

Master Thesis

The Catholic Church as an Education Provider in Puerto Rico 1948-1960

Anandita Bajpai

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Advisor: Prof. Dr. Martina Kaller-Dietrich

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1.0 Introduction

In the words of Gordon K. Lewis “In the last analysis a society is no better or worse than its public opinion. That opinion in its turn at once creates and is created by the educational system of the society.”¹ In continuance with Lewis’s opinion, Puerto Rico stands out as a country whereby the education process is not just “a purely intellectual experience or a privilege for the elite, but a vehicle of social mobility and a way for understanding and manipulating society.”² What are the implications of this education process being largely the onus of an institution like the Catholic Church in a predominantly Catholic Puerto Rico? This research focuses on the Catholic Church as an education provider in Puerto Rico during 1948-60. This time frame beginning with the introduction of Operation Bootstrap in Puerto Rico saw the advent of numerous chains of events that transformed the Puerto Rican history and society and therefore also had an impact on its education system. It is a topic that bears relevance not just for Puerto Rican history but also for the Latin American and Caribbean region and thus relates to the wide spectrum of Global history making it interesting for research even today as will be highlighted in the research.

The research first gives a historical overview of the socio-political and economic settings in Puerto Rico, post the end of the Spanish rule and beginning of American suzerainty in 1898, to give a broader picture of the transformations faced by the island as “part of a heavy handed Americanization plan”³ Placing the discussion in the overall economic, political, historical and social context shall enable a better comprehension of the changes that were witnessed by the island’s education system during 1948-60 which was primarily the onus of the Catholic Church during the Spanish rule. A brief description of these Catholic education institutions is provided along with their deficiencies. In light of the above narratives, the research aims to answer the following questions related to the insular education system- What role did the Catholic Church play in the provision of education on the island during 1948-60? What is meant

¹ Lewis K. Gordon, *Puerto Rico Freedom and Power in the Caribbean*, Monthly Review Press, New York & London, 1963, p 441

² Lewis K. Gordon, *Puerto Rico Freedom and Power in the Caribbean*, Monthly Review Press, New York & London, 1963, p 441

³ Pousada, Alicia, Puerto Rico: On the Horns of a Language Planning Dilemma, *TESOL Quarterly*, 30, 3, 1993, p 499

by Catholic education? Whom was it catering to in Puerto Rico? What were the guiding principles and objectives behind such Catholic education? What was the role played by the teachers and students? What were the challenges these Catholic education institutions faced post 1898 in Puerto Rico? What is observed in the island post 1898 is also the emergence of public schools which placed great emphasis on imbuing and emulating American democratic ideals of education. The research will analyse how far did the Catholic schools, colleges and universities in Puerto Rico succeed in adapting to these changes in its changing education environment? What transformations did the Catholic Church adopt in its structure and its objectives to adapt, if at all, to these transformations? The Catholic Church's transitional role is traced historically in the research to analyse the redefinition of its objectives which eventually found a culmination in the Theology of Liberation with the Latin American Church as its epicentre.

This re-definition of the Catholic schools in Puerto Rico and an increasing role of the state in the education system were accompanied by a simultaneous thrust on development programmes on the island, initiated by the mainland foreign policy and supported internally by insular politicians. Thus "The fifties brought a renewed interest in Puerto Rico as an underdeveloped country trying to solve its problems within a democratic framework."⁴

In many ways it was hoped that these attempts towards the so called development of Puerto Rico would be an American answer to Castro Communism, displaying the greatness of American democratic ideals to a cold war torn world. There are two different ways in which the Catholic Church here became a crucial role player. Firstly, via its vital role in the education system of the island. Education has always been an important yardstick of measuring development and therefore is essentially linked to it. On account of its role in education provision, the Church found itself a part of development efforts. Secondly, its collaboration with the American state as an actor in the implementation of development aid programmes and policies, especially in the sixties, made it an institution directly engaged in the course of events.

⁴Agrait, Luis E., Review of: *The Puerto Ricans' Spirit: Their History, Life, and Culture*, The Hispanic American Historical Review, 54,1, February 1974, p 157

The mainstream view on development aid reasserts faith in schools as an important investment area to help people attain better standards of life. In fact most discourses highlight the assumption that schooling is the first step on the path to a better, promising life with ever-growing professional choices. This view was discarded by Ivan Illich (the founder of Centro Intercultural de Documentación or CIDOC, Cuernavaca, 1960) who critiqued the introduction of any development programmes and policies not just in Puerto Rico but in Latin America at large. Accusing them of doing more harm than good for the recipients, Illich used the school as one of the main examples to critique these development efforts and in doing so he also questioned the role that the Catholic Church had come to acquire being reduced to an institution. The research uses Illich's criticisms to highlight the shortcomings of Puerto Rico's education system in a time of increasing focus of the insular government, US Foreign Policy and the Catholic Church on the expansion of educational facilities via foreign aid. This critique is furthered through the ideas of Gustavo Esteva, a prolific Mexican writer, founder of the Universidad de la Tierra in Oaxaca, Mexico and a grassroots activist who admired and associated with Illich's "brilliant intellectual presentation of ordinary people's common discourse."⁵ Together their views are utilized in the thesis to highlight the myths associated with the term development and the school and the inherent flaws of the ways in which these cater to people in countries like Puerto Rico. Besides the thesis also presents some pressing problems that disturbed the Puerto Rican education system like the Language issue that related to a tussle between Spanish and English for the status of being the official insular language, the class segregation in Puerto Rican schooling as a consequence of the public private school divide, and the alienation of students from the schools as a result of an ever increasing emulation of the American education model.

That the sixties served as a gateway towards unsuccessful development aid experimentation by the United States is highlighted via the examples of The Alliance for Progress introduced by the Kennedy administration in USA and the Peace Corps also a product of the same decade. Once again Illich's voice is used to highlight the

⁵ Esteva, Gustavo, *Back from the Future*, 2002
http://gustavoesteva.com/english_site/back_from_the_future.htm (accessed August 11, 2008)

shortcomings of the Alliance which had Puerto Rico as one of the main target countries and education as a prime focus.

Thus in short there are parallel aims in this thesis- to analyze the education system in Puerto Rico in light of its social, political and economic status during 1948-60 and its historical roots post 1898, to see the involvement of the Catholic Church in the education system and how it redefined its objectives during the period and after to meet the transitions introduced after American suzerainty, the simultaneous emergence of the Catholic Church as a global player in the provision of development aid with a great emphasis on education in support of the US administration programmes and finally to critique this thrust on *developing* Puerto Rico and analyzing what went wrong?

1.1 Historical Background: USA's involvement in the Socio-political and economic situation in Puerto Rico

The first question that arises at the outset is *Why Puerto Rico?* The aim of this chapter is to explain how Puerto Rico stands out as a unique case study, a laboratory of American social, economic, political, cultural and educational tests and trials which differentiate it from other former dependencies or colonies of America or even Great Britain. These explanations of how the island was an experimental field can only be understood rightly if placed in the larger context of its political, social and economic situation post the end of Spanish rule in 1898 and during 1948-60 unto the present day. The chapter also gives a historical background of the education system in Puerto Rico during the Spanish rule along with a brief description of the shortcomings of the education system despite changes after 1898 in order to introduce the reader to the role that the Catholic Church played in education provision on the island. It gives the researcher's personal methodology of approaching the topic and the reasoning behind its choice. Once the historical background is introduced, the chapter also gives a review of the literature used describing the utility of the sources for the research.

The United States of America emerged after the Spanish-American war as “a world power with far-flung political interests as an administrator of colonial territories.”⁶ American imperialism began with the occupation of the islands of the Philippines and Puerto Rico “whose people were of alien culture and wholly unacquainted with American ideals and techniques.”⁷ As early as 1898 General Miles declared the great American intentions behind cession of Puerto Rico when he stated “The people of the United States in the cause of liberty, justice and humanity come bearing the banner of freedom inspired by a noble purpose, to bestow upon you, the Puerto Ricans, the immunities and blessings of the liberal institutions of our government, and to give to all within the control of its military and naval forces the advantages and blessings of enlightened civilization.”⁸ However, these claims remain questionable from even a superficial view of the US policies in Puerto Rico, starting in 1898 up to the present day scenario, leading Beard to question “If we took possession with these noble intentions and promises, why is it that today Puerto Rico presents such a pitiable spectacle?”⁹ Why is the island referred to as the “exhibit of American imperialism and an example of Yankee pauperization?”¹⁰

The people from the semi-colony of the United States were from the very beginning of the American era faced with “almost unrelieved ignorance on part of their new masters concerning their island territory and its history.”¹¹

The first impressions of the fact that the country island held an experimental status for USA can be collected from the US economic endeavours on the island. The real American rule, from the outset was not so much the new form of government introduced by the American Congress as “the massive economic penetration that followed hard on its heels.”¹² Americans looked at the new territory, characteristically in terms of its business opportunities. One of the first books written on the island for the American

⁶ Cabranes, Jose A., *The Status of Puerto Rico*, The International and Comparative Law Quarterly, 16, 2, April, 1967, p 531

⁷ Pratt, *America's Colonial Experiment*, 1950, p. 4, cited from: Cabranes, Jose A., *The Status of Puerto Rico*, The International and Comparative Law Quarterly, 16, 2, April, 1967, p 531

⁸ Beard, Belle Borne, *Puerto Rico: the Forty-Ninth State?*, PHYLON, 6, 2, 1945, p 106

⁹ Beard, Belle Borne, *Puerto Rico: the Forty-Ninth State?*, PHYLON, 6, 2, 1945, p 106

¹⁰ Beard, Belle Borne, *Puerto Rico: the Forty-Ninth State?*, PHYLON, 6, 2, 1945, p 106

¹¹ Lewis K. Gordon, *Puerto Rico Freedom and Power in the Caribbean*, Monthly Review Press, New York & London, 1963, p 1

¹² Lewis K. Gordon, *Puerto Rico Freedom and Power in the Caribbean*, Monthly Review Press, New York & London, 1963, p 87

reading public was William Dinwiddie's *Porto Rico: Conditions and possibilities*; described as "a frank attempt to appraise business opportunities for imaginative entrepreneurs"¹³ from the USA in its new semi-colony. Similarly, Albert Gardner Robinson in *The Porto Rico of today* (1899) spoke about the "commercial possibilities in our new possession that lie within the reach of American businessmen."¹⁴

There was also a simultaneous campaign from the American officialdom which attempted assiduously for more private capital investment to "develop the island."¹⁵ Hence as decisions about greater private capital investment and the exploitation of possibilities for American businessmen were carried out, Puerto Rico witnessed its transformation from being victimised by a "decadent and inefficient capitalism" to a "dynamic and efficient one."¹⁶ It thus emerges that from the outset the American involvement in the island was such as to suit American interests. As he came under the American tariff system, "the Puerto Rican consumer was then onwards obliged to buy his basic necessities, including his indispensable food stuffs, in the American market at tariff-inflated prices."¹⁷ The old Spanish inefficient mercantilist practice was replaced by an efficient American capitalism which functioned mostly for the benefit of the USA rather than the colony island or in other words in this case for the colonial producer rather than his Puerto Rican customer. As a result what is observed in Puerto Rico's economic situation immediately post the American suzerainty is an "imperialism of neglect" from 1898-1932 as rightfully worded by Lewis¹⁸ making an already crippled economy all the more dependent on US investments. To sum up the first fifty years of the US economic endeavours- it was a phase signifying a heavy investment of American capital towards the tobacco, sugarcane and needle industries and lesser on the manufacturing industry. "North American capitalists monopolized the best land while keeping the peasants in

¹³ Lewis K. Gordon, *Puerto Rico Freedom and Power in the Caribbean*, Monthly Review Press, New York & London, 1963, p 87

¹⁴ Lewis K. Gordon, *Puerto Rico Freedom and Power in the Caribbean*, Monthly Review Press, New York & London, 1963, p 87

¹⁵ Lewis K. Gordon, *Puerto Rico Freedom and Power in the Caribbean*, Monthly Review Press, New York & London, 1963, p 87

¹⁶ Lewis K. Gordon, *Puerto Rico Freedom and Power in the Caribbean*, Monthly Review Press, New York & London, 1963, p 87

¹⁷ Lewis K. Gordon, *Puerto Rico Freedom and Power in the Caribbean*, Monthly Review Press, New York & London, 1963, p 87

¹⁸ Lewis K. Gordon, *Puerto Rico Freedom and Power in the Caribbean*, Monthly Review Press, New York & London, 1963, p 87

appalling conditions. This together with other factors, destroyed a relatively diversified agricultural sector and converted Puerto Rico into a substitute source of sugar for the United States. This was done for the exclusive benefit of the North American capitalist¹⁹ indicating how the country island was torn apart economically for American economic trusts.

The decade of the 1930s, with the Democratic victory in 1932, witnessed protracted struggle to extend the promise of the New Deal to the Puerto Rican dependency. This entailed at the same time a determined effort to readjust the emphasis of insular communal effort away from the political and more towards the social and economic problems.²⁰ Hence post 1930 some aid was provided to Puerto Rico under President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal policies which radically enlarged the previously accepted role of the government. The newly formed Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration (PRRA) established under the New Deal, aimed to redistribute economic power on the island, primarily by placing a restrictive quota on sugarcane production. Its strongest local proponent was Luis Muñoz Marín who later took office in 1949 as Puerto Rico's first governor elected by popular vote. That the island despite all these initiatives, which claimed to benefit Puerto Rican economy, remained to be an experimental laboratory for the US Foreign Policy is reflected from the fact that throughout American rule and especially post the New Deal era, the island economy was "to all intents and purposes a subsidy economy."²¹ Most of the federal contributions that promised an economic support or aid to the local economy were only hap-hazard and ill directed and did not help it towards "a genuine planning revolution designed to take care of its long-term economic needs."²² What made US administration import the New Deal plan to Puerto Rico? What accounted for its disappointing failure? The New Deal had failed as an experiment in the USA and yet was introduced in Puerto Rico with the promise of economic redistribution. Lewis states "In some measure, it was

¹⁹ Lubeck, Scott, *Economic Importance of Puerto Rico for the United States*, Latin American Perspectives, 3,3, 1976, pp 46-47

²⁰ Lewis K. Gordon, *Puerto Rico Freedom and Power in the Caribbean*, Monthly Review Press, New York & London, 1963, p 129

²¹ Lewis K. Gordon, *Puerto Rico Freedom and Power in the Caribbean*, Monthly Review Press, New York & London, 1963, p 319

²² Lewis K. Gordon, *Puerto Rico Freedom and Power in the Caribbean*, Monthly Review Press, New York & London, 1963, p 319

because the new deal at home was not a coherent plan to reshape American society root and branch so much as it was a hasty and empirical response to sudden crisis; and it could be no more abroad in a dependent territory than what it was at home. In some measure it was because the Rooseveltian policy, fundamentally weakest in any sense of theoretical content or direction, sought to do no more than patch up an anarchic capitalism, so that the private ownership of the means of production was left substantially untouched. The economic and cultural dominance of industry was therefore repeated in Puerto Rico in the form of the dominance of the sugar complex.”²³ This experiment did not last in Puerto Rico for a long time (around 1940) just like it did not on the mainland. The New Deal therefore stands as an example of the failure of economic policy introduced on the island by the US administration. What accounted for its failure partially is related to another category whereby the island suffered the American wrath of experimentation and action- the island’s geographical location.

With the Second World War gaining momentum around the same time period, the USA’s attention on the island took a newer dimension- this time not economic but more freshly focussed on its geographical location. The island country now became important for the US for the defence of the Panama Canal and the American shipping lanes’ protection. Hence it becomes very clear that the situation in Puerto Rico changed dramatically with newer focuses in the American foreign policy highlighting that the island more often than not served as a laboratory for American explorations. Hence by 1945, with the tragic end of the New Deal, Puerto Rico was left with nothing but “a pious hope that it should await a renewed and greater effort towards a solution of its problems on part of all Americans imbued with Christian goals.”²⁴

An obvious reason for the collapse of the New Deal was thus the lack of focus of economic aid from the US leading to administrative and economic problems. Until the war, the main focus was on employing the Puerto Rican example to display the American foothold and good intentions to the world via a genuine reforming zeal and a zest for new ideas and administrative methods. However, once the war took more dangerous

²³ Lewis K. Gordon, *Puerto Rico Freedom and Power in the Caribbean*, Monthly Review Press, New York & London, 1963, p 129

²⁴ Lewis K. Gordon, *Puerto Rico Freedom and Power in the Caribbean*, Monthly Review Press, New York & London, 1963, p 129

dimensions post Germany, Italy and Japan signing the Tripartite Act, the United States of America became more involved in the turn of events in the war post 1941 with the Lend-Lease Act (program initiated by the United States of America in order to supply Britain, the Soviet Union, China, France and other Allies with war material) and the Atlantic Charter. Puerto Rico then began gaining importance only for the purpose of a stronger national defense owing to its strategic geographical location. Under the farthest of observation thus Puerto Rico emerges as being reduced to “the status of a pawn in American foreign policy making.”²⁵ In fact as echoed in the words of Theodore Roosevelt Jr., the New Deal and the World War II events portray Puerto Rico as “The American show-window.”²⁶

The year 1948 post the war saw the Operation Bootstrap whereby there was a fresh emphasis on transforming Puerto Rico from being an agricultural economy to one based on industrial production, a government programme to promote economic progress and social welfare. The programme initially promoted cooperative farming and labour-intensive industries, but when these efforts failed, the government invested heavily in transportation infrastructure and attracted privately owned factories through tax breaks and government supported start up-costs.

While there were new trends in the form of New Deal and Operation Bootstrap observed in the economic sphere, the political sphere also witnessed American involvement on issues besides that of the political status of the island. There followed a new wave of providing development aid to the underdeveloped world in American foreign policy and Puerto Rico with its special political status offered all the necessary experimental conditions for new American ventures and foreign policy escapades. With the tensions of the cold war growing post the end of the World War II, the island society with its peculiar constitutional status and economic advance was set forth as “the American answer to world communism...the showcase of democratic government, international cooperation and fraternal countenance in the free world.”²⁷ More than the

²⁵ Lewis K. Gordon, *Puerto Rico Freedom and Power in the Caribbean*, Monthly Review Press, New York & London, 1963, p 181

²⁶ Lewis K. Gordon, *Puerto Rico Freedom and Power in the Caribbean*, Monthly Review Press, New York & London, 1963, p 181

²⁷ Lewis K. Gordon, *Puerto Rico Freedom and Power in the Caribbean*, Monthly Review Press, New York & London, 1963, p 19

territorial imperialism in Puerto Rico what strikes an observer greater is the American cultural imperialism which largely relates to the question of education as well. Just like the political status of the island, the problem related to language remains unresolved. Years of political proximity to the USA has instilled in Puerto Rico, a willingness to emulate the American education system and just like the United States has shown a failure to imbue foreign language learning in its educational institutions, so has Puerto Rico failed to overcome the clash between Spanish and English as languages of instruction in the school system. The republicans on the island had on their part contributed to this Americanization of Puerto Rico inhibiting a “Universe of values in which the ability to speak English or the compulsory use of the flag salute in the schools become badges of a frenetic American patriotism with themselves regarded as its only genuine local custodians.”²⁸

In fact Lewis observes how the period (1932-60) witnessed a wave of a growing fascination with American influence as tourism emerged as being given more importance than industrialization, the less political aspect emerging in the daily lives of Puerto Ricans under the influence of American media, music etc. The island thus was a “Majorca of America” an experimental place at the American foreign policy service to be used for the entire Latin America and Caribbean as an “interpreter of America’s sense of democratic values to those countries where the appreciation of that truth was frustrated by the false feeling that the American considers himself as a superior race.”²⁹ Hence it now offered the perfect chance for USA to be employed yet again as a stooge of its Foreign Policy to prove its spirit of goodwill and to the entire Caribbean and most importantly as an alternative to the growing Communism in Castro’s Cuba. It however remains ironical that despite all the benefits withdrawn from the island, the semi-colony, in most discourses is still labeled as a “problem child.” It is still associated with an issue termed the *Puerto Rican problem*. How much of this problem is in reality a creation of Puerto Rico? The island has “made a goodly number of Americans into millionaires-sugar kings. It has given headaches to a few members of Congressional Commissions

²⁸ Lewis K. Gordon, *Puerto Rico Freedom and Power in the Caribbean*, Monthly Review Press, New York & London, 1963, p 428

²⁹ Lewis K. Gordon, *Puerto Rico Freedom and Power in the Caribbean*, Monthly Review Press, New York & London, 1963, p 428

whose business is to hear Puerto Rico's pleas for justice and help. It has given delightful vacations to a few tourists who bring home rum and string rugs. By and large, Puerto Rico just doesn't exist as far as most Americans are concerned. Most people don't even know how important as military outpost Puerto Rico is."³⁰

It is this American involvement which makes the island stand out as unique from its other Caribbean neighbours or other Latin American countries. In fact there is another stark difference that separates the country island from other former dependencies or colonies. Unlike the latter Puerto Rico has taken a completely different course towards political development as reflected by the insular politics. As worded by Cabranes "Since 1940 the Popular Democratic Party founded by Marín was committed to opposition to both statehood and independence"³¹ thus leading to its unique commonwealth status. "The singularly important fact about contemporary Puerto Rico is that in the exercise of its acknowledged right to self-determination, this Hispanic-American community of three million people has not embraced independence as a solution to its dependent status."³² The Puerto Ricans have despite all the ills had a strong association with the United States. As Beard sums it up "Every phase of life in Puerto Rico is gripped by the United States as by the tentacles of a mighty octopus."³³ This was an island that offered the American businessmen, economists, academicians, politicians and priests alike an abundance of new opportunities for their individual economic, academic, constitutional and religious experiments. How much of the Puerto Rican problems of the education system, industrialization, political status or migration trends are originally a creation of Puerto Rico itself or emanate from the US experimentation over decades is not a question very difficult to answer. Puerto Rico as a territory was first annexed via "incompetently organized naval-military operations."³⁴ It was not until nineteen years from then that its population was granted American citizenship and during that phase (1898-1917) its people were deprived of the "treatment in terms of colonial trusteeship due them as wards

³⁰ Beard, Belle Borne, *Puerto Rico: the Forty-Ninth State?*, PHYLON, 6, 2, 1945, p 105

³¹ Cabranes, Jose A., *The Status of Puerto Rico*, The International and Comparative Law Quarterly, 16, 2, April, 1967, p 532

³² Cabranes, Jose A., *The Status of Puerto Rico*, The International and Comparative Law Quarterly, 16, 2, April, 1967, p 532

³³ Beard, Belle Borne, *Puerto Rico: the Forty-Ninth State?*, PHYLON, 6, 2, 1945, p 105

³⁴ Lewis K. Gordon, *Puerto Rico Freedom and Power in the Caribbean*, Monthly Review Press, New York & London, 1963, p 4

of the American power.”³⁵ Post the granting of the American citizenship they were deprived the rightful exercise of the rights they had been promised as American citizens. And it was another few decades before they could finally elect their own governor by popular vote. Beard sums up “We demanded that Puerto Ricans swear allegiance to our flag; but we denied them the privilege of citizenship. Puerto Ricans were subjects of the United States; but they were only ‘Citizens of Puerto Rico.’ Most painful to their ‘dignidad’ was the fact that a Spaniard living in Puerto Rico, or even a Mexican or Haitian might become a naturalized United States citizen, but not a Puerto Rican. Seventeen years later we saw our mistake and permitted them to become citizens. But seeds of bitterness had been sown that will not be destroyed soon. Instead of building up a strong national loyalty we forced upon the islanders a narrow self-protective localism.”³⁶

Despite that however, political independence for Puerto Rico remained largely loomed with economic dependence. Attempts like the Lydings measure of 1943 that offered political independence without economic aid could do less towards prompting the island country to invoke insular opinion in favour of complete political independence. In the words of the governor Muñoz Marín “the economic advantages enjoyed by Puerto Rico could not continue if Puerto Rico became a sovereign state; that political plank would destroy the economic planks with the devastating fury of a tropical hurricane.”³⁷ It is therefore self-evident that clearly the island has remained a ploy of the United States of America for communicating to the world its so called ideas of democratic values, experimentations in the provision of development aid while simultaneously ensuring its strong socio-political and economic hold over the island. It had been observed that the American foreign policy especially aimed at avoiding the Puerto Rican penetration (though quite unsuccessfully as observed by the migration influx of Puerto Ricans in the New York City) corresponding that with keeping the islanders in their place as second

³⁵ Lewis K. Gordon, *Puerto Rico Freedom and Power in the Caribbean*, Monthly Review Press, New York & London, 1963, p 4

³⁶ Beard, Belle Borne, *Puerto Rico: the Forty-Ninth State?*, PHYLON, 6, 2, 1945, pp 106-107

³⁷ Lewis K. Gordon, *Puerto Rico Freedom and Power in the Caribbean*, Monthly Review Press, New York & London, 1963, p 431

class citizens.³⁸ It was precisely this reason that compelled the political leaders of the time like Marin himself to claim that “independence is an abstract concept and that it would be palpable to irresponsibility to sacrifice the certitude of present benefits to the hazard of future problematical gains.”³⁹

In fact it could be stated that concessions like the granting of American citizenship to the Puerto Ricans (1917) do not necessarily speak too much about the “willing grants of imperial imagination as reluctant acts of a congressional conservatism.”⁴⁰ The Jones Act of 1917 which led to such a concession for the Puerto Ricans was primarily a method and also an obligation that the USA felt to prove its liberalism against the Imperial Germany of World War I.

