Language, Education and Power in Bolivia:

bilingual education classroom practices

Thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements of the University of Liverpool for the degree of Doctor in Philosophy by Pedro Plaza Martínez

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Abstract

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practices

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This thesis deals with the issues of language and education in Bolivia, in general; and that of the bilingual education project in San José del Paredón, Department of Chuquisaca, in particular. The approach is interdisciplinary, drawing concepts from sociology (Field, Bourdieu 1990; 1992), from basic descriptive linguistics, social linguistics (Discourse, Fairclough 1996 [1992]) and the history of ideas (Disciplines, Foucault 1991 [1975]). It is argued that both language change and formal education are functions of the hierarchically organized society, generating trends of Castilianization and modernization (and school failure in the rural areas); and that bilingual education attempts to counter these trends but its success is hamstrung by a variety of factors: mentalities, discourses, disciplines, structures, and even random circumstances.

Two aspects of the bilingual classroom are analyzed in depth: the teaching of Spanish as a second language, especially with respect to phonology; and teacher-pupil relationships, in reference to the Disciplines, as described by Foucault (ibid.).

The problems generated by the alien nature of school in the countryside, with teachers coming from the cities and children from the communities, is seen as part of a wider confrontation of mentalities (Bolivian vs. Andean) which do not always clash but also interpenetrate, and adapt to each other. Thus the technical factors (the curriculum, teachers' training, materials, and so on) constitute only one side of the problem; the wider circumstances, such as for instance the position of the subject-agents in the social spectrum, constitute the other side. It is my intention to show that the crucial element that holds society together (in peace or in war, in harmony or in confrontation) is the type of relationship that is established between peoples, languages, cultures and social organizations.

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Notes

(a) To insure the anonymity of the teachers, in some cases, their names have been substituted

by fictitious initials, such as Miss EE, and so on.

(b) I have used the following conventions for the use of the indicated punctuation

marks:

- -Double inverted commas "..." to indicate (a) literal quotations from the bibliography, but these quotation marks are omitted in quotations in block; or (b) distancing myself from some notions, such as. "Indigenous" and "Indian".
- -Single inverted commas '...' for translations from Quechua or Spanish into English.
- -Slashes // to indicate: (a) phonemic transcription, (b) repetition of responses in transcriptions, or insertions of words or phrases said by an interlocutor while the other is talking, and (c) paragraph separations in block quotations.
- -Square brackets: [] to indicate: (a) phonetic transcription, (b) added explanations to quoted text, and (c) original date of publication in bibliographic items and references.
- -Italics for Spanish terms such as núcleo and comunario, and for utterances recorded in this language during fieldwork.
- -Bold for a) Quechua words, b) first appearance of some technical terms.
- -Italics and bold for Spanish words already incorporated into Quechua

(c) Quechua texts have been normalized (i.e. standardized) following current conventions in

Bolivia. Thus, although sometimes speakers said [atishallanchik] and sometimes

[atihallanchik] 'We are being capable of..' the normalized writing dictated: atichkallanchik.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

1. Parameters of the research

1. The purpose of this thesis

Although education in general and bilingual education in particular are hot issues in Bolivia. and although numerous reports and studies on the state of education are constantly being produced, very few studies exist of actual classroom practices. Likewise, in the field of bilingual education, in spite of the many pilot experiences carried out in Bolivia (see Chapter 3, Bilingual Education Projects in Bolivia, p. 92) in depth research on classroom practices is lacking. For this reason, I took up the challenge to enter into the bilingual education classroom and disclose its inner workings and conflicts, and further to attempt to draw its connections with the wider context. In more concrete terms, on the one hand, I have attempted to document, describe, compare and interpret: (1) teacher-pupil interactions in bilingual education and traditional¹ classrooms, (2) the use of Spanish and the language of the pupils for teaching subject matter, and the teaching of Spanish as a second language, and (3) the mechanisms of control and teaching strategies that emerge in the classroom, along the lines of what Foucault (1991 [1975]) called the Disciplines (see Chapter 5.3, pp. 197 on). On the other hand, outside the classroom, I explored the factors that have incidence on the unfolding of the educational process in two directions: the agents that intervene in the process, namely teachers, children, and parents; and the role of discourses and ideologies that hinder or reinforce the success of education. I must note however that although some topics

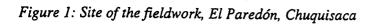
¹ Some customary usages, such as the one object of this footnote will be briefly explained when they first appear in our narrative. In this case, the term "traditional" is used to refer to the official education implemented by the central government of the country, usually implying negative connotations (see 3. Critique of traditional education. p. 96 on).

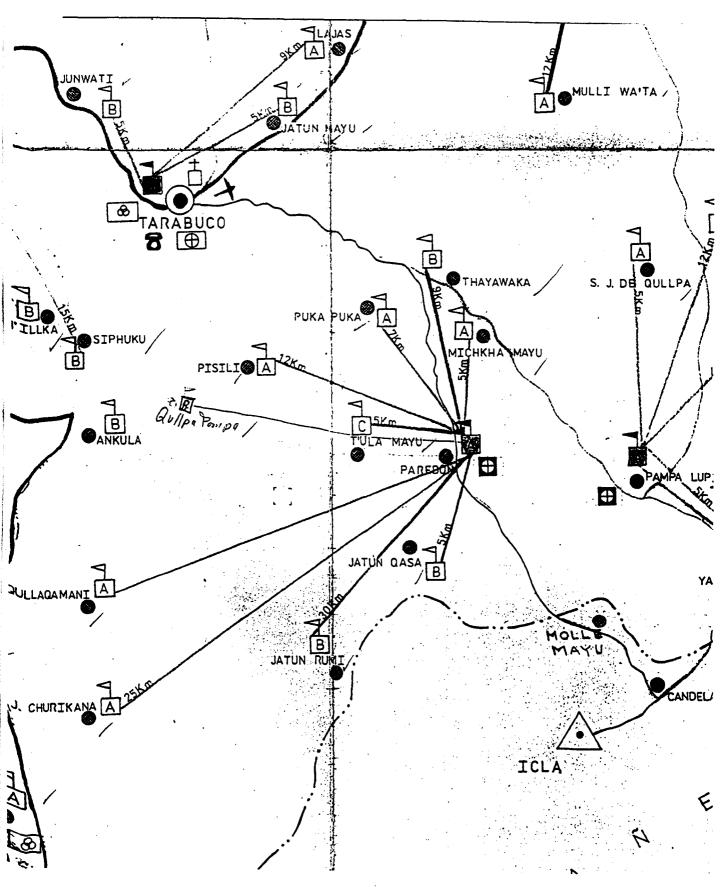
are discussed in general terms, the research was concentrated on the project of intercultural and bilingual education (PEIB)² implemented in the department of Chuquisaca, Bolivia.³

My main hypothesis is that classroom phenomena tend to reproduce the trends of the wider society, for example in values, attitudes, and language. In other words, I am hypothesizing that the particular events that take place in the classroom are by no means isolated events springing out from the particular combination of individual wills, those of the teacher and the pupils; rather, that expectations, needs, methods, knowledge, etc. are structured into the classroom in a context of struggle for and the exercise of power. Hence, three elements pervade the present thesis: language, education, and power. My main contention is that they are inextricably interrelated. There are other elements, for sure, such as culture, science, chaos (others call it fate of destiny), but limitations of time and space dictate that I concentrate on the before mentioned issues. Within this general context of language, education, and power I attempt to describe some features of Bolivian education in general, and of bilingual education, in particular.

² For the full wording of this and other abbreviations see Appendix 4. p. 348.

³ The political division of Bolivia includes Departments, Provinces, and Cantones.





Source: Mapa Educativo, Distrito de Tarabuco, Dirección Distrital de Tarabuco.

2. Site of fieldwork

Field work was carried out mainly in the *núcleo*⁴ of San José del Paredón, (province of Yamparáez, department of Chuquisaca, in Southern Bolivia),⁵ although some visits to other schools of the region, including the traditional school of Molle Mayu (*núcleo* Elizardo Pérez, Candelaria, District of Icla, located by the road that goes to Icla and at about one hour walk from the school of El Paredón) were also made (see the map in the preceding page).

The *núcleo* of San José del Paredón is located at some 70 Kms. to the East of Sucre, the capital of the department and of the country. The *núcleo* has one central school at El Paredón, and 9 sectional schools. The central school of El Paredón is located at 15 Kms. from Tarabuco, the closest main town, located in turn at 60 Kms. from Sucre, going down the stable dirt road which goes to Icla-Azurduy.⁶ The other schools are Michkhamayu (5 Kms. from El Paredón), Puka-Puka (10 kilometers), Jatun Q'asa (8 Kms.), Thayawaka (15 Kms.), Pisili (6 Kms. from Tarabuco), Qullakamani (13 Kms.), Churikana (20 Kms.), and Jatun Rumi (26 Kms.). In 1995, there were 651 registered pupils and 21 teachers in the núcleo distributed as follows:

Grades									
Schools	pre- básico	1	2	3	4	5	.6	Pupils in each school	State teachers
Paredón	29	33	30	39	22	15	55	223	7
Michkhamayu *		9	12	10	15	7		53	3
Puka-Puka		24	7	20		11		62	2
Pisili		11	28	29		15		83	2

Figure 1	:	Núcleo o	f El	Paredón,	1995	'school	statistics.
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⁴ A núcleo is an educational unit constituted by a central school and a number of satellite 'sectional' schools. (For more see p. 87)

⁵ For the location of this province in the country see Figure 4: Language Distribution in Bolivia on p. 43.

⁶ By the end of 1996 the route from Sucre to Yamparáez have been paved, thus cutting the time of travel from Sucre to Tarabuco to approximately two hours.

Churikana		34		28				62	2
Jatun Q'asa		13			17			30	1
Qullakamani		18		22		11		51	2
Jatun Rumi		30						30	1
Thayawaka		32						32	1
Angola **		25						25	0
Totals of pupils in each grade:	29	229	77	148	54	59	55	651	21

Source: Dirección Distrital de Tarabuco, 1995-96. Notes: * Michkhamayu has some private teachers and one add-on director. ** Angola is a private school.

With the exception of the central school, which has all the elementary grades and 7 teachers, the others have up to four grades and two teachers, except Jatun Q'asa, Thayawaka and Jatun Rumi that have only one teacher. There is one Headmaster for all the schools of the *núcleo*, whose headquarters are in the central school of El Paredón. According to the PEIB's statistics there are 182 families in the *núcleo*, making 827 inhabitants (Delgado 1993:9). All the schools have adobe made classrooms and dwellings for the teachers; all of which have been built with the aid of community labor.⁷

This núcleo was selected as the site for our fieldwork for the following reasons:

a. It was part of the pilot intercultural and bilingual education project (PEIB) which operated for five years in various parts of Bolivia (see Chapter 3.3), and has become one of the fundaments for the Education Reform.⁸ At the time of the research (1995-1996) the bilingual schools were still operating, although the project itself, sponsored by the Ministry of Education and UNICEF that provided technical and financial support, had been officially terminated. For comparative purposes, additional observations were carried out in the neighboring sectional school of Molle Mayu, *núcleo* of La Candelaria, and still

⁷ In 1995 Michkhamayu had the best infrastructure in the núcleo of El Paredón, but since then improvements have been made in the other schools, especially in the central school of El Paredón, in Puka-Puka, in Pisili, in Qullakamani and in Jatun Q'asa.

⁸ The Education Reform was officially launched in August 1995, but actions in the classroom took off in 1966, in some 300 núcleos, comprising about 1800 schools in different parts of the country.

functioning as part of the regular or traditional educational system of the country.

- b. The region is basically Quechua speaking (Cf. Chapter 2.1). In the North of Potosí, which was also considered as a potential site for the research, Aymara is also spoken, adding one more variable to the sociolinguistic situation, and thus deserving a study of its own. Thus the selection of a predominantly Quechua speaking region would let me concentrate on the main type of language contact, between two languages (Spanish and Quechua) without having to deal with the complexities added by third or fourth languages. In addition, Quechua was selected because I am acquainted with this language both as a speaker and as a researcher.
- c. And finally, because, for a short period (from September 1992 to January 1993, cf. Plaza 1993b) I was personally involved with the PEIB, first as a Quechua technician and then as the National Coordinator of the project. In this capacity I had visited the region, more specifically the *núcleo* of Potolo (Chuquisaca), and had thus already made contacts with a number of teachers working in the project.⁹ These contacts guaranteed good logistic support both at the level of accessibility to the schools as at that of the community.

It is necessary to note however that my former involvement with the project in an official capacity, and as a UNICEF consultant, had an unwanted drawback: teachers treated me as an authority and thus requested my advice with respect to the activities that I was interested in documenting. Thus I must confess that I found it hard to remain the proverbial neutral and objective observer, as if this were possible, and could not refuse to participate in some activities, such as the teaching of Spanish as a second language, the issues of linguistic hegemonization, even personal problems. On the other hand, even the attempt to remain non-intrusive, non-influential, already constitutes a disturbing influence on the teacher. So I find it ludicrous and objectionable to push non-participation for the sake of neutrality and scientific

objectivity, to the point of reducing the observed people into mere objects of observation, as 'non-participant' King (1984), for instance, does in his research. To understand this last point I must quote. According to Wragg, qualitative methods of classroom observation allow the observer to be a participant or "to keep their distance", an example of the latter category being the before mentioned King. This is how he maintained his distance from the pupils:

I did allow myself to be approached by children to begin with, but I soon found that they treated me as a teacher-surrogate as they did other non-teacher adults, showing pictures, asking me spellings. ... I politely refused requests for help, referring the child to the teacher, and met requests for approval only with smiles. To begin with I kept standing so that physical height maintained social distance. Most importantly I avoided eye contact; if you do not look, you will not be seen. These measures led to my being, for the most part, ignored by the children. .. My intended relationship with the teacher was that of an interested, non-judgemental observer. (King, 1984; quoted in Wragg 1994:52).¹⁰

Children are no fools, when they approached King they were treating him as a human being; when later on they ignored him, it was probably because they concluded that to continue attempting to establish a relationship with him was a waste of time. I am aware that the point of view of the observer might influence their interpretation of observed events, or even cause, as Wragg notes (ibid.:28), the effect of the self-fulfilling prophecy, and I attempted to ward off this effect. Also there is no doubt that the presence of any visitor in the classroom has an effect on teachers, they try to behave optimally; but on the other hand, the 'improvements' they might make cannot escape well established practices and discourses.¹¹ Finally, returning to the issue of 'unwanted' influences of observers, it might well be the case that their

⁹ The contacts included: the Director Distrital, director of the *núcleo*, teachers, ex-PEIB technicians still working in the area, and ACLO (Acción Cultural Loyola, an organization of the Catholic church, that was about to begin a literacy project in the region).

¹⁰ Quotations in block do not carry quotation marks, except those found in the original.

¹¹ I am thinking for instance of teacher José's insistence that improper pronunciation of Spanish should be corrected even after I suggested that phonology was not as crucial as traditionally thought, for people accepted the accented pronunciation of foreigners and of the then President Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada who spoke like a 'gringo'. Or the case of Ms. QQ. who sent a pupil to the punishment corner in spite of the presence of a visiting UNICEF official.

presence affect the unfolding of future events, a sort of social Butterfly Effect;¹² although it must not be forgotten that at the same time there are multiple forces already in operation: discourses, salaries, interests, to name but a few. Thus the observer might be one more butterfly, not the storm itself.

3. Dates of fieldwork

Fieldwork was carried out during two consecutive school years: from June to December in 1995, and from July to December in 1996. It must be noted that officially the school year should begin at the latest in the month of March, however on both periods I was held back due to conflicts in the educational sector, namely lengthy strikes at the beginning of each year (cf. Chapter 6.4.). As an advance, it is perhaps convenient to notice that the success of education cannot be reduced to what goes on in the classroom because outside events, such as the just mentioned strikes which have the effect of stopping classroom activity, must have an effect in the ideal unfolding of the process.

During the first period I lived in the Central school of El Paredón; but had to settle for Tarabuco during the second. The reason for my change of residence to Tarabuco was that housing was no longer available in the Central school due to the fact that the construction of the new school building (started in December 95 and delivered in November 96) obliged teachers to occupy all available facilities for their living quarters. The construction of the new school building included the demolition of old teachers' dwellings and a number of classrooms, all to be replaced by more modern facilities; meantime the teachers had to accommodate somewhere else and often conduct lessons outside. This is another advance of the problems faced by rural education (for more Cf. Chapter 6.), this time coming from the community.

¹² The Butterfly Effect in chaos theorists' jargon refers to "the notion that a butterfly stirring the air today in Peking can transform storm systems next month in New York" (Gleick 1997:8) and known technically as "sensitive dependence on initial conditions." (id. 23). For more cf. chapter one of Gleick's book (id. 9-32).

2. Organization of the chapters

In Chapter 1, some basic linguistic, sociolinguistic and sociological paradigms are considered as the elements that constitute what we have called the "field". The main point to be stressed here is that language dynamics, as well as discourses-ideologies and practices are shaped by the types of relationships current within the field. Although there are interrelations between mental processes (Marx would say the superstructural) and hard facts (the social structure), my basic contention is that discourses, ideologies, attitudes and so on, are re-constructed by the agents on the basis of the structure.

In Chapter 2, the Bolivian context is examined: first, with respect to the linguistic situation of the country; then, regarding the evolution of the main languages in terms of their demographic progression or regression, linking these trends with the linguistic hegemonization of Spanish and the loss of the "indigenous" languages;¹³ and, finally, in connection with the main linguistic policy pursued by the country, not only since its constitution as a Republic but even from its colonial times. This policy, needless to say, has always been the linguistic hegemonization of the population, that is its Castilianization.

In Chapter 3, I dwell on three related issues. Firstly, on some key historic moments of the constitution of rural education in Bolivia, since the turn of the century. Secondly, on some general aspects of bilingual education. Thirdly, on some organizational aspects of the PEIB, including some remarks on a controversial side effect of the formal introduction of the **vernacular** languages¹⁴ (Quechua, Aymara, Guaraní) into the primary school curriculum, that of their normalization.

¹³ I think that the use of "indigenous" and other words such as "Indian" represent categories that might be ideologically invested, reinforcing for instance the idea of their "inferiority." Hence these words in my usage will always come in double quotation marks, as a signal of my reservations.

¹⁴ Although different definitions exist of this term, I will use it in this thesis to emphasize its independent and localized production, following the ideas in this respect discussed by Illich with respect to the vernacular mode of production of the community vis-à-vis the consumer intensive society (Illich 1981, 1991).

In Chapter 4, I examine the traditional and bilingual classrooms, mainly, the use and teaching of Spanish both as an instrument of communication and as subject matter of the curriculum. In a nutshell, in the traditional classroom the language of communication is Quechua, but the contents of the curriculum come in Spanish. In the bilingual classroom, the mother tongue and Spanish are used both as instruments of communication and subject matter of the curriculum. The mother tongue is used to introduce the three R's, while Spanish is taught as a second language.

In Chapter 5, I explore another facet of the classroom: the development of the disciplines, following the framework developed by Foucault (1975). One of the points I attempt to make in this chapter is that the introduction of linguistics into the teaching process, principally with respect to phonology and to a certain extent syntax, provided the teachers with more refined instruments to deal with the linguistic situation (with pupils predominantly speaking the vernacular rather than Spanish), but at the same time generating processes that might be classified as instances of the disciplines (for instance the use of phonology to "torture" the pupils).

In Chapter 6, I attempt to portray the problems and conflicts that beset the main agents that intervene in the formal educational process: teachers, pupils, and parents. One of my points here is that the educational process considered as a whole is not merely a function of the formal curriculum or even the training of the teachers and that —at least, in the case of the rural population of Chuquisaca— some structural features (of the social organization) such as the vernacular nature of the communities, or the teachers organization in unions, influence the process.

In Chapter 7, I attempt to clarify that the main problem facing rural education in Bolivia is basically the interrelationship of two worlds: the Andean and the Occidental, the former often deemed as primitive, the latter as modern.

3. Methodological approach

Methodology as proposed by Taylor and Bogdan (1990:15) is the way researchers should approach problems and therefrom search for answers. Moreover, the way the problem is conceptualized will determine the choice of data collection. In the social sciences this led to the positivist-phenomenologist polarization, to the quantitative-qualitative tension. Among other things, 'positivists search for facts or causes of social phenomena without consideration of the subjective perspective of individuals'. In contrast, 'the phenomenologist strives to understand social phenomena from the perspective of the actor' (Taylor and Bogdan 1990:15-16). In accordance to these ideas, my approximation was more phenomenologically oriented than positivistic, more qualitative than quantitative; but without reducing all observed phenomena to the subjectivity of the subject, neither renouncing the hope of finding general trends¹⁵. In brief, my view is that truth is neither there, static and immutable waiting to be discovered, nor something constantly being fabricated anew and independently by the actors. Details are important; in fact they are essential, but not in isolation; rather as part of a larger scheme of things. In social life, individuals are important, have wills of their own, construct and reconstruct their experiences daily, but again they are not isolated entities free of forces from without. Thus my basic premise is that the individual is part of a larger context, and that the interesting thing is to find the connections, the forces, the interactions between individuals and their context.

My research activities followed the above outlined methodology: qualitative and ethnographic, more phenomenologically oriented than positivistic. However, the use of quantitative data has not been ruled out, when available and pertinent to complement my qualitative observations. To put it differently, following Cohen and Manion (1994 [1980]), I

¹⁵ Taylor & Bogdan state that the purpose of their textbook is 'the phenomenological study of social life,' and while they do not affirm that positivists cannot make use of qualitative methods, their 'book does not propose the search of social causes..' nor is that their area of interest. (1990: 16-17).

have resorted to diverse types of triangulation: classroom observations, interviews, points of view of teachers, parents, pupils, quantitative data and so on. In addition, I followed the contrastive-comparative approach, principally with respect to the types of rural schools to be investigated: the bilingual education vs. the traditional classrooms. According to the qualitative methodology, my search attempted 'the production of descriptive data' on the basis of the subjects' own words and deeds. Although I already had some preliminary ideas about the phenomena to be observed, at this level of the investigation, I strove to push my preconceptions aside. Thus, instead of applying a theory (cf. our hypotheses above) upon the empirical reality, I attempted to gather the data trying to reflect the point of view of the actors. Following Taylor and Bogdan (1990:20-30), I attempted to be: inductive, holistic, sensible to the effects of the investigator, phenomenological, open to the new, humanistic, empirical, flexible and systematic. I must recognize that I have not always been able to follow this ideal, not only due to my tendency to be a participant (establishing relationships with the agents, unlike the above/below mentioned non-participant King), but also due to my attempt to establish relationships between the observed particulars and constructed generalities (theories and hypotheses). In contrast, however, it must be stressed that the inductive process (i.e. the observation of empirical events) led me to new insights and to the reconsideration of old generalizations.¹⁶ This process of going back and forth between empirical data and hypotheses, constantly combining induction and deduction, thus somehow defeated the strict phenomenological approach that strives to avoid the presupposition of the positivist's position of ontologically extant laws (Taylor and Bogdan (1990:Chapter One). In addition, it must be stressed that I became aware that both deduction and induction posed problems with respect to the genesis of hypotheses, and thus I became a believer and practitioner of the process that Charles Peirce termed abduction, an almost intuitive process that embodies "all the operations by which theories and conceptions are given birth," it may benefit from

¹⁶ I have, for instance, modified my idea that language policy discourses shifted tersely from eradication of the vernacular to its revitalization, passing through transition and recognition (Cf. Plaza 1991).

empirical evidence, "[b]ut," as Hallyn says, "generally speaking, the establishment of a new hypothesis remains an enigmatic moment." (Hallyn 1990:7-8)

1. The nature of the data

For the collection of the data, besides the usual ethnographic notetaking as a participant observer, two types of recordings were made: magnetophonic tapes, 120 in total, most of them of one hour's duration, and 35 video tapes, of two hours' duration each (the complete list is given in Appendix 3). Notes have been taken from the videos, and about half of the magnetophonic tapes have been transcribed. However, it must be noted, that not all the information contained in them was relevant, and not all the relevant information was analyzed, for such a task would have involved the quantification of the data turning our qualitative approach into a statistical account of features of events, number of interactions, even phoneme productivity. Instead, I attempted to extract representative elements from the available data, in order to illustrate classroom practices (cf. Chapters 4 and 5) and discourses (cf. Chapter 6). Some data has been gathered from radio broadcasts, especially from Radio ACLO whose *La Hora del Maestro* emissions were faithfully followed by many teachers. I would also like to note that the 'conversations' denote natural conversations and not elicitation or opinions obtained by means of formal interviews.

