will be effective with a younger aged client group (i.e., six to twelve year olds).

Group house meetings are conducted on a weekly basis by counseling staff, however, if the need arises, the frequency of these meetings will b e increased.

Social Services

In the group residences in New York, each young person is assigned a social worker, who has the responsibility for individual, group and

family casework services. Along with child care staff, the social worker is responsible for short and long-term planning within the residence in conjunction with various child welfare/juvenile justice systems with which the child may interact. As a member of the treatment team, the social worker may consult with the counseling staff. She/he also shares responsibility with the House manager for the development of maternals for the case conference. Conceiving long-range plans, the social worker assesses the work with the youth and family to determine if a reconciliation is possible. If the family and youth cannot or will not accept each other, a long-term alternative placement plan with an emphasis on skill development for independent living is developed. Even when a family reconciliation is not feasible, the social worker tries to maintain some contact between the young person and his family.

In the multi-service facility, individual, group, and family casework services are performed by social workers on the center's treatment team (upon referral), or by workers in the special Family Service Unit. The youth and social worker focus on an agreed definition of the problem. The worker tries to provide insight and support to leave a street life style, and works with both the young person and family to effect a reconciliation wherever possible. The Family Services Unit was designed especially for those families who would not accept the youth back home, or could not communicate with or provide structure or discipline to their child in the home environment. Services are group-oriented in the family's own setting. Direct services (help with housing, welfare, food stamps, etc.) are offered; along with

longer-term support and insight into the need for compromise and adjustments in order to have the entire family function better.

Social Services in the Guatemala project is conducted by local agency social workers. Major differences in approach between the new project and the parent agency is around working with families during the intake process. Since there is no open intake, workers spend more time out in the "field" ascertaining the family's problem, need and strength before the child enters the program. After intake, each child is assigned to the social worker who guided his intake process. Social workers in the Guatemala project are also involved with regularized family meetings with each youngster and his parent (whenever possible).

Health Services

In the agency group homes, within the first few days, each youth is seen by the nurse and a physical examination is scheduled. Eye and dental exams are also scheduled, according to need. The nurse teaches and coordinates the health education program. Through counseling, discussion and films on hygiene, nutrition, sexual development, alcohol and substance abuse, adolescents are shown preventive and developmental ways of caring for themselves.

Health services in the multi-service Center are more extensive than those routinely provided in the group homes. The large numbers of youth and the variety of conditions they experience on the street--such as poor diet, colds, veneral disease and pelvic infection; effects of rape; pregnancy; lice; broken bones; substance abuse, serious emotional disturbances and depression--necessitated the opening of a

medical clinic that sees approximately forty youth a day. The staff is comprised of paid and volunteer doctors and nurses who provide diagnosis and treatment for those illnesses not requiring hospital care. Local hospitals, provide the back-up service. The staff in this department also provides individual and group counseling in the areas of health, nutrition, dental hygiene and sexual development.

In Guatemala, the health services department initially consisted of a registered nurse (like the group home model) whose responsibilities included seeing each child and scheduling a physical examination and laboratory tests within the first week of each child's arrival to the program. However, because of the high degree of undernourishment of children in Guatemala, and the fact that less than 20 percent of the country (outside the capital city) has access to potable water, planning for the first year included provision for a medical doctor to be on staff to conduct examination. It was projected that few children would have visited a dentist. Thus, provisions were made for dental and clinic visits (for analysis of Health Services, see Chapter V - Evaluation).

Psychology and Psychiatry

In New York, as the numbers of young people increased in the residential program it became necessary to add a full-time psychologist and a part-time psychiatrist. Both are responsible for testing and evaluation and for consultation with social work and counseling staff on selected youth. The psychologist sees a small number of children (e.g., for conditions related to depression, and other effects of

abuse and severe deprivation at home or on the street) in weekly therapy sessions and provides staff training for residential staff.

In Guatemala, although the poverty and physical deprivation of children is extreme, it was projected by a panel of experts, that there will not be the same need for psychiatric services as in the parent agency. However, provision will be made to form a referral network to local psychologists or psychiatric facilities, if the need should arise.

Legal Services

Many young people who come to the service center have been involved with the law through criminal activity, including: transit authority offenses; stolen credit cards; shop-lifting; muggings, drug possession, armed robbery; and prostitution-related offenses. The legal department of the parent agency (consisting of paid and volunteer attorneys under the supervision of the agency's corporate attorney), work with the counseling staff to reinforce appropriate support and advocacy for the youths. Under the principle of sanctuary, the youth is reminded that "sanctuary" does not permit refuge from the law in criminal matters. The youth is strongly encouraged to enter the legal system, with staff support. If the young person will not work to resolve the offense, she/he may not be sheltered in the Center. However, because of the youth's initiative (principle of choice) and the legal staff's advocacy and linkage to the Department of Probation and Social Services, many young people have received more lenient sentences, paroles and/or probations.

It is not expected in Guatemala, that there will be a great need for an on-site lawyer, because of the relative young age of the children in the residence. However, the project's attorney in Guatemala is available to assist staff and children, if the need arises. The program also works with the local Family Courts in cases of childhood delinquency.

Educational Services

In New York, one goal of the group home program is to get involvement from each youth in some form of educational or vocational activity throughout the day. Each youth is interviewed shortly after arrival by an educational counselor who determines his/her interest, skills and needs. The counselor then presents to the youth and to the case conference a range of suitable and available programs. Educational programs include: local public high schools; alternative public high schools; private high schools; and private alternative educational programs. Vocational programs consist of those offered by Manpower Training and Neighborhood Youth Care programs, Office of Vocational Rehabilitation, Job Corps, and various public and private trade schools.

In the multi-service Center, educational and vocational counselors see youth on a referral basis, assess their needs and wants, and work to develop an appropriate program. This Center's "Ed/Voc" department, considered one of the most important in the service complex, faces herculean dilemmas, such as: educational disabilities (over 80 percent have learning disabilities and perform at a 2nd or 3rd grade reading

level); unemployment statistics are high (30-50 percent are generally accepted statistics for minority teenagers, and most street youth are not even counted in this pool); and the length of stay in the Center is short. However, working on a day-by-day basis, the staff culls job possibilities from community sources. Each available youth is enrolled in an internal "Job Group" where she/he learns, through role play and group discussion, appropriate procedures for job applications, various styles of dress and interview conduct. Educational assistance, albeit short-term, is provided by professional and volunteer staff in order to help the young people secure a Graduate Equivalency Diploma (G.E.D.).

In Guatemala, because of the high illiteracy rates throughout the country (approximately 65 percent - see Chapter I - "Extent of The Need"), the major change in the projects' approach to education is the development of a fully certified primary school on the property. Strong emphasis is placed on reading and mathematical skills, as well as social and cultural studies. Although a school on-grounds could foster a "campus" or institutional mentality for the children in residence, this issue will be balanced with the benefit and need to provide a strong educational base to the children. Discussions among project planners and local educational and social service experts will center around providing ways of having the children out in the community, during their time in primary school. After successfully completing their primary schooling, the children will attend local community schools for their intermediate and high school education.

Administration

Administrative and Communication Systems

In the group residences, success in providing round-the-clock, open intake emergency and short- and long-term care, demands an understanding and commitment to a consistent vision and principles of youth care. It also demands a high quality and quantity of communication; an effective systems for supervision, administration, and "non-bureaucratic" decision-making at the client level. One method of facilitating this in the residential program is to keep a log during each shift. Process notes are maintained in both child care and social work files if there has been significant interaction with a youth during the day; and at the change of shift in each residence, there is a "up date" briefing meeting. The Administrator collects these reports and meets daily, in a group, with the appropriate residential and clinical service, health, and education). At this meeting, called the "Morning Report", they review any major problems and/or progress with the youth, with particular emphasis on "high priority" areas; e.g., need to conduct a special family meeting due to alleged child abuse, a medical problem, or a need for special psychiatric placement. In addition, this meeting serves to check on administrative or "housekeeping" tasks, such as the amount of petty cash in the House, any maintenance problems or needs; issues in the community; and staffing problems or needs. The morning report is one of the key communication and supervisory mechanisms in residential care. Also, during each shift, continuous work requests, conversations, and support are given to the

staff by the designated shift supervisor.

Other structures to insure quality care are the case conference which is held every week in the residences, and the weekly staff meeting with the residential team, conducted by the House supervisor. Staff also receives individual supervision on a weekly basis from his/her appropriate supervisor. Each week there are administrative and departmental staff meetings, to review all programmatic, staff, and procedural issues in the residential, clinical and administrative areas.

In the multi-service Center, the major administrative systems which insure adequate planning for the youth and support for direct care staff are: weekly staff and supervision meetings, monthly reports, and daily shift meetings and the morning report. The shift meeting in the Center replaces the weekly case conference (because of the number of youth and their short length of stay). They are attended by supervisors and members of both the day and evening shifts, a reporting social worker, and the administrator who is on call from 5:00pm to 9:00am (i.e., until the next morning report). The report provides an update of work in process on each youth, highlights high priority cases and new intakes, and develops plans for youth and the "House" for the next 24 hours.

The administration of the residential project in Guatemala consists primarily of aspects of group residences, particularly when the numbers of children are below fifty. Thus, there are morning reports, logs kept on each child, shift meeting, and a weekly case conference.

Also, there are weekly department and administrative staff meetings, and weekly supervision meetings for the workers.

Requirements for both the group home program and the Under 21 are that supervisory and clinical staff must have the appropriate educational degree (social work or nursing) and professional experience, depending on the level of performance required. Likewise, administrative staff must possess the necessary educational certificate (usually a master's degree), direct experience with youth, and experience and training in supervision. Direct care staff (the residential component) must possess qualities of sensitivity, knowledge, commitment (through education and/or experience), and skill with this population. Moreover, all staff, particularly the residential group, must possess integrity and compatible principles, and must understand and articulate these values with the youth.

In addition to the paid and professional personnel, the Center is staffed with over 200 part-time volunteers (working at least 5 hours per week, throughout all areas of the Center), and special groups of full-time volunteers, called the Covenant, or Faith community. This community, organized by the Executive Director in 1977 (when the agency moved to Times Square), is composed of men and women who take a year or two out of their lives to live together, pray three hours a day and work without any pay throughout all departments of the agency. As of 1981, about fifty people from various professions, and ages (from twenty-three to seventy years). The Covenant Community may be loosely compared to a religious Peace Corps or VISTA. Economic costs to the agency, for this group, included: housing, room/board and insurance,

funds which were raised outside the agency operating budget by the Executive Director. There were additional costs, at times, in the form of organizational tension between the volunteer and paid staff, around decisions concerning care and planning for the youth. Benefits to the parent agency were in terms of this group's dynamism and commitment to youth as examples of volunteerism; many times, they also provided high quality work in the professional departments of the agency.

The volunteer Covenant Community was used by the Executive Director as the start-up staff for the Guatemala project (and for later expansions in Toronto and Houston). This decision provided the parent agency with a dedicated start-up team that also provided quality work at low economic cost. That the community volunteers lived together and had the status of a quasi-religious group was a definite plus in the acceptance of the agency in the environment of Guatemala. Moreover, the group's relative inexperience with the agency (only one member had worked there longer than one year) was offset by the addition of the Program Adviser, a paid professional with many years experience in child care and management with the parent agency.

Thus, initial staffing for the Guatemala project consisted of: the Project Director and business manager, an attorney (stationed in Guatemala for the first three months), a religious sister, a stone mason, and a child care counselor (all of whom were members of the volunteer community), and the Program Adviser (from the agency).

CHAPTER IV

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROGRAM DESIGN

Introduction

This chapter is divided into two major periods: 1) planning and development - the time before the residence was opened, and 2) initiation and operation - the opening of the residence through the first three months of operation.

Key issues during the planning and development stage included: agency decision to go to Guatemala and project team preparation for departure; language and cultural training of North American startup team in Guatemala; property negotiations and legal incorporation; assessment of needs for homeless children and development of relationships with local and professional communities; initial program design, staffing; and development of administrative linkages with the present agency.

The initiation and operation stages concentrated on organizational and programmatic processes: testing of the intake criteria; hiring and training of staff and further development of clinical and residential services; modification of program design and procedures; and strengthening communication and administrative systems.

Planning and Development

Acceptance and Commitment

The initial invitation to open a residential program in Guatemala was extended to Covenant House in the summer of 1980. The genesis of the invitation came in the spring of 1980, when a member of a very influential Guatemalan family invited the Executive Director of the agency to present the Covenant House program at an international Congress on Families held in Guatemala City. The Congress, attended by government, religious and social service personnel, enthusiastically received the Executive Director's presentation. After visits throughout the city to various sites where street children congregated, and a series of meetings between agency representatives and key government, religious and social service personnel, church officials and the government of Guatemala extended an invitation to the agency to open a residence for homeless children.

Upon returning to the United States, the Executive Director, staff and Board of Directors discussed the risks, costs and benefits of expanding the agency to Central America. After numerous meetings, the Board of Directors decided at the Fall meeting to approve the agency's request to open a residence in Guatemala by summer 1981.

Throughout the planning and development of the residential project, there were numerous negotiations and exchanges among staff, directors and Board of Directors of the agency; and among the child care agency and various officials in Guatemala.

The Guatemalan government and its Department of Social Welfare stood to benefit by the agency's entrance to the country, because the Government would receive help in addressing one of its most important social problems--homeless children. A second benefit was that the government would get assistance with the problem at minimum cost, i.e., the agency would bring its own funding, and not disrupt the equilibrium of the present social service system because of increased competition with other agencies for scarce funds. In order to gain these benefits, the government would have to grant the agency status as a Guatemalan association, certify the residential project, and help the foreigners through many of the bureaucratic elements (e.g., passports, import of goods, real estate). Also, the government in bringing the agency to their country, would have to acknowledge the problem of streetchildren and the need for outside intervention.

Exchanges for the agency with regard to the government entailed: the agency would be helped to achieve its mission to care for homeless children; entrance to Guatemala would give the agency international status, and thus more prestige; it would provide an opportunity to test its model of residential care (considered highly successful in the United States) in another culture. Other exchanges for the agency and the government were: financial cost--the agency would have to provide all the money for this venture; the project would have to fulfill all the legal requirements of a Guatemalan association and the certification procedures for the residence. Also, the agency, in return for entrance to the country, would be expected not to publicly oppose the government regarding its stance on social and political problems.

Exchanges for the Catholic Church consisted of: the Church's mission to care for the poor (e.g., homeless children) would be augmented by means of the new U.S. agency; the agency's national reputation based in the case of street children, combined with its affiliation as a Catholic agency, would bring credit on the Church itself. Also, Church officials, like the government, received benefit from the fact that the agency had its own money, and would not be competing with other Catholic agencies for diocesan support. In order to gain the above benefits, the Catholic Church would have to formally invite the agency to the country, and bring it under its own affiliation; the Church would need to support the new agency in cases where other Catholic agencies felt the equilibrium of the system was disrupted; the Church would also have to give formal and informal support to the new agency in cases where the government could become suspicious of a new and possibly "radical" social service group involved with the poor.

Exchanges for the agency in relationship with the Church were: the agency could extend and fulfill its mission to take care of homeless children under the protective aegis of the Church and the government, both of which were necessary to work in Guatemala; formal acceptance by the Church hierarchy would help with fund raising in Catholic circles in the States and with other expansion efforts by the agency. The other half of the exchanges for the agency with regard to the Church were: the Executive Director and staff made sure to acknowledge the critical importance of the Church in the

agency's work with homeless children, and did not take any stand that would be opposed to the formal authority of the Church; and the Executive Director of the agency made a commitment to contribute to a special scholarship fund for needy boys.

Many of the above exchanges could not have taken place without the influential Guatemalan family, who initially made the invitation to the Executive Director, and was the bridge among government, church and the professional banking, real estate and social service communities. As a well established part of Guatemalan society, and as a part of a high ranking Catholic helping society, they sought to use their influence in a public way to do a "good"--i.e., to care for homeless children. On levels of exchange, bringing the agency to their country was also a way that the entire extended family could work on a project together--e.g., one daughter had organized the Congress on Families; one brother, a banker, provided the mortgage; their brother-in-law was the project's attorney, etc. All under the direction of the grandfather, or patron (see Chapter II, Cultural Variables). Socially, each family member and the family itself gained in prestige with government and church officials. The family, in turn, used that prestige to bring the various groups together, and assured each group that the new project was reputable and in the best interests of the children and of Guatemala. In return, the grandfather and the extended family was honored by the Bishop and the government. They were held in great esteem by the business and professional communities (the family had invited and supported The Sisters of Mother Theresa of India who came to Guatemala to care for the homeless elderly). The

grandfather was also asked by the agency to head the local Advisory Board for the project.

Finally, regarding the agency, staff were concerned about the withdrawal of Administrative personnel and funding from New York to operate the Guatemala project. Some staff asked, "Why go to Guatemala? We need more staff and programs right here." The Board was concerned about gathering funds for this new project. They were also concerned about the political instability of the country, and potential dangers to the children, staff and their investment, should the violence erupt into war. However, when the Executive Director assured the staff and Board that no money or full-time paid staff would be taken from existing programs and that he would provide the revenues (and had already received some corporate and private support), the Board of Director voted approval for the agency to send a start-up team to Guatemala, and voted approval for an operating budget for one year.