“One corollary that emerges as evident from the island’s role as an experimental laboratory of social change is that it perennially suffers from the ubiquitous visiting consultant, whose reports in turn help to perpetuate some of the misleading images of the insular realities. The consultant comes clothed with the authority of the expert...He is usually American composing an American report.”⁴¹ The 1959 Report on Insular education carried out by three Europeans was the first attempt at diversifying the origin of advices by the local authorities.⁴² These American visiting consultants do not even do Puerto Rico “the courtesy of careful study.”⁴³

Lewis rightly remarks “Just as in the field of sociology the island has become a passive research laboratory; in the field of politics it looks like it is being rapidly reduced to the status of a permanent electoral college.”⁴⁴ The Puerto Ricans somehow appear to have been trained and mentally accustomed to accepting small US concessions which are eventually exaggerated by the Commonwealth apologists and projected as significant

³⁸ Lewis K. Gordon, *Puerto Rico Freedom and Power in the Caribbean*, Monthly Review Press, New York & London, 1963, p 3

³⁹ Lewis K. Gordon, *Puerto Rico Freedom and Power in the Caribbean*, Monthly Review Press, New York & London, 1963, p 432

⁴⁰ Lewis K. Gordon, *Puerto Rico Freedom and Power in the Caribbean*, Monthly Review Press, New York & London, 1963, p 428

⁴¹ Lewis K. Gordon, *Puerto Rico Freedom and Power in the Caribbean*, Monthly Review Press, New York & London, 1963, p 20

⁴² Lewis K. Gordon, *Puerto Rico Freedom and Power in the Caribbean*, Monthly Review Press, New York & London, 1963, p 20

⁴³ Lewis K. Gordon, *Puerto Rico Freedom and Power in the Caribbean*, Monthly Review Press, New York & London, 1963, p 428

⁴⁴ Lewis K. Gordon, *Puerto Rico Freedom and Power in the Caribbean*, Monthly Review Press, New York & London, 1963, p 437

steps as part of the US Foreign Policy and all this exaggeration is achieved by opening these concessions to referendums and politicizing them. An example of this is the debt-margin referendum of 1961.⁴⁵

In fact it is the same problem related to a referendum on the political status of the island. The idea is thrown open for argument, it appears whenever there are hidden intentions of the US Foreign Policy to digress attention of the Puerto Ricans from some other pressing issue or situation for example as highlighted above, the subject of political status was thrown up in the political scene when there was an increasing violence from the nationalists during the New Deal era. The debate on the political status acquired a new peak in 1962 with the decision made by the commonwealth government to conduct a plebiscite on the political status issue. What ought to be highlighted here is the ambiguity involved with the choices offered to the Puerto Ricans. As stated by Lewis “so long as this basic uncertainty prevails the Puerto Rican voter must feel at times that he is being made the plaything of a ridiculous comedy in bad taste. For, to say the least, it is not fair, to force a country to choose between one form of government (statehood) that is not yet attainable, and another (commonwealth) that is not yet made perfect.”⁴⁶ In another article Lewis concludes “In half a dozen ways the island has become a laboratory in the development of technologically backward areas. Culturally, it has acclaimed itself as a meeting ground between the twin cultures of Latin America and the American democracy. Politically, it has become an experiment in American constitutional development, a testing ground of the American claim to be exempt from the laws of imperialism.”⁴⁷

In short it may be concluded that the island’s dependence on USA over the past many decades and its political status make it a unique case study calling for academic interest and henceforth explaining my choice of the country island for research for my thesis. Since education has emerged as a strong component for determining the so called development of a country and the Catholic Church has been a strong player not just in the

⁴⁵ Lewis K. Gordon, *Puerto Rico Freedom and Power in the Caribbean*, Monthly Review Press, New York & London, 1963, p 437

⁴⁶ Lewis K. Gordon, *Puerto Rico Freedom and Power in the Caribbean*, Monthly Review Press, New York & London, 1963, p 435

⁴⁷ Lewis K., Gordon, *Puerto Rico: A case study of Change in an Underdeveloped Area*, The Journal of Politics, 17, 4, November, 1955, p 614

provision of development aid to the island but also a very important actor (since the colonial period in Puerto Rico) in the provision of education through Catholic schools and higher institutions of learning, the three topics find a perfect meeting point for the research. Also Puerto Rico says a lot about the problems of America's character as a colonial power. The question that arises is why Puerto Rico? Why not the others like Hawaii or The Philippines? Both are part of a similar US colonial pattern the former being a US territory until the 1959 referendum for statehood and the latter being granted independence only in 1946 post a Commonwealth status from 1935-45. However, as outlined by Gordon Lewis "But there is a larger, more global perspective in the case of Puerto Rico. Within the last generation the island has been advertised internationally as a model for underdeveloped countries moving from stagnation to growth. The industrialization programme of the Commonwealth government, its now famous Operation Bootstrap, has received international attention as a prime example of the industrial revolution making its way in the 'hitherto' backward areas of the world."⁴⁸ It was this unique socio-political and economic environment in Puerto Rico beginning at the outset with the end of the Spanish rule that contributed towards US Foreign Policy experimentations. As evident these experiments extended over all spheres of Puerto Rican life be they in the form of the Puerto Rican state issue diplomatically dealt with by the successive US governments so as to keep the island politically subservient, the Americanization of a still infant education system, the New Deal and the Operation Bootstrap experiments or the development aid efforts in the form of the Peace Corps or the Alliance for progress. Even when eventually granted the right to elect their own governor, Puerto Rico was still part of a larger US ambition which was to have the world witness the American goodwill and its democratic values. Earlier used as a field for new possibilities for American markets and entrepreneurs; it later came to be used as the American window to the Caribbean in efforts to curb communism during the Cold War and as a ground for importing the American education system and finally for testing the American trust with development aid provision.

⁴⁸ Lewis K. Gordon, *Puerto Rico Freedom and Power in the Caribbean*, Monthly Review Press, New York & London, 1963, p 9

1.2 Personal Approach

The above analysis helps one deduce why Puerto Rico would be interesting for future research. As a continuation of the reasons that made Puerto Rico a unique case study and hence a choice for the thesis, the following part attempts to outline the justification for the overall choice of topic. Why the Catholic Church as an education provider in Puerto Rico? And why the periodization 1948-60? The answers to the latter questions are also enmeshed in Puerto Rico's religious, political, economic and educational past. My initial interest in Puerto Rico was prompted by a curiosity or eagerness for a greater awareness of Latin America and the Caribbean coupled with an interest in Puerto Rico's political standing vis-à-vis the USA. A greater study of the island's history as highlighted above, led to a final decision to adopt it as a thesis topic. However this was simultaneously accompanied by my introduction to the theme of education under the research seminar offered by my current supervisor Martina Kaller-Dietrich titled *Education and Revolution in 1968 and 40 years later in a Globalized World*. It was during the course of pursuing this seminar that I was introduced to the ideas of de-schooling theorists and education revolution advocates of the 1960s. Ivan Illich, the main progenitor of the concept of de-schooling particularly intrigued me. His criticisms of the school system as a structure which alienated schooling from education and which existed to maintain status-quo in society found association with my own opinions on several occasions. These two different interests I had, found a common convergence in my current thesis topic when a deeper knowledge of Illich's life revealed his great association with Puerto Rico (not only though) as the Vice-Rector of the Catholic University of Ponce in Puerto Rico. This is how I developed the idea of choosing education in Puerto Rico as a research interest.

Puerto Rico is an island nation with a strong identity which is strongly linked to their religion. The catholic faith pervades all aspects of society, and this may be observed in education and formation. As is evident from its history, Catholic schools were important actors in the provision of education in Puerto Rico, holding charge of a majority of private education institutions. Thus in any work related to the education system in Puerto Rico, a researcher cannot overlook the role of the Catholic Church. This

triggered off the idea of focusing specifically on the Catholic Church as an education provider for a research topic rather than on the broader topic of education. Besides, the topic went perfectly in tune with the research seminar's spatial focus and my personal interest.

The periodization chosen to narrow the still relatively large scope of the topic was only developed gradually after greater research and awareness. The year 1948 stands as a landmark in Puerto Rican history witnessing events which explicitly or implicitly had an impact on its education system. As highlighted before, it demarcated the advent of Operation Bootstrap, an attempt towards a paradigm shift in the island from being largely agrarian towards industrialization. It stands out as a year of utmost importance on a global scale too- the year when the Universal Declaration of Human Rights officially came into existence starting an era of a new international moral order and code of conduct post the WWII atrocities, placing Human Rights at the core of its *raison de etre*. Furthermore, it was the year when Harry Truman unpredictably won the US presidential election.

This was also a decade which towards its very end in 1949 witnessed a change in the way development was perceived starting a new era of American hegemony or rather "benevolent hegemony"⁴⁹ that changed the way Puerto Ricans (as also the swelling populations of the so called underdeveloped world) saw themselves and were seen by the world. Education became an important component of measurement of this development thus finding a new emphasis in Puerto Rico.

The time frame chosen also bears direct importance for the Catholic Church's role as an education provider whereby a larger participation of the state in education led to flourishing public schools in the country giving competition to the private institutions run by the Catholic Church. It is a period which highlights a *changing of the guard* in the role of the Catholic Church as an education provider with the new wave of provision of modern education.

⁴⁹ See: Ataka, Hiroaki/ Jose Caballero, *Selling Progress: Benevolent Hegemony and the Remaking of the Latin American Ideological Structure*, 49th Parallel, Conference Special Edition, 2006

The year 1960 is another important landmark for the Puerto Rican education system as it witnessed the advent of the Alliance for Progress which this research shall analyse as an important effect of the factors working together during 1948-60. In a nutshell, this was a period which saw some remarkable transformations in the Puerto Rican education system's history.

1.3 Education system in Puerto Rico, as a Spanish colony until 1898 and transformations post 1898

A study of the Puerto Rican education during the Spanish rule can help one comprehend the important role that the Catholic Church has played in the sphere of education while for the purpose of better understanding the challenges that it faced as an education providing institution, the period post 1898 becomes important.

Whatever rudimentary versions of education existed in a colonized Puerto Rico were the result of the efforts made by the Catholic Church and its missionaries. The primary aim behind the introduction of the provision of education in Puerto Rico by the colonizers was to ensure that the statistics that went to Spain indicated some sort of an increase in the number of education institutions or number of students pursuing education on the island. As rightfully accounted "For most of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries education continued to be fundamentally religious and limited to males...In terms of teaching methods, learning was based on memorization of long literary and religious passages in books and critical thinking was not encouraged. Education was not well organized; there were no centres for training teachers, and their low remuneration was, at best, irregular."⁵⁰ There was always a suspicion that "teaching force was always a potential source of heretical ideas."⁵¹

However with Puerto Rico's freedom from Spain and its subsequent passage to the American suzerainty, a number of significant changes were observed in the education system of the country island. Under this new phase in Puerto Rican history, "the school

⁵⁰ Wagenheim, Kal, *Puerto Rico a profile*, Praeger Publishers, New York, Washington & London, 1970, p 111

⁵¹ Lewis K. Gordon, *Puerto Rico Freedom and Power in the Caribbean*, Monthly Review Press, New York & London, 1963, p 441

system was dramatically altered, and its structure was based on the American educational system.”⁵² There was a whole new emphasis laid on the provision of democratic education and an attempt towards a strict dichotomy between state and the church. “Schools were supposed to be non-sectarian and open to all socioeconomic groups and to both genders. Primary education was mandated by law, and the development and implementation of middle and secondary schools followed shortly thereafter.”⁵³ Thereafter the management of the school system was centralized under the authority of a commissioner who was appointed by the US government authorities, and whose responsibilities included among others the chancellorship of the University of Puerto Rico. Thus the Catholic Church which before the freedom from colonial rule was the sole provider of education on the island, in the 1900s faced the challenge of adapting itself to times when greater emphasis was laid on public schools owing to the consistent generosity of the legislature in appropriations and tax collections for the purpose of education.

1.4 Shortcomings/Pitfalls in the Puerto Rican education system post 1898

Even after a new emphatic importance given to education in Puerto Rico post 1898, there have been a number of issues that have remained problematic with regard to the its education system. There has existed a dichotomy between the public schools and the private schools (run largely by the Catholic Church). However, a problem common to both categories of schools is their alienation from the Puerto Rican reality. As was also stated by Ivan Illich these schools remained American in their spirit and were an alienating experience for the students. Gordon Lewis aptly points out that there were many reasons that made the growth of indigenous educational philosophy difficult in Puerto Rico. The school system failed to “emancipate itself from the leading principles of

⁵² Wagenheim, Kal, *Puerto Rico a profile*, Praeger Publishers, New York, Washington & London, 1970, p 112

⁵³ Wagenheim, Kal, *Puerto Rico a profile*, Praeger Publishers, New York, Washington & London, 1970, p 112

an American system which, however well meaning, were fatally inappropriate to the local scene. Those principles...amounted to the inculcation of ‘Americanism’”⁵⁴

There was no focus on the information a student needed on issues of health, hygiene, the scientific world, music, fine arts etc. making the curriculum “fantastically unreal.”⁵⁵ Besides a linguistic ambivalence in the school system made the situation worse. Most of the private schools which were the onus of the Catholic Church charged tuition fee that made them a privilege unaffordable for many Puerto Ricans. It is against this background information on the school system that this thesis will analyze the changing role of the Catholic Church as an education provider in Puerto Rico from 1948 to 1960, technically the phase demarcating Operation Bootstrap.

1.5 Methods

The thesis is a case study, the spatial frame being Puerto Rico while the time frame chosen being 1948-60. In accordance with the above mentioned scope and aims of the thesis, Ivan Illich, the author of books like the ‘Deschooling Society,’ ‘Celebration of Awareness,’ ‘Tools of Conviviality’ and also the ardent founder of the ‘Centro Intercultural de Documentación’ (CIDOC) becomes the most important reservoir of information. Being the Vice-rector of the Catholic University of Ponce in Puerto Rico and later forced into a resignation from the post owing to a controversy with the Catholic Church, Illich’s writings provide a direct account of the turbulent times and many of his overall criticisms of the education system bear deep significance to the Puerto Rican example. It could easily be traced that a lot of what Illich had to say was based on what he experienced and observed during his stay in Puerto Rico. His scientific works thus form the primary source of this thesis. Among his many books, Celebration of Awareness comprises the main source for the thesis. This book is a compilation of texts written by Illich in the late 1950s and 1960s.

⁵⁴ Lewis K. Gordon, *Puerto Rico Freedom and Power in the Caribbean*, Monthly Review Press, New York & London, 1963, p 442

⁵⁵ Lewis K. Gordon, *Puerto Rico Freedom and Power in the Caribbean*, Monthly Review Press, New York & London, 1963, p 442

However usage of his work is not restricted to the above alone. Illich's Cuernavaca speech delivered to American volunteers in Mexico on April 20, 1968 was particularly helpful in gaining deeper insights into the functioning of aid provision programmes and policies in Latin America. It clearly conveys Illich's personal stand on how he thought that even though the objective of the American volunteer was good, he ended up causing greater damage than help.

Another revealing source was Illich's speech given during Commencement at the University of Puerto Rico in October, 1969 in which his ideas on education, particularly within the Puerto Rican context clearly emerge. It is in this speech that Illich makes the strong statement "Puerto Rico has been schooled. I don't say educated but, rather, schooled. Puerto Ricans can no longer conceive of life without reference to the school. The desire for education has actually given way to the compulsion of schooling. Puerto Rico has adopted a new religion. Its doctrine is that education is a product of the school, a product which can be defined by numbers,"⁵⁶ I was able to successfully find a website dedicated solely to Illich and which carries archives to many of his works and speeches.⁵⁷

In 1961, CIDOC was started in Cuernavaca by Illich and hence the CIDOC archives in the library of the Latin American Institute, Vienna, Austria also deal in depth with the education question in Latin America as well as specifically in Puerto Rico. Considering how education in Latin America was deeply influenced by the Catholic Church, with the church running most of the private schools, the 'Cuadernos' become an undeniable resource for such a research. Thus the CIDOC archives have been an important source for answers to my research questions.

To deepen the background knowledge on the challenges facing the Catholic Church use of the chapters twelve, thirteen and fourteen of Ian Lister's edition, *De-schooling-a reader*, was made where many insights on the role played by the Catholic Church as an educational organs, and in particular, the challenges facing them were gained. These include, but are not limited to, an analysis of the Catholic Church as an educational organ, the shortage of manpower experienced by the Church's educational bodies, as well as difficulties faced in terms of funding.

⁵⁶Illich Ivan, *Commencement at the University of Puerto Rico*, The New York Review of Books, Volume 13, Number 6 · October 9, 1969

⁵⁷ Archives, Ivan Illich, <http://ournature.org/~novembre/illich/> (accessed April 22, 2008)

Considering a major aim of the thesis is to establish the link between development and education and provide a critique of the mainstream view on development aid and its attempts to cater to schools in countries like Puerto Rico, it was essential to first understand the term in its historical context and present connotations before critically analyzing its implementation. For this an undeniably important source is the Development Dictionary edited by Wolfgang Sachs and its introductory chapter on Development by Gustavo Esteva. This chapter lucidly traces the origin of the term and the myth surrounding it. Gustavo Esteva states:

“In exchange for culturally established images, built by concrete men and women in their local spaces, in exchange for concrete myths, truly real, modern man was offered an illusory expectation, implicit in the connotation of development and its semantic network: growth, evolution, maturation, modernization. He was also offered an image of the future that is a mere continuation of the past that is development, a conservative, if not reactionary, myth.”⁵⁸

1.6 Constraints

It is imperative to address the problems faced right at the outset as they shed light on the overall topic and also the results obtained during the research. It was disappointing to find out that there exist no books which deal particularly with the research question posed and so the biggest challenge was to follow the indirect way of approaching the topic whereby I utilized the sources mentioned in many books to find more sources on the topic.

It was also an ordeal to find articles in Journals which explicitly dealt with the topic though many bore an implicit connection and were hence useful. It is this reason that compelled me to follow the back door method to approaching sources whereby I referred to the bibliographies of articles to find newer articles and books that somehow related to the topic. However, what is also worthy of being pointed out and becomes also one of the results of this research is that most of the articles (this refers of the journals I approached from the vast category available, during the phase of my research) have been

⁵⁸ Esteva, Gustavo, *Development In; The Development Dictionary- A Guide to Knowledge as Power*, Ed. Wolfgang Sachs, Witwatersrand University Press, Zed Books, December1991, p23

written or published recently, giving one the impression of a degree of outmodedness of the topic. Nevertheless, looking at the other side of it, it also could be perceived as an indicator for researchers to delve once again into history to reconnect this topic to the larger framework of global history. In fact it was this outlook that all the more prompted me to write a thesis on the topic as it assured me that this is not a topic that has been academically exhausted yet.

Lastly another problem was that some of the articles found were in Spanish and my lack of knowledge of the language became a hindrance in acquisition of all possible articles. The translations available did not qualify them as belonging to great academic quality.

1.7 Review of Literature

Ivan Illich's *Celebration of Awareness* (1971) comprises one of the primary sources of this research. The book is a volume and compilation of numerous essays written by Illich in different languages, on different occasions and were meant to cater to or address different audiences. This is precisely what makes the book extremely enriching in information, from the perspective of Puerto Rico as well as education provided by the Catholic Church not just on the country island but in Latin America at large, as Illich deals with quite diverse issues like migration (the case of Puerto Rican immigrants to New York City), the diminishing role of the Catholic Church, the importance of opening up one's mind and heart when learning a language, the futility of schooling, the education system in Puerto Rico, the impact of technical assistance on countries, development and finally the most befitting concluding essay on the need for "constitutional principles which would guarantee an ongoing cultural revolution in a technological society."⁵⁹

According to Erich Fromm Illich's papers deal with "examples as the usefulness of compulsive schooling, or of the present function of priests."⁶⁰ Highlighting his

⁵⁹ Fromm Erich, Introduction In, Illich, Ivan, *Celebration of Awareness, A call for Institutional Revolution*, London, 1972, p 175

⁶⁰ Fromm Erich, Introduction In, Illich, Ivan, *Celebration of Awareness, A Call for Institutional Revolution*, London, 1972, p 9

humanist radicalism, Fromm explains that Illich completely befits the motto “*de omnibus dubitandum*”; everything must be doubted, particularly the ideological concepts that are virtually shared by everybody and have consequently assumed the role of indubitable commonsensical axioms.”⁶¹ He describes Illich as “a man of rare courage...whose whole thinking is based on his concern for man’s unfolding-physically, spiritually, and intellectually. The importance of his thoughts in this as well as other writings lies in the fact they have a liberating effect on the mind by showing entirely new possibilities; they make the reader more alive because they open the door that leads out of the prison of routinized, sterile, preconceived notions.... They help to stimulate energy and hope for a new beginning.”⁶²

There are manifold reasons why this book was an important resource for my thesis. Different essays which formulate chapters in the book have contributed towards a better understanding of Ivan Illich’s questioning of institutions. Illich states that institutions “create certainties, and taken seriously, certainties deaden the heart and shackle the imagination.”⁶³ There is an attempt in chapters like *Planned Poverty: The End Result of Technical Assistance* to explain how beyond a certain threshold institutions and social mechanisms, such as schools, hospitals and transport systems, become counter-productive. The more a technical system progresses, the less control we have over it, thus reducing our self-sufficiency. We have become more and more dependent on systems we cannot master, such as nuclear power, motorways, chemotherapy, or genetically modified organisms.⁶⁴ This chapter was very informative in framing the part of the thesis which deals with the development aid programmes introduced in Puerto Rico as per the US Foreign Policy in congruence with the Catholic Church. As stated earlier, it was this collaboration that Illich did not support for to him it symbolized the institutionalization of the Church. The chapter also provides a clear picture of his criticisms of how notions of development were largely perceived in USA and what

⁶¹ Fromm, Erich, Introduction In, Illich, Ivan, *Celebration of Awareness, A call for Institutional Revolution*, London, 1972, p7

⁶² Fromm, Erich, Introduction In, Illich, Ivan, *Celebration of Awareness, A call for Institutional Revolution*, London, 1972, p10

⁶³ Fromm, Erich, Introduction In, Illich, Ivan, *Celebration of Awareness, A call for Institutional Revolution*, London, 1972, p11

⁶⁴ Thierry, Paquot, *Ivan Illich: A Tribute, The nonconformist*, Le Monde Diplomatique, January 2003, http://ournature.org/~novembre/illich/2003_the_nonconformist.html (accessed June 13, 2008)

impact these had on the countries which became their receptors of which Puerto Rico is probably the best example owing to its uniqueness as highlighted earlier. The chapter shows Illich's discomfort at the idea that education had come to be packaged and was seen as confined to schools which embarked on ever increasing class room confinement and procurement of good grades and degrees by students rather than being a learning process that led to better awakening and knowledge in students.

The chapter titled *Not foreigners yet foreign* deals particularly with Puerto Rico and the migration trend of the Puerto Ricans enmasse to the New York City throwing light on how there is a stereotype in which the Puerto Ricans are considered similar to the earlier generations of Polish or German immigrants without giving due consideration to how different they are culturally. They thus suffer from the problem of categorization by Americans as per the previous schemes. The chapter was informative for the thesis as it gives a clear picture of one of the many problems faced by the Puerto Ricans, how despite their status as US citizens they remain more foreign to the mainland and its population than any other emigrant groups. More importantly it focused my attention towards how Puerto Ricans have perceived America as the place offering "refuge for the oppressed and land of promise for the ambitious."⁶⁵ This part of the book enabled me to better understand and connect with Lewis K. Gordon's dealing with the nature of the Puerto Rican problem. "Even so, for the Puerto Ricans as for other migrant groups before them, the exodus to the United States has brought them face to face with the massive gulf that separates the American dream from the American reality."⁶⁶

There has been a popular belief post 1945 that the Puerto Ricans have accounted for the acute housing shortage in New York City and it is argued that they cannot become fully americanized owing to their different language, culture and background. The chapter brings out these differences between these Puerto Rican immigrants and Americans and the previous generation of immigrants in the city. It gives an insight into the way Catholicism is a way of life for most Puerto Ricans. It is through this chapter that Illich calls upon Americans to inculcate a sense of respect for Puerto Ricans and their

⁶⁵ Lewis K. Gordon, *Puerto Rico Freedom and Power in the Caribbean*, Monthly Review Press, New York & London, 1963, p2

⁶⁶ Lewis K. Gordon, *Puerto Rico Freedom and Power in the Caribbean*, Monthly Review Press, New York & London, 1963, p2

background. It brings out clearly that the Puerto Ricans are indeed different from the other emigrants and the Americans because unlike others they are the beginners of a “unique cultural, political, economic contribution for which they seem destined-Spanish-Christian tradition, a Catholicism in which is taken for granted an eminently Christian attitude toward the mixing of races, a freshness and simplicity of outlook proper to the tropics...”⁶⁷

The chapters titled *The Futility of Schooling* and *School: The Sacred Cow* were the most important ones for insights into education in Puerto Rico. The former chapter reflects Illich’s harsh criticisms on the education system, with its ever increasing emphasis on grades, degrees and attendance, which he saw as an institution that made the so called underachievers blame themselves for their marginality. The problem lies in the fact that one is so used to schools that he finds it extremely difficult to challenge it. Education is considered as being synonymous with schooling and “once this tag has been accepted, unschooled education gives the impression of something spurious, illegitimate, and certainly unaccredited.”⁶⁸ Indeed these criticisms were very informative for the research because they were very applicable to the educational system in Puerto Rico during 1948-60 and more so after 1960 when a new thrust was laid on education under development programmes. As a country that was facing heavy population growth, the fact that education free of costs up to a certain age could be provided to all, was an impractical goal. This could not have been achieved at the time even with reallocation of government funds or an increasing foreign aid. The Puerto Rican population was young and there was a certain maximum level beyond which the world’s resources could not be invested in schooling. Also the foreign aid provided to Puerto Rico could not have increased so much as to account for the schools to be available to the vast majority of people.⁶⁹

The Chapter *School: The Sacred Cow* draws heavily from the Puerto Rican example. It was in fact a graduation speech given by Illich at the University of Puerto

⁶⁷ Illich, Ivan, *The Futility of Schooling and School In; Celebration of Awareness, A Call for Institutional Revolution*, London, 1972, p 40

⁶⁸ Illich, Ivan, *The Futility of Schooling and School In; Celebration of Awareness, A Call for Institutional Revolution*, London, 1972, p 112

⁶⁹ Illich, Ivan, *School: The Sacred Cow In; Celebration of Awareness, A Call for Institutional Revolution*, London, 1972, pp 113-114

Rico giving a detailed criticism of the school system of Puerto Rico. In the speech Illich breaks the myth that schooling was essential for one to become an important, useful and contributing member of the Puerto Rican society. In fact his harsh criticisms could be completely applied to the educational situation on the country island in the time span 1948-60. Post the New Deal in Puerto Rico there was a new wave in the island to introduce education that was based on the apparent democratic values found in the American education system. A new challenge faced the Catholic Church as it witnessed a huge emphasis on public schools which now stood along with private schools run by the Catholic Church. In fact this was a phase, as the time after it, when American education system was considered as the best fit model to be emulated in Puerto Rico. This gradual but consistent teleporting of American ideas in the field of education took such deep roots in Puerto Rican society that now education cannot be understood in any other terms but with the school as the core point of reference. All this in an island which always had huge illiteracy rates and only had rudimentary versions of schooling under the Spanish rule. Instead of being a bridge for the existing gaps, the emphasis on schooling has actually extrapolated the class conflict in the country and more importantly it has “increased the sense of inferiority which Puerto Ricans suffer in relation to the United States.”⁷⁰ The very initial question that emerges in one’s mind on reading his works only superficially is why and how can anybody be against the idea of greater aid or investment into education? The book was beneficial as it helped me acquire a better understanding of Illich’s criticisms and the logic behind his statements when he opposed such an idea for his ideas make one question- What is provided in schools- is it education? And even if it is how feasible is it to provide for free education for all up to a minimum age in a country that suffers from population explosion like in Puerto Rico? Why was it necessary at all to equate education with the acquisition of good grades or higher degrees? Even if the schools in Puerto Rico would succeed in catering to children up to a minimum age, wouldn’t the pressing economic needs compel most of them to drop out, as is the case in present times? And finally weren’t drop outs being eventually infested with the idea that their contributions to society were not extremely productive or that the inability to

⁷⁰Illich, Ivan, *School: The Sacred Cow In; Celebration of Awareness, A Call for Institutional Revolution*, London, 1972, p 125

continue with schooling was on account of personal failure? This compilation provides this thesis the much required linkage between education and development through the Puerto Rican example which is often quoted drawing from his personal experiences at the island.

Another important source for the thesis is Gordon K. Lewis's book titled *Puerto Rico: Freedom and Power in the Caribbean*. This book recapitulates the island's history right from the Spanish rule up to the early 1960s capturing a cultural, social, economic and political analysis of the country. In many ways the book opens a new window for the reader to rediscover the island and its people. The segment dealing with the description of Operation Bootstrap, The New Deal, the island's relations with the other Caribbean nations as well as United States of America, help to picture the society in a more global context. The most praiseworthy chapter is the first one which acutely points out towards the *Puerto Rican problem* as Lewis puts it. This chapter deals exclusively with issues like the problems faced by Puerto Rican immigrants to the United States, the country's political status vis-à-vis the US, the linguistic ambivalence it faces as a corollary of its political status, the experiments of the US Foreign Policy not just politically but also economically, the insular politics and the involvement of the Catholic Church in the politics of the island as also the private domain of its people's lives.

The book is a very extensive examination of the Puerto Rican life and thought, highlighting its culture and history with all due credits to the diversities present. It places the case study in a larger framework of not just the Pan-Caribbean world but also Pan-America. The author often draws examples of other country islands like Haiti, the Philippines, the Virgin Islands, Dominican Republic, and The British West Indies etc. to highlight the uniqueness of Puerto Rico and it was these comparisons (of political status particularly) which shed light for the research on how Puerto Rico stands out as a unique case study open for further academic research. The book was important for the research as it enabled me to get an overall picture of the island more so because it was published in 1963 and what Lewis calls the Present referred to the time span covered by the thesis. Hence in short, it is a monograph dealing with the temporal phase of the research, a product of the pre 1960 settings in Puerto Rico giving a first hand introduction to the country island in great historical context.

