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Reclaiming Identities: Intercultural Bilingual Education in Peru and Bolivia

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Reclaiming Identities: Intercultural Bilingual Education in Peru and Bolivia

A Capstone Project Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements of the Renée Crown University Honors Program at
Syracuse University

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Abstract

This project involves analyzing indigenous intercultural bilingual education (IBE) and the reclamation of identity. The intercultural nature of IBE models has the potential to cause an ideological transformation and reclamation of culture through indigenous autonomy and inclusion in nation-building processes. Through comparing the histories of Peru and Bolivia, it becomes evident that there is a correlation between historic polity structures and the successful implementation of IBE.

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	iv
Executive Summary.....	vi
Acknowledgements	viii
Chapter 1: Introduction.....	1
Chapter 2: Reclaiming Identities: Intercultural Bilingual Education.....	13
Chapter 3: A Case Study: Peru	29
Chapter 4: A Case Study: Bolivia	47
Chapter 5: Analysis and Conclusions.....	65
Works Cited.....	73

Executive Summary

The proposed research is an investigation into the establishment of the intercultural bilingual education (IBE) model in Latin America and the socio-political transformations that have since occurred. IBE follows international trends, like ILO 169 and UNDRIP that outline the basic rights of indigenous peoples. International frameworks such as these led to other initiatives by UNESCO and UNICEF to achieve culturally representative education for indigenous peoples, with the intent to generate increased autonomy and political inclusion.

Indigenous peoples have long been among the most marginalized and poorest communities in Latin America and the world. First through colonialism and then again through globalization, the stories and traditions of indigenous groups became written, unwritten and then written yet again. National institutions remained hegemonic in nature, creating a continued system of indirect rule that poured over into the livelihoods of indigenous communities and their identities became characterized by internal colonialism and subordination.

Historic educational models have progressed through a broader national political agenda. Colonialism in policies characterized indigeneity as the “Indian” problem, that could be rid by assimilation into the dominant Spanish society. Later, bilingual models of education followed similar methods, utilizing indigenous languages to assist the adoption of Spanish. In the late 1970s, intercultural bilingual education emerged as a reflection of indigenous mobilization and state changes.

The intent of IBE is to transform these long held biases through active use and preservation of indigenous languages and cultures. IBE is a force that challenges the hierarchical nature of language – that alludes to a greater system of prejudices stemming from colonialism in South America. It begs the question of identity for nations that are founded on the assumption of

cultural and linguistic homogeneity. Distinct historical events that contributed to each country's transformation into 'pluri-national' states guided their beginning notions of 'interculturality'.

Even though Peru is considered a "progressive" country in terms of bilingual education, IBE has taken a much different form than in other countries due to Peru's particularly violent and oppressive history. IBE began as a means 'to incorporate' indigenous peoples into 'Spanish' society, but later became a method to preserve, include, and celebrate indigenous diversity and language in Peru. One of the crucial factors of Peru's lack of technical implementation or profound societal changes has been due to its "one-directionality." Indigenous Peruvian citizens still view the adoption of Spanish as the only means to advance socially and economically.

In comparison, Bolivia has been characterized by indigenous grassroots movements like the *Movimiento Nacional Revolucionario* (MNR) and the *Kataristas*, which propelled indigenous reclamation of rights and identity to gain autonomy. Greater indigenous involvement in shaping political and educational policies has generated a multi-directional model of mutual respect and language learning. The acceptance of 'interculturality' has strengthened Bolivia's plurinational identity.

While many indigenous social movements in Peru and Bolivia have pushed for human rights, societal discrimination toward these peoples still exists. The impact of this denial of the right to practice indigenous languages and culture in schools has left a negative impact on the educational condition among indigenous youth today. IBE can be successfully utilized to promote cross-cultural understanding, leading to the deconstruction of hegemonic structures that ignore multiculturalism, but must involve indigenous inclusion.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

South America is home to 40 million of the world's indigenous peoples, 85% of whom reside in the Andes and Mesoamerica (Lopez, 2009). Throughout a complex history of colonialism by Spanish and other imperial powers, global economic, cultural and societal pressures have shaped indigenous communities across the continent. From the 1900's on, mono-linguistic and mono-cultural ideologies advanced through the guise of colonialism and later neoliberalism. As national mobilization stirred, international debates regarding indigenous rights rose to the forefront. Global framework and policy creation guided new movements that reflected profound changes in international and national ideologies and structures of governance.

Education became a powerful tool for radical deconstruction of past colonial models and gaining autonomy. Intercultural bilingual education manifested from transformations in national identity and serves as a fundamental means to address social

and economic inequalities faced by indigenous peoples. It, in turn, began to unravel the complex social identities left from a legacy of colonialism.

International Framework

“The Indians battled for economic advancement, but above all they demanded respect for the dignity of their cultures and for their moral and historic rights to their lands and territories. They proudly reaffirmed their diverse coastal, highland, and Oriente origins and insisted upon equality as citizens of a plurinational and multicultural society.” (Gerlach 2003: xv-xvi).

Indigenous peoples have long been among the most marginalized and poorest communities in Latin America and the world. Through colonialism, the stories and traditions of indigenous groups became written, unwritten and then written yet again. As grassroots movements began in Andean nations, an international framework guided by the United Nations soon followed.

The United Nations has been a powerful force in ensuring indigenous rights around the world. In 1948, the United Nations created the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). The intent of the UDHR was that all persons – “without distinction of any kind, such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status” – should be treated equally. Although UDHR was created to formally establish the basic rights of all human beings, it proved to be vague and unrepresentative of many marginalized communities. ILO 169, or the “*Convention Concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries*,” ratified in 1989, was one of the first international conventions that addressed the rights of indigenous peoples.

Land rights in Latin America were recognized first by the agrarian reform and re-enforced as a domestic law once a nation ratified ILO 169. As compared to past global legislation concerned with individual rights, ILO 169 focused on the collective rights of indigenous communities. It specified that indigenous peoples are to be defined in accordance with their self-identification and that signatory nations must ensure the social and economic equality of this identity in jurisdiction. Even more so, indigenous peoples are to be guaranteed full participation in matters of political governance. It solidified that national governments were bound to guarantee indigenous peoples traditional lands and territories, respect their cultural norms and practices, and provide equal labor rights.

In regards to education, ILO 169 established that indigenous communities should maintain control over their respective forms of education, as well as receive resources in their native languages. For example, Article 31 states,

“Educational measures shall be taken among all sections of the national community, and particularly among those that are in most direct contact with the peoples concerned, with the object of eliminating prejudices that they may harbour in respect of these peoples. To this end, efforts shall be made to ensure that history textbooks and other educational materials provide a fair, accurate and informative portrayal of the societies and cultures of these peoples.”

In many ways, Convention 169 begged the question of identity for the nation that adopted it. In order to provide rights, countries must recognize the historic injustices against these indigenous populations and begin to reform into a pluri-national state, based

on fair treatment. ILO 169 gave momentum to more international and national movements and had an enormous impact on domestic constitutions, setting the stage for “emerging regional models of multicultural constitutionalism (García, 2005). Since 2010, only 22 countries globally, 19 of which are part of Latin America, have become signatories.

To acknowledge injustices and promote respect for indigenous rights and livelihoods, the United Nations passed UNDRIP: The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. UNDRIP established that indigenous peoples had the right to self-governance, determining their own cultural, political and social development. This re-organization of authority, territory, and space meant a multi-faceted process of decentralization and the bottom up strengthening of civil society. UNDRIP sought to solidify existing legislation that wasn't yet enacted to provide equal treatment as citizens of their respective countries.

Perhaps one of the most important clauses of the UNDRIP in respect to indigenous autonomy of their own narratives is Article 13, which states:

“ 1. Indigenous Peoples have the right to revitalize, use develop and transmit to future generations their histories, languages, oral traditions, philosophies, writing systems and literatures, and to designate and retain their own names for communities, places and persons.”

This article establishes that indigenous peoples hold the inherent right to control expressions of their cultures in all aspects that adhere to their own systems of governance. Education, in some instances, can be seen as a form of expression underneath governance that is essential to community growth.

Multilateral development bodies such as the World Bank and the International Fund for Development (IFAD) also increased land programme involvement in Latin America. The World Bank offered new infrastructure and agricultural projects to regulate land ownership and titling. Shifts in land tenure again pressed the issue of underlying policies that excluded indigenous groups, as they often inhabited isolated areas. Economic and agriculture rights mirrored the multi-faceted political discrimination behind citizenship in Latin America.

Along with ILO 169 and UNDRIP, the United Nations created the world's first international decade for indigenous peoples, that ran from 1995 to 2004. In the midst of this, the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UNPFII) was established as an advisory body to the United Nations Economic and Social Council to continue global discussion on the rights of indigenous populations around the world. The concept of 'multiculturalism' and 'interculturalism' stemmed from these international forums about rights, leading to further initiatives.

While multi-development entities focused on reforming land and labor rights other United Nations bodies contributed to the other facets of securing the citizenship of marginalized groups. United Nations observer states such as the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Foundation (UNESCO) and the United Nations Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) began to develop educational initiatives to combat long-term historical injustices and empower indigenous communities. Both UNESCO and UNICEF sought transform these injustices through education and contribute to a growing worldwide dialogue.

Historical Context in Latin America

Latin America's history of indigenous subordination began in the late 1400's by the Spanish, French and Portuguese. The influx of Spanish conquistadores resulted in an indigenous genocide through slavery and disease. Before colonialism it is estimated, but debated, that between 20 million and 100 million peoples inhabited the Americas. Jackiwicz and Bosco (2012) approximate that this population was reduced by 95%. To fill the labor gap, conquistadors began to bring slaves in from other nations into Latin America. Through the vast trade networks of humans and goods, Latin America became a continent comprised by immense cultural diversity, yet filled with political, societal, and economic oppression. The colonial period successfully deepened control over territories and the peoples living in them. Political structures were built on and thrived off of the darker 'other' that became the subject of marginalization (Scarritt, 2011).

From the 17th century into the late 19th century local labor in the form of patronage, hacienda systems, and plantations continued to exploit land and the various indigenous groups living on it. Even though many indigenous peoples in the Andes have begun migrating from once isolated areas, both the lack of global interaction and decades of castellanización have been harmful to the survival of these groups. Castellanización, like Westernization, asserted itself as the dominant culture and language in Latin America. This appeared as a hierarchy -- racially, linguistically and geographically.

The hacienda system, created by the Spanish to control and regulate indigenous labor and livelihood restructured land, political and cultural life in accordance with this hierarchy. Due to this indigenous groups, such as those in Bolivia and Peru, have remained in the 'sierra' or highlands often isolated from urban centers. Indigenous ritual-

oriented land became replaced by Iberian land ownership, the lands ruled by the Spanish and Portuguese, focused on pushing out supplies. Deep-rooted prejudices stemming from colonial power cast indigenous land tenure as an obstacle to development – and the only way to bring them into the ‘modern’ world was to sustain indigenous labor control. Land controls like the hacienda and Iberian systems configured citizenship policy throughout Latin America that remain today.

Indigenous mobilization began as early as the 1940s. Throughout the next four decades, indigenous movements, intellectuals adding to public opinion grew in momentum. Andean history of land struggle gave focal points for the beginning of indigenous mobilization. From the 1950’s until the 1970’s the agrarian reform took place throughout South America, physically changing landscapes. In some countries, indigenous mobilization pressured law reform against ‘tierras baldías’ – land proposed as barren and open for colonization regardless of indigenous inhabitation. While some countries began to rid themselves of the hacienda systems, indigenous groups were placed in areas with few natural resources and little fertile soil, causing an even greater demand for rights regarding land, labor and autonomy. After land breakup, private companies moved in and created plantations focused on external exports, rather than internal demand like that of the hacienda system.

Around the 1990s, select countries gave territorial recognition to indigenous communities allowing for greater political representation, autonomy and legal pluralism. Until this point, indigenous groups had been mainly focused on mobilizing for rights to citizenship and land. During the 1980s and 90s, neoliberal policies advanced individualistic reform, and brought companies to oil and mineral rich lands throughout

South America. Indigenous societies became characterized by discrimination by ethnicity, race and class as indigenous peoples and their lands were further exploited.

This, again, raised the question of the rights given to indigenous peoples. Previous assimilationist models attempted to slowly erase indigenous diversity through mono-cultural policies, had historically framed constitutions. Although international trends in indigenous rights called for reformations of national governments, discrimination and exploitation remained prevalent. Indigenous activists mobilized for constitutional changes that addressed these issues of indigenous citizenship, rights, and identity. Continued national and international dialogue transformed assimilation into integration, and later into a multi-cultural model that adopted the idea of pluri-ethnicity in a nation state.