The Start-up Team

The initial project team consisted of five members of the agency's volunteer, religious-based community, and an agency program advisor. The lay volunteer community members (the Project Director, an MBA, an attorney, and three child care counselors) were chosen because they provided to the government and Church in Guatemala a religious-based presence, as promised by the Executive Director. They also provided quality staff at low cost to the development budget of the agency; and as a community, they lived together and provided a built-in support network for each other.

Although the selection of the lay volunteer staff provided quality in the business and legal areas at low economic cost and minimal disruption to the equilibrium of the agency (i.e., no full-time supervisory staff were selected), the major disadvantage in the selection of this group was their lack of experience with the principles and management structures of the agency (only one member had been with the agency longer than one year). To offset this deficiency, the Executive Director established as part of the development team the position of Program Adviser (the author). There were multiple purposes to this position. First, the Adviser provided to the project team experience and expertise in child care and program management issues (the Adviser was an administrator with ten years' experience at the agency). Secondly, the Adviser served as the "guardian" of the philosophy, history and values of the agency (i.e., on-site "quality control"); and because of his long experience working with the Executive Director (since the incorporation of the agency in 1972) (i.e., his referrent power), the Adviser functioned as an informal bridge between the project and the administration in New York. Finally, the Adviser functioned as an independent researcher with this program.

Organizational tensions quickly arose between the Project Director and the Program Adviser over the Adviser's status and authority vis a vis the Project Director during the time spent in Guatemala. After intensive group and individual discussions among the Executive Director, Project Director and Program Adviser, an agreement was reached which involved the following exchanges: the Project Director

would have the title and full authority for the project (formal authority). He was responsible for all management, business/financial matters; as Director he had the power to "hire and fire"; and all project staff, including the Adviser, reported to the Project Director, who in turn reported to the Administration in New York. In return, the Project Director would have to accede to the Adviser in matters of agency principles (the Covenant Process), and in decisions regarding child care. Informally, he also had to accept the "guardian" role and the informal checks and balances of the Adviser's position. The Adviser had to relinquish all formal authority and accept a "staff" position, reporting directly to the Project Director. In exchange for this, he exercised the major voice in all staffing and program issues related to the residential project. Also, the Adviser in his "guardian" role, had the right to go directly to the Executive Director (with notice to the Project Director), if there were serious community issues or concerns regarding the overall quality of program implementation.

After the organizational and staffing issues were resolved and before departure, the start-up team explored options for language and cultural training; arranged for passports, visas, and health examinations; and developed a broad outline of tasks, relationships, and mutual accountability within the team and between the Guatemalan project team and the agency administration in New York. During this time, the team initiated an orientation plan, including readings, and outside speakers, to familiarize themselves with health care, child care and social services in a foreign country; the history and political situation in Guatemala; and the role of the Catholic Church in Latin America.

On October 19, 1980, five of the six members of the start-up team left to begin three months of language training in Guatemala. Between October and December, the Program Adviser conducted research in New York around issues of demographics, health, education and social service needs of homeless children (see Chapter I, "Extent of the Need"). He joined the project team in Guatemala for language and cultural training January 1981.

Initial activities for the project team in Guatemala included: opening a temporary bank account; conducting initial exploratory meetings on what formal and informal procedures could be used to extend the team's tourist visas beyond the typical thirty-day period; visiting local programs; and making contact with some of the street children in the park in Antigua.

Need Assessment

Data was gathered in New York and Guatemala in order to delineate specific program intake criteria and service needs. Efforts were both formal and informal, and included information gathered from many community development activities already discussed.

Quantitative data gathering and analysis on the numbers and needs of homeless children and their families took place in Guatemala through a review of available documents in various libraries (public library, UNICEF local office, and the library at the Consejo de Bienestar Social - "Council of Social Welfare"). Available information was also collected on the number of children in care in the social service network, under whose supervision, in what type of facility and where.

These library investigations were important for a number of reasons. They provided a data base as to the extent of the problem, put a framework to the "felt" need of children on the street, and established a structure for meetings with various program representatives and social service experts. Research in Guatemala revealed that in 1981 there were over seventeen groups (in both public and private social services) that cared for over twelve hundred children 0-18 years old, in the capital. This data corrected and supplemented earlier information which indicated that there were only two other voluntary agencies in the capital caring for homeless children. A number of these facilities were located near the hotel in downtown Guatemala which the agency had considered and rejected. More importantly, the in situ research pointed out that there were no residential facilities for children six years old and older in the Antigua area, except one connected with a residential wing for about forty children at a local hospital.

Site Selection

A major priority for the start-up team was the search for an appropriate site. A large vacant hotel was located in the downtown area of the capital city. It met the criteria of size and accessibility to services. It was initially considered as a facility for operating a child care residence because of its physical space and its location near the areas where many homeless children congregated.

However, it was the relative disadvantages of taking over this particular hotel which eventually led to its rejection as an appropri-

ate site. For example: although the purchase price was acceptable, the renovation costs were greater than planned, there was little usable furniture; and although the initial areas were sufficient, there were no outside play areas. The hotel was also just a few short blocks from the presidential palace, the Cardinal's residence, and the army-owned bank (Banco del Ejercito). This section had the highest incidences of kidnappings and politically-motivated killings in the city.

The rejection of the hotel was among the decisions reached during the December site visit by the agency's Executive Director, construction consultant and the Program Adviser. Not only was the proposed site rejected; but it was felt that all locations in the inner capital city would suffer the same high safety risks, if not the costs. So, a decision was made to widen the site search to include locations outside the city.

However, because of the agency's rising costs for the project team in Guatemala, and because of concerns regarding the political situation, a decision was reached by the Executive Director that a location had to be found by the end of March 1981. If the team could not find a suitable building and begin negotiations by that time, the project would be cancelled.

In widening the site search, a hotel just outside the city of Antigua was visited. It had been located by the family who had been involved in the invitation to Guatemala, and was almost vacant due to the decline in tourism. The hotel, called El Cortijo de las Flores ("Refuge of the Flowers") contained approximately thirty office and bedroom spaces; meeting rooms; functioning plumbing and bathrooms;

a large water deposit and well; kitchen; and twelve acres of land. Approvals were given by the agency Board to pursue independent appraisals of the property. Between February and the end of March, the Project Director and members of the team began in earnest to secure this property, but also continued to review other possible sites. During this time, over thirty properties were evaluated throughout the capital city, Antigua and along the Pan American highway, between these two cities.

One of the most important aspects of choosing the El Cortijo hotel, besides its programmatic advantages, was its real and symbolic identification with the city of Antigua. Antigua's historical significance as the colonial capital of the country caused it to be declared a sanctuary and tourist site. As such, as of 1980 and 1981, the city was safer than the capital and other outlying areas regarding issues of political violence.

In the beginning of March 1981, the Executive Director again returned to Guatemala, with three members of the Board of Directors (an attorney, a medical director and his financial director) to meet with the team. They toured both Antigua and the capital, to see the areas where large numbers of homeless children congregated, and to visit the El Cortijo and two other sites suitable for consideration. As a result of this visit, a decision was made to concentrate on the El Cortijo. The chief negotiator and broker for the agency was the father of the extended family who brought the agency to Guatemala. On March 25, 1981, the owners agreed to seel the El Cortijo, and a letter of intent was signed on April 15.

After the formal approvals by the Covenant House Board of Directors to purchase the El Cortijo Hotel, it required several months for the team in Guatemala and the legal staff in New York to finalize the contract. On July 10, 1981, the agency took possession of the El Cortijo Hotel.

Legal Incorporation and Certification

The process of incorporation of the agency as a Guatemalan Association took one year - from the initial exploration and analysis until the formal reception of the agency name, Asociacion Casa Alianza (Association Covenant House) on December 1, 1981, five months after opening.

The legal issues were the most complicated aspect of setting up operations, with many delays and some misunderstanding between the various attorneys involved. First of all, the agency's lawyers in New York had contracted with an international law firm, as consultants, to insure that procedures were being followed correctly. Also, New York's sense of timing and need for paperwork verification put pressure on the agency's Guatemalan attorney. Relationships between the attorneys deteriorated throughout the first project year. Since this was the first international venture, with high political and economic costs, the agency attorneys wanted to insure that all aspects were handled correctly and in a timely fashion. The Project Director felt pressure during this time, because of his co-ordinating function between the two legal teams. Also, each delay in signing the contract prevented the team from moving in and securing permanent living space (between

February and June they had lived in a local hotel or "house-sat" homes of friends who were on vacation). Moreover, each change in a signing day caused delays on the program side--that is, until moving in, staff were not able to adequate assess the repair and renovation needs and appropriate use of space. Each delay also disrupted the timing of interviewing and hiring key maintenance, residential and administrative staff, as well as the opening date of the residence itself.

Although the procedures to fully certify the agency were arduous, and although the project started the residential program before all formal approvals were completed (the project could do this because it was a private agency with its own source of funds), the decision to follow all aspects of the application and certification process was important to the overall ends of the project. First, to the agency, it was important not just to take care of children, but to develop and replicate models of child care. Secondly, certification was important to Guatemalan human service directors in order to prevent the outgrowth of an alternative, charismatic-based group of "do-gooders" who would care for their children without appropriate institutional safeguards.

Community Relations

Guatemala has had a long history of relationships with foreigners who have come to live and work (see Chapter I, "History" and "Government Structures"). In this century, since the influx of the United Fruit Company in 1905, there have been many American, European and

now Japanese business concerns in the country. On the social service level, Guatemala has been particularly open to foreign service and aid groups, particularly after the earthquake of February 1976 which devastated many parts of the country.

Upon entering the country, the agency was welcomed by the Cardinal, but with the suggestion that there were "enough programs" in Guatemala City, and that the agency should establish a residence in one of the western cities of the country. However, the project team did obtain his permission to come to his diocese, and received a strong invitation and statement of support from his auxiliary Bishop, who was responsible for social development projects. The project group was also received well by other religious groups (especially those who were running residential programs for children), and by the local parish priests and pastors in Antigua, and in the parishes that surrounded that town.

Throughout the planning period, project team members had meetings with local child care experts. Among these were the former director of UNICEF; the Director of the oldest program for street boys in the country; directors of the largest voluntary non-residential social service program in the country; and three psychologists who had worked with adolescents in shelters and detention centers. Staff also visited over a dozen service programs; public and private hospitals, a day care center, and various types of residential care facilities in both the public and private sectors.

As a result of these community meetings, officials in the Department of Social Welfare and other social service personnel welcomed the group, and provided support, especially in the pre-opening period. They were pleased that an experienced group would come to the country to care for their street children (an acknowledged and growing critical problem throughout Central and South America). They were also pleased that the agency brought its own economic resources and did not overly disrupt the social equilibrium by competing with other projects for the very scarce resources from the Department of Social Welfare and other private associations (Lion's Club, Rotary Club, etc.).

Also, officials and social service experts were pleased that the project team picked the best language school to attend, and spent two to three months in the training (especially in grammar, accent, and the forms of courtesy). They also appreciated that the group did not just "open a house", but spent time using the library, establishing interviews and visiting programs.

During site visits to the project in July and August, officials from the Family Court and the Department of Social Welfare commented that they were favorably impressed that the agency was working to comply with all the standards of the Council on Social Welfare for operating a residence (e.g., number of bathrooms, appropriate space for the kids; fire and safety codes; staffing plans; case conferences, etc.). Both department heads commented positively on the professional aspects of the program design--the well-defined philosophy and program principles, location and use of space, staffing patterns, and the child care, clinical and administrative structures.

Another incident which assisted the agency in its relationship with the professional community was the appearance in the June 1981 Spanish edition of Reader's Digest of an article on the work of Covenant House with homeless children in New York. The article was referred to in meetings by officials in the local Council of Social Welfare, and helped to establish the professional credibility of the project team.

Meeting and gaining the support of the social service and professional community was important in the locality development for a number of reasons: the professional community was the "panel of experts"--they had the experience and up-to-date knowledge on issues of street children and their institutional systems; the professionals provided needed insights into the project's proposed criteria of intake and facets of the program design. The professional community provided formal and informal linkages for the project's staffing needs, and were used by the certifying agencies for informal evaluatory feedback regarding the new social service project.

Although relationships between the project and the social service system remained positive throughout the planning and implementation phases, there were situations where agency policy and motives were questioned by local social service personnel. There were resentment by some to the presence of a new foreign agency, and there was an attempt during the initial implementation period by an official to have the project change the classification of children to be cared for in the residence.

For example, the issue of inter-country adoption facilitated by international social service agencies, was seen by a growing number of social workers as a taking of the country's human resources in return for helping needy children. Project personnel were frequently asked the agency's stance on adoption. When project team members stated that the program was not part of an adoption agency and that adoption would only be allowed with children that no one else wanted, these questions subsided. An example of resentment toward the project happened at a meeting of clinical and administrative staff at a large residential treatment center. After presenting the history of the agency and its work with street children, one of the workers asked, "Did you come to Guatemala because there are no more street children in the United States?"

An example of pressure to change the focus of the residential program occurred during an inspection visit by government officials to certify the residence. After hearing the goals and intake criteria of the project, one official commented that he was unhappy that new foreign agencies only wanted to work with the easier population (i.e., homeless children), and not with the emotionally handicapped and developmentally disabled children, who were virtually without care in the country. It was agreed that the latter group was in great need. It was also pointed out that the agency had received an invitation to work with homeless children, because of its reputation and experience with that group. However, the project offered assistance and collaboration to the government representatives to develop a program for the disabled, if called upon to do so.

Local Community Relations

Although the community of people in Antigua were accustomed to foreigners, due to tourism and the language schools, a number of individuals had questions concerning the identity of the lay religious community, and what their purpose was in Guatemala. Most people were familiar with religious volunteers--i.e., those priests, sisters and brothers (whether in clerical garb or not) who taught in schools or worked in hospitals and clinics (e.g., Maryknoll sisters, Christian brothers, Salesian priests and brothers). They were also familiar with lay volunteers, especially those who were connected with the Peace Corps. Antigua had a number of former Peace Corps workers living and working in the town, and the Peace Corps had a training site there during the 1970s. The bulk of the people's experience with lay religious volunteers was connected with the Protestant Fundamentalist missionary groups, many of whom, in 1981, were receiving their language and cultural training in Antigua, prior to going to Honduras, Bolivia, Chile, etc.

Therefore, in the beginning of their stay in Antigua, the lay religious members of the team were repeatedly questioned about their lives, individually and together, and their goals and purposes in Guatemala. However, after a short period of time, particularly after seeing that this group went to Mass at the local churches and joined in at family and school fiestas, the majority of the people of the town accepted them for what they said they were. When it became known in Antigua that the project team was staying in Guatemala, and was looking for a place to take care of street children, the Antiguans

offered any assistance they could (e.g., available land, carpenters, cooks--"I have a brother who...").

Throughout the negotiations for a suitable facility, professional and business people commented that the agency was involved in "good work"; and that "these children need to be taken care of." In fact, one of the issues that helped the agency obtain the Cortijo Hotel, was that one of the Guatemalan owners lived on the street for a period of time when he was a boy. He had recently heard of this "extranjero--(foreign)" group who was there to care for children; and was surprised that the group wanting to buy the hotel was the same one he owned. Although he and his partners were not looking to sell the building and property, when he discovered the purpose to which it would be put, he prevailed over his partners and pushed the sale.

The first negative comments about the project took the form of rumors during negotiations for the residential property. Arising as a negative consequence of the closeness of living in a small community, the rumor claimed that "a group from New York" was going to bring alcoholics and drug addicts into a hotel in Antigua, in order to rehabilitate them. Another was that a group was going to buy the El Cortijo Hotel, tear down the colonial structure, and erect condominiums in its place. However, both of these stories were dispelled when the Project Director met with various representatives from the chief coordinating Council in Antigua.

Another negative situation arose from a small number of the upper class in town, over the wage scale paid to the project's kitchen and

maintenance staff. The project, by deciding to follow the labor laws and paying at least the minimum wage to the above staff, upset the economic and social equilibrium of some large homeowners, who paid their servants less than the minimum wage for more than the prescribed hours of work per week. The response of the homeowners was to decry the high wages paid to kitchen staff, and complain in the community about the "rich gringos" and their policies. This complaint and the concomitant organizational tension arising from decisions affecting money, class and the environment, remained with the project throughout the first year of implementation.

Political Environment

In the spring and summer of 1981, there was an increase in general political activity in preparation for the upcoming presidential elections in March 1982. This increased political activity brought about increased tensions and violence in the countryside and the capital.

The four conservative political parties (whose support won the election for President General Romeo Lucas Garcia, 1978-1982) appeared to exert political control over the country. The two moderate Christian Democratic parties remained outside the sphere of effective political influence, since their backing of a labor strike in 1979 succeeded in increasing the national minimum wage from $1.40/day to $3.20/day.