Owing to the ideological presuppositions taken by Lewis in the book, one could conclude that it is a critical essay that depicts a continuation of neo-colonialism in the country and hence also reflects upon the role of the United States as a continuing neo-colonial power post 1898. The transformation of Puerto Rico as a colony of Spain to a semi-colony of USA is historically very well captured and hence gave me a chance to understand the country's political status better. In fact this is a book that strikes chords with specialists and beginners alike as a study of the island. Most importantly for this research the book contributed to a better understanding of how Puerto Rico has emerged as a prototype of the new clashes and problems developing from a confrontation of the stereotypes of developed and underdeveloped societies in a modern world. The section of the thesis which explains my personal approach on *Why Puerto Rico?* drew heavily from this book as in more ways than one it helped me understand how the island post 1898 had been an experimental laboratory for US Foreign Policy.

The book helped in gaining insights into the Puerto Rican education especially post 1898 and during 1948-60. The chapter titled *The Growth of Education* deals with numerous Puerto Rican educational issues the most emphatic one being the problems related with the Americanization of education which does not befit the local Puerto Rican reality. The chapter draws distinctions between the school system catering the urban and suburban areas and the one catering to the large rural areas. Also there are clear descriptions (1948-60) to be found on the different levels of the education system including a vivid analysis of the Universities with their Association of Teachers. The association according to Lewis maintains its strict adherence to the ideals of democracy and yet is the most prominently visible association with "middle class aspirations and attitudes."⁷¹

The chapter also clearly shows the linguistic ambivalence faced in the education system of the island which was very informative for this thesis as it highlights how Puerto Rico's linguistic ambivalence is enmeshed in its political ambivalence, how the American education system as well as foreign policy have greatly strived for emulation of the American education system on the island and how compared to other island

⁷¹ Lewis K. Gordon, *Puerto Rico Freedom and Power in the Caribbean*, Monthly Review Press, New York & London, 1963, p 447

universities like Jamaica and Barbados, the Puerto Rican Universities during that time period were not particularly outstanding.

Apart from the primary sources, I have keenly been engrossed in looking for secondary literature that would shed better light on the topic. Though many journals that I read articles from did not explicitly deal with the topic, I was relieved to find that there were many which bear implicit connections to the topic. Among these included the following journals *The Journal of Latin American Studies*, *The Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*, *The Latin American Research Review* etc.

The first article titled “Academic Freedom and Tenure The Catholic University of Puerto Rico,” is a report published in 1987 which gives an insight into the historical ‘catholic’ roots of the University and also the University’s take on academic freedom and professional conduct. What makes the article interesting from the point of view of the thesis is that it points towards an old yet prominent problem which arises when religion is mixed with academia and often comes at loggerheads with the individual’s freedom of privacy and thought. The article clearly shows (in the words of Reverend Tosello Giangiacomo, lay president of CUPR) that the “Catholic University of Puerto Rico is a university of the Holy Roman Catholic Church... subject to the tenets of the Holy Roman Catholic Church, the Canon Law and principles of the Church that guide it.”⁷² It states that the “Catholic University of Puerto Rico cannot depart from the Church's principles, including the adherence of its faculty to Church standards that are binding upon the Roman Catholic members of the faculty, even in their private life.”⁷³ The article presents the case study of an assistant professor at the University, who was dismissed despite having a full-time position at the University, after she remarried post a civil divorce with her ex-husband. According to the University standards as stated by Tosello Giangiacomo: “If a Roman Catholic who has entered into the sacrament of marriage in the Church obtains a divorce in a civil court, such Roman Catholic is, in the eyes of the Church, separated from the other spouse *a mensa et thoro*, and is still eligible to receive the Sacrament of Holy Communion, but continues to be married to the other spouse. Since

⁷² Sanchez M. Jose, Walter H.L. Paul, *Academic Freedom and Tenure The Catholic University of Puerto Rico*, ACADEME, May-June 1987, p 35

⁷³ Sanchez M. Jose, Walter H.L. Paul, *Academic Freedom and Tenure The Catholic University of Puerto Rico*, ACADEME, May-June 1987, p 35

the sacrament of marriage is for life, unless it has been declared null and void by an ecclesiastical court, any subsequent civil marriage ceremony is, according to the Holy Roman Catholic Church, null and void and marital life under that subsequent civil marriage is sinful. We are aware of the fact that civil law considers this second marriage as valid, however under Church Law, which governs our University, it is considered an adulterous union.”⁷⁴

Though the article deals with an event that occurred in the 1970s and henceforth does not strictly fall within the chosen time span of my topic, it points towards the very old issue of clash between freedom and religion via the example of the Catholic University’s standards on personal moral code of its faculty members versus the 1940 Statement of Principles on Academic Freedom and Tenure. This Statement embraced by the University as early as 1940 implied that the University’s having assumed ecclesiastical authority came into direct conflict with the idea that “freedom of inquiry, freedom of thought, freedom of expression, and *freedom of the individual* are sustained,”⁷⁵ Hence the report served as a mode of gaining an insight into a clash very commonly prevalent, and now talked about, in most Catholic educational institutions.

Another informative article was from the Cuadernos in the CIDOC archive at the Latin American Institute library in Vienna titled *The Catholic School*, which deals exclusively with Ivan Illich’s criticisms of the Catholic School. This article elucidates on how when Illich first began to question the role of the Catholic schools, his actions were considered to be sacrilegious in nature. However Illich’s problems with this schooling are rational and based on evidence in the case of Puerto Rico. The article shows how Illich never contested the fact that Catholic schools, ranking among the top few in academic ratings, did make efforts to involve the poor. His contestation was that despite these efforts most of these schools were located in affluent areas and that despite the waivers in tuition fees granted to the poor students, there was always a fees that needed to be paid and this was still high enough so that the education imparted in these schools was always restricted to the upper and middle classes. According to Illich also the academic standards

⁷⁴ Sanchez M. Jose, Walter H.L. Paul, *Academic Freedom and Tenure The Catholic University of Puerto Rico*, p 35,

⁷⁵ Sanchez M. Jose, Walter H.L. Paul, *Academic Freedom and Tenure The Catholic University of Puerto Rico*, ACADEME, May-June 1987p 35

in these schools were preset to be so high that often they tended to cream off the students who are academically and culturally better prepared. Hence it is revealing to find that in Puerto Rico, the Catholic schools came to be a symbol of a “school system in service of the affluent”⁷⁶ so much so that the Church was losing its purpose of reaching out through its resources to the poor in the Puerto Rican society who needed them the most. The article reveals some inherent flaws in education provided in such schools in Puerto Rico- for example the fact that most sisters who came to Puerto Rico on behalf of American Churches to teach knew little or no Spanish. A reader gains a new insight on reading this article as it deals with a larger problem of how the Catholic schools in Puerto Rico were “American in spirit” and more like “American institutions translated to Puerto Rican soil.”⁷⁷ It highlights a different dimension of the criticisms levied against the Catholic Church as an education provider in the Puerto Rican context- “the danger of a form of American ecclesiastical colonialism replacing the Spanish one”⁷⁸ in Puerto Rico. This ideas are further reflected upon in greater details in the thesis.

Another article also comes from Cuadernos at the CIDOC archive and was one of the first few ones I read to get a picture of the Catholic Church as an education provider in Puerto Rico and in Latin America at large. This article is a CIF Report titled *Catholic Education in Latin America* (November 1962). It gives answers to certain general yet important questions related to my thesis. The information is based on the findings of a study sponsored by the Carnegie Corporation, at the Notre Dame University in USA, directed by Marquette University’s Dr. Wm. H. Conley. It is clearly categorized into sections as follows:

What is Catholic education? Whom is it serving?

What are its goals now and in the foreseeable future?

How well prepared is it to reach these goals? Hence the report was helpful because gives a good insight into the general situation in Catholic schools during the 1960s, it traces the progress made from 1955 onwards, the past of the Catholic schools, their students and

⁷⁶ CIDOC, *The Catholic School*, Cuernavaca 1970 (CIF Reports v. 6 January – June 1967) Cuaderno 41p 4/5

⁷⁷ CIDOC, *The Catholic School*, Cuernavaca 1970 (CIF Reports v. 6 January – June 1967) Cuaderno 41p 4/5

⁷⁸ CIDOC, *The Catholic School*, Cuernavaca 1970 (CIF Reports v. 6 January – June 1967) Cuaderno 41p 4/5

their image, their objectives and finally proposals on the preparation for future prospects and services.

Even though both the CIDOC articles date back, they were very informative and helpful. One needs to remember that these articles were written and published in coordination with what was happening in Puerto Rico and Latin America at that time and hence they give a first hand opinion belonging to the time phase that the thesis focuses on.

Another article which was also beneficial was a pastoral letter on the Education in Catholic Schools of Puerto Rico which clearly defines the objectives of such education distinguishing them into three categories: vocation (educating in the light of evangelic values), academic preparation and religious formation. The letter gives distinct instructions to the parents of a child, the Director who represents the Bishop, the teachers, the pupils and the ex-students in these catholic schools on how to contribute towards creating the “School Community” which the Catholic Church aspires to prepare in all its educational institutions. It states that the educational philosophy of the Catholic Church sets off from the Christian concept of man, with his spiritual and body faculties, placed in the order of the grace. The man is a person who has his own individuality worthy of every respect, since it is an image of God himself, who is his Creator and Redeemer. Hence the letter reveals how the objective of catholic schools has been the inculcation of so called “real moral values.” The letter even though available only in a disjointed translation from Spanish to English highlights the philosophy which guides catholic schools. This was beneficial as it gave me a better understanding of how the Church itself should propagate these objectives.

The next article was also read long ago and was one of the readings which initialized my interest as a researcher in the topic. The article titled *The Church in Politics: The 1960 Election in Puerto Rico (Dec., 1965)* gives a very lucid yet synthesized description of the controversy surrounding the 1960 election in Puerto Rico- a good example of the Catholic Church’s involvement in the politics of the island due to an educational issue. It shows how the Catholic Church in Puerto Rico, prior to the 1960s for many years believed that its “religious tenets were being flouted by an abusive and

arbitrary government”⁷⁹ charging the Governor Luis Muñoz Marin for “undermining insular morality through a materialistic programme devoid of spiritual values.”⁸⁰ This upsurge of a political and religious conflict led eventually to the founding of the Christian Action Party (Partido Accion Cristiana) in 1960. The involvement of the Catholic Church in politics raised numerous questions, compelling Puerto Ricans to re-evaluate their convictions.

The immediate reason that sparked off the formulation of the party was the introduction of the Bill 84 in Lower House which asked for public students to be granted one hour per week for religious instruction which was opposed by the Governor bringing upon him the wrath of the Church. Hence the article shows how religion, politics and education despite being different spheres have often interfaced in Puerto Rico. It would be interesting to observe and find out how this interfacing affected the education which was imparted education institutions established by the Catholic Church within the temporal span of 1948-60.

⁷⁹ Fischman, Jerome, *The Church in Politics: The 1960 Election in Puerto Rico* in: *The Western Political Quarterly*, Vol. 18, No. 4. (Dec., 1965), p. 821-839

⁸⁰ Fischman, Jerome, *The Church in Politics: The 1960 Election in Puerto Rico* in: *The Western Political Quarterly*, Vol. 18, No. 4. (Dec., 1965), p. 821-839

2.0 Challenges faced and the Problem of Class Segregation in Puerto Rican schools- The public-private Divide

As highlighted previously in the research, post the cession of the island by the United States a whole new thrust was laid on the field of education and vigorous attempts were made to improvise the Puerto Rican school system. However, post the World War II, even more favourable conditions than had existed before, accounted for an ever greater emphasis towards schooling on the island. Under the heavy American influence exerted on all spheres of Puerto Rican society, the insular education system also attempted transplanting the idea of commitment to popular education, as was prevalent on the Mainland.⁸¹ Post the World War II the Puerto Rican education system was “shaped by a rapid economic growth.”⁸² It was in the same decade that the island was granted its Commonwealth status and the newly elected governor Muñoz Marin launched the Operation Bootstrap for the industrialization of the island. During the forties and the fifties Puerto Rican population remained manageable owing to the great migration trends to the US, on account of Puerto Ricans becoming US citizens.⁸³ The island government had to spend no fraction of its financial income on defense as it was a part of the US Defense system. Also the Puerto Ricans had no representatives in the Congress, and hence they were exempted from paying any taxes.⁸⁴ All the above factors led to economic benefits that helped the local government to invest more profusely in the island’s education system. It is this greater economic input and the vigour to emulate the American idea of education for all that also accounted for greater literacy rates on the island by 1960.⁸⁵ However, this rapid increase in the literacy rates on the island came with its own set of problems and future challenges. Rapid expansion of schools with the

⁸¹ Lawrence, Cremin A., *The Genius of American Education*, New York: Vintage Books, 1965, see chapter 1

⁸² Sussmann, Leila, *Democratization and Class Segregation in Puerto Rican Schooling: The US Model Transplanted*, *Sociology of Education*, 41, 4, 1968, p 322

⁸³ Friedlander, Stanley L., *Labour Migration and Economic Growth: A Case Study of Puerto Rico*, MIT Press, 1965, p 49; Also see: Senior, Clarence, *Migration and Economic Development in Puerto Rico*, *Journal of Educational Sociology*, 28, 4, December, 1954, pp. 151-156

⁸⁴ Sussmann, Leila, *Democratization and Class Segregation in Puerto Rican Schooling: The US Model Transplanted*, *Sociology of Education*, 41, 4, 1968, p 322

⁸⁵ Sussmann, Leila, *Democratization and Class Segregation in Puerto Rican Schooling: The US Model Transplanted*, *Sociology of Education*, 41, 4, 1968, p 322

limited resources that the island possessed towards such goals led to a decline in the quality of education imparted in the Puerto Rican schools as is claimed by certain critiques.⁸⁶ Secondly the concept of providing education for all on an equal footing, though cosmetically a noble idea, inevitably resulted in the internal segregation of the school system whereby a divide was created between the state supported public schools and the Catholic Church run private schools which gradually even spread to the University of Puerto Rico as will be explained in the chapter.

Puerto Rico emulated the US education system which had consistently strived for numbers in the schools in the past but left behind the question of the quality of education that would be imparted in these schools. Likewise in Puerto Rico, there was an ever increasing emphasis on the number of school years attended rather than the quality of education imbibed by the island's students in the schools. As put by Sussmann "The huge effort of the 1950s attained its goal. Nearly every Puerto Rican child had his 'chance at school.' The high schools were transformed from elite to popular institutions and the same was true of the University. The price was a decline in the quality throughout the system."⁸⁷ Another important challenge was the lack of adequate motivation and morale among the teachers. According to a government planning Report during 1955-58 "Teachers had been leaving their jobs twice as fast as they were being trained."⁸⁸ Another problem that challenged schooling at the elementary level itself was the problem of the alienation of the Puerto Rican child from the school experience. In fact this was also pointed out by Ivan Illich who criticized, especially the Catholic schools saying that they were so American in spirit that the Puerto Rican child found it difficult to associate with what he was taught in a school. An example of this was indicated by a study of the basic readers which were used at the elementary level in 1948. These readers were not, as stated by Ismael Rodriguez Bou, "not in keeping with our physical environment and with the idiosyncrasies, needs, and interests of the Puerto Rican child. The illustrations as a rule misrepresented our people, our ways and customs, our flora and fauna, our colors

⁸⁶ Sussmann, Leila, *Democratization and Class Segregation in Puerto Rican Schooling: The US Model Transplanted*, *Sociology of Education*, 41, 4, 1968, p 321

⁸⁷ Sussmann, Leila, *Democratization and Class Segregation in Puerto Rican Schooling: The US Model Transplanted*, *Sociology of Education*, 41, 4, 1968, p 331

⁸⁸ Beresford, Hayward, *The Future of Education In Puerto Rico, Its Planning*, Department of Education, October 6, 1961

and light intensity. Most of the books were originally written for children of other countries and were translated into Spanish for use in our schools.”⁸⁹

However, what ought to be remembered and as rightly worded by Sussmann, “Equal access is not the whole of equal educational opportunity.”⁹⁰ Sussmann reasons that in usual cases this statement can be true only if ironically enough, education availability is made exclusive.⁹¹ In Puerto Rico, the thrust given to providing education to all children for as long as possible led to internal differentiation within the school system. This differentiation occurred in the form of the increase of the divide between the public and the private schools.

Though this is a trend also observed in the United States as well, however due to its heterogeneity and size, it is less visible with different educational institutions having different patterned specializations thereby not making it an obviously visible reality. However in Puerto Rico “The expansion and democratization of high school education and the withdrawal of the middle classes to the private high schools were pretty much compressed into a space of 15 years.”⁹² As a consequence the private high schools primarily Catholic came to be extremely prestigious in Puerto Rico admitting mainly students belonging to rich and educated families whereas the majority of public schools came to accommodate the vast majority. Hence like the Mainland, it is also a reality for Puerto Rico that “Educational inequalities linked to social class differences are not wiped out by growth of mass higher education, but find their expression in the internal differentiation of the system.”⁹³ Thus by 1960 “The private and public high schools catered to different clienteles.”⁹⁴ Due to the higher standards of schooling that the students from the Catholic schools were trained in, they performed better also at the

⁸⁹ Rodriguez Bou, Ismael, *Puerto Rico, Educational Psychology*, Review of Educational Research, 27, 1, 1957, pp 113-114

⁹⁰ Sussmann, Leila, *Democratization and Class Segregation in Puerto Rican Schooling: The US Model Transplanted*, Sociology of Education, 41, 4, 1968, p 335

⁹¹ Sussmann, Leila, *Democratization and Class Segregation in Puerto Rican Schooling: The US Model Transplanted*, Sociology of Education, 41, 4, 1968, p 335

⁹² Sussmann, Leila, *Democratization and Class Segregation in Puerto Rican Schooling: The US Model Transplanted*, Sociology of Education, 41, 4, 1968, p 335

⁹³ Trow, Martin, *The Democratization of Higher Education in America*, European Journal of Sociology, 3, 2, 1962, p 249

⁹⁴ Sussmann, Leila, *Democratization and Class Segregation in Puerto Rican Schooling: The US Model Transplanted*, Sociology of Education, 41, 4, 1968, p 336

entrance examinations at the University level as opposed to the students from the public schools.

Thus the rapid democratization to school access thus resulted in counterproductive effects by creating different social classes within the school system which did not exhibit parity. And whether a solution to this was available remains questionable still as it was obvious that by the time the education would reach a level whereby it was available to all the masses, certain classes would already be able to boast of generations of educated or schooled individuals while those entering the school system would only be the first generation school goers. This difference would never completely diminish with the more privileged maintaining the elite position. Finally the end result would be a new educational inequality as explained by Sussmann in her study.⁹⁵ Hence as evident, during 1948-60, the focus of the research, the Catholic schools proved to maintain their standards in Puerto Rico despite a whole new emphasis placed on public, state run schooling. However they did contribute towards a creation of segregation among different social classes which was a division based on class and not race.

2.1 Role of the Catholic Church as an education provider, Redefined

The aim of this chapter is to exclusively highlight what was meant by Catholic education and what were the objectives or guiding principles behind such education in light of the Church's attempts to redefine its educational programme for Puerto Rico. These questions are analyzed for the Puerto Rican Catholic schools, colleges and universities in light of a Pastoral Letter on education⁹⁶ imparted in these institutions of learning on the country island. The letter clearly defines the objectives of Catholic education distinguishing them into three categories: vocation (educating in the light of evangelic values), academic preparation and religious formation and the role that was required to be played by the teachers, students and ex-students for the establishment of the "School Community" which was seen as the final aim of these institutions of education in Puerto Rico. The Letter draws heavily from the Vatican Council II (Pope Paul VI's Declaration

⁹⁵ Sussmann, Leila, *Democratization and Class Segregation in Puerto Rican Schooling: The US Model Transplanted*, *Sociology of Education*, 41, 4, 1968, p 336

⁹⁶ Mentioned previously in Chapter 1, under Review of Literature

on Christian education) and hence due to common links the two were used simultaneously to get a clear picture of Catholic education in Puerto Rico during and after 1948-60.

Giving prime importance to the education imparted in Catholic schools and defining the important role played by schools, the Second Vatican states “Among all educational instruments the school has a special importance. It is designed not only to develop with special care the intellectual faculties but also to form the ability to judge rightly, to hand on the cultural legacy of previous generations, to foster a sense of values, to prepare for professional life. Between pupils of different talents and backgrounds it promotes friendly relations and fosters a spirit of mutual understanding;”⁹⁷ The school was thus viewed as a centre “whose work and progress must be shared together by families, teachers, associations of various types that foster cultural, civic, and religious life, as well as by civil society and the entire human community.”⁹⁸

2.2 Catholic Education

The second Ecumenical Council of the Vatican or Vatican II which officially started under Pope John XXIII in 1962 and closed under Pope Paul VI in 1965 had education as one of the important issues of discussion as indicated under Pope Paul VI’s Declaration on Christian Education or *Gravissimum Educationis*, proclaimed on October 28th, 1965.

The Catholic idea of education as a right is most clearly worded in the Declaration of Christian Education of the Vatican Council II which states “All men of every race, condition and age, since they enjoy the dignity of a human being, have an inalienable right to an education that is in keeping with their ultimate goal, their ability, their sex, and the culture and tradition of their country, and also in harmony with their fraternal association with other peoples in the fostering of true unity and peace on

⁹⁷ Declaration on Christian Education, *Gravissimum Educationis*, Pope Paul VI, October 28, 1965

⁹⁸ Declaration on Christian Education, *Gravissimum Educationis*, Pope Paul VI, October 28, 1965

earth. For a true education aims at the formation of the human person in the pursuit of his ultimate end and of the good of the societies of which, as man, he is a member, and in whose obligations, as an adult, he will share.

Therefore children and young people, it was acknowledged, must be helped, with the aid of the latest advances in psychology and the arts and science of teaching, to develop harmoniously their physical, moral and intellectual endowments so that they may gradually acquire a mature sense of responsibility in striving endlessly to form their own lives properly and in pursuing true freedom as they surmount the vicissitudes of life with courage and constancy.”⁹⁹

2.3 The Catholic School- What was its purpose?

The Catholic School, as indicated in this Pastoral Letter, was one of the primary modes of achieving the objective of propagating the faith for the Catholic Church. The catholic schools of Puerto Rico were seen as “the authentic expression of the basic evangelic values of prayer, the cross, poverty, justice, donation, love, fraternity and peace.”¹⁰⁰

According to the Christian concept of man, man is seen as an image of God and as a person with his own individuality, worthy of all respect. ¹⁰¹This Christian concept of man is found worded in the Vatican Council II and serves as a starting point for better understanding the beginning principles/philosophy of education in catholic schools of Puerto Rico which include respect for the freedom and dignity of man and inculcation of real moral values in the students. However, the key note behind these catholic schools and the education they imparted was to ensure a growth of the faith in the pupils.¹⁰²

⁹⁹ Declaration on Christian Education, *Gravissimum Educationis*, Pope Paul VI, October 28, 1965

¹⁰⁰ Carta pastoral sobre la educacion en las escuelas catolicas de Puerto Rico
http://www.pionet.org/Doc_CEP/Documentos/carta_pastoral_sobre_la_educacion.htm (accessed December 14, 2007)

¹⁰¹ Carta pastoral sobre la educacion en las escuelas catolicas de Puerto Rico
http://www.pionet.org/Doc_CEP/Documentos/carta_pastoral_sobre_la_educacion.htm (accessed December 14, 2007)

¹⁰² Carta pastoral sobre la educacion en las escuelas catolicas de Puerto Rico
http://www.pionet.org/Doc_CEP/Documentos/carta_pastoral_sobre_la_educacion.htm (accessed December 14, 2007)

The Vatican also declared that “No less than other schools does the Catholic school pursue cultural goals and the human formation of youth. But its proper function is to create for the school community a special atmosphere animated by the Gospel spirit of freedom and charity, to help youth grow according to the new creatures they were made through baptism as they develop their own personalities, and finally to order the whole of human culture to the news of salvation so that the knowledge the students gradually acquire of the world, life and man is illumined by faith.”¹⁰³ Hence as clearly evident, Puerto Rico being a Catholic country, the purpose of most Catholic schools on the island was to ensure that the faith was propagated despite all the changes taking place in the contemporary world. “So indeed the Catholic school, while it is open, as it must be, to the situation of the contemporary world, leads its students to promote efficaciously the good of the earthly city and also prepares them for service in the spread of the Kingdom of God, so that by leading an exemplary apostolic life they become, as it were, a saving leaven in the human community.”¹⁰⁴

The Pastoral states that these schools were an important channel or link between the Church and mankind which were established for the benefit of both. This role taken by the Catholic Church in Puerto Rico is thus in conformity with the declaration of the Vatican II stating, “Consequently this sacred synod proclaims anew what has already been taught in several documents of the magisterium, namely: the right of the Church freely to establish and to conduct schools of every type and level. And the council calls to mind that the exercise of a right of this kind contributes in the highest degree to the protection of freedom of conscience, the rights of parents, as well as to the betterment of culture itself.”¹⁰⁵

2.4 Role of the teachers in education provision at Catholic Schools

The Catholic schools depended upon the teachers as the primary role players in imparting education that was in tune with contemporary needs of the society

¹⁰³ Declaration on Christian Education, *Gravissimum Educationis*, Pope Paul VI, October 28, 1965

¹⁰⁴ Declaration on Christian Education, *Gravissimum Educationis*, Pope Paul VI, October 28, 1965

¹⁰⁵ Declaration on Christian Education, *Gravissimum Educationis*, Pope Paul VI, October 28, 1965

and also with the primary aim of the Catholic Church of propagating the faith among the youth. As clearly evident “But let teachers recognize that the Catholic school depends upon them almost entirely for the accomplishment of its goals and programs. They should therefore be very carefully prepared so that both in secular and religious knowledge they are equipped with suitable qualifications and also with a pedagogical skill that is in keeping with the findings of the contemporary world.”¹⁰⁶ With this declaration on Christian education one clearly notes a shift in the underlying principles and objectives of the Catholic schools for now (1960s) the focus was not primarily on ensuring that the school served as an important channel for the inculcation of religious knowledge but also to see that these schools lived up to the contemporary social needs and were therefore geared with a curriculum that catered to administering knowledge that was increasingly professional. This indicates the shift that came about in the guiding principles of the Catholic schools for them to survive in a changing Puerto Rican society. Defining the role of the teachers in imparting such education in Catholic schools the declaration of Catholic education stated “Intimately linked in charity to one another and to their students and endowed with an apostolic spirit, may teachers by their life as much as by their instruction bear witness to Christ, the unique Teacher. Let them work as partners with parents and together with them in every phase of education give due consideration to the difference of sex and the proper ends ...Let them do all they can to stimulate their students to act for themselves and even after graduation to continue to assist them with advice, friendship and by establishing special associations imbued with the true spirit of the Church. The work of these teachers, this sacred synod declares, is in the real sense of the word an apostolate most suited to and necessary for our times and at once a true service offered to society.”¹⁰⁷ The Council also reminds Catholic parents of the duty of entrusting their children to Catholic schools wherever and whenever it is possible and of supporting these schools to the best of their ability and of cooperating with them for the education of their children.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ Declaration on Christian Education, *Gravissimum Educationis*, Pope Paul VI, October 28, 1965

¹⁰⁷ Declaration on Christian Education, *Gravissimum Educationis*, Pope Paul VI, October 28, 1965

¹⁰⁸ Declaration on Christian Education, *Gravissimum Educationis*, Pope Paul VI, October 28, 1965

2.5 Transformations in Catholic Schools as a response to challenges faced

It was expected that all Catholic schools in Puerto Rico would follow the concept of catholic education as outlined in the above stated pastoral letter as also the Christian education Declaration outlined in the Vatican Council II though these schools could take different forms depending upon the local circumstances and needs. The challenges that the Catholic schools faced with an ever increasing rise and emphasis on public schooling led to certain adaptations within this school system. It was observed that these schools tried to adapt to the changes witnessed by Puerto Rico post the Operation Bootstrap when greater emphasis began to be laid upon professionalization. Hence now the focus of these schools was dual in nature- on the inculcation and propagation of the faith and ensuring the development of genuine Catholicism among the youth in Puerto Rico and secondly on academic excellence.¹⁰⁹

As outlined in the Vatican Council's declaration "Attention should be paid to the needs of today in establishing and directing Catholic schools. Therefore, though primary and secondary schools, the foundation of education, must still be fostered, great importance is to be attached to those which are required in a particular way by contemporary conditions, such as: professional and technical schools, centers for educating adults and promoting social welfare, or for the retarded in need of special care, and also schools for preparing teachers for religious instruction and other types of education."¹¹⁰ However, it was not just the teachers who were expected to play an important part in the provision of such education- the parents of the students and the students themselves were also regarded important actors. The idea was to ensure that education as an inalienable right was provided for even to the poor in keeping with the Catholic Church's missionary activities. "This Sacred Council of the Church earnestly entreats pastors and all the faithful to spare no sacrifice in helping Catholic schools fulfill

¹⁰⁹Carta pastoral sobre la educacion en las escuelas catolicas de Puerto Rico http://www.pionet.org/Doc_CEP/Documentos/carta_pastoral_sobre_la_educacion.htm (accessed December 14, 2007)

¹¹⁰ Declaration on Christian Education, *Gravissimum Educationis*, Pope Paul VI, October 28, 1965

their function in a continually more perfect way, and especially in caring for the needs of those who are poor in the goods of this world or who are deprived of the assistance and affection of a family or who are strangers to the gift of Faith.”¹¹¹

2.6 Catholic Colleges and Universities

Clearly by the year 1967 it was seen that it would not suffice to ensure that the Catholic Church provided for elementary or secondary education through its schools. Hence there was a new emphasis placed on the education at higher levels in colleges and universities. An ever increasing need to inculcate a spirit of inquiry was felt finding an outlet in the Vatican Council II “The Church is concerned also with schools of a higher level, especially colleges and universities. In those schools dependent on her she intends that by their very constitution individual subjects be pursued according to their own principles, method, and liberty of scientific inquiry, in such a way that an ever deeper understanding in these fields may be obtained and that, as questions that are new and current are raised and investigations carefully made according to the example of the doctors of the Church and especially of St. Thomas Aquinas, there may be a deeper realization of the harmony of faith and science.”¹¹² The primary aim was to ensure that the students grew up to be men who were outstanding in academic training, intellectual capacities and prepared completely to undertake weighty professional responsibilities while simultaneously being the propagators of the faith.