National institutions in Latin America remained hegemonic in nature, creating a continued system of indirect rule. Even when frameworks had adopted a pluri-national model, they lacked the differentiation between citizenship, national identity and equality for distinct cultures in law (García, 2005). As the United Nations bodies, state governments, activists, and intellectuals, continued to push for linguistic and cultural rights and indigenous peoples began to seek ways to elevate their social status, preserve their cultures, and reclaim their indigenous identities. One of the ways this surfaced was through the notion of 'interculturality' in bilingual education or the cross-cultural understanding between cultures, and the shifting of the Spanish-indigenous language hierarchy.

Intercultural Bilingual Education

Bilingual education in Latin America began under indigenous influence to first provide these peoples with access to the language that would allow them to work and trade in a Spanish speaking market. A “submersion” approach aimed at assimilation appeared as some of the first models of education for indigenous peoples. This model gradually changed, along with political recognition of rights and citizenship, to a transnational, maintenance and then enrichment phase. Land tenure meant that indigenous peoples had moved to urban areas, but still lacked access to basic education (UNESCO, 2011). During the 50 years of transition, a history of prejudice and fear of indigenous inclusion were addressed in different ways.

In Peru and Bolivia, educational reform came as an initiative to create ‘pluri-national’ constitution. Each country began implementing policies to address collective rights, and recognizing the importance of the autonomy of indigenous citizens. Changes to create pluri-national states echoed international sentiment toward indigenous rights. Despite indigenous mobilization, societies remained characterized by deep racial, ethnic and class discrimination. Intercultural bilingual education attempted to generate understanding between cultures and self-empower indigenous communities through education primarily in their mother tongues

Education became a technical form of inclusion for indigenous peoples, changing deep-rooted societal ideologies about the ‘superiority’ of the Spanish language. Bilingual, and in some cases multi-lingual, education became an opportunity to ‘valorize’ within a nation building context, enhancing the capabilities of indigenous communities.

Intercultural bilingual education in Bolivia and Peru sought to reshape ideologies behind what it meant to be a 'citizen' and to preserve indigenous languages and cultures.

Methods

My data were collected through secondary sources such as United Nations reports, resolutions, conventions, and declarations to gather information on international trends on indigenous rights. For historical and political analysis, I relied on expert literature on indigenous life and mobilization in the Andes. I looked to institutional reports from Peru and Bolivia for laws, reports and methodologies of intercultural bilingual efforts.

Through a historical and political analysis, I seek to understand the current state of IBE in Peru and Bolivia as a result of national policies framed by historic movements. Secondly, to answer whether or not IBE has caused a reclamation of identity, I read literature by political scientists Deborah Yashar and anthropologists Andrew Canessa and Bret Gustafson on current indigenous livelihood in the Andes.

My criteria for country comparisons were geographic proximity, demographic similarity, historical similarities, and if each had an established system of intercultural bilingual education. The following questions guided my research: What historical structures constructed education models? What are the processes of intercultural bilingual education? Has intercultural bilingual education begun a societal and political reclamation of culture among indigenous communities? Has IBE reconstructed identities? Where are the schools located and what does that say about the presence of IBE schools?

Focus and Structure

The first part of my research focuses on the theoretic ideologies behind intercultural bilingual education and its methodologies. The second part of my research investigates the political and historical structures of Peru and Bolivia and how this has advanced or limited the successful implementation of intercultural bilingual education.

I begin by looking at broad indigenous international trends in land, labor, and human rights that run parallel to state led changes and education reform. International frameworks such as the Indigenous Tribal Peoples Convention (ILO 169) and the United Nation Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), which acknowledged the basic rights of indigenous peoples in labor and as human beings, paved the way for national constitutional transformations and opened a global platform on the discussion of indigenous rights. Although indigenous-led grassroots movements began before international proclamations, these global trends worked to solidify rights fought for by indigenous groups nationally. Concepts such as multiculturalism, pluri-nationalism and interculturalism, “la interculturalidad”, will be explored within these political structures.

Chapter two focuses on historic models of education that followed political agendas and the methodology behind intercultural bilingual education. Assimilation structures were in place to teach maintain the mono-cultural and mono-linguistic identity, which was in reaction to adherence under jurisdiction that assumed homogeneity of the nation. Just as governments transformed with the inclusion of indigenous cultures into national identity and “incorporation” of the indigenous “other”, so did international and national concepts and ideologies. Grassroots movements and international trends reformed national ideologies shaped by historical political and frameworks, such as

colonialism, assimilation and pluri-nationalism. In turn, the politics of indigeneity -- what it meant to be indigenous -- followed the concurrent shifts in constitutional changes.

The implementation of intercultural bilingual schools (IBE) manifested as a way to promote the ideals of a plurinational state: cross-cultural understanding, reversal of language hierarchy, inclusion in political processes, and preservation of language and traditions. Throughout Latin America, IBE schools have been implemented, showing varying evidences of success; whether the implementation of IBE schools has had significant impact in the '*reivindicación*' or reclamation of indigenous languages and cultures. I argue that IBE presents itself as a vehicle that has the potential to empower self-identity and act as a catapult of technical democracy.

As both Peru and Bolivia have evolved politically, affected by historical internal and external pressures, education reform took shape accordingly. To grasp the national impacts of the creation of intercultural education policies and placement of IBE schools in South America, I examine these countries in chapters three and four. Each case study begins by analyzing historic events that affected indigenous livelihood, and later, indigenous mobilization. I argue that advancements, oppression, and marginalization experienced by indigenous groups affect current acceptance and successes of the IBE schools, as well as the ability for indigenous autonomy and inclusion in national processes.

Chapter 2

Intercultural Bilingual Education: Reclaiming Identities

International declarations on the rights of Indigenous Peoples, such as ILO 169, the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, the creation of the Special Rapporteur and the Expert Mechanism on the rights of indigenous peoples gave momentum to national indigenous mobilization to gain rights. Although the last two decades have seen progress for indigenous peoples, there still remains a vast number that continue to live without access to basic human rights -- one of which is education.

Many indigenous people experience a lack of access to education in general, and even more so to a system of education that incorporates elements of their respective cultures and languages. Linguistically, most indigenous communities are now bilingual, in that they have acquired the hegemonic language of the state. Furthermore, nation building has had an impact on sustaining the dominant monolingual and mono-cultural identity of the state (Lopez, 2009). Past assimilation education models had been representative of this mono-cultural state ideal, excluding indigenous peoples and their cultures.

Intercultural bilingual education developed from complex historic backgrounds, built by policies that shaped the type of education offered to indigenous peoples. The mandate of IBE works to generate self-representation and a sense of identity that stems into other facets of life such as government processes and community empowerment. In this chapter I discuss key concepts that shape national governments and educational reform, as well as the ideology and methodologies that support IBE.

Key Terms

In this chapter the following key terms will be addressed: interculturalism, multiculturalism, pluri nationalism, Spanishization, decolonization, and indigeneity. Interculturalism refers to the cross-cultural interactions within education, rooted in one's own cosmovision, language, knowledge base. Multiculturalism is defined by cultural diversity that should be respected and upheld, whereas pluri-nationalism is the acknowledgment of this diversity into a larger political identity. Spanishization or *castellanización* is similar to the term 'Westernization' in that it implies the dominance of Spanish culture over other ethnic groups' cultures. Decolonization is the act of reversing or deconstructing historical internal colonialism within political, economic and societal structures.

Another key concept is that of indigeneity and what it means to be indigenous in South America. Article 1 of ILO 169 describes 'indigenous' as the following:

“(a) tribal peoples in independent countries whose social, cultural and economic conditions distinguish them from other sections of the national community, and whose status is regulated wholly or partially by their own customs or traditions or by special laws or regulations;

(b) peoples in independent countries who are regarded as indigenous on account of their descent from the populations which inhabited the country, or a geographical region to which the country belongs, at the time of conquest or colonisation or the establishment of present state boundaries and who, irrespective of their legal status, retain some or all of their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions.”

Being ‘*indígena*’ then, in regards to ILO 169, means belonging to a group of ‘descendants’ that continue to maintain a certain amount of “social, economic, cultural and political” autonomy after being subject to colonialism.

Another important point to recognize is the terms used in South America to describe and characterize indigenous peoples, such as “*indio*, *campesino*, and *indígena*” (Molina and Albó, 2006). This terminology describes the complex identities that indigenous peoples have been assigned throughout a history of assimilation. Often times to be indigenous meant to be characterized by the “indigenous Other” or “*indio permitido*” (Hale, 2004: 5). The first suggested the dangerous, darker “Other” that was too primitive for self-representation and needed to be civilized (Scarritt, 2011). “*Indio permitido*,” on the other hand, signaled the “*indio letrado*” or literate other half “construction of its undeserving, dysfunctional ‘Other’” (Hale, 2004: 5).

Indigeneity means an identity that has been shaped either directly, by land and labor exploitation, or indirectly by unseen assumptions of hegemony within national structures. Through a multi-faceted process of “forced dispossession and attempted acculturation” “being indigenous today means struggling to reclaim and regenerate one’s relational place-based existence by challenging the on going, destructive forces of colonialization” (Corntassel, 2012: 88).

Based on the indirect processes of these polity structures, indigenous peoples have been subject to submersive educational models that tried to rid the state of the “Indian” Other through assimilation. Models such as this ignored indigenous construction of identity through ancestral orality, knowledge and practice bases that played important roles in learning processes. Education became a powerful method used to shape the identities of indigenous peoples. The emergence of IBE changed education from a tool used by elites to ‘educate’ the ‘illiterate Indian’ to a form of intervention for indigenous peoples to reclaim the narrative of their identity, reshaping broader assumptions of indigeneity.

Background Analysis on the Right to Education

A broad framework presented by several United Nations bodies outlines inherent rights of indigenous peoples in education. To begin, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, passed in 1948, states in Article 26 that “Everyone has the right to education;” and also that, “Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect of human rights and fundamental freedoms.” In addition to describing indigenous labor rights, ILO Convention 169 (articles 27, 29, 30, and 31), discusses educational standards and the responsibility of the state to actively pursue these standards. It stipulates that non-discriminatory measures should be taken, as well as measures to ensure the sustainment of indigenous cultures and languages. Lastly, Article 28:1 stipulates that, “Children belonging to the peoples concerned shall, wherever practicable, learn to read and write in their own indigenous language or in the language most commonly used by the group to which they belong.”

An international push for human rights in education such as the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (1966), the Convention against Discrimination in Education (1990), and the Plan of Action for the National Decade For Human Education (1994-2004) intensified the global discussion about education. The Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action (1993), which led to the creation of the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, generated a space where education began to be discussed as a means for global indigenous revival.

The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), passed in 2007, highlights broader rights of indigenous peoples, but also contains specific passages about the right to cultural diversity and expression in education. For example, Articles 8, 14, 15, 17, and 20 describe the right to non-assimilation, and established control over their educational systems, which should be provided in their own language and under appropriate cultural customs. Furthermore, the countries that ratify ILO 169 must adhere to UNDRIP and allow for indigenous participation in political, social and economic processes.

Under the international framework for human rights and indigenous rights, indigenous people's access to basic human rights is inalienable. A major contributor to the absence of rights is the lack of or exclusion from education. Although an international consensus on indigenous rights is apparent through resolutions such as ILO 169, UNDRIP and offices like that of the Special Rapporteur on the rights of indigenous peoples, which outline the right to 'quality' education, there remain many indigenous groups that do not have access to education.

From the 1940's until the early 1970's intellectuals also began to see bilingual education as a way to enhance the capacity of indigenous citizens rather than as a method of assimilation. Contemporary education reformists, including international bodies like the United Nations, continue to grapple with the reconciliation of reversing previous notions of the "Indian" problem with the formation of national identity. In Latin America specifically, the political context of each country dictated, and still dictates country efforts to re-define what it means to be a citizen.

The Expert Mechanism Report on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (EMRIP) outlines education as an imperative vehicle to lift economically and socially marginalized peoples out of poverty, and contributes to the development of the individual and the community. Similarly, education acts as a space for indigenous communities to preserve traditions, language and cultural knowledge. In the EMRIP Report on the Rights to Indigenous Peoples in Education, three accounts of human rights categories become visible: "(a) the right of access to quality education; (b) the practice of human rights in and through education; and (c) education as a right that facilitates the fulfilment of other rights." (A/HRC/EMRIP/2009/2).

Over the past three decades, international consensus on human rights dictates the inherent right to education as outlined in the above conventions, assigned 'decades', and human rights tools. Human rights provisions and international standards recognizing individual rights and rights of indigenous peoples shifted into a global discussion around indigenous education, becoming more than an issue of the 'right to education', but the right to the 'quality' to education that reflect the needs of a community.