In fact, since 1979 two of the principal candidates of these parties were assassinated, along with over one hundred and fifty of their party leaders and managers. Of this number, seventy-six were

killed between the latter half of 1980 and the first part of 1981.[1]

By 1981, the leader of the Christian Democrats, Vinicio Cesar Arevalo had survived two assassination attempts over the past two years.[2] In the sate of Chimaltenango (which borders the state in which Antigua is located), during one two-week period in March 1981, one hundred and seventy-one people were killed, forty-three disappeared, and sixteen were wounded.[3] Overall, in the last six months of 1981, there were 2,569 Guatemalans killed, largely for political reasons.[4]

In March 1982, General Anibal Guevara, the Minister of Defense under President General Romeo Lucas Garcia, gained the presidency with the backing of a coalition of conservative parties. Two weeks later (on March 23, 1982), he was overthrown in a coup, which installed General Efrain Rios Montt in power. He, in turn, was ousted by his Minister of Defense, Genral Oscar Humberto Mejia Victores, who is still in power as of this writing.

Although the politically-motivated violence was increasing in the capital city and in the mountain areas of the north and northwest, the city of Antigua and the area near the project remained relatively safe. Antigua was partially protected because of its attraction to tourists. It also was located away from the areas that contained large plantations and mineral and oil exploration. However, throughout

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[1]The New York Times, May 3, 1981, p. 20.

[2]The New York Times, May 4, 1981, p.12.

[3]The New York Times, May 7, 1981, p. 12; and Ibid., May 9, 1981, p. 2.

[4]Amnesty International Report 1982, p. 140.

the latter part of 1981 and through 1982, the army presence in the town increased. During this time, members of the project team monitored news accounts in the three local newspapers and the Miami Herald; developed contingency plans should staff be threatened; and remained in regular contact with the U.S. Embassy and various Church leaders, to provide alternative sources of information as to changes in the political climate.

Although the increased political violence affected each staff person personally, program planning and implementation were not affected. Predominant reasons for this safety were: the protection and sanctuary that the city of Antigua offered (versus being in the capital or in one of the rural areas); the political neutrality of the staff and the program; and the support that the project received from its key publics--the influential family, the Church, and because of these two groups, the various sectors of the government and the army.

Criteria of Intake

The criteria of intake for the residential program were determined by the project team in Guatemala and the agency administration in New York. Decisions were reached through a combination of factors:

- Analysis of data gathered from the need assessment;
- Political factors in relation to the environment; and
- Programmatic, internal organizational variables, to

structure a smooth opening of the project.

Key areas that entailed formal administrative review were:

1. Age of children accepted.
2. Single sex or mixed male/female residences.
3. Structure of the intake process.

Age of the Children Accepted

Project administration decided to take into the residence homeless children who were between the ages of six to twelve years at intake. It would not take in homeless adolescents. This decision was made after an analysis of population need, and because of political expediency. In general, orphaned, abandoned and neglected children were considered by most social service experts as a vulnerable population, definitely in need of care. Demographics indicated that over forty-four percent of the population in the country was fourteen years and younger; and of that number, various guesstimates placed approximately ten percent of that population in extreme need of food, shelter, medical and educational attention (for further analysis, see Chapter I "Demographics" and "Prior Work and Current Programs"). Orphaned, neglected and at-risk children also fell within the area of the agency's experience and reason for being invited to Guatemala.

The project elected not to open a residence for homeless adolescents for political reasons. Adolescents, particularly those living in poor urban and rural areas, were viewed by some government departments and by some business people as a volatile and potentially revoluntionary group. Those voluntary agencies who had an established history and reputation in the country had to maintain a low profile in their work with adolescents, in order not to threaten various

sectors of the government, who could possibly retaliate against the program if there were suspicion of "subversive" activities. The agency, being new to the country, decided that the political costs of work with adolescents far outweighed the benefits.

Single Sex Population

The second major issue around the proposed criteria of intake was whether to care for both sexes within the residence, or to open the residence for a single sex population. While all agency personnel and all service providers agreed on the needs of all homeless children, staff and professionals were divided on the risks and benefits of caring for both sexes in the same residential complex. After a number of meetings, the Executive Director of the agency decided that the project would initiate the residential program by taking in only boys. This decision was made for political and programmatic, organizational reasons.

Benefits to the agency were: the project would still fulfill its mandate to homeless children by taking in the majority of those who were living on the streets and in the parks, i.e., abandoned boys; and structurally, by preventing potential negative consequences (e.g., an unwanted pregnancy, or gossip in the local town), the project sought to establish credibility and support within the community--issues seen as crucial to a program in a new environment.

Costs to the agency of the decision to accept just males to the residence were in the form of negative criticism from some local community people, and from some social service personnel. Both groups

felt that housing just boys would create an "institutional mentality," and a less home-like atmosphere among the residents. Other social workers from the Family Court and the Department of Social Welfare were unhappy with the agency's decision to accept just boys, because there were already few residential services for girls in the country, and they saw this project's decision as a lost opportunity of available referrals.

Structure of the Intake Process

Another issue regarding intake was on the intake process itself. The majority of the social service "panel of experts" (especially the agency's social work consultant) advised against maintaining the first part of the principle of immediacy, i.e., "open intake" (twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week, no questions asked, to enter the program). Their reservations were two-fold. First, the project could be inundated almost before it got started, resulting in a serious lessening of the quality and standards of care, both because of numbers and the difficulty in caring for a heterogeneous mix of clients. This in turn, might result in an evaluatory or sanctioned review of the Department of Social Services. Second, open intake could lead to parents bringing their children to the agency, not because of family deterioration, but because they were trying to better their children's lives by placing them for a period of time in an internato ("boarding school"). Although a "good" end, in some cases, this was not the purpose of this project. Therefore, the recommendation was made, and accepted, that before a child would enter the program, there would be at least one family meeting, conducted by the project social worker

(and a counselor, if possible), in the community where the child was living, whenever possible.

Organizational Development

The development of the Guatemala project also brought about changes in the organizational structure of the parent agency. Locating the hotel near Antigua for the residence, the start of the negotiations for it, and the legal incorporation process brought satisfaction to the project team, and increased tension (and questions) to the other parts of the organization. During the winter before the project opened, questions arose regarding the legal, financial and programmatic relationships of the project to the parent agency. Questions consisted of: was the Guatemala project a separate program, department or subsidiary?; legally, who should sign the mortgage for the property, and was the agency in New York responsible for all activities and liabilities in Guatemala?; on the program level, agency administrators questioned who did the Project Director report to, and on what issues? By the spring of 1981, the parent agency had reorganized from one large multi-service agency based entirely in New York, to a corporate agency with subsidiaries in New York and Guatemala. One of the parts of the corporate agency was its international division, which had the power to raise money for the subsidiaries, and to purchase property for the agency. Progrramatically, the parent agency created a Research and Development Department, whose administrator took over formal responsibility for the Guatemala project one month before the program took in children.

Agency decisions regarding the legal and financial status of the Guatemala project restored the organizational equilibrium of the parent agency; the creation of the research and development department brought in some tension between the new administrator of that department and the project team in Guatemala. Reasons for the tension were: the Administrator, although on staff at the agency for a number of years, had joined the new project ten months into the development process, and had difficulty in establishing new communication patterns with the Project Director and team. Tension existed for the project team because, except for site visits by the Executive Director, the team had set all its own communication and accountability systems.

The first problem arose between the New York Administrator and the project during the first staff metting in Guatemala a month before the program opened. In a review of the first organizational chart of the project, the New York Administrator noticed that the social work department was placed under the Director of Residential Services, not under Clinical Services, which was the customary line of authority at the parent agency, in order to insure appropriate advocacy for the child. The second problem encountered was that, as listed in the organizational chart, there were eight departments reporting to the Project Director, which, as the Administrator quickly pointed out, indicated a lack of delegation to sub-directors, and a possible "burn-out" situation for the Project Director as the program grew. (See Organizational Chart in Appendix.) Subsequent discussions between the New York Administrator and the Project Director highlighted the importance of exchange and compromise. The Administrator succeeded

in maintaining the independence of the social work position in the structure of residential services; she also offered the project team a new budget line in order to hire a personnel director to assist the Project Director and Program Adviser in the hiring of additional line and supervisory staff. The Project Director, while acceding to the new Administrator regarding the social work and span of control issues, gained acknowledgement for himself and the team for their extensive planning and development work before the Administrator arrived; and won the concession of the personnel director to assist in the hiring and development of the project's personnel procedures.

At the end of June, the lay community staff moved into the hotel. They occupied six rooms on the second floor of one wing. They began to assess the renovation of the space, and the counseling staff particularly, worked to clean and organize the potential child care areas. Also during this time, the project team finished its initial review of the school systems in and around the county in which the project was located, translated into Spanish the agency's principles of operation, as well as the staff job descriptions. Along with the outside social work consultant the team completed the Family Investigation Form, which was to be used in the diagnostic family meetings prior to the child's entry to the program.

One of the major tasks throughout this period, until the personnel co-ordinator started full-time work (August 1981), was the solicitation, interviewing and hiring of staff for all levels of the program. During June, the Adviser and bi-lingual secretary wrote and put announcements in the city newspapers (for child care supervisor;

social worker and Director of Social Work and Clinical Services; educational consultant; and, later, Director of the project). Due to the quantity of applications being received for office, teaching, child care and maintenance positions, the team decided to have an open registration desk for these positions. They received over three hundred applications.

The interview process, as conducted by the Adviser, took about twice as long per interview as a similar process in New York. Reasons for this difference were: 1) The interviews were conducted in Spanish. Thus, both parties had to speak slower and use simple vocabulary, and, at times longer descriptions of a situation; 2) because of the differences in country, culture and child care experiences, it took more time to assess a person's background and experience. Likewise, it took time to describe the agency's program, history and invitation to the country; and 3) because of the values of courtesy, respect and dignity, particularly to those who were out of work, it was judged important to insure that the interviewee both understood and felt understood regarding the employment picture at the project. This was also seen as a way to bolster the community's knowledge of the project and its work.

As the program planning moved closer to the time for the public ceremony to formally introduce the residence within the community, pressure began to mount on all project staff to get the program operational and ready to receive children. The Executive Director of the parent agency came to Guatemala for the planned "spiritual opening" of the residence. This formal ritual and public ceremony

was crucial in the locality development, because it gave official approval to the project by all the key publics in the community. Thus, the religious ceremony was conducted by the Bishop, all the local pastors, and the Executive Director of the agency. It was attended by parents, friends and key local community people from neighboring Antigua and Ciudad Vieja; and by business, professional and social service people from the capital and surrounding areas. Various rooms of the "house" were sprinkled with holy water, and a blessing was asked for the residence, children and adults, in accordance with the traditions of the country. At the ceremony, the Executive Director announced that Casa Alianza would accept its first children one week after the ceremony - on 23 July 1981.

Initiation and Operation

The Casa Alianza residential program opened on July 23, 1981. This section highlights some of the major events and issues from the opening until the end of the first three months of operation. Areas discussed are: the physical facilities; children who entered and left the program; and services and staffing. Included in "services and staffing" are: child care, social work, education, health services, kitchen and maintenance, and administration.

Physical Facilities

Casa Alianza is situated in Ciudad Vieja, about three miles outside of the former colonial capital city of Antigua. It is also situated about thirty miles outside the present capital, Guatemala City.

The residence is walled on the sides that face the main road and the nearest neighbors, and is built in the colonial style--that is, in a "square" which surrounds a flower garden and a fountain. Three sides of the square contain approximately thirty rooms, which are used as bedrooms and child care offices (twenty rooms); the main living room; dining room; classrooms; and administrative and clinical offices. In the west section, on the second floor, where the living areas for the volunteer faith community (later turned into child care areas, when the community found separate quarters). One side of the square opens onto twelve acres. This area contains a swimming pool; a free-standing portico with a thatched roof (which was glassed in, and became the prototype for three other free standing classrooms); an area for work projects (such as the "kitchen garden"); as well as room for the soccer field.

In July, some major repairs still needed to be completed (e.g., the roof leaked, and the kitchen needed to be expanded to prepare food for over one hundred children and staff).

The design of the bedrooms was such that each one would contain between six and nine beds (in sets of two or three bunks), depending on the size of the room and the age of the children. This design addressed several issues: on the one hand, the project did not want to house the children in dormitory fashion (a number of programs had twenty to forty children in one large room); on the other hand, putting one to three children per room would not have been cost effective. In addition, these children had never lived in single rooms, and enjoyed jostling with each other in the bedrooms and living room.

Thus, four to six of the existing double beds were set up in each bedroom, and were replaced as the newly-made bunk beds were finished. Classroom desks and tables were purchased second-hand from a local school.

Children

The child care program opened with three children. Two of the boys were from a group of street children that the staff had been counseling informally in Antigua; the third was living on the street in the capital, and was referred by a benefactor of the project. These children were taken in after a preliminary family investigation (by one of the members of the child care team and the project's part-time social work consultant) showed that they were "at risk", and in de facto situations of abandonment. However, except for those children who were orphans, the program received permission from the parent (usually the mother) or guardian, before the children entered the residence (a detailed description of the ages, family situation, places of origin and types of referrals is found in Chapter V on Evaluation).

By the end of July, a total of six children were received into the residence; three from Antigua, and three from the captial. In August, five more children were taken in; and two children were discharged because of threats of violence to another boy. In September, three were taken in, and one was discharged to an improved family situation--leaving a total population of eleven. In October there were sixteen new intakes; and one discharge because of repeated

AWOL's. The child population at the end of October was twenty-six.

Intake Situation

In the original budget and program planning of June 1981, the project team had projected that the residence should receive approximately seven children a month, for an eventual total at year end, June 1982, of ninety children (capacity of the "house" using present bedrooms and maintaining existing office space, without any new construction). During July, even though the program opened on the 23rd, six children were received.

During August the phone lines to the residence became disrupted. The team first thought the phones would be out of order only a few days, since the situation had happened periodically since the team took over the hotel (there was only one main phone line from the phone company in Antigua into the town of Ciudad Vieja - and this was above ground). What began as a minor annoyance (e.g., traveling three miles to Antigua to use the public phone in the phone company building), quickly became a major programmatic disruption. Throughout August, there were no referrals, outside of the personal contacts the staff had made with children in Antigua, and personal references (e.g., from the local social worker in the day care center, or other informal contacts). The inability to make and receive calls caused a lack of follow-through to the letters the team had sent to various social service programs, announcing the opening of the program and its criteria. Secondly, there was no follow-up possible to many of the verbal contacts made at the open house in July. Thus, by mid-September 1981, there were twelve children in residence, and thirty-

four staff (that is, eleven in maintenance, five kitchen, and six administrative staff; as well as one social worker, one nurse, one teacher, and nine child care workers).

The imbalance between the numbers of children and staff was becoming a growing concern to project staff and to the agency administration in New York. The imbalance had also become a problem for the project in its relationship to local community people, who expressed concern about the project "spoiling" their children, and creating an unreal "welfare" mentality at the residence. A benefactor of the program said to one of the North American staff, "You have more adults than children there. Are you trying to teach the kids how to have servants?"

The lack of intakes had become an important organizational and cross-cultural issue because in Guatemala, with the lack of funding for social service projects, some private, alternative day care centers and child care programs had one staff person for forty-five or fifty children. Having three staff for every one child, even if it were a temporary organizational problem, seemed like a scandal and total waste of money to the local community. The situation needed to be rectified quickly because the project was in danger of losing the support of some of its key publics--the local business, professional and community people on the external, environmental level; and of the agency administration in New York, who questioned how there could be a lack of intakes in a country with so many homeless children.

The low number of intakes to the program during August and September were caused, not only by the lack of a working phone due

a fallen electrical pole, but also by a disagreement among the staff, as to the definition and priority of an "at risk" child. The Project Director wanted the house to consist of a majority of orphaned and abandoned children (who literally had no parents and were living on the street). The Program Adviser, while agreeing that the above children were "most in need," countermanded this developing exclusionary policy, and implemented that part of the intake criteria which included those children who may have been living with one or more parents, but who were malnourished, did not attend school, were in poor or neglected situations (e.g., the "latch key" children), and were in danger of either greater physical harm or greater personal deterioration.

Increases in the numbers of children to the program were accomplished by the Adviser reviewing the intake log book, expecially at the list of "children not accepted"; and working directly with the social worker in various intake situations. From mid-September to the end of October, the Adviser accompanied the social worker on approximately twenty family visits, in order to learn first-hand about the situation of neglected and "at risk" children and families in Guatemala, and to observe and evaluate the format of the family meetings. He also clarified the intake decision-making process regarding children "at risk" for the new project staff; and helped make the decisions to accept "at risk" children to the residence.

As a result of the staff training and a more expanded interpretation of the intake policy (to include greater numbers of the "at risk" population), sixteen new children had entered the program by

the end of October (a doubling of the numbers in the program in September). This increase redressed the child-to-staff ratio to acceptable program standards (i.e., of the same thirty-four total staff, there were ten child care workers, one social worker, and two teachers for the twenty-six children--a two-to-one child to staff ratio.