The letter laid great emphasis on the promotion of scientific inquiry and research rather than simply promoting the study of religion. This is indeed an evidence of how these schools, colleges and universities attempted to rise to the occasion in Puerto Rico and adapt to the growing challenge of a much needed technological and scientific progress. As clearly pointed out “In Catholic universities where there is no faculty of sacred theology there should be established an institute or chair of sacred theology in which there should be lectures suited to lay students. Since science advances by means of the investigations peculiar to higher scientific studies, special attention should be given in

¹¹¹ Declaration on Christian Education, *Gravissimum Educationis*, Pope Paul VI, October 28, 1965

¹¹² Declaration on Christian Education, *Gravissimum Educationis*, Pope Paul VI, October 28, 1965

Catholic universities and colleges to institutes that serve primarily the development of scientific research.”¹¹³

The primary aim was to thus establish centres of academic excellence and knowledge “The sacred synod heartily recommends that Catholic colleges and universities be conveniently located in different parts of the world, but in such a way that they are outstanding not for their numbers but for their pursuit of knowledge. Matriculation should be readily available to students of real promise, even though they be of slender means, especially to students from the newly emerging nations.”¹¹⁴ Even though this reflects a good end motive, yet it could be argued that this eventually led to a situation in Puerto Rico whereby the existence of such catholic schools and universities increasingly led to segmentation in the Puerto Rican society as in many cases the tuition fee charged in most such schools was unaffordable for many Puerto Ricans depriving them of the opportunity to avail schooling in them.

However, despite the adaptations the main objective still persisted to be to provide spiritual assistance to the youth “Since the destiny of society and of the Church itself is intimately linked with the progress of young people pursuing higher studies, the pastors of the Church are to expend their energies not only on the spiritual life of students who attend Catholic universities, but, solicitous for the spiritual formation of all their children, they must see to it, after consultations between bishops, that even at universities that are not Catholic there should be associations and university centers under Catholic auspices in which priests, religious and laity, carefully selected and prepared, should give abiding spiritual and intellectual assistance to the youth of the university.”¹¹⁵

2.7 Faculties of Sacred Sciences

In keeping with the above mentioned objective it emerges that the Catholic Church simultaneously aimed towards ecclesiastical studies which explains the emphasis on the establishment of faculties of sacred sciences who were entrusted the “very serious responsibility of preparing her own students not only for the priestly ministry, but

¹¹³ Declaration on Christian Education, *Gravissimum Educationis*, Pope Paul VI, October 28, 1965

¹¹⁴ Declaration on Christian Education, *Gravissimum Educationis*, Pope Paul VI, October 28, 1965

¹¹⁵ Declaration on Christian Education, *Gravissimum Educationis*, Pope Paul VI, October 28, 1965

especially for teaching in the seats of higher ecclesiastical studies or for promoting learning on their own or for undertaking the work of a more rigorous intellectual apostolate. Likewise it is the role of these very faculties to make more penetrating inquiry into the various aspects of the sacred sciences so that an ever deepening understanding of sacred Revelation is obtained, the legacy of Christian wisdom handed down by our forefathers is more fully developed, the dialogue with our separated brethren and with non-Christians is fostered, and answers are given to questions arising from the development of doctrine.”¹¹⁶ Therefore ecclesiastical faculties were required to reappraise their own laws so that they could better promote the sacred sciences and those linked with them and, by employing up-to-date methods and aids, lead their students to more penetrating inquiry. In summation the aim of the Catholic educational institutions more so in a Catholic Puerto Rico remained to ensure that their laity and religious men and women would imbue “their students with the spirit of Christ, to strive to excel in pedagogy and the pursuit of knowledge in such a way that they not merely advance the internal renewal of the Church but preserve and enhance its beneficent influence upon today's world, especially the intellectual world.”¹¹⁷

2.8 Catholic education: Overview

The above mentioned ideas can thus be concluded by an overall view of what exactly is meant by Christian education and what does it aim to achieve?

“A Christian education does not merely strive for the maturing of a human person as just now described, but has as its principal purpose this goal: that the baptized, while they are gradually introduced the knowledge of the mystery of salvation, become ever more aware of the gift of Faith they have received, and that they learn in addition how to worship God the Father in spirit and truth especially in liturgical action, and be conformed in their personal lives according to the new man created in justice and holiness of truth); also that they develop into perfect manhood, to the mature measure of the fullness of Christ and

¹¹⁶ Declaration on Christian Education, *Gravissimum Educationis*, Pope Paul VI, October 28, 1965

¹¹⁷ Declaration on Christian Education, *Gravissimum Educationis*, Pope Paul VI, October 28, 1965

strive for the growth of the Mystical Body; moreover, that aware of their calling, they learn not only how to bear witness to the hope that is in them but also how to help in the Christian formation of the world that takes place when natural powers viewed in the full consideration of man redeemed by Christ contribute to the good of the whole society. Wherefore this sacred synod recalls to pastors of souls their most serious obligation to see to it that all the faithful, but especially the youth who are the hope of the Church, enjoy this Christian education.”¹¹⁸

The question that arises is why the Catholic Church and not any other body? This answer is also provided for in the Vatican Council’s declaration that states that the duty of education belongs to the Church

“...not merely because she must be recognized as a human society capable of educating, but especially because she has the responsibility of announcing the way of salvation to all men, of communicating the life of Christ to those who believe, and, in her unflinching solicitude, of assisting men to be able to come to the fullness of this life. The Church is bound as a mother to give to these children of hers an education by which their whole life can be imbued with the spirit of Christ and at the same time do all she can to promote for all peoples the complete perfection of the human person, the good of earthly society and the building of a world that is more human.”¹¹⁹

Thus as emerges from above, the Catholic Church was a very crucial player in the educational sphere in Puerto Rico and due to the pressing needs of a modern society that asked for greater focus of professionalization, the Church’s aim of propagating the faith was later combined with the newly felt need to pay attention also to scientific enquiry and technological progress. At least as what emerges from the Pastoral Letter and the Christian Declaration on Education is the fact that the church did try to renew the education imparted in its schools in light of the new modern needs of the society.

¹¹⁸ Declaration on Christian Education, *Gravissimum Educationis*, Pope Paul VI, October 28, 1965

¹¹⁹ Declaration on Christian Education, *Gravissimum Educationis*, Pope Paul VI, October 28, 1965

3.0 Problems in the Puerto Rican education system Revisited

With a detailed introduction into the Catholic education and its objectives, this chapter proceeds to delve in greater detail with the education system of Puerto Rico in general especially during 1948-60. While the previous chapter contributed towards a better comprehension of the catholic educational institutions, this chapter highlights some other pressing issues and problems of the Puerto Rican education system which also had an impact on the Catholic schools, universities and colleges, with them being part of a larger Puerto Rican education system. These problems were thus true even for the Catholic educational institutions.

Some of Puerto Rico's educational ills included among others the double matriculation system whereby the "school children attended congested schools for only half a day-mass production of students with too little attention paid to individual idiosyncrasies."¹²⁰ Lewis's book published 1963 and reflecting upon the education system of the island post 1898 with an emphasis post the New Deal, comments about the situation during the time stating that "There is the failure to provide enough new schools to keep up with the pressing educational demands of the new communities spawned by the mass housing projects-result frightening chaos taking place in daily schools. Poor pays heavy student-teacher ratios. Professional ethic finds it hard to survive with many quitting their jobs."¹²¹

Another prominent problem with the Puerto Rican education system as also seen in most Catholic schools was that there was a lack of exercise of the principle of equality in educational opportunity despite the commonly held view that education would contribute towards an escalation of the position of all as also Puerto Rico in general. As already noted the Catholic schools, despite all attempts to provide for the poor students, still charged tuition fee of the students making it difficult for many students to be a part of the private schools. In the absence of equal opportunities for Puerto Rican children,

¹²⁰ Lewis K. Gordon, *Puerto Rico Freedom and Power in the Caribbean*, Monthly Review Press, New York & London, 1963, p 462

¹²¹ Lewis K. Gordon, *Puerto Rico Freedom and Power in the Caribbean*, Monthly Review Press, New York & London, 1963, p 462

education could no longer be viewed as a social escalator and this idea became “more and more of a social myth as facts belie its claim, as new realities overtake it...there was a growing failure to provide for the higher education of the children of the industrial and agricultural working classes as those classes increase in both absolute and relative numbers in the total population. Those children were obtaining a declining share of university enrolments as against the children of the professional and white-collar classes.”¹²²

In fact Lewis most categorically mentions the threat that the Catholic schools, usually private, posed “The public school system needs a massive improvement in its general quality at almost every level. That there is something fundamentally wrong can be seen from the growing strength of the private school, threatening as it does, the rise of a dual educational system, with one education for the children of the middle class and one for the children of the poorer groups...” There was a growing fascination for the private catholic schools as Puerto Rican parents saw an opportunity in these schools for their children to acquire religious education, not necessarily provided by local teachers. It ought to be remembered here that this was important because in Puerto Rico there was always a lack of adequate number of priests which became worse with the increasing population. Besides, the Catholic schools had “the appeal of social snobbishness”¹²³ which would “feed this drift towards the private foundation.”¹²⁴ In 1959 a report of European educators echoed a warning that if the commonwealth government would not adopt a vigorous policy of bettering the public school, its facilities, its teaching force, and its standards of instruction, the tendency would continue, with its inevitable intensification of social stratification and class sentiment.¹²⁵

The Puerto Rican private schools also faced the problem of having become “vehicles of deculturalization, “widely using textbooks in the English language and inculcating pro-American civic sentiments quite alien to the life of the Puerto Rican

¹²² Lewis K. Gordon, *Puerto Rico Freedom and Power in the Caribbean*, Monthly Review Press, New York & London, 1963, p 463

¹²³ Lewis K. Gordon, *Puerto Rico Freedom and Power in the Caribbean*, Monthly Review Press, New York & London, 1963, p 464

¹²⁴ Lewis K. Gordon, *Puerto Rico Freedom and Power in the Caribbean*, Monthly Review Press, New York & London, 1963, p 464

¹²⁵ Lewis K. Gordon, *Puerto Rico Freedom and Power in the Caribbean*, Monthly Review Press, New York & London, 1963, p 464

child....there is much altogether to be said about the demand of the *Tesis Politica* of the *Movimiento Pro Independencia* that a free Puerto Rico should abolish the private school as being an instrument of social, economic, racial, and religious discrimination.”¹²⁶

3.1 University level

However, problems in the Puerto Rican education system did not merely relate to the primary or secondary schools but also to the higher bodies of education namely the University. The universities lacked an “imaginative treatment of the *patrimonio cultural*, the scientific analysis of Puerto Rican language forms.” There was a dearth for reform and introduction of innovativeness in the minds of the Puerto Rican students which could only be introduced with new ideas in the academic field. According to Lewis, the Puerto Rican University suffered from the having “an environment of a neo-colonial society. It reflects, when it does not actually encourage, all the moral emptiness and ennui of such a society.”¹²⁷ In the words of Vincent Géigel Polanco “the University of Puerto Rico has been putting out a young people quite colourless, without courage, lacking enterprise or faith, devoid of any quality of superiority or spirit. Young people who have gone into the fields of the various professions in order to assure themselves a handsome economic position rather than to enable their lives, contribute something to the general cultural estate, stimulate the general welfare or serve the vital interests of the community...such are the characteristics of our leading academic institution, incapable of implanting in its students any ideal save that of getting good grades...Nowhere is there any sense of community between faculty and students. They live in different worlds: the students in search of good grades or devising schemes of getting through courses with the least possible effort; the faculty members, save for some exceptions who ought never to be forgotten, in the officious discharge of their duties, lacking enthusiasm or spirit, without any real faith in their work and lacking any zeal for research or investigation.”¹²⁸

¹²⁶ Lewis K. Gordon, *Puerto Rico Freedom and Power in the Caribbean*, Monthly Review Press, New York & London, 1963, p 464

¹²⁷ Lewis K. Gordon, *Puerto Rico Freedom and Power in the Caribbean*, Monthly Review Press, New York & London, 1963, p 466

¹²⁸ Lewis K. Gordon, *Puerto Rico Freedom and Power in the Caribbean*, Monthly Review Press, New York & London, 1963, pp 466-467

In 1960 José Emilio Gonzáles commented “Where is the youthfulness of our young people?...Where is the conscience of that generation?...it is a docile youth, worshipping everything, accepting everything as long as it carries with it the stamp of approval of established political and economic authority...All the emptiness of a colonial life, of a people bereft of any sense of destiny spreads out into the streets and the plazas, permeates the home, poisons the spirit, breaks it down, destroys it.”¹²⁹

In fact it could be ciphered that the University could not do much with its academic atmosphere to help the students identify themselves. Political ambivalence and an increasing Americanization of the education system of the country island led to a chaotic situation for the Puerto Rican students so that “The average student oscillates unhappily between the self-image of the traditional Hispanic caballero and the north American business entrepreneur, between the concept of the Spanish wife-mother figure and that of the American career girl...It is not too much to say, altogether, that however adequately the academic centres in Puerto Rico reform their institutional frames they will not give themselves a new birth of freedom until they address themselves boldly to the large political issue that presently cramps their potential.”¹³⁰

3.2 Language Issue in the education system of Puerto Rico

A very prominent problem in Puerto Rico’s education system has been the language issue. The country island after being ceded by USA was introduced to English which became the official language until the 1902 Official Languages Act which granted official status to both English and Spanish. These tussles between the two languages have continued since the end of the Spanish rule with different positions being accorded to the two languages in the school curriculum at different points of time. As aptly summarised by Epstein “It is notable that no language policy has been safe from bitter criticism. Before 1948 almost every conceivable suggestion as to the amount of English in the schools was experimented with. And even the relegation of that language to a limited subject area in

¹²⁹ Lewis K. Gordon, *Puerto Rico Freedom and Power in the Caribbean*, Monthly Review Press, New York & London, 1963, p 467

¹³⁰ Lewis K. Gordon, *Puerto Rico Freedom and Power in the Caribbean*, Monthly Review Press, New York & London, 1963, p 468

the public schools did not end the controversy. Rather, the action served merely to transfer attention to the private schools.”¹³¹ The school system thus became the most important vehicle of popularising English. It was assumed that the Puerto Ricans would be able to adapt not just to a foreign education system but also to a foreign language. As observed by Lewis the American belief that the usage of the language could easily be assimilated into the insular culture was an “assumption-a fatally mistaken one-of the American educators,”¹³² In the words of Victor Clark (who had directed island education) in his Report of 1899, “Puerto Ricans have little devotion to their native tongue and spoke not Spanish but ‘patois’ with little value as an intellectual medium. There is a bare possibility that it will be nearly as easy to educate these people out of their patois into English as it will be to educate them into the elegant tongue of Castile. Only from the very small intellectual minority in Puerto Rico, trained in Europe and imbued with European ideals of education and government, have we to anticipate any active resistance to the introduction of the American school system and the English school language.”¹³³

It was this introduction of the English language, more so in Catholic schools in Puerto Rico, which accounted for chaos in the Puerto Rican education system, remnants of which are seen until present times. Making English the medium of instruction during the first phase of American accession prohibited due attention on Spanish as a language and the result was a linguistic chaos. Puerto Ricans in their private sphere used Spanish while the school medium of instruction was English. Due to the lack of proper assimilation of both, Puerto Ricans could not become practising bilinguals like populations of many former British colonies like Singapore, India, Kenya etc.¹³⁴ As Resnick points out “Such countries are ethnically and linguistically heterogeneous, and they actively sought lingua francas for both internal and international communication.”¹³⁵ They thus adopted English as one of their official or national languages as it was seen as

¹³¹ Epstein, Erwin H., *National Identity and the Language Issue in Puerto Rico*, Comparative Education Review, 11, 2, June, 1967, p 136

¹³² Lewis K. Gordon, *Puerto Rico Freedom and Power in the Caribbean*, Monthly Review Press, New York & London, 1963, p 443

¹³³ Cebollero, P., *A school policy for Puerto Rico*, cited from: Pousada, Alicia, Puerto Rico: On the Horns of a Language Planning Dilemma, TESOL Quarterly, 30, 3, 1993, p 499

¹³⁴ Resnick, Melvin C., *ESL and Language Planning in Puerto Rican Education*, TESOL Quarterly, 27, 2, 1993, p 267

¹³⁵ Resnick, Melvin C., *ESL and Language Planning in Puerto Rican Education*, TESOL Quarterly, 27, 2, 1993, p 267

a “tribally or ethnically neutral language left behind by a former colonial power. In sharp contrast, Puerto Rico is ethnically and linguistically homogeneous. Spanish is a major world language. Puerto Ricans did not achieve independence in 1898, after four centuries of Spanish colonialism but instead perceived language planning as an attempt to replace the vernacular with a new colonial language.”¹³⁶ They thus did not feel the need to learn a new language when Spanish on the small island made it linguistically self-sufficient. It is this difference which helps one understand better why this bilingualization experiment failed in Puerto Rico and worked elsewhere. Later on in schools the objective of compulsory bilingualism distorted the entire educational process for over thirty years.¹³⁷

As aptly stated by Pousada “English was forcibly imposed on Puerto Rico as part of a plan openly dedicated to the creation of a territory loyal to the US interests.”¹³⁸

Even after the Official Languages Act of 1902 which gave equal footage to both the languages, at the official levels English dominated the due to American influence and control of Puerto Rican affairs. For example, there was tremendous importance given to having a sound reading, writing and comprehension knowledge of the language for higher academic posts. The appointment of the Commissioner of Education (the person who enjoyed a Hobbesian sovereignty in Puerto Rico) depended largely upon this question revolving around his competency in English. “For the most part the result was educational chaos. The use of English as a medium of instruction meant, as the 1925 Survey Commission pointed out, not only that children did not remain long enough in school to obtain a real mastery of English, but also that other subjects suffered, both on account of the transmission of those subjects in a broken and formalized English on the part of the inadequately prepared teachers.”¹³⁹ Lewis shows his discomfort at the “grotesque farce that teaching under such directives must have become in many country

¹³⁶ Resnick, Melvin C., *ESL and Language Planning in Puerto Rican Education*, TESOL Quarterly, 27, 2, 1993, p 267

¹³⁷ Lewis K. Gordon, *Puerto Rico Freedom and Power in the Caribbean*, Monthly Review Press, New York & London, 1963, p 443

¹³⁸ Pousada, Alicia, *Puerto Rico: On the Horns of a Language Planning Dilemma*, TESOL Quarterly, 30, 3, 1993,

¹³⁹ Lewis K. Gordon, *Puerto Rico Freedom and Power in the Caribbean*, Monthly Review Press, New York & London, 1963, p 443

schoolrooms presided over by teachers who could only wonder at the awful folly of the instructions they received from the insular educational headquarters.”¹⁴⁰

Pousada points out “Language policy changes have always been tightly connected to political struggles on and off the island, in particular the nagging headache of political status.”¹⁴¹ The pedagogical problem eventually thus became a political issue. Those who criticized this American policy were accused of having an un-American attitude.

It appeared as the order of the day to assume that English was supposed to be the main language of instruction in all schools as that would prepare the Puerto Ricans as American citizens, having drawn heavily from the American model. Lewis observes that post 1898 it took virtually more than two decades for the American educators who came to the island to import the American system of education to acknowledge that English was and would always remain a foreign language in Puerto Rico.¹⁴² Though this was finally recognized in a way, “the aftermaths persisted in the country island for a long time to come.”¹⁴³ As Lewis states “But the wreckage left behind by the unhappy experiment remains still to plague the Puerto Rican education planner.” The Puerto Ricans as a result were left in the middle of no where still having an incomplete adequate knowledge of Spanish and a hesitation and resistance to English.

Coupled with the above another major problem related to language (as highlighted by this example) is that with the exception of language classes for English, all other courses at the University of Puerto Rico were taught in Spanish but “the paucity of materials available in Spanish is such that the student is dependent on english textbooks and reference materials as is the college student in the U.S.”¹⁴⁴

As stated earlier the language issue later came to become a political one. Hence Lewis observed in his monograph from 1963 “It is still responsible further for the way in which government policy on the teaching of English is still used as a political

¹⁴⁰ Lewis K. Gordon, *Puerto Rico Freedom and Power in the Caribbean*, Monthly Review Press, New York & London, 1963, p 443

¹⁴¹ Pousada, Alicia, Puerto Rico: On the Horns of a Language Planning Dilemma, *TESOL Quarterly*, 30, 3, 1993, 501

¹⁴² Lewis K. Gordon, *Puerto Rico Freedom and Power in the Caribbean*, Monthly Review Press, New York & London, 1963, p 444

¹⁴³ Lewis K. Gordon, *Puerto Rico Freedom and Power in the Caribbean*, Monthly Review Press, New York & London, 1963, p 444

¹⁴⁴ Desing, Minerva F., *English at the University of Puerto Rico*, *College English*, 9, 2, 1947, p 93

football.”¹⁴⁵ According to Algren de Gutierrez, “A true resolution of the language conflict requires the confrontation of equal political forces. For that, Puerto Rico needs a defined political status.”¹⁴⁶ The University of Puerto Rico at this time used English in its school of Medicine and Dentistry as not just the language of instruction but surprisingly also for other purposes like correspondence, school regulations and public announcements.

Another argument that emerged during the period was that English ought to be taught only to those groups in the Puerto Rican population who needed it due to their social or professional positions. However the counter argument to that was that this method would promote a furthering of the gap between the different sections of society with some always having greater professional opportunities over the other Puerto Ricans. Hence as Lewis remarks this would imply that “class privilege manages to masquerade as pedagogical doctrine.”¹⁴⁷

In fact in many ways the language issue was reflective of the cultural imperialism that persisted in Puerto Rico much longer after the political one. Lewis states “The cultural evil that colonial regimes do clearly lives on after the extinction of their more overt political machineries. American political federalism...has throughout demanded a cultural and linguistic uniformity that must, in the present Puerto Rican case, be fatal to the *Estadista* dream of a Spanish-speaking people pressing forward successfully as a claimant for American statehood. It would be difficult to estimate the financial waste, let alone the human waste that this prejudice has exacted in Puerto Rico over the last sixty years.”¹⁴⁸

In accordance with Algren de Gutierrez, Lewis states as long as “the island’s political status remains unresolved the language, and therefore the educational problems will also remain unresolved. For so long as statehood is accepted as a feasible status at

¹⁴⁵ Lewis K. Gordon, *Puerto Rico Freedom and Power in the Caribbean*, Monthly Review Press, New York & London, 1963, p 444

¹⁴⁶ Algren de Gutierrez, E., *The movement against teaching English in the schools of Puerto Rico*, Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1987 cited from: Pousada, Alicia, Puerto Rico: On the Horns of a Language Planning Dilemma, *TESOL Quarterly*, 30, 3, 1993, p 502

¹⁴⁷ Lewis K. Gordon, *Puerto Rico Freedom and Power in the Caribbean*, Monthly Review Press, New York & London, 1963, p 445

¹⁴⁸ Lewis K. Gordon, *Puerto Rico Freedom and Power in the Caribbean*, Monthly Review Press, New York & London, 1963, p 444

some future date so long will its advocates insist that the cultural and linguistic refashioning of the people, at least in so far as it means a complete mastery of English, is a legitimate cost that must be paid for that status.¹⁴⁹ This in fact is reflected as a reason for English to be mastered by Puerto Ricans by Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1937 in his letter of appointment to Jose M. Gallardo, the then Commissioner of Education, when he said that “It is an indispensable part of American policy that the coming generation of American citizens in Puerto Rico grow up with complete facility in the English tongue.... Only through the acquisition of this language will Puerto Rican Americans secure a better understanding of American ideals and principles and be able to take full advantage of the economic opportunities which became available to them when they were made American citizens.”¹⁵⁰

It is only once the political issue has been resolved that the education institutions and their governing bodies would be able to mutually implement the teaching of both the languages, Spanish as the mother tongue and English as the second leading language taught owing to its merits.

Also important to notice here is that the language issue remains not just one sided on account of Puerto Ricans facing a linguistic ambivalence but it also accounts for a much greater problem with teaching in catholic schools. These schools had sisters/monks who taught in the English language as the medium of instruction, but many of them despite having been on the island for many years, had little or no knowledge of the Spanish language. This is the reason why the school for many Puerto Rican students was an alienating experience where they were made to interact, learn and write in a foreign language and their own language was not well known by their foreign teachers. In fact this was not a temporary problem that existed merely in the Catholic schools. Later on, post 1960 as the Peace Corps volunteers came with one of the primary aims being to help in the educational programmes, they were also not completely well versed with the local languages despite having taken language courses, for to learn a language with its

¹⁴⁹ Lewis K. Gordon, *Puerto Rico Freedom and Power in the Caribbean*, Monthly Review Press, New York & London, 1963, p 445

¹⁵⁰ Roosevelt, Franklin D., *Letter of Appointment to the Commissioner of Education*, 1937, cited from : Resnick, Melvin C., *ESL and Language Planning in Puerto Rican Education*, TESOL Quarterly, 27, 2,1993, pp 263-264

technicalities is not as tough as to practice and fluently converse in the language with the local speakers.