The ‘quality’ of education, as stipulated by the Expert Mechanism, refers to the content taught by educators and the methodology utilized. For example, one of the past methods governances used to subordinate indigenous peoples was through bilingual education. Table 2.1 below shows the historical implementations of education, its political agenda, and the linguistic and cultural goals of these policies. On the left hand side of Table 2.1 the denomination of the type of education is split into four sections following general historic political structures: submersion, transitional, maintenance and development, and finally enrichment.

Table 2.1: Bilingual education models under implementation in Latin America

Denomination	Basic argument	Political aim	Target population	Linguistic and cultural aim	Role of the mother tongue (MT)
Submersion	Indigenous languages and cultures are a threat to national unity.	Forced indigenous assimilation into the mainstream.	Indigenous communities and individuals.	Spanishization or Portugueseization. A monolingual and monocultural society.	None or at the most as an auxiliary language to facilitate learners' understanding of basic classroom instructions.
Transitional	Indigenous languages and cultures are a threat to national unity.	Indigenous assimilation into the mainstream. Consolidation of the classical homogenous nation-State and of "a" national culture.	Indigenous communities and individuals in rural areas.	Spanishization or Portugueseization. Subtractive bilingualism. Gradual extinction of indigenous languages. Indigenous languages used to translate and transmit mainstream curriculum content. A monolingual and monocultural society.	Spanish curriculum implementation except for the area of language. Mother-tongue is a bridge to European hegemonic languages. It makes hegemonic language learning more efficient.
Maintenance and development	Indigenous languages and cultures are a legacy to be preserved.	Cultural pluralism. Redefinition of the nation-State model through legal recognition of the indigenous peoples and groups that pre-date European invasion. Recognition of some cultural rights.	Indigenous communities and individuals in rural and urban areas.	Additive bilingualism. Indigenous societal bi or multilingualism. Preservation and development of indigenous languages. Indigenous languages to tackle indigenous cultural content in the curriculum. Spanish or Portuguese as languages of interethnic and intercultural communication. A multicultural / intercultural society.	Bilingual curriculum implementation. Indigenous languages as subjects and media of instruction vis-à-vis Spanish / Portuguese. Proficiency in two languages. Cultural sensitivity and language awareness.
Enrichment	Indigenous languages and cultures are political resources to achieve unity within diversity.	Intracultural reaffirmation. Intercultural citizenship. Redefinition of the nation-State, granting territorial rights and levels of autonomous rule to indigenous peoples. A multi-nation State in-the-making.	Indigenous communities and individuals in urban and rural areas. Society at large, including mestizo individuals and communities.	Additive bilingualism. General societal bi or multilingualism. Preservation and revitalization of indigenous languages. Indigenous cultures and languages as rights challenge the ontology of school knowledge. Spanish or Portuguese as languages of interethnic and intercultural communication. An intercultural society.	Bilingual or multilingual curriculum implementation. Indigenous languages as subjects and media of instruction vis-à-vis Spanish / Portuguese. Proficiency in two or more languages. Cultural sensitivity and critical language awareness.

(Source: Lopez, 2009)

As shown in Table 2.1 in a 2010 UNESCO report on marginalization, education was an extension of national political purposes. The submersive and transitional models focused on indigenous assimilation into ‘Spanish’ society. A common term used to describe this is the ‘castellanizacion’ or ‘Spanishization’ of indigenous peoples into a monolingual, mono-cultural and mono-religious society.

Underneath ‘submersion’ and ‘transitional’ models’ indigenous peoples were expected to learn in a uni-directional learning environment. These hierarchical natures of education systems undermine indigenous mother tongues like Quechua and Aymara and require indigenous students learned to read, write and speak in Spanish in order to be active in society and attain the rights of a citizen. Ethnic erasure due to assimilative models also resulted in the inherent exclusion of indigenous peoples in political processes and laws.

Educational reform followed broader international trends and goals. After the ‘submersive’ and ‘traditional’ models, United Nations framework and national indigenous mobilization transitioned education into a way to preserve the native languages endangered by previous models. An international framework continued to combat indigenous exclusion from processes of state building. Articles 12-17 of UNDRIP articulate the responsibility of the state to involve indigenous peoples in social and political process, in part through education that acknowledges the rich diversity of indigenous groups.

Culturally appropriate education institutions are crucial to ensuring future inclusion of indigenous peoples in societal processes, sustaining language and heritage, and ending discrimination. Nations redefined the state through terms like ‘pluri-

nationalism' and 'multiculturalism' to embody this 'new' model of language and culture. United Nations bodies like the UNPFII, UNESCO, and UNICEF began to develop initiatives to combat both language endangerment and reminiscences of Latin America's colonial past.

In response to this, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Foundation (UNESCO), among other United Nations bodies pursued the notion of 'interculturality' in education (López, 2001). The importance of not just a substantive shift, but an ideological shift from past assimilationist structures guided the model for what has come to be known as Intercultural Bilingual Education (IBE).

IBE challenged earlier global processes like the expansion of capitalism, transnational labor migration and colonization. Previous models of education in Latin America based on these characteristics focused on indigenous assimilation into society through the subordination to 'world languages', rather than fostering local languages (Hornberger, 2000). Remnants of this ideology still exist in indigenous cultures today. For example, as Anthropologist María Elena García discusses in her book, *Making Indigenous Citizens* some indigenous communities object to IBE because of deep-rooted beliefs in upward economic movement through learning the Spanish language (García, 2005).

It is crucial to acknowledge that although state mobilization pursued intercultural and multi-ethnic policies in political systems, IBE grew out of international trends in indigenous education that formed part of a broader multicultural development to be subsumed into state education reform (García, 2005). In nature, the proposal of IBE is a vision of reciprocal and welcomed diversity in pluri-national political systems. However,

there still remains a large disparity between the true acceptance and implementation of these ideologies, reconciliation for indigenous pasts and a '*reconocimiento*' of the significance of being indigenous in the world.

Intercultural Bilingual Education

The notion of intercultural bilingual education surfaced through national and international indigenous mobilization for rights, a reflection of what came to be known in Latin America as the "indigenous problem." IBE is a force that challenges the hierarchical nature of language – that alludes to a greater system of prejudices stemming from colonization in Latin America. Centuries of constructed homogenization in Latin America manifested itself in state led political frameworks, which deliberately excluded indigenous peoples from participating within these structures (López, 2011). Societies became defined, or in the case of indigenous groups, undefined under this framework. Indigenous mobilization to attain land rights, and later to attain rights in education shifted relations between indigenous, non-indigenous, and national and international political framework for indigenous involvement.

IBE brings to attention several complex questions regarding what it means to be indigenous in a continent homogenized by castellanization. At the forefront, indigenous peoples in Latin America have been pushed out of social and political participation. One way that states, such as Bolivia and Peru, have attempted to support IBE is by constructing constitutions based on "multiculturalism" or "pluralism" in order to welcome diversity.

To analyze the broader intent of IBE, it is important to first discuss its characteristics and how it differs from previous educational methods. Ana Saroli, Professor at Acadia University describes “interculturalism” as the following:

“The concept of interculturalism has its roots in a learning process centered in the local language and culture, one which has cultural and social relevance for students for the purpose of developing and furthering dialogue and understanding within national and global contexts.” (2007:277)

The ideology of ‘interculturality’ or ‘interculturalism’ intends to harness self-esteem and value of the learner’s own culture (Saroli, 2007). Interculturalism, then, is intended to facilitate an environment with self-worth and mutual respect at the forefront of the dialogue. IBE thus seeks to solve a much larger problem: the inability of indigenous peoples to participate in and contribute to the social, economic, and political realm of society. Through building a relationship between skills, values and knowledge, indigenous groups begin challenging the homogeneous state structure.

Article 19 of the 2009 EMRIP Report’s analysis also displays the importance of indigenous exercising self-determination through tools such as education to gain autonomy and sustain self-governance. It is, furthermore, the role of education policies to provide necessary tools for indigenous peoples to become agents of their own history and to redefine themselves as an authentic part of the nation. Under previous models sharing cultural, traditions and linguistic elements were overridden by a hegemonic culture or language.

The intention of IBE is to not just teach a second language, but for indigenous groups to first learn in their maternal languages, and to foster a radical transformation in education systems, thus generating a larger change of broader eco-socio-political systems. In many instances it has become the “assimilationist/pluralist paradox” that bilingual education policy has assumed in a postcolonial context of the Andes (Hornberger, 2000:1). In some cases, IBE is considered a ‘decolonizing’ mindset that becomes more real with the implementation of new political constitutions. Although notions of intercultural education have been promoted by indigenous activists there remains a gap between the innovations of IBE and coinciding state transformation.

Intercultural Bilingual Education and Self-Representation

As discussed, the concept of indigeneity has been historically constructed through polity models, thus woven into education systems. Education became a tool to assimilate indigenous peoples, rather than invite and include traditional elements into broader national systems. IBE was a way to begin to dismantle past constructions of identity, allowing the space owed to indigenous peoples to express their cultures.

Education, whether as submersive or enrichment, is a key part of human development and “...the social cohesion of a society or subgroup” (McNameeKing, 2012: 4). Communities that engage in IBE establish a relationship between values and thoughts pertinent to distinct indigenous communities, and generate a dialogue, narrated by them, about their own indigeneity. It communicates the linguistic and cultural needs to a broader subset of cultures (López, 2001). Through IBE, education transforms into a mode of intervention, seeking to create understanding between colonial systems and

indigenous groups demanding the right to a better livelihood. I will discuss in later chapters how IBE has become a vehicle by which indigenous groups demand more rights and in some cases reject the notions of interculturality.

Methods of Intercultural Bilingual Education in Latin America

Depending on both the state and the region, IBE takes on a distinct role. The Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and the EMRIP suggest that thus far indigenous people's education fall into two categories: "traditional education or ways of learning and institutions; or integration of indigenous perspectives and language in mainstream education systems and institutions" (A/HRC/EMRIP/2009/2:11). This again confronts a paradox between the identity of the state, with the acceptance previously excluded and marginalized identities.

Traditional systems rely on lifelong pedagogical processes, in which children receive guidance and inter-generational transfer of knowledge from elder members of the community. Furthermore, traditional education requires all community members be present and active in the knowledge-transfer process. Common themes such as repetition throughout the oral-learning process and direct involvement through observation can be seen in various indigenous groups. It is important to note that the specificity and quantity of holistic traditional systems also depends on a specific group's value and beliefs (A/HRC/EMRIP/2009/2).

Historically, the Andean and Amazonian regions of South America are home to the majority of indigenous communities. In the Andean mountain region, the Quechua and Aymara are the two most prominent indigenous groups and languages. By contrast,

indigenous groups in the Amazon, like the Asháninka, Chiquitano and Mojeño, are more linguistically and culturally dissimilar. Due to vast cultural and linguistic differences, implementing and maintaining culturally sensitive programs can be difficult.

The transition or 'integration' of indigenous languages and cultural aspect into modern educational systems has been at the forefront of the IBE activists and indigenous push for political participation. Attention to the cultural norms in instruction, teaching and guidance, with adherence to indigenous customs, is an important element to secure indigenous inclusion. Furthermore, government framework and policies, such as the existence of plurinational constitutions and acceptance of previously mentioned frameworks is crucial to the success of IBE.

In theory IBE has the ability to cause radical changes in the socio-cultural dynamics of states. The following chart by Anthropologist Nancy Hornberger illustrates the distinct role that 'interculturality' has assumed in Peru, Ecuador and Bolivia. It is separated by the presence of cultural groups, the significance of 'interculturality' in each of the three Andean countries and if it has been successfully implemented for both parties.

In the cases of Peru and Ecuador, it is uni-directional. This means that only one party, whether indigenous or nonindigenous, has rejected or not implemented intercultural policies (educational or political). Whereas Bolivia is multi-directional, meaning it is required for not just indigenous peoples to learn Spanish, but Spanish speakers to learn an indigenous language.

Figure 2.2: What does *Interculturality* Mean in Policies?

What Does *Interculturality* Mean in the Policies?