Child Care

On opening, the child care staff consisted of five counselors, with substitution on various shifts by other members of the project team. These people were: a "houseparent," her assistant (the project team's translator and research assistant and a former child care counselor at Under 21 in New York), and three Guatemalans with teaching certificates, who were working in child care for their first time.

There were three child-care shifts a day (the morning shift, from 6:00 a.m. to 2:00 p.m.; the afternoon/evening shift, from 2:00 p.m. to 10:00 p.m.; and the overnight shift, from 10:00 p.m. to 6:00 a.m.). During the day, the recently hired teacher provided support to the child care staff in getting the children ready for class, as well as during meals and recreation. At night, the two night watchmen assisted the evening child care staff in putting the children to bed. The child care staff were also assisted by other members of the project team, on a voluntary basis, during the children's work and recreation periods, at bedtime, and on weekends, during the first month after opening, until the child care staff was expanded. The newness of the project, the short length of time between signing

for the property and opening the program, and the lack of experience and training of child care staff, demanded a high level of energy on the part of the entire project team.

At the end of the first month, a bi-lingual Supervisor of Child Care joined the project. This woman, who was from Antigua, had previously worked for four years in the capital, as the chief assistant to a North American Director of a large and well-run residence for homeless boys within the same age range as at Casa Alianza. Her responsibilities were: to supervise and train the staff in the care of children; to organize and institute appropriate management structures (e.g., log books, medication sheets, afternoon schedules, etc.); and to conduct the case conference and child care staff meetings. During the start-up phase, she was instructed in the agency's system of administration and care (morning report, case conference, and individual supervision). She was supervised by the Project Director. Her experience in the c are of Guatemalan children, as well as her ability in English and Spanish, made her an important addition to the staff.

In addition, at the end of August, a third night staff person was hired. All of the night staff received training from the new Supervisor of Child Care, in the nighttime care and wake-up duties of this position.

In September, three of the original child care staff were terminated by the Project Director, because of poor performance and motivation. This was accomplished with valuable supervisory input from the Supervisor of Child Care, who had assessed, counseled and con-

fronted the staff involved. The termination process, although a "success" by administrative standards, caused some disruption in the staffing of the house. There was need for double coverage on the part of the remaining child care staff for a week, until new counselors could be hired.

October saw the beginning of the routinization of staffing and child care operations. The daily schedules for both the children and the adults were becoming regularized. Child care information and events were communicated within established structures (e.g., shift change meetings; moring report; and case conferences). The increases in the numbers of children during October brought about the designation of "shift supervisor." That is, during each shift, one of the counselors was in charge of all the routine child care activities, thus freeing the Supervisor of the residence for more administrative duties. By the end of the first three months of operation, there had been a 60 percent turnover in the child care staff. Of the ten child care counselors in October, four had been terminated because of performance, one had left for another job, and one had returned to the United States.

Social Work

The social work function was an important component of the residential program. In the planning phase, the Program Adviser met regularly with a social work representative of a local co-ordinating council to discuss various issues concerning children, family, law and the social system. She assisted the Adviser in developing the intake criteria and the family investigation form; provided valuable

information regarding legal certification, and the workings of the Family Court and juvenile justice systems; and she notified the Adviser of potential candidates for the agency social work position.

During June and July, the Adviser interviewed approximately thirty applicants for the social work position. The best of the applicants (a woman who had residential care and Family Court experience) was recommended by the team's social work consultant. Until she was able to start with the project (at the end of August), the team was able to use a combination of part-time social workers (especially one who lived in Antigua and worked in a local day care center) for the intake family meetings during the program's first month of operation.

Education

A major staffing and program problem that arose in the educational area was the resignation of the original teacher one week before the program opened.[1] The loss was felt, not only because of the timing, but also because the teacher possessed a teaching certificate, had advanced studies in pedagogy, and had taught children within the same age cohort and problem areas as the project's children.

However, a replacement teacher was found and hired by the time the project opened. The new teacher (culled from the list of applicants), although younger and lacking extensive classroom experience, had her teacher's certificate and was a year from her Master's degree

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[1]The teacher's husband had just received notice that he had won a work-scholarship to spend a year in Houston, Texas.

in education; and had sufficient credentials to teach the necessary subjects.

The resignation of the teacher also exacerbated another problem in the educational area, and a growing tension between the Project Director and Program Adviser. The problem was in the difficulty the start-up team experienced in completing an educational study of the local school system, in order to plan the educational component of the project. The Director wanted the study completed by the time the project opened, and had made this a growing priority for the Adviser in June 1981. Problems experienced by the project in this area were: the selected educational adviser (an experienced teacher/director, with a Masters in Education, who had helped design a language school) left the country in June, because a colleague in the National Alfabetization program had just been kidnapped and killed. After putting additional ads for an educational consultant in the newspaper, three different consultants were selected, from early July through mid-August. Of these consultants, one became ill before starting the assignment, one became unavailable due to marriage, and the third did not show up for a scheduled appointment.

When the first three strategies for the educational consultancy failed, the Adviser dropped the priority during July and August, in favor of staffing needs in the child care and clinical areas, and because of the need to train those staff members in the structures and systems of residential care. Although the issues of "priorities" and "tasks" were discussed at staff meetings, a clear understanding was not reached between the Director and Adviser on the educational issue,

during the first three months of program implementation.

At the start of the project, educational work was mostly remedial. Most of the children were one to four grade levels behind, and had varying educational and emotional problems. The teacher had the responsibility of teaching the children five hours a day, six days a week. She was joined by another teacher in October, as the numbers and types of children grew. Also, in October, the educational team was joined by an educational adviser brought on board as a consultant. This consultant (a director of a school for "special needs" children in the capital) worked with the project's school and teachers, until a principal for the school was hired in January 1982. The principal was then responsible for getting the school certified according to local and state standards.

Health Services

For the fist three months, the children were seen gratis at the local public hospital for their examinations and for their lab work (to test for amoebas and parasites). Because of the variety and extent of the children's medical needs, and because of some reinfestation of diseases while in the residence, (e.g., athletes foot and some intestinal parasites), the project hired a nurse in September to work part-time on health issues and part-time in child care. As the numbers of children increased, the project hired a full-time nurse and an in-house, part-time doctor in November 1981. (For a description of the children's medical problems, see the section on Health in the Evaluation chapter.)

As of October 1981, there was no need for an in-house psychologist. Those children with special nervous and psychological problems were treated at a special education center in the capital.

The state of the childrens' teeth necessitated a contract with a local dentist, who had a specialty in pediatric dental care.

Kitchen and Maintenance

The kitchen staff consisted of: the first and second cook (for the day and evening shifts); the cook's helper; a second helper; and a laundry worker. Because of the increases in the numbers of children by October, the laundry person was inundated with work, and was requesting additional help in this area.

The maintenance crew consisted of the North American Director of Maintenance; a Supervisor of Grounds (who had lived and worked on the property for over thirty years); an assistant supervisor; two inside and two outside helpers; a mechanic; and a part-time helper.

Both the kitchen and maintenance personnel remained stable, with very little turnover throughout the start-up phase of the project.

Administration

For the first three months of program implementation, the administrative staff consisted of the North American Project Director; the North American Program Adviser; and Guatemalans in the roles of Supervisor of Child Care; an accountant; bi-lingual secretary; receptionist/typist; driver/mechanic; and the personnel counsultant. The administration of the project closely followed the parent agency's model of residential care. The morning report and daily change of shift meetings were instituted during the first week that the residence opened. The

weekly case conference was initiated the second week after the residence started. Staff meetings, on the administrative, clinical and residential services level, were also held on a weekly basis (see Chapter III, "Description of the Model"). Interviews for staff positions were on-going; and orientations for new staff were conducted by the project team, approximately once a month.

Of the many occurrences on the child care, clinical and administrative levels, two have major significance to the doctoral project:

1. The first discharges of the first two boys from the residence--provided a test of the principles and administrative structures of the model; and

2. The policy on "spanking" children in the program--showed an example of organizational tension between the Project Director and the Program Adviser around the issue of organizational values, and the use of power and authority.

The discharges of the first two boys from the program occurred three weeks after the residence opened. Two of the older boys were found by a counselor in the locker room one morning before school, threatening to sexually abuse a younger boy. Child care and supervisory staff recognized the act as a serious violation of the principle of sanctuary, and followed the administrative procedure of immediately isolating the boys and notifying the child care supervisor. The supervisor called for an emergency case conference, in order to decide, by consensus, what was the appropriate course of action.

The emergency case conference was attended by the social worker, two supervisors of child care, the personnel consultant (also a social

worker), the Project Director and the Program Adviser. Although all staff present agreed that the act was a serious violation of the values and rules (i.e., "no violence"), and of the principle of sanctuary (i.e., the safety of the younger boy), staff unanimously recommended against a discharge of the two boys, because they did not want to send them "back to the street." When the Project Director did not countermand and overturn the staff's decision, the Program Adviser stepped out of his staff advisory role, and spoke from his position of influence and power as "guardian" of the principles. In a lenghty, instructional confrontation with the administrative staff, he reviewed the principle of sanctuary and its application to this incident. Since there was little initial agreement to the Adviser's stand of immediate discharge of the two boys (the staff preferred to punish and restrict the boys, while keeping them in the program), the Adviser said that he would not agree, under any circumstances, with a decision to keep the two boys in the program. After a lengthy discussion, the Project Director called for a recess until the next day. The next morning, five of the six staff (including the Project Director), voted for immediate discharge of the two boys. There was follow-up training by the Adviser with the child care staff. However, there was no further discussion or reflective analysis concerning the incident between the Project Director and Adviser.

This incident was instructive because it showed the importance of an articulated set of principles and an established and known set of procedures for use and referral when there is a difficult, but important issue that demands an immediate decision that has serious

programmatic consequences. The discharge incident also pointed out a growing and unresolved tension between the Project Director and Adviser over differences in program perceptions, and in administrative styles of behavior.

The second incident concerned the project's policy on "spanking" as a form of discipline. One month after the residence opened, at the weekly administrative staff meeting, the Project Director announced to all staff (without prior consultation with the agency administrator in New York, or with the Program Adviser), that the project was going to institute a spanking policy--but only in extreme cases where that form of discipline was necessary, and only administered by himself, as Director and "father" of the house. The Project Director cited a precedence for this policy, local practice in other Guatemalan child care programs. The Program Adviser, in order to avoid a public argument, remained silent. After the meeting, there was a confrontation between the Project Director and Adviser. The Adviser disagreed with the Director programmatically, on the value of spanking in an institution, and pointed out that the policy could turn into a form of institutional child abuse. The Adviser also reminded the Director that the proposed spanking policy was in opposition to the agency's values and rules of child care; and that the Project Director should have consulted either the Adviser or the agency representative in New York before publicly announcing the policy. The Project Director disagreed with the Adviser's national that spanking could lead to institutional abuse, and cited the values and practice of discipline in Guatemala to support his position. The Director

also thought he was within his jurisdiction to establish, without consultation, a policy such as spanking. Since there was a personal and programmatic impasse, the Adviser said that either the Project Director or himself should call the agency administrator in charge of the project, or the Executive Director of the parent agency for a decision. The Director elected to call the agency administrator. The administrator responded that spanking a child would be counter to the agency's values and principles of child care; and instructed the Project Director to rescind the policy. At the next staff meeting, the Director announced that there would be no spanking policy at the project.

The above incident contained a "chips down" confrontation between the formal authority and role of the Project Director and the power and influence in the Program Adviser position. It also pointed out the organizational tension that existed in a situation where an organization's values are counter to the values and practice in the local culture. Although in general an organization in a locality development and contingency framework model should adapt to local practice, in certain incidences the values of the organization--that spanking by the Director could lead to abuses by staff--have to be maintained. And although the Project Director may have acted within his right as the formal authority, the Adviser, in his capacity as guardian of the principles, had to act to protect the values and interests of the agency.

This chapter has described the development and implementation of the project in the new locality, and has discussed in detail some key

issues in that process. The next chapter, Evaluation, addresses outcomes of the program services; and discusses to what extent the program model was adapted to the new environment.

CHAPTER V

EVALUATION

Introduction

This chapter on evaluation addresses two primary questions:

1. What were the programmatic outcomes of the project in its first three months of operation; and

2. To what extent was the program model replicated in the new locality and environment?

These evaluation questions are part of the overall purpose of this doctoral project, which has been to design, participate in, monitor and evaluate the establishment of a residence for homeless children; and to describe the extent of its model replication.

The primary time frame for measuring outcomes of developing and implementing the residential project is from the opening day of the project (July 23, 1981) until the end of the first three months of its initial operation (October 1981). Secondary time frames, the end of six months and the end of the first year, are included where such information is necessary to provide a more complete picture of the project and its programmatic implications.

Methodology

Evaluation for this project takes place in an action setting, where ". . . the most important thing that is going on is the program."[1] The focus of this study has been to monitor the program under developmental conditions--that is, comparing the original agency model of child care to its application in a cross-national setting. This results in an intensive qualitative analysis of the events of the planning and implementation process in an attempt to understand the relationships between the program's services and its participants; the program and the parent agency; and the program and its environment. Analysis of the outcomes will provide insights for further developing the program, and practice propositions and principles for other program replications.

Therefore, the primary evaluation strategy used here is the case study. The purpose of a case study is to provide " . . . the detailed description of a social program as it unfolds in its process of development."[2] This strategy employs both qualitative and quantitative methods to develop ideas and hypotheses to explain progress or lack of progress in the development of a project. Methodology includes: participant observation; informal interviews; various types of group analysis (e.g., staff meetings, group case meetings, etc.);

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[1] Carol H. Weiss, Evaluation Research: Methods for Assessing Program Effectiveness (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1972), p. 7.

[2] Tony Tripodi, Phillip Fellin, Irwin Epstein, Differential Social Program Evaluation (Itasca, IL: F.E. Peacock Publishers, Inc., 1978), p. 84.

and the content analysis of various written documents.

This study is also referred to as the "One project before-and-after."[1] As emphasized by both Weiss (p. 75) and Tripodi et al. (p. 85), evaluations of this type of study need not be limited only to pretest and posttest measures. Rather, the researcher attempts to gather as much information as possible, and uses that information in relation to a conceptual scheme. In this case, the theoretical frameworks are exchange and contingency theories, and cross-cultural locality development. The researcher may participate in the group living situation as an observer, but without responsibility for direct program operations. He reviews official policies, documents and rules; and talks with people connected to the program, and with other organizations connected with the program. Quantitative data are collected with respect to specific outcomes, and all input on the various aspects of the program is then used to develop future program directions.

Although results from a single case study are not readily generalizable to other projects, this approach can be very helpful for developing programs, because it can take a series of measures of participants as they move through the program and attain various objectives.[2] This type of study can also be used to focus on potential problems in program operations (e.g., regarding an intake situation, or a difference in a therapeutic approach). Moreover, the

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[1] Weiss, Evaluation Research, p. 75.

[2] Ibid.

descriptive character of the case study can evaluate staff efforts in relation to program goals, especially where there are different staff interpretations, conflicts, or different vested interests.[1]

Goals and Objectives of the Guatemala Project

The overall mission and purpose of this project in Guatemala is to provide long-term residential care to meet the basic physical, psychosocial, health and educational needs of orphaned, abandoned and at-risk[2] boys between the ages of six to twelve years on intake; and to care for them until they can return to a permanent family living situation, or until they are capable of independent living. This mission and purpose is to be achieved with Guatemalan staff and with linkages to local agencies and social service systems.

Goals

Based upon the purpose and mission of this project, three goals were generated for the residential program:

1. To provide long-term residential care for orphaned, abandoned and at-risk boys between the ages of six to twelve years at intake; until such time as they can return to a permanent family living situation, or are ready for independent living;

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[1] Tripodi, et al., Differential Social Program Evaluation, op. cit., pp. 86-87.

[2] "At-risk" boys are those who live in situations where there was a strong potential for abuse and neglect, because of extreme poverty, malnutrition, and at times, the inability of a parent to adequately care for the child.

2. To provide a culturally relevant, quality care residential program for homeless children in Guatemala;

3. To adapt the principles and administrative structures of the parent agency in a new environment and culture.

These program goals were specified further through the following objectives:

Objectives for Goal 1

Objective 1: To take into the residence over a period of twelve months, a total of eighty-four orphaned, abandoned and at-risk boys, between the ages of six to twelve years at intake.

Objective 2: To discharge from the program those children who are able to return to a more permanent family living situation; and those who refuse or who cannot abide by the rules and procedures of the program.

Objective 3: To address the immediate physical needs of food, clothing and shelter; and to provide for the social/developmental needs of each child in the residence.

Objective 4: To take care of the medical and dental needs of each child in the residence.

Objective 5: To provide each child with individual, group and family social work services.

Objective 6: To provide educational services for each resident according to his developmental level.

Objectives for Goal 2

Objective 1: To hire and train local Guatemalan staff in all service and management positions.

Objective 2: To insure that all programs and services are sensitive to the cultural values of the people.

Objective for Goal 3

Objective: To apply the five principles and administrative structures of the parent agency in the planning and implementation of the residential project, as appropriate for the environment in Guatemala.