With respect to the subjects of observation, I included teachers, pupils, and parents. My main purpose, following the phenomenological methodology, described above, was to attempt a description of the perspectives of each type of agent, that is their views (or ways of thinking) with respect to the education process and schooling, the languages and cultures in conflict, their expectations, and their assessment of the agents' contribution (for instance, what parents think of teachers).

2. Extracting knowledge

In some sense, all research has the final objective of obtaining some knowledge, of learning from the empirically observed facts. However, given the concrete conditions of this endeavor,

for instance the fact that observers usually come from without, and the fact that their academic fieldwork practices usually result in the production and accumulation of knowledge, and consequently of power, I was always self conscious about this possible connotation of my experience in the field. In particular, I harbored the suspicion that perhaps my research activities might constitute yet another modern form of what Foucault called the **disciplines**, roughly stated, methods to gain knowledge at the expense of the subjects of the investigation (1991 [1963]). Mrs. BB., one of the teachers of the central school of El Paredón, aired her views¹⁷ along these lines in a conversation:

- B: But.. hum.. You see, all kinds of projects keep being implemented.. but it is just that.. they make us teachers work as they wish as if we were donkeys .. and..
- P: Am I making you work?
- B: No.. but listen to me first, I am just explaining myself. They make us teachers work as donkeys in whatever projects at their whim and the *aplausos, felicitaciones, gratificación económica*, only the authorities take advantage of those things and nothing for the teacher. To make matters worse they even took away the bonus [we had for working in the PEIB] at their pleasure, there isn't even a bonus now, they should have given us at least that [e.g. the bonus] in consideration to the fact that this is a bilingual education [school]; it is in vain.. or at least because of the *reforma educativa*, it was just 60 bolivianos.¹⁸
- P: But haven't they said that with the *Reforma* nobody was going to make less money than before.
- B: All that is nonsense. (..) They said that [salary increases] would be paid starting in August this year. But even Father August¹⁹ is already gone .. now there is nothing, now they say that they will start next year. Now they will start next year, just then the teachers will start with the first grade [of the *Education Reform* program], those teachers that now are teaching the first grade will pass to the second grade, and passing to the second grade they will get screwed again, we are working as stupid in the first grade, and the next year others without passing any hardships will get all the money. (Tape 5, 950929)

Firstly, I would like to call the reader's attention to the language used in this conversation,

Quechua. As shall be described later on (cf. Chapter 6, Agents) the preferred language among

teachers is Spanish, and only under certain circumstances is Quechua used among them, for

instance to convey certain sense of intimacy. In this case, it was my initial persistence in

¹⁷ The original conversation spoken in Quechua can be found in Appendix 6. p. 350.

¹⁸ About £ 8.00 at the time, but about 10 % of the average monthly teachers' income.

speaking Quechua during the first weeks of my presence in El Paredón that produced a conversation of some length in Quechua between teachers, a rare occurrence that was never repeated again. After realizing the functional distribution of the languages (for example, Quechua from teachers to *comunarios*, but Spanish among teachers) I reverted to the normal usage.

Secondly, in my view, the main point made by this teacher is that education experiments and researchers come and go, while the teachers' economic situation remains the same. Returning to the contents of the conversation, Mrs. BB.'s complaint made clear teachers' uneasiness about constantly being investigated. Later on I was made aware that due to the novelty of the PEIB, and the expectations that it generated, outsiders often visited this school, who came, watched, and took notes, only to disappear afterwards and never show up again. There were also comments by other teachers about researchers coming into the school all the time to observe, record, etc. but while no one objected to my videotaping, there was some kind of dislike for notetaking. Some teachers, for example, complained that the 'pedagogical assessor' would come to the classroom and take notes like crazy but never return the results.²⁰ Thus, the practice of notetaking during class observation seemed to produce more discomfort, since it was naturally associated with evaluation and fault finding. It must be added that discomfort was not generated by the physical act of notetaking, but rather by the perceived threat that observation posed. As one teacher observed, some conflicts between teachers and the 'pedagogical assessors' (asesores pedagógicos) that the Education Reform introduced as classroom advisers and trainers were apparently generated precisely because of this resistance to being observed and/or told what to do (Tape 110, 961114).

¹⁹ The reference to the month of August as **Tata** Agosto is related to a moralistic tale about the proverbial naiveté of peasant folks (for more Cf. Chapter 5.2, on p. 204).

²⁰ In my last visit to Sucker and El Paredón (Dec. 1998) I was told, however, that one of the teachers (Ms. QQ.) half seriously half jokingly had manifested her dislike for my surprise visits to her classroom. Ay, no quiero que venga ese desgraciado, porque todo está grabando.

To sum up, I attempted to gather the data following the phenomenological approach, that of letting the subject-agents speak for themselves, but the circumstances of participant observation and my involvement in the issues of bilingual education made me a more active participant, rather than a passive, ideally neutral observer (an impossibility). At the analytical level, that of making sense of the observed particulars and of relating them to wider regularities, as mentioned before, made me a practitioner of abduction, that of making up explanations. Thus, counter to a strict subjectivist position (cf. Cohen & Manion 1994:34), I strove to find the relation of the particular with the general. In my view, social reality includes both hard facts, such as the state, its institutions and people, and soft facts such as ideas and ideologies. Thus, as Rex points out social reality cannot be "confined purely and simply" to the participant actors' perceptions and experiences. Likewise, the knowledge of individuals, as Giddens cited by Cohen and Manion (1934:34) indicates, is but a fragment of the whole.

4. The framework

In this section various linguistic and sociolinguistic paradigms will be discussed in order to define the elements and structure of the theoretical framework used to describe and analyze the multilingual context of Bolivia. These paradigms are: (a) languages vs. dialects; (b) language contact: bilingualism (Baker 1996; Von Gleich 1989) vs. diglossia: High vs. Low languages (Fergusson 1959; Fishman 1967; Macnamara 1967; Ninyoles 1972); (c) Language Dynamics: Progression and Regression (Hyltenstam and Viberg 1993); (e) Linguistic colonialism: dominant vs. dominated languages; also expressed by the metaphor of the Tongue Eaters: the devourer and the devoured; the emphasis is on power relations between peoples (Calvet 1981); (f) Linguistic field: legitimate vs. non-legitimate languages; the agents, the habitus (Bourdieu 1990; 1991).

All these distinctions may be useful to illustrate some particularities of the situation, and in some sense, can be envisioned as different positions of observation. In addition, I would like

to state at the outset that my main conceptual tool is what I shall call the flow. At the linguistic level, it is the moment that language is produced or interpreted and thus able to establish a relationship. In this sense, I would also like to distinguish language from its physical representations, namely the mental processes of production-interpretation through the use of linguistic forms, from writing or other forms of storage, such as recordings. The following quote illustrates the need of interpretation (or re-creation) of paintings or written texts, but also their static nature.

The fact is, Phaedrus, that writing involves a similar disadvantage to painting. [Paintings] look like living beings, but if you ask them a question they maintain a solemn silence. The same holds true of written words; you might suppose that they understand what they are saying, but if you ask them what they mean by anything, they simply return the same answer over and over again. Besides, once a thing is committed to writing it circulates equally among those who understand the subject and those who have no business with it; a writing cannot distinguish between suitable and unsuitable readers. And if it is ill-treated or unfairly abused it always needs its parent to come to its rescue; it is quite incapable of defending or helping itself. (Hallyn, 1990:36).

It is not my intention to enter into the intricacies of "vertical" irony which the quote illustrates; rather to emphasize two ideas derived from the quote as a way to substantiate my claims about language as a mental activity (a flow, a process) rather than as a system which is somewhere out there. The first idea has to do with my contention that a written text is not a living language unless it is read. Only in the act of reading the written text become language. The second idea is that the text, which remains the same at all times, needs to be interpreted by the reader; so perhaps what one understands is not exactly the same thing intended by the writer (projected meaning vs. interpreted meaning (Leech 1990 [1974])). Thus reading is not a mechanical activity; rather it is an act of interpretation and re-construction. In summary, a written text becomes living language (i.e. a flow) only at the moment of its production or interpretation. Likewise, a language is such only if it is flowing (i.e. it is being codified or decodified). Hence written and spoken texts, only through their flowing, become capable of establishing a connection (or communication).

1. Language and dialect

The terms language and dialect, in spite of their widespread use, are not easy to pin down. For Hudson the notions of language, dialect, and 'register are "extremely problematic." (1980:30). Likewise for Crystal "One of the most difficult theoretical issues in linguistics is how to draw a satisfactory distinction between language and dialect." (1998 [1987]:25). Akmajian, Demers and Harnish (1995 [1984]:217) note that dialect refers to a 'perceptible variation (...) in the speech of the speakers of the same language' but that 'a precise definition is difficult'. According to Yraola (1995:81) the distinction between language and dialect has been "traditionally employed in dialectology" to distinguish between the "standardised written transregional variety" from "[t]he .. regional varieties of a language". In a more comprehensive account, Akmajian, Demers and Harnish (1995 [1984]:217, 223) distinguish regional (or geographic) dialects, social dialects ('spoken by specific socio-economic classes'), ethnic dialects (where geography, social class and ethnicity come together), and dialects in the real world, that is the notion of dialect in the layman's mind, as a deviation or corruption of the standard language. In brief, variations of a given language are identified (construed) and classified according to certain criteria. In addition, I would like to highlight two points that Akmajian et al. make in their treatment of the term dialect, namely that 'as a technical term in linguistics' it does not denote 'value judgments' and that all dialects are basically equal (ibid. 223).

The main question then has to do with what is perceived to be a general code and its regional variations. If we accept this distinction, then we are faced with the task of distinguishing first one dialect from another, and then one language from another. To distinguish languages, the criterion of intelligibility provided an initial approximation. In Crystal's words:

At first sight, there may appear to be no problem. If two people speak differently, then, it might be tought, there are really only two possibilities. Either they are not able to understand each other, in which case can be said to speak different languages; or they do understand each other, in which case they must be speaking different dialects of the same language. (Crystal 1988 [1987]:25)

By this criterion languages are mutually unintelligible, and dialects of the same language are intelligible among them. However when this definition is empirically tested it does not hold (for instance, Italian and Spanish are classified as languages but a great deal of mutual intelligibility exists between them; conversely, Cantonese and mandarin Chinese deemed as dialects of the same language are not mutually intelligible at the oral level). The fact is that intelligibility can cross the boundaries of what are usually considered languages, as in the case of geographically contiguous dialects that gradually shift from one language to another. This **dialect continuum**, for Crystal presents a 'serious' theoretical problem: "At what point in the chain can we say that one language ends and the next begins?" (ibid.). To sum up, the intelligibility criterion is a good guiding principle but it does not always work, and therefore, it is not sufficient to establish the distinction between language and dialect, additional criteria must be adopted. For Crystal these are "political and historical, not linguistic", for instance the fact that crossing national borders will automatically change the name of the variety: from Dutch to German, from Spanish to Portuguese, and so on (ibid.). Trudgill also recognizes that the intelligibility criterion is insufficient. Thus:

The criterion of 'mutual intelligibility', and other purely linguistic criteria, are, therefore, of less importance in the use of the terms *language* and *dialect* than are political and cultural factors, of which the two most important are *autonomy* (independence) and *heteronomy* (dependence). We can say that Dutch and German are *autonomous*, since both are independent, standardized varieties of language with, as it were, a life of their own. On the other hand, the nonstandard dialects of Germany, Austria and German-speaking Switzerland are all *heteronomous* with respect to standard German, in spite of the fact that they may be very unlike each other and that some of them may be very like Dutch dialects. (Trudgill 1995:4)

If national boundaries might be used to separate the dialect continuum into different languages, and consider that these criteria are political and historical as Crystal does (ibid.); Trudgill's proposal above, that of in-dependence, highlights further that within the nationstate there are forces that, as it were, tie language and dialects together.

Another dichotomy that also presents difficulties is the notion of the standard language vs. the incorrect varieties. The term standard language (e.g. standard English, Spanish, etc.) is

regularly used to indicate a socially prestigious variety, usually thought to be better or more correct than dialectal variation (Akmajian et al 1995 [1984]:222-3). For others it is simply the way of speaking of a certain sector of the population. In Peña's words:

"Lo que en lenguaje llamamos 'correcto', en realidad sólo es la manera de hablar de los grupos superiores o dominantes que nunca faltan en las sociedades clasistas". [Inversely:] "Lo que los puristas condenan a diario como 'incorrecto' es en realidad la forma de expresarse que no aceptan las clases dominantes que imponen patrones de conducta" (Peña, 1979:Prólogo).

What is surprising, in my view, is that in spite of the claims of equity for languages and dialects made by linguists, some academicians cling to the idea that the standard language is better than non-standard varieties. In his review of Proffitt's *Oxford English Dictionary Additions* (1997) and Honey's *Language is Power* (1997), Harris (1997) notes that both authors raise questions about Standard English and related issues: "Deliberately and polemically in one case [Language..]; diffidently and obliquely in the other [OED]." In the case of the OED, Harris argues that the selection of new additions, which are by implication additions to the English language, "turn out to have the impeccable authentication of the professional classes", who due to their position in society are able to make their words visible in print, a prerequisite to be selected as new additions [in the first place]. I gather then that the 'professional classes' and the OED constitute the authenticating bodies of the dominant linguistic field (in Bourdieu's framework); and that the justification for the new words does not emerge from any intrinsic qualities of the words (form-content units), but from the authority of those who use them.

The case of Honey's Language and Power, according to Harris, is much more relevant to the issues of linguistic hegemony. For example with respect to Honey's classification of languages, Harris' writes:

..he has a hierarchical view of the value of languages, oddly reminiscent of 19th-century anthropologists. At the bottom come "primitive" languages, produced by the crudest non-Aryan tribes. At the upper end come European languages that can cope with the most "advanced" forms of modern knowledge. And top of all comes "standard English" which can cope with just about everything, and on a world scale. (Harris 1997)

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01 Introduction
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But the main theme of Honey's "twisted logic" has to do with the defense of Standard English against the non-standard. According to the review, Honey is unable to provide a sound theoretical definition of what might be standard; but seems to be illustrative of rampant glottocentrism. Thus:

What Honey calls "standard English"—and the qualification is important, since he takes it for granted that his use of the term coincides with that of others who use it—at least those who use it "standardly" (which is the kind of self-justifying circularity that typifies his way of reasoning) is never explicitly defined. Nor does the question of what others take it to mean, either now or in the past, ever arise. This does not deter Honey, because he is one who knows what "standard English" is: it is the English he himself uses." (Harris 1997)

This combination of restlessness, campaigning, preaching, intimidation in the push for standard English is parallel both to the preoccupation in Bolivia with respect to the 'correct' language (meaning Spanish), and the pushing for the 'lingua franca', the language for all (Bolivians, Ecuadorians, Peruvians, etc.) in detriment of American languages and mixed varieties. Returning to the review, it is perhaps interesting that the initially monolithic construct 'standard English' becomes muddled up when Honey distinguishes "two undisputed models of standard English (...) British English and American English, and all varieties of English around the world derive from one of these." As Harris notes, the problem is that as soon as divisions are made to conform to observed linguistic realities there will be a proliferation of "standard Englishes", thus the original concept "becomes self-stultifying." In brief, Honey's contribution—from what can be picked up from the review—rather than theoretically enlightening is a fine example of glottocentrism, and of the way that many people think.

Beside linguists' definitions and knowledge, however, common folk have their own opinions about languages and dialects. In a nutshell, from this socially conditioned folk perspective, languages are more elaborated and good; dialects are less elaborated and bad (as already noted above). In multilingual countries such as those of Latin America, the term dialect may be used to refer to "what the Indians talk" (Guzmán 1983:397). In Chapter 2, some examples

are provided in the context of ideas about the languages extant in Bolivia. The point is not much that the technical definitions have slipped into the public dominion and have been misunderstood (since linguists themselves have not been able to solve the problem this would not be surprising); but that once in the mainstream they are redefined by the speakers in accordance to their experience, and this is why they may have social consequences.

These common sense definitions, however, are often dismissed by linguists as 'unscientific'.

For instance:

[The] words *language* and *dialect*, .. are a reasonable reflection of our culture, called 'common-sense knowledge' .. but [they are] not helpful in sociolinguistics. (Hudson 1980:22)

Likewise Akmajian et al state that:

La idea de que el inglés estándar, or una determinada realización del castellano, sean las formas correctas de sus respectivas lenguas es una actitud social--más precisamente, un prejuicio lingüístico-que es tan irracional como los prejuicios sociales contra la raza o el sexo. (Akmajian, Demers and Harnish 1995 [1984]:223)

In brief, while linguistics emphasize the equity between languages and dialects (as linguistic systems), laymen ascribe positive or negative values to languages and dialects (in accordance, to their social standing).

2. Language contact: bilingualism and diglossia

A great deal has been written since Weinreich's Languages in Contact published in 1968. Unfortunately space limitations impede a revision of this literature. I would simply like to indicate that my use of the phrase 'languages in contact' always implies conflict--as Wölck had already noted (Küper 1993:53). My hypothesis is that given the asymmetric conditions that facilitate or constraint the use of languages in society there can be no pacific coexistence but always struggle.

With respect to bilingualism and diglossia, I will not need to go into the details and typologies of these terms, because they have been extensively discussed in the literature (Cf.

for instance the classifications of bilingualism and diglossia in Von Gleich 1989:Chapter 5). Although both bilingualism and diglossia mean 'two languages' they highlight different aspects of the relationship between the two languages: bilingualism emphasizes the psychological and individual aspects (Ninyoles 1972:30-31), diglossia the social ones, that is the functional use of languages or varieties in society (Fergusson 1959; Macnamara 1967; Fishman 1967; Ninyoles 1972).

3. Language dynamics: progression and regression

With respect to language dynamics, a metaphor proposed by Hyltenstam & Viberg (1993), I have two aspects in mind: (a) that it is a metaphor that introduces the notion of flux, of field (as in the electromagnetic field) where polar relations and tensions take place, and (b) that it has directionality: **progression**, when a language is being acquired, being made more elaborated, and gaining speakers; and **regression**, when a language is being lost, deteriorating due to lack of use, and losing speakers. Thus, according to Hyltenstam and Viberg, progression and regression, have to do with "the dynamics of *accretion* and *decrement* of language on the societal and individual levels." (1993:4-5). I would like to add that progression and regression must not be understood as their etymology suggests (pro "forward", re "backwards") as mere spatial movements,²¹ rather they have to do with the quantity and quality of their flows.

From this perspective of language dynamism, when languages are in contact within a political unit such as the nation-state, one of them tends to progress and the other to regress (for instance in Bolivia, while Spanish progresses, Quechua and the other languages regress). The combined processes of progression and regression might be viewed as cases of **linguistic** hegemonization (in our case Castilianization) and language loss or extinction (an unfinished

process, manifested for instance in processes of De-Aymarization in North of Potosí or De-Quechuization in La Paz (Hosokawa 1980), or in more general terms of de-vernacularization in Bolivia (Cf. Chapter 2.2).

4. Language and power relations

In summary, the questions of language-dialect and standard-incorrect language have to do with the linguist's technical arguments and the 'prejudices' of the general population, bilingualism and diglossia emphasize the individual and social aspects of the use of languages, and language dynamics deals with the development or reduction of the languages in contact. To these paradigms, Calvet (1981) adds the perspective of linguistic colonialism; whereby the relationships between languages in contact, their status and their destiny, are a function of the power relations established between the peoples that speak these languages. Basically, the idea is that these power relations are unequal, hence generating unequal conditions for the reproduction of the languages. In fact, the hypothesis is that the colonial language takes over the colonized language(s). The metaphor to explain this is linguistic glottophagy. In Calvet's words:

El primer antropófago vino de Europa, devoró al colonizado. Y, desde el aspecto que nos ocupa, devoró sus lenguas, luego es un *glotófago*. (Calvet 1981:12)

Leaving aside the metaphor, in my view, Calvet's main contribution is that the relations between languages are inextricably tied to the power relations between their speakers.

Besides the linguistic and sociolinguistic notions that have to do with the conceptualization of language varieties considered above, there are other aspects such as ideologies and discourses that intervene in the fate of languages. Without delving into the pertinent details, following Fairclough, ideologies are to be understood as:

²¹ As a participant in a SLAS conference in Leeds (1996) objected to the ideas of progression and regression in languages, stating that "languages do not go backwards or forwards, they just go" (Howard-Malverde, personal communication).

significations/constructions of reality (the physical world, social relations, social identities), which are built into various dimensions of the forms/meanings of discursive practices, and which contribute to the production, reproduction or transformation of relations of domination. (1996 [1992]:87)

Meanwhile:

In using the term 'discourse', I am proposing to regard language use as a form of social practice, rather than a purely individual activity or a reflex of situational variables. (ibid.: 63)

In descriptive linguistics discourse constitutes a higher level of formal analysis, which usually came after phonology, morphology, and syntax (Joos 1957; Newmeyer 1980; Stubbs 1995). The term 'discourse' is also used to refer to "different types of language used in different sorts of social situations (ed. 'newspaper discourse', 'advertising discourse', 'classroom discourse', 'the discourse of medical consultations') (Fairclough 1996 [1992]:3). In contrast, for Foucault, according to Fairclough's interpretation, discourse refers "to different ways of structuring areas of knowledge and social practice." (ibid.:3). Thus, (grammatical) form is not the priority, rather the form of knowledge and its application to social practice.