	Peru	Ecuador	Bolivia
Cultural groups	Different ethnic groups, each with its own language, culture, and history	Indigenous groups (and nonindigenous groups)	Heterogeneous sociocultural groups
Interculturality	Harmonious dialogue among cultures	Strengthened indigenous identity	Strengthened national identity based on respect for all
Directionality	One way	One way	Multidirectional

(Source: Hornberger, 2000)

Conclusion

Intercultural Bilingual Education emerged as a means of radical social change away from assimilationist social structures to deepen internal changes by the adoption of a pluri-national framework. Interculturality fosters one's own cultural identity and self-esteem, while simultaneously creating a dialogue for cross-cultural understanding. The purpose of IBE, along with cultural understanding, is to include traditional elements of education into existing systems. This type of mutual cross understanding in cultural, economic and cultural of indigenous communities can serve to 'decolonize' state structures. IBE furthermore serves as a vehicle to preserve and sustain indigenous traditions, cultures and languages.

Based on the historical, political, economic and cultural makeup of a country, the meaning of 'interculturality' varies and thus plays a different role in forming state and education policies. Within the context of 'pluri-national' or 'multi-ethnic' governing

bodies, IBE has the potential to reverse long-lasting remnants of colonization. In chapters three and four, I will analyze the existing political frameworks and emergence and successes of IBE programs in Peru and Bolivia.

Chapter 3

Peru: A Case Study

“...the fight for linguistic rights is clearly linked to the fight for culture, territory and full civic participation.”

- María Elena García, (2005: 75).

Culturally, linguistically, and ethnically Peru stands as one of the world's most diverse countries. Peru is home to over 40 indigenous groups, mainly settled in the Andean and Amazonian regions. The past 50 years, more specifically, have been both crucial and detrimental to indigenous mobilization, ultimately leading to unprecedented changes in education. Indigenous and government efforts to reform education transformed into indigenous agency that demanded acknowledgement of historically rejected rights.

Cross-cultural understanding through intercultural understandings and constitutional reforms has allowed for increased indigenous inclusion in political process. This chapter examines the country profile, political and historical events that have resulted in the implementation of IBE in Peru. It has furthermore caused a gradual beginning of a '*revivencia*' of their respective cultures and self-representation.

Country Profile

Peru is located along the western coast of South America. Similar to Bolivia, Peru's geographic compensation is up by the Andes mountains and the jungles of the Amazon in the east. Its demographic consists of Spanish, Mestizo and Indigenous populations. According to the 2001 census, 43% of Peru's population recognizes itself as ethnically indigenous (Hornberger, 2000). Quechua and Aymara are the two most prominent indigenous groups in Peru. Below is a map detailing its geographic location bordering Ecuador, Colombia, Brazil, Bolivia and Chile. The map also shows the distribution of specific indigenous groups living in Peru.

Figure 3.1: Map Indigenous Groups in Peru



(Source: IWGIA, 2006)

Although there are over 40 indigenous groups in Peru, and 43% of the population recognizes itself as indigenous, only 25% of the population speaks an indigenous language. Below is a chart from a 2010 UNESCO report on overcoming marginalization in the Peruvian education system, which shows the amount of indigenous language speakers in 1993 as compared to in 2007. Both the Quechua and Aymara communities have suffered a significant loss of language over the course of 14 years. Even though “other native languages” has increased by .02%, the overall population of indigenous speakers has decreased by 3.7%. The amount of Spanish speakers, on the other hand, has increased by 4.3%.

Table 3.2: Indigenous Languages Spoken

Maternal language	1993	2007
Quechua	3,177,937 16.5%	3,360,331 13.0%
Aymara	440,380 2.3%	443,248 1.7%
Other native languages	132,174 0.7%	242,134 0.9%
<i>Total population with indigenous mother tongue</i>	3,750,491 19.4%	4,045,713 15.7%
Spanish	15,405,014 79.8%	21,713,165 84.1%
Foreign Language	35,118 0.2%	21,434 0.1%
Deaf-mute/ no answer	117,980 0.6%	30,019 0.1%
Total	19,308,603	25,810,331

Source: National Census 1993 and National Census 2007.

(Source: UNESCO, 2010)

Political and Historical Background Analysis

Peru, like many other Latin American nations, is a country marked by past colonialism and conquest. Through a naturalized system of indirect rule, indigenous peoples have been historically subordinated in various societal structures. Despite indigenous mobilization, culturalist racism that affected land access, political involvement, and cultural inclusion also continues to drive indigenous exclusion. Cultural racism discriminates on specific ethnic groups based on racist ideologies, ideas, and notions of the targeted group. In many ways, indigenous identity became connected to the “cultural differences and discrimination by a dominant society” (Seider, 2002). Peruvian political and societal context within colonialism meant ‘ending’ oppression by an intentional ceasement of indigenous cultures.

Segregation and subordination characterized the Colonial Period in Peru and Latin America. It established regimes of government that separated, excluded, and exploited indigenous peoples politically, economically, socially and geographically. Indigenous groups were isolated to high Andean regions, whilst cities flourished economically. This meant, too, that indigenous communities lacked access to basic resources. The various subordinations entailed by indigenous peoples became further validated through and ideology of ‘national inferiority,’ which furthered the notion that “Indians” lacked sufficient understanding and capacity for self representation” (Seider, 2002).

From the end of the 1800s into the early 1920s an ‘Independence Assimilation’ model swept over much of Latin America. A single written constitution meant the subjugation of all Peruvian citizens judicially. Unwriting the specificities of indigenous groups in the law meant an erasure of any previously held special rights enjoyed by these

groups (Seider, 2002). To ‘secure’ indigenous rights meant to assimilate them into the dominant society (García, 2003). Both the colonial and assimilation models poured over into other aspects of indigenous livelihood -- such as the type of education offered, if any at all.

In the early 1940’s Peruvians began to transition from their long held colonial history into the Mariáteguiian vision. Mariátegui, known as a leading Marxist thinker, explored class struggle and the definition of the ‘national reality’ – what it meant to be a citizen of Peru. International legislation, indigenous movements and intellectual voices like his forced a tremendous reevaluation in Peruvian politics and culture (Scarritt, 2011). This challenged both the military presence and the idealized image of the “Indian.” In many ways this new view, considered radical for its time, opened the doors to advocacy through ideological literature focused on indigenous autonomy and new government reform within the Ministry of Education (García, 2005).

The idea of the “Indigenista” also wove itself into the new government regime. Indigenistas, or intellectuals focused on the studies of indigenous language and culture, rose as an important voice in the changing political atmosphere. Literary activism, mixed with the guidance of indigenistas, began to shape the new ‘modern’ Peruvian society. Parallel to this, other intellectual work analyzing the transformative power of culture inspired development in studies of self-representation (Scarritt, 2011).

In a political context stimulated by literary activism and new intellectual insight, the Ministry of Education reformed education policies to coincide. In 1945 the Ministry began to implement bilingual schools that would be taught in the language of local indigenous communities. Peruvian society, through the implementation of bilingual

education, shifted into new multi-cultural mindset. Bilingual education was seen as a way to enhance the capacity of Peruvian indigenous citizens to be actors in this new government.

Between the 1950s and 1960s the agrarian reform ran through Latin American countries, uprooting previous land tenure relations. In Peru, Juan Velasco Alvarado took office and followed this regional trend. Velasco tried to further indigenous rights by attempting to seek a medium between capitalism and communism. Indigenous mobilization in Peru began in the 1960s but did not take form until the mid-seventies.

As the agrarian reform took its course in Peru, Velasco looked to Bolivia and Ecuador's progressive influence to develop its own reform. In June 24, 1969, Velasco prohibited the use of '*Indio*', which was and is a disparaging term – unlike '*indígena*'. He replaced it '*Indio*' with "*campesino*", which is the equivalent to the English word 'peasant'. On one hand, the adoption of 'campesino' was meant to bring a measure of dignity to people who had been subjugated historically. Yet, it was also meant to erase their ethnic identity as indigenous peoples and replace it with a class-based identity as campesinos. This is very much in line with national-modernization development efforts at the time, and similar moves were taken in Ecuador and Bolivia during the same period. In 1975, in an attempt break up the hacienda systems, Velasco first recognized Amazonian communities and then split up land to be given to the landless (Scarritt, 2011).

Activism in this time reflected profound ideological changes, resulting in legislation landmarks like ILO 169, granting labor rights, and later UNDRIP, declaring the inalienable rights of indigenous peoples as citizens of the world. As Peru shifted into

its new pluralistic identity, bilingual educational became a "...way to enhance indigenous individuals as autonomous actors" (Garcia, 2011). Although national ideologies began to transform, deep-rooted racism still remains within Peru, leaving families in impoverished areas seeking Spanish to climb their way up the economic ladder (Zuñiga, 2008). Up until this point, Peru, as well as other Latin American countries, had experienced significant transformations in legal, agricultural and political models, which permeated into social existence.

In terms of education, Velasco sought three major educational initiatives: (1) Education Reform of 1972 to extend increased control over Peruvians; (2) The National Policy of Bilingual Education of 1972; and (3) the officialization of Quechua. The Education Reform of 1972 aimed to increase and expand the access of education to Peruvian citizens, promoting self-sufficiency and indigenous autonomy in school leadership roles. The National Policy of Bilingual Education emerged as one of the first political manifestations of bilingual education, which promoted indigenous languages, in Peru. Quechua was recognized as an official language in 1972 and became co-equal with Spanish, and was made an obligatory subject taught in schools by 1976. There would furthermore be emphasis not just on Quechua, but the cultural and ethnic elements within the indigenous groups that speak Quechua (Hornberger, 2000).

Although previous studies had been conducted in Venezuela on a 'type' of intercultural bilingual education (Lopez, 2009), Peru was the first Latin American country to 'officialize' an indigenous language -- thus in some aspects validating Quechua speakers as citizens. Velasco intended for Bilingual Education to be a mechanism in schools and courts, which before had been dominated by the Spanish

language. The Peruvian policies caused an outcry among upper and middle class citizens, and Velasco was replaced by Francisco Morales, who almost immediately de-officialized Quechua. By 1979 Quechua was only recognized as an official language of the state in the regions in which it was spoken (García, 2005).

As the government transformed, the policies and initiatives that Velasco built in education were gradually undone. Morales began to invest money in defense, causing tension between the Sindicato Único de Trabajadores (the teachers union) and the military forces. Education became converted into a terrain for the government to control “forces of subversion” rather than inclusion. A political and economic crisis in the eighties caused an upsurge of authoritarian rule, allowing for new forms of protest and organizing. Within this sort of political and economic context, state policies focused on “economic stabilization and the internal pacification” for Peru (UNESCO, 2001).

Up until the 1980’s Peru’s policies regarding indigenous rights, along with its Andean neighbors, had progressed significantly. With the emergence of Sendero Luminoso, a ‘Maoist’ guerrilla insurgent organization that began to enact political violence on Peruvian citizens. Members of Sendero Luminoso in particular targeted indigenous communities that mobilized for rights. What progress had been made in Peru as the advancement of a multi-cultural state plummeted backward with the violence caused by the Sendero Luminoso.

The end of the 1990s also brought an end to the violence at the hands of Sendero Luminoso. This meant that the Peruvian government began to focus again on the social well being of the state. In 1985, the Quechua and Aymara alphabets were given official sanction. Under President Alán García, the Department of Bilingual Education was

reinstated, opening the doors for IBE and the recreation of a national identity united by ethnic diversity. When Alberto Fujimori took office he promoted a National Policy of Intercultural Education -- attempting to move Peru past the historical discrimination of indigenous peoples and into a country that embraced its cultural, linguistic and traditional characteristics.

Intercultural Bilingual Education in Peru

Currently, 19%, of all Peruvian indigenous peoples currently reside in the Andes. This is followed by the coastal region at 6.8% and Amazonian at 5.7%. In each case, the majority of these percentages live in the rural areas per region, rather than in urban areas (UNESCO, 2009). Furthermore, in the *Informe Técnico: La pobreza en el Perú en el año 2007*, the Peruvian government found that those that lived in rural regions were more likely to live in poverty and lack access to basic human necessities such as education (2007: 5-10). Spanish remains the official language of Peru, but since the officialization of indigenous languages, as well as indigenous mobilization in the end of the 20th century, many other languages have been officially recognized.

Peru and Mexico are the two Latin American countries with the “longest history of bilingual education” (López, 2009: 14). The emergence of intercultural bilingual education policies in 1972, primarily fueled by activists, was met with hesitation from some indigenous groups. Advocates of intercultural bilingual education in the Andes call attention to cultural rights for communities to ‘legitimize’ their language, thus celebrate cultural differences. At the core of its purpose, intercultural bilingual education seeks pluralism through recognition of linguistic and cultural differences to obtain full civic, cultural and territorial rights. A peculiarity of Peruvian IBE efforts is the negative

reaction against efforts to utilize and preserve indigenous languages as a “*salta atrás*” (step backward). Due to the fact that many Peruvian indigenous citizens still reside in poverty, they look to elevate themselves through “economic advancement” in a Spanish speaking market (García, 2005).