Another problem that was prompted by the language issue on the island was furtherance of the divide between the public schools and the private schools which were run by the Catholic Church on the island. The debate acquired a newer vigour in the early sixties under the Secretary of Education Cándido Oliveras who in 1962 “threatened to withdraw accreditation from private schools that continued using English as the language of instruction.”¹⁵¹ Since the past many decades the Catholic private schools on the island had adopted English as the medium of instruction as is found to be the trend until the present times. It was these schools which produced the practising bilinguals that Puerto Rico could boast of having. The controversy evoked in 1962 only enhanced the segregation between the public and private schools. In fact the Catholic schools were known for imparting education which had a higher quality than the public schools but such a political move by the Education Secretary could only help conclude that “the presence of schools in which students did achieve proficiency in English was viewed as a political or sociocultural threat.”¹⁵²

Illich’s ideas add a completely new perspective towards viewing the problem. He also criticised the idea that most of the teachers in Catholic schools who came from abroad had little or no working knowledge of Spanish as a language and therefore in most of these schools the bonding or sense of association was lacking. He questioned why it was the Puerto Ricans that had to learn English when most of the volunteers that came from the mainland as part of development aid programmes could not understand the Puerto Rican’s language. In fact he raised this as one of the reasons why the Americans could never truly befriend Puerto Ricans. Though many attempted learning their language, especially those who had to go to Puerto Rico as volunteers, but according to

¹⁵¹Beirne, C. J., *El problema de la "americanización" en las escuelas católicas de Puerto Rico*, 1976, cited from: Resnick, Melvin C., *ESL and Language Planning in Puerto Rican Education*, TESOL Quarterly, 27, 2,1993, p 264

¹⁵²Beirne, C. J., *El problema de la "americanización" en las escuelas católicas de Puerto Rico*, 1976, cited from: Resnick, Melvin C., *ESL and Language Planning in Puerto Rican Education*, TESOL Quarterly, 27, 2,1993, p 264

Illich more than the technical nuances of the language “even more they needed to attune their hearts to the anguish of a people who were lonely, frightened and powerless.”¹⁵³

For Illich “The man who can construct sentences with words and grammar may be much further from reality than he who knows that he does not speak a language.” The Puerto Ricans “rejected the *Americano* who studied them for the purpose of integrating them in the city.”¹⁵⁴

In 1956 when Illich was appointed as the Vice Rector of the Catholic University of Ponce, he started his efforts “for work in the Spanish ghettos”¹⁵⁵ It was here that Illich emphatically introduced the “intensive study of spoken Spanish with field experience and the academic study of Puerto Rican poetry, history, songs and social reality.”¹⁵⁶ The Catholic Church was always a participant of many such efforts in Puerto Rico as is evident from the fact that most of Illich’s students were priests who had the desire to spend their lives in the service of the poor. Illich understood how important it was for these priests to communicate well in spoken Spanish for them to really understand the trials and tribulations of the Puerto Rican poor and also to enable them to open up to their services. Illich states “The Spanish language was a potent tool for curates who wanted to use their time and the resources of the church for working among the poor. Because- presumably- the Spanish language identified those poor who were born Catholics, and to whom the Church under no circumstances could deny an equal share of its ministry.”¹⁵⁷ Illich states that it was with this group of students that he could experience “the deeper meaning involved in the learning of a foreign language.”¹⁵⁸ In fact, he stated “I believe that properly conducted language learning is one of the few occasions in which an adult can go through a deep experience of poverty, of weakness, and of dependence on the

¹⁵³ Illich, Ivan, *The Eloquence of Silence*, Celebration of Awareness, A Call for Institutional Revolution, London, , 1972, p 41

¹⁵⁴ Illich, Ivan, *The Eloquence of Silence*, Celebration of Awareness, A Call for Institutional Revolution, London, , 1972, p 41

¹⁵⁵ Illich, Ivan, *The Eloquence of Silence*, Celebration of Awareness, A Call for Institutional Revolution, London, , 1972, p 42

¹⁵⁶ Illich, Ivan, *The Eloquence of Silence*, Celebration of Awareness, A Call for Institutional Revolution, London, , 1972, p 42

¹⁵⁷ Illich, Ivan, *The Eloquence of Silence*, Celebration of Awareness, A Call for Institutional Revolution, London, , 1972, p 42

¹⁵⁸ Illich, Ivan, *The Eloquence of Silence*, Celebration of Awareness, A Call for Institutional Revolution, London, , 1972, pp 42-43

good will of another.”¹⁵⁹ Language for Illich was therefore very important as a connecting factor capable of bridging gaps between people, in this case the Americans and the Puerto Ricans.

Resnick points out that the reasons that have impeded the adoption of bilingualism in the island population “primarily nationalism, political uncertainty and the association between language and identity- have created a societal imperative against the learning of English.”¹⁶⁰ In fact he deduces that this is the outcome of a “motivated failure.” Puerto Ricans were at times brainwashed by some independence advocates (independentistas) into believing that the learning of English implied the loss of a Puerto Rican “identity and subjugation to a foreign colonialist power.”¹⁶¹ Pousada points out in agreement “Despite official policy and public consensus on the instrumental utility of English as an international language, according to the 1990 census only about 20% of the island's people consider that they can use it effectively. Because English is not indispensable in their domestic lives and because they already speak a language of worldwide prominence, Puerto Ricans are ambivalent about their L2, and most underestimate their proficiency. Some fear betraying their Puerto Ricanness if they become too competent and may even assume a *patriotic accent* when speaking English. In essence, although they agree that English is important, many covertly resist learning it out of nationalistic loyalty to Spanish.”¹⁶² As long as this motivational failure continues to plague Puerto Ricans no adequate language planning for schools can overcome their resistance to learning English. The language issue thus reflects a number of problems – the identity crisis in many Puerto Ricans who are hesitant to learn it as they feel it would sabotage Spanish as a language in the country, the inability of the American volunteers to comprehend fully the Puerto Rican problems due to their own limited knowledge of Spanish and the Puerto Rican hesitation to learn English, the furthering of the divide

¹⁵⁹ Illich, Ivan, *The Eloquence of Silence*, Celebration of Awareness, A Call for Institutional Revolution, London, , 1972, p 43

¹⁶⁰ Resnick, Melvin C., *ESL and Language Planning in Puerto Rican Education*, TESOL Quarterly, 27, 2, 1993, p 259

¹⁶¹ Resnick, Melvin C., *ESL and Language Planning in Puerto Rican Education*, TESOL Quarterly, 27, 2, 1993, p 265

¹⁶² Pousada, Alicia, Puerto Rico: On the Horns of a Language Planning Dilemma, TESOL Quarterly, 30, 3, 1993, 500

between the public schools and the private Catholic schools and finally the political ambivalence related to the island's status as a country.

4.0 Transformations in the Catholic Church, Global Role Redefined

This chapter seeks to identify the transformations initiated by the Catholic Church in redefining its objectives and structure in a drastically changing Latin American and specifically Puerto Rican society. The historical roots of this self-redefinition of the Catholic Church in Latin America are traced back to that observed in the Roman Catholic Church in Western Europe with the emergence of the Left Catholicism during the forties. This historical account is then linked to the changes that occurred within the Catholic Church in Latin America and the Caribbean in its attempts to redefine its role in implementing social change that spread all over the continent during the fifties and sixties. The culmination or the climax to these transformations is traced in the Theology of Liberation that marked a new wave in the course taken by the Catholicism with Latin America as its focal point. The essential link between the outcomes of the Second Vatican Council and the Theology of Liberation are established to comprehend how these changes were not merely restricted to a single continent but sooner or later took a more global course. It may be questioned how were these transformations in the Catholic Church important from the perspective of the Catholic education? As established earlier, much of the proceedings of the Vatican II found voice in the way Catholic education was redefined and restructured in Puerto Rico, now giving a whole new impetus to the ideas of vocational training, learning of natural sciences and not just religious studies and specialization as per the new professional needs of students in universities, colleges and schools- all within the simultaneous idea of educating in the light of evangelical values.¹⁶³ The Theology of Liberation and the Vatican II's Christian Declaration on

¹⁶³ See Pastoral on the Education in Catholic Schools of Puerto Rico defining the objectives of Catholic Education in Puerto Rico, Carta Pastoral Sobre La Educacion En Las Escuelas Catolicas de Puerto Rico http://www.pionet.org/Doc_CEP/Documentos/carta_pastoral_sobre_la_educacion.htm, accessed December 14, 2007

Education find a common convergence in that both favoured the progressive cause of education. By the sixties the Latin American church was attempting to involve itself more vigorously in the development (or rather liberation)¹⁶⁴ of the poor populations omnipresent in the continent. In fact during the same decade it can be observed how the Catholic Church became an actor in development programmes rather than merely restricting itself to the spiritual formulation of its members.

It was stressed by sociologists and anthropologists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century alike that religion had a conservative effect on society.¹⁶⁵ Religious bodies like the Catholic Church itself were seen as hindering social change as a result of their “traditionalistic orientation and association with established social structures.”¹⁶⁶ The general conclusion as summarized by Smith was thus that “Religion is predominantly an integrating and legitimizing force for the prevailing values and structures in society and is not a motivating force for social change.”¹⁶⁷ These sentiments echo in the ideas of thinkers of the like of Spencer, Marx or even Weber. Spencer emphasized “social continuity provided by religion for societal values.”¹⁶⁸ Marx called it the “opium of the masses”¹⁶⁹ which prevented its believers from confronting and transforming the social forces that caused human suffering.¹⁷⁰ Similarly Weber held that religions of the world did not include transformation of social organizations as their goal.¹⁷¹ However these statements became challengeable with the transformations that

¹⁶⁴ *Liberation and development* are seen as two different terms as will be highlighted later in this chapter.

¹⁶⁵ Smith, Brian H., *Religion and Social Change: Classical Theories and New Formulations in the Context of Recent Developments of Latin America* In, *The Roman Catholic Church in Latin America*, Ed. George Domínguez, Garland Publishing Inc., 1994, p 77

¹⁶⁶ Smith, Brian H., *Religion and Social Change: Classical Theories and New Formulations in the Context of Recent Developments of Latin America* In, *The Roman Catholic Church in Latin America*, Ed. George Domínguez, Garland Publishing Inc., 1994, p 77

¹⁶⁷ Smith, Brian H., *Religion and Social Change: Classical Theories and New Formulations in the Context of Recent Developments of Latin America* In, *The Roman Catholic Church in Latin America*, Ed. George Domínguez, Garland Publishing Inc., 1994, p 78

¹⁶⁸ Spencer, Herbert, *The Principles of Sociology*, 3, 1896, p 104, also available online: Transaction Publishers, 2002

¹⁶⁹ Marx, Karl, *Introduction to A Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right*, Karl Marx in *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, February, 1844, <http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1843/critique-hpr/intro.htm>, (accessed on August 17, 2008)

¹⁷⁰ Marx, Karl, *Introduction to A Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right*, Karl Marx in *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, February, 1844, <http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1843/critique-hpr/intro.htm>, (accessed on August 17, 2008)

¹⁷¹ Weber, Max, *The Sociology of Religion*, available online: http://www.ne.jp/asahi/moriyuki/abukuma/weber/society/socio_relig/socio_relig_frame.html

came to be exhibited by the Catholic Church in Western European countries starting forties and later by the Latin American Catholic Church in the late fifties and sixties. These transformations served to provide “a stimulus for social change.”¹⁷²

Gerard and Horn point out “Within the realm of theology and philosophy, the 1940s witnessed an equally astounding range of innovations. On a scale unheard of in the past, Catholic theology and philosophy paid central attention to dimensions and desires of the human experience which had previously never obtained such central space...New theologies of human praxis saw the light of day. Indeed, concurrent with a sudden interest in the world of labour on the part of secular social scientists, theologies of labour were suddenly propounded on both sides of the Rhine and Rhone. Traditional Catholic social teachings tending to identify the poor as worthy objects ceded places to new visions of the poor as subjects and shapers of their own destiny.”¹⁷³ In fact the innovations within Catholicism during this period appeared to be a “creative interaction of ideology and political action.”¹⁷⁴ An example of such innovations within the European church where ideology and politics found convergence is the French and Belgian movements like Mouvement Populaire des Familles (MPF) and the phenomena called the Worker Priests. The aim of these was to uplift the working class not just spiritually but also materially. Thus the most significant change to be observed was that “From being strictly an apostolic movement, the movement gradually took the shape of becoming a workers’ movement, eventually breaking the “fragile equilibrium between social and apostolic movement, between social action and apostolic action.”¹⁷⁵ The significant transformation to be observed was that “the standard notion of the priest as the holy and separate one, distinct from the people and the embodiment of a higher, more spiritual world was challenged deeply by the worker-priests’ plummet into the proletariat.”¹⁷⁶

¹⁷² Smith, Brian H., *Religion and Social Change: Classical Theories and New Formulations in the Context of Recent Developments of Latin America* In, *The Roman Catholic Church in Latin America*, Ed. George Domínguez, Garland Publishing Inc., 1994, p 78

¹⁷³ Horn, Gerd-Rainer/ Gerard, Emmanuel Ed., *Left Catholicism, Catholics and Society in Western Europe at the Point of Liberation*, Leuven University Press,2001, p14

¹⁷⁴ Horn, Gerd-Rainer/ Gerard, Emmanuel Ed., *Left Catholicism, Catholics and Society in Western Europe at the Point of Liberation*, Leuven University Press,2001, p16

¹⁷⁵ Horn, Gerd-Rainer/ Gerard, Emmanuel Ed., *Left Catholicism, Catholics and Society in Western Europe at the Point of Liberation*, Leuven University Press,2001, p 40

¹⁷⁶ Horn, Gerd-Rainer/ Gerard, Emmanuel Ed., *Left Catholicism, Catholics and Society in Western Europe at the Point of Liberation*, Leuven University Press,2001, p 36

An interesting link to be noted is “Some of the most imaginative theologians of the 1940s directly influenced the proceedings of the Vatican II as theological advisors to some of the Third World archbishops and others attending the gathering. Second Latin American liberation theology of the late 1950s, 1960s, and indeed some leading representatives of Latin American Liberation Theology have been very open about these lines of continuity.”¹⁷⁷

The happenings of the Vatican II in fact reflect one of the greatest changes in the religions across the world to participate in social change. Most significantly the Council brought about a normative shift in Catholic teaching- “away from a purely spiritual understanding of salvation towards a more concrete sense of God’s action in history and man’s corresponding responsibility to work for social justice and structural change as a constitutive part of his response to the Gospel.”¹⁷⁸ Apart from the new perspective on education in Catholic schools, colleges and universities, the Vatican II emphasized a moral necessity for restricting economic competitiveness, increasing state planning and public ownership of key resources, participation of workers in enterprises and promoting a more equitable distribution of world resources in favour of the developing nations.¹⁷⁹ Tracing this transformation of the Roman Catholic Church post the Vatican II to the transformations within the Latin American Catholic Church... says “As happened in the Roman Catholicism worldwide in response to the Second Vatican Council, the Roman Catholic Church in Latin America changed dramatically during the 1960s; by mid-decade, scholarship about the Church and its relationship to society had changed as well. Liberation Theology, born in Latin America changed the ways of thinking about the place of religion in society and about the forms of religious reflection and practice.”¹⁸⁰

Theology of Liberation

¹⁷⁷ Horn, Gerd-Rainer/ Gerard, Emmanuel Ed., *Left Catholicism, Catholics and Society in Western Europe at the Point of Liberation*, Leuven University Press, 2001, p 44

¹⁷⁸ Smith, Brian H., *Religion and Social Change: Classical Theories and New Formulations in the Context of Recent Developments of Latin America* In, *The Roman Catholic Church in Latin America*, Ed. George Domínguez, Garland Publishing Inc., 1994, p 80

¹⁷⁹ Smith, Brian H., *Religion and Social Change: Classical Theories and New Formulations in the Context of Recent Developments of Latin America* In, *The Roman Catholic Church in Latin America*, Ed. George Domínguez, Garland Publishing Inc., 1994, p 80

¹⁸⁰ Introduction, *The Roman Catholic Church in Latin America*, Ed. George Domínguez, Garland Publishing Inc., 1994, vii

Gustavo Gutiérrez, a Peruvian priest was one of the main founders of this theology. For him Theology referred to “a critical reflection on the church’s pastoral action, that is, on the Church’s presence and action in the world in the light of faith” while Liberation “had three connected meanings: political liberation of the oppressed, the liberation of human beings in the course of history and liberation from sin as a condition of life...Liberation Theology’s methodology required theologians to reflect upon the world as it existed but in the light of faith- that combination was significant.”¹⁸¹ Thus the Theology of Liberation called for a change in the Latin American Catholic Church to not just spiritually assist people but to act in a way that ensured a just world. In *Notes for a Theology of Liberation* Gutiérrez traces how the role of theology has changed over history. Initially associated with a spiritual life, theology was meant for the purpose of helping people attain spiritual progress. Post the twelfth century it came to be recognized as a science when St. Thomas described it as the “fruit of the meeting between faith and reason.” However, another significant development according to him, over the years (post late fifties and during sixties) was the Church’s critical reflection on its pastoral action.¹⁸²

In fact a commonality to be observed in the Vatican II and the Theology of Liberation is the Vatican II’s theology of signs of the times.¹⁸³ Deriving and elucidating on the signs of the times, Gutiérrez stated that the signs of the times were not merely a call for intellectual analysis but more than anything they were “a demand for action, for commitment, for service of others.”¹⁸⁴ The Church was thus bound by a commitment to charity and service. Having established this essential foundation of the Theology of Liberation, it is essential to comprehend how it interpreted development as it is these perspectives on development that can enable one to understand the Catholic Church’s global involvement in most of the development programmes during the sixties and the following decade as well. Gutiérrez opined that the “modern man”¹⁸⁵ was aware of the

¹⁸¹ Introduction, *The Roman Catholic Church in Latin America*, Ed. George Domínguez, Garland Publishing Inc., 1994, vii

¹⁸² Gutiérrez, Gustavo, *Notes for a Theology of Liberation*, 1970, cited from: Sigmund, Paul E., *Liberation Theology at Crossroads: Democracy or Revolution?*, Oxford University Press, 1990, p 200

¹⁸³ Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World, *Gaudium et spes*, 44, Pope Paul VI, December 7, 1965,

¹⁸⁴ Gutiérrez, Gustavo, *Notes for a Theology of Liberation*, 1970, cited from: Sigmund, Paul E., *Liberation Theology at Crossroads: Democracy or Revolution?*, Oxford University Press, 1990, p 201

¹⁸⁵ Gutiérrez, Gustavo, *Notes for a Theology of Liberation*, 1970, cited from: Sigmund, Paul E., *Liberation Theology at Crossroads: Democracy or Revolution?*, Oxford University Press, 1990, p 202

sociocultural changes that were taking place in the world as well as their economic basis. However for him, the term development did not aptly express “the yearning of contemporary men for more human living conditions.”¹⁸⁶ A basic problem for him was that “the notion of development is not univocal.” He said that the term had come to convey “a pejorative connotation, especially in Latin America.”¹⁸⁷

Gutiérrez stated that the term development could not capture the wishes of the people and attack the causes of the plight of the poor in Latin America and the Caribbean. Hence he employed the word liberation to reflect the human side of the problem faced by these large populations. The ultimate goal it could be summed up was to “seeing that humanity is marching toward a society in which man will be free of every servitude and master of his own destiny.”¹⁸⁸

Hence the main strength of the theology lay in its empathy and compassion for the poor and “its conviction that the Christian should not remain passive and indifferent to their plight. Man's inhumanity to man is sin and deserves the judgment of God and Christian resistance.”¹⁸⁹ Facing a simultaneous challenge from growing Protestantism and Marxism,¹⁹⁰ the Catholic Church thus responded by redefining itself via the Second Vatican and the Theology of Liberation whereby it portrayed itself as an agent of social change in favour of the poor of society. In fact these transformations started in the Latin

¹⁸⁶ Gutiérrez, Gustavo, *Notes for a Theology of Liberation*, 1970, cited from: Sigmund, Paul E., *Liberation Theology at Crossroads: Democracy or Revolution?*, Oxford University Press, 1990, p 202

¹⁸⁷ Gutiérrez, Gustavo, *Notes for a Theology of Liberation*, 1970, cited from: Sigmund, Paul E., *Liberation Theology at Crossroads: Democracy or Revolution?*, Oxford University Press, 1990, p 203

Links to the same line of thought can be found in the ideas of Gustavo Esteva in his critique of development. Esteva resounds Gutiérrez's ideas, taking them even a step further, when he states that development over time had come to signify an undignified position that was held by two billion people around the world. Both trace the historical context to the various perspectives on development dealing specifically with the importance that was initially given to economic growth as being synonymous with development. See: Esteva, Gustavo, *Development In: The Development Dictionary- A Guide to Knowledge as Power*, ed Wolfgang Sachs, Witwatersrand University Press, Zed Books, December 1991, p6

¹⁸⁸ Gutiérrez, Gustavo, *Notes for a Theology of Liberation*, 1970, cited from: Sigmund, Paul E., *Liberation Theology at Crossroads: Democracy or Revolution?*, Oxford University Press, 1990, p 206

¹⁸⁹ Rhodes, Ron, *Christian Revolution in Latin America: The Changing face of Liberation Theology*, May 22, 2005, <http://home.earthlink.net/~ronrhodes/Liberation.html> (accessed July 25, 2008)

¹⁹⁰ It ought to be mentioned that the Liberation Theologists were often accused of having strong Marxist leanings by voices like Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger in the Roman Catholic Church. These were countered by Theologists like Boff (“I am not a Marxist. As a Christian and a Franciscan I am in favour of the freedoms and Rights of Religion...I am convinced of the need to continue moving forward, in communion with the magisterium of the church, in creation of an authentic Theology of Liberation.”, p 161) For more see: Sigmund, Paul E., *The Vatican and Liberation Theology: Confrontation and Compromise In: Liberation Theology at Crossroads: Democracy or Revolution?*, Oxford University Press, 1990, pp 154-175

American church during the end of the 1950s and early 1960s. Thus the periodization of the research can also be viewed as a forerunner to a new phase in the role of the Catholic Church during which it redefined its goals in favour of development of the continent.

Thus as worded by Leonardo Boff “Starting in the 1960s, a great wind of renewal blew through the churches. They began to take their social mission seriously: lay persons committed themselves to work among the poor, charismatic bishops and priests encouraged the calls for progress and national modernization. Various church organizations promoted understanding of and improvements in the living conditions of the people: movements such as Young Christian Students, Young Christian Workers, Young Christian Agriculturalists, the Movement for Basic Education, groups that set up educational radio programs, and the first base ecclesial communities.”¹⁹¹

However, it cannot be overlooked that the Church despite these attempts would still not be able to act as a “dynamic and consistent leader in the transformation of social structures throughout the continent”¹⁹² due to its internal contradictions and limitations. This relates to the problems that the Catholic Church faced despite the internal changes especially with regard to education provided in Catholic schools. Most of the priests and clergy were still largely recruited from the “upper sectors of society”¹⁹³ and there was thus a natural affiliation to serve for the needs of their own class. This can be deduced from looking at the classes that the Catholic schools in Puerto Rico catered to whereby the tuition fee charged was not payable by students from poorer families and even if they were, then the preset high academic standards of schooling in these institutions made it difficult for these students to cope up with the academic pressure resulting in these schools catering mainly to the those belonging to richer families. Also due to these financial and educational disadvantages, the clergy was never recruited from “the

¹⁹¹ Boff, Leonardo and Clodovis, *A Concise History of Liberation Theology*, <http://www.landreform.org/boff2.htm> (accessed July 23, 2008)

¹⁹² Smith, Brian H., *Religion and Social Change: Classical Theories and New Formulations in the Context of Recent Developments of Latin America* In, *The Roman Catholic Church in Latin America*, Ed. George Domínguez, Garland Publishing Inc., 1994, p 84

¹⁹³ Smith, Brian H., *Religion and Social Change: Classical Theories and New Formulations in the Context of Recent Developments of Latin America* In, *The Roman Catholic Church in Latin America*, Ed. George Domínguez, Garland Publishing Inc., 1994, p 94

working or lower classes.”¹⁹⁴ Hence one of the main shortcomings of these private Catholic education institutions still persisted to be their lack of siding with the poor. As observed by Vallier “the theory that still characterizes much of their approach to education is very elitist-namely, training children of the upper and middle classes is the most effective way to change the major institutions in a nation.”¹⁹⁵ Nonetheless, a historical account proves it that the Catholic Church’s profile underwent a sizeable transition post the late fifties, sixties and seventies as against what it was thirty years ago.

A watershed in these efforts of the Catholic Church to redefine itself and participate more proactively in providing for the development of the poor was the Medellin Conference of the Latin American episcopate (CELAM II) in 1968, where the Church, which had been the receptor of the material privileges since colonial time owing to its close association with the established order, for the first time “publicly went on record condemning the injustices inherent in existing social and economic structures and placed its moral weight on the side of those seeking major reforms to benefit the poor.”¹⁹⁶ However, in 1972, the Sacred Congregation for Catholic Education in Rome criticized the “increased politicization of Catholic education and the tendencies of the CELAM-sponsored projects of being oriented consciously or unconsciously in many cases towards questioning, criticism and flirting with negative ideologies.”¹⁹⁷ The impact of the Catholic Church, despite all the accusations and internal tensions, ambiguities and limitations, in attempting social changes in Latin America and the Caribbean still remained very significant (though sometimes negative as highlighted by Ivan Illich) as will be analyzed in the following chapters when the Catholic Church cooperated closely with the American state in the implementation of development programmes which

¹⁹⁴ Smith, Brian H., *Religion and Social Change: Classical Theories and New Formulations in the Context of Recent Developments of Latin America* In, *The Roman Catholic Church in Latin America*, Ed. George Domínguez, Garland Publishing Inc., 1994, p 94

¹⁹⁵ Vallier, Ivan, *Catholicism, Social Control and Modernization*, cited from: Smith, Brian H., *Religion and Social Change: Classical Theories and New Formulations in the Context of Recent Developments of Latin America* In, *The Roman Catholic Church in Latin America*, Ed. George Domínguez, Garland Publishing Inc., 1994, p 94

¹⁹⁶ Smith, Brian H., *Religion and Social Change: Classical Theories and New Formulations in the Context of Recent Developments of Latin America* In, *The Roman Catholic Church in Latin America*, Ed. George Domínguez, Garland Publishing Inc., 1994, p 82

¹⁹⁷ Bono, *Five Years After Medellin: Social Action Fades in Latin America*, cited from: Smith, Brian H., *Religion and Social Change: Classical Theories and New Formulations in the Context of Recent Developments of Latin America* In, *The Roman Catholic Church in Latin America*, Ed. George Domínguez, Garland Publishing Inc., 1994, p 95

focused specially on education. Puerto Rico was an important target area of these programmes where many of these ventures were initially tried.

The following chapter provides the important criticisms of the education system in Puerto Rico; the criticisms of the Catholic schools and their education imparting methodology. It most importantly links to the critique of development as viewed by Gustavo Esteva and Ivan Illich and in a larger framework analyses its inherent flaws. Ivan Illich was against the idea of the Church's collaboration in the states's affairs. Hence he was an ardent opponent of the church's collaboration with the US State administration and its policies which aimed at providing development in countries like Puerto Rico. For him the Church was not an institution meant for involvement in the state actions but rather a body that was meant for the spiritual guidance of people. Even though the church had always been associated with missionary activities and charity, its alliance with the state had greater implications as it was an official large scale state involving collaboration. For Illich there was a fundamental difference between the *Mother Church* and the institution that it came to be.