Goal 1

To provide long-term residential care for orphaned, abandoned and at-risk boys between the ages of six to twelve years at intake; to such time as they can return to a permanent family living situation, or are ready for independent living.

Objective 1

To take into the residence over a period of twelve months, a total of eighty-four orphaned, abandoned and at-risk boys, between the ages of six to twelve years at intake.

Outcomes

TABLE 3

NUMBER OF INTAKES BY MONTH AND CATEGORY
FOR THE FIRST THREE MONTHS OF PROGRAM OPERATION

Dates	Orphaned	Abandoned	At-risk	Total
July 23-August 31	3	7	1	11
September	-	-	3	3
October	2	2	12	16
Total:	5	9	16	30

TABLE 4

TOTAL NUMBER OF CHILDREN SERVED DURING THE FIRST PROJECT YEAR

Dates	Orphaned	Abandoned	At-risk	Total
End three months	5	9	16	30
End six months	4	15	35	54
End twelve months	10	13	69	92

Discussion

The above tables show that the risk objective of taking in eighty-four orphaned, abandoned and at-risk children was met. As shown in Table 3, there was an increase in the numbers of at-risk children accepted by the project in October. These intakes were the result of the project's overcoming earlier start-up problems (e.g., the lack of phone service in August, and an overly conservative interpretation of the intake criteria at the start of the project).

During the second six months of the first project year, there were fourteen intakes of orphans and at-risk children from the mountain areas of El Quiché and San Martin. Prior to that period, there were no referrals from those regions. This change reflected an increase in violent confrontations in the mountain areas between the government forces and the Indians, after the Presidential election on March 7, 1982, and the subsequent overthrow of the newly elected President on March 23, 1982.

Regarding the age criteria, in the first three months twenty-six out of thirty children came within the stipulated age criteria of intake--i.e., between six and twelve years. Of the exceptions, one child was five years and nine months at the time of intake. He was accepted into the house along with his two older brothers, in order to keep that part of the family unit together.

The three youths who were over twelve years old were accepted as part of the ongoing exchange relationship with the Guatemalan family who assisted the project. In July 1981, the Executive Director of the agency issued an informal order that the project was to accept intake referrals on orphaned or abandoned children from members of this family, even if they were over the age of twelve. This exception proved difficult for the project staff, and was a cause of organizational tension during the start-up phase of the project. In particular, the North American staff saw this exception more in terms of "politics" and "favoritism," and less in terms of "exchange" and as a way of maintaining the family's "rights" as partners with the staff in "their project."

This organizational tension was lessened after the first three months of program operation, by the project staff refusing to accept from the family, referrals on children who were outside the criteria of intake. This decision made the intake procedures more consistent, but caused some distance on the part of family members that felt "turned down" in their requests.

Objective 2

To discharge from the program those children who are able to return to a more permanent family living situation; and those who refuse or who cannot abide by the rules and procedures of the program.

Outcomes

At the end of the first project year, there were a total of twenty-three boys discharged from the project. Of these discharges, four occurred during the first three months; six during the second three months; and thirteen were discharged in the last six months.

The numbers and reasons for the discharges are shown below:

First Three Months

2 - Violation of the rules (i.e., threats to other boys)

1 - AWOL from the program

1 - Returned to a better family situation

4

Second Three Months

1 - Violation of the rules (theft)

2 - AWOL from the program

2 - Better family situation

1 - Error in intake investigation

6

Second Six Months

1 - Violation of the rules

8 - Better family situation

4 - Wanted to return home (whether or not the family situation had improved)

13

Objective 3

> To address the immediate physical needs of food, clothing and shelter; and to provide for the social/developmental needs of each child in the residence.

Activities developed to achieve Objective 3 were:

1. To provide each new child with his own bed, dresser space, towl and toothbrush;

2. To provide each child at least three sets of clothes by the end of the initial two-week orientation period;

3. To provide each child with three meals a day, each day they are in residence;

4. To provide each child with at least one counseling interaction with a child care staff person during the day;

5. To build a sense of responsibility in each child for himself, his room and the house through daily washing, making his bed, straightening his clothes and room and performing his daily house chores;

6. To develop the values of work by sharing with others, a work project in the afternoons, five days a week (in the flower garden, yard, kitchen garden or orchard);

7. To foster individual physical development, and group awareness through the playing of a team sport (i.e., a "pick-up" football game or joining a team);

8. To foster spiritual development in each child through a prayer of thanksgiving before meals and attendance at church once a week.

Outcomes

1. From observations and inspections, it was documented that each child had his own bed, a section of a dresser, one towel, washcloth and toothbrush.

2. A review of the general child care logs and the individual files showed that each child had a separate number which was used to mark all clothes for the laundry. There were also separate cubbyholes in the laundry room for each resident.

However, inspection of the children and their clothes areas, as well as interviews conducted with the laundress and new Associate Director in February 1982, showed the implementation of the clothes system to be uneven. Not all the children's clothes were marked, nor was there an inventory list of the quality and quantity of the children's clothes. The laundry staff person also appeared to be becoming overworked, because of the increase in the numbers of children and their continuous need for clean and repaired clothes. It was also noted at this time that the laundress spent approximately five hours a week assisting the cooks at the market. Moreover, the tailor assigned to the laundry room worked there only part-time; the other part of the time he spent covering the night child care shift. This situation was resolved by several actions:

a. The laundress was required to keep a log book with the inventory of the laundry.

b. Security in the laundry room was improved in order to prevent the unregulated "borrowing" of clothes.

c. A full-time night staff was hired so that the tailor could concentrate on his job with the children's clothes.

3. The Adviser shared most meals with the children during his stay. He noted that the quantity and quality of the food were well received by the children. They were fed three meals a day, with a snack in the morning and afternoon. The nature of the diet was in keeping with local custom, and consisted of rice, beans, tortillas, some meat, and a variety of fruits and vegetables.

There were, however, some concerns in the food area expressed in conversations between the Adviser and the Director of Residential Services. These concerns centered around the children drinking too much coffee and Kool-aid. The children continued to drink coffee in the morning, because this was part of local practice. Fresh fruit drinks have been substituted for Kool-aid during the day.

4. The objective of providing at least one formalized individual counseling session with each child daily was not implemented by the counseling staff. Reasons given by staff for a change to more small group counseling rather than an emphasis on the type of individual counseling provided in New York, were that because of the young age of the children, they seemed to benefit from the small group interaction; also, the large number of activities during the day, combined with large child-to-staff ratios, made formal individual counseling difficult to achieve. Continuous observation throughout the first three months and during the six-month evaluation visit, however, showed that the children, by and large, adapted well to the residence.

The focus of these observations included the appearance of the

children, individual behavior, interchanges between and among children, and between children and adults, and observation of various aspects of the environment (i.e., bedroom, living room, classroom and play areas). These observations showed that the majority of the children appeared neat and clean, and the common areas were attractive and orderly. Moreover, there were active and warm interchanges between all levels of staff (administration, child care, maintenance) and the children. These included spontaneous conversations, requests for assistance, hugs, corrections and confrontations.

5. An inspection of the child care office pointed out a list of the daily and weekly work assignments for the children. These work tasks were carried out by the children, with the appropriate staff supervision.

Various observations and inspection tours by the Adviser in February found the cleanliness of the children, and their bedroom and bath areas to be "uneven"--i.e., some rooms and children were neat and clean; while others appeared disheveled. This situation was resolved by the institution of a daily inspection of the bedroom areas by the child care shift supervisor.

6. An afternoon work program was instituted by program staff shortly after the project opened. By the end of October, all of the children were involved in some kind of work, from 2:00 to 4:00 p.m. Monday to Friday. The younger children, ages six to ten years, worked with the child care and maintenance staff in the vegetable (or "kitchen") garden, or in the small orange orchard in back of the

property. About six of the older children, ages eleven to twelve, worked individually with kitchen, laundry and maintenance staff on projects around the house. Three of the youths, ages thirteen and fourteen, worked outside of the house, with a silversmith, an auto mechanic, and with a man who took care of horses near the property.

7. The Adviser also observed and participated in the recreation and play times with the children. During the morning break between classes (10:00 to 10:30 a.m.), and after lunch, until work (1:15 to 2:00 p.m.), the boys played "pick-up" volley ball and soccer games. In the afternoons, after work, various child care staff more formally coached the boys in techniques of soccer and of team play. Interviews with the Director of Residential Services at the end of the first six months indicated that all of the children did participate in some form of exercise program.

8. From the day of opening, the staff ritualized the prayer blessings before starting the common meals. A short prayer of thanksgiving was said by one of the youths or by one of the staff. During the three, six and twelve month evaluations, it was noted that before going to bed, one of the child care staff, with all of the children present in the living room, would conduct a short night meeting, to review the events of the day, give thanks for the "blessings" each had received, and to provide a "bridge" between the activities of the day and the preparation for bedtime.

Each Sunday and religious holy day, the children dressed in

their "Sunday" clothes, and accompanied the counseling staff to one of the local churches for religious services.

Summary

Overall, as demonstrated through the evaluation of the child care activities, Objective 3 was met to a large degree. The children's physical needs of food, clothing and shelter were resolved (activities 1, 2 and 3). Their social and developmental needs were also realized (activities 5 through 8). However, daily structured individual counseling interactions were not accomplished, in that an administrative decision was made based on recommendations of staff, to use available staff resources in more small group counseling sessions and group activities with the children.

Objective 4

> To take care of the medical and dental needs of each child in the residence.

Objective 4 was implemented through the following activities:

1. To provide each new child to the program with an initial physical examination by a doctor within seventy-two hours of his arrival at the residence;

2. To take laboratory samples from each child within one week of his arrival, in order to check for amoebas and parasites;

3. To provide each child ongoing medical care and examinations by the nurse and doctor; and to administer check-ups and medication on an "as-needed" basis;

4. To provide each child with an initial dental examination and follow-up visits to detect and resolve dental problems;

5. To provide each child with ongoing education by dentist, nurse and child care counselors in hygiene and dental areas.

Outcomes

1. At the end of the first three months, there were nineteen medical appointments recorded, and twenty-three laboratory visits for the thirty intakes. Interviews with the Supervisor of Child Care and the Project Director pointed out that all of the children did have their initial medical and laboratory visits; the error was in the recording of the visits by the Supervisor of Child Care. The Supervisor had taken over these duties because the nurse had resigned on October 15, in order to return to her former position in the state health care system.

A second nurse was hired at the beginning of December 1981. As of January 20, 1982, because of the increased numbers and medical problems of the children, the project hired a medical doctor, who visited the residence twice a week (on Mondays and Fridays).

2. A review of the medical records and interviews with the nurse and Director of Clinical Services showed that each of the forty-four children (as of February 12, 1982) had received initial medical and laboratory examinations. However, twenty of the medical folders did not have the dates of the physical exam. A review of the medical records in February also pointed out that of the forty-four

children in residence there were, between November 1981 and February 1982:

Four reincidences of intestinal parasites;

Ten cases of athlete's foot; and

Ten reincidences of scabies.

Also, at two separate morning meetings, during the first week of the evaluation, staff were not able to say for certain if any of the children had head lice.

3. As a result of the six month internal evaluation, follow-up measures regarding the ongoing medical care of the children, resulted in an administrative decision to place copper sulfate solution in basins near the swimming pool and near the common shower. Individual bathroom showers were cleaned with disinfectant, in order to prevent athlete's foot.

Concerning the situation of scabies and lice, child care and nursing staff began to inspect the children's hair and skin twice a week (on Monday and Friday). As of February, a "medical" book was placed in the staff office to monitor any of these conditions. The clothes, sheets and towels of those children who had scabies were separated and boiled in a chlorine solution.

Further analysis of medical records and reports of July and December 1982 by the Program Adviser, showed more systematic record keeping and resolutions of problematic medical situations. Analysis of these records showed:

TABLE 5

HEALTH SERVICES SUMMARY
July 1981 - June 1982

Doctor's visits	526	4.5 visits per child
Nurse's visits	844	7.3 visits per child
Lab exams	190	1.6 exams per child

TABLE 6

SUMMARY OF HEALTH SITUATION BASED ON FIRST PHYSICAL EXAM
JUNE 1982 AND DECEMBER 1982

Condition	by June 1982	by December 1982
1. Malnutrition (I & II)	35	41
2. Athlete's Foot	12	24
3. Scabies (Scarcoptiosis)	9	19
4. Parasites*	5	*
5. Upper Respiratory Infection	5	3
6. Dermatitis	4	--
7. No apparent illness	17	17
8. Other (Congenital heart murmur, conjunctivitis, deformed members, arrested T.B.)	--	12
Totals	87	109

*This figure for those children with parasites, is based on the child's first examination. Subsequent tests and follow-up lab reports indicate that 72 percent of the children at intake have parasites and need medical attention.

Also, 98 percent of all children at intake have physical problems or parasites that need medical attention. Source: Casa Alianza, Medical Services Report, December 1982, p. 7.

4. In order to address the children's dental needs, the project hired a dentist at the end of September 1981. Analysis of the Social Services Summary for June 1982 indicated that there were, for the nine months from October 1981 to June 1982, four hundred and sixty-four dental visits. This amounted to approximately four visits per child to the dentist.

5. At the six months evaluation visit, interviews with the Director of Clinical Services pointed out that the dentist reported to the project that she had to clean the teeth of the children during every visit, because of what appeared to her as a lack of regular brushing.

After February, the Director of Residential Services instituted procedures whereby the counselors checked the children's teeth, particularly at bed time, and instructed them in proper methods of brushing and other aspects of oral hygiene. The counseling staff also showed an instructional dental hygiene film once a month to the children, in order to support proper dental care.

Overall, despite the fact that almost all the children entered the residence needing medical and dental attention, the project was able to address these needs within the set time periods, and provide the children with better than adequate care. Moreover, when there were recurring problems (e.g., reincidence of parasites and the lack of tooth brushing), decisions were taken immediately after the evaluation to resolve the situation.

Objective 5

To provide each child with individual, group and family social work services.

Activities implemented to reach Objective 5 were:

1. To conduct at least one family investigation meeting with each potential intake; and to compile all necessary information in each child's social work file within two weeks of the request for admission to the program;

2. To assess the psychological needs of each child after he has been admitted to the residence, and to make referrals for the appropriate intervention and treatment, where necessary;

3. To conduct family counseling groups during family visiting days;

4. To present relevant case material at the case conference, and to maintain a clinical file on each child.

Outcomes

1. Inspection twice a week by the Program Adviser during the first three months indicated that the Intake Log Book was kept up-to-date by the social worker. Moreover, appointments for the family meetings were made, and meetings were conducted in the home environment approximately ninety percent of the time (of the thirty intakes during the first three months, all except the three children who came through the Family Court had family meetings in their homes). The ratio of social worker to children was approximately one to twenty-five at the first assessment period.

During the six month evaluation visit, an inspection of the Intake Log Book showed that there were one hundred and twenty-six reference calls. Of these, the project accepted fifty-four, or forty-three percent of these calls (also see the section on "Intakes" in this chapter). Analysis of the children's files showed all of the fifty-four children in residence had an intake file with a family meeting, and the appropriate family history record. However, sixteen of the files lacked some clinical data (e.g., four lacked the written parent's permission; six files lacked children's birth certificates; and seven lacked the parents' social security number).

The ratio of social worker to children at the six month assessment period was one to forty-four. Reasons given for the large child/worker ratio in the clinical area were that between November and December there were delays in hiring the second social worker because the administration was looking for a social worker who had experience with children in residential care and with the Family Court. Also, the social worker who was hired in the beginning of January quit after two weeks because of difficulties in the daily commute to the project from the capital and the worker's inability to work on alternate Saturdays to conduct family meetings.

The delay in hiring the second social worker and the Director of Clinical Services (who joined the project five months after start-up) caused a backlog in the other clinical areas. The group work component of the social worker's job was conducted by two of the more experienced child care counselors, and by the Director of Clinical Services. However, the work was uneven. There was also

inadequate recording of the group events. Also, a review of the files showed that there were not specific "Evaluation and Treatment Plans" (i.e., the long-term goals and strategies for the child) on each of the children. These areas were resolved when the second social worker was hired in March, and a third at the beginning of May. Caseloads were reapportioned appropriately (i.e., one worker to approximately twenty-five boys), and the worker's schedules were rotated so they could conduct the various family meetings on the Saturday visiting day.

2. Treatment plans for clinical care were slow to implement because of the paperwork entailed, and because these plans did not receive a high priority from the Executive Director and Administrator of the agency, during their visits to the site at this time. Also, the project staff was still getting acclimated to the entire set of administrative procedures and systems of the project.

Recommendations from the social worker in case conferences during the first two months indicated only two youngsters in need of psychological assessment and possible psychiatric care. The social worker made referrals on both of these children to a special non-residential center and school in Guatemala City that provided testing, therapy and a specialized school setting. Also, after the six month evaluation visit, a decision was made to bring in a psychologist to help the staff develop a program for sex education, especially for the older boys. This psychologist, hired in April 1982, also helped with staff training programs, particularly for the residential care staff.