IBE in Latin America adapted diversely across nations. In the case of Peru, it started with the recognition of indigenous languages. According to the Peruvian political constitution of 1993, all indigenous languages spoken in Peru are official and by 2003, the Peruvian government had enacted laws to both preserve and protect indigenous languages, knowledge, and technologies. In 2006 Peru adopted IBE as a national policy and affirmed the right of indigenous communities to head their own education.

An important aspect to note is that IBE began with more of an ‘assimilationist’ approach. The intent to include indigenous peoples in society was to be done by teaching Spanish to communities (Zúñiga, 2008). The IBE model, now, begins by teaching children and young adults in their maternal language (including textbooks) and later Spanish. Furthermore, IBE became a cross-cultural tool to preserve traditions within communities and now exist more prominently in areas with an increased indigenous population. However, in search of economic opportunities some indigenous families have begun migrating to urban areas (Zúñiga, 2008). Migration from rural to urban areas could have an increased pressure to communicate and interact socially, leading to a loss of indigenous mother tongue.

Similar to other countries, Peru transitioned from assimilationism models of bilingual education into maintenance and development prototypes to preserve mother

tongues, and finally into models of IBE. The graph below shows bilingual and later IBE projects in Peru from the 1960s until the early 2000s.

Table 3.3: Intercultural Bilingual Projects in Peru

Project	Institution	Timing	Place
Program for Experimental Education for Quecha-speaking children	Plan for Linguistic Development, the ncenter for Applied Linguistics (CILA) of San Marcos University	1966-1984	Quinua, Ayacucho
Project for Experimental Bilingual Education in Puno (PEEB-P)	German Development Cooperation (GTZ) and Ministry of Education	1977-1991	Puno: Quechua and Aymara communities
Program for Rural Andean School (ERA)	Radda Barnen Stockholm (Save the Children) and Ministry of Education	1988-1995	Cusco and Puno
Program for Bilingual Intercultural Education of the High Napo (PEBIAN)	Missionaries in the Angosteros community	1975	Napo Kichwa and a Secoya community
Education project with the Candoshi	Terra Nova	1980	Chuinda, Chapuri, and Huitoyacu rivers
Project for Bilingual Intercultural Education for the Ashaninka	Amazonian Center for Anthropology and Practical Applications (CAAP)	1983-1987	Tambo river
Training of Bilingual Teachers for the Peruvian Amazon (FORMABIAP)	Loreto Teacher Training Institute AIDSESEP	1988-2004	Central and Northeast Amazon
Project in Bilingual Intercultural Education in Andahuaylas Chicheros (PEBIACH)	Anton Spinoy Foundation	1990-2002	Andahuaylas and Chincheros
National Teacher Training Program—Bilingual Intercultural Education (PLANCAD-EBI)	Ministry of Education and Executing agencies under contract	1996-2004	Seven departments or regions
Education Project for Rural Areas (PEAR)	Ministry of Education	2002-2004	Canas, in Cusco, Frías and Suyu in Piuria and El Dorado in San Martín

(Source: World Bank, 2007)

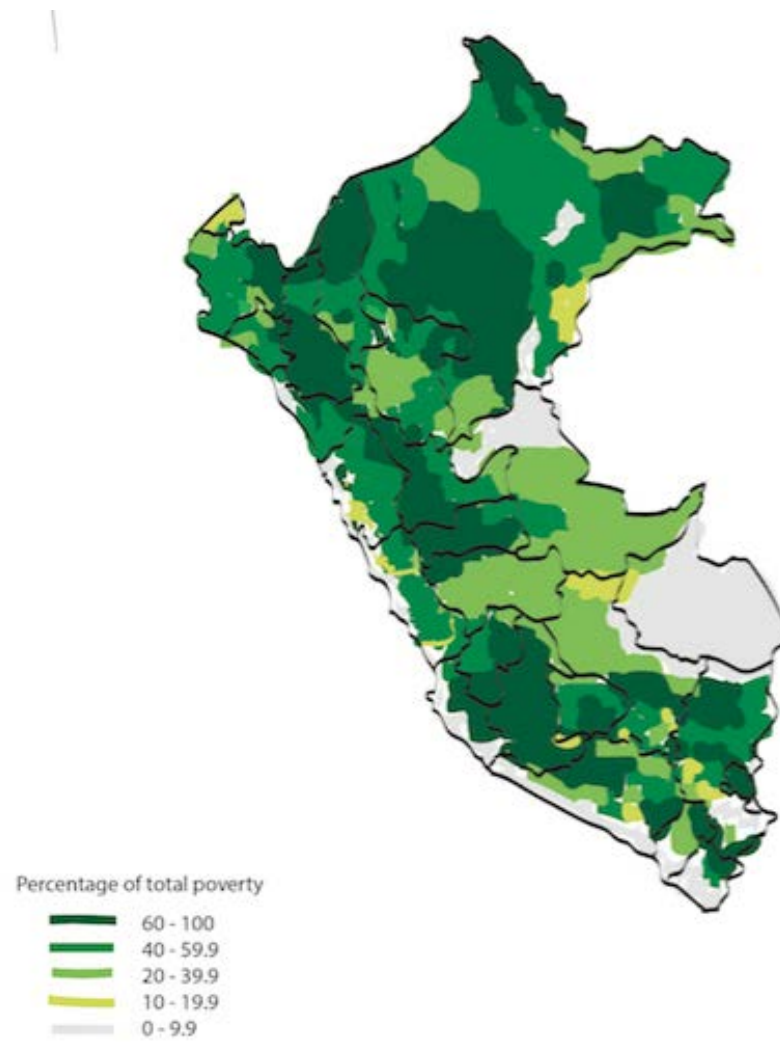
As seen in Table 3.3, the bilingual and IBE efforts span over several distinct indigenous communities. Early efforts included programs for experimental bilingual education from 1966 until the early 1990s. In 1991, Peru, along with UNICEF,

developed an experimental model for intercultural bilingual education, known as PEEB-P. PEEB-P set guidelines for developing books and other resources in indigenous mother tongues. This experiment spread to various other groups until the national adoption of IBE in 2006.

Quantity of Intercultural Bilingual Education Schools in Peru

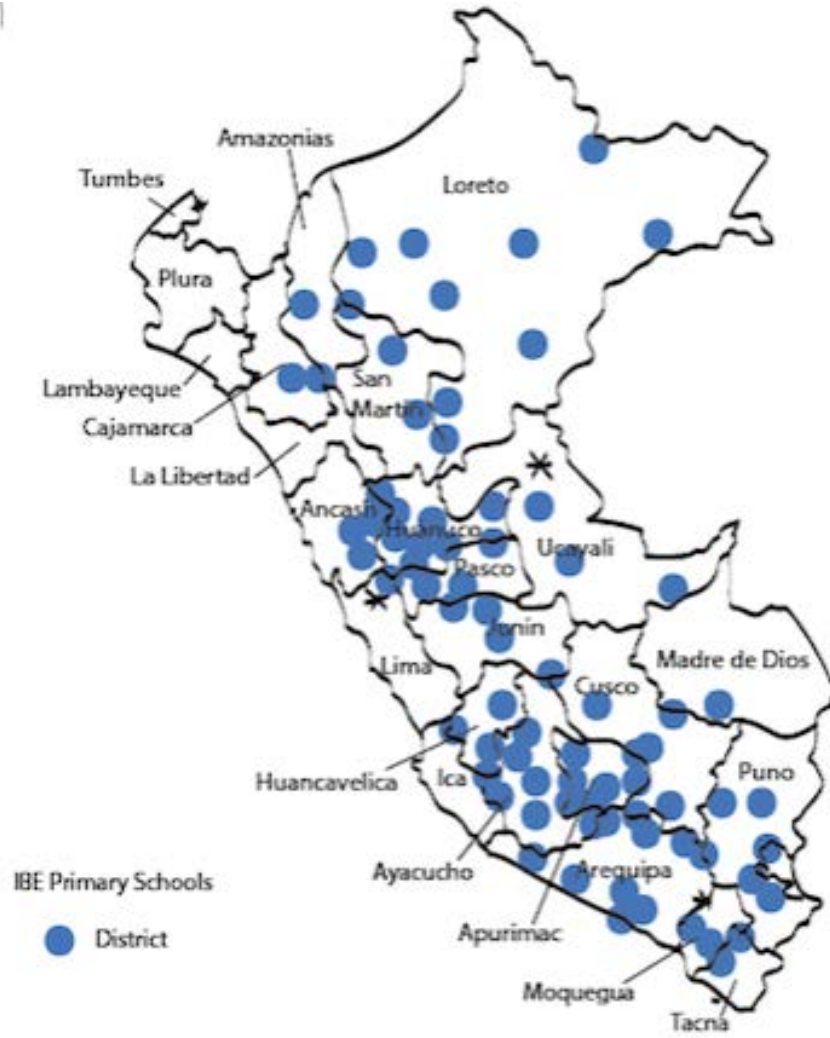
The history of indigenous rights in Peru led to new forms of advocacy in education. Intercultural bilingual education began as a means ‘to incorporate’ indigenous peoples into ‘Spanish’ society, but later became a method to preserve, include and celebrate indigenous diversity and language in Peru. The majority of IBE schools are located in Andean ranges, with some placed in Amazonian and coastal regions. The purpose of the map was to see if a correlation between areas of poverty and IBE schools still exists. Even though Peru has increased the amount of IBE schools in recent, equipped with pluralistic policies, there still remains a spatial disparity between indigenous groups that live and poverty and Spanish speakers in wealthier regions.

Figure 3.4: Map of Poverty Levels in Peru



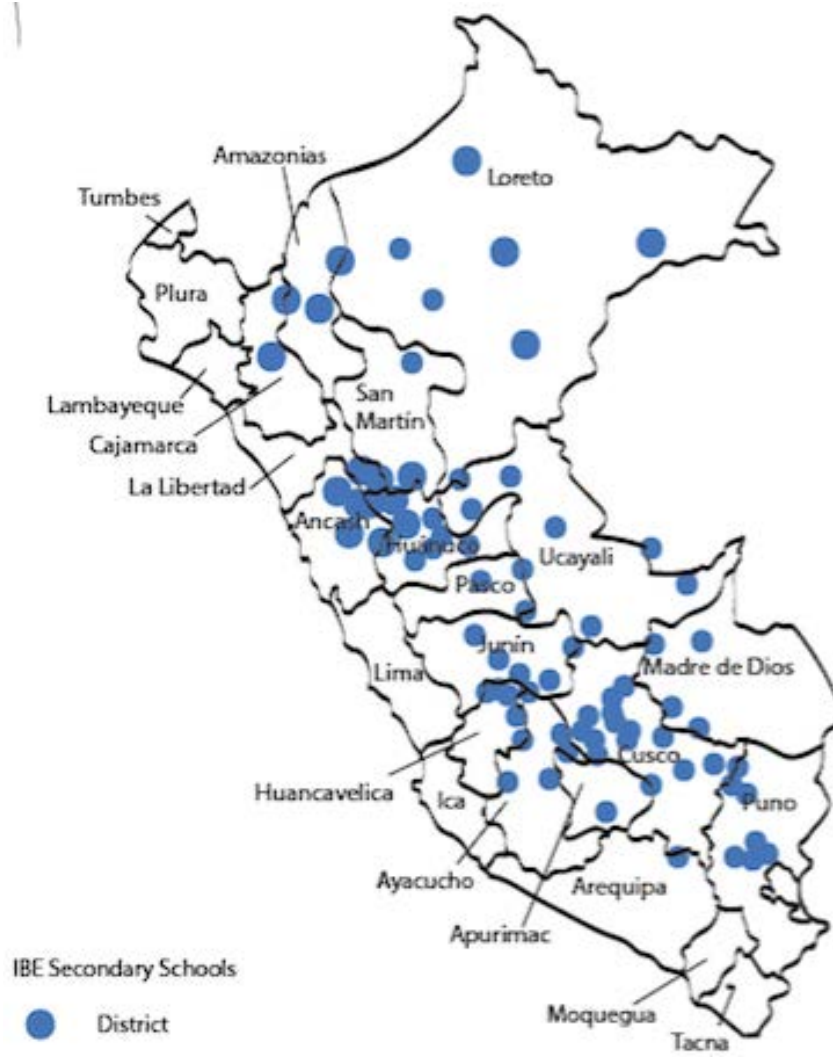
(Source: Instituto Nacional De Estadistica Informativa, 2007)

Figure 3.5: Distribution of Primary IBE Schools



(Malina, 2016)

Figure 3.6: Location of Secondary IBE schools



(Malina, 2016)

The base map (Figure 3.4) is “*Mapa De Pobreza Provincial Y Distrital 2013*” from the *Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática* and is being used to show the total levels of poverty, per district, in 2013. Beneath the districts, the map is separated by political province. The deeper green color represents the areas of greatest poverty; whereas the lighter areas show the least amount of poverty. It is interesting to note that

that most of the poverty is allocated throughout the Andean region, and the least amount along the coast. This is because the Andean region – particularly the rural areas in the Andes – has the highest concentration of indigenous peoples. On the coast, most indigenous peoples are in Lima and other cities. Many are very poor, but there is also a reasonably large middle class there as well. So, poverty corresponds to indigenous population.