Discourse as a means "of structuring areas of knowledge and social practice" is in fact a conceptual system, a body of ideas that guide specific areas of social practice. At this point, it might be interesting to highlight two differences from the linguistic discourse (formal) approach. First that discourse may be manifested not only by language but also by 'visual images' (p. 3). Second, and more importantly, that "Discourses do not just reflect or represent social entities and relations, they construct or 'constitute' them; different discourses constitute key entities (be they 'mental illness', 'citizenship' or 'literacy') in different ways, and position people in different ways as social subjects (e.g. as doctors or patients)" (p. 3-4). In the first case, the inclusion of 'visual images' as another manifestation of discourse brings about another problem, the need to distinguish discourse from its manifestations. The question is whether 'visual images' are not at the same time social practices; in which case,

social practices (at least some of them) might also be conceived of as manifestations of discourse. In the second case, while it certainly is the case that discourse has the power of 'constitution' of (imagined) social realities (such as the "Indian", the 'poor', the 'gay', the 'criminal', etc.), it is not the sheer and independent power of discourse that defines or 'positions people' as social subjects (for instance, as 'doctors or patients' as Fairclough suggests). Both 'patients' and 'doctors' are constituted historically, perhaps together with their linguistic definitions (within discourse systems); but discourse alone cannot change the position of historical subjects, although it certainly helps to focus and imagine them.²²

These two approaches (linguistic discourse and Foucauldian social discourse) are criticized by Fairclough, the first because it is too linguistically oriented and the second because it does not incorporate enough linguistic analysis of texts (p. 5). In spite of this criticism, Fairclough attempts to draw together these two senses of discourse and discourse analysis: the sociotheoretical sense and the 'text-and-interaction' sense. From this a three dimensional approach emerges. Thus "Any discursive 'event' (i.e. any instance of discourse) is seen as being simultaneously a piece of text, an instance of discursive practice, and an instance of social practice." (p. 4). In this framework the "text" refers to "language analysis"; "discursive practice" to "the process of text production and interpretation"; and "social practice" to the "institutional and organizational circumstances of the discursive event ... and the constitutive/constructive effects of discourse..." (p. 4).

5. The Model

In a few words, my model is that of the field, where polar centers are in tension, where words and power flow, often directionally (i.e. linguistic hegemonization), and where the agents (to use Bourdieu's terminology (1990, 1992)) are connected in networks that respond to the

²² This reminded me of a joke, given as news in a TV comedy show. 'Yesterday there was a coup d'état in Buenos Aires, led by the military. Today the new government has decreed that the civil population be militarized, and the military civilized; therefore, the coup was democratic'.

polar centers. Besides language, in general, the flow proceeds in the form of discourse and ideology, the former, following Fairclough (1996) stressing the form, the latter the meaning. A key element of discourse in this framework is conflict. It cannot be any other way, as I see it a discourse only emerges to counter another discourse, whether it has been formulated linguistically or not.

The theory of field of cultural production introduced by Bourdieu can be applied to all sorts of activities, but the basic structure, the elements, the relationships of the field are basically the same. For example:

.. the literary field (or the scientific field) is a field like all the others (...): it involves power (...) it involves capital (...); one can observe here, as in other fields, power relations, strategies, interests, etc. (Bourdieu 1990:141).

An important element of this conception of the field —which merges with the dynamic metaphor that stressed the flow of forces— is, Bourdieu's conception of the struggle of forces. Thus:

.. like the political field, or any other field, the literary field is the site of struggles (p. 142) (...) a force-field as well as a field of struggles which aim at transforming or maintaining the established relation of forces: each of the agents commits the force (the capital) that he has acquired through previous struggles to strategies that depend for their general direction on his position in the power struggle, that is, on his specific capital. (Bourdieu 1990:143).

Thus, I think of the linguistic field as a connection in tension, where each pole pulls and pushes in function of affinities and differences. In Bourdieu's framework, exclusion is the reverse of legitimization (Bourdieu 1990:143).

The legitimate language (Spanish vis-à-vis the vernacular, or the standard vis-à-vis the dialects or incorrect varieties) is the one that has to be consumed by all, learned and spoken by all. So these speakers of other varieties are put in the position of learning the standard or of remaining in their lowly places.

The basic concepts developed within the social theory proposed by Bourdieu (1994), are those of the field, the power or capital, the market, the agents, and the habitus.

For the purposes of this study, only the notion of habitus will be discussed here. The habitus is defined by Bourdieu as:

The habitus, as the system of dispositions to a certain practice, is an objective basis for regular modes of behaviour, and thus for the regularity of modes of practice, and if practices can be predicted ..., this is because the effect of the habitus is that agents who are equipped with it will behave in a certain way in certain circumstances. (Bourdieu 1990:77).

However the habitus cannot be understood in deterministic terms, for "it is not based on an explicit rule or law", and therefore does not determine behavior; rather in Bourdieu's own words "the habitus goes hand in glove with vagueness and indeterminacy." (p. 77). Furthermore, "it obeys a practical logic, that of vagueness, of the more or less, which defines one's ordinary relation to the world (p. 78). This definition, this vagueness and indeterminacy of the habitus (in general) has to be readjusted to fit the linguistic habitus, which we might define as the tendency to follow a given variety (a system) but always with the possibility of changing or transgressing some of its rules. Through this set of predispositions to speak or hear, to keep or to change, the linguistic habitus is capable to adapt and meet the needs of speaker and communication.

Towards a definition of the Field

Languages have no value isolated from the context in which they exist. It is needless to say that this value does not reside in the internal features of the language, rather it is a function of use. The two values are the poles of one and the same dimension: one pole is positive the other negative. In more concrete terms, one language is defined as positive, the other(s) negative. This definition is parallel to the social functions of these languages.

For Bourdieu the condition for linguistic domination or legitimization of a given language (1991:46) is the integration into a single 'linguistic community' held together by a political structure, where the legitimated variety plays the role of the referent.

According to Anna Boschetti,

A field is any system of social relations which functions according to a logic of its own that must be taken into account in explaining its development. (Boschetti 1988:3)

In my understanding, Boschetti touches upon an important point here, the relationship. The field is established through a "system of social relations". These "social relations" might be constituted around linguistic centers. Assuming this to be right, we might imagine the Bolivian linguistic field as a set of circles in asymmetric interrelationships. Thus while the Spanish circle is in expansion, the circles occupied by vernacular languages are remaining stationary or loosing speakers. In this imaginary scenario the fields generate waves that cross each other, generating for example cases of bilingualism. The interesting thing is that the flows within the linguistic field, as conditioned by the social structure, determine the progression of the dominant language and the regression of the dominated languages.

There is another use of the topological and dynamic metaphor, water waves; it is topological because it implies spaces and dynamic because it is associated with waves, such as waves in a pond. This metaphor is being used by Gandhiji to depict a different picture than that of our field.

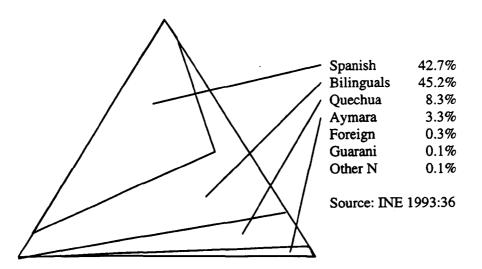
"It would ... be a fallacy to characterize a plural society in terms of dominance or dependence of one unit over the other. In the context of the interdependence of man and society, Gandhiji explains individual units in terms of 'concentric circles' in an ocean which keeps on widening, never ascending like 'a pyramid with the apex sustained by the bottom', to the outer periphery. In such a plural setup, the 'inner' circle forms an integral unit of the 'outer' oceanic circle, and will not be crushed by the overwhelming power of the outer periphery; on the other hand, each should give strength to the other (1958:110-111). (Khubchandani 1984:49)

If this is the case in a truly plural society, a symphony of concentric circles expanding into the wide ocean, and in which the inner and the outer circles are integrated as complementary units, each giving strength to the other; then it would constitute a challenge to the linguistic hegemonization. But then if this harmonious integration of circles defines India, how do we explain the social and economic disparities of this great country, whose greatest inheritance to the world (as often proclaimed in the media) is its overwhelming poverty?

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Now, although Bourdieu had already advanced the model of the field and I had taken his accounts to reinforce my own ideas, I began to think of the linguistic field first in connection to Albó's metaphor of the linguistic pyramid (see Figure 2), and then in the context of language dynamics (described above, p. 23). The triangle, according to Albó, who presented this description in a number of public meetings, had the purpose of showing the vertical (diglossic) relationship between Spanish the other languages spoken in Bolivia, and also their relative numbers "un poco al aire".

Figure 2: Albó's Triangle

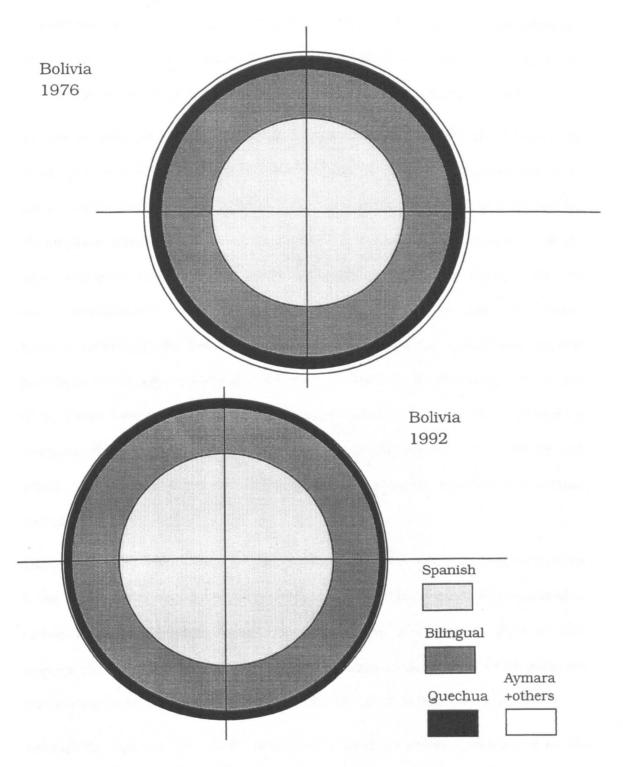


Monolingual & Bilingual Speakers 1992

This model emphasized the idea of diglossia: Spanish Above, the other languages Below; that is the idea of the oppression of the American languages by Spanish. The topological metaphor of social climbing fits graphically in this model, explaining why people wanted to change their language to go up. Attempting to incorporate the dynamic aspects of language dynamics, specially with respect to the notion of flux, I tried to obtain another visualization of the triangle, that is as a circle or cone in whose center the dominant language is concentrated and the other languages dispersed in its peripheries (i.e. looking down on the cone from above, an aerial view). A view precisely opposite to that of India where the cone cannot progress upwards. In some sense this new graphic representation mimicked also the geographical concentration of speakers in the cities and the surrounding countryside. I attempted to map the percentages of speakers of Spanish, Quechua and Aymara, and bilinguals between 1976 and 1992, following the idea of the field as cone (I am actually using circles) and obtained the configurations in Figure 3.

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Figure 3: Bolivian Linguistic Field



But again this is just another didactic representation, a little more difficult to draw and also to explain. One serious drawback is the neat separation of monolinguals from bilinguals. In real life, as the description of languages in Bolivia illustrates (Chapter 2; or better yet Albó's detailed account (1994)), there are concentrations of speakers, but there is also a great deal of

imbrication and interpenetration. Thus the representation above might be useful to show the 'central' and 'peripheric' features of Spanish, and bilingualism and vernacular languages, respectively, but it fails to depict the real spatial situation of linguistic distribution, for instance, the fact that most Bolivian cities are in fact multilingual (Cf. Chapter 2.2).

To sum up, there are two binding mechanisms that configure the field and determine the flows: the socioeconomic institutions (or the structure), and the ways of thinking, discourses, and ideologies. Although fields might be used to incorporate all sorts of social phenomena, our emphasis throughout will be the linguistic field, in which the speaker-hearers are the agents, and speech is the flow. Each individual or agent occupies and has a place in the field and is constrained or empowered by its collective circumstances. Language barriers, however, do not stop the flow. Discourses, for instance, are prone to transcend language boundaries. For example, the idea of Bolivianity (*Bolivianidad*, *Peruanidad*, etc.), or the idea of the Father Land is shared even by monolingual Quechua speakers. News, information predominantly flow from the center(s) towards the peripheries. Every one, starting with school children is touched and converted. In other words, discourses and ideologies permeate the field.

There are no fields without links, without contacts, in isolation. In fact, the interesting thing is that fields interact among themselves. For instance, if the linguistic field is composed of various languages (Quechua, Aymara, Spanish, Guaraní, and others in Bolivia), each language constitutes a field, and has centers of production-consumption of its language, but interpenetration, by means of loans, hybridization, acquisition, shift is always possible.

Although the linguistic flow can be understood as lineal, if taken as a sequence of phones (phonemes, letters, or other symbols) transmitted from speaker to speaker; both the production (codification) and reception (decodification) of these linearly transmitted signs

includes different levels (from phonemes to syntagms, to meanings) and structures.²³ In the transmission of sound what is transmitted is not a particular set of vibrating molecules of air, but a pattern, a wave which is reproduced in the environment until it is dissipated in the environment or until the pattern is trapped by some mechanism and reproduced again. The interesting thing about language is its symbolic nature, whereby sets of sounds are endowed with meaning; and thus these meanings travel using waves. Discourse travels likewise; it only exists when a connection is made, when it travels and becomes activity in the mind. That is why isolated spaces are prone to develop individual features. Channels must exist for the connections to be made. Examples: radio, newspapers, agents, markets. Thus I dare suggest that the important thing is not to be or not to be (of a fixed identity, language, culture) because everything is undergoing changes albeit minute; but to become.

6. Conclusions

From the formal linguistics point of view all languages are equal. However, from the sociolinguistic perspective languages (dialects, registers) have different uses, and speakers harbor positive and negative thoughts and attitudes towards them. One pervading thought has to do with the idea of a correct form of language, usually embodied in the variety known as the standard language. Language contact can be approached from the perspectives of bilingualism and/or diglossia. From the perspective of bilingualism, language contact produces bilinguals and intermediate varieties. From the perspective of diglossia, languages and varieties are hierarchically classified (in Bolivia, for example, Spanish is the high language, and the vernacular ones the low languages).

The concept of field enables us to mark the dynamic nature of events: nothing is standing still, and nothing has meaning if considered static, fixed. The only fixed things are our

²³ My reference to linearity has to do with the fact that sounds or letters are transmitted (made to flow) one by one; however as Chomsky and others have extensively demonstrated, language structure is not lineal (Chomsky 1957).

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constructs; rather even these are prone to change, as demonstrated, for instance, by Foucault (1970).

However, in spite of variation and the difficulties of technical definition, speakers usually think of languages or dialects in discrete terms. For example, "Spanish", brings about pictures of uniformity, of well-defined boundaries (after all Spanish is different from English, Chinese, or Quechua, etc.). Reality, however, is much more complex. My contention is that 'Spanish' as a unitary entity is simply a construct, in real life there are many dialects and idiolects of this 'Spanish'. Now if this were simply a matter of intralinguistic variations (i.e. variations of Spanish alone) perhaps we would be entitled to claim some kind of reality for the concept of 'Spanish' as a unified entity; the problem is that languages interrelate and some of these changes include elements from other languages. The simplest example is the borrowing of words. Are these 'contaminated' dialects or idiolects still Spanish or something else? Further, if we talk about purity and contamination but do not to wish to exclude the variations from the model, for the model itself may be considered to be simply another dialect within a wider picture of the evolution of romance languages, perhaps we would have to settle for degrees of Spanishness to designate the variants. The problem again is where to set the limits.

Now, from the point of view of the speakers, that dialect of Spanish, or that hybrid between Quechua and Spanish, or that Spanish with substrate influences from the vernacular language is the language they speak. Furthermore, there is no proof that variants and/or mixtures (perhaps with the exception of pidgins) are simplified systems of communication. Here, I am advancing the hypothesis that certain types of Spanish, that would have to be placed at some point of the continuum Quechua-Spanish, are nonetheless fully functional languages.

An example might clarify this point.

- P: De la educación bilingue?
- F:.. de la educación bilingüe a visis a nosotros no nos .. nos gusta bien no? porque antes no sabyabámos cuando nosotros estabámos en la escuela

PP: Ya

F: no sabyamos bien escrebir ni esos abecedarios pues. Es que en Quechua es moy distinto no? Escribir en castellano muy distinto, ahora con los tres idiomas saben, no? Saben cantar asta los himno nacional saben cantar no, en Quechua, resolviendo a.. de castellano a quechua.

P: aja

F: o sea que ahora es bien-ps, para mandar ahora, en cambio con los.. nuestros padres no sabía cómo podemos hablar.. y no sabyámos bien.. muy mezclado es con el castellano con quechua, no hablan muy bien quechuas puros así nativos, no?

P: pero quiénes no hablan así?

F: nosotros pues, es que los.. nos han hecho confundir los españoles-ps.

(Tape 951204 (16), FV)

The comunario²⁴ from Puka-Puka who chose to speak in Spanish here was very fluid in his comments and I shall argue that his Spanish is a full-fledged language (understood as a system). However it varies from Standard Spanish, and because of this variation this type of linguistic production is held under contempt.

²⁴ I use this Spanish word to refer to the members of the community, due to the fact that it has no equivalent in English. Yraola (1995:13, footnote 13) also used this word in spite of the fact that she did not find in any "standard dictionary of the Spanish language" that she 'came across to', but because it is used extensively in Bolivia.

Chapter 2. The Bolivian Context

1. Introduction

In this chapter I attempt to highlight some features of the Bolivian context, that are closely related to the issues of language and education, and how these issues are represented by discourse. In more concrete terms, the chapter will cover three main topics: (1) the present day language situation; (2) the evolution of languages in contact/conflict; and (3) a brief history of ideas on language and education in Bolivia.

Bolivia in the eyes of the beholder

Before proceeding, however, I would like to briefly consider some viewpoints on Bolivia. The purpose is twofold: (a) to show how Bolivia is seen (judged, conceptualized by some observers) and (b) argue that these accounts tend to be generalizing, stereotyping, and misleading, if not distractionist.

Bolivia (or the Republic of Bolivia) is one of the countries of South America; and a description such as this should be sufficient to identify it. However, particular interests and points of view usually press for adjectives. Two phrases are common: "the most indigenous" and "the poorest". For example, Luykx (1996) starts Chapter 1 of her thought-provoking thesis with the assertion that "Bolivia is the most 'indigenous' of all the Latin American countries." Later on, she adds that it is also "the poorest" of them all; a fate Bolivia shares with Haiti. For Klein, Bolivia is:

A society created by imperial conquests and native adaptations, it remains today a nation dominated by its peasantry, yet fully participating in the world economy. It is also the most Indian of the American republics: as late as the census of 1976 only a minority of the population were monolingual speakers of Spanish. (Klein 1992:ix)

Besides the notion of Bolivia being "the most Indian of the American republics", Klein states that Bolivia "today [is] a nation dominated by its peasantry." If the verb "dominate" is understood as defined by Webster,²⁵ the meaning of this phrase will be ambivalent: does it mean that the peasantry rules in the country, or simply that they are demographically numerous? The identification of ethnicity and language that Klein makes above is perhaps unavoidable, but a clear cut distribution of languages (e.g. Spanish for the non-"Indian") is a construct that has the virtue of highlighting the dual character of the social organization, but that in so doing fails to represent the processes (such as bilingualism, for instance) in between the poles, in this case Spanish and the "Indian" languages. I am thinking for example, of the countryside inhabitants of Belisario Boeto, in Chuquisaca, who speak their own brand (dialect) of Spanish, but who would still be considered as 'peasants' if not as "Indians" by the casual observer. In any case, it is in ethnicity and language that both Luykx and Klein, and others, choose to find the defining features of Bolivia. In fairness, it must be added, that Klein also observes that "the Bolivians have created a new and vital multi-ethnic society." (ibid.), a view with which I agree. It may very well be the case that these qualifications may be justified in comparative terms (with the other countries of Latin America) and provided that some indicators are adopted (income, ethnicity, language); but at the same they may become stereotypical, and once in the mainstream they become factors of a negative image.

Another idea constantly discussed by the media, both inside and outside of Bolivia, is the link between poverty and ethnicity, which of course may in the end reinforce the associations between modernity (positive) and primitivity (negative). However, romantics (a sort of compensatory idealization) and tourist entrepreneurs sometimes see poverty as an asset. Here is one example from the Internet:

²⁵ The New International Webster's Comprehensive Dictionary of the English Language (Deluxe Encyclopedic Edition; Trident Press International. 1996 Edition) defines three senses of the verb

DESTINATION BOLIVIA / Landlocked Bolivia is the Tibet of the Americas - the highest and most isolated of the Latin American republics. It is also the most Indian country on the continent, with over 50% of the population maintaining traditional Indian values and beliefs. Bolivia may be one of the poorest countries in South America, but its indigenous cultures, the mindblowing Andean landscapes, and the remnants of mysterious ancient civilisations make it the richest and most exciting destination for adventurous and independent travellers. (http://www.lonelyplanet.com.au /dest /sam /bolivia.htm; Wed, 28 May 1997 20:55:39 +0100)

All these superlatives (highest, most isolated, most "Indian", the poorest) are counterbalanced by the fact that it is also "the richest and most exciting" (but) for "adventurous and independent travelers." In this account, indigenousness and poverty become exotic ("mindblowing", "mysterious") commodities good for the eyes (and pockets) of the beholder. These ideas are all circulating today, but the external eye's vision is nothing new. Let us for instance consider the next two examples, one from 1914, the other from the late 50s.

Paul Walle, who was "Commissioned by the French Ministry of Commerce" to report on Bolivia's people and its resources, particularly with respect to "Railways, Mines, and Rubber-Forests", wrote:

Like all the young Spanish-American States, Bolivia has suffered many *pronunciamientos* and several internal revolutions. These latter were not incessant, as the history we learn from comic operas would incline us to believe ; and in any case we must not criticize Bolivia too severely on account of these bygone convulsions ; we should remember that this nation, full of force and vitality, was, like her sister Republics, born prematurely into autonomous existence, without education or preparation of any kind for republican institutions, that she had to struggle for stability, and has hardly now traversed this preparatory period. (Walle 1914:67).

In one sense, Walle offers a more sympathetic view of the country, disclosing in the process that the stereotype in Europe was material for "comic operas"; but in another sense, he also judges that the formation of the Republic was premature due to the lack of "education or preparation of any kind for republican institutions," perhaps forgetting that those that formed the republics not only in Bolivia but in Latin America in general were the Hispanic-Creole

^{&#}x27;dominate': 1 To exercise control over; govern. 2 To tower above; loom over. 3 To have control, hold sway.

classes that were already in political and administrative control of the territories that have become the republics.

Some forty years later, in what claimed to be "the first general survey of modern Bolivia to be published in England", Osborne finds that "Bolivia is not an easy country to know"²⁶ perhaps due to its apparent diversity and lack of socioeconomic integration, or perhaps simply because the country is perceived as politically unstable. This is what Osborne has to say:

The internal history has been turbulent and explosive. ... The sociological picture is coloured by the conflict of interests between a backward and unadaptable Indian population on the one side and a small controlling minority of European stock on the other. Some account has therefore been given to the psychology of the highland Indian and his stolid resistance to assimilation into the modern economic state. (Osborne 1965:vii.)