3. Individual family meetings and groups with various families were held on Saturdays. The purpose of the family meetings, conducted by the social workers, was to help the parent and the child regarding initial adjustment to the boy's stay at the residence. The social worker also assisted the parent, usually the mother, in obtaining available health and social service benefits for her family; and functioned as a counselor with regard to intra-family conflicts.

Statistics on the family group meetings were recorded after the first six months of operation. A generalized statistical picture of the family characteristics of the boys compiled at the end of the first year of operation, indicated that over ninety percent of their families lived in "severe risk" or "deficient" conditions, with regard to their health, nutrition, shelter and economic situation. This report was made based on actual visits to the homes of the boys in the residence.[1]

Formal family group meetings stopped after July 1982 because of a government order banning all public group meetings that were held without a registration permit from the local authorities. Family group meetings were deemed as important by both families and project staff. Thus, although the ban prohibited formal group meetings, families continued to visit and interact informally with other families, in order to maintain some degree of mutual support. Individual parents and families continued to meet with project social workers at the residence on a regular basis.

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[1]"Family Unit Reports," in Social Services Summary: Asociación Casa Alianza, July 1981 to June 1982, p. 8.

4. At the weekly case conferences, the social workers presented information on the physical, psychosocial, economic and family characteristics of each child in their charge. Separate examinations of the clinical files showed that there was a separate file on each child. Each file contained copies of the family investigation forms, birth certidicate, vaccination cards, health status forms and process notes concerning individual and family interviews.

Objective 6

> To provide educational services for each resident according to his developmental level.

Activities to achieve Objective 6 were:

1. To provide appropriate age-grade education for all those children in the residence up to the end of their primary school (sixth grade);

2. To provide linkages with community schools for those children for whom a community school is appropriate;

3. To provide the children with cultural and supplemental educational experiences in various communities of Guatemala;

4. To provide educational assessment in order to determine the educational progress and appropriate placement for each child.

Outcomes

1. Appropriate age-grade education for all children in the residence was not achieved during the first six months of program operation. The primary reason for this was that forty-four of the first

ninety children (see Table 7) had no schooling before entering the residence. This factor made the overall remedial education component an essential part of the educational service.

Also, during these first months, the school teachers did not initially assess the students' educational levels with standardized testing procedures. Supervision was weak because the school principal and the Director of Clinical Services were not hired until the sixth month of program operation. However, at the end of the first year, as the school became more fully certified, more appropriate age-grade education was achieved.

TABLE 7

AMOUNT OF PREVIOUS SCHOOLING UPON INTAKE

No schooling	44
Preschool	2
First grade	28
Second grade	13
Third grade	3
Fourth grade	0
Total number of children enrolled at year's end	90

2. Before the project's school opened, various members of the start-up team visited the local public and private schools in Antigua and Ciudad Vieja. All of the principals and teachers discussed the importance of education and its lack among many of the street children. All local educators offered their assistance to the project and said they would accept into their schools, children who were appropriate, on a case-by-case basis. Children seen as "appropriate" for attendance at the local schools were: those children from Antigua or the surrounding areas that had attended a local school before coming to the residence, and were in "good standing" (educationally and behaviorally) at that school; or those children, not from Antigua, who were performing at or above their grade level in the residential school, had acceptable behavior in the school, and who both wanted to go to a community school and were judged by the residential teachers, social workers and counselors as able to benefit from that form of schooling.

By the end of the first three months, four children, out of a total school population of twenty-six, attended schools in the community. Of these four, two attended regular primary schools (one public; one parochial) in Antigua; and two attended the same non-residential treatment school in the capital.

3. During the first three months of operation, cultural and supplemental educational experiences were instituted for the children. Between August and November 1981, there were a total of sixteen cultural and educational trips provided by the project. Among places

visited were: local museums in Antigua to view the historical sites of the Spanish colonial period; the government's Department of Agriculture to learn about bookkeeping; a visit to the Pacific Ocean to swim and to see the Pacific lowlands; a visit to Santiago Sacatepequez to celebrate the town's ritual of kite flying.

The six month evaluation revealed that the new Guatemalan Project Director cancelled full day bus excursions because of the increased political violence in the country. From the winter of 1981 through 1982, there were increases in politically motivated violence, not only in the capital city and the mountain areas, but also at times along the major highways. The violence had been increasing as the country moved closer to the Presidential elections in March 1982. However, despite changes made due to the increased political violence, cultural and supplemental educational experiences continued to take place with smaller groups of children, by car, to areas outside of the political conflict.

4. Educational assessments, particularly after the first six months of program operation, consisted of standardized tests of reading, writing and mathematical skills in order to establish appropriate classroom placement of each child, and to determine their educational progress. Results of the overall schooling for the children in the residential school can be seen in the following table:

TABLE 8

SCHOOL PROGRESS TO DATE
FROM INTAKE TO JULY 31, 1982

Grade Level	Number
Advanced one grade level	60
Advanced two grade levels	9
Advanced three grade levels	1
No progress	11
One year behind intake grade	9
	90

Discussion

Those children who advanced more than one grade level for the school year, were at the residence between six months and one year. The majority of those children who showed "no progress" or who fell behind one year, were at the residence less than six months, and were from the group that had little to no schooling before entering the residence.

Goal 2

To provide a culturally relevant, quality care residential program for homeless children in Guatemala.

Objective 1

To hire and train local Guatemalan staff in all service and management positions.

Projected time for hiring and training local Guatemalan staff consisted of the following:

· nine child care staff and a child care supervisor by the start of the program;

· four kitchen staff and six maintenance staff by the opening of the project;

· one social worker and a school teacher by the opening of the project;

· the school principal, a doctor and nurse by the end of the third month of program operation;

· and a Project Director and Directors of Residential and Clinical Services by the end of the first three months of operation.

Outcomes

The project was successful in hiring and training Guatemalan staff in all positions indicated. The total project staff consisted of thirty-five at the end of the first three months of program operation. All but four staff persons were Guatemalan. At the end of the first six months, there were forty staff persons throughout the project; thirty-seven of the forty were local people.

Success was also achieved in meeting the projected time frames for hiring and training direct service staff in all categories. However, success was not achieved in meeting the projected time frames for securing Guatemalans in director level positions. Local Project Director, Directors of Clinical and Residential Services and the school principal were not hired until three months after the projected time frame. An administrative decision was made to hire direct service staff before the director level staff (a "bottoms up" approach) during the planning stages of the project. As a result of this decision, informal announcements of the director level positions were not made until two months before project opening, and formal written announcements were disseminated one month before official opening date. Initial responses to the job announcements came from persons with experience in management and finance in the business sector. However, none had experience in managing child care or other human service facilities. Since having such experience was seen as an important qualification for persons filling the director level positions advertised, and applicants with those and other specified qualifications were slow to respond, it took longer to fill the positions than was initially anticipated. Consequently, the Principal of the school and the Director of Clinical Services were hired by the end of the fifth month of operation; and the Director of Residential Services and the Project Director were hired during the sixth month.

Objective 2

To insure that all programs and services are sensitive to the cultural values of the people.

Discussion

A decision was made by the project staff early in the planning process to provide residential care for homeless children in a culturally relevant fashion. "Culturally relevant" programs and services were viewed as those services that provided support, growth and development to individuals as part of his/her group, society and culture. Culturally relevant foci of programs and services involved: staffing, food, education, work, recreation, religion and family interactions.

Staffing

One of the major ways to insure that the children were cared for according to their own customs and culture was through the employment of local Guatemalan staff throughout all aspects of the program (see Goal 2, Objective 1--Hiring and Training of Local Staff). However, project staff made an assumption that just the presence of local staff was sufficient to insure the cultural relevancy of the project. During the first three months of program operation, staff training consisted mainly of discussions in the philosophy and principles of the agency, and practice sessions regarding administrative procedures in areas of child care and staffing. There was no training of either North American or Guatemalan staff by a local Guatemalan child care expert during the first months, on issues of child

development, group or family dynamics as specific to the Guatemalan system of child care. As was pointed out in the Community Impact Study, later in this section, the provision of local staff, while essential to program replication in a new environment, may not of itself make a project fully relevant to a specific culture.

Food

Food was bought in the local markets, prepared and served to the children according to local custom. The main meal of the day was served at midday as was customary in Guatemala. Vegetables, rice, beans and tortillas, the traditional diet, were supplemented, especially at the midday meal, by added quantities of milk and meat in order to decrease the nutritional deficiencies of those children who were malnourished.

Education

Classes were conducted in Spanish by locally certified teachers, who used books and instructional material utilized in the national public school system. The students participated in cultural educational trips, as well as local and national civic rituals and celebrations (e.g., Independence Day processions and commemorative plays) to ensure that they learned and became more knowledgeable about their culture.

Work Programs

The types of tasks the children were assigned to do in the work program were those that children typically performed in Guatemala.

However, the projects were more scheduled and structured than many of them were accustomed to (e.g., they worked for two hours each afternoon after school, and on Saturdays). Work programs consisted of groups planting and tending their own kitchen garden (with corn, beans and local vegetables); work in the fruit orchard; and an apprentice program for the older boys, which entailed assisting an adult in the kitchen, flower garden, or with a local silversmith or mechanic.

Recreation

Recreation for the children consisted of many local games (e.g., cinco's--like the North American game of marbles), swimming, and individual and group sports--particularly volleyball and soccer.

Religion

In the predominantly Catholic culture of Guatemala, all of the children received religious instruction, and attended religious services on a regular basis. Since there was also a strong history of rituals and celebrations regarding religious observances, the children also took part in developing and in performing religious plays, and assisted in making decorative floats used in processions to celebrate local religious feast days.

Toward the latter half of the first year, staff began to discuss and make recommendations regarding the need to foster and maintain the religious and cultural observances of the indigenous children of Maya ancestry, since the numbers of Indian children in the residence were beginning to increase (see section on "Intakes" in this chapter). Activities included: hiring of two bicultural staff

(i.e., Indian and Ladino); classes in the history of indigenous peoples; observance of ritual feast days; and group discussions among the boys about cultural differences within the residence and the country.

Family Values

Programs and services to help support families consisted of long-term care of children who did not have an existing or supportive family. Moreover, for those children who had some members of their family intact, time was set aside in the program for regular visits by the children to their homes. Regular times were also established at the project for family visits, with assistance provided to those families who did not have the means to travel to the residence. Social workers continued to work with the boys' families after the intake of the child.

Although the project built in measures to strengthen relationships and conditions of families by means discussed, the residential project did not succeed in bolstering the family unit in that the residence took only orphaned and neglected boys. Orphaned or neglected girls in the same family were not accepted to the project because of political and organizational reasons. Recommendations and linkages were established with other residential agencies by the project social workers in those cases where alternative placement for girls was indicated. The residential program also did not directly work to strengthen the family unit in its own environment because the prime method of care for children was provided in a residential,

institutional setting that was outside the setting of their own families.

A six month Community Impact Study conducted by a representative from the parent agency in New York gave mixed responses to the progress of the residential project. Respondents to the study consisted of local Guatemalan community people, religious, and public and private social service personnel. Overall, the respondents agreed that the project was of high quality, and provided an important and necessary service to the country--i.e., the shelter and protection of orphaned and abandoned children.

When asked how the agency could improve its program, respondents felt that cultural aspects of the project could be strengthened, and coordination efforts with other social agencies should be improved. Some members of the local community also thought that the project could improve its public image and generate greater public awareness of the program.

Responses to issues regarding cultural relevancy of the project centered around a less institutionalized program that integrated children into the community. One respondent thought that the agency had:

> . . . a need to learn the psychological nature of the Guatemalan person, as well as the collective personality of the Guatemalan people . . . thus enabling them (the project) to provide services not only that are needed, but to provide them in an appropriate manner.[1]

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[1] Community Impact Study, Casa Alianza, Ciudad Vieja, Guatemala (February 2-4, 1982), p. 5.

The importance of improved service coordination was mentioned by professionals in the public social service sector. One official remarked that some foreign agencies, because of their outside funding, lacked internal Guatemalan accountability. Because of the lack of local input, the official noted, foreign programs often developed problems. Recommendations to the agency project were to develop closer relationships with other private and public agencies, including the Family Courts, in order to effect a better "collaboration and exchange of ideas."

Concerning the public image of the program, one respondent said that the program had the " . . . image of a large wealthy organization, which started a program in an unorthodox manner with a lot of publicity." Another commented that the program was seen as having been established in the " . . . American grandiose style . . . with unnecessarily large number of staff."[1]

As a result of the Community Impact Study, project staff implemented a number of changes during the second half of the first project year. To provide a greater cultural relevance to the program, the project increased the time and resources expended to work with the children's families. Staff training was expanded to include lectures and discussions for the staff by local child care experts around issues of child development, health and sexual education, and cultural differences between Indian and Ladino youngsters. Also, the Project Director and the Directors of Clinical and Residential

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[1]Ibid.

Services joined the main voluntary social service council. During the latter half of the year these staff worked with other private and public agency personnel on the council to develop uniform standards for residential child care in the country. The project also took in more boys referred from the Family Courts.

Regarding relationships with the local community, the project continued its "open door" policy with visitors to the program, and insured that both children and staff partook of the local religious and civic ceremonies.

Summary

Although all agency and project personnel agreed that good organizational structures and a local staff in service and management positions were necessary first steps toward the provision of quality residential care, evaluation also pointed out that developing and fostering relationships with local and professional community groups was also essential if the residential project was going to provide integrated and culturally relevant services to homeless children.

Goal 3

To adapt the principles and administrative structures of the parent agency in a new environment and culture.

Objective

To apply the five principles and administrative structures of the parent agency in the planning and implementation of the residential project as appropriate for the environment in Guatemala.

Outcomes

The five principles (immediacy, sanctuary, values, structure and choice) and the administrative structures of the parent agency (described in detail in Chapter III--Description of the Model) were applied in the Guatemalan project, according to the various contingencies in the new environment. Some of the applications of these structures were in the areas of:

Immediacy

Similarities. The Guatemala project addressed the needs of a similar population as New York, i.e., homeless, abandoned and neglected children. Immediately upon entry to the program, their immediate needs of food, clothing, shelter and medical attention were addressed in a direct and timely way (for a detailed analysis, see Objectives and Outcomes for Goal 1 in this chapter).

Differences. Immediacy as expressed by a twenty-four hour, no questions asked, open intake was changed in Guatemala. The intake process consisted of a family investigation conducted by the social worker in the home environment; and children were accepted to the residence according to the criteria of intake as developed by the project (see Criteria of Intake in Appendix D). Moreover, the residential project was not located right in the area of need as in New York (i.e., in the center of the city). Because of danger due to politically motivated violence in the midtown area of Guatemala city, the residence was opened in the old colonial capital of Antigua, a small city that was designated as a sanctuary and was, for the most

part, outside the area of political conflict. Although the residence was not in the center of the city, it did have immediate access to local schools, hospitals and public means of transportation.

Sanctuary

Similarities. The aspects of the principle of sanctuary that provided for the safety of the children, i.e., from the dangers of the street as mentioned above, and from a painful or threatening past, were implemented in Guatemala in a way similar to the parent agency. In fact, the first discharges in the program were effected because of repeated threats of abuse by two of the older residents to one of the younger boys.

Differences. There were some differences in Guatemala regarding the application of the principle of sanctuary as it affected the rituals of cleaning in the residence. Although the halls and common rooms were generally clean, and the gardens and outside areas were beautiful and trim, evaluation of the kitchen, pantry and storage areas by the North American Program Adviser during the six month evaluation visit indicated the need for better cleanliness of those areas by the local directors. However, when the Adviser mentioned to the new Guatemalan Director about keeping the kitchen areas cleaner, the Director responded, "North Americans are much more bothered by flies and animals (e.g., a local dog) in the kitchen than we are. You need to understand that Guatemalan families are more tolerant in these situations." After a discussion with the North American Adviser around differences in cleaning habits, environments and

cultures, the Director said that the kitchen and storage areas would be kept clean according to the agency standards.

Value Communication

Similarities. All staff in the Guatemala project communicated throughout all departments the value of the care and respect for the dignity of each individual as part of the residential group. Similar to New York, staff saw themselves as role models for the children. Also, the project emphasized with the boys the values of health, cleanliness, education, work and recreation (as discussed in the objectives and outcomes for Goals 1 and 2, in this chapter).

Differences. There was a greater emphasis in Guatemala than in New York on the value of the natural and extended family and the importance of maintaining that unit whenever possible while the boy was in placement. Among the children and staff, there was a greater sense of group rituals and celebrations. There was also a stronger emphasis throughout all sectors of the country, on religion, and the need for moral and spiritual development of the children in the residence.

Structure

Similarities. The project in Guatemala adopted most of the administrative structures of the parent agency. These aspects included: the daily morning report by supervisory staff, the shift communication meetings, log book, visitor's book, the use of the individual files, chore lists and the night meeting with the

children. Also implemented were department and administrative staff meetings, the case conference and individual supervision of staff.