Figures 3.5 and 3.6 were both created using the Peruvian Ministry of Education's database of schools and marked by political provinces. The use of both political provinces and region is important to this map because of the location of schools (by district and province) and the distribution of peoples per region (rural and urban). Furthermore, figure 3.4 shows the location and amount of intercultural bilingual schools in each province. In total there are 6,244 primary schools available to indigenous communities, 5,911 in rural areas and 333 in urban areas. The four provinces with the most amount of are: Puno (1,132), Cusco (900), Ayacucho (768), Ancash (639), and Apurimac (556). The blue dots represent the geographic location of the school.

Figure 3.5 above shows the amount of IBE secondary schools, again represented by blue dots, in each province. In total there are 1,373 schools, 1,161 in rural locations and 212 in urban areas. The provinces with the greatest number of schools are: Cusco (207), Puno (187), Ayacucho (149), Ancash (147), Loreto (117) and Huancavelica (97). Not only are the bilingual secondary schools located along areas of poverty (see Figure 3.4), but also there are far fewer secondary schools available than primary schools. This could allude to decreased retention rate in intercultural bilingual schools.

Analysis of Intercultural Bilingual Education Programs in Peru

Intercultural bilingual education in Peru has taken a much different form than in other countries due to its particularly violent and oppressive history. Although Peru was among the more 'progressive nations' in the 1970s because of its officialization of Quechua, generally IBE programs have shown a relative amount of success. One of the crucial factors of Peru's lack of technical implementation or profound societal changes has been due to its "one-directionality" (Hornberger, 2000). Peru has continued generate new laws that discuss vague tactics; as well as created around 1,300 IBE schools, but has not achieved high participation among indigenous communities.

Peru has been successful in creating legislation that attempts to promote interculturalism even though the 'mainstream' Peruvian citizens still reject the notion of a multi-cultural or pluri-national state. However, as the 2010 UNESCO report on "Reaching the Marginalized" discusses, "...IBE is not the same when it is interpreted and implemented directly by the indigenous organizations themselves than when it is under the responsibility of a government directorate, whether national, regional or local" (8). I argue that because of Peru's significant lack of indigenous mobilization, despite 40% of the population being indigenous, IBE has not profoundly changed the lingering politics of identity that were created several decades before. This has sustained internal dominance of the Spanish language and hegemonic ideologies.

The vast majority of IBE schools exist in rural, impoverished, and predominantly indigenous areas. Because of this, indigenous peoples are being taught in their languages, but cross-cultural understanding is not generating the type of dialogue like that seen in Bolivia. Deeply rooted internal discrimination, then, has not adequately been

addressed and Indigenous Peruvians continue to equate economic advancement through Spanish as the only way to advance in society (García, 2003).

Conclusions

In conclusion, there are several situations that have arisen in Peru in attempts to implement IBE schools. The first is a lack of community understanding at a national level because of vague top-down policies that do not address specific community needs. Secondly, many indigenous groups in Peru view Spanish as a means of economic advancement in order to break out of the cycle of living in poverty. Efforts in Peru show the difference between IBE and indigenous IBE, which is led by indigenous mobilization.

IIBE includes an increased amount of indigenous community involvement in shaping educational methodologies and teaching styles. I argue that because of this, IBE schools currently in place are not truly representative of community wants and therefore reflect a profound disinterest to sustain mother tongues or reclaim identities.

Chapter 4

Bolivia: A Case Study

“To construct an intercultural and participative education system to enable access to education for all Bolivians, without discrimination.”

- Bolivian Education Reform Law #1565

Bolivia’s path to indigenous mobilization and the establishment of intercultural bilingual education (IBE) is distinct compared to that of other Latin American countries. As in other nations, indigenous peoples in Bolivia fought historic injustices and political models that excluded them from various facets of life. Post-agrarian reform and indigenous uprisings shook the country at its core, leading to a re-evaluation of its national identity into a pluri-national state.

Guided by an international framework, and efforts by UNICEF, UNESCO, and strong indigenous grassroots movements, Bolivia passed “La Ley de La Reformación Educativa #1565;” a landmark law which changed the face of education. It called for a reformation of the quality of education experienced by indigenous citizens -- that the way

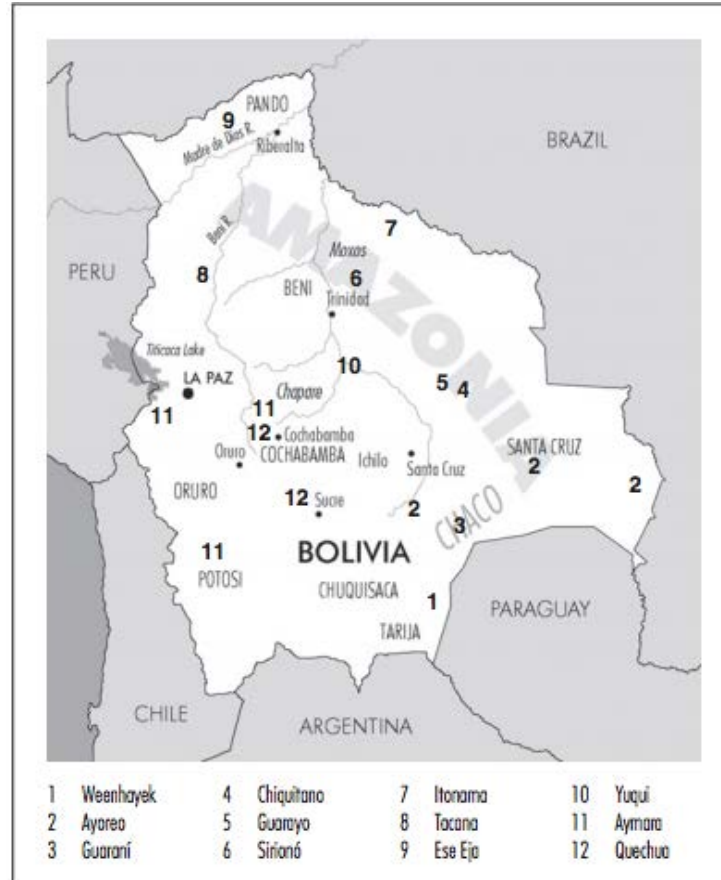
they will be taught will be both intercultural and bilingual. This meant challenging the previous hierarchical and assimilationist systems of learning Spanish as a first language.

Breaking down Bolivia's internal discrimination meant a transformation in political identity. IBE changed the foundations of Bolivia, acting as a vehicle for indigenous efforts toward decolonization. It secured indigenous rights to autonomy and self-representation, which began heightened indigenous autonomy, adding to international and national dialogues around their rights. While IBE has been highly successful in Bolivia, there remains a great deal of progress to be made.

Country Profile

Bolivia is a landlocked country in the central part of South America, and includes both the Andean mountain region and the Amazon (as well as the dry Chaco region in the country's south-east). Bolivia's population of 10.8 million (UNDP, 2015) is comprised of European-descent, Mestizo and Indigenous ethnic groups. Spanish is the official working language of the state, while the majority of the population is indigenous. A recent census showed that 63% of the population is indigenous, comprised of 36 diverse groups, 33 of which have their own mother tongue (Hornberger, 2000). The three predominant ethnic and linguistic indigenous groups are Quechua, Aymara and Guaraní, which reside in the Andean and Chaco regions.


Figure 4.1: Map of Indigenous Groups in Bolivia



(Source: IWGIA, 2006)

In recent years there has been a greater amount of migration of indigenous peoples to urban areas, but as shown in the map below, Quechua, Aymara and other native speakers still make up the majority of rural inhabitants, often times living in poverty. Figure 4.2 below provides further insight into the percentage of indigenous peoples in the various regions of Bolivia.

Figure 4.2: Population distribution according to ethnic description in rural and urban areas

 Cuadro VII.16 Distribución de población según autoadscripción étnica por áreas rural y urbana

ÁREAS Y TAMAÑO DE CIUDADES	QUECHUA	AIMARA	OTROS NATIVOS INCLUSIVE PUEBLOS DEL CHACO, ORIENTE Y AMAZONÍA	NINGUNO
Ciudades capitales	33%	30,2%	38%	55,5%
Ciudades de 75.000 y más habitantes	4,6%	23,1%	1,9%	6,4%
Otras ciudades hasta 2.000 habitantes	13,3%	6,4%	22,9%	17,3%
Area rural	49,2%	40,4%	37,1%	20,8%
Total %	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total absoluto	1.555.641	1.277.881	309.115	1.922.355

(Source: UNICEF, 2009)

Historical geographic exclusion and oppression means that there remains an evident connection between “indigeneity, illiteracy and poverty” among indigenous peoples in rural areas (Gustafson, 2009). Economists have further asserted that in order to “break the cycle of individual poverty” in Bolivia a minimum of thirteen years of education is necessary (Regalsky, 2010). Education, though, presents itself as a means of poverty eradication that can dismantle historically oppressive structures. Today there remains a high level of illiteracy in Bolivia, totaling over 20%. Among indigenous peoples in Bolivia the average amount of schooling for a person over 25 is four years (World Bank, 2007). Groups that do not belong to Quechua, Aymara or Guaraní have an even lower amount of illiteracy.

Political and Historical Background Analysis

Comprehending the historic exchange between politics and the formation of the Bolivian nation-state is crucial to understanding its education models. The first national

education reform of 1905 provided broader access to education, but was reflective of the assimilationist political agenda of the late 1800s and early 1900s. Before this, many Bolivians relied on missionaries to provide 'basic education' to the areas not covered by the government (Taylor, 2004). Although the model was bilingual, the indigenous peoples with access to education were forbidden to speak their native language in school, and required to learn Spanish.

Similar to other Latin American nations, Bolivia's indigenous population experienced historical racism, which manifested itself into the economic, political, and societal foundation of the country. Between 1952 and 1953 a number of political uprisings began to uproot historical injustices experienced by these peoples. In 1952 the government was led primarily by the military, creating an even more oppressive atmosphere. Peasants and miners banded together to overthrow the current military regime in an uprising that came to be known as *Revolución Social* in 1952 (Yashar, 2005). The political party that emerged victorious to lead the country was the *Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario* (MNR).

Following this overthrow, Víctor Paz Estenssoro returned from exile, introducing drastic social and economic reforms. In the midst of a sweeping national reform the MNR dramatically shifted power relations within Bolivia. In La Paz, Cochabamba, Oruro and northern Potosí peasants began organizing regionally to ensure rural landholders' rights. The revolution that occurred attempted to include rural citizens into the broader political systems (Yashar, 2005). Members of the movement became involved in executive and legislative government processes -- addressing their concern for self-representation through their own institutions.

Political scientist Deborah Yashar breaks down Bolivia's history of indigenous mobilization to form multi-cultural policies into separate regional grassroots movements by the MNR and the Kataristas. Molina and Albó (2009) further establish this in their report on the linguistic and cultural makeup of Bolivia. The MNR allowed rural indigenous 'peasants' to be included in law-making processes. Even before the adoption of ILO 169 in 1989, this involvement extended citizen rights to indigenous peoples. The next year the agrarian reform went through through Bolivia, overturning land holdings and further spurring indigenous mobilization (BBC News, 2012).

The 1953 agrarian reform swept Bolivia into a state of indigenous uprising and mobilization for land and rights. In the case of Bolivia, mobilization from the 1950s and on reflected a fight for indigenous autonomy from state-led assimilationist policies, which in turn changed citizenship regimes (Yashar, 2005). As the MNR and agrarian reform gained momentum through land rights, one of the principal 'problems' faced by Bolivia was the acceptance of its ever-present but newly recognized multi-cultural identity. In response to these events, access to education also expanded in rural areas (Molina and Albó, 2009).

By 1955 another education reform policy had been created with the support of the Protestant and Catholic churches. Following the submersion education model, these new policies 'promoted' indigenous languages with the purpose of heightening indigenous ability to learn Spanish (Taylor, 2004). Other reforms, headed by teachers and indigenous mobilizers secured decision-making authority for the rural and urban unions in the Code of Education of 1955. Behind the peasant union federations were indigenous peoples that worked to safeguard their territorial jurisdictions. In many cases, "pre-

existing indigenous authority systems simply took on the names established by union organizations” (Yashar, 2005:166).