As many others have repeated, the 'turbulent and explosive' past of the country is brought to our attention, as an explanation for the country's present troubles. Osborne's assertions that the "Indian population" is "backward and unadaptable" due to their "psychology" are also typical (Cf. for example Otero 1981 [1935]). Many foreign visitors have expressed similar views for other countries of Latin America (Hassaurek 1967 [1867] for Ecuador; Wiener 1993 [1880] for Peru and Bolivia). In the light of the contribution of local peoples to the nation-state (taxes, labor, crops...), this downgrading, from my perspective, is but another case of blaming the victims for their situation. Finally, in Osborne's perspective, assimilation is taken for granted: the change must flow from backwardness to modernity. But Osborne also observes that Bolivian society is divided and that there is "a conflict of interests" between the dominant minority and the "Indian" population. This observation is justifiable from the perspective of the polarization of differences.

²⁶ Walle expresses the same idea: "If there is one country among all others concerning which our knowledge is scanty and even at fault, that country is Bolivia, although the Republic is possessed of innumerable resources, and offers many advantages to men of action who have capital or labour to invest". (Walle 1914:5)

For William Carter (1971), a well known and respected anthropologist, Bolivia is "The Improbable Land" due to her geography, with an "Explosive Past" due to her history, where the "Puzzle of Poverty" continues to be unsolved, and where the population continues to be "The Divided Society." Each of these themes is covered by a chapter of the book. However, Carter adds two chapters, one that explores the positive and often hidden cultural traits of the Aymara ("The Ties That Bind"), and one that expresses the hope for a country "determined to survive", in "The Soul of a People."

In brief, Bolivia has been imagined in many ways in accordance with the interests or disciplines of the writer: as the country of revolutions by historians and politicians, as "indigenous" by anthropologists and educationists, as the poorest in Latin America by economists and international agencies, echoed by local politicians; and lately, according to Transparency International, as the second most corrupt country in the world, only after Nigeria (Mendoza 1997; Rueda Peña 1997).

Although the observers mentioned above are mainly foreigners, it is to be noted that often inside observers express negative views on Bolivia, that according to Zavaleta (1967) rather than objective assessments are part of a strategy that the ruling classes utilized to explain and justify their own failure, for instance with respect to the loss of the Pacific and the Chaco Wars.²⁷ But it seems that even before the Pacific War, self denigration was already a consolidated practice, as exemplified, for instance, by La *Democracia*, a newspaper published at the time:

"Bolivia es un país completamente anárquico, donde el espíritu de egoísmo, ambición, codicia, nepotismo, deslealtad, perfidia y completa corrupción, campean en la mayor parte de las clases sociales... Bolivia es la madriguera de todos los malvados..." (Quoted in Cataldi 1992:28).

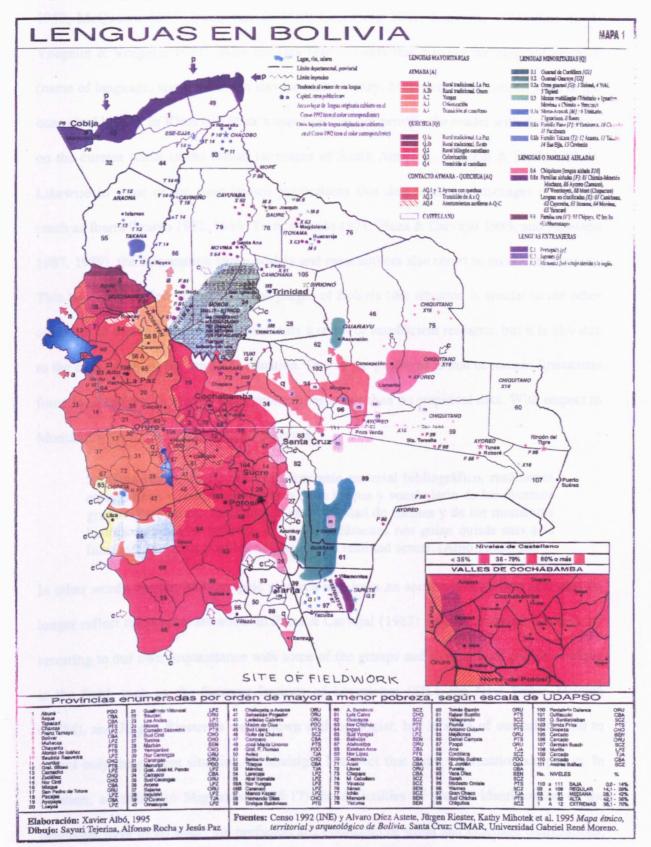
²⁷ In the Pacific War (1879-1884), Chile took part of Bolivia's territory, depriving her of her access to the Pacific Ocean; and in the Chaco War (1932-1935), Paraguay took the region of the same name.

My contention is that most of these adjectives not only make assumptions about what is positive and negative but also make generalizations that disregard specificities and particularities.

2. Languages

There are more than thirty languages in Bolivia, the main vernacular languages, Quechua and Aymara are located in the Western and Southern parts of the country, while the 'minoritary' languages are located in the Eastern (or Oriental) regions. The situation, however, is extremely complex as illustrated in the map on the next page.





Source: Albó 1995 Bolivia Plurilingüe. Mapas. La Paz: CIPCA, UNICEF

Although there are many studies of South American languages (such as, for example: Mason 1950; McQuown 1955; Ibarra Grasso 1958; Greenberg 1960; Loukotka 1968; Key 1974; Voegelin & Voegelin 1977), there are very few accounts that provide the basic information (name of language, speakers, locations) for each country. Moreover, publications such as the ones cited before, in Klein and Stark's appraisal "do not provide the reader with detailed data on the current status of the Indian languages of South America..." (Klein & Stark 1985:4). Likewise in some of the most known publications that deal with the languages of Bolivia (such as Ibarra Grasso 1982, 1985; Torrico Prado 1971; Plaza & Carvajal 1985; and Montaño 1987, 1989), the information varies widely and most authors also resort to secondary sources. This lack of a unified vision of the languages of Bolivia (the situation is similar in the other countries of South America) is undoubtedly a result of insufficient research; but it is also due to the complexity of the language situation. One of the problems is that economic limitations force local authors to rely on other publications rather than on empirical data. With respect to Montaño's work, for example, Albó observes:

Su Guía etnográfica .. incluye abundante material bibliográfico, resúmenes etnográficos y generosas muestras de la lengua y vocabulario de los diversos grupos. Pero, como resultado de esta variedad de fuentes y de los momentos históricos a que se refieren, estos dos volúmenes nos guían quizás más a la literatura que a los pueblos mismos, en su realidad actual. (Albó 1995b:26)

In other words, further bibliographic research will have an accumulatory effect that may no longer reflect the present situation. In Plaza & Carvajal (1985) we tried to avoid this trap, by resorting to our own acquaintance with some of the groups and to reports of people working in the field, such as the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), the New Tribes Mission (NTM), and Jürgen Riester, a well known anthropologist; but in spite of our orientation to reflect only the present situation, in hindsight I suspect that extra information slipped in. In addition, according to Migliazza (1985:17) the difficulties of precise identification of the languages have to do with "the profusion and confusion of tribal and language designations; conjectured genetic affiliations (...) the incorporation within the same taxonomy of different

historical periods (...) [and the] failure to take into account cultural change, migration, and extinction."

Thus to minimize the problem of duplicating names or including languages that are no longer spoken, I decided to take only two of the most recent sources: *The Ethnologue* edited by Grimes (1997), and Albó's *Bolivia Plurilingüe* (1995a, b). My justification for the selection of these two sources is the following. In the case of the Ethnologue, because it sums up the work of the SIL, who have worked extensively on many languages of Bolivia; and in the case of Albó because his account is based on the most recent information of the 1992 census. Nonetheless it must be pointed out that there remain a number of problems which these sources do not resolve. In the case of the SIL perhaps because they officially left the country more than a decade ago, although they probably continue maintaining some links with local agencies, for example, with the New Tribes Mission. In the case of Albó, due to the fact that the Census lumped speakers of Lowland languages under the category of "other indigenous", which obliged Albó to do some guesswork, relying on his vast anthropological and linguistic experience in Bolivia.

In order to compare the information provided by *Bolivia Plurilingüe* and *The Ethnologue*, and at the same time to illustrate the general language situation I built a matrix (See Appendix 1) which included the languages and main dialects, the number of their speakers, their geographical location, and some notes with respect to their survival. In a summary form, these are the languages of Bolivia:

Figure 5: Languages of Bolivia

	Lowland Languages
Iş I	Baure, Saraveca, Chimán, Mosetén, Chiquitano, Chorote, Toba, Weenhayek, gnaciano, Movima, Trinitario, Yuracaré, Araona, Cavineña, Chácobo, Ese Ejja, Pacahuara, Reyesano, Shinabo, Tacana, Toromona, Yaminahua, Guaraní (Ava, Izoseño, Simba), Guarasugu'é, Guarayu, Jorá, Sirionó, Tapieté, Yuki, Ayoreo, Cayubaba, Itene, Itonama, Canichana.
	(34 languages, or 36 including the dialects in parenthesis)
	Highland Languages

Aymara, Quechua (Northern, Southern), Callawaya, Leco, Chipaya, Uru (Iru Itu).					
(6 languages, or 8)					
National Language					
Spanish (1 language)					
Foreign Languages					
Mennonite (English, German), Japanese, Portuguese, German.					
(4 languages, or 5)					

There are a number of problems with the preceding list, some are immediately apparent in the list itself, and some appear when additional information is brought in. The first strange thing is the inclusion of Foreign Languages, which are usually excluded from accounts of the languages spoken in South American countries, and of which I will have very little to say afterwards. I think that this exclusion is already meaningful. In terms of languages and their speakers, or of ethnolinguistic groups in general, there is no reason not to include them, for example the Mennonites that both Grimes and Albó include in their accounts, or the Nisei (Japanese) that only Albó includes. And talking about foreign languages, one may also wonder why English, 'the global language' (Crystal 1997), is not considered either by Grimes or Albó. Thus while there seems to be an exaggerated number of German speakers provided by the SIL's Ethnologue (160,000 speakers of standard German), English does not show up at all, either in the SIL account or in the 1992 census. However, there must be thousands of speakers of English in Bolivia, some native and many speakers of English as a second language. Some of them might have been excluded from the census due to the foreign status of its speakers; but what about the many Bolivian speakers of English (for instance, teachers of English as a second language)? After all English and French are part of the regular curriculum of the country; together with German, they are also taught in a more comprehensive way in the so called private bilingual schools in the main cities: Colegios Humboldt, Calvert, Franco-Boliviano; and are also studied by anyone interested in them in the private institutes such as the Goethe Institute, the Centro Boliviano Americano, and the Alianza Francesa.

1. How many languages are spoken in Bolivia?

It is not easy to say how many languages are spoken in Bolivia. One of the problems is related to the difficulty of drawing the boundaries between languages and dialects. These are some typical cases. In Bolivia, according to Figure 5 above, there are three main dialects of Guaraní: Ava, Izoseño, Simba; should they be listed as three languages or as one? Another case has to do with Quechua; there are two main varieties in Bolivia: Northern and Southern. In *The Ethnologue* they are listed as two languages (Grimes 1997), in *Bolivia Plurilingüe* (Albó 1994) as one. Another example: Tsimané and Mosetén are considered the same language by the SIL, but are classified as two languages by Adelaar (quoted in *The Ethnologue*). According to Albó the situation is as follows. The Mosetén have been reduced to the Catholic missions since the XIX century, while the Tsimanes (and Muchanes) have maintained their traditional style (Albó 1995b:26). Thus, from the linguistic perspective (i.e. the diachronological relation of the Mosetén-Tsiman of the XIX century, with present day varieties), Tsimané and Mosetén are dialects of the same language; but from the perspective of their present day speakers, considering the effects of separate development and ethnic identity, they are two languages.

Thus not even a simple question such as how many languages are spoken in Bolivia can be answered in unequivocal terms. The answer is variable. It depends on the classificatory criteria adopted. According to *The Ethnologue* there are 45 languages in Bolivia, including some foreign languages (German and Plautdietsch (sic)), dialects (Northern and Southern Bolivian Quechua), and even one Sign Language. Of these "39 are living languages, 1 is a second language without mother tongue speakers (Callawaya), and 5 are extinct." Since the list I presented above is based on *The Ethnologue* I find myself in the uneasy situation of having included the dead in the list of the living. For his part, Albó identified 27 minority ethnic groups, to which we might add the major languages (Quechua, Aymara, and Spanish) to have a list of 30 languages. If we take the list we made on the basis of both sources, we will have a minimum of 45 languages in total, but 51 including the dialects and English. To sum up, we are in trouble when trying to decide on the number of languages spoken in Bolivia, but we must leave it here, to consider other problems.

With respect to the languages spoken in Bolivia, the picture is thus one of linguistic diversity. However the situation is much more complex than the mere existence of a number of languages in the country. We shall briefly consider three dimensions of the problem: the demographic weight of the languages, their mixing, and their evolution.

According to their demographic weight, the languages of Bolivia have usually been classified in three groups: the Andean Languages (Quechua and Aymara), Spanish, and the Amazonic Languages (Araona, Esse Ejja, etc.). Wölck (1972) calls them "lenguas mayores," due to their demographic weight no doubt. The Spaniards themselves, however, had already applied this label to languages such as "Quechua, Aru Aymara, Puquina, and Mochica." (Cerrón 1989:14). In the chart below we reproduce the numbers of speakers and their percentages according to the latest data provided by the *Censo Nacional de Población y Vivienda* (1992).

Figure 6: Number of speakers in 1992

	in thousands	%s
(a) Knowledge of Languages		
Spanish	4594	87,4
Quechua	1806	34,3
Aymara	1238	23,0
Other indigenous languages	70	1,6
(b) Monolinguals		
Only know Spanish	2203	41,7
Only know an indigenous language	608	11,5
Quechua	428	8,1
Aymara	169	3,2
Other indigenous languages	11	0,2
(c) Only Foreign Language	18	0.3
(Ages	6+	years)

Source: Albó 1995a:23.

Besides the separation of the three groups indicated above, and the inclusion of speakers of a foreign language, this chart blurs the dimension of bilingualism (for in the category 'knowledge of languages' above, the subcategories do not exclude bilingualism: for instance, "Saben castellano" might include bilinguals that are also speakers of Quechua and/or Aymara). Thus the sociolinguistic panorama, in terms of its relation with language dynamics (which we explore further below) would have to include three categories of speakers: monolingual speakers of Spanish (41.7%), bilinguals in Spanish and an "indigenous" language (45,7%), and monolingual speakers of one of the "indigenous" languages (11,5%). According to these figures, the main languages of the country are Spanish, Quechua and Aymara. It is to be noticed that the numbers and percentages of speakers of other languages are very low in comparison with the main languages. The distinction between monolinguals and bilinguals, on the other hand, demonstrates that bilingualism is widespread. What the chart cannot disclose are the degrees and types of bilingualism, or the types and degrees of hybridization between the languages in contact.

The sociolinguistic situation of the country has been exhaustively analyzed by Albó in the two volumes of his *Bolivia Plurilingue* (1995a, b), based on the latest national census data, the ETARE's *Mapa Educativo* and other sources (Albó 1995c, Plaza 1995). An examination of the complexity of the language situation in Bolivia is beyond the scope of this thesis and we shall be content with a few comments, following Albó's work. Thus, although 'the main division might at first appear to include the monolingual Spanish areas and the bicultural or pluricultural areas' as Albó notes (1995c:63), the situation is much more complicated, mainly due to the invasion of some languages into the territory of other languages, for instance the case of Andean languages whose presence has been attested in apparently Spanish speaking cities: El Alto, La Paz, Cochabamba, Sucre, Potosí and so on. In other words, this language complexity might be understood as a series of situations that go from one monolingual pole in Spanish to another monolingual pole in a vernacular, through a series of intermediate states, that include individual and social bilingualism (something similar to the dialect

LI 49 RPOOL UNAVERSITY continuum explored in Chapter 1.4. Language and dialect). Albó identified the following nine 'situations': "Rural tradicional, Rural bilingüe, Colonización, Con transición fuerte al castellano, Ciudad andina secundaria, Id. mayor [andina]: capital departamental o El Alto, Ciudad castellana, con migrantes plurilingües"; and crossing these situations with the languages, he obtained 40 'sociolinguistic groups', that might be envisioned, as mentioned above, as a series of situations or stages that feature monolingual and bilingual speakers, often including the variables of sex and age (1995:64-65). To exemplify the variation of the linguistic composition in these groups I reproduce below the statistics of three of them:

Provincia	Población (miles)	Saben Q, %	No saben C, %	Saben Q y A, >2%	Orden según % que no sabe C
Azurduy*	17.4	98	71		1
Zudañez	31	97	66		2
Yamparáez	31.3	99	65		3
Oropeza*	44.5	98	59		4
Tomina*	13.9	94	52		5

Figure 7: Chuquisaca Rural Tradicional

* Sólo una parte de la provincia pertenece a este Grupo Lingüístico Source: Albó 1995a:121.

The main feature of this type of group is the preponderance of the vernacular. In the case of the provinces of Chuquisaca, above, it borders around 97.7 %; while the percentage of speakers that do not know Spanish is quite high (or conversely, the percentage of speakers that know Spanish is quite low). This situation changes as the sociolinguistic groups get closer to the predominantly Spanish speaking centers.

Figure 8: Chuquisaca rural de transición del quechua al castellano

Provincia	Población (miles)		No saben C, %	Saben Q y/o A, % + C	Orden según % que no sabe C
B.Boeto QC*	4.6	56	24	76	1
Nor Cinti QC* a)	13.3	65	13	87	2
Sud Cinti QC*	5.7	58	11	89	3

Azurduy QC*	6.1	20	5	95	4
Tomina QC*	21.8	29	4	96	5
Nor Cinti QC* b)	8.6	18	1	99	6

* Sólo una parte de la provincia entra en este Grupo Lingüístico. Source: Albó 1995a:148.

In this group, the percentage of speakers of Quechua has decreased to an average of 49.2; while at the same time the percentages of Spanish have increased to the point of being more numerous than the vernacular. Finally, for a peek at the situation of the 'plurilingual cities' I reproduce below the statistics of some of the main cities of Bolivia.

Figure 9: Ci	udades Andinas	(<i>extract</i>)
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Ciudad	% sabe C	% sólo sabe C	% A	% Q	% AC	% QC	% QAC	población total
Potosí	96	31	2	69	1	63	1	112078
Sucre	95	39	2	60	1	53	1	131769
Cochabamba	98	45	9	50	5	43	4	407825
Oruro	99	49	22	40	10	27	11	183422
La Paz	99	54	40	10	35	6	3	713378
Tarija	99	84	3	14	2	12	1	90114
Santa Cruz	99	85	4	12	2	10	1	697278

Source: Albó 1995b:69

As can be observed in the chart above, the knowledge of Spanish in the cities is almost total, 99 % in many of the cases. In addition, the percentages of monolingual Spanish speakers are greater than those encountered, for instance, in the traditional rural situations (Cf. Figure 7: Chuquisaca Rural Tradicional, above). However, it must be emphasized that this almost total Castilianization of the city populations has not signified the exclusion of the other languages; thus, the view that the cities are already Spanish monolingual begs to be modified to account for the persistence of states of bilingualism and even monolingualism inside the cities. With respect to the data in Figure 9: Ciudades Andinas (extract) above, I would like to add two observations. First, that as the percentages of monolingual Spanish increases, the percentages of vernacular languages decrease correspondingly. The pattern then, is the progression of

Spanish, and conversely the regression of the other languages. Second, that the percentages of the languages in conflict (Spanish vs. Vernaculars) are correlated with the levels of poverty of the department. To put it plainly, the richer the department the greater the levels of Spanish monolingualism, and conversely, the poorer the department the greater the presence of the vernacular languages (Cf. also Chapter 7.2. Language dynamics revisited).

2. Language boundaries, mixing, intermediate stages

I shall now turn to another facet of the linguistic situation, the proliferation of mixed varieties. While statistics provide a useful panorama of the linguistic situation, in terms of numbers and percentages of speakers, of the location of the speakers, their ages, and so on, it may fail to account for certain particular features of the situation. The one I have in mind is that of language mixing. The fact is that languages change either in their own terms (genetic change), or under the influence of other languages (convergence due to language contact). For example, it has been observed that Quechua and Aymara share a number of similarities, apparently at all linguistic levels, from phonology to syntactic structures, as meticulously demonstrated by Cerrón (1994). This in turn has led to an as yet unsolved debate about the relationships between them, namely whether their similarities are due to genetics or to convergence (Cerrón 1987; Mannheim 1991; Adelaar 1986). Likewise the fact that Spanish and the American languages have been in contact for some five centuries has determined not only bilingualism but also cases of language mixing and convergence.

In this line, Yraola's study (1995) shows that the Spanish of rural teachers (Quechua-Spanish bilinguals) has developed into a system of its own, sharing some features of the referent languages (e.g. Quechua and Spanish), but also boasting its own particularities. Thus for Yraola the Spanish of Bolivian rural teachers is an interlanguage in the process of becoming consolidated, as a **semilanguage**, and not as "a regional variety of Spanish" such as for instance Andean Spanish in Peru, but as a "different code," namely, "a mixed code arising from a situation of languages in contact, similar to pidgin or creole." (ibid.:10). Thus

Yraola's semilanguage is different from semilingualism, defined as the competence in the use of two languages by the bilingual speaker but at a "lower level than monolingual native speakers." (Appel and Muysken 1993 [1987]:107). For Küper (1993:64) the number of bilinguals that speak pauperized versions of Quechua and Spanish (or 'semilinguals') is on the increase.

Common folk in Bolivia are usually self-conscious about mixed varieties that are considered to be deviations from the 'pure' forms and/or impoverished mixings of two languages. These notions are so strong that terms to designate them, such as *Quechuañol*, and *Aymarañol*, have become part of the general vocabulary of the population. *Quechuañol* for Yraola (1995:61) is the variety of Quechua spoken in cities, "a Quechua punctuated with Spanish words and constructions." Often speakers of *Quechuañol* are also said to speak the vernacular language imperfectly, which would make them speakers of a semilanguage, in the sense explained by Appel and Muysken (1993 [1987]:107).

Some twenty years ago at INEL, Juana Vásquez reported an extreme case of mixing between Aymara and Spanish that later on I have translated into Quechua:

Juk transeunteqa calleta cruzaspa, juk cáscara de platanopi resbalaspa tobillonta dislocakusqa.