Differences. The major differences in program structures in the Guatemalan project were:

· The Guatemalan residential project was designed a "long-term" (i.e., the child could remain until eighteen years old), compared to the emergency and short-term length of stay (i.e., one night to three months) in New York. However, because the agency had also developed long-term group home models in New York until 1979, the Guatemala project was able to draw on some of that structural history (e.g., case conference, daily routines, etc.).

· The residence in Guatemala consisted of just boys. In New York, both sexes were cared for in the Under 21 Center and in the agency's group homes. However, they were cared for on different floors or in different facilities.

· In Guatemala, because of the great numbers and needs of younger boys on the street (approximately forty-four percent of the population was fourteen years old and under--see Chapter I), the Guatemala project changed the range of intake to between six and twelve years old. Although any child or youth twenty-one years old and younger can enter the program in New York, the majority of clients there are adolescents. More than seventy percent are sixteen years old and over.

· The individual, or "adoptive" counseling by the child care staff was not done in Guatemala (see, discussion point 4 under Objective 3 in this chapter). It was replaced by more group counseling

and group activities by the child care staff. The social workers in Guatemala, however, did maintain an individual case load that included each boy.

· The family investigation meetings and its follow-up forms and reports were different from the family meetings in New York, although some of the collected family data were similar. And although the social work, medical, and child care record-keeping systems were similar in Guatemala to the reports in New York, the feedback to this researcher regarding the paperwork "load" was different. One supervisor said that, "the program is well run, which is very good. But there is too much paperwork. You seem to be trying to become like the Germans."

Principle of Choice

Similarities. In accordance with the guidelines of the principle of choice, each boy in Guatemala either came to the project of his own volition or gave his permission to the agency social worker to be placed in the program. And since all the children were under the age of majority, each parent also had to give verbal and written permission to the agency to shelter and care for their child. For those children in New York who are under the age of independence, a similar permission from parents is required. And most of those youths in New York who are over sixteen years old come to the Center on their own or are referred voluntarily to the agency by counselors or social workers.

Differences. Although each boy was encouraged to choose to follow the rules of the program and to choose to do their "best," e.g., in school and with other members of the group, the principle of choice was more submerged in Guatemala, compared to the program in New York, again largely because of the age and developmental levels of the boys. Thus, there were more structured group activities during school, work and play times in Guatemala. In New York, each youth worked on his/her own case plan within general, broad guidelines and structures of the residential and Center programs.

Administrative Policy Issues

There were three major policy areas that were indications of the administrative style of leadership of the Guatemalan project. These areas were: the projects' Advisory Board of Directors, the Project Director position, and funding support for the residential project.

Local Advisory Board of Directors

A decision was made by the Executive Director in consultation with his corporate counsel to have an Advisory Board of Directors for the Guatemala project. The Advisory Board consisted of three positions: a representative from Guatemala (the father of the influential family that was the major benefactor of the residential program); the other two positions were controlled by the Executive Director, one in his capacity as executive of the parent corporation, and the other as overall director of the international foundation that funded and controlled the Guatemala project. Although the size

and composition of the Advisory Board was unusual, it did not cause any disruptions or difficulty to agency staff nor to the Guatemalan benefactors or government officials who certified the agency as a Guatemalan association. An Advisory Board rather than a governing Board, and the size and composition of the Board was decided to ensure the Executive Director's control over fundraising and the development of the projects' administrative policies. This Board composition also insured a quick execution to program decisions, such as new construction of office wings, and a change in staff positions, etc., issues seen as very important to the agency, especially during the initial implementation period. Potential costs to the agency for having a Board of this composition and size were a lessening of knowledge and support of the project over time by key Guatemalan community and business leaders, and increased organizational pressure on the Executive Director to raise additional revenues for the new venture since a primary function of the Board was to raise funds for the project.

Director of the Guatemalan Project

By the end of the first project year, the position of Executive Director[1] of the Guatemalan residential project was filled by a North American, lay religious member of the Executive Director's community. The highest position held by a Guatemalan was the Associate Director,

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[1]Although the overall leader of the Guatemala project was called the "Executive Director," that person is referred to hereafter as "Project Director," to avoid confusion with the Executive positions in Guatemala and the parent agency.

i.e., "Director of Operations" position. Below the Associate Director, all positions in the administrative cabinet were held by Guatemalans (see Organizational Chart, Appendix C). There was no formal provision to transfer the Project Director position from North America to Guatemala during the first project year. Maintaining a North American in the top level position ensured for the parent agency financial and programmatic control and demonstrated clearly to the local community that the project was owned by the North Americans.

Maintaining a North American as Project Director with such control, caused difficulties with some Guatemalan professionals who interviewed for the Director of Operations position. This was evident in that some turned down the position because they would not be able to exercise programmatic control. However, a North American in the top position was seen as a benefit by many Guatemalan community, business and religious personnel, because it showed, at least in the short-term, the continued commitment on the part of the parent agency to the project and to the country (an important issue during troubled political times).

Funding and Support

Funding for the Guatemala project for the first year came totally from the private sector: ninety-five percent from the United States (raised by the Executive Director of the parent agency), and approximately five percent from Guatemala (i.e., donated goods and in-kind services). The decision to raise the money for the project from

the private sector was made by the parent agency's Board of Directors before the project was opened. Reasons were that having a source of funding raised by the Executive Director from private, non-governmental sources allowed the project to make decisions and become operational within a short period of time. An independent source of funding also kept the project outside the politics of funding, i.e., the agency did not have to question whether to accept money from a military government, nor did the project disrupt the equilibrium of the social service network by competing with other social agencies for limited social service funding in the country. Projecting that neither the Church nor the Department of Social Welfare would take over the residential project, the parent agency continued to commit funds for the Guatemala project beyond the first year of operation.

Discussion

The administrative policy areas of the Advisory Board, Project Director position, and the pattern of fundraising shows that the project team and the parent agency were able to develop, open and operate a residence and school for large numbers of homeless Guatemalan children within a short period of time. In achieving this goal, the agency was able to adapt its principles and program structures to a new environment while maintaining financial and programmatic control of the project. By raising its own funds from the private sector, the project was able to become operational with little opposition and disruption to the equilibrium of the existing Guatemalan funding and social service network.

Areas for consideration are the longer term social and opportunity costs to the project. The independent source of funding which is based on the abilities of the charismatic Executive Director of the parent agency, could become a liability and make the project vulnerable if there is a major change in the funding environment of the United States (e.g., a recession), or in the commitment or priorities of the Executive Director. The composition of the Advisory Board, as well as the maintenance of a North American Project Director, makes the project structurally isolated and unaccountable to the wider Guatemalan community. This could lessen Guatemalan support to the project over time.

At present, the Executive Director and project staff have worked diligently and have been successful in fostering strong linkages with their key publics--local community, business, church and government officials. Also, the project has benefit to these key Guatemalan publics. The residence has successfully taken care of a large number of homeless children at small economic and social cost to the Guatemalan community. If, however, there were a change in the social equilibrium or exchange relationship between the project and the community (e.g., if the project wanted to compete for Guatemalan social service funding, or if there were an allegation of child abuse against the project, or the parent agency wanted to disengage from the project), then the project might lose the support of these key publics, or the agency might have to change some of the aforementioned administrative policies (e.g., change to a governing Board of Directors with more

people, and/or hire a Guatemalan Project Director), in order to increase the "benefits" for its key Guatemalan supporters, and reestablish the organizational equilibrium necessary to operate an effective project.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

Cross-National Social Work: A Residential Model for Homeless Children in Guatemala contained many successes as well as areas where improvements could have been made.

Overall findings indicated that the project was most successful in terms of its organizational planning, gathering of necessary resources and in its provision of professional residential and social services to homeless children. However, findings also indicated that the professional delivery of services is not sufficient of itself to insure the success of a new program in a cross-national environment. Findings related to administrative policy indicated that while the parent agency's total control of the funding, top staff, and the size and composition of the Advisory Board insured internal accountability and protection, it also created structural isolation of the project from some of its social and community networks.

Recommendations for Future Program Development

Method of Entry

The method of entry is the most important aspect of the development process, because the way a project enters a locality determines the level and quality of all future relationships.

The residential project was able to establish itself in the new locality only because it had the support of its key publics: the parent agency staff and the Board of Directors at home; and top officials in the government, military, Church, business and local community in its present environment.

A new project should establish relationships with relevant groups on as high a level as possible. The sanction of the project by these groups provides the necessary entree to meetings and activities on local levels of government, business and community. Relationships with these key publics and the entry into the new locality should be based on the needs of the targeted client group and the project's reputation in the field. It should also be based on a set of exchange relationships, whereby the new project is perceived to be a benefit, not only to the client group, but to the community as well.

Funding

Sources of funding for the development project are very important, because they determine the style of development and the accountability systems of the project. This residential project received over ninety percent of its funds from non-governmental sources. These funds were raised by the agency's Executive Director from sources outside of the country where the program was located.

Further study of fundraising patterns by developmental projects should focus not just on the economic costs and benefits of private vs. public funding, or funding from within a locale vs. outside the locality, but also on the social and opportunity costs and benefits

of various fundraising approaches. Will a local project of a large parent agency be better able to survive in the long term if it has only outside funding, or should it seek, over time, to have a mix and match of foreign and local, public as well as private sources of funds?

Site Selection

The location and type of program facility is crucial to residential program development. The project team terminated its search for a suitable facility in the center of Guatemala City because the economic and political costs far outweighed the benefits. The site finally selected for the residence suited program needs, was safe, had community approval and had access to transportation, hospitals, schools and churches.

Not all social service experts agreed with the site selection--i.e., a colonial hotel on thirteen acres which could house over one hundred children. Criticism centered around the project's creation of a "campus" or "institutional" mentality in the children. Some social service personnel preferred the development of a small, community-based group home approach. However, due to the large-scale problem of homeless children, agency officials thought that a strong, professional institutional base, which would later produce smaller, specialized community-based programs, was the most effective approach.

Program Staffing

The process of securing and training local staff for the development project is a key factor in determining the cultural relevancy of

the program and its type of administration. The North American project team advertised for local staff through formal notices in newspapers, as well as through their informal social and professional networks. Formal notices were adequate for clerical, maintenance and kitchen staffs; and for some teaching and clinical positions. Newspapers were an insufficient vehicle to bring adequate numbers and quality personnel to the project for the director-level positions. Director and supervisory staff were best secured through informal professional contacts; and from recommendations from colleagues and friends of the influential family that supported the project.

Orientation and training of local staff was conducted by agency personnel on a regular basis, and consisted of teaching the principles of the agency and practices of program operation.

A new development project needs strong, informal community networks, not just for the formal approval of the program, but for support in securing adequate numbers and quality of local staff. Local community experts can also assist by providing culturally relevant staff training to the initial start-up team, and to the new group of local staff.

Some organizational tension among staff during the development and initiation stages of the program is unavoidable, because of the amount of work involved in getting a program operational. Desirable conditions for lessening of tensions among staff include:

1. Parent agency and project team staffs need clear definitions of their respective roles and responsibilities--particularly the amount of power and decision-making authority that is vested in the

local project directors.

2. The timing and process of hiring local staff should be assessed in light of organizational tension and exchange. For example, hiring line staff before directors (a "bottoms-up" approach) allows a start-up team to control all aspects of program development, but increases their work load. The hiring of the local directors first (a "top-down" approach), while lessening the work load of the start-up team, may increase the organizational tension between local directors and the start-up team over issues of personnel selection and administrative style in the development of the program.

Administrative Staffing

Volunteer religious community. A unique aspect of the administrative staffing for the program model in Guatemala was the use of a volunteer, lay religious community from the parent agency.

Beneficial aspects for an agency of the use of a lay volunteer religious community as a project start-up team are that it can provide high amounts of dedication and commitment to a developing project; and being an already formed group, a community can provide an internal support network especially during difficult personal times in a foreign environment. A religious community also can provide an instant identification with local people, if the country is of the same religious persuasion and culture. Financially, a volunteer community as part of an agency's administration, can proffer quality work at low cost. However, although staffing costs are low, there are other costs involved for a volunteer community, such as housing,

food, insurance, and a stipend for the staff.

A less beneficial aspect of the use of a lay religious group as administrative staff is that although they may have great dedication and zeal, members may have limited knowledge of an agency's program or its system of management. This lack could lead to organizational tension with professionals both at the parent agency and in the host country.

Multiple functions of the Program Adviser. The Program Adviser performed a variety of functions in the program model. Some functions were: program design, advisement and support to the lay religious community project group; "guardian" of the agency's administrative principles and model of child care; and adviser and liaison to the parent agency's Executive Director.

Agency administrators must be aware of the benefits and problems inherent in establishing multiple and possibly conflicting functions in a top administrative position in a development project. The major benefits of assigning multiple roles to one position are financial and increased consistency. Assigning different roles to one person may be necessary before the agency can raise sufficient funds for other staff. Multiple roles played by an experienced agency administrator could also provide programmatic consistency at crucial junctures during planning and implementation periods.

Possible negative consequences to assigning varied and conflicting functions to a top administrator, such as a project director or program adviser, could be increased pressure on the person with the

multiple functions to fulfill the varied tasks. Moreover, these disparate functions could increase tension within the organization, over questions of confused lines of authority and divided loyalties. For example, if a program adviser or field consultant has a separate reporting relationship (formal or informal) to agency directors in the home office, that same adviser could be seen as disloyal to the project team. This perceived disloyalty could affect the adviser's role in providing needed program support to the group. Also, a program consultant's special relationship to the agency's directors, as well as the adviser's special expertise in program areas could become a threat to the overall power and authority of the local project director with regard to decisions over policy and program.

Examples of the above increased tension occurred in this residential project during the first two months of program operation. These situations occurred first, when the project staff initially refused to discharge two boys on account of their rise of violence toward another boy; and second, when the Project Director, without consultation, instituted a policy on spanking children (see section on "Administration" in Chapter IV, Implementation of the Program Design, pp. 157-161).

In both situations when local program decisions went counter to agency policy, the Program Adviser stepped out of his advising/support function, and chose to use his administrative (i.e., "watchdog") function in order to get the staff to reverse their decisions.

The Adviser's choice to have the administrative function supercede the support function protected the Executive Director and the

parent agency, and helped to insure implementation of the agency's standards of child care. It also greatly increased the tension between the Adviser and the local Project Director.

Securing Clientele

A variety of approaches was used to secure clientele for this residential project. Clients were secured through personal staff outreach efforts on the strees and in the parks; informal linkages with social workers, teachers, and nurses; and through formal, written notices to officials in the Family Court, parishes, schools, and health centers throughout the country.

As anticipated, personal relationships with the street children and informal linkages with social service and community personnel were more effective in bringing clients to the program than formal notices sent to various service organizations.

Undertaking a variety of recruitment approaches during the program planning stages can help to offset unanticipated consequences outside the control of the project (e.g., problems with telephones in a developing country, which could affect intake follow-through, or unexpected resistance to the program by a parent's or community group). In the early stages of program initiation, it is preferable in terms of budget, staff morale, and agency reputation, to have too many clients for available services, than to begin a program without sufficient client-to-staff ratios.

Program Services

Every project needs to assess basic needs of its projected clientele and provide services that meet those needs. This residential project, to address the needs of homeless children, provided a full spectrum of residential and clinical services to children, and some services to their families.

Contingency management is important in the provision of program services, especially in areas of client need (e.g., dental or medical problems may exceed planned budget allocations), and in staffing situations (e.g., there may be delays in hiring needed personnel, or a key staff person may resign without prior notice). Planners must be able to modify budget items, and institute, at short notice, alternative staffing plans in order to maintain the continuity of program service.

Knowledge and use of exchange theory continues to be important with directors and service providers throughout all stages of implementation. For example, new staff may feel overwhelmed in its attempts to provide needed care for the client while trying to keep an accurate statistical record of that care. Relative costs as to the loss of some data must be balanced with the benefits of establishing firm grounding in the project's system and structures of care.

Adaptation of Agency Principles

Every development project should use its set of philosophical principles as a base from which to organize specific program functions and decisions. The residential project took the five principles of

operation from the parent agency, and adapted them to the locality and culture where the program was located. It is important to note, however, that even though the principles were applied differently in the new locale, the theoretical framework of those principles provided a consistent grounding to specific program decisions.

A project's ability to maintain the basics of its principles, while adapting the application of those principles in the locale where it is situated, helps insure that its program services are delivered in a culturally relevant manner.

Organizational Structure

A new development project affects not only the external environment and culture in which it is located; it also alters the equilibrium of the environment and culture of its own agency. The development of this residential project brought about a reorganization of the parent agency into corporate and subsidiary functions. The agency also developed a special department to administer the project. However, there was increased organizational tension among personnel in the new department and the project. Although progress was made in the initial implementation period to alleviate the tension, a final resolution between the department heads came about only with the resignation of the development Project Director, after the contract year was completed.

Analysis of the benefits and costs to an agency in meeting new goals may include, on the benefit side:

1. Increased service to the client population;
2. Increased pride in members of the growing organization;
3. Expanded reputation as a model of service delivery;
4. Increased fund-raising opportunities; and
5. Increased knowledge and experience through program expansion.