Although dominated by military coups in the 1960s, indigeneity continued to be an omnipresent force that contended with national policies. Even though the agrarian reform demilitarized many land holdings, a strong military presence remained in Bolivia. In 1964 General René Barrientos organized a military coup and took power (BBC News, 2012). Under his jurisdiction the Bolivian government tried to dismantle MNC-peasant relations and solidify military-peasant relations to re-establish military land holdings. This revival of a hegemonic ‘patronage’ pact delegitimizes previous established union rights -- making land ownership yet again ambiguous (Yashar, 2005).

In attempts to retain political inclusion in the late 1960s and ‘70s, the MNR established a “corporatist citizenship regime” (Yashar; 2005:163). This meant that the MNC tried to solidify rights through resource allocation, demanding peasant rights to citizenship and land. In 1974, these autonomous indigenous unions, led by the MNC in Cochabamba, faced a reduced evaluation of resources as well as combining the Ministry of Peasants with the Ministry of Agriculture and later reducing state funding by 20%. This reallocation of resources to control land caused a huge resurgence of over 20,000 Quechua mobilizers in Cochabamba. However, the presence of state-organized unions formed through the Military-Peasant Pact there also existed a great amount of resistance.

Yashar also points to the Katarista movements in La Paz in the late 1970s. Whereas MNC mobilization sought to fight historic patronage-type land holdings and resource misallocation, the Katarista mobilized around class and ethnic status. The Kataristas utilized the death of General Barrientos to gain political leverage to “create

space to express and legitimate their indigenous practices and customs” (Yashar, 2005: 170). The importance of the Katarista movement was utilizing political openings to advance indigenous cultural autonomy and the engagement of other community members.

For example, the Kataristas founded the *Centro Campesino Tupak Katari*, *Centro de Investigacion y Promocion del Campesinado* (CIPCA), and created the National Congress of the National Confederation of Peasant Workers of Bolivia, as well as soccer leagues to engage youth. These initiatives were important because they validated facets of indigenous livelihoods at various levels. For example, leaders of the Kataristas interacted with the national government for rights, but utilized its local indigenous governments and provided initiatives to engage the youth within Katarista -- mainly Quechua -- communities.

In its initial years, the National Congress of the National Confederation of Peasant Workers of Bolivia had solid footing, with “demonstrated independence from the government” (Yashar, 2004: 179). With many Kataristas in executive positions, the National Confederation lead several successful demonstrations. One demonstration, known as the Political Manifesto of 1983, openly denounced the systematic oppression that reduced indigenous peoples to ‘Indians’ -- labeling them as inept and unable to participate in self-governance and other economic processes.

Up to this point, two major movements -- the Movimiento Nacional Revolucionario (MNR) and the Kataristas propelled indigenous reclamation of rights and identity. Although both the MNR and Katarista movements were highly successful grassroots operations, they received a vast amount of pushback from the national

government. Between 1971 and 2002 over 17,000 indigenous demonstration events occurred, under 11 different government regimes.

Before the dramatic economic collapse of 1985, the Confederación Indígena del Oriente, Chaco y Amazonía de Bolivia (CIDOB) or the Indigenous Confederation of the Oriente, Chaco and Amazon, was created to combine indigenous efforts from distinct regions of the country. CIDOB successfully created a national assembly that forged connections between Andean and Amazonian indigenous groups. CIDOB also “demanded indigenous territory; organizational autonomy to decide the terms of political participation and development the right to self government; recognition of customary law and legal pluralism and the right to cultural survival and development” (Yashar 2015: 203).

After a dramatic economic collapse in 1985, the Bolivian government, with help from the United Nations, began to transition to neoliberalism. Later in 1989, ILO 169 was ratified, fueling indigenous advocacy for a plurinational state. Other United Nations efforts -- such as those by the World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF) and UNICEF sought market liberalization, while “Neoliberal technocrats...introduced a new language of authority in which state-led development and narratives of nationalism, anti-imperialism, and social imperialism were out” (Gustafson, 2012: 4).

Indigenous organizers, such as the MNR and CIDOB saw elements of neoliberalism as windows for an unfinished agenda to recreate state identity. The 1993 election of President Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada, popularly known as Goni, signaled the country's transition to interculturalism discourse and an education reform that would begin to shape the country. The transition to neoliberalism allowed a more accepting

view on the elements of multiculturalism and self-regulation. The discourse of indigenous rights, and knowledge was still conducted under a “totalizing bureaucratization of authoritative knowledge” (Gustafson, 2012: 20).

Throughout Bolivia’s changing history, one of the greatest obstacles faced by indigenous groups was becoming part of the authoritative power that controlled the discourse about indigenous knowledge, culture, and rights. Neoliberalism offered a space for indigenous citizens to challenge systemized oppression, yet moderated the language in a way that redirected the deployment of indigenous knowledge. For example, ‘interculturalism’ became a popular buzzword still used by elites to affirm the existence of diversity, but failed to recognize the ideology of interculturalism in practice.

Intercultural Bilingual Education in Bolivia

“The coloniality of power operates through racialized discourses about knowledges, languages and their human bearers inherited from Bolivia’s colonial past and institutionalized in juridical, territorial, administrative, and political forms” (Gustafson, 2012: 4)

Historically, indigenous peoples in Bolivia have struggled against a colonial legacy that painted a mono-lingual, ethnic and cultural picture of the country. Like Peru and other Latin American countries, the legacy of the hacienda system and latifundios created geographic exclusion. National hegemonic discourse meant that because they were considered ‘primitive’ in nature, indigenous peoples could not be both ‘Indian’ and ‘letrado’ -- or literate.

Bolivia’s education models followed changes in governmentality. The first education reform passed in 1905, which established a Bolivia’s first national model.

Bolivia's first model reflected the colonialism that characterized Peru in the early 1900s. Old models were 'highly political' and utilized an assimilationist bilingual approach to rid the country of the 'Indian' problem and create a national identity through a mono-cultural society.

Throughout the various reforms that Bolivia experienced from the 1940s until the late 1980s, education models remained transitional and subversive. The World Bank table below breaks down the 'old' models of education that existed. Old curricula were hegemonic, following a Spanishized system of knowledge distribution. Not only were classes taught in Spanish and other cultures disregarded, but the methodology of teaching was hegemonic. One model of education was used widely throughout Bolivia, which neglected the multi-cultural identity and existence of diversity.

Table 4.3: The Transition of Education Models in Bolivia

Curriculum	Contents	Pedagogical Approach	Cultural Approach	Resources
Old	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Isolated subjects -Language -Mathematics -Natural sciences -Social sciences -Physical education -Music -Arts -Crafts -Religion 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Based on behaviorism -Monolingual (Spanish) -Based on repetition and memorization -Transfer of contents -Frontal methodology -Teacher centered 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Civilizational or monocultural -No regard for cultural identities or mother tongue -Assimilation of all into one culture 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Primacy of textbooks that define classroom work -Few and often outdated classroom materials (e.g., maps, illustrative charts)
New	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Subjects organized and integrated into areas -Mathematics -Languages and communication -Life sciences -Technology and practical knowledge -Expression and creativity -Religion, ethics, and morality -Physical ed. Transversal themes integrated into curricular areas -Environment -Democracy -Gender -Health and sexuality 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Based on constructivism -Directed to the attainment of basic learning needs and attention to cultural, linguistic, and individual diversity -Both monolingual and bilingual modalities -Construction of knowledge and values -Student centered -Based on students' direct experiences with others and on active class participation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Intercultural -Respects and incorporates students' cultural identities and mother tongues 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Didactic resources: up-to-date, varied, and pertinent to different cultures and ages in each curricular area and cross-cutting themes -Student and teacher libraries -Didactic teachers' guides -Student learning modules -Charts and maps -Sports equipment -Audio and video equipment

(Source: World Bank, 2007)

In 1988, the Ministry of Education and UNICEF began developing the Intercultural Bilingual Program, modeled after already existing initiatives in Peru (Taylor, 2009). Using the framework for intercultural methodology from Peruvian models, two pilot programs were initiated in Guaraní communities between 1989 and 1991 (Lopez, 2009). These projects focused on multi-directional intercultural bilingual

education, a comprehensive cross-cultural strategy that took into consideration specific elements of the Guaraní community. For example, community elders reflected collective traits in the promotion of active participation. In addition, the Bolivian government launched a policy of decision making to strengthen collective consensus within municipalities (Taylor, 2006). This meant indigenous autonomy in allocation of public funds.

Neoliberal discourse of 'interculturalism' and pilot projects within Guaraní communities led to one of the most successful education reforms in Latin America: The National Education Reform #1565 of 1994. The Education Reform #1565 began to put IBE into practice at a national level. Articles of the #1565 laid out rights of indigenous citizens in education, as well as the creation and methodology of IBE schools in Bolivia.

For example, Articles 1-6 establishes that culturally inclusive and sensitive education, "...is the right and duty of every Bolivian, because it is organized and developed with the participation of the whole society without restriction or discrimination of race, culture, region, social status, physical, mental, sensory, gender, creed or old." and Article 1:9 further establishes the right to autonomy, creativity and social equality of education.

Article 3 of the National Education Reform outline the necessity to construct an intercultural and participatory education system that can be accessed by all ethnic groups and is pertinent to the needs of the community. It furthermore focuses on the democratization of education -- that it should be accessible and provide a quality of learning that extends fair opportunities to all learners. Articles 4 and 5, lay out the

importance of participation of the community in the various levels of organization, development and objectives that are pertinent to the communities' social needs.


One of the most important Articles that officially declares the formation and use of multi directional use IBE in Bolivia is Article 9: "Modes of language: (1) Monolingual, in the Spanish language with a secondary study of a national indigenous language; (2) Bilingual, in a national indigenous language as the first language and Spanish as the second language." By finally defining what 'bilingual' meant -- a reciprocal system in which one language was considered more important than another, it explicitly recognized the assimilationist nature of previous educational models.

The importance of the National Education Reform of 1994 reached far greater than technical changes. Education became a vehicle by which technical democracy could take hold. The National Education Reform chipped away at colonial discourse of power slowly that led to the acceptance of a 'plurinational' state. While the 1994 law provided a foundation for permanent change that empowered indigenous groups through education autonomy, other laws stipulated specific methodologies. The use of bilingual education became a "...highly pragmatic act of defiance in the exclusionary educational system of a country struggling to conceptualize itself as a nation" (Lopez, 2009: 4)

Education reforms also coincided with constitutional reforms. Upon the adoption of Law #1565 the amended constitution of 1995 --- adding articles establishing a "plurinational" state. In 2000, the law Decreto Supremo #25894 was passed, which officialized thirty-five Bolivian languages. The officialization law was propelled by and primarily addresses language in education but has had varying success.

A recent study done by the World Bank shows the knowledge of languages within Bolivia. In terms of language use and preservation, the knowledge of indigenous languages has significantly decreased despite intercultural bilingual reformations in education. These statistics are not representative of other facets of IBE such as community governance, the amount of IBE schools or the successful implementation of top-down policies.

Figure 4.4: Bolivian National Language Census

 Cuadro VII.17 Datos lingüísticos en Bolivia, comparación de los tres últimos censos

	CENSO 1976	CENSO 1992*	CENSO 2001
Saben castellano	78,8%	87,4%	82,6%
Saben quechua	39,7%	34,3%	27,6%
Saben aimara	28,8%	23,0%	18,5%
Saben otras lenguas indígenas	1,1%	02,5%	01,5%
Sólo saben castellano	36,3%	41,7%	52,6%
Sólo saben lengua indígena	20,4%	11,5%	12,3%
Saben lengua indígena y castellano	43,3%	46,8%	35,1%
Total censado	4.613.4	5.256.3*	8.261.2

(Source: UNICEF, 2009)

Quantity of IBE Schools in Bolivia

According to the Bolivian Ministry of Education web portal, there are over 18,000 primary and secondary schools combined in Bolivia. Unlike Peru, the Bolivian Ministry of Education does not explicitly label its IBE schools. However, the Ministry has an

assigned team focused on methods of Education Intracultural Intercultural and Plurilingual (EIIP).

EIIP developed Institutos de Lengua y Cultura por Nación y Pueblo Indígena or “Institutes of Language and Culture for Indigenous Nations and Pueblos” which offer similar resources as IBE schools. There is at least one Indigenous language institute in each district of Bolivia. Curricula for the EIIP centers is regionalized and also focuses on efforts like social and community participation in education. Pueblos such as Weenhayek, Chiman, Pacahuara, Chácobo, More, Mosen, Itonama, Yuqui, Movima, Kabineño, Machineri, Yaminagua, Esse Eja, Tacana are in the process of adopting the regionalized EIIP curricula.