Although this is an extreme case of mixing, it is not far from the speech of many predominantly Spanish speakers, that retained the basic morphemes and syntactic order of Quechua but have forgotten their lexemes. It is also to be noted that similar cases of mixing also appear in other countries of the region. Escobar, for instance, considers that Peruvian speakers of Quechua or Aymara in the process of acquiring Spanish really speak an interlanguage that he has denominated the *interlecto* (Escobar 1978:32). Muysken, on his part, has found that the mingling of Spanish and Quechua has produced a variety that he terms as **chaupi** lengua or 'middle tongue' (Muysken 1979). Returning to Bolivia, while the cases of lexical mixing (such as the example of the *transeunte*.. above, or the use of Quechua or Aymara words in Spanish, such as Aymara: Wank'u, conejo, awrita te voy lluch'untar

'Rabbit, rabbit, I am going to get your skin out', or Quechua: Se han pantado, señorita 'They have made a mistake, Miss' or Cristina pantando, la Cristina fallando, la Cristina está fallando 'Cristina is making a mistake'. (Video 17, 951129) are easy to detect, there are cases of substrate influence that often are passed as Spanish. In the region of La Paz, sentences such as the following are very common: me vendo mis verduritas en aquí 'I sell myself my vegetables in here'. In this example all the words are Spanish, only the use of venderse instead of vender betray its peculiar character. Yraola studies similar features in the speech of rural teachers in Chuquisaca (Yraola 1995:199).

Cassidy commenting on developments in the study of Creoles and pidgins during the second half of the century comments that the phenomenon known as the "creole continuum" was "noted long ago". Thus Schuchardt, in 1914, had already described it as "a mingling of intermediate stages." (eine Menge von Zwischenstufen) (Cassidy 1996). Likewise, the consideration of mixed varieties, resulting from the convergence and/or language acquisition processes between Spanish and the American Languages, might be conceived of as a continuum. Thus the conception of Spanish and Quechua as homogeneous linguistic systems (units) is really an abstraction (abstraction taken as a process of categorization on the basis of perceived similarities) or a construct. For this reason, the determination of the number of languages is muddled up not only due to the existence of some dialect continuums (for instance: Guaraní, Izoseño, Ava, northern Quechua, southern Quechua) but also due to the proliferation of mixed varieties.

While the semilanguage described by Yraola refers to the speech of Spanish-Quechua bilinguals, there are other similar varieties spoken by monolinguals. One salient example that I have come across is the Spanish of Belisario Boeto,²⁸ a variety that uses clearly recognizable Quechua words (that at first appear as loan-words), syntactic structures, and

²⁸ In the province of Belisario Boeto, Chuquisaca, most people are speakers of Spanish (according to the census, only 24 % do not know Spanish (Albó 1995a:148))

intonation, thus giving the impression that their speakers are bilingual. However when I spoke to them in Quechua, during a visit to some literacy centers of the province, I found that they did not speak this language. These speakers are not in the process of learning Spanish, for they already know it; they are not borrowing words from Quechua either, because they do not speak this language. Thus, these originally Quechua words which they use are part of the vocabulary of the Spanish variety which they have learned from the beginning. These nuances, however, are lost in statistical quantification.

Finally, it must be mentioned that Bolivian Spanish, even in the speech of monolinguals, might contain traces of the vernacular languages mainly through the incorporation of lexical borrowing (for instance, *tokoyimas* < **tukuy ima** 'everything'; *ch'alla* 'ritual offering'; *un michi proyecto* 'a cheap, lowly project'; *me tinka* 'it gives me the impression that')²⁹ or even of morphemes (two salient cases are: the use of the inceptive -ri as in *prestarime* 'lend me', and the distinction between direct and indirect knowledge, that in Quechua are expressed through the suffixes **-rqa** and **-sqa**, respectively, and that appear as *habyá* in Spanish, as in

He desmentido a todos esos que decían que no había gente de la tercera edad que no fueran ricos. Mas bien <u>habían</u> sido pocos los ricos y <u>habían</u> sido muchos los pobres que han experimentado el sentimiento de ser reconocidos, no sólo en la parte económica, sino ... en el seno de su propia sociedad. (Los Tiempos 030897) (Emphasis added)

In summary, the contact between Spanish and the American languages has provided a fertile ground for diverse forms of intermixing among them. These mutual influences have taken place at all linguistic levels, from phonology to cosmology. In many cases the accumulated changes (or departures from their genetic referents) have prompted scholars to postulate the existence of vital and consolidated varieties, such as Andean Spanish (Ana María Escobar 1990:17; 1994), the interlect (Escobar 1978:30), the "chaupi lengua" (Muysken 1979) or the semilanguage (Küper 1993:64; Yraola 1995:185).

²⁹ Many other Bolivianisms can be found in the *Diccionario de Bolivianismos* written by Fernández and Gómez (1967 [1964]).

It is not my purpose to investigate the technical motivations for the postulation of these varieties, or to attempt a typology of the types of Spanish to be found in Bolivia. I simply want to make the point that the idea of neat units of languages, such as Spanish, Quechua, Aymara, etc. needs to take into account the variations in between. In addition, I want to make clear that language mixing in Bolivia is widespread, to the point that mixed forms have become perfectly natural. It must also be emphasized that this situation (e.g. the proliferation of varieties) is far from static, for it is in the making all the time. Although there is some recognition of mixed varieties, from the point of view of prevalent discourses, the polar referents (i.e. the vernacular languages and Spanish) are conceived of as separate and 'correct' entities. Thus anyone that does not speak the correct variety of Spanish is prone to be discriminated against. But also speakers of mixed varieties of the vernacular language (for instance *Quechuañol* or *Aymarañol*) are also victims of stigmatization.

In addition, as Calvet proposes (1981) these influences are asymmetric in so far as the enrichment of one might lead to the impoverishment of the other, to the point of total elimination; and this is so because the relationships between languages in contact entail a power struggle between peoples. Therefore, bilingualism, diglossia, language shift, the formation of hybrids and so on, all reflect and project this struggle. From the perspective of language dynamics, the interactions between the languages in contact determine the progression of Spanish, and the regression of the vernacular languages. Regression in some cases has signified, to use the Ethnologue's terminology, the extinction of a number of languages. The Ethnologue lists 5 languages: Reyesano, Saraveca, Shinabo, Jorá, and Leco, as "extinct" and nine as "nearly extinct." (Cf. Appendix 1). The situation is similar in other South American countries as the Ethnologue reports; but it is also a worldwide phenomenon, as Time magazine in a recent issue (Cf. Geary 1977) depicts not without a hint of melodramatization.

3. Language progression

Although many languages are in contact in Bolivia, the progression of Spanish and the regression of the other languages of the country characterize the trend in language dynamics. At the demographic dimension this means that Spanish speakers grow in absolute and relative numbers, while the other languages decrease, at least, in relative numbers (e.g. percentages).

The 1976 and 1992 censuses provide us with the most reliable data to compare the evolving language situation of Bolivia over a 16 year period. According to the census figures (see Figure 10, below), the "indigenous" languages have increased in absolute numbers but decreased in percentages with respect to the total population in the case of the major languages (Quechua and Aymara), and remained the same in the case of the Amazonic languages. Spanish has grown.

Censuses:	1976 (miles)	%	1992 (miles)	%	% increas e
Knowledge of Languages					
Spanish	3210	78,8	4594	87,4	+ 8,6
Quechua	1594	39,7	1806	34,3	- 5,4
Aymara	1156	28,8	1238	23,0	- 5,8
Other indigenous languages	56	1,1	70	1,6	+ 0,5
Monolinguals					
Only know Spanish	1508	36,3	2203	41,7	<+5.4>
Only know indigenous languages	944	20,4	608	11,5	
Quechua	569	13,7	428	8,1	
Aymara	315	7,6	169	3,2	
Quechua and Aymara	53	1,3	*	s/d	
Other indigenous languages	7	0,2	11	0,2	
Only know foreign languages			18	0.3	
(Ages	all		6+	years)	

Figure 10: Linguistic Evolution 1976-1992

* No data published for this category. Source: Albó 1995:23.

In the first group, knowledge of languages (bilinguals and monolinguals), we can appreciate that all these languages (regardless of their initial numbers, and in spite of Spanish already having an advantage) have increased their absolute numbers, although Spanish has increased by more than either Quechua or Aymara. However, in relative numbers Spanish has increased by 8.6%, while both Aymara and Quechua have actually decreased by 5.4% and 5.8%, respectively. Likewise the percentage of those who know Spanish (and some other language) increased from 78.8 to 87.4 percent, a gain of 8.6%. The opposite is true for Quechua and Aymara, from 68.5% (adding their percentages) they went down to 57.3%, a combined decrease of 11.2%. Among bilinguals too, knowledge of Spanish increased, and that of Ouechua and Aymara decreased. A similar but also more drastic change has taken place at the monolingual poles (see Monolinguals in the chart above): while Spanish is in progression (more people are speaking it), monolingual Quechua and Aymara appear to be in regression. Spanish monolinguals have increased by 5.4% (from 36.3% in 1976 to 41.7% in 1992); whereas Aymara and Quechua combined have decreased by -8.9% (from 20.4% in 1976 to 11.5% in 1992). To sum up, the pattern is the progression of Spanish and conversely the regression of the American languages. A similar but perhaps more drastic situation has been documented for Perú (Cf. for instance, Von Gleich and Wölck 1994:27-29).

1. Multilingualism in between

The preceding chart however makes it difficult to appreciate the panoramic situation of multilingualism in the country. In an attempt to clarify this, I have simplified the composition of the groups, including only three categories: Spanish monolinguals, American languages monolinguals, and bilinguals (obtained from the subtraction of the percentages of monolinguals). The resulting figures are repeated below:

Figure 11: Evolution of monolingualism and bilingualism

	1976	1992
Spanish monolinguals	36,3	41,7

Bilinguals	43.3	46.5
American Languages monolinguals	20.4	11.5

In this simplified version, besides the progression of Spanish monolingualism and the regression of the American languages monolingualism, that I have already commented above, there is a hint that the levels of bilingualism might be increasing albeit slightly (3.2 %). It must be noted that although most speakers located in the category in between Spanish monolinguals and American language monolinguals also include trilingual speakers. Although trilingualism is quantitatively less significant than bilingualism, it is also localized in certain regions of the country (for instance, North of Potosí and Oruro with Quechua, Aymara, and Spanish with widespread bilingualism (Hosokawa 1980; and for a discussion of how Spanish and Quechua vocabulary get confused, for instance **Pachamama** "is a Spanish word" and *wirjina* (< Spanish: vírgen) is Quechua, Howard-Malverde 1995), but almost non existent in certain regions, for instance in Rural Chuquisaca (Cf. Figure 7: Chuquisaca Rural Tradicional on p. 50). Trilingualism also appears in the main cities of the country, albeit in reduced percentages (Cf. Figure 9: Ciudades Andinas (extract) on p. 51).

2. Status of the Languages

Spanish is commonly considered the official language of the country, although neither the latest Constitution (*Constitución Política del Estado*) nor recent ones define Spanish as the official language (Plaza-Carvajal 1989:13-15). Thus I use this adjective to indicate its defacto character, both with respect to legislation and to its hegemonic character. In addition, I would also like to emphasize that another feature of the situation of linguistic diversity described in the preceding section is that there is a vertical hierarchy between Spanish and the other languages; in other words, diglossia (Fergusson 1959; Macnamara 1967; Fishman 1967; Ninyoles 1972). Thus Spanish is the High language, and the American languages the Low languages. The correlates of this paradigm are, among others, (a) the functional distribution of the languages with respect to their use (Spanish used for all official purposes,

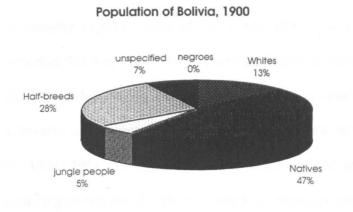
the American languages restricted to the quotidian and emotional spheres; (b) the prestige accorded to the High language and conversely the 'shame' or 'uneasiness' associated with the Low languages; (c) the progression of the High language vis-à-vis the regression (or at least stagnation) of the Low languages; and (d) the value-judgments (including discourses) about the superiority (or usefulness) of the former vis-à-vis the avowed inferiority of the latter. It must be noted that these differences have their roots in actual practices or uses which are determined, in turn, by the conditions made available by the social structure. In addition, the perception of the diglossic situation leads, in a sort of twisted abduction, to the formation of discourses and ideologies which freely circulating within the field both 'explain' and consolidate the diglossic situation.

Although I do not intend to trace statistically the history of the linguistic demography of Bolivia, I would like to include some figures from the 1900 census, given by Walle (1914), to show how drastically the sociolinguistic composition of the country has changed. According to this information, the population of Bolivia, some 1.8 million, included, in Walle's terminology, "whites" (13 %), "natives" (47 %), "jungle peoples" (5 %), "half-breeds" (28 %), "unspecified individuals" (7 %), and "Negroes" (0.2 %).³⁰ These percentages and their relative weight can be better appreciated in the following chart.

³⁰ According to Klein, 52 percent of the population was indigenous in 1846; and 51 percent by 1900 (Klein 1992:53). Salmón (1997:60) presents slightly different percentages of the 'races' of the Republic: "Indígena 50.91; Mestiza 26.75; Blanca 12.72; Negra 0.21; No Específica 9.41."



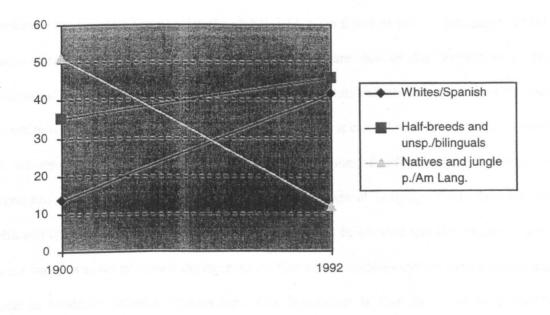




Assuming that Whites spoke Spanish, that halfbreeds and those unspecified spoke both Spanish and an American language (e.g. they are bilingual), and the

Natives and jungle people their own languages, I plotted these figures into a chart, together with the corresponding 1992 percentages, given in Figure 6: Number of speakers in 1992 on p. 48, to show how the linguistic composition of the country has been reshaped during this century.





³¹ This chart has been plotted using the absolute numbers provided by the 1900 Census and reproduced by Walle (1914:129-30): Whites 231,088 = 13.39%; Natives 792,850 = 45.95 %; jungle people 91000 = 5.27; Half-breeds 485,293 = 28.13; unspecified 121,126 = 7.02; Negroes 3,945 = 0.23%. Notice that in the chart the percentages have been rounded.

Although this chart might be questioned mainly with respect to the precision of the exact numbers in each category, and also with respect to the unorthodox assumptions I made, such as lumping together some of the groups (for instance natives and jungle people), and assuming that they are predominantly monolingual in American languages, I would argue that the pattern depicted in the chart is nonetheless a valid one. There is other evidence that delineates similar patterns. For instance, a comparison of the sociolinguistic situation of Peru (in 1940, 1961, 1972, and 1981), demonstrated the same patterns: increase of Spanish monolingualism, and decrease of American languages monolingualism, while the percentages of bilinguals remained around 16 % (Ana María Escobar 1990:13; Von Gleich and Wölck 1994). In our case, it is interesting to observe that while the percentages of native languages have plummeted from, more or less, 50 % to 11 %, those of Spanish have escalated, from around 13 % to 41 %; in the meanwhile bilingualism appears to be much more stable.

In summary, these processes, of Castilianization with de-Vernacularization, constitute the essence of what I call linguistic hegemonization. Godenzzi uses the term glottocentrism, to emphasize the idea that there are (in the global field) central and peripheric languages (1991). These trends of linguistic shift, according to Albó, are due to the 'expansion of the educational system (schooling), migrations and other factors, which were set in motion after the national revolution of 1952'. (Albó 1995a: 23). Albó is careful to ward off criticism with the reference to 'other factors', for although expansion of schooling and increase of migrations certainly play an important role in the trends of language shift, they are not sufficient to explain the phenomenon. In addition, it must be stressed that the process is not a recent one, it was set in motion the moment the first conquistadores and the native Americans came to establish colonial relationships. Our hypothesis is that the trend of linguistic hegemonization will continue, although it is not certain whether it will terminate in total Spanish monolingualism, because even in apparently monolingual nation-states and modern cities beneath the public monolingualism in a major language there exist an amazing diversity of languages (The Ethnologue, for instance, lists some one hundred languages for

'monolingual' USA (Grimes 1996)). I must also stress at this point that the model of the linguistic field implies a tension, that is a certain resistance to hegemonization. As stated in Chapter One, language dynamics is closely related to the structural conditions of the context. Thus, a number of developments, such as the increased use of the American languages in the media, mainly radio and a little on television (Albó 1973; Albó & D'Emilio 1990), the changes in the constitution, the Education Reform that introduces bilingual education into the system (ETARE 1993), the role of the so called populist political parties (Luykx 1993, Yraola 1995:54-5, Archondo 1991), the apparent signs of cultural revitalization by means of the profusion of "entradas folklóricas", the increased consciousness of the peasantry, and so on, seem to indicate that in spite of the tremendous structural forces unleashed 500 years ago, there is hope for the American languages.

4. Policies.

In the preceding section we have dwelt upon the situation of language diversity in Bolivia today, and have attempted to point out that the main trend is one of linguistic hegemonization, although the process does not seem to have a foreseeable termination. Now we shall focus upon other dimensions of the context: the relationship of peoples in conflict; language; and education policies.

1. The main context: the encounter and establishment of duality

The history of conquest, colonization, and the establishment of modern nation-states has been exhaustively described and researched elsewhere, from the accounts of colonial chroniclers to present day academicians. As Koning says "we know 'everything'" thanks to the scrupulous records that administrator and chroniclers made during the colonial enterprise (Koning 1993:22-24). It is not my purpose here to review the wealth of information available on this topic. I only want to stress two points: (a) that this history, in essence, entails the relationships and conflicts between Europeans and Native Americans; and (b) that the ensuing social structures, established in colonial times and in the modern South American republics, always had a 'dual' character, in the sense that the social structure contained two predominant poles: Western and Native Americans.

According to Koning (1993) colonization can be characterized as a process where white people set about constructing a new system with whites above and "Indians" below. This basic division has determined the notion of a 'dually' organized society, embraced with nuances by a number of authors (for instance, Salamanca 1979; Cerrón 1980; Escobar et al. 1975:23; Luna 1971; Osborne 1965; Paulston 1969:2). Often the dual segmentation is accompanied by value judgments that parallel the topological metaphor (above is good, below is bad). For instance, a Bolivian teacher stated that:

En cada país (de América Latina), existen dos mundos diferentes: el mundo de la cultura civilizada y compleja y, el de la cultura tradicional y simple que vive al margen de la civilización. (Luna 1971:17)

I quote Luna, because his way of thinking is shared by many lay people in Bolivia; and because I am claiming that ideas such as these, in spite of the ideological nature of the contrast between the 'civilized' vis-à-vis the 'traditional', are nonetheless very real for the speakers, and constitute instruments of identification and constitution of social reality. Following Fairclough (1996[1992]), these are ideologically invested discourses, or ways of thinking.

For some authors (Cerrón 1980:4-7; Albó 1974:224) the new organization might be metaphorically conceived of as a pyramid, whose peak is occupied by the white dominant sectors, and the base by the "indigenous" peoples. However, the basic relationship (i.e. whites above, "indigenous" below) remains.

The advantage of a dual segmentation is its focus on the maximally different; the disadvantage is that all intermediate states are ignored. In this dual framework there are whites and "Indians". However, contact between Europeans and Native Americans brought about the formation of all sorts of mixed categories in race, language, culture, social

organization, religion and so on. In terms of race, for example, miscegenation has determined the emergence, as it were, of new races: for example, *mestizos, mulatos, zambos, pardos* according to the distinctions drawn by Siso (1968) in relation to the Venezuelan case.³² These half-breeds, in Walle's terminology, constituted a sizable 28 % of Bolivia at the turn of the century (1914:57). In addition, these new peoples started to develop their own roles in society, and their own cultural and linguistic traits that set them apart from Whites and "Indians". In other words race intersects with social organization. In this vein, Klein (1992:x) suggests that race in Bolivia is defined today more in social terms than in racial ones.

All this has prompted some authors to claim that the traditional view of the 'dual' nationstate is no longer valid. I have in mind, for instance, what Luykx (1993) considers to be Archondo's deconstruction of the dual hypothesis in the light of the development of the culture of Aymara migrants in La Paz. Thus:

La vieja dicotomía que asociaba metonímicamente campo con cultura andina e identidad pura y ciudad con contaminación y occidentalización, comienza a perder validez histórica a medida que se estrechan los lazos y las complicidades entre ambos ámbitos geográficos y sociales. (Archondo 1991:70)

I would like to make two points with respect to Archondo's deconstruction. Firstly, that the dual system hypothesis does not imply a separation or compartmentalization of whites and "Indians"; but rather that their relations are polarized and in conflict. Secondly, it would seem that the new historic pattern by means of the creation of a sector in between (e.g. *cholos* and *mestizos*) is leading towards a conciliation of cultures and identities. In other words conflict is progressively being taken out of the equation. There is no doubt that vast sectors of the Bolivian population might be classified as *cholos*, that in the context of the polarization of differences have been usually forgotten as historical agents (Bouysse-Cassagne, and Saignes

³² According to Siso (1968:190-191) the pardos, that constituted the majority of the Venezuelan population at the end of the 18th century, resulted from the miscegenation of Indians, Negroes and Whites; the mestizos were descendants from Whites and Indians, the mulatos from Whites and Blacks, and the zambos from Indians and Negroes.

1992), but who maintain great vitality albeit boasting a number of syncretic traits. At the linguistic level, for instance, it might be argued that some people speak mixed varieties such as those mentioned above. Moreover, there is no doubt that these intermediate sectors, languages and cultures have always existed in between the polar referents of whites and "Indians" (Rivera 1992:23). But I would argue that the trend, due to the types of relationships established between "Indians" and "whites," between "Indians" and "cholos," between "whites" and "cholos," is still one of hegemonization, from the vernacular to the modern. Likewise in the linguistic dimension, although there are varieties in between, the hegemonic referent continues to be international Spanish. In any case, the extolment of mestization is not new. For example, twenty years ago, a newspaper editorial stated:

Bolivia es un país multilingüe y pluricultural, ésto es, un país donde hay heterogeneidad de los patrones de pensamiento, de manifestaciones artísticas y de costumbres, siendo clara la existencia de dos mundos que, estando lado a lado, se compenetran entre sí: el mundo occidental citadino y el mundo indígena rural. Del choque e interfluencia de ambos ha surgido históricamente y surge al presente una cultura mestiza de gran valor y originalidad (U.H. 13/08/77).