Costs to an agency with regard to a new venture must include an analysis of the short and long-term financial obligations of the project; possibility of management and systems breakdowns; increased difficulties in communication due to distance and additional information to the system; possible lessening of the quality of care due to large increases in client population; and increases in organizational tension and morale problems with staff, both in the project and in the parent agency.

Resolution of organizational problems that accompany new growth is facilitated if agency administrators become aware of these potential problem areas at the beginning of a planned change, and make decisions in such a way as to manage the organizational tension, while exploiting the benefits of the new growth situation.

Replicability of the Program Model

The program model used in Guatemala can be replicated in other localities. Besides an accurate determination of the needs and adequate program planning, key factors in the model replication that must be controlled by program planners are: knowledge of the host country's political environment; securing an invitation from key experts in the new locale; effective use of charismatic leadership

qualities; the ability to raise funds; and the development of a relationship with an influential local family.

Awareness and knowledge of the history and present political tensions is crucial for an organization to enter and operate successfully in a new and foreign environment. Invitations from key policy and political sources (e.g., in this case, the Catholic Church and the State government are important first steps to provide a new project with institutional support and access to necessary economic and personnel resources.

Charismatic leadership qualities on the part of an agency's leaders are also important. These qualities assist leaders to accept the risk factors of a new venture. Strong personal leadership is also necessary to secure funds, and to have staff and boards of directors act in a timely manner. However, a possible negative consequence of an agency with strong centralized, charismatic leadership could be the lack of local participation and control of the new development project.

Securing funding commitments transforms a good idea into a planning reality. Moneys need not be raised solely from private sources outside the host country (as in the case with this project). However, the ability to obtain necessary operating funds quickly, from non-political sources, and in the case of programs in developing countries, from sources outside a weak social welfare economy, can make the difference between a project that is opened in a timely fashion, versus one that remains solely in planning.

All of the above aspects--planning, leadership, invitation, and funding--should conjoin with the development of a relationship with an

influential local family. Particularly in developing countries, an influential, extended family can function as a professional association, in that various family members can facilitate the entry of the new project into existing government, business, church, and related professional organizations. Additionally, an established family can provide a symbol of sanctuary for the program with government and security forces. This safety net could be essential to the free and successful operation of the new and foreign organization in its chosen political environment.

Implications of the Theoretical Framework

Contingency management and exchange theories help project planners to expect the unexpected, and to implement decisions that balance costs and benefits to various and, at times, competing interest groups.

Contingency theory has shown that initial program designs and organizational structures, while necessary, are not sufficient of themselves to insure adequate program implementation. A start-up team needs to develop alternative strategies that are based on knowledge gained as a result of interchanges between the organization and its environment.

Classical and inter-organizational exchange theories provide a practical guide to program implementation. Through a rigorous, formal analysis of the benefits and costs of a project to all concerned parties (within an agency and community), and through an equitable distribution of those benefits and costs among participants, program

planners can lessen organizational tensions that arise as a natural consequence of new program development. Successful management of this dynamic tension restores the organizational equilibrium that is necessary to continue the operation of the program in that environment.

APPENDIX A

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

April 1980	- Invitation to Executive Director of Covenant House to present agency's work with homeless children at a conference in Guatemala City.
July-August 1980	- Executive Director presents paper at international social service conference in Guatemala City; site visits to areas of need; program and financial meetings between agency representatives and government and Church officials in Guatemala; invitation extended by Guatemalan officials to the agency to open a long-term residence for homeless and abandoned children in Guatemala.
September 1980	- Initial approval of the Guatemala project by the agency Board of Directors; selection of the start-up project team; initial orientation and preparation of the team for departure.
October-December 1980	- Departure of lay religious members of the start-up team to Guatemala; beginning of language and cultural training; initial exploration for appropriate building for residential program.
January-March 1981	- Program Adviser joins project team in Guatemala; beginning of legal incorporation of agency; negotiation and decision on site; agency Board approves purchase of building and program operating budget for the first year.
April-June 1981	- Assessment of needs of homeless children and development of intake criteria; continuing analysis of political environment; development of community relations; initial design and development of the residential program.
July 1981	- Final closing on residential site; interviews and hiring of program staff; religious ceremony and opening of the residential program.

Appendix A (cont'd)

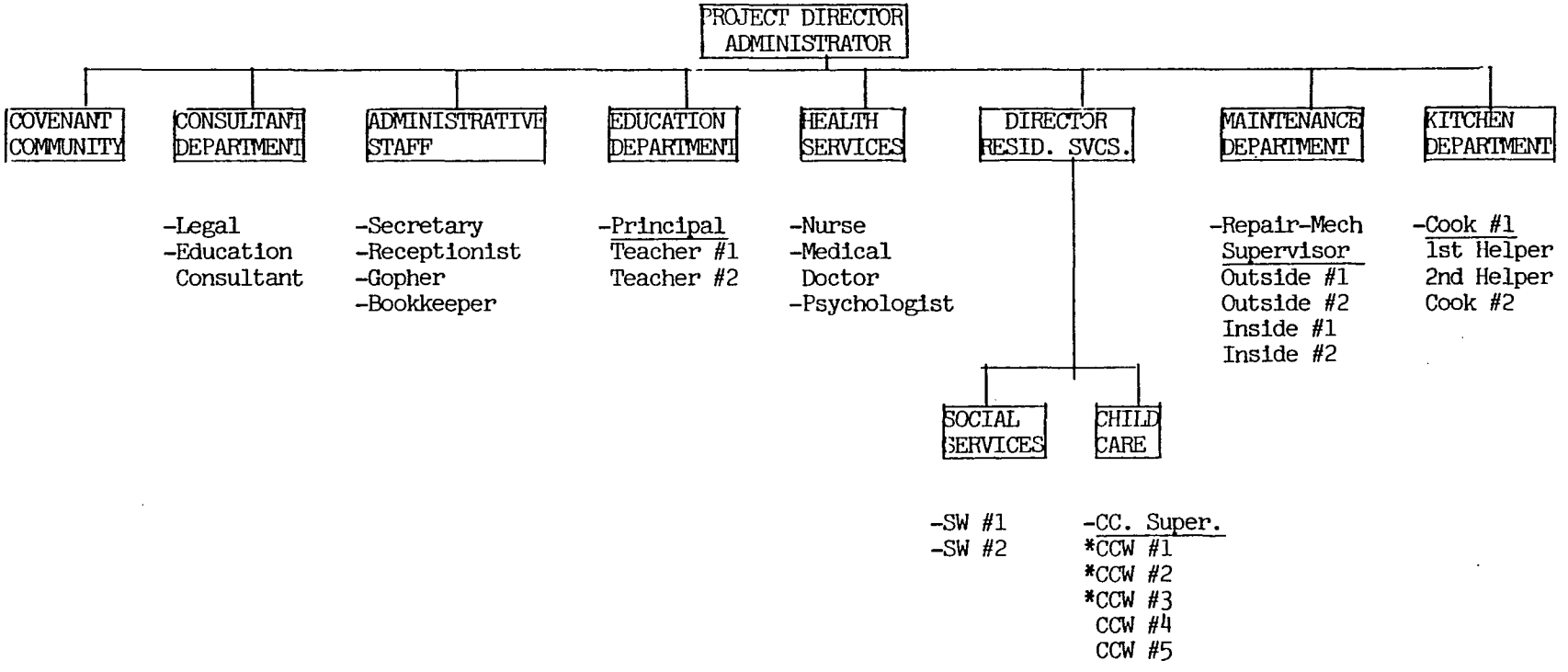
August-October 1981	- First three months of program operations; testing of the program design and operation; increasing the numbers of children and staff as program grows; first three-month evaluation; Program Adviser returns to New York.
November 1981- February 1982	- Hiring of department directors (finance, residential and clinical services) and the professionalization of program services; resignation of the North American start-up Project Director; hiring of first Guatemalan Director of Operations; six-month program evaluation.
March-July 1982	- Institutionalization and professionalization of program services as residence reaches projected capacity (ninety-four children); residential school fully operational; agency and guests celebrate first year of program operation.

Appendix B

ORIGINAL

ORGANIZATION CHART - GUATEMALA PROJECT

OCTOBER 1, 1981



Note: _____(underline) indicates supervisory role

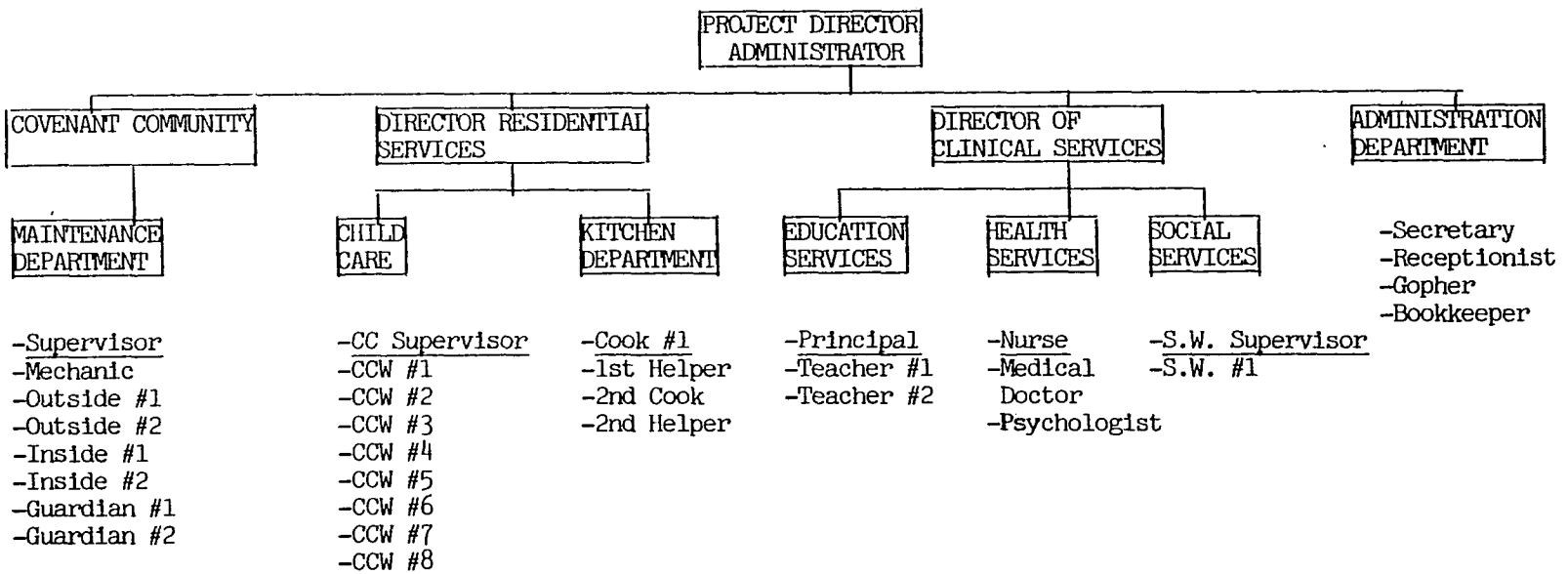
* (asterisk) indicates Covenant Community members

Appendix C

REVISED

ORGANIZATION CHART - GUATEMALA PROJECT

OCTOBER 1, 1981



Note: _____(underline) indicates supervisory role

APPENDIX D

CRITERIA OF INTAKE FOR THE RESIDENTIAL PROGRAM

Enclosed is a listing and discussion of the intake criteria for the Convenant House residential program here in Guatemala. What follows is a summation from various sources.

1. The Executive Director's commitment and mandate to the people of Guatemala to open a residence and school for homeless boys.

2. Follow-up Administrative and Project Team discussion concerning levels of needs and available services for this population.

3. Site visits by Project Director, Adviser and staff to some existing programs that care for homeless children.

4. A review of the intake criteria of various programs in available social service directories.

5. Discussions with social service personnel from various coordinating human service agencies.

Intake Criteria

1. The Convenant House residence will be open to young boys between the ages of 6-12 years, who are in need of residential care. Categories of care include boys who are:

1.1 Orphaned--have lost one or more parents or guardians through death.

1.2 Abandoned--those left on their own because of the divorce, separation or work outside the home by one or more of the parents.

1.3 In risk or danger--either physical, mental or moral from the home situation or from the surrounding environment.

1.4 From disintegrated families--i.e., those who live in families that cannot adequately provide for their needs (cf. Article on "Family").

1.5 Involved in irregular conduct: (a) Those involved in vagrancy, truancy or acts of vandalism or petty theft would be appropriate for the residence. (b) Those children involved in felonies--arson, armed robbery, rape or attempted murder would NOT be suitable for the residence.

2. The residence is open to those homeless boys who are within the NORMAL range of physical and mental health and intelligence.

2.1 Boys who have communicable diseases such as hepatitis or tuberculosis would be excluded from the residence if the disease is in the communicable stage.

2.2 Dispositions regarding cases of measles, chicken pox, scabies or body lice will be made on an individual basis.

2.3 Entrance for those who have severe infirmities or paralyses, such as cerebral palsy, no arms or legs, or those who are blind or disabled would be made on an individual basis, after an extensive family and medical examination.

2.4 Temporary physical disabilities (i.e., those who have a broken leg or burns from fire) would NOT preclude a boy from entering the program.

2.5 The "normal range" of intelligence would NOT exclude a boy who could not read or write, nor would it preclude an Indian who could not speak Spanish.

2.6 In the area of "mental health," those boys who show signs of severe retardation or psychosis would be excluded from the residence.

2.7 The residence would also NOT be appropriate for those boys who are severely hyperactive or show potential for acts of violence.

3. Priority at intake should be given to those boys "most in need," in accord with the Covenant House Principle of Immediacy.

Discussion

3.1 Who are those "most in need," and how is this best determined?

3.2 How do we distinguish between physical, emotional and moral poverty? Which gets priority when there is limited available bed space?

3.3 Is there need for a system of triage, i.e., will we only take children who have no parents at home or who have one parent in the house? Will we not accept a child who has two parents living in the home?

3.4 Should the intake criteria include a physical cutoff point with regard to the number of children from households of more than 6, 8 or 10 people?

Recommendations

3.5 All decisions on intake will be made from a combination of personal interviews, case records, and recommendations from service providers in accord with the Convenant Philosophy.

3.6 In cases of multiple problems, appropriate intake decisions would suggest that:

a. Of equally poor families, a child from a larger family would get priority over a child from a smaller family.

b. A child without parents or from a single-parent family should receive priority over one who has two parents.

c. Situations of child abuse or severe neglect from beatings, rape, prostitution, drug or alcohol abuse in a family are priority determinants for intake, regardless of the number of parents at home or their economic condition.

4. The Convenant House program will accept children who need long-term residential and educational care.

Discussion

4.1 Does this policy preclude children who only need short-term care because of a temporary family crisis, e.g., a fight at home with a stepfather, hospitalization or imprisonment of one of the parents.

4.2 Is this a question of temporary priorities, i.e., if the

house is full, or there are two children (one needing long-term care) we would NOT accept the youth who only needed short-term care?

5. Before a boy is accepted to the program, there must be a family investigation to determine the level of need.

5.1 Though not documented, various social service personnel stress the need for a family meeting before the boy is accepted. Experience has shown that it is very difficult to transfer a youth once he has been accepted into care.

5.2 The investigation includes: an analysis of the family history, i.e., number of children, number of parents or relatives, presence/absence of the father, socioeconomic status, type and quality of the child care, and any other involvement in the social service system (e.g., guardians or other social workers).

5.3 Whenever possible, the interview should be conducted in person by the social worker, experienced child care worker or the intake worker.

5.4 The discussion of "acceptance/rejection" must be made in a timely fashion by the intake team. The decision is made by the Project Director or Director of Residential Services in writing. Reasons are given to the parent or social worker of the referring agency.

5.5 If the majority of the children will be referred from the capital, we may need an office in the city. If so, where should it be? Who will staff it? How will intake consultations and decisions be made, especially with poor telephone and communications systems?

6. The intake process continues for up to two weeks after the child is accepted into residency.

Reasons

6.1 Because of intakes at nights or on weekends or because of the problems with phones, we may not be able to obtain the necessary information.

6.2 The information we receive may be inaccurate.

6.3 The information and needs of the child may change over time.

7. The steps and the process for the first two weeks of residency (to be filled out in greater detail in the "work plan") include:

7.1 Within the first three days, there should be a completed personal and family history in order to have an assessment of the child's needs for residency.

7.2 An inventory of the child's needs should be taken (clothing, toothbrush, etc.) by the counseling staff.

7.3 Within the first week each child should receive a medical check-up for vaccinations, amoebas, etc. Follow-up should be done by the social worker/nurse.

7.4 Each child should receive a dental check-up within the first month.

7.5 Each child should receive an educational assessment by the educational staff to determine his school and educational needs.

7.6 The family should be visited within the first two week

period to see if they have the resources to care for the child.

7.7 Each child should have a copy of his birth certificate or appropriate ID card. This is an intricate and costly process and should be incorporated into the treatment plan.

7.8 By the end of the first two weeks, an initial treatment plan (for the first three months) should be made by the counseling and social service staff. The child and his plan is reviewed at the weekly case conference.

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