Analysis of Intercultural Bilingual Education Programs in Bolivia

“The Constitution recognizes Bolivia as a Plurinational State, in that sense, the Ministry of Education, in order to reverse the colonial model, implements educational policies that respond to the demands and needs of the plurality of the state.”

- Bolivian Ministry of Education

The significance of IBE falls into five levels: political, institutional, psycholinguistic, micro, and cultural (Taylor, 2009: 17). The political level shapes national policies and validation of languages, citizenship and cultures, recognizing distinct groups within a nation. In a sort of snowball affect, other spheres of state life are consequently affected by state policies. Institutional involvement relies on inclusive policies and laws that define and support indigenous autonomy and participation in

governance. At the micro and cultural levels community involvement in schooling revalidates important cultural aspects.

Throughout Bolivia's history of grassroots mobilization for rights, the manifestation of IBE as a vehicle for national change has been one of the most sustainable. Unlike other Latin American countries, Bolivia's unique history of grassroots mobilization shaped its pluralistic identity today. The implementation of IBE in Bolivia has been accompanied by other initiatives, like community involvement, to further break down barriers to democratic participation. IBE, too, permeated and decolonized historical models of assimilation that once substituted as the national identity.

Bolivia's current multi-directional IBE model, framed by international trends of the 1994 Education Reformation and constitutional amendments, attempts to dismantle historically oppressive models. Although IBE has helped Bolivia bring important questions of cultural and linguistic diversity into the forefront of policies, there remains a lot of progress to make. IBE deals "...with the colonial legacy on one hand whilst simultaneously engaging with the demands posed by rapid globalization on the other" (Gustafson, 2012). Therefore, IBE systems are still forced to grapple with overbearing political structures.

Other critiques of IBE programs and constitutional changes thereof are aimed at the 'superficial' clauses about pluri-national and ambiguous language officialization (Lopez, 2009). Furthermore, other critiques say the Education Reform 'assumes hegemony' or one singular state identity. For example, the International Working Group on Indigenous Affairs stated that "...despite having had their collective rights formally

declared, indigenous peoples have still not had their territories returned or their autonomy or development with identity made effective” (2006).

In order for intercultural bilingual education to be successful, national processes must also experience a more dramatic change. It has, indeed, helped Bolivia reform its national identity and provided a platform for indigenous peoples to begin reclaiming their identities in Bolivia. IBE remains imperfect in nature, and is still a ‘model’ that does not necessarily meet the needs of some communities.

Chapter 5

Analysis and Conclusions

“In this struggle for liberation we have held on to our character as Aymara, Qhechwa, Camba, Tupurani, etc. and we have learned that we can achieve liberation without losing our cultural and national identity, without being ashamed of what we are; we will recover our lost dignity.”

- 1983 Political Manifesto of CSUTCB

The international framework for human rights as established by ILO 169 and UNDRIP, guided national changes in Peru and Bolivia. The historic development course and political regimes of each country shaped the inclusion and exclusion of distinct ethnic groups. Political reforms because of indigenous mobilization or internal violence shaped other national governing processes. The introduction of intercultural bilingual education internationally and nationally began with framework addressing indigenous rights and later became a platform to dismantle historic systemic oppression.

Analysis

Oppressive policies characterized hegemonic discourse assuming the mono-linguistic and mono-cultural identity of nations. Both Bolivia and Peru grappled with the

formation of a new state identity -- one that represented the wealth of diversity that existed among within their indigenous populations. Past frameworks have excluded indigenous peoples, representing them as inept or unable to represent themselves in any type of marketplace. As countries took their own historic courses filled with mobilization and policy transformations, international framework on indigenous rights began to declare indigenous rights and challenge subordinating governments.

Of the international declarations and conventions regarding indigenous rights, ILO 169 and the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, are the most important. ILO 169 guaranteed the self-representation of indigenous communities -- that they would be defined by their customs and governance – and acted as one of the first multi-cultural models embracing indigenous rights and ethnic heterogeneity.

The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) was the next major international foundation for the rights of indigenous peoples drafted and adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 2007, 18 years after ILO 169. As well as covering the basic human rights of indigenous peoples around the world, UNDRIP outlined rights to ‘multicultural’ and ‘intercultural’ representation and inclusion in all facets of nation building. It emphasized the demilitarization of land, echoing the purpose of the agrarian land reform. UNDRIP also recognized previous models of assimilation that indigenous peoples endured in political, economic and education contexts. Finally, UNDRIP sought material and nonmaterial reparations to maintain control of their narratives to become agents of their own history.

ILO 169 and UNDRIP gave way to other initiatives on indigenous rights, such as the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, a Special Rapporteur and

Expert Mechanism on indigenous peoples and rights. Specific legislation and strategies addressing the various aspects of indigenous rights also generated actions by UNICEF and UNESCO. UNESCO, focused on cultural equality and preservation began working with nations like Venezuela to provide interculturalism in education as a means of cultural sustainability and technical democracy. International trends like these have shaped indigenous rights progress in both Peru and Bolivia.

Intercultural bilingual education stemmed from national indigenous grassroots mobilization, paired with United Nations efforts. The creation of international bodies monitoring access and types of education enabled national indigenous efforts to escape previous submersion models that asserted hegemonic language and culture on communities.

‘Interculturalism’ surfaced from intellectuals’ contributions and indigenous struggles for proper representation and United Nations efforts. IBE was to be both bilingual and cross-cultural, focusing on the quality of education. IBE emerged first as a ‘tool’ to preserve endangered languages. It transformed, along with national and international initiatives into a vehicle of democracy to reclaim and express indigenous communities’ identities.

Past education models of submersion, transition and maintenance were replaced with the intercultural enrichment model. Interculturalism, in theory, would work to reverse ‘Sanitization’ and focus on the *what* and *how* in teaching methodology. Culturally appropriate education has manifested itself in two methodologies: traditional and transitional. Each model relies on indigenous narratives and cultural norms to guide classroom-teaching styles.

Through inclusion of traditional and transitional teaching styles, IBE secures the right to know and speak in different ways. It also gives indigenous peoples control of their own narratives and knowledge base. This directly combats political assimilationist ideologies that took control of these indigenous narratives, which excluded them from participation in the elements of nation building. Creating teaching methods that derive from an indigenous lens assisted in dismantling hegemonic hierarchies, rethinking and reordering relations of power. IBE, which began as a method of preservation, also became a fundamental means of addressing other areas of social and economic inequalities faced by indigenous groups.

Along with dismantling historic structures, interculturality fosters cultural identity and self-esteem with the purpose of creating understanding among cultures. By empowering pluralism, complex social identities become unraveled and included into greater socio-cultural structures. Putting the IBE into practice, from a policy level to a technical effort has been one of the weaknesses faced by implementers. My case studies on Peru and Bolivia help give insight to the historical and political factors that have shaped and limited IBE and if implementation of IBE has been successful.

Peru and Bolivia are geographically similar countries covered by both the Andes and Amazon (and, in the case of Bolivia, the Chaco). Each country holds a significant population of indigenous peoples. The majority of Bolivia's population is indigenous, whereas Peru's population is roughly one third indigenous. Quechua and Aymara communities make up the greatest percentage of indigenous communities, even though each country has over 30 recognized groups.

In contrast to other Latin American countries, Peru and Bolivia both have made distinct strides in plurinational policy reformation and implementation of intercultural bilingual schools. This guided my decision in comparing the successes, limitation and formations of IBE in these two countries. Factors that contributed to education progress differed because historical pasts and differing policy transformations.

Peru's history was built on the strong voices of intellectuals, progressive leaders and those afflicted by the terrorist regime of Sendero Luminoso. The agrarian reform redistributed past land holdings, but the majority of land still remained in the hands of elite members of society. Under Juan Velasco Alvarado a number of constitutional changes, such as the officialization of Quechua, took place. The National Policy of Bilingual Education emerged as one of the first political manifestations of bilingual education. In many ways, the officialization of Quechua and new bilingual education reforms sought to include indigenous groups and was progressive for its era.

However, Peru remained plagued by hegemonic ideologies and once Velasco was out of office the new political regime deconstructed language and education advancements. The emergence of Sendero Luminoso also afflicted any socio-political gains that had been made. Sendero's insurgent organization enacted political violence targeting indigenous groups caused further polarization of indigenous groups. Peru's economic collapse following Sendero's acts of terror shifted all political attention toward economic advancement.

Bolivia's history, on the other hand, was very much characterized by indigenous mobilization to generate constitutional changes while the agrarian reform shifted land holdings more drastically than in Peru, a lot of the land was still held by elites. Two large

indigenous mobilizations, by the Movimiento Revolucionario Nacional and the Kataristas sought indigenous autonomy and the redefining of the state of Bolivia. Indigenous mobilizers in Bolivia faced systems of subordination that actively tried to undermine efforts by decreasing resource allocation and ignoring indigenous governing bodies.

One of the main differences of Bolivia's history was the bottom-up approach to policy changes, rather than a top-down approach like Peru's. Grassroots movements tried to obtain autonomy through regaining land holdings and by demanding ethnic recognition of cultural values, traditions and governance. This, in turn, paved the way for Bolivia's acceptance of its "new" plurinational identity. Intercultural bilingual education emerged as an extension of policy changes.

My Conclusions

My argument is split into two important areas. First, I argue that the successful emergence of intercultural bilingual education depends on historical events and policy developments in Peru and Bolivia. Secondly, I argue that IBE is a mechanism through which indigenous peoples can reclaim their identities and penetrate broader systems of subordination.

It is important to note, then, the distinct historical events that contributed to each country's transformation into 'pluri-national' states guided their beginning notions of 'interculturality'. For example, in Peru interculturality was considered the "harmonious" dialogue among cultures" and is mainly unidirectional, which reflects its top-down transformation. In Bolivia, by contrast, interculturality "strengthened national identity based on respect for all" and is multi-directional (Hornberger, 2001).

Since Peru lacks a strong political framework outlining its multi-cultural identity, maintaining and implementing policies has been difficult. There are over 2,500 intercultural bilingual schools in Peru, but are only present in indigenously dominated areas. This means that indigenous groups will learn, read and write in their indigenous mother tongue and secondarily learn in Spanish; but Spanish speakers will not have to learn an '*idioma orginiaria*' as a second language. As a result, Peru's educational model is intercultural but uni-directional.

Furthermore, based on the of primary and secondary schools in chapter three, there is a lack of lack of retention in secondary schools, which speaks to an even broader educational problem. Many indigenous people could explain this lack of retention of the perspective that the only way to advance socially or economically is by the knowledge of Spanish. Peru's terror regime of the 1980s and early 1990s and its history of indigenous subordination continues to support this view (García, 2005).

Bolivia's plurinational constitutional reformation assisted the notions of self-respect and multi-directionality of IBE. Historic mobilization has been a prominent factor in shaping the reciprocity of its IBE schools. Although Bolivia has experienced more success in the implementation of IBE, there has still been a significant loss of indigenous language speakers (World Bank, 2007). However, educational reformations in Bolivia have been crucial in reshaping the country's identity.

In this regard, IBE can be successfully utilized to promote cross-cultural understanding, leading to the deconstruction of hegemonic structures that ignore multiculturalism. For example, control of teaching methodologies empowers indigenous

self-representation. This empowerment, as in the case of Bolivia, can be further expressed in demands for broader representation in larger state processes.

Areas for Future Research

As previously stated, IBE has the potential to have a strong impact on state restructuring. In many ways, international frameworks have promoted the notion of interculturalism. However, one of the weaknesses of this is that it still acts as a “model” to be followed, ignoring the specificities of each country. The importance of interculturality is to mimic deep-rooted cultural traditions, including in teaching methods in the community. Community involvement in intercultural bilingual education is an area that could help expand formal ‘models’ of IBE into a model fit for the specific community that it acts in.

Furthermore, a deconstructed historical system requires a generational effort. Since many of the IBE frameworks derive from international declarations or conventions, interculturality remains dependent on the very systems that subordinate indigenous groups. Indigenous activism, teaching methodologies and expressions of indigeneity rely on the space provided by Western models.

In conclusion, intercultural bilingual education is a vehicle to further recognition of and participation by indigenous peoples in political processes. It is still imperfect in nature and dependent on state implementation and characteristics. However, it acts as a method of technical democracy, with the potential for indigenous groups to reclaim their identities and demand that the state reflects this.

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