The implication seems to be that this mestizo culture is better than the addition of the parts (some kind of composite material). It must be added that this extolment of mestization is not gratuitous: it has the purpose of diffusing the tensions generated by the "Indian" question. From my experience, this is common in meetings and private conversations. A more radical version of this strategy is to declare that we are all mestizos or even "Indians", and should be proud of that. While ideological compensation (the noble "Indian") looks into the past, this new strategy (mestization) looks into the future. In both cases the potential conflict is brushed aside. However, in spite of mestization the main tension continues to be dual. In Klein's words:

But this description of Bolivia as a dual society does not mean to imply that Bolivia is simply a laboratory of peasants developing a new cultural idiom in a difficult environment. For Bolivia is, and has been since the sixteenthcentury Spanish conquest, a capitalist Western class-organized society in which the Indians have been and remain an exploited class of workers. The government, which has extracted the surplus from the peasants and workers, has traditionally been a government run for and by the "white" Spanishspeaking and Western-oriented elite. While, phenotypically, the Bolivian "whites" look much like their Indian ancestors, their economic, social, and cultural position has placed them squarely in the classic mold of a western European society. Educated by Europeans to European norms, and even practicing a religion distinct from the folk Catholicism of the peasants, the "whites" have ruled the peasantry and exploited them with the belief that they formed a distinct race. But the elite, which was initially made up of European conquerors, has slowly miscegenated, as in all such multi-racial societies, and over the centuries there has emerged a new biological grouping of mixed background. (Klein 1992:x).

I would like to emphasize two points with respect to Klein's assertions. First, that race is no guarantee for the preservation of culture or language. Second, that in spite of the emergence of "a new biological grouping of mixed background" the polar extremes keep ticking over, and asymmetric relationships continue to be the norm. As Kelley (1988) has made clear, thanks to the 1952 revolution in Bolivia ethnic inequality has been transformed into class inequality.

2. The main policy: hegemonization

In this context of power relations between Europeans and "Indians", the linguistic policy of Spain in the colonies always privileged the use of Spanish in public life and sought to castilianize the "Indians" (Albó 1973:4; Mannheim 1991:61; Sandoval, and Gutiérrez 1979:29-30). A number of researchers have pointed to Nebrija's dictum that 'language has always been a consort of Empire' as supplying an important basis for the colonial enterprise (Illich 1981, 1991:171-188; Mannheim 1991:63-4; Yraola 1995:67). Thus Spanish became the language of the Empire. For this purpose decrees and other dispositions were promulgated from time to time, such as the 10 of March, 1770, "Cédula" that explicitly urges the exclusive use of Spanish (Godenzzi 1991). However, in spite of this policy of Castilianization, the exigencies of communication, extraction of labor, and indoctrination provided some spaces for the progression of the "indigenous" languages, principally Quechua, Aymara and Puquina. For example the dispositions of the Council of Trent (1545, 1563) and of Lima (1551-1552, 1567-1568) that allowed the use of the 'vulgar' languages for

the purposes of Christianization (Mannheim 1984; Yraola 1995:67); even to the point of generating 'a generalized enthusiasm to learn Quechua during the XVI century', as noted by Porras Barrenechea (1952:vii). Changing moods hardened the push for Castilianization, such as Philip III's decree (1634) that urged the teaching of Spanish to the "Indian" population albeit in a restricted fashion³³. As years went by, the perception was that the persistence of the native populations to use their own languages, even if considered subjects of the Crown, constituted a threat (Mannheim, 1991:75, 255). For this reason the Bourbon administration pursued a more militant policy, perhaps not so much of castilianizing the "Indians" (for, as far as I know, there are no manuals for the teaching of Spanish produced in this period), but of prohibiting the languages (such as the dissolution by Arreche of the Chair of Quechua at the University of San Marcos in Lima, and the prohibition of publications in Quechua (Yraola 1995:70)).

The policy of Castilianization but the use of Quechua, for instance for religious purposes, has prompted some authors to claim 'vacillations' in the main policy (e.g. Mannheim 1991). In any case, it would seem that the three stages of colonialism and corresponding language dynamics proposed by Calvet also apply to the Hispanic colonial enterprise in the Americas. These three stages are: (a) the nascent colonialism where those close to the ruling powers become bilingual while the masses remain monolingual; (b) the triumphant colonialism where the ruling classes are monolingual (in the dominant language), the cities become bilingual, while the countryside continues to be monolingual (in their dominated language); and, finally, (c) glottophagy, where the language of the colonizers replaces the language of the colonized (Calvet 1981:58-80). Thus, in the Andean region it also happened that local Creole elites, such as the hacendados for instance, appropriated the language of the colonized (for instance, Quechua, or Aymara), made it their own, passed it on to their offspring, and

³³ Yraola clarifies that the apparent policy of hispanization is defeated by a limitation imposed by a later decree that states that "schooling in Spanish" was obligatory "up to the age of ten" but then "forbidden beyond this age." (1995:69)

developed a new variety of Quechua (for instance, in the towns of North of Potosí, such as San Pedro de Buena Vista, Sacaca, Acacio, and so on), or Aymara (patron Aymara, according to Briggs 1993:367-385). At the literary level it meant the production of the famed Ollantay in Quechua (Von Gleich 1989:22; Yraola 1995:70; Jesús Lara 1969). But the main trend, as indicated for instance by statistics (Cf. Chapter 2.3. Language progression) has always been the linguistic hegemonization of the population in Spanish. In what is Paraguay today, the dominant classes appropriated Guaraní and became bilingual; but even in this case, often hailed as exceptional, diglossia permeates the situation (Rubin 1978). Returning to the question of vacillations, I believe that rather than free expressions (or doubts) of the will. they are interested adaptations to the prevailing social processes. In this connection, Zavaleta (1967) is keen to notice that even Christianization adapted to economic interests, being taken for instance to Potosí. But religious purposes and utilitarian bilingualism are temporary; in the final analysis it is the consolidation of power that imposes the glottocentric trend. As Cerrón notes, the use of Quechua in convents, universities, or parliament did not seek the 'preservation of native values', rather to 'consolidate the control and exploitation of the oppressed masses' (Cerrón, 1980:6). In other words, the study of the language of the dominated has the paradoxical object of destroying it; likewise the collection of local cosmovisions has the final object of the extirpation of idolatries, as illustrated by the Huarochirí texts (Taylor 1987). Political events, of course, also played a crucial role. "Indian" rebellions triggered the hardening of conservative solutions, in this case the need for hispanization and Castilianization. Thus, according to Cerrón, after the defeated rebellion of Tupaq Amaru the policies of linguistic hegemonization were hardened. Thereafter,

No solamente se prohibieron la circulación de los <u>Comentarios</u>, la celebración de las fiestas y el uso de las vestimentas nativas, sino que también el quechua deviene lengua proscrita y, como contrapartida, se aplica una política de castellanización más violenta. (Cerrón, 1980:7).

The formation of the modern nation-states, the 'republics' in South American terminology, did not change this basic trend. At the linguistic level, in fact, as Von Gleich (1989:25) points

out, this meant a further legalization of Spanish (or Portuguese, in Brazil) as the official language of the young republics.

Independence

The wars of Independence were the wars of Criollos who sought to disengage themselves from the Crown, to better enjoy their privileges (Cerrón 1989:22; Klein 1992; Koning 1993; Zavaleta 1967). As Albó says:

La independencia no cambió las cosas sino que, sobre todo en el siglo pasado, en que predominó el latifundismo, incluso agudizó la paradoja. Se redobló el fervor 'modernizador' (castellanizador) del indio en la prensa o en el parlamento, mientras que al mismo tiempo la rapiña neo-latifundista transformaba comunidades originarias en haciendas, reforzando la estructura dual y, por tanto, imposibilitando el que estos fervores pudieran resultar eficaces" (1973:5).

Thus, independence did not signify an improvement of the relations between "Indians" and ruling Whites, Creoles and/or their descendants (Barrera 1985:55; Cerrón 1989:22), rather the consolidation of a 'dual structure'.

Language and cultural policies in public discourse

Elsewhere (Plaza 1994) I distinguished three moments (or periods) in the development of discourses about linguistic policies in Bolivia since the turn of the century. These three moments were: outright discrimination, going roughly from the turn of the century to the 1950s; incorporation by assimilation, from the 50s to the 80s; and recognition of culture and language, starting at the 80s. Such a division, however, gives the impression of neat cuts between periods, each period filled with particular ideas; of one moment being replaced by another moment. The fact that ideas, purportedly belonging to another moment crept into the "wrong" moment, made me add a note of caution: that although these moments could be characterized by their more frequent discourses, both moments and discourses crisscrossed each other. Taking into account the conflict element of discourse (for instance "the problematization of conventions" Fairclough 1996:96) it is now clear that it was not simply a

matter of ideas creeping into the wrong period but rather of a confrontation of ideas. A discourse cannot develop in a context where counter discourses are absent.

In addition to the rectification made in the preceding paragraph, two more notes must be made with respect to these discourses, namely that they are the voice of those who enjoyed the privilege of having their voices printed; and that they referred not only to languages but also to their speakers.

Rejection of subordinated languages

At the turn of the century and in spite of independence the idea of the "Madre Patria" continued to be a prominent feature of the dominant discourse. Eduardo Diez de Medina in an inaugural act to commemorate La Fiesta de la Raza in 1919 says:

España no está distante ni ausente del alma americana. Ni podrá estarlo, mientras su lengua inmortal, divino eslavón del pensamiento, sea el idioma en que siente y piensa el mundo que lo conserva como herencia del espíritu ... ¡Gloria a España que descubrió naciones, sojuzgó pueblos y conquistó, para siempre, el alma de América invencible! (Diez de Medina 1919:207)

This is history seen through the eyes of the winner. Notice also that the same phenomenon observed by Godenzzi (1991) in Perú --that 'to speak' meant to speak Spanish, that "Día de la Raza" meant "raza española", and "Academia de la Lengua", meant "lengua española"-- is also present in this case: "La Fiesta de la Raza" means "de la raza española". This is a case of hispanocentricism at the core, the other present day cultures simply do not appear. There is also an implication of the inevitability of history: Spain's conquest of America was for ever, and there is no possibility whatsoever of turning the clock back³⁴.

³⁴ In a British TV discussion (1998) on the issue of banana trade which would jeopardize small Caribbean island economies, a representative of the US justified his position remarking that we cannot turn the clock back; thus, for example, factories that have become redundant must go. In academic circles in Bolivia, the denunciations against the colonial enterprise are often disqualified using the same argument: 'no se puede retroceder la historia'.

While Diez de Medina identifies with Spain, Tamayo, a celebrated literary figure, in a series of newspaper articles published in 1910, advocated for a 'national pedagogy', but also for an idealized compensation. Thus:

Hay que aceptar: el indio es el depositario del noventa por ciento de la energía nacional; ya se trate de derrocar a Melgarejo o a Alonso, en todas las grandes actitudes nacionales, en todos los momentos en que la república entra en crisis y siente su estabilidad amenazada, el indio se hace factor de primer orden y decide de todo ... (Tamayo [1910] 1986:72)

There is no doubt that the "Indian" has contributed as work force ("depositario del noventa por ciento de la energía nacional") and as a soldier or rebel both during the independence wars and in internal struggles, as Tamayo asserts above. But his claim that 'the Indian becomes a first order factor and decides everything', taking into consideration the asymmetric organization of Bolivian society, and the fact that the "Indian" never assumed the role of a ruling class (Koning 1993), seems to be but an idealizing compensation. Through this mechanism, as Ninyoles (1972) points out, conflict is effectively diffused. From a different angle, however, Choque interprets Tamayo's assertions that the "Indian" is "el verdadero depositario de la energía nacional" as a recognition of his contribution to the State (mainstream society) by means of tributes, labor, and services (Choque 1994:11).

Tamayo was a controversial figure: he was an advocate for autochthonism, but at the same time he was a hacienda owner (Zavaleta 1967:27; Salmón 1997:77). He defended the "Indian" but at the same time he let slip his ethnocentrism; for example, when he proposed that the "Indian" should be allowed the benefits of the written word: "el ideal sería letrar al indio, aproximarlo a las clases superiores, por medio de esta letradura, y hacer que a la vez conserve sus grandes cualidades morales y características" (Tamayo [1910] 1986:150). In contradiction with his former statement that the 'Indian decides everything', here it is the dominant society by virtue of its right and obligation that must assume the alphabetization of the "Indian". Nonetheless, this endowment of the "Indian" with the letter only serves the purpose of 'approximating him to the superior classes', not of making him part of the

mainstream. Further, this approximation must be accompanied by the conservation of 'their great moral qualities and characteristics'. In contrast to the 'superior classes', the inferiority of the "Indians" is made manifest by some allegedly negative features. For example, this is what Tamayo comments with respect to the intelligence of the "Indian":

La inteligencia no es la facultad eminente y dominadora del indio. En vano se buscará en la raza los matices típicos de una inteligencia superior, como se la encuentra en otras estirpes. Ni el ingenio y sutileza helénica, ni la claridad y brillantez gálicas, ni la fecundidad y facundia italianas, ni la profundidad española, ni la solidez británica, nada de ello existe de manera sobresaliente y típica en el pensamiento indio. (Tamayo [1910] 1986:125)

Probablemente el indio es una inteligencia secularmente dormida. En medio de las magnificas condiciones morales que han caracterizado siempre la historia del indio, se encuentra siempre una deficiencia de organización mental y la falta de un superior alcance intelectivo. La verdad es que el indio ha **querido** siempre y ha **pensado** poco. Históricamente el indio es una gran voluntad y una pequeña inteligencia. (ibid.:153; emphasis in the original)

Tamayo's ideas about the 'intelligence' of the "Indians", in Salmon's words 'betray his .. ideology of the different, of building a policy based on the national, and [he] himself stumbles in what he criticizes, to see the indigenous with European lenses'. (Salmón 1997:82). These thoughts about the "Indian" are not uncommon; what is striking here is that they come from Tamayo, "la figura más importante de la cultura boliviana en el siglo XX", in Baptista's words (1989:23), and a widely recognized 'indigenist'. In any case, Tamayo has the merit of having confronted the prevalent values of his epoch and proposed alternatives to the "Indian" question'. For Valdez:

Tamayo inicia una época en la historia del pensamiento social en Bolivia, sobre la "cuestión del indio". La anterior a él: negativa, subestimadora, arbitraria, anticientífica. La que con su influjo comienza: afirmativa, reivindicatoria, justiciera humanista. (Valdez 1985:45)

However, according to Salmón (1997:19), although Tamayo 'creates a positive interpretation of the Indian, in contrast to *Pueblo Enfermo* (Arguedas [1909] 1979)', his main orientation continues to subscribe to the ideology of the dominant classes of his epoch. Arguedas's *Pueblo Enfermo* is an essay that depicts the "Indian" as the source of many problems of the country. (For a comparison of Tamayo and Arguedas, Cf. Salmón 1997). According to this essay "el hombre boliviano es un personaje alcohólico, venal, ocioso y cobarde, con algunos ingredientes más, todos sombríos." (Zavaleta 1967:26).

In any case, it seems that Tamayo's efforts —especially with respect to his pleas for a national pedagogy— did not seem to have led to more progressist education policies for the so called "Indians". In fact, for Zavaleta (1967:27), Tamayo's 'indianist proposal was undoubtedly demagogic .. and [premeditatedly] false'.

Languages and education

Languages and "Indians" reappear when education becomes the focus. Usually the issue is to teach only in Spanish or to include also their languages. Thus, a 1917 official document states that:

Las antiguas lenguas indígenas que presentan un gran interés desde el punto de vista de la lingüística comparada, y de los estudios antropológicos, no tienen, como elemento actual de cultura para las razas que las hablan, sino un valor muy reducido. Estas lenguas no poseen literatura, y el hecho de enseñar a leer en ellas constituye una pérdida de tiempo, pues la lectura no tiene utilidad superior que la de ser un instrumento de trabajo que sirve para adquirir conocimientos por medio del libro y del periódico. El primer trabajo debe ser pues el de castellanizar al joven indígena y ese trabajo debe hacerse al mismo tiempo que, por procedimientos modernos, se despiertan sus facultades intelectuales. Esta acción debe ser realizada en la escuela primaria rural, para la que se han formulado programas especiales, siguiendo el fin perseguido e indicando los procedimientos metodológicos que deben emplearse para llegar a tal objetivo. (Bolivia 1917:187)

There are many interesting ideas here. First, of course, is the idea that these languages are "indigenous"; and then that they belong to the past, that they are 'ancient' languages. The implication, I surmise, is that they cannot compare with the modern languages. Thus, these "indigenous" languages are of 'reduced' value for their speakers, but of great value for linguists and anthropologists. Another common justification to brush aside these "indigenous" languages is their lack of literature,³⁵ without taking into consideration the fact

³⁵ Other common reasons to disqualify the vernacular languages are that they are 'dialects without grammar,' 'hybrid and deteriorated languages,' 'without writing,' 'lacking technical vocabulary,' and even that 'the same speakers [of these languages] prefer Spanish'. (Plaza 1988:80-87)

that the American languages in general have been denied the benefits of the written word.³⁶ Once the conclusion is reached, that these languages have no literature, the solution is not to rectify past policies and practices in order to foster the progression of the discriminated languages, but to propose a language shift towards the central language, that is Castilianization: "El primer trabajo debe ser pues el de castellanizar al joven indígena.." as the document above states. Simultaneously their intellectual faculties must be awakened, by modern procedures. This would seem to imply that left on their own, the "jóven indígena" would not be able to wake up, and given the difficult nature of the process of intellectual awakening, modern procedures must be used. This is the prevalent and more or less aggressive position of this period (first decades of the century): to impose Spanish and to eradicate the American languages. Thus for Guillén, Spanish is the language of civilization to which everybody should submit, while Quechua and Aymara must disappear (Guillén 1919:139-144). For Ezequiel Osorio Castilianization is the 'only effective and real means to incorporate the activities of the "Indian" to the national life' (quoted in Guillén, 1919:139-144). Incidentally, the idea of incorporation (or civilization of the "Indian" in more general terms) is not restricted to the linguistic dimension (e.g. Castilianization), it contemplated cultural traits and even fashions. For instance, José Arias wrote a book with the purpose of obtaining the redemption of the "Indian" by means of a change of clothing; thus, 'if the Indian wore trousers, he would also need to read, write and speak Spanish, so that the mestizos do not make fun of him'. (Arias, 1924:34).

A decade later, the received view remains unchanged. Thus, A. Gehain, a Belgian appointed as Director General de Instrucción at the time, prefacing Retamoso (1927) agrees with the latter with respect to his proposal of Castilianization:

³⁶ In addition, the claim that the 'indigenous' languages have no literature has to do with the identification of literature with the printed word. Thus it ignores the fact that there are other forms of literary production, for instance in songs, rituals, tales, and so on. It also ignores works such as *Ollantay*, *La muerte de Atahuallpa*, the Huarochirí texts, catechisms and so on which can be rightly considered as Quechua Literature (for more on this theme, cf. Lara 1969).

De absoluto acuerdo con este interesante capitulo, la Dirección General es de parecer que la enseñanza del idioma patrio del castellano. ES EL UNICO VEHICULO DE INTERPENETRACION DE TODOS LOS ELEMENTOS RACIALES que componen nuestra nacionalidad (sic). Precisamente, una de las causas que hacen ineficaz la acción docente y la socializadora ES LA FALTA DE UNIDAD DEL IDIOMA. Hay una circunstancia favorable que debería ser bien aprovechada en este respecto: la carencia de una literatura autóctona escrita. Se sabe que la falta de escritura ocasiona la disgregación de una lengua madre en infinidad de dialectos, que, a la postre, ofrecen tal diversidad de términos que los hace aparecer como totalmente diferentes ante los ojos de los profanos en filología. Tal cosa ha ocurrido con las lenguas que se hablan por la indiada en el territorio de Bolivia, el cual por su extensión misma y su accidentado terreno ha permitido la dispersión de sus moradores y la formación consiguiente de poblaciones aisladas casi absolutamente. El remedio no puede ser otro que el indicado por el autor; castellanizar al indio por todas las vías posibles. A. Gehain, Director General de Instrucción. (Gehain in Retamoso 1927: iv) [emphasis in the original]

Gehain makes a number of assumptions that are, in my view, part of the way of thinking of the dominant pole: for instance, that the language of the nation-state, or *Patria*, is Spanish; likewise 'our nationality' implies the dominant nation; and that the construction of social unity implies the selection of the language and culture of the dominant nation.

Gehain is using the term interpenetration not as a process of mutual influence (as used in the section of 2. Language boundaries, mixing, intermediate stages above, p. 52) but as a synonym of unification; not as a dialectic process which will produce a hybrid synthesis, but as an assimilation to the 'national' language and culture. On the other hand, he links illiteracy with linguistic fragmentation. Now, whilst this relationship might be arguable, his next jump, that the solution both to illiteracy and linguistic fragmentation cannot be other than Castilianization is at least a forced reasoning. But he is also aware of the effects of the absence of literacy which, together with other factors such as denial of formal education and geographic separation provide a fertile ground for linguistic fragmentation, especially notable in the case of Quechua. The remedy again is worse than the disease: instead of addressing the problems of linguistic fragmentation, the solution cannot be other than 'to castilianize the *Indiada* by all means possible'. By its morphology, this word 'Indiada' adds the nuance of a horde of wild "Indians" (from Indian + participle + feminine, as in 'manada'). For Retamoso, likewise, civilization must be disseminated in Spanish, otherwise 'our' civilization would

have to submit to Quechua or Aymara, making 'our purposes .. more difficult'. (Retamoso 1927:44). Thus, as another document makes clear:

No sostenemos que la enseñanza ha de hacerse en el lenguaje nativo, porque tal procedimiento sería para aislar definitivamente a los elementos que hablan el aymara o quechua de los que emplean el castellano, sino atemperar, dar facilidades para la posesión de éste. (Bolivia 1928:9)

Another reason is mentioned here, that the use of the people's own language will signify their isolation. The irremediable conclusion one must draw from this reasoning is that the modern way of life is the only ideal to be pursued.

During the 30s, in the context of persistent glottocentrism, the projects of Castilianization and cultural incorporation (projects which always imply processes of language loss and cultural loss) become more and more clear, and part of educational objectives. Thus, a June 28, 1930 "*Decreto Supremo*" dealing with the 'classification of the indigenous elementary schools' contains, according to Delgado (1931) "todo un vasto plan de política incorporadora del indio, mediante las organizaciones de la instrucción pública." The activities to be performed to achieve 'incorporation' include "la alfabetización de los niños y adultos indígenas, la enseñanza del idioma oficial, el mejoramiento de la cultura cívica." Incorporation is not only a discourse, but a duty. Thus according to a document of the Dirección General de Educación Rural published in 1965: "De los ensayos fructíferos de este primer lustro [1930-35] el Estado reconoce su deber de incorporar a las clases nativas a la vida del país, y por Decreto de 13 de agosto de 1935, legaliza el funcionamiento de 16 núcleos." (DGER:1965).

Although the main drive is the Castilianization of the population, there are counter arguments. For example:

Tendríamos que favorecer la enseñanza del quechua y del aymara en Bolivia, que deben practicar las autoridades, especialmente los maestros de escuelas y profesores de colegios, en las vastas extensiones de territorio poblado por indígenas que no poseen otro idioma, ciudando su pureza, caso difícil porque el aymara y el quechua se han unido íntimamente en sus vocablos y expresiones; la lengua nativa se ha castellanizado, esta alcanza a proporciones en capitales de departamento y de provincias.