5.0 Ivan Illich (1926-2002)

Ivan Illich was born in Vienna in 1926. The World War II drove him as a refugee to Italy and after the war he was ordained a Catholic priest. In 1951, Illich moved to the United States., where he served as a pastor to Puerto Rican immigrants, living as a priest in Incarnation Parish on the West Side of New York's Manhattan from 1951 to 1956. In 1956 he was appointed the Vice-Rector of the Catholic University of Ponce in Puerto Rico. Puerto Rico galvanized an emerging criticism of economic development, and led in the 1960s to his founding the Centro Intercultural de Documentación (CIDOC) in Cuernavaca, as an institutional base for the exploration of alternatives and radical reflection where he organized an intensive training center for American priests in Latin

American culture.¹⁹⁸ As stated by Carl Mitcham, “By all accounts, CIDOC was a magic place. For visitors from all over, Illich's charismatic spirit of engagement inspired many new beginnings.”¹⁹⁹ Accused by the Vatican of thereby becoming a scandal in the Church, Illich resigned his professional ministry, although he was never laicized or married.²⁰⁰ Mitchman states “Ivan Illich's life provides for me a special window on the twentieth century. It was from CIDOC that Illich published his most widely read books: *Deschooling Society* (1971), *Tools for Conviviality* (1973), and *Medical Nemesis* (1976). In each case Illich identified the phenomenon of counterproductivity: that is, the pursuit of technical processes to the point where their original goals are undermined. Public schooling, first conceived to advance learning, had become an impediment to real education.”²⁰¹

5.1 Ivan Illich in Puerto Rico, Views on the school system, Role of the Catholic Church as an education provider in Puerto Rico

As evident from his professional career and personal affiliation for the island, Puerto Rico acquired a special place in Illich's works serving as not just a practical experience, a social science laboratory for his ideas but also as a ground for voicing those ideas as the vice-rector of the Catholic University of Ponce, Puerto Rico. The issues Illich raised in the Puerto Rican context were varied in nature. These include among many his concern and surprise on how Puerto Rican migrants were received by the people in New York when he states that New Yorkers “fell back upon ready stereotypes to guide their policy decisions. Whatever was worth understanding about Puerto Ricans,

¹⁹⁸ Cayley, David/Mitcham, Carl/ Warshall, Peter / Brown, Jerry/ Nagarajan, Vijaya / Swenson, Lee / Hoinacki, Lee *Remembering Ivan Illich*,
http://ournature.org/~novembre/illich/remembering_ivan_illich.html (accessed April 22, 2008)

¹⁹⁹ Cayley, David/Mitcham, Carl/ Warshall, Peter / Brown, Jerry/ Nagarajan, Vijaya / Swenson, Lee / Hoinacki, Lee *Remembering Ivan Illich*,
http://ournature.org/~novembre/illich/remembering_ivan_illich.html (accessed April 22, 2008)

²⁰⁰ Cayley, David/Mitcham, Carl/ Warshall, Peter / Brown, Jerry/ Nagarajan, Vijaya / Swenson, Lee / Hoinacki, Lee *Remembering Ivan Illich*,
http://ournature.org/~novembre/illich/remembering_ivan_illich.html (accessed April 22, 2008)

²⁰¹ Cayley, David/Mitcham, Carl/ Warshall, Peter / Brown, Jerry/ Nagarajan, Vijaya / Swenson, Lee / Hoinacki, Lee *Remembering Ivan Illich*,
http://ournature.org/~novembre/illich/remembering_ivan_illich.html (accessed April 22, 2008)

they apparently felt, could be explained in old categorical terms coined for preceding groups of immigrants.”²⁰² Illich brought to notice how a real integration of these migrants could be brought about only if the population of United States would “attune their ears and open their hearts to the anguish of a people who were lonely frightened and powerless.”²⁰³ Another concern he voiced was how there was a need to better comprehend their language and their history via an academic study of Puerto Rican literature, music, poetry and social reality together with field work if North Americans truly wanted to help the Puerto Ricans and enter the “spirit of poverty.”²⁰⁴ Of all the concerns that Illich raised with regard to Puerto Rico, education acquires prime importance. His criticisms of the school system in Puerto Rico as also the role of the Catholic Church in this context clearly show that Puerto Rico was an important case study that contributed to the formulation of the idea of a De-schooling Society.

Before attempting an overview of Illich’s criticisms of the Puerto Rican education system which was largely based on the Catholic education institutions’ model, it is imperative to acquire a clear understanding of Illich’s views on education itself. It ought to be remembered that for Illich education was different from schooling and the two could not be used interchangeably. For him, in the modern society the school had acquired or accumulated overambitious tasks, many of which it was incapable of performing. Most students from countries like Puerto Rico who were poor were intuitively aware that schools schooled to confuse process and substance.²⁰⁵ According to Illich:

“Once these become blurred, a new logic is assumed: the more treatment there is the better are the results, or, escalation leads to success. The pupil is thereby schooled to confuse teaching with learning, grade advancement with education, a diploma with competence, and fluency with the ability to say something new. His imagination is

²⁰² Illich, Ivan, *Not foreigners yet foreign*, Celebration of Awareness, A call for Institutional Revolution, London, 1972, p 29

²⁰³ Illich, Ivan, *Not Foreigners Yet Foreign*, Celebration of Awareness, a call for institutional revolution, London, 1972, p 41

²⁰⁴ Illich, Ivan, *Not Foreigners Yet Foreign*, Celebration of Awareness, a call for institutional revolution, London, 1972, p 41

²⁰⁵ Illich, Ivan, *School: The Sacred Cow, Celebration of Awareness, A call for Institutional Revolution*, London, 1972, p 123

schooled to accept service in place of value... Not only education but social reality itself has become schooled.”²⁰⁶

The Catholic Church in this regard played a crucial role in education not just in Puerto Rico but in Latin America at large. In a paper presented at a conference on Education Planning co-sponsored by the University of Puerto Rico and the Puerto Rican Planning Board in July 1967, Illich clearly states “Church schools are by no means a negligible factor in Latin America. The Church spends from 60 to 80 percent of her total budget in any country (except Cuba) for the building and maintenance of schools... Since The Conquest the primary social function of the Latin American Church has been education.”²⁰⁷ Illich posed the very crucial question of whether the purpose of a school system established by any given society could be continually and effectively renewed.²⁰⁸ Here by renewal he implied whether a school system could continually allow new levels of humanism to be reached in teaching and revise its educational technology. Illich spent a long time analyzing the effect that private schools had on the overall educational process in many countries especially Puerto Rico. Private schools in most Latin American and Caribbean countries were the onus of the Catholic Church. According to Illich the purpose of these private schools was dual in nature “They were established to inculcate an ideology which is often taken to be the Catholic Faith, and to offer educational services (i.e. alternate schooling, usually custodial child care) for those whose parents or sponsors are of the moneyed classes.”²⁰⁹

5.2 Criticisms of the school system in Puerto Rico

For Illich the purpose of public education should be to “create a situation in which society obliges each individual to take stock of himself and his poverty. Education

²⁰⁶Illich, Ivan, *Why we Must Abolish Schooling*, The New York Review of Books, 15, 1, July 2, 1970 http://ournature.org/~novembre/illich/1970_Why_We_Must_Abolish_Schooling.html (accessed April 22, 2008)

²⁰⁷ Illich, Ivan, *The Redistribution of Educational Tasks between Schools and other Organs of Society*, July 1967 in Lister, Ian, *Deschooling, a Reader*, Cambridge University Press, 1974, p 62

²⁰⁸ Illich, Ivan, *The Redistribution of Educational Tasks between Schools and other Organs of Society*, July 1967 in Lister, Ian, *Deschooling, a Reader*, Cambridge University Press, 1974, p 62

²⁰⁹Illich, Ivan, *The Redistribution of Educational Tasks between Schools and other Organs of Society*, July 1967 in Lister, Ian, *Deschooling, a Reader*, Cambridge University Press, 1974, p 61

implies a growth of an independent sense of life and a relatedness which go hand in hand with increased access to, and use of, memories stored in the human community. The educational institution provides the focus for this process... The University itself, if it is to be worthy of its traditions, must be an institution whose purposes are identified with the exercise of liberty, whose autonomy is based on public confidence in the use of that liberty.”²¹⁰

As the vice-rector of the Catholic University of Puerto Rico, Ivan Illich gave a graduation speech whereby he clarified his views on the school system stating that:

“Only if we understand the school system as the central myth-making ritual of industrial societies can we explain the deep need for it, the complex myth surrounding it, and the inextricable way in which schooling is tied into the self-image of contemporary man.”²¹¹ Hence for Illich the school system of Puerto Rico was one of the institutions which increased its people’s reliance on institutional care; adding a new dimension to the helplessness, the psychological impotence and the inability of the poor to fend for themselves. In his book titled ‘Celebration of Awareness,’ he mentions how Puerto Rico at that time (the temporal focus of the research) was the only society in the Western Hemisphere dedicating 30 percent of its governmental budget to education. The Puerto Rican schools would cost more and provide more employment than any other public sector. At large the education provided in most schools was meant to cater to those who were privileged and this only served to widen the gap between the rich and the poor in Puerto Rico instead of bridging it. In the graduation speech he states “the graduation rite that we solemnly celebrate today confirms the prerogatives which Puerto Rican society, by means of a costly system of subsidized public schools, confers upon the sons and daughters of its most privileged citizens.”²¹²

As stated above, his criticisms on the education system were grounded in the idea that what was catered to students in Puerto Rican schools was not education in its true sense but schooling whereby students were programmed to follow a certain curricula and

²¹⁰ Illich, Ivan, *School: The Sacred Cow, Celebration of Awareness, A Call for Institutional Revolution*, London, , 1972, p 134

²¹¹ Illich, Ivan, *School: The Sacred Cow, Celebration of Awareness, A call for Institutional Revolution*, London, 1972, p 123

²¹² Illich, Ivan, *School: The Sacred Cow, Celebration of Awareness, A call for Institutional Revolution*, London, 1972, p 123

individual liberty and creativity were lost under the garb of a structured, pre-designed syllabus. In this regard being extremely critical of the school system in Puerto Rico Illich stated that “Puerto Rico has been schooled. I don’t say educated but rather, schooled. Puerto Ricans can no longer conceive of life without reference to the school. The desire for education has actually given way to the compulsion of schooling. Puerto Rico has adopted a new religion. Its doctrine is that education is a product of the school, a product which can be defined by numbers. There are the numbers which indicate how many years a student has spent under the tutelage of teachers, and others which represent the proportion of his correct answers in an examination. Upon the receipt of a diploma the educational product acquires a market value. School attendance in itself thus guarantees inclusion in the membership of disciplined consumers of the technocracy- “... From Governor to jíbaro, Puerto Rico now accepts the ideology of its teachers as it once accepted the theology of its priests.”²¹³ The power that a degree or a diploma held had grown so immensely in Puerto Rico that the poor had come to a stage of blaming their misery on the lack of it. It was a belief of these sections of the Puerto Rican population, deprived of higher degrees or diplomas that it was this factor which prevented them from a greater participation in the society’s powers and privileges. However this discontent in reality did not end simply with the acquisition of a few years of attendance in a school. Illich stated:

“The later a Puerto Rican child drops out of school the more keenly does he feel his failure. Contrary to popular opinion, increasing emphasis on schooling has actually increased class conflict in Puerto Rico, and has also increased the sense of inferiority which Puerto Ricans suffer in relation to the United States.”²¹⁴

In fact, at times one is bound to sense a degree of harshness and bitterness in Illich’s criticisms considering how heavily he attacked not just the school system in Puerto Rico (especially in the time period under consideration) but the idea of schooling and how education had come to be perceived by most institutions in Puerto Rico and

²¹³ Carl Mitcham/ Peter Warshall/ Jerry Brown/ Vijaya Nagarajan/ Lee Swenson, David Cayley/ Lee Hoinacki, Remembering Ivan Illich, http://ournature.org/~novembre/illich/remembering_ivan_illich.html (accessed April 22, 2008)

²¹⁴ Carl Mitcham/ Peter Warshall/ Jerry Brown/ Vijaya Nagarajan/ Lee Swenson, David Cayley/ Lee Hoinacki, Remembering Ivan Illich, http://ournature.org/~novembre/illich/remembering_ivan_illich.html (accessed April 22, 2008)

elsewhere. This harshness can be gauged from statements like “We shall not live long, in any case, if we do not replace the anarchism of national sovereignty, industrial autarchy, and cultural narcissism- which are combined into a stew of leftovers by the schools.”²¹⁵

5.3 Illich’s criticisms of Catholic Church as an education provider in Puerto Rico

Puerto Rico especially had a reputation of having numerous outstanding catholic schools, with most of them featuring in the top levels of academic ratings.²¹⁶ In fact: “The Catholic school was the great symbol of the American presence; the warrant of American ecclesiastical success. It was the transfer to Puerto Rico of the central achievement of American Catholicism on the mainland.”²¹⁷

Illich had to resign from his job as the Vice-Rector of the Catholic University of Puerto Rico due to his opposition to the then Bishop of Ponce who forbade the Puerto Ricans from voting for the then Governor Luis Munõz Marín (Marín advocated state sponsored birth control programmes which were opposed heavily by the Church) Illich’s criticisms were not just against the public schools but also against the private schools run by the Catholic Church in Puerto Rico. To him it was not a mere question that these educational institutions in Puerto Rico primarily served the students who had rich parents or sponsors, as is the charge often levied against them. In fact some of these educational institutions also catered to children who could not afford schooling in these institutions, as a part of the missionary services of the church, or at least there were always greater efforts at their inclusion.²¹⁸ However what Illich contended was the idea that most of these Catholic schools charged a tuition fee of their students, (even though less in certain cases but still quite high) and this was the reason why education or schooling was still not a practical reality for many students in Puerto Rico. Furthermore according to Illich, the

²¹⁵ Illich, Ivan, *School: The Sacred Cow, Celebration of Awareness, A call for Institutional Revolution*, London, 1972, p 127

²¹⁶ CIDOC, *The Catholic School*, Cuernavaca 1970 (CIF Reports v. 6 January – June 1967) Cuaderno 41p 4/5

²¹⁷ CIDOC, *The Catholic School*, Cuernavaca 1970 (CIF Reports v. 6 January – June 1967) Cuaderno 41p 4/5

²¹⁸ CIDOC, *The Catholic School*, Cuernavaca 1970 (CIF Reports v. 6 January – June 1967) Cuaderno 41p 4/5

academic standards in these institutions were enormously high and eventually the academically better prepared students were creamed out leading once again to a systematic exclusion of the rest from the cycle of development.²¹⁹

Most embarrassing for Illich was the revelation that most of the American sisters/monks, who had been teachers on the island for numerous years, had little or no knowledge of the Spanish language.²²⁰ Notwithstanding the fact that this was an island which had been torn apart for decades by bi-lingual difficulties and also that students from Catholic schools were usually well conversed and good with both the languages, Illich's problem here as stated most aptly in a Cuaderno article at CIDOC was "...spirit, the subtle intellectual and cultural climate of the enterprise, the intangible quality which one cannot present in statistics. The schools were American in spirit. They were American institutions translated to Puerto Rican soil. And despite the presence of courses in Spanish language, literature and history, the schools were not communicating to their students, the riches of a cultural tradition the way it would have been communicated in a school steeped in the traditions of the island."²²¹

The thought provoking question that Illich raised was what could the Catholic schools have done or been able to do if their American personnel had mastered Spanish as a language and strived for a greater comprehension of and convergence in the culture of Puerto Rico?²²²

He most aptly pointed out the difference between what the parochial schools in Puerto Rico were doing as against what they had rendered in USA. While in the latter they had served the purpose of being "transmission belts"²²³ for the poor immigrants in order to capacitate the raising of their social and economic status, in Puerto Rico, Illich stated they were serving to further the cause of merely the affluent and in doing so

²¹⁹ CIDOC, *The Catholic School*, Cuernavaca 1970 (CIF Reports v. 6 January – June 1967) Cuaderno 41p 4/6

²²⁰ CIDOC, *The Catholic School*, Cuernavaca 1970 (CIF Reports v. 6 January – June 1967) Cuaderno 41p 4/6

²²¹ CIDOC, *The Catholic School*, Cuernavaca 1970 (CIF Reports v. 6 January – June 1967) Cuaderno 41p 4/6

²²² CIDOC, *The Catholic School*, Cuernavaca 1970 (CIF Reports v. 6 January – June 1967) Cuaderno 41p 4/6

²²³ CIDOC, *The Catholic School*, Cuernavaca 1970 (CIF Reports v. 6 January – June 1967) Cuaderno 41p 4/6

reestablishing the norms prevalent during the Spanish colonial times. Thus the church's services weren't really reaching out to those who needed them the most.

It needs to be pointed out however, that Illich was in no way stating that the Catholic schools should not exist. What he implied was that there was an urgent need to reevaluate the usage of personnel by the Catholic Church in schools. "The dedication of 15 sisters to the education of 850 children in a parochial school on an island that is religiously as deprived as Puerto Rico, is an application of manpower that demands firm justification. He simply asked for a reasonable and intelligent evaluation of the whole situation."²²⁴ In brief Illich could foresee with regard to Catholic Schools, the danger of a form of American ecclesiastical colonialism replacing the Spanish one in the case of Puerto Rico.²²⁵

He stated categorically "The real sacred cow in Puerto Rico is the school. Proponents of commonwealth, statehood, and independence all take it for granted. Actually, none of these political alternatives can liberate a Puerto Rico which continues to put its primary faith in schooling. Thus, if this generation wants the true liberation of Puerto Rico, it will have to invent educational alternatives which put an end to the *age of schooling*. This will be a difficult task. Schooling has developed a formidable folklore. The begowned academic professors whom we have witnessed today evoke the ancient procession of clerics and little angels on the day of Corpus Christi. The Church, holy, Catholic, apostolic, is rivaled by the school, accredited, compulsory, untouchable, universal. *Alma Mater has replaced Mother Church...*The school has become the established church of secular times."²²⁶

Thus for Ivan Illich the Catholic schools in Puerto Rico had to continually renew themselves and the effectiveness of planned change in the Catholic school system depended primarily on the selection of rational scholastic goals intermixed with due personal creative liberty within the overall educational process both formal and informal. According to him if these discussions on the renewal of the education system in Puerto

²²⁴CIDOC, *The Catholic School*, Cuernavaca 1970 (CIF Reports v. 6 January – June 1967) Cuaderno 41p 4/6

²²⁵ CIDOC, *The Catholic School*, Cuernavaca 1970 (CIF Reports v. 6 January – June 1967) Cuaderno 41p 4/6

²²⁶Illich, Ivan, *School: The Sacred Cow, Celebration of Awareness, A call for Institutional Revolution*, London, 1972, pp 126- 127

Rico had to be fruitful, then they had to be held against the background of study of the history of religious institutions which were educational bodies that had to “grapple with the issues now faced by major school systems.”²²⁷

Illich stated that in Puerto Rico “The University has to learn to distinguish between sterile criticism of scholastic authority and a call for the conversion of the school to the educational purposes for which it was founded, between destructive fury and the demand for radically new forms of education-scarcely conceivable by minds formed in the scholastic tradition; between, on the one hand, cynicism which seeks new benefits for the already privileged and, on the other, Socratic sarcasm, which questions the educational efficacy of accepted forms of instruction in which the institution is investing its major resources. It is necessary, in other words, to distinguish between the alienated mob and the profound protest based on rejection of the school as a symbol of the status quo.”²²⁸

5.4 Education and Development, A critique

The aim of this chapter is to comprehend the term development and its link to education in light of the education scenario in Puerto Rico during 1948-60 when the efforts of the state to overtake the school system, the renewed self-definition of Catholic education and the development programmes introduced by the United States were taking place simultaneously on the island in the field of education. The critique of such development programmes is provided via the voices of Ivan Illich and his contemporary counterpart, Gustavo Esteva.

Before attempting to analyse any development efforts or programmes and the myths revolving around them, it is first imperative to ask the question *What is meant by Development?* Does it imply economic growth or change? Or does it have other dimensions too? Is it quantifiable or is it more qualitative? What approach befits its description best? Unfortunately the term has been historically defined and redefined so

²²⁷ Illich, Ivan, *The Redistribution of Educational Tasks between Schools and other Organs of Society*, July 1967 in Lister, Ian, *Deschooling, a Reader*, Cambridge University Press, 1974, p 63

²²⁸ Illich, Ivan, *School: The Sacred Cow, Celebration of Awareness, A call for Institutional Revolution*, London, 1972, p 130

many times that it has come to be loaded used confusingly and uncritically.²²⁹ The European colonial experiment, if traced historically, reflects an era of colonial rule simultaneously accompanied with a spiritual mission from the sixteenth up to the nineteenth century. It entailed and gave birth to concepts like the *White Man's Burden* (in the case of Great Britain) utilized for justifying colonial rule and expansionist tendencies of the colonizers in order to keep the colonized in a state of cultural, political and socio-economic subjugation. The cultures of the colonized, as per such missions, were viewed as being childlike making it an obligation for the colonial power to rule them in order to help them grow culturally and spiritually. Centuries later it appears that the terms and actors have been changed but the objectives have remained very similar. The mission has come to be replaced the twentieth century onwards by the more attractive word development, but the end result persists to be rather unchanged- the subjugation of people. The observation of Puerto Rico's political, social, cultural and economic past of 110 years of US dependence echoes this reality. Puerto Rico indeed is part of a larger scheme of homogenizing a diverse majority via a new version of domination by politicians called development.

Where and when did this idea emerge? Post the World War II, the United States of America emerged as the indispensable world power. "It was undisputedly at the centre of the world. It was the master."²³⁰ However with this powerful position of USA on a global scale came a deep urge to reinforce this status. As put by Gustavo Esteva "The Americans wanted something more."²³¹ In order to consolidate this status and assert it on a global scale, a "political campaign on a global scale that clearly bore their seal"²³² was conceived. On January 20, 1949 when Harry Truman unexpectedly won the American Presidential elections, with his assumption of office he started a completely new era of development. Truman's statement "We must embark on a bold new programme making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the

²²⁹ Esteva, Gustavo, *Development In; The Development Dictionary- A Guide to Knowledge as Power*, Ed Wolfgang Sachs, Witwatersrand University Press, Zed Books, December 1991, p6

²³⁰ Esteva, Gustavo, *Development In; The Development Dictionary- A Guide to Knowledge as Power*, Ed Wolfgang Sachs, Witwatersrand University Press, Zed Books, December 1991, p6

²³¹ Esteva, Gustavo, *Development In; The Development Dictionary- A Guide to Knowledge as Power*, Ed Wolfgang Sachs, Witwatersrand University Press, Zed Books, December 1991, p6

²³² Esteva, Gustavo, *Development In; The Development Dictionary- A Guide to Knowledge as Power*, Ed Wolfgang Sachs, Witwatersrand University Press, Zed Books, December 1991, p6

improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas”²³³ initiated a new phase of US Foreign Policy which bears deep significance for Puerto Rico along with many other countries. As stated by Esteva “By using for the first time in such context the word underdeveloped, Truman changed the meaning of the word development and created the emblem, a euphemism, used ever since to allude either discreetly or inadvertently to the era of American hegemony.”²³⁴ Esteva, as a Mexican states “On that day Truman transformed me and two billion more people into ‘underdeveloped’ populations: humiliated, belittled, prevented from dreaming our own dreams, not trusting our own noses, but trapped by development experts in their business suits, carrying their global portfolios. Our noses cut off, our common sense denied, we could easily be trapped into lusting for their technological marvels; our imaginations and hearts seduced with the idea of becoming like the developed ones; our fantasies for family, country and community wrenched away from the soil beneath our feet in order to fly away from home; to escape into the Never Never Land dreamt up by Truman for the entire planet – reducing Hopi, Hindu and Zapoteco into the same cookie cutter mold.”²³⁵ This reality bore a deep significance for many Puerto Ricans as well who in the coming decades would migrate enmasse to places like the New York City to live their American dream and would perceive development as “an escape from the undignified position called underdevelopment.”²³⁶

However, historically before this message there have been attempts to define this term in a gamut of other ways. The likes of Stevehagen have suggested that development invokes the need “to look within” and “search for one’s own culture.”²³⁷ Others like Rehman have made a call for a greater participatory role of the people, a growing concern over the overdue importance that has been given to concepts that are foreign. In fact these alternatives could also be adjusted within the Puerto Rican case. Esteva states that even

²³³ Esteva, Gustavo, *Development In; The Development Dictionary- A Guide to Knowledge as Power*, Ed Wolfgang Sachs, Witwatersrand University Press, Zed Books, December 1991, p6

²³⁴ Esteva, Gustavo, *Development In; The Development Dictionary- A Guide to Knowledge as Power*, Ed Wolfgang Sachs, Witwatersrand University Press, Zed Books, December 1991, p6

²³⁵ Esteva, Gustavo, *Back from the Future*, 2002

http://gustavoesteva.com/english_site/back_from_the_future.htm (accessed August 11, 2008)

²³⁶ Esteva, Gustavo, *Development In; The Development Dictionary- A Guide to Knowledge as Power*, Ed Wolfgang Sachs, Witwatersrand University Press, Zed Books, December 1991, p7

²³⁷ Esteva, Gustavo, *Development in; The Development Dictionary- A Guide to Knowledge as Power*, ed Wolfgang Sachs, Witwatersrand University Press, Zed Books, December 1991, p7

despite the thought provoking alternatives that Stavenhagen or Rehman or Nyere came up with, the problem would still persist because it did not merely relate to the perception that United States of America had of its Puerto Rican citizens, more importantly it was a problem relating to what the Puerto Ricans conceived of themselves, their cultural self-image and their individuality. Today almost post a century, voices resound how the Puerto Rican culture has been sabotaged by the American one²³⁸ or alternatively it could be said to have been emulated by the insular population. In accordance with Rehman's view Puerto Rico could or could not have had a participation of the people on the issue of political status. The problem persisted in the fact that escaping the above situation, first implied that they agreed to have fallen. As Esteva rightly sums it "to think of development of any kind required first their own perception of themselves as underdeveloped."²³⁹ Hence in Puerto Rico, the New Deal and the Operation Bootstrap or educational reforms implied that there was first an admission of underdevelopment by the Puerto Ricans themselves.

For Esteva education bore a deep link to development "if we are going to talk about schooling and education, I feel the need to speak about development, because for us, in our context, education cannot be de-linked from development. It was part of the package. To be developed, to come out of underdevelopment, meant always to first get an education."²⁴⁰ In fact this also relates to Illich's ideas for whom also the two were interlinked. Illich wrote in great depth about the prevalent notions of development in his book *Celebration of Awareness* (1972) using the example of education, reflecting primarily on how it had emerged since the end of World War II as a concept up to the 1960s. Hence even though the book is a product of the early 1970s, Illich's criticisms reflected in this compilation of writings from the 1950s and 1960s, mirror development and how it was perceived to be in the time span covered by this research. Illich deeply

²³⁸ Ramirez, Rafael L., *National Culture in Puerto Rico*, Latin American Perspectives, 3, 3,1976, p 110

²³⁹ Esteva, Gustavo, *Development in; The Development Dictionary- A Guide to Knowledge as Power*, Ed. Wolfgang Sachs, Witwatersrand University Press, Zed Books, December1991, p7

²⁴⁰ Esteva, Gustavo, *Back from the Future*, 2002

http://gustavoesteva.com/english_site/back_from_the_future.htm (accessed August 11, 2008)

felt the necessity to flout these notions of development and provide alternatives to them as he felt they “concealed highly questionable myths.”²⁴¹

He attempted to explain the hoax behind development using the school system as one of the primary examples. His criticisms were directed against institutions or materialistic and artificially created demands which were used as channels in the so called underdeveloped countries to provide for development, but which in reality only contributed towards the dependence of these countries on the aid providing nations. The school thus presented the classic example as one such institution. In the case of Puerto Rico this bore direct reference to the United States of America which, as obviously evident, initiated many aid policies for the island with the Church in collaboration. Post the Church’s redefinition of its image and objectives, be it via the Vatican II in Europe or the Theology of Liberation in Latin America, the Church defined a new position for itself- that of an institution which would henceforth engage itself more proactively in helping the so called underprivileged overcome their plight. Illich’s problems were more with the foundation of the idea that development could be *provided for*, that it was something that could be delivered in a pre-package way to Puerto Rico and Latin America at large. If this was the case and if it was the belief that Illich was attacking more, then it may be questioned what made the Catholic Church objectionable for Illich as is evident starkly from some of his writings. As already pointed out Illich’s feud was with the myth revolving around the idea of development. His criticisms were against all such institutions which had indoctrinated people into relying heavily upon them and against the materialistic carriers of such development. When during the sixties the Church started getting thoroughly involved in such development aid provision programmes which Illich opposed, for Illich the role of the Catholic Church also became questionable. For it no longer remained to be a spiritually guiding force but became a stakeholder with the state in development aid policies and attempts.