Se ganaría mucho enseñandole al indio en su propia lengua, las percepciones

serían completas, el esfuerzo intelectual del niño indio se aminoraría mucho, pero esta ventaja queda anulada, si se tiene en cuenta que la tendencia utilitaria en el mundo impone que la enseñanza este de acuerdo con lo que sea más provechoso al individuo y a la colectividad; la enseñanza del quechua y del aymara tendería a la conservación de idiomas que hoy se presentan como exóticos, estos han tenido y tiempo y su apogeo, si actualmente se estudian es con carácter ilustrativo. (Retamoso 1930:39-41)

One cannot but notice the irony³⁷ in Retamoso's account: it would be convenient to foster the teaching of languages such as Quechua and Aymara to resolve educational problems; but this would not be convenient for the individual and the community in the face of the 'utilitarian' world. The situation for some is not only ironic but also aggressive. Donoso Torres (1940:11) mentions "la imposibilidad de hacer patria con ese peso muerto y formidable, si no se remedia su situación de inferioridad y de abandono." Likewise education for the "indigenous" must take into account the fact that the "Indian" "es un retardado mental y tiene la dificultad del idioma" (p. 18). In brief, throughout this period, more or less the first four decades of the century, the prevailing mood is the consolidation of Spanish, and the dismissal of the 'native' languages. But there is no doubt that these defenses (of Spanish) and attacks (upon the other languages) is a response to the emergence of counter discourses, such as the one quoted above, or mixtures of idealization of 'our ancestral past' and introspection, such as the following one:

Lo que ocurre es que lejos de conservar nosotros la geografía lingüística de las regiones integrantes del famoso imperio de Tahuantinsuyo, siquiera como recuerdo histórico, hemos desamparado totalmente el uso del quechua: los aborígenes, librando su posibilidad de subsistir a los caprichos de su propia suerte, creyendo que era un signo innegable del estado de nuestra pasada civilización. (Valencia 1945:83)

In spite of this self exculpation, Valencia cannot escape from the prevalent episteme: that national society can only function in Spanish. (Valencia 1945:75)

³⁷ I am using the word 'irony' to indicate a discourse that says and does not say what it is saying. (Cf. Hallyn 1990)

The 50s, a change of strategy

After the revolutionary changes of 1952, that effectively introduced a number of social changes in Bolivia, such as the nationalization of mines, the Agrarian Reform, and Universal Suffrage, the overt discourse of eradication of the native languages changes to that of 'transitional' acceptance. In other words, the "indigenous" languages can and should be used, but as stepping stones to Castilianization.³⁸ The basic premise was the incorporation of the peasants into national life. In other words, the process of transforming the "Indians" into citizens (Cf. Albó 1991; Abercrombie 1991; Choque et al 1992); a policy which according to Zavaleta followed the French revolution that transformed the serfs into citizens (Zavaleta 1967:84).

Suárez Arnez, a lawyer and a teacher, provides an example, of this quest for integration:

¿Qué queremos hacer del indio? Mantenerlo como indio en los campos, con su idioma, sus costumbres y su tradición o, incorporarlo a nuestra civilización? ¿Deseamos sumarnos a ellos dividiéndolos en tres zonas de acuerdo a su lengua, o quisieramos elevarlos hacia nosotros valorizando sus virtualidades propias de raza y tradición? (Suárez 1953:48)

It is not clear if the 'elevation' of the "indio" to our heights will automatically confer on their 'virtualities of race and tradition' a greater value because these 'virtualities' will be maintained at this new higher level, or because "we" will appropriate them. In any event, the topological metaphor of ascension as a mark of social mobility is clear enough. On the other hand, the questions Suárez Arnez asks, he does not need to answer; he leaves this task to the reader. He can do this with the confidence that the answers will all go in the spirit of the prevalent episteme. The required answers don't need to be provided, for they will be appropriately furnished by the reader due to the built in implications in the discourse; an effect similar to the one denounced by Godenzzi (1995) (i.e. "Academia de la Lengua",

³⁸ Cf. for instance article 115 of the Code of Education, quoted on p. 100.

implying "Española"). With respect to the tension between Spanish and the subordinated languages, Suárez asks another question:

¿Al educarlo en su propia lengua queremos restablecer las culturas aimaraquechua-guaraní y colocar estos dialectos en el plano de las lenguas vivas como si estuvieran en desarrollo y avance? (Suárez 1953:48)

There is no doubt that Suárez is reacting to the pro-"Indian" euphoria that followed the 1952 revolution, and here he argues that education in Aymara, Quechua, Guaraní is not possible because they are 'dialects' in stagnation. In the context of this discourse, the ideological use of the distinction between dialect and language is made pretty clear: language is superior (Spanish), dialect is inferior (the American languages). Behind Suárez's arguments there is a pervading and deeply entrenched assumption: that Bolivian society can only function in Spanish. This assumption in turn produces what I call a converse unthinkable: that Bolivia might one day function in Quechua, Aymara and so on.³⁹ In short, from the middle of the century to the present time, the ideas of incorporation of the "indigenous" peoples to the mainstream, and the transitional use of their languages for educational purposes have been current. In Chapter 3.2, Critique of traditional education, the question of the 'transitional' function of the vernacular languages is further commented on.

Thus in spite of the revolutionary changes of 1952, linguistic hegemonism continued to be the prevalent thought pattern. In this line, Sanginez is keen to point out that:

En los tiempos post-revolucionarios, no ha cambiado apreciablemente entre los políticos, educadores e intelectuales, el criterio que debe castellanizarse al campesino, teniendo como meta ideal la homogenización de la sociedad boliviana, mediante la implantación en todo el país de la lengua castellana y la desaparición gradual de los idiomas aborígenes. (1968:203)

Notice that the 'homogeneization' of the Bolivian society is to be achieved through the generalization of Spanish and conversely the disappearance of the 'aboriginal' languages. In spite of the force of this glottocentric discourse, however, there appears to be an increase in

³⁹ An unthinkable is a thought that usually does not cross the mind, or if it does it is immediately brushed aside.

the prestige of the Andean languages. This recent phenomenon, according to Albó, is due to the 'presence of new factors, such as industrialization and the Agrarian Reform' (Albó, 1973:5).

Twenty five years after the revolution that proposed an utilitarian use of the subordinated languages for literacy programs, the mood of some advocates of homogeneization seemed to return to the belligerence of the first decades of the century. The following extract from a newspaper editorial (1977) illustrates the point.

Para culturizar a las masas autóctonas hay que suprimir radicalmente los idiomas nativos e imponer, a rajatabla el castellano, a fin de que tengamos una hispano-América homogénea. (UH:13/08/77)

The reason for this double process of Castilianization with de-vernacularization is the convenience of uniformity. But some purported features of the subordinated languages are also exhibited to justify their supplantation by Spanish. One Casto Llano (1977) in a note about the teaching of Aymara published in one of the main papers of La Paz, says that: "...estos idiomas no interesan más que a los estudiosos" and that "...desgraciadamente, el aymara, no es comercial, ni técnico, ni jurídico, ni científico..." (Llanos 1977). Repeating some arguments of the past (for instance, the consideration of the subordinated languages as objects of study⁴⁰) and adding new and more modern ones, the said Casto Llano attempts to disqualify Aymara as a full fledged language. One of the alleged weaknesses of Aymara (and by extension of all other American languages) is its limited vocabulary, especially with respect to technical terms. What those who argue along these lines do not seem to realize is that this limitation of the number of words is established with respect to their own language, Spanish. As Avila (1979:42-46) mentions, vocabulary is a function of the interests and motivations within the framework of a culture, and since cultures are different their vocabularies need not be uniform. The argument, again, is an old one: during the colonial

⁴⁰ Cf. quote of MEC-BOL 1917: 187.

debates there were those that believed that Christian theology could not be properly expressed by Quechua, the aggravation being its 'pagan' vocabulary (Mannheim 1991:69).

Language is seen and judged from the dominant's perspective, in the case of Casto Llano (quoted above) from the perspective of Spanish vocabulary and social organization; and of course he finds that the respective vocabulary for these areas (commercial, technical, judicial) is not to be found in Aymara. Other semantic fields are covered by Aymara; but this is simply ignored. In brief, here we have a case of judging and condemning some languages not by their intrinsic or functional value but simply by comparison with the dominant language, that is the language of the writer..

The fact that changes are taking place in the context of these unequal relations is often perceived in negative terms, in the sense that they are destroying local cultures, romantically associated with being Bolivian. Thus, Carpio Silva characterizes the present cultural stage as an ideological colonization: "una colonización ideológica con un cosmopolitismo disolvente [y] cuya finalidad no es otra que la desaparición de los mejores rasgos del carácter, de la personalidad y de la cultura vernáculo boliviana..." (Carpio Silva, 1964:5).

Although most of these voices come from the dominant sectors (after all only they have access to publication), the voices of the oppressed are heard more frequently in recent decades. The tone is somber and at times desperate. For example:

Las culturas nativas, para nosotros, continúan debatiéndose en un estado opresivo frente a los valores y fuerza de una lengua y cultura absorventes. Son culturas oprimidas que no han podido desbloquear hasta hoy todas sus potencialidades. Al carecer de escritura se agitan impotentes dentro de los mismos muros que les impusieron los conquistadores. De ahí que su creatividad y dinamismo hayan tenido que ceder hasta el punto de la pasividad y el abandono, síntomas de su paulatina extinción. (ERBOL-ACLO, 1977:46a-46b)

The policy of Castilianization, however, starts to be questioned more seriously by the implementation of some experimental bilingual education projects (during the 75s), and later

on, by the pleas for the recognition of diversity from grassroots organizations and the government itself. These developments are described in more detail in Chapter 3.2.2.

5. Conclusions

In Bolivia the struggle between languages and cultures is an ongoing process, just as colonization is an unfinished process, and one not particular to Bolivia. In every South American country, the American languages and cultures keep dwindling thus expanding the list of extinct or nearly extinct languages, a worldwide process. Lowland languages have suffered more severe and rapid effects not only because their speakers were considered (and continue being considered) 'savages'; some of them still living in the stone age; but also because of their 'tribal' type of organization.⁴¹

At the level of policies, it is clear that the main policy has always been the linguistic hegemonization of the country, this resulting in the progression of Spanish and the regression of the vernacular languages. One pervading thought that characterizes this trend towards hegemonization is the idea that to guarantee the integrity of the nation-state and general communication 'among all Bolivians' there has to be one language and only one language, and further that this language cannot be other than Spanish. This choice, as noted in Harris's review, advantages those who already speak Standard English (the legitimated variety); and talking about the languages of plurilingual Bolivia (Ecuador, Perú) it advantages those who already speak Spanish. In other words, the mere announcement of a standard or a common language both advantages those who are already advantaged, and disadvantages those who were also already disadvantaged, such as the speakers of the vernacular languages.

⁴¹ Cf. for instance Wright's critique of tribal ([1992] 1994).

Chapter 3. Education

1. Introduction

In this chapter, I have three main purposes: first, to complete the description of the Bolivian context, with an overview of rural education and the introduction of the alternative of bilingual education; second, to examine some characteristics of bilingual education that seem to appear in various parts of the world; and finally, to describe the project of intercultural bilingual education (PEIB) and its possibilities of expansion through the Education Reform, currently in execution in Bolivia.

2. Rural Education in Bolivia

1. A Brief History

The history of education in Bolivia, whether understood as the 'educative action exercised by the state' (Suárez 1986:7), or the struggles and the efforts made by the "indigenous" peoples to access the benefits of literacy and schooling, lies beyond the scope of this thesis. Since a number of fairly comprehensive accounts have already been given with respect to the development of rural education in Bolivia (for instance: Sanginés 1968; Miracle 1976a, b; Salamanca 1979; Suárez 1986; Claure 1989; Albó and D'Emilio 1990; Choque Canqui et al. 1992; Luykx 1995, Yraola 1995), I will simply present a brief panorama of this development. My main intention is to highlight that practices and discourses with respect to language, culture and rural education take place within the framework of the dual organization of the Bolivian nation-state (sketched in chapter 2).

According to Soria (1992:49), very few governmental efforts were made to provide formal education to the rural masses during the 19th century; thus effectively denying them the benefits of education, and of the written word. This is hardly surprising if we consider that

governments after Independence in Latin America, according to Klein (1992:154-4, 231), were held by "a small Spanish-speaking elite" that segregated and exploited the rural masses. Thus, the efforts towards the establishment of rural education were started only by the turn of the century. Without going into details, the most known efforts of the first decades of the century were the *escuelas ambulantes* (1907 until 1913) or 'traveling schools' that according to Miracle "were the first schools in Latin America designed especially for Indians." (1976b:29); the Aymara controlled 'clandestine schools' (Choque Canqui et al; Claure 1989), the schools established by Protestant missionaries for Aymara children in Huatajata, La Paz (Miracle 1976:32), the *Escuelas de Cristo* started by padre Zampa (1908) in rural Potosí (Soria 1992:49; Anasagasti and Torres 1991; Anasagasti 1988:11-14), and the schools promoted by the *caciques-apoderados*, whose activities spread to various departments: La Paz, Potosí, Cochabamba, Chuquisaca, and Oruro (Soria 1992:45; Arias 1992 and 1994). During the first two decades of the century, the efforts to introduce the school to the rural communities were made amidst the tension of feudal vs. community interests, and the 'liberal' attempts to 'integrate' the "Indians" into the mainstream (Soria 1992:49).

According to the Dirección General de Educación Rural (DGER 1965), during the Republic 'there are very few official dispositions to benefit the education of the Indian child and none for adolescents and adults'. In any case, in 1915 the creation of one "Internado de Indígenas" for Ch'allapata (Oruro) is authorized, and in 1929 one "Instituto Nocturno Indigenal", such that:

En 104 años de República Soberana, Independiente y Democrática, sólo dos establecimientos urbano y provincial, con etiqueta de indigenales aparecen en el registro educativo del país. (DGER 1965)

According to this source it is on the 2 of August 1931 that the central government establishes the 'first serious educational institution of the Republic', that is Warisata, followed shortly by Caquiaviri, and Caiza (the first two located in the highlands for Aymaras, the third in the

valley for Quechuas) (DGER 1965). The document notes that these governmental efforts are made in the spirit of incorporation, thus:

De los ensayos fructíferos de este primer lustro, el Estado reconoce su deber de incorporar a las clases nativas a la vida del país, y por Decreto de 13 de agosto de 1935, legaliza el funcionamiento de 16 núcleos. (DGER 1965)

According to Miracle, by 1938 there were 16 *núcleos* and 63 sectional schools (Miracle 1976:33). It must be noted that Warisata is perhaps one of the best known rural educational experiment of this period. In fact, as Cárdenas (1992) makes clear, many people believe that rural education in Bolivia begins with Warisata, ignoring other earlier efforts. It is in any case a remarkable experience, not only because it attempted to consolidate the rural school in a hostile context (the opposition of the feudal classes) but also because it allowed the participation of the community, for instance, through the Council of *Amautas*, and through 'the tile and brick pedagogy' (Pérez 1962:89-91, 96-100; Salazar 1943:xi). It was, as Cárdenas (1992) would put it, the tinku⁴² between Pérez and Avelino Siñani, the one an urban teacher the other an Aymara. However, in spite of its drive and innovations, it appears that the language of the (formal) curriculum⁴³ continued to be Spanish (Pérez 1962; Plaza and Albó 1989:71). Luykx, however, following Salazar (1943:66-7), asserts that

Warisata introduced a curriculum and methodology decades ahead of their time, incorporating co-education, bilingual education, community control over school decisions, cooperative communal labor (with students, teachers and community members working together to construct the school buildings), and the elimination of grades, hourly schedules, and annual vacations. (Luykx 1995:93)

⁴² **Tinku**, a Quechua word that literally means 'encounter', may also imply a confrontation. It is also the name given to a ritual battle between communities, which through the reciprocal measurement of forces and perhaps infliction of pain and wounds find at least temporary respite. Incidentally, it presents a problem to my model of the flow that is asymmetric, polarized, with built in directionality (that is, it is extractive); the tinku on the contrary is reciprocal and assumes equity.

⁴³ I use this term to signify a series of educational activities that lead to a given end, or profile of the pupil. Traditionally two forms have been distinguished: the formal curriculum, overt and planned; and the hidden curriculum, contextual and un-planned (Cf. for instance Puiggross 1993; or for a more radical view Illich 1991).

From Pérez's account of Warisata, however, I understood that this 'bilingual education' did not have to do, for instance, with the teaching of the second language, or the use of Aymara for the formal curriculum, rather with the practical and encouraged use of Aymara for communication. In any case, it must not be forgotten that the *escuela-ayllu* had to operate under extremely adverse circumstances: not only was the support of the Ministry of Education limited to the provision of salaries for the teachers, but local *patrones* resorted to militant actions to damage the project, through legal actions against Pérez and even through threats to his life (Pérez 1962). After ten years he had to give up; but the influence of Warisata in Bolivian education would have a lasting effect. For one, it was after this experience that the 'nuclear school system' was established in Bolivia, and served as a model to other countries, principally Mexico. The *núcleo escolar*, thus, consists of a central school, where the headmaster resides, and usually with all the grades of the primary school system (grades kinder to 8th grade, and sometimes even highschool) and a varying number of satellite schools known as *escuelas seccionales* with the first two or tree grades, frequently served by a single teacher.

The efforts made by the "indigenous" peoples themselves, or those made by religious institutions (Protestant schools, Escuelas de Cristo) to introduce the school in the countryside, likewise relied on Spanish for the purposes of literacy. In fact, some of the schools were triggered precisely by this objective, namely literacy in Spanish to pursue legal actions with respect to land tenure as in the case of the caciques-apoderados (Soria 1992).

Throughout the 1930s and 40s, as the official system of rural schools slowly expanded in the rural areas, legislation was passed and administrative changes were made (Cf. Miracle 1976:33-36), but the main guidelines continued to be those of the dominant classes, namely the ideas of Castilianization and the 'civilization of the Indians', albeit taking care to keeping them in their place. Thus, for instance, when the rural system is reorganized, with a little help from USAID, the new program, in Miracle's rendition:

... called for the civilization of the Indians through five steps or goals: 1) to develop good living habits in the campesino, changing his dangerous and unhealthy practices; 2) to make the campesino a good agronomist who would conserve the resources of the nation; 3) to promote the use of farm animals; 4) to promote a basic knowledge of reading, writing and arithmetic; and 5) to make the campesino a good family man. (Miracle 1976:35)

The assumptions made here might be taken as the manifestation of culturism⁴: firstly, the theorization of the inferiority of the peasants, that is why 'his dangerous and unhealthy practices' must be changed; and, secondly, the limitation of their education to subjects related to farming and a 'basic' literacy. But, as Choque Canqui explains (1992:19), this tendency to limit the education of the peasants was already pursued by the ruling classes at the turn of the century; the purpose was to 'integrate' them into the mainstream but maintaining their oppressed condition. Let us remember also that even Tamayo, the celebrated 'indigenist', had already expressed the need to 'elevate' the peasants 'to our heights' but maintaining their own peculiarities (p. 72). Returning to the program mentioned by Miracle above, I would like to note: (1) that the use of the term campesino, ten years before the revolution, already indicates some changes in the definition of the "Indians"; and (2) that this reorganization of the system of education is not a purely national preoccupation but part of the "aid". During this period, according to Luykx, despite of the advances made, including the 1936 disposition that haciendas with more than 25 families provide schools, "formal schooling reached only a small proportion of the rural population", was deficient in many respects, and "[i]nstruction was completely in Spanish, although a large proportion of students had little or no knowledge of the language." (Luykx 1992:102).

In short, throughout this period, the actions of the government are relatively few and scattered, but in the aftermath of the Chaco War (Bolivia-Paraguay) that opened the road to a new consciousness of the "Indian" (Zavaleta 1967, Klein 1992), events start to precipitate and both the remorse of the State and the exigencies of the enlightened peasants determine an

increased attention to rural education, thus between 1941-1951 rural education is expanded with 59 additional *núcleos* (DGER 1965). Then would come the 1952 national revolution that would further increase the attention given to the education of the peasants. This is a highlighted by the DGER in a synopsis that links the 'socio-historic process of the education of the Indian' to four main periods. Thus:

En conclusión, el proceso socio-histórico de la educación del indio sólo se lo puede comprender a través de las cuatro épocas históricas que le tocó vivir.

- 1. Cultura aymara-quechua. Enseñanza práctica agrícola.
- 2. Coloniaje, sin escuela primaria elemental.
- 3. La República.
- 1825-1928 2 escuelas
- 1931-1941 16 Núcleos Escolares Campesinos
- 1941-1951 59 Núcleos Escolares Campesinos
- [4. After the revolution]
- 1951-1964 286 Núcleos Escolares Campesinos. (DGER 1965).

To sum up, during the first half of the century the development of rural education in Bolivia was somewhat limited, but increased in function of the changes in the relationship of forces between "whites" and "Indians". The pattern is continued, with nuances, after the revolutionary days of 1952.

However the tortuous days of the middle of the century are analyzed, (e.g. the 1952 revolution as populist, as truly revolutionary, as forced by the masses, or as a manipulation that ultimately led to present neoliberalism) there is no doubt that they had a profound influence on the reshaping of cultural relations within the country. One of these changes, made possible by the Agrarian Reform, had to do with the liberation of the peasantry from the haciendas and the *patrón* (Klein 1992), and with their becoming the owners of the land they worked. The motto in those days was: *La tierra es de quien la trabaja*. It is perhaps this new status conferred to the *campesinos* 'peasants' that affected their lives more than anything

⁴⁴ I use the word culturism with respect to culture, as racism is used with respect to race, especially as conceived by Yeboah as an ideological theorization of the inferiority of blacks (Yeboah 1997:73-102).

else;⁴⁵ and it is perhaps this change that ensured the diehard loyalty of the peasantry to the MNR, as manifested in most general elections since the revolution. However, criticisms of agrarian reform are also profuse: that it destroyed the patterns of communal land tenure, introducing instead *minifundios*; that it attempted to transform the "Indian" into a *campesino*, under the framework of social equalization by incorporation and assimilation, having as a counter effect the destruction of the original identity (Choque Canqui et al 1992).

Another accomplishment of the revolution had to do with the reform of the education system. The educative actions of the State would now be more precisely regulated by the promulgation of the Bolivian Code of Education (Bolivia 1955) that had a lasting influence, up to the present day (cf. for instance Luykx 1995:103). However, in spite of the revolution that involved the peasantry, the philosophy of this Code still responds to the dominant discourse-ideology and organization of the social structure. I have four features in mind: (a) the dual organization of the country, that finds its expression in the Code in the division of urban and rural education, the former under the Ministry of Education, the latter under the Ministry of Peasant Affairs; (b) the ideology of racism (culturism, really), that restricts rural education to basics and, thus, prepares the road for a half hearted integration; (c) the continuation of the policy of Castilianization; and (d) the legalization of a new language policy through the Code of Education, namely, the transitional use of the 'vernacular' languages for the purposes of final Castilianization. Thus, the more aggressive stances of the eradication of the languages that characterized the preceding decades are tempered by the revolution.

The reform of the educational system, hitherto predominantly urban, now had the possibility and the duty to expand into the countryside. And, in effect, schools proliferated five fold and reached the most remote rural communities (Albó 1974, 1994, 1995). According to Luykx:

⁴⁵ One *comunario* of Titicachi, La Paz, for instance, confided that before authorities and patrones abused the peasants and that only after the 1952 revolution they became free (Plaza 1994).