For Illich the ultimate goal of development aid was to “shape not only our preferences but actually our sense of possibilities.”²⁴² His criticisms fit perfectly to the

²⁴¹ Illich, Ivan, *Planned Poverty: The End Result of Technical Assistance*, Celebration of Awareness, A Call for Institutional Revolution, London, 1972, p 157

²⁴² Illich, Ivan, *Planned Poverty: The End Result of Technical Assistance*, Celebration of Awareness, A Call for Institutional Revolution, London, 1972, p 160

Puerto Rican example on observation of the education system of the island during 1948-60. In fact they benefit the education system even more during the 1960s when there was an emphatic new thrust on schooling. The Peace Corps and the Alliance for Progress best signify this focus. The overdependence on cars, hospitals, schools was very evident in Puerto Rico. As observed “Each Month well over 1000 new cars are shipped to the island from the Mainland to be used on more than 3000 miles of paved roads...modern transportation is matched by modern communication devices.”²⁴³ It is these institutionalizations that Illich resented.

Illich attacked the school’s method of functioning in not just Puerto Rico, but largely in Latin America. The motive behind most US endeavours in countries like Puerto Rico was to prove the American goodwill and democratic ideals before the world and Puerto Ricans alike but a more implicit goal was to contain Communism and prevent it from acquiring any roots in the island. In fact the idea was globally pronounced to gain support for the “demand that the rich nations convert their war machine into a programme for the development of the Third World.”²⁴⁴ For Illich this was not a welcome indication for the countries that would be receptors of such programmes for he felt that “this in turn could produce irreversible despair, because the plows of the rich can do as much harm as their swords. ...Once the Third World has become a mass market for the goods, products, and processes which are designed by the rich for themselves, the discrepancy between demand for these Western artefacts and the supply will increase indefinitely.”²⁴⁵

Criticising institutions and the dependence that they had created Illich stated that these institutions guided our perceptions of what was necessary and needed for a better life. The school was one of the primary institutions in this regard. In Puerto Rico, the school system, based completely on the American model contributed towards this purpose so much so that post the New Deal and during Operation Bootstrap era it came to be an established reality that a school would make life better and a person more contributive for society. How much damage this emphatic thrust on education did to

²⁴³ Senior, Clarence, Migration and Economic Development in Puerto Rico, *Journal of Educational Sociology*, 28,4, December, 1954, 154

²⁴⁴ Illich, Ivan, *Planned Poverty: The End Result of Technical Assistance*, Celebration of Awareness, A Call for Institutional Revolution, London, 1972, p 159

²⁴⁵ Illich, Ivan, *Planned Poverty: The End Result of Technical Assistance*, Celebration of Awareness, A Call for Institutional Revolution, London, 1972, p 159

Puerto Rico in terms of class segregation has already been established earlier in the research.²⁴⁶

Illich states categorically “We have become unable to think of better education except in terms of more complex schools and of teachers trained for ever longer periods.”²⁴⁷ In fact this can be explained by Lewis’s observation that the Minister of Education in Puerto Rico, in a platonic sense, was regarded the most important minister of the country. It was this overdependence on the demand created by the school as an institution that the way in which education was perceived came to be completely transformed. The increasing competitiveness and clash between the public schools backed by the US Foreign Policy and the private schools run by the Catholic Church led to a scenario of more focus on grades, degrees, attendance and examinations for some students and lack of morale and motivation for others. As already stated, during 1948 and throughout the 1960s there was an insular willingness to transform from an agrarian economy to an industrial one; it was also a time which marked the outset of new felt needs in all aspects of Puerto Rican life (migration also contributed to feelings of being deprived and unhappy among the people)²⁴⁸, the school being no exception rather the first target of such changes. How far and for how long could development aid have contributed towards providing for such newly generated needs in countries like Puerto Rico? In Puerto Rico despite all the efforts made to introduce the school system, the schooling possibilities that were available in the rural Puerto Rico were completely different and less promising than those available in the urban and suburban areas. This was a rift that development aid and efforts of the Catholic Church could not overcome. Considering the still largely agrarian nature of the country island, it is not difficult to gauge how many would in reality benefit from such development aid policies or church missions.

Criticising pupils’ dependence on institutions he states “We have embodied our world view into our institutions and are now their prisoners. Factories, news media,

²⁴⁶ See: Sussmann, Leila, *Democratization and Class Segregation in Puerto Rican Schooling: The US Model Transplanted*, *Sociology of Education*, 41, 4, 1968, p 322

²⁴⁷ Illich, Ivan, *Planned Poverty: The End Result of Technical Assistance*, Celebration of Awareness, A Call for Institutional Revolution, London, 1972, p 160

²⁴⁸ Also see: Myers, George C., Masnick, George, *The Migration Experience of New York Puerto Ricans: A Perspective on Return*, *International Migration Review*, Vol. 2, No. 2, 1968, 80-90

hospitals, governments, and schools produce goods and services packaged to contain our view of the world. We-the rich-conceive of progress as the expansion of these establishments.”²⁴⁹

Hence as a consequence of this compulsive dependence, “we have packaged education with custodial care, certification for jobs, and the right to vote, and wrapped them all together with indoctrination in the Christian, liberal, or communist virtues.”²⁵⁰ Esteva comments on Illich “In Ivan’s interpretation, those participating in a ritual cannot see the discrepancy which exists between the purpose of the ritual and its consequences. If it doesn’t rain after a rain dance, you may blame yourself but not the ritual. Ivan was the first in seeing schooling as a myth-making ritual.”²⁵¹ Cayley also in continuum notes that schooling was “a ritual creating a myth on which contemporary society then builds itself”²⁵²

Gustavo Esteva in fact established an experimental university in Oaxaca, Mexico called the Universidad de la Tierra or Unitierra which had no curriculum, no compulsory attendance, no emphasis on grades and degrees and a freedom to learn what one desired and thought was most suited to learn. The idea was to provide those who came, with vocational training through apprenticeships, teaching them practical trades, urban agriculture, video production, or social research, or fields of study, like philosophy or communication.²⁵³ The idea behind this experiment, originally emanating from Illich’s views on schooling in which Esteva found great association, originated with the thought of imagining a world without any teachers (also inspired by John McKnight)²⁵⁴ As Esteva states “then something radically different started to come into our conversation.

²⁴⁹Illich, Ivan, *Planned Poverty: The End Result of Technical Assistance*, Celebration of Awareness, A Call for Institutional Revolution, London, 1972, p 160

²⁵⁰Illich, Ivan, *Planned Poverty: The End Result of Technical Assistance*, Celebration of Awareness, A Call for Institutional Revolution, London, 1972, p 161

²⁵¹ Esteva, Gustavo, *Back from the Future*, 2002

http://gustavoesteva.com/english_site/back_from_the_future.htm (accessed August 11, 2008)

²⁵² Cayley, David, *Ivan Illich in Conversation*, Concord: House of Anansi Press, 1992, p 67

²⁵³ Esteva, Gustavo, *Back from the Future*, 2002

http://gustavoesteva.com/english_site/back_from_the_future.htm (accessed August 11, 2008)

²⁵⁴ Esteva, Gustavo, *Back from the Future*, 2002

http://gustavoesteva.com/english_site/back_from_the_future.htm (accessed August 11, 2008)

We imagined a myriad of ways in which the people themselves would create a different kind of life.”²⁵⁵

Esteva realized that “The people in the villages know very well that school prevents their children from learning what they need to know to continue living in their communities, contributing to the common well-being and that of their soils, their places. And school does not prepare them for life or work outside the community.”

There was felt a strong need in most Latin American countries at the time to expand their school systems. Also in Puerto Rico investment in the education system was a reality being seen as the most natural order of progress. However according to Illich, despite the ever increasing investment in the school system “... no country yet succeeds in giving five full years of education to more than one third of its population; supply and demand for schooling grow geometrically apart.”²⁵⁶ If rather than the American emphasis on greater number of schools and schooling hours, an example like the Unitierra would be emulated on the island it would indeed result in better consequences. The lack of motivation and loss of morale among students becomes even more pronounced if they drop out of schools at later ages²⁵⁷ or if they finish schooling but fail to find adequate professional recruitments in their fields of studies as is very common in countries like Puerto Rico. An effective way then could be more realistically and pragmatically devised experiments which would help solve many problems rather than the establishment of more schools which only made education more institutionalized drifting it away from realistic needs of the students. Unitierra conformed to the idea that “we learn better when nobody is teaching us. We can observe this in every baby and in our own experience. Our vital competence comes from learning by doing, without any kind of teaching.”²⁵⁸

Esteva can thus be regarded a more contemporary voice of Illich. One observes similarities in Illich and Esteva’s take on the way development aid was provided for to many countries that were claimed to be underdeveloped. Illich states “Rich nations now

²⁵⁵ Esteva, Gustavo, *Back from the Future*, 2002

http://gustavoesteva.com/english_site/back_from_the_future.htm (accessed August 11, 2008)

²⁵⁶ Illich, Ivan, *Planned Poverty: The End Result of Technical Assistance*, Celebration of Awareness, A Call for Institutional Revolution, London, 1972, p 163

²⁵⁷ Esteva, Gustavo, *Back from the Future*, 2002

http://gustavoesteva.com/english_site/back_from_the_future.htm (accessed August 11, 2008)

²⁵⁸ Esteva, Gustavo, *Back from the Future*, 2002

http://gustavoesteva.com/english_site/back_from_the_future.htm (accessed August 11, 2008)

benevolently impose a strait jacket of traffic jams, hospital confinements, and classrooms on the poor nations and by international agreement call this development.”²⁵⁹

Illich also in accordance with Esteva’s observations on development, remarks “underdevelopment is also a state of mind, and understanding it as a state of mind, or as a form of consciousness, is the critical problem. Underdevelopment as a state of mind occurs when mass needs are converted to the demand for new brands of packaged solutions which are forever beyond the reach of the majority. Underdevelopment in this sense is rising rapidly even in countries where the supply of classrooms, calories, cars and clinics is also rising.”²⁶⁰ In fact for him underdevelopment was the extreme result of *Verdinglichung* or reification which meant the “hardening of the perception of real needs into the demand for mass manufactured products.”²⁶¹

The belief that schools would be a channel towards development led to the equation of schooling with education and the gradual denigration of any education that could be catered outside schools. It was this indoctrination that Illich questioned for to him it carried no foundational basis.

From the above stems Illich’s observation that “Underdevelopment is at the point of becoming chronic in many countries...chronic educational underdevelopment occurs when the demand for schooling becomes so widespread that the total concentration of educational resources on the school system becomes a unanimous political demand. At this point the separation of education from schooling becomes impossible;”²⁶² This of course makes Puerto Rico the best example where the insular as well as foreign and clerical involvement in an ever expanding school system only provoked problems- be they linguistic, related to lack of vocational training or internal differentiation among classes.

²⁵⁹Illich, Ivan, *Planned Poverty: The End Result of Technical Assistance*, Celebration of Awareness, A Call for Institutional Revolution, London, 1972, p 162

²⁶⁰Illich, Ivan, *Planned Poverty: The End Result of Technical Assistance*, Celebration of Awareness, A Call for Institutional Revolution, London, 1972, p 165

²⁶¹Illich, Ivan, *Planned Poverty: The End Result of Technical Assistance*, Celebration of Awareness, A Call for Institutional Revolution, London, 1972, p 166

²⁶² Illich, Ivan, *Planned Poverty: The End Result of Technical Assistance*, Celebration of Awareness, A Call for Institutional Revolution, London, 1972, p 166

6.0 Effects: The Peace Corps & Alliance for Progress

According to Gustavo Esteva, “In Latin America, the Peace Corps, the Point Four Programme, The War on Poverty and the Alliance for Progress contributed to root the notion of underdevelopment into popular perception and to deepen the disability created by such perception.”²⁶³

Peace Corps:

One of the many aspects of the US Foreign Policy to implement its experimentation with development in the so called underdeveloped world was *The Peace Corps*, originally starting as the idea of President John F. Kennedy (1960) who was also instrumental in the designing the Alliance for Progress, both not divided by a very big time difference during the sixties. Kennedy in one of his highly commemorated speeches stated in the Inaugural Address “And so, my fellow Americans: ask not what your country can do for you — ask what you can do for your country. — My fellow citizens of the world: ask not what America will do for you, but what together we can do for the freedom of man.”²⁶⁴ This approach marked a tremendous shift in the US Foreign Policy in a decade torn by Cold War realities. This was in fact the first time that such a reformative zeal was exhibited by the White House with a new vigour for developing the underdeveloped.²⁶⁵ The Speech in 1960 addressed to the young American population attracted great attention and response and thus in 1961, Peace Corps was officially established for the promotion of world peace having a three-pronged goal of helping people from interested countries in meeting their needs for trained men and women, helping promote a better understanding of the Americans on the part of the peoples

²⁶³ Esteva, Gustavo, *Development In; The Development Dictionary- A Guide to Knowledge as Power*, Ed Wolfgang Sachs, Witwatersrand University Press, Zed Books, December 1991, p7

²⁶⁴ Kennedy, John F., *Inaugural Address*, January 20, 1961, <http://www.bartleby.com/124/pres56.html> (accessed June 10, 2008)

²⁶⁵ *Peace Corps*, <http://www.peacecorps.gov/> (accessed June 30, 2008)

served and finally helping promote a better understanding of other peoples on the part of Americans.²⁶⁶

The Peace Corps would work in the areas of education, youth outreach, and community development; business development; agriculture and environment and health.²⁶⁷ How free this education catered to these so called underdeveloped countries remained of an American flavour and to what degree did it give account to local educational peculiarities remains questionable.

One of the founding beliefs of the Corps was that education is fundamental to human progress and it enables individuals and communities to acquire skills and knowledge essential for improving their quality of life.²⁶⁸ In fact this is part of the mainstream discourse on development aid which was strongly contested by the likes of Illich and Esteva.

It could be agreed upon that education is fundamental to progress but from Illich's perspective it could be questioned whether what the Peace Corps volunteers in their short-term visits were catering was education at all or was it a rudimentary form of the school system which people did not need to be accustomed to?²⁶⁹ Many of these volunteers were also responsible for training teachers informally or formally in English, academic subjects, or methodology in the hope to attain a sustainable impact. But it remains questionable just how much of these goals could the volunteers achieve when they were merely on short-term visits? When they themselves were often not well conversant in the languages of the people they communicated with, when they were also often fresh out of schools with no real work experiences abroad and came with the hope to add another merit to their résumé?²⁷⁰

Once again the Corps like many other US efforts carried the mission of “demonstrating that the United States still has good intentions abroad.”²⁷¹ As stated by

²⁶⁶ *Peace Corps*, <http://www.peacecorps.gov/> (accessed June 30, 2008)

²⁶⁷ *Peace Corps*, <http://www.peacecorps.gov/> (accessed June 30, 2008)

²⁶⁸ *Peace Corps*, <http://www.peacecorps.gov/> (accessed June 30, 2008)

²⁶⁹ Illich, Ivan, *Planned Poverty: The End Result of Technical Assistance*, Celebration of Awareness, A Call for Institutional Revolution, London, 1972, p 166

²⁷⁰ Strauss Robert L., *Think Again: The Peace Corps*, http://www.foreignpolicy.com/story/cms.php?story_id=4295&page=2 (accessed July 23, 2008)

²⁷¹ Strauss Robert L., *Think Again: The Peace Corps*, http://www.foreignpolicy.com/story/cms.php?story_id=4295&page=2 (accessed July 23, 2008)

Robert L. Strauss, who had been a Peace Corps country director, recruiter, consultant, and volunteer “That puts the Peace Corps and its volunteers in an awkward position. The Peace Corps was created as a separate, independent agency so that it would not be subject to short-term foreign-policy objectives. Volunteers aren’t trained or expected to represent the U.S. government, its positions, or its interests. When the Peace Corps is characterized as an effective diplomatic weapon, it is thanks to the goodwill that volunteers generate toward the American people, not toward official U.S. policy.”²⁷²

One of the main shortcomings of the Peace Corps as pointed out by him was that it always had plans but not a strategy. “A strategy implies a conclusion, a final goal. The Peace Corps has none.”²⁷³ Introduced at a time when the US Foreign Policy was looking frantically for new means and ways to reassert not just its powerful status but also to indicate that its plans were a continuum of the charitable mission, it would not be naïve to conclude that such attempts, regardless of the little good or the greater harm that they did to their receivers, ended up being potent diplomatic tools for the US Foreign Policy.²⁷⁴ As Strauss states “The rush to fulfill John F. Kennedy’s 1960 campaign pledge was such that the Peace Corps never learned to crawl, let alone walk, before it set off at a sprinter’s pace. The result is a schizophrenic entity, unsure if it is a development organization, a cheerleader for international goodwill, or a government-sponsored cross-cultural exchange program. In any case, the Peace Corps tries to do too many things in too many places with too few people to really get much of anything done at all.”²⁷⁵

However, there are many voices that also defend the Corps “Most Peace Corps volunteer placements will be soft in positions where big steps towards progress are not feasible. Not to act like a Pollyanna for the Corps but I do think that Volunteers have big impact. May be not all of us, but enough come back and teach, enter public service, run

²⁷² Strauss Robert L., *Think Again: The Peace Corps*, http://www.foreignpolicy.com/story/cms.php?story_id=4295&page=2 (accessed July 23, 2008)

²⁷³ Strauss Robert L., *Think Again: The Peace Corps*, http://www.foreignpolicy.com/story/cms.php?story_id=4295&page=2 (accessed July 23, 2008)

²⁷⁴ Strauss Robert L., *Think Again: The Peace Corps*, see online: http://www.foreignpolicy.com/story/cms.php?story_id=4295&page=2

²⁷⁵ Strauss Robert L., *Think Again: The Peace Corps*, see online: http://www.foreignpolicy.com/story/cms.php?story_id=4295&page=2

for office, conduct research.”²⁷⁶ “The Peace Corps emphasized emotions and personal commitment as keys to social change, as did the civil rights and peace movements.”²⁷⁷ As its second director, Jack Vaughn (1966-1969) said: “The Peace Corps is about love”.²⁷⁸

Kaller-Dietrich informs “The Peace Corps is still growing. President George W. Bush pledged to double the size of the Peace Corps. After the declaration the “War on Terror” and in response to growing global anti-U.S. sentiment after 9/11 and the invasion of Iraq they were supposed to improve the US image in the world. Throughout the almost fifty years of its existence it can be observed that the Peace Corps program always reflected the evolving and expanding ideology of the United States, as well as its opposition, represented to a high degree by the volunteers themselves.”²⁷⁹

However, this opposition has not been limited just to the Volunteers but also came from Illich as pointed previously. The harshest of these criticisms can be observed in Illich’s Cuernavaca Speech of 1968 which was addressed to a group of volunteers prompting them to quit the idea of offering to help Latin America develop. Illich stated “the only thing you can legitimately volunteer for in Latin America might be voluntary powerlessness, voluntary presence as receivers, as such, as hopefully beloved or adopted ones without any way of returning the gift.”²⁸⁰ Though Illich did not doubt the noble intentions of most of the volunteers, who in the case of Peace Corps were mostly fresh college graduates he believed that their ignorance of the cultures and realities of countries they went to could produce counter-productive results “I do have deep faith in the enormous good will of the U.S. volunteer. However, his good faith can usually be explained only by an abysmal lack of intuitive delicacy. By definition, you cannot help

²⁷⁶ Primack, Avram A Comment on [Think Again RPCVs: Robert L. Strauss](http://writinginthewild.com/2008/07/18/think-again-rpcvs-robert-l-strauss-revisited/), May 20, 2008. <http://writinginthewild.com/2008/07/18/think-again-rpcvs-robert-l-strauss-revisited/> (accessed August 15, 2008)

²⁷⁷ Primack, Avram A Comment on [Think Again RPCVs: Robert L. Strauss](http://writinginthewild.com/2008/07/18/think-again-rpcvs-robert-l-strauss-revisited/), May 20, 2008. <http://writinginthewild.com/2008/07/18/think-again-rpcvs-robert-l-strauss-revisited/> (accessed August 15, 2008)

²⁷⁸ Cobbs Hoffman, Elizabeth: *All You Need Is Love. The Peace Corps and the Spirit of the 1960s*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press 1998, 9., cited from: Kaller-Dietrich, Martina, *Peace Corps*, Forthcoming article In; *The Peace Encyclopedia*, Ed. Nigel Young, Oxford University Press 2009

²⁷⁹ Kaller-Dietrich, Martina, *Peace Corps*, Forthcoming article In; *The Peace Encyclopedia*, Ed. Nigel Young, Oxford University Press 2009

²⁸⁰ Illich, Ivan, *Cuernavaca Speech*, April 20, 1968, http://www.davidtinapple.com/illich/1968_cuernavaca.html (accessed April 22, 2008)

being ultimately vacationing salesmen for the middle-class 'American Way of Life,' since that is really the only life you know. A group like this could not have developed unless a mood in the United States had supported it - the belief that any true American must share God's blessings with his poorer fellow men. The idea that every American has something to give, and at all times may, can and should give it, explains why it occurred to students that they could help Mexican peasants "develop" by spending a few months in their villages."²⁸¹

This conviction that was inculcated in the young American volunteer was supported by the missionary order as well. In fact for Illich they had an even stronger faith in it. Directly criticizing the Peace Corps Illich raises a very thought provoking question about adaptation of the American Volunteers to their new work environment in different countries "the Peace Corps spends around \$10,000 on each corps member to help him adapt to his new environment and to guard him against culture shock. How odd that nobody ever thought about spending money to educate poor Mexicans in order to prevent them from the culture shock of meeting you?

In fact, you cannot even meet the majority which you pretend to serve in Latin America - even if you could speak their language, which most of you cannot. You can only dialogue with those like you - Latin American imitations of the North American middle class. There is no way for you to really meet with the underprivileged, since there is no common ground whatsoever for you to meet on."²⁸²

Illich's Speech indeed raised important questions related to development aid programmes initiated by USA which were meant to develop its neighbours. His anguish at the very idea can be gauge from the sarcasm that resounds in the following lines: I am here to challenge you to recognize your inability, your powerlessness and your incapacity to do the "good" which you intended to do. I am here to entreat you to use your money, your status and your education to travel in Latin America. Come to look, come to climb our mountains, to enjoy our flowers. Come to study. But do not come to help."²⁸³

²⁸¹ Illich, Ivan, *Cuernavaca Speech*, April 20, 1968, http://www.davidtinapple.com/illich/1968_cuernavaca.html (accessed April 22, 2008)

²⁸² Illich, Ivan, *Cuernavaca Speech*, April 20, 1968, http://www.davidtinapple.com/illich/1968_cuernavaca.html (accessed April 22, 2008)

²⁸³ Illich, Ivan, *Cuernavaca Speech*, April 20, 1968, http://www.davidtinapple.com/illich/1968_cuernavaca.html (accessed April 22, 2008)

Alliance for Progress:

The Alliance for Progress was introduced by the Kennedy administration of the United States, proposing a vast ten year programme for the Americas with the manifold aim “to transform the 1960s into a historic decade of democratic progress.”²⁸⁴ For Kennedy this Alliance was a breakthrough from the past and he believed that if it achieved success, then it would transform Latin American history, politics, society and economy for ever.²⁸⁵ Though the roots of the Alliance and the conception of such an idea can be traced back to the late fifties, the first official announcement regarding such a plan was made by Kennedy as the President in his inaugural speech on January 20, 1961 when he stated “To our sister republics...we offer a special pledge-to convert our good words into good deeds, in a new Alliance for Progress, to assist free men and free governments in casting off the chains of poverty.”²⁸⁶ This statement was reinforced with a great vigour once again at an address by the President to the Latin American diplomats and Members of the Congress in March, 1961 when once again he stated “ I have called on all people of the hemisphere to join in a new Alliance for Progress- *Allianza para Progreso*- a vast cooperative effort, unparalleled in magnitude and nobility of purpose, to satisfy basic needs of the American people for homes, work and land, health and school- *techo, trabajo y tierra, salud y escuela.*”²⁸⁷ Kennedy stated that the Latin American continent faced numerous dangerous problems and in order to deal with them a more active approach was required of the United States of America.²⁸⁸ As per the Washington Post “the President abandoned the stand-pat rhetoric used too often in years.”²⁸⁹

²⁸⁴ Kennedy, John F., *Preliminary Formulations of the Alliance for Progress*, White House Reception for Latin American Diplomats and Members of Congress, March 13, 1961 <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1961kennedy-afp1.html> (accessed July 28, 2008)

²⁸⁵ Kennedy, John F., *Preliminary Formulations of the Alliance for Progress*, White House Reception for Latin American Diplomats and Members of Congress, March 13, 1961 <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1961kennedy-afp1.html> (accessed July 28, 2008)

²⁸⁶ Kennedy, John F., *Inaugural Address*, January 20, 1961, <http://www.bartleby.com/124/pres56.html> (accessed June 10, 2008)

²⁸⁷ Kennedy, John F., *Preliminary Formulations of the Alliance for Progress*, White House Reception for Latin American Diplomats and Members of Congress, March 13, 1961 <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1961kennedy-afp1.html> (accessed July 28, 2008)

²⁸⁸Taffet, Jeffery E., *Foreign Aid as Foreign Policy: The Alliance for Progress in Latin America*, Routledge, April 23, 2007, p 11

²⁸⁹Taffet, Jeffery E., *Foreign Aid as Foreign Policy: The Alliance for Progress in Latin America*, Routledge, April 23, 2007, p 11

As the first step in the American aid to help its neighbours Kennedy announced the dispatch of a sum of five hundred million dollars which he stated would be used “to combat illiteracy, improve the productivity and use of their land, wipe out disease, attack archaic tax and land-tenure structures, provide educational opportunities, and offer a broad range of projects designed to make the benefits of increasing abundance available to all.”²⁹⁰ Among its long list of ambitious aims the Alliance targeted upon economic integration towards larger markets and greater competitive opportunity, land reforms, setting up of a Food-for- Peace emergency programme for the purpose of establishing food reserves in areas that were victimized by recurrent droughts, provision of school lunches for children, exchange of scientific knowledge and advancements towards progress in the fields of agriculture, physics, medicine, astronomy etc., training of manpower for the emerging economies of developing countries via training programmes and assistance of the Peace Corps, intimate cooperation in higher education, provision of basic education for all, defense of American nations whose freedom was endangered, limitation of armaments and academic exchanges among universities.²⁹¹

Though explicitly a brilliant attempt towards development aid provision for countries also like Puerto Rico, the Alliance implicitly held other reasons for its inception. In 1959-60 Fidel Castro, had managed to overthrow the Batista regime in Cuba. Just like Puerto Rico, this Spanish colony had seen the transformation into a semi-colony of the US, being granted independence in 1902 but on the condition that the United States could intervene in its internal matters in case there was a threat to the island’s stability.²⁹² Fidel Castro’s revolutionary ideas and “fiery rhetoric about independence and nationalism”²⁹³ increased tensions with the United States. These tensions and an increasing hostility towards the Cuban revolutionary leaders like Che Guevara and the Castro brothers, prompted Fidel Castro to extend a friendly relationship

²⁹⁰ Kennedy, John F., *Preliminary Formulations of the Alliance for Progress*, White House Reception for Latin American Diplomats and Members of Congress, March 13, 1961
<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1961kennedy-afp1.html> (accessed July 28, 2008)

²⁹¹ Kennedy, John F., *Preliminary Formulations of the Alliance for Progress*, White House Reception for Latin American Diplomats and Members of Congress, March 13, 1961
<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1961kennedy-afp1.html> (accessed July 28, 2008)

²⁹² See: Platt Amendment 1903, <http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/platt.htm> (accessed August 17, 2008)

²⁹³ Taffet, Jeffery E., *Foreign Aid as Foreign Policy: The Alliance for Progress in Latin America*, Routledge, April 23, 2007, p 12

with the Soviet Union. With the Cold War at its peak point, this was seen as a major threat by the US Policy makers and Kennedy alike. There was a potential fear felt that Cuba could indeed be a model of emulation for other Latin American and Caribbean countries as well. “The poverty that existed in Cuba was ubiquitous in Latin America and Castro’s example could encourage more Anti-American/pro Communist movements throughout the hemisphere.”²⁹⁴ Kennedy feared that this could have devastating consequences for both Latin America and USA alike.

Thus the Alliance for progress announced in such political conditions, was meant serve as the American answer to Communism particularly to Castro-communism. Here once again Puerto Rico acquired tremendous importance for American foreign policy makers. The country island had served as USA’s military defense base due to its strategic geopolitical location. In order to ensure that Communism did not approach this country and it remained a stooge for US defense, the Alliance for Progress was introduced with a great emphasis on the island. Education was one of the primary thrusts of the Alliance.²⁹⁵ The Alliance, initiated by the first Catholic President of the United States, received great support from the Catholic Church which collaborated in the US efforts to provide for development on the island making its presence in the country even more prominent than before.

This support can be gauged immediately from the fact that in 1960, Pope John XXIII enjoined all United States and Canadian religious superiors to send, within ten years, ten percent of their effective strength in priests and nuns to Latin America. “This papal request was interpreted by most United States Catholics as a call to help modernize the Latin American Church along the lines of the North American model. The Continent on which half of all Catholics live had to be saved from “Castro-Communism.”²⁹⁶

An ambitious plan to help towards the development of Puerto Rico, the Alliance for Progress faced the brunt of Illich’s severe opposition. According to Lewis the Alliance for Progress aimed at giving a fresh start to American leadership in the

²⁹⁴ Taffet, Jeffery E., *Foreign Aid as Foreign Policy: The Alliance for Progress in Latin America*, Routledge, April 23, 2007, p 12

²⁹⁵ Kennedy, John F., *Preliminary Formulations of the Alliance for Progress*, White House Reception for Latin American Diplomats and Members of Congress, March 13, 1961
<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1961kennedy-afp1.html> (accessed July 28, 2008)

²⁹⁶ Illich, Ivan, *The Seamy Side of Charity* In; *Celebration of Awareness, A Call for Institutional Revolution*, London, 1972, p 53

Caribbean and Latin America.²⁹⁷ Among others it outlined “the relation of economic development to social progress, the need for long-range commitments as distinct from the piecemeal projects of the old technical assistance programmes, the recognition that international economic institutions appropriate to a Latin American programme must get away fiscal and administrative orthodoxies characteristic of bodies like the World Bank and IMF, the sentiment above all else, for an international technical civil service that will transcend merely national loyalties...”In short it sought to “...break new ground and create new precedents”²⁹⁸

Illich was opposed to the execution of this order as he saw it as a mistake that would affect all involved. He believed that it would do serious damage to those sent, to their clients or in this case the people of Puerto Rico and to their sponsors back in the United States.

According to Illich “I had learnt in Puerto Rico that there are only a few people who are not stunted, or wholly destroyed by life long work for the poor in a foreign country. The transfer of United States living standards and expectations could only impede the revolutionary changes needed, and the use of gospel in the service of capitalism or any other ideology was wrong.”²⁹⁹

In order to stop the crusade Illich set up a centre in Cuernavaca (owing to its location, climate and logistics). This centre (CIDOC) had the dual purpose of firstly to help prevent the negative consequences that the papal order could have. This would be done via an educational programme for the missionaries who were to go as part of the order. The aim was that this educational programme would challenge the missionaries and so that they would refuse their assignments or even if they decided to accept them, they would be ready to admit that they were ill prepared to offer real help. The second purpose behind setting up CIDOC was to ensure some kind of participation in the decision making process of the agencies which were the sponsors of missions in Latin America at large so as to dissuade them to support the implementation of this plan.

²⁹⁷ Lewis K. Gordon, *Puerto Rico Freedom and Power in the Caribbean*, Monthly Review Press, New York & London, 1963, p 12

²⁹⁸ Lewis K. Gordon, *Puerto Rico Freedom and Power in the Caribbean*, Monthly Review Press, New York & London, 1963, p 12

²⁹⁹ Illich, Ivan, *The Seamy Side of Charity In; Celebration of Awareness, A Call for Institutional Revolution*, London, 1972, p 54

In an article written for the Jesuit magazine *America* in January 1967, Illich states “Five years ago, United States Catholics undertook a peculiar alliance for the progress of the Latin American church. By 1970, 10 percent of more than 225,000 priests, brothers, and sisters would volunteer to be shipped south of the border... The project relied on an impulse supported by uncritical imagination and sentimental judgement.”³⁰⁰ For Illich the Alliance stood as yet another attempt made by the United States to keep not just Puerto Rico but Latin America at large away from the ideologies prevalent in the East in the turbulent Cold War years and to ensure its ideological domination in the immediate neighbourhood. In fact Illich levied the criticism that creation of these papal volunteers and missionaries was just an outburst in efforts towards charity the problem being that “Men and money sent with missionary motivation carry a foreign Christian image, a foreign pastoral approach, and a foreign political message. They also bear the mark of North American capitalism of the 1950s. Why not, for once, consider the seamy side of charity; weigh the inevitable burdens foreign help imposes on the South American Church; taste the bitterness of the damage done by our sacrifices? If for example, United States Catholics would simply turn from the dream of “10 per cent,” and do some honest thinking about the implication of their help, the awakened awareness of intrinsic fallacies could lead to sober, meaningful generosity.”³⁰¹

There had been a tremendous increase in the finances invested into the operation of the Church in Latin America through three external channels namely the donations made by individual donors who appealed to those faithful to the Catholic Church towards the cause of helping towards the so called development of Puerto Rican people, the lump sum contributions of influential individual churchmen or certain organizations and finally through the assignment of priests, religious men and laymen, “all trained at considerable cost and often backed financially by in their apostolic undertakings.”³⁰²

According to Illich, even though the intentions behind individual donations and agreement to go to Puerto Rico could have been noble in nature, the consequences of

³⁰⁰Illich, Ivan, *The Seamy Side of Charity* In; Celebration of Awareness, A Call for Institutional Revolution, London, 1972, p 55

³⁰¹ Illich, Ivan, *The Seamy Side of Charity* In; Celebration of Awareness, A Call for Institutional Revolution, London, 1972, pp 58-59

³⁰²Illich, Ivan, *The Seamy Side of Charity* In; Celebration of Awareness, A Call for Institutional Revolution, London, 1972, p 59

such missions were eventually dangerous and unfruitful in the long run as Illich believed that “This kind of foreign generosity has enticed the Latin American Church into becoming a satellite to North Atlantic cultural phenomena and policy.”³⁰³ The problem lay in the fact that such aid only generated further demands in a country like Puerto Rico which could not be sustained for long considering that the aid was limited in nature and came from outside making it more dependent than before on the United States. Hence “Instead of learning how to get along with less money or else close up shop, bishops are being trapped into needing more money now and bequeathing an institution impossible to run in the future. Education, the one type of investment that could give long-range returns, is conceived mostly as training for bureaucrats who will maintain the existing apparatus.”³⁰⁴

While a century post Spain losing its Latin American colonies, the Church increasingly suffered from the loss of government grants, revenues from its former lands, the 1960s demarcated a phase whereby the faith in the Catholic Church as a development aid provider and within that as a provider of education, was re-established. While often categorized as a historical relic prior to the Alliance for Progress and others of the like, “By 1966 almost the contrary seems true—at least at first sight. The Church has become an agent trusted to run programs aimed at social change. It is committed enough to produce some results. But when it is threatened by real change, it withdraws rather than permit social awareness to spread like wildfire. The smothering of the Brazilian radio school is by a high Church authority is a good example.”³⁰⁵

Criticising the American monopoly over the way of life of people and the Americanization of their minds, which made them doubt themselves and regard their condition as undignified, Illich said “The U.S. way of life has become a religion which must be accepted by all those who do not want to die by the sword - or napalm. All over the globe the U.S. is fighting to protect and develop at least a minority who consume what the U.S. majority can afford. Such is the purpose of the Alliance for Progress of the

³⁰³Illich, Ivan, *The Seamy Side of Charity* In; Celebration of Awareness, A Call for Institutional Revolution, London, 1972, p 59

³⁰⁴Illich, Ivan, *The Seamy Side of Charity* In; Celebration of Awareness, A Call for Institutional Revolution, London, 1972, p 60

³⁰⁵Illich, Ivan, *The Seamy Side of Charity* In; Celebration of Awareness, A Call for Institutional Revolution, London, 1972, p 60.

middle-classes which the U.S. signed with Latin America some years ago. But increasingly this commercial alliance must be protected by weapons which allow the minority who can "make it" to protect their acquisitions and achievements.”³⁰⁶

Thus what Illich was opposing was not the generosity of the numerous donors, missionaries or volunteers but the unending internal demand that the provision of development aid from outside created in not just Puerto Rico but in almost all Latin American countries. In *Celebration of Awareness* Illich states “The Alliance for Progress is a good example of benevolent production for underdevelopment. Contrary to its slogans, it did succeed as an alliance for the progress of the consuming classes, and for the domestication of the Latin American masses. The Alliance has been a major step in modernizing the consumption patterns of the middle classes in South America by integrating them with the dominant culture of the North American metropolis. At the same time, the Alliance has modernized the aspirations of the majority of citizens and fixed their demands on unavailable products.”³⁰⁷ It had thus come to be an example of American ‘benevolent hegemony.’³⁰⁸

³⁰⁶ Illich, Ivan, *Cuernavaca Speech*, April 20, 1968,

http://www.davidtinapple.com/illich/1968_cuernavaca.html (accessed April 22, 2008)

³⁰⁷ Illich, Ivan, *Planned Poverty: The End Result of Technical Assistance*, *Celebration of Awareness, A Call for Institutional Revolution*, London, 1972, pp 162-163

³⁰⁸ This is an idea rooted in American exceptionalism, grounded in the belief that “it is the duty of the United States to help the rest of the world follow the example of the chosen people.” (Trevor B. McCrisken, *American Exceptionalism and the Legacy of Vietnam: US Foreign Policy Since 1974*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003) As, worded by a US national security document the power of the US is “[s]ustained by faith in the principles of liberty, and the value of a free society, this position comes with unparalleled responsibilities, obligations, and opportunity...” to spread those principles and values. (White House, 'The National Security Strategy of the United States of America', ed. National Security Council, 2002)

See: Ataka, Hiroaki/ Jose Caballero, *Selling Progress: Benevolent Hegemony and the Remaking of the Latin American Ideological Structure*, 49th Parallel, Conference Special Edition, 2006

7.0 Conclusion

This research has thus attempted to describe the overall political, economic and social situation in Puerto Rico post 1898 to better comprehend the role of the education system in the Puerto Rican society and the simultaneous transformations it witnessed due to changes in the island's socio-economic, political and cultural settings. An analysis of the education system which existed during the Spanish rule was presented for giving a historical context to the topic.

What emerges from the research is that the Catholic Church played an important role in education provision on the island during the Spanish rule. After 1898, the American suzerainty had a deep felt impact on the Puerto Rican education system as it struggled for its own identity and self-image against an increasingly felt Americanization and adoption of the US education model. The thrust on education especially during the Operation Bootstrap era led to a whole new emphasis on public schools with the attempts of the state to take charge of the school system in the country. The Catholic education institutions, which came under the category of private schools during this phase faced the challenge of the public schools with their new curricula, democratic American ideals, focus on scientific enquiry and technological progress. But what was deduced from the researcher's analysis is that these private education institutions managed remarkably well to survive the challenges posed by the state controlled public schools. In fact the impetus given to rapid educational growth on the island, emulating the American idea of education for all, led to certain counterproductive consequences as by 1960 it was observed that while the private Catholic schools maintained their standards of school teaching and curriculum or rather even improvised them, the public schools accommodating the majority of Puerto Rican children, declined in the quality of education imparted. This in turn led to a major gulf between the two types of schools on the island even leading some to see the Catholic schools as a potential social threat due to the internal class segregation witnessed in the field of education.

Post the sixties, attempts were made to ensure that Catholic schools and universities would survive the tryst of a rapidly modernizing society as seen from the Vatican Council II's Christian Declaration on Education. Hence the Declaration

resounded a new emphasis in Catholic education on natural sciences, inculcation of a spirit of inquiry among students, increased professionalization while simultaneously retaining the original objective of teaching in the light of the evangelical values.

This was also a decade that heralded a new impetus on the Church's self-redefinition to become more proactively involved in society and renew its role by also becoming an agent of social change and uplifting the poor. During this time it was held that the Church had to not just spiritually guide and heal but also to act in order to ensure a just and fraternal world. These attempts by the Latin American Church took the form of the Theology of Liberation with the Catholic Church observing a *changing of the guard* in its previous role and not restraining its contributions merely to apostolic activities. In fact this change in the definition of the Church's objectives in becoming a proactive agent of social change in favour of the poor could be seen as the spark that vigorously ignited the Church's involvement in development aid programmes globally. Puerto Rico in this context once again acquires prime importance being witness to the US Foreign Policy development aid efforts, Catholic, an experimental ground for the American ventures and a pilot project for the Mainland. The Catholic Church and the US Foreign Policy attempts towards development in Puerto Rico become lucidly evident through the likes of the The Point Four Programme, the Alliance for Progress and the Peace Corps.

From this analysis in the research follows the view on development and how it is has come to acquire a loaded term post the sixties. Illich's criticisms furthered by those of Gustavo Esteva provide a critique of the mainstream view on development. Together the two dismiss the hoax called the school system. Illich being a witness to the increasing institutionalization of society, critically dismantled the role that the school had come to adopt and the importance it was given in all societies as an agent essential for development. The example Unitierra, Gustavo Esteva's experimentation in the field of education in Oaxaca, Mexico is analyzed to see how new means of education could be devised. The critique lucidly establishes the distinction between education and schooling. Since in the thesis an analysis follows on the emergence of the Catholic Church as a development aid provider globally post 1960s, the research may be viewed as not just a narrative of the transformations that took place in the country island's educational system

during 1948-60 but also as a forerunner to the development aid policies and programmes in which the Catholic Church was a crucial actor as a state collaborator.

The island of Puerto Rico stands as a social, political and economic laboratory for US Foreign Policy. Post 110 years of a dependent status, it finds itself in the clutches of innumerable problems. The research had several parallel themes, any of which could be used as a door to further academic research be it the debate on the language dilemma, the migration problem, the social rift between the Catholic private and the public educational institutions or the question of political status and its future. However, it could also serve as a beginning for further probing into a comparative analysis of development aid programmes in which the US and the Catholic Church were important actors starting in the sixties and those that followed in the seventies, the lost decade for Latin America at large, to observe how the latter were different, if at all from the former? Have the players remained the same? What has changed?

Abstract:

This research focuses on the Catholic Church as an Education provider in Puerto Rico during 1948-60. The time frame beginning with the introduction of Operation Bootstrap in Puerto Rico saw the advent of numerous chains of events that transformed the Puerto Rican history and society and therefore also had an impact on its education system for the changes that a country's society, culture, economy and polity witness eventually have a deep bearing for its education system. Firstly, the research gives an overall description of the socio-economic and political status of Puerto Rico post American suzerainty in 1898 in order to embed the topic of education in the wider context of Puerto Rican history. This is also done to comprehend why the country island has been a pawn for American foreign policy endeavours serving as a laboratory of its social, political, cultural and economic experiments. Indeed it is this distinct reality that makes Puerto Rico a unique case study. A historical overview of the island's education system during the Spanish colonial rule is provided along with its shortcomings to highlight the role that the Catholic Church played in education provision before 1898. In the light of the above narrative, an analysis of the transformations faced by the Catholic schools during 1948-60 is highlighted in the face of the state's attempts to overtake education through its public schools. It answers how did the Catholic schools face the challenges of a growing emphasis on public schools based on the American model?

The chapter that follows defines the objectives of Catholic education and its guiding philosophy in the broader context of the Church's self-redefinition of its educational goals through the Vatican II of 1965. Simultaneously the research captures the overall changes that the Catholic Church was undergoing, the culmination of which is seen in the Theology of Liberation when the Church redesigned its role to involve itself in the process of social change in favour of justice for the poor and human fraternity. In fact this is what provides the link to the participation of the Church in development aid programmes starting in the sixties. This link also brings the research back to the case study Puerto Rico which served as a pilot project of the USA for these development aid programmes in which the Catholic Church actively co-partnered the state. The Alliance

for Progress in the form of one of such efforts is analysed and its criticisms highlighted. The thesis also provides a critique of the school system in Puerto Rico in general and Latin America at large through the works of Ivan Illich and his friend and more contemporary voice Gustavo Esteva to dismiss the mainstream view of development which sees schooling as an essential step towards human progress.

Abstract (German):

Die vorliegende Forschungsarbeit befasst sich mit der Katholischen Kirche und ihrer Tätigkeit im Bildungswesen in Puerto Rico von 1948 bis 1960. In diesem Zeitraum, der mit dem Anlaufen der Operation Bootstrap in Puerto Rico beginnt, veränderten mehrere Ereignisketten die Puertoricanische Geschichte und Gesellschaft und beeinflussten folglich auch das Erziehungswesen, da der gesellschaftliche, kulturelle, wirtschaftliche und politische Wandel in einem Land stets auch Folgen dafür hat. Um das Thema des Erziehungswesens in den breiteren Kontext der Puertoricanischen Geschichte einzubetten, beschreibt die Arbeit zunächst im Überblick die sozialpolitische und ökonomische Lage Puerto Ricos, nachdem es 1898 unter amerikanische Kontrolle geraten war. Dies geschieht auch, um zu zeigen, warum die Insel ein Spielball in den außenpolitischen Bestrebungen der USA war und als dessen soziales, politisches, kulturelles und ökonomisches Experimentierfeld diente. Tatsächlich sind es diese besonderen Umstände, die Puerto Rico zu einer einzigartigen Fallstudie machen. Weiter wird ein historischer Überblick über das Bildungswesen der Insel und seiner Mängel während der spanischen Kolonialherrschaft gegeben, um die Rolle der Katholischen Kirche als Bildungsinstitution vor 1898 zu beleuchten. Vor diesem Hintergrund macht die Analyse die Veränderungen deutlich, denen sich die katholischen Schulen in den Jahren 1948 bis 1960 gegenüber sahen, als der Staat versuchte, die Erziehung zu übernehmen. Die Analyse beantwortet die Frage, wie das katholische Schulwesen auf die Herausforderungen reagierte, als immer mehr Wert auf ein nach dem amerikanischen Modell organisiertes öffentliches Schulwesen gelegt wurde.

Das folgende Kapitel definiert die Ziele der katholischen Erziehung und deren Leitvorstellungen im weiteren Kontext der Neudefinition der Erziehungsziele durch die Kirche selbst im Rahmen des Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzils 1965. Gleichzeitig versucht die Arbeit den großen Veränderungen der Kirche nachzugehen, als sich diese in einer Neubestimmung ihrer Rolle dem sozialen Wandel zugunsten der Gerechtigkeit für die Armen und der Brüderlichkeit unter den Menschen zuwandte; als Höhepunkt dieser Veränderung kann die Befreiungstheologie gelten. Damit wird die Verbindung zur

Beteiligung der Kirche an Entwicklungshilfeprogrammen in den 1960er Jahren hergestellt. Dies wiederum bringt die Arbeit zurück zur Fallstudie Puerto Rico, das als Pilotprojekt der USA für solche Entwicklungshilfeprogramme diente, in denen die Katholische Kirche als aktiver Partner des Staates auftrat. Das US-Programm Allianz für den Fortschritt wird anhand einer solchen Bestrebung analysiert und kritisch beleuchtet. Die Masterarbeit unterzieht schließlich das Schulsystem in Puerto Rico und Lateinamerika allgemein einer Kritik durch die Werke Ivan Illichs und seines jüngeren Freundes Gustavo Esteva, um jenem weit verbreiteten Konzept von Entwicklung entgegenzutreten, das Erziehung als ausschlaggebenden Bestandteil des menschlichen Fortschritts sieht.

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Curriculum Vitae

Anandita Bajpai

Permanent Address: 12, University Flats, Babuganj, Faizabad Road, Lucknow- 226020, U. P., India, Nationality: Indian, Sex: Female, Email: AnanditaBajpai@gmail.com,

Date of Birth: 26.05.85

EDUCATION

Year	Degree/Certificate	Institute/School
2007-2008	2 nd YEAR OF ERASMUS MUNDUS MASTER OF ARTS IN GLOBAL STUDIES	University of Vienna, Austria
2006-2007	1 st YEAR OF ERASMUS MUNDUS MASTER OF ARTS IN GLOBAL STUDIES	University of Leipzig, Germany
2003-2006	BACHELOR OF ARTS IN POLITICAL SCIENCE (HONOURS)	Jesus and Mary College, University of Delhi, India
2002-2003	Standard XII	La Martiniere Girls' College, Lucknow, India
2000-2001	Standard X	La Martiniere Girls' College, Lucknow, India

SCHOLASTIC ACHIEVEMENTS

- Awarded the **Erasmus Mundus Scholarship** for pursuing MA in Global Studies from 2006-2008
- Selected for MA programs at University of London, University of Copenhagen and Jawaharlal Nehru University of Delhi for the duration of 2006-2008 (not pursued)
- Held **1st position** in the graduating batch of students of BA Political Science in Jesus and Mary College- Awarded the **Geeta Chopra Memorial Scholarship** for the same by Jesus and Mary College, University of Delhi
- Held **5th position** among all graduating students of BA Political Science in University of Delhi

PROJECTS UNDERTAKEN

➤ MASTERS THESIS

Title: “The Catholic Church as an education provider in Puerto Rico 1948-60”

Duration: October, 2007-August 2008

Advisor/Location: Professor Dr. Martina Kaller-Dietrich, Department of History, University of Vienna

- The Catholic Church’s involvement in education provision- what was ‘Catholic Education’? Whom was it catering to? What were its objectives? Post the change in Puerto Rico’s political status and a new wave of modernization in education, what were the clashes that took place between the new public schools and private schools (under the charge of the Catholic Church) How did the Catholic Church adapt, if at all, to these transformations in Puerto Rico?
- The emerging role of the Catholic Church as a global player in the provision of development aid- this aspect links the thesis to the field of Global History as per the focus of MA Global Studies.

The Vatican II's attempts to redefine Catholic Education and the Theology of Liberation highlight the transformations within the Catholic Church in Latin America.

- The common convergence of the Catholic Church and the education system in the Alliance for Progress, initiated by the Kennedy administration of USA, for Puerto Rico- A reflection on its criticisms as voiced by Ivan Illich (the founder of the 'Centro Intercultural de Documentación' (CIDOC) and the author of the 'Deschooling Society,' 'Medical Nemesis,' 'Celebration of Awareness' etc.)
- Critique of Education as Development by Ivan Illich and Gustavo Esteva

➤ SELF STUDY RESEARCH

Title: "Relations between India and Latin America-an Overview"

Date: July 21, 2007

Advisor/Location: Dr. Klaas Dykmann, University of Leipzig, Germany

- Prepared and co-presented a lecture with Dr. Klaas Dykmann for the students under the Cycle of Lectures 'Ringvorlesung' titled "Topics of Contemporary Latin American History and Politics" on 21st July, 2007

WORK EXPERIENCE

- Worked as an intern during 24th May-1st July, 2005 in 'SAHAYOG,' a Non-Governmental Organization in Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh, India (http://www.sahayogindia.org/what's%20new/anulreport/staff_intern_voln.htm)
- Was involved in the 'Oxytocin Research Programme' to reassert the Right to safe motherhood for women in India whereby I visited rural districts in the state of Uttar Pradesh in India to interact with women, informing them about the right and sharing their experiences and tribulations during pregnancy.
- **Reporter** for a State-level Dialogue on 'The International day of Action on Women's Health- 28th of May, 2005.' The State-Civil society Dialogue at Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh included as participants 16 community women, 5 government officials, including the Director General, Family Welfare (FW) Department, 2 representatives from agencies, 15 media persons (including TV), and 31 NGO participants and students.
- Visited an MSK ('Mahila Sashaktikaran Kendra' or Women's Empowerment Centre) in the district of Gorakhpur, Uttar Pradesh, India where I **interacted and lived with girls from an orphanage** reviewing educational programmes provided for them by the NGOs.
- Participated in the **organization of an Inter-school debate** competition in Lucknow to generate awareness and gender sensitization among children of both sexes in schools.

COMPUTER SKILLS

Tools: Microsoft Office

Programming Languages: C/C++, GW BASIC

Operating Systems: Windows 95/98/2000/XP/NT, MS DOS

LANGUAGE SKILLS

- **ENGLISH-** Complete education from primary school to BA (Honours) in Political Science at the University of Delhi, accomplished with **English as the only medium of instruction**. Student to secure the highest marks in English as a subject (Language command and literature) in school: 94%
- **HINDI-** Mother Tongue. Awarded the scholarship for being the student who secured the highest marks in Hindi as a subject in school for **5 years successively** (classes VI-X) in 2001

- **GERMAN-** G1A German Language Course during 12th July-6th September, 2006 (pursued at Inlingua International School of Languages, New Delhi) Prozensatz: **92%** (46/50 sehr gut). Grundstufe 2 (G2) during 15th October-17th December, 2007(pursued at the University of Vienna, Austria) Prozensatz: **90%** (72/80)

POSITIONS OF RESPONSIBILITY

- **College Captain of La Martiniere Girls' College, Lucknow, India (2002-2003)**
In this capacity, was responsible for the organization of all extra-curricular activities in the school such as dramatics, debates, Sports' Day, Annual Concerts etc.
- **Captain of the Debating Team of La Martiniere Girls' College (2002-2003)**
In this capacity, organized and represented the school in numerous inter-school debates at the district, state and national levels
- **President of the Debating Society of Jesus and Mary College, University of Delhi (2004-2005)**
Organized and represented the college in intra and inter collegiate debating competitions
- **Class representative of BA (Honours) Political Science at Jesus and Mary College, University of Delhi (2004-2006)**

EXTRA-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

- Awarded the '**Taruna Puri**' scholarship for being the Best Speaker at the Intra Collegiate Annual Taruna Puri Debate Competition at La Martiniere Girls' College, Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh, 2000
- II Position at the **Annual Inter School Debate Competition** organized by the Indian newspaper 'The Hindustan Times' in collaboration with **UNESCO**, 3rd October, 2001
- Awarded a **gold medal** at the Frank Anthony Memorial All India Inter School Debate Competition conducted by the Council for the Indian School Certificate Examinations for being the Best Public Speaker, 2002
- **Best Speaker** at the Inter Martiniere Annual Debate, 7th August, 2002
- **Captained the winning team** at the Inter Martiniere Annual Debate against La Martiniere Girls' College, Kolkatta, India, 2002
- II Position at the District level Inter School Debate Competition organized by the State Bank of India, 11th September, 2002
- II Position at the Annual Freshers' Debate Competition at Jesus and Mary College, University of Delhi, 2003
- **I Position at 'Priyadarshini' debate competition** (Annual fest at Dyal Singh College, University of Delhi) 11th-13th December, 2003
- II Position at the Intra and Inter Collegiate Debate Competitions organized by HRIDAY (Health Related Information Dissemination Amongst Youth) and SHAN (Student Health Action Network), October 2003
- II Position at 'Introspect' debate competition (Annual fest at Sri Venkateshwara College, University of Delhi), December 2003
- III Position in the Inter College **Paper Presentation Competition** organized by Jesus and Mary College, University of Delhi. (Topic: 'Kashmir: are peace talks a farce?'), 23rd February, 2006
- Also an active participant in **Dramatics and English Elocution Competitions** from standard IV to standard XII at La Martiniere Girls' College whereby was awarded numerous awards for oratory skills

OTHERS

- Awarded the **Old Martinian Medal** for Good Conduct as College Captain at La Martiniere Girls' College, Lucknow, India for the academic year 2002-03