"during 1964-65, ... 60% of school-aged children among sampled populations were enrolled in school, and every Bolivian ex-hacienda sampled had at least one school..." (1995:103). In brief, as social relations between the whites and the "indigenous" changed, so did the conditions of rural education. Thus, in my view, it is not education that changes society, rather it is the reshaping of the social fabric (structure) that brings about changes in the introduction of education to the rural areas. Among the changes fostered by the new relations of power, Luykx mentions, for instance, the incursion of "indigenous people" into the system, as rural teachers (ibid.:103). But education, in turn, also exerts powerful influences on those who go through it. It is not for nothing that Luykx (1993) sees it as the "Citizen Factory" in her dissertation. Among other impacts of the expansion of education into the rural areas, Klein mentions the increase of the rates of literacy, Castilianization, bilingualism, and migration (Klein 1992:265).

In sum, the national revolution fosters the expansion of education to the rural areas, but is riddled with all sorts of deficiencies. For Carter, the "basic goal ... was the complete integration of the nation" but under the premises of westernization and limited education, because "They did little to prepare the student for movement into the secondary and university systems." In spite of these objectionable undertakings, however, "What did significantly improve as a result of increased commitment [by the government] was comprehensiveness of coverage. Between 1952 and 1965, the number of rural schools increased fivefold, and enrollment grew by some 300 percent." (Carter 1971:144-5). In terms of its orientation, in spite of the legislation that advocated for the 'transitional' use of the languages, the rural school took up the task of Castilianization, "accompanied by the active repression of native languages" (Luykx 1992:105); in other words, linguistic hegemonization (with de-vernacularization). It is important to emphasize here that the Code of Education is not limited to the language question. Thus the objectives for rural education specified in the Code include the following:

- "Desarrollar en el campesino buenos hábitos de vida en relación a su

alimentación, higiene y salud, vivienda, vestuario y conducta personal y social."

- "Alfabetizar mediante el empleo funcional y dominio de los instrumentos básicos del aprendizaje; la lectura, la escritura y la aritmética."

- "Enseñarle a ser un buen trabajador agropecuario ejercitándolo en el empleo de sistemas renovados de cultivo y crianza de animales."

- "Estimular y desarrollar sus aptitudes vocacionales técnicas, enseñándole los fundamentos de la industria y artesanías rurales de su región, capacitándolo para ganarse la vida a través del trabajo manual productivo."

- "Cultivar su amor a las tradiciones, al folklore nacional y las artes populares desarrollando su sentido estético. Prevenir y desarraigar las prácticas de alcoholismo, el uso de la coca, las supersticiones y los prejuicios dominantes en el agro mediante una educación científica."

- "Desarrollar en el campesino una conciencia cívica que le permita participar activamente en el proceso de emancipación económica y cultural de la Nación." (quoted in Bolivia 1974: section 1.3 pp. 1-2)

Notice that some of these objectives for rural education are a reiteration of those formulated for the reorganization of rural education years before the 1955 Education Reform (Cf. Miracle's account above, on p. 88). In both cases, the underlying assumption is that the "Indian" needs to be educated according to the ideals and purposes of the non "Indian" sector of society. For this reason the above transcribed 'objectives' might be rightly criticized. However, the authors of section 1.3 "Educación de la Comunidad Rural." (Bolivia 1974), in spite of the teachers' response that these objectives were being achieved (54 to 86 %) express their doubt that that is the case (ibid.:2). In other words, the authors of the said section are more interested in the realization of these 'objectives' and not in questioning them.

2. Bilingual Education Projects

The policy of Castilianization remained unchallenged until the middle 70s, when bilingual education was introduced in the country, albeit in the form of short lived projects. These and other projects have been described in more detail elsewhere (Cf. for instance, Amadio and Zuñiga 1989; Briggs 1980, 1981, 1983, 1985; Cárdenas 1993; Montoya 1983:68-78; Plaza and Albó 1989; De Vries 1988: 69-90; Von Gleich 1989:199-214), for which reason I shall only mention them here: the Proyecto Educativo de Educación Rural (PER-I) set up in Cochabamba (1975) for Quechua children; the Proyecto Educativo Integrado del Altiplano

(PEIA) in La Paz (1975) for Aymara children, both under the umbrella of the Ministry of Education; the Proyecto Texto-Rural-Bilingüe (TRB) in La Paz (1981-1986) for Aymara. followed afterwards by a similar experiment for Quechua children. The first two were -+ sponsored by international agencies (USAID and the World Bank, respectively) the third by the Catholic Church. In terms of the modality of bilingual education that these projects implemented the situation was as follows: the SIL implemented a transitional program; the PER-I also adopted a transitional modality (from Quechua to Spanish) to be achieved in three school years (Encinas and Burns 1978); the PEIA initially attempted the same modality, but soon reverted to Spanish monolingualism; the TRB attempted a step forward adopting a 'maintenance and development' modality, whereby the mother tongue of the pupils is used until the termination of the primary school. The work of the SIL has been objected by some as the inherence of an external institution in the education of the "indigenous" that in the process of evangelization also contributed to the destruction of local cultures (Hvalkof and Aaby 1981; cf. especially Chase Smith's article: "The Summer Institute of Linguistics: Ethnocide Disguised as a Blessing." ibid.:121-132; López, Pozzi and Zuñiga 1993:202-3). With the exception of the bilingual education schools of the SIL that started in 1966 (Montoya 1983:77) and had relative stability until the departure of this religious organization in 1982 (De Vries 1988:76), all the other projects were short lived. It must also be pointed out that all these projects terminated without being able to change the main educational make up of the country. In addition to the above mentioned projects (e.g. PER-I, PEIA), the government also sponsored the Proyecto de Education Rural II, that took up the task of improving the system of rural teachers training, through three components: teachers training; * the development of a new curriculum and corresponding textbooks; and infrastructure improvement (Niño de Guzmán 1978:14). From the perspective of the military government of the epoch, the implementation of these projects was undertaken in order to reshape the structure of education to be congruent with the "needs of economic and social development of the country..". But again this 'development' still has the old objective of 'incorporation'

(Niño de Guzmán 1978:14). In any case, although the notions of bilingual education began to take root in the teachers' consciousness due to the public discussions, workshops and training courses given to teachers under these programs, formal education in the countryside maintained the tradition of Castilianization.

X This situation starts to be challenged more seriously during the 80s. On the one hand, in 1983 the government of the UDP (Unidad Democrática y Popular, 1982-85, a coalition of leftist parties) officially recognized that linguistic and cultural diversity are characteristics of the country, proposed a reform of the educational system to introduce bilingual education, and created a special unit to carry out a literacy program, called the Plan Nacional de Alfabetización "Prof. Elizardo Pérez" (Bolivia 1984:42; SENALEP 1983a; 1984). On the other hand, diverse organizations and individuals started to promote the revitalization of "indigenous" languages and cultures and their inclusion in the education system. Thus, according to Cárdenas the CSUTCB (Confederación Sindical Unica de Trabajadores Campesinos de Bolivia) had 'vigorously campaigned for the recognition of bilingual education and education in their own native languages', especially from 1978 to 1984 (1993:230). By 1984, the national union of rural teachers (CONMERB) published a proposal to re-structure the system of rural education, one of whose components was bilingual education. However, some old biases remained in their proposal, such as the need to apprehend the official language and universal culture as well as the 'incorporation of the Indians to 'modern' civilization' (CONMERB 1984). The proposal was discussed by the base organizations of the teachers, and their proponents, particularly Prof. José Quiroga. campaigned actively for their proposal (Choque 1995:13).⁴⁶ In 1988, the national workers union, COB (Central Obrera Boliviana) proposed their 'popular educative project' that included bilingual education (COB 1989).

⁴⁶ I had the opportunity to attend to some of Quiroga's presentations, during the frenzy of conferences and workshops sponsored by SENALEP and the Ministry of Education in preparation to the literacy program.

However, the UDP was unable to implement a bilingual program. Their real contribution, instead, was to be located in the implementation of a vast literacy campaign, through SENALEP (Servicio Nacional de Alfabetización y Educación Popular) and the involvement of official institutions and grassroots organizations, such as the COB and the CSUTCB. Paradoxically, teachers were not taken into account for the implementation of the literacy plan, an exclusion that the teachers resented for a long time. Jorge Rivera, the mastermind behind this drive used to emphasize that this was not yet another short lived campaign, that this was rather a *Plan*, a *Servicio*, that was designed to wipe out illiteracy by the year 2000. However:

En los hechos, debido a las limitaciones sociales y políticas .. y a las de orden financiero, al cabo de algo más un año de ejecución, el plan cubrió a una población de 60.000 analfabetos con influencia sobre aproximadamente 300.000 personas, luego de haber realizado cerca de 7.000 días-hombre de capacitación para unos 2.800 educadores populares de base, y haber conformado cerca de 250 Centros de Educación y Comunicación Popular. (Rivera 1987:162)

The novelty of this program was that the students learned to read and write in their X own language, Quechua, Aymara, Guaraní or regional varieties of Spanish (Cf. also Plaza and Albó 1989; Archer and Costello 1990:159).

Although Yapita and others (including myself) had been advocating for the need of a unified alphabet for Quechua and Aymara (Cf. section on normalization below (p. 133) for more details in this respect), it was during the SENALEP years and through its influence in the government that the unified alphabets for Quechua and Aymara were enacted (1983-84). Later on, similar steps were taken to unify the writing of Guaraní. After the demise of the UDP in 1985, SENALEP lost its drive and grip on the literacy campaign. The following years, more than seeing actual changes in the system of education, were filled with debates on the need to reform the system. In these years a common theme was *La educación está en crisis*. To make a long story short, in spite of disagreements voiced by grassroots organizations (teachers, workers, peasants), the government took the necessary steps to

launch a new Education Reform in the early 90s, whereby bilingual education is incorporated ^{**} into the educative apparatus, first as a project: the Proyecto de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe (PEIB), that included Quechua, Aymara, and Guaraní as mother tongues and Spanish as the second language; and then as one of the 'vertebrating axes' of the Education Reform (ETARE 1993). The PEIB is discussed below in more detail (p. 120 on).

3. Critique of traditional education.

From the examination of the literature and my personal experience in the field, I have the impression that the discussion of education in Bolivia, at least during the present century, not only during the 80s as noted above, has always been a hot issue; and rural education, it seems to me, has always been under fire. In the preceding section, I have sketched the development of rural education from the turn of the century on; here I shall focus on some examples of the criticism cast upon it. Throughout the years the main conceptual framework for this exercise (and also for the suggestions to improve rural education) was the tension between the urban and the "indigenous" worlds. And the main assumption was that of the need of modernization (understood as proposed by Ivan Illich as the process that leads from the vernacular mode of production to the consumer intensive society (Illich 1981; 1991). As I have done before, I shall follow a diachronic progression, from the 20s to the 90s to illustrate this process.

During the educative skirmishes of the first decades of the century, the questions of Castilianization and culturization were in sharp focus. Retamoso, one of the active advocates of Castilianization of this period, does not hesitate to express his dissatisfaction with the results obtained in the schools he visited. Thus, he would write:

Hemos concurrido personalmente a varios exámenes en algunas escuelas de comunidad indígena; en dichos examenes, los alumnos han leído de corrido, varios capitulos en sus libros, pero con una pronunciación detestable; desgraciadamente el alumno se limita, en estos casos a un simple ejercicio de retentiva o al desarrollo de la memoria porque no entiende nada, absolutamente nada, del sentido de la frase escrita, no se da cuenta de lo que se quiere expresar en ella; el alumno obra como un fonógrafo. (Retamoso 1927:44-45)

Although Retamoso is right in assuming that reading cannot be restricted to the mechanics of deciphering letter-sound correspondences, he does not seem to be aware of the situation, namely, that these are children reading in a language that they have not mastered yet. For Retamoso the main objections are the 'detestable' pronunciation and the lack of understanding of what has been read. As I have just said, both pronunciation (phonology) and understanding (semantics), have to be previously learned in order to engage in reading and writing. As Sapir (1921) had said, a few years earlier, writing is a system of symbols of symbols; thus to learn how to read previously one has to learn how to speak the language. But this apparently is missed by Retamoso. Additionally, Retamoso (1927:44-45) observes that \times the teacher himself does not know Spanish, so that how can he teach it? It would seem that even in those days when allegedly most teachers were of urban extraction, there were teachers of peasant extraction, that had already developed their own brand of Spanish.

Another critique had to do with the methodology used by the teacher. Another teacher turned bureaucrat, some 13 years later, would report the following:

Preparaciones de clases, no lleva ningún maestro, tampoco hace éste material didáctico. Uno de los maestros titulados el año pasado en la Escuela de Warizata, me expresó delante de usted, señor Ministro, que sacaba los temas de su memoria "no más".

De métodos de enseñanza, ni para qué hablar; cada maestro sigue el suyo a su buen entender y saber. Así vienen a ser las escuelas indigenales de Bolivia el ensayo pedagógico más estupendo de improvisación, de actividad exclusiva y de libertad absoluta (Donoso 1940:23).

What Donoso does not say is what the situation with respect to supervision was, usually deemed as insufficient or even inexistent. From his and other reports, it appears that these comments are the results of sporadic visits made by educational authorities or observers and not the result of systematic supervision. With respect to the process of Castilianization he also observes that it is done in a 'routinary and memoristic fashion', and that reading is, again, mechanistic and without understanding. Then he argues that 'what is more important is the development of comprehension not only in reading but also in other subject-matter.. and that, this can be obtained only through the mother tongue'. But he goes on further, when he

suggests that 'the education of the autochthonous', should be begun in their own tongue. (Donoso 1940:23). He is in fact advocating for bilingual education some four decades before its official recognition (during the government of the UDP). The modality he advocates for, however—it could not have been otherwise given the trends of homogenization of the epoch—is the transitional modality. Thus:

En los primeros cursos, la educación debe iniciarse en el dialecto nativo, constituyendo el español una mera asignatura, como para nosotros el francés y el inglés; y a medida que se avancen cursos, el dialecto debe ir disminuyendo hasta convertirse en una simple materia (Donoso 1940:23-4).

In other words, the language of the pupils is assigned a utilitarian and disposable value. Notice also that the vernacular is defined as a 'native dialect'. Thus given the assumption that Spanish is a language, the transition (from dialect to language) is logically justifiable. Finally, Donoso observes that the *indigenal* schools are also failing at the 'cultural level'. Thus:

La higiene es algo que desconocen los indígenas y es precisamente lo que debe constituir la base de su reforma educacional, pero las escuelas indigenales no la comprenden así, porque las cocinas son iguales a las de su hogar en desaseo, los dormitorios son insoportables por su mal olor, a pesar de la constante ventilación. La indumentaria de los niños no acusa transformación alguna: siguen vistiendo de indio acostumbrándose a usar prendas de indio, sin sufrir influencia educativa alguna en ese aspecto. Y este detalle, al parecer sin importancia, tiene realidades muy amargas para el indio, quien si viene a la ciudad, aunque sepa leer, escribir y hablar el castellano, pero vistiendo el lluchu, el poncho, el calzón de bayeta, las abarcas y cargando su kquepi, está expuesto a que en cualquiera de las calles lo detenga un soldado y se lo lleve para hacerle barrer las cuadras, espectáculo que vemos diariamente, o que cualquier persona lo aparte de la acera llamándolo despectivamente: indio. En cambio, eso mismo no ocurre, si el indio se presenta vestido, por ejemplo como un cholo y mejor si como un caballero. (Donoso 1940:27)

Donoso's main concerns at this level have to do with smells and fashions, both in reference to urban standards. As Bourdieu (1992) explained at length even tastes are socially conditioned and are thus relative; but Donoso assumes that "Indian" clothing fashions are the cause for discrimination, so a change into 'cholo or better to gentleman garments' would solve the problem. With respect to hygiene, here it is measured by the nose of the observer, what is not disclosed is the set up of the infrastructure. For example, 'dormitories' usually mean a large

room where dozens of pupils are crammed in. This can be observed even today, in Cororo, Michkhamayu, El Chaco (Chuquisaca), in Warisata (La Paz), o San Ignacio de Moxos (Beni), to name but a few that I have been able to see firsthand. Luykx (1993) goes into the details of life in a 'normal' dormitory in La Paz.⁴⁷ In addition, it is more likely than not, that those dormitories visited by Donoso did not boast individual bathrooms or showers. In fact, most visitors are usually appalled by the insufficiencies of the infrastructure (I would say from Donoso to Luykx). I will limit myself to one example that comes up some fifteen years after Donoso's observations. According to the findings of a committee appointed by the government in preparation for the Education Reform of 1955:

The little sectional schools are in an even worse state.⁴⁸ They are located often in cheerless adobe huts, with no light except from the door, and no sanitation, with no equipment for teaching, and often nothing for the children to sit on.

Teaching for the most part is without reference to the daily life of the students.

Even such a subject as hygiene, which should lead the student to adopt new habits, may be taught so abstractly as to have no influence on his dirty hands, and then again, there may be no soap, neither at the school nor in his home.

Actually, the teachers feel abandoned, and in fact, almost are, for they may go for years without supervision, and often the supervision when it comes is merely inspection and not technical guidance. (IAI 1955:18)

In brief, a reiteration of the maladies of rural education; later on I shall return to some of

these themes (for instance, to the question of hygiene, on p. 213). The 1955 reform, in spite

of its much more organized commitment, has not been spared the knives. Thus for Choque,

focusing on the general themes of linguistic hegemonization and culturism:

La reforma educativa de 1955 (..) por su carácter "integrador", unilingüe y monocultural, ha conducido apenas a lograr rudimentarias habilidades de lecto-escritura en castellano, sin llegar a un deseable manejo lingüístico que se requiere para una comunicación óptima; a lo único que ha llegado es a altos índices de fracaso escolar (repitencia, ausentismo y deserción); y lo más

⁴⁷ Luykx does not provide the real name of the rural normal she had studied, but her account is certainly accurate.

⁴⁸ Than those of the Servicio Cooperativo Interamericano de Educación (SCIDE), "a joint program" between the US and Bolivia "for the development of functional education in the Bolivian school system." (IAI 1955:9)

grave, a la pérdida de la identidad cultural propia. (Choque 1996:6).

According to Choque, the school system implemented by the revolution only obtains high rates of grade repetition, absenteeism, and drop-out, but also, the loss of cultural identity. In my view, however, Choque is operating under the assumption of the existence of 'unitary' cultures, the modern and the vernacular. In this framework, it is clear that the rural school, designed by and comprising the values of the 'urban' culture will have the effect of at least contaminating the original culture of the pupils.

The fact that the school after the revolution continued to use Spanish as the official language of the curriculum is one more demonstration that the dominant classes (and their discourses) were somewhat shaken by the revolution (for instance, the peasants became free and (armed) owners of their plots, the workers attained unheard of political power, by means of the *control obrero* as a counterpart to the State's), but were not removed from power (Zavaleta 1976:69-79). At the linguistic level, the former policy of Castilianization with eradication of the "Indian" languages was changed to one of utilitarian use. The often quoted Art 115. of the Code of Education of 1955 (for example in Briggs 1983:84; De Vries 1988:76; Montoya 1983:65; Plaza 1989b:59; Choque 1996:8; Choque Canqui et al 1992; Von Gleich 1989:208) spelled out this new linguistic policy:

Art. 115°. La acción alfabetizadora se hará en las zonas donde predominan las lenguas vernáculas, utilizando el idioma nativo, como vehículo para el inmediato aprendizaje del castellano como factor necesario de integración lingüística nacional. Para este efecto se adoptarán alfabetos fonéticos que guarden la mayor semejanza posible con el alfabeto del idioma castellano. (Bol. 1955:55).

The text of the Article is self-explanatory, but two ideas need to be stressed: that the 'vernacular'⁴⁹ languages must be used to ensure Castilianization; and that Spanish is the language of 'integration'. But it is an improvement with respect to previous practices of literacy campaigns that were always conducted in Spanish. For Choque, the castilianizing

proposal proclaimed in the Article was a failure, not only because it caused the atrophy of pupils' language and culture, but also because it did not allow them to learn Spanish, nor acquire a new cultural identity (Choque 1996:6). However, it must be remembered that Art. 115. was oriented to the literacy campaigns that targeted adults. In other words, this transitional use of the vernacular was not introduced in the regular educational system. Thus the 'failure' of traditional education cannot be an effect of the transitional policy advocated by the above quoted disposition. But it is also true that rural education in spite of the changing times after the 1952 revolution was still hegemonic in all respects.

Some ten years after the 1955 Education Reform, the material shortcomings of the rural school continued providing food for criticism. For Carpio Silva, the present condition is a manifestation of the neglect by the government and of the marginalization of the peasants. In his words:

En el área rural .. no hay maestros, no hay aulas, no hay material didáctico ni de trabajo, lo peor; no hay una política económica bastante meditada por parte de los Poderes del Estado. No hay nada que puede redimir a nuestros campesinos en el actual período histórico, ora presa fácil de caudillejos, ora de falsos apóstoles sociales, ora de exaccionadores legales que esquilman su magra economía, en fin, todos que la mantienen en su aislacionismo colonial. (Carpio Silva 1964)

Notice however that Carpio Silva is not only depicting the economic shortcomings of the peasant society or the fact that it is exploited from without, he is also saying that this situation is hindering the modernization process: "No hay nada que puede redimir a nuestros campesinos en el actual período histórico.." In other words, the ideal is again to approximate "our peasants" to our (above implied) way of life. Let us note also that a tinge of paternalism slips into Carpio Silva's report when he talks about 'our' peasants, and not 'the' peasants.

Criticism of traditional education does not come from authorities and observers alone, it also comes from the grassroots, adding a poignant touch to the understanding of the problems

⁴⁹ In this case, I write 'vernacular' in inverted commas to distance it from my own usage of the term, explained in ().

generated by the school in the 'hinterland'. In Bolivia, in spite of its alleged duality, and 'racism', apartheid in most public events (at least from the 70s on) is not systematically practiced,⁵⁰ thus the voice of the underdogs has been able to find spaces to be expressed, for instance through workshops and conferences. In the early 70s one of these outlets was offered by the Centro Pedagógico y Cultural Portales, that organized three 'national languages conferences' (Plaza 1977:7; Montoya 1983:66). In the first conference, a group of Aymaras voiced their assessment of what the school signified to them. Here is what they said:

Ya van a ser 20 años desde la reforma agraria. Desde entonces hasta ahora, hemos entrado a las escuelas, ahí, francamente tampoco hay buena enseñanza. Todos nuestros pensamientos y todo nuestro querer está solamente en aprender el castellano, sin dar importancia a otros estudios. Así mismo, el idioma español no es fácil de aprender, porque nuestro destino, nuestro quehacer diario, todos nuestros pensamientos, están en el idioma aymara y así es su marcha. (..)

Nuestros padres mandan con esfuerzo a sus hijos a la escuela. Ahí los profesores les enseñan a avergonzarse de nosotros. Los profesores rurales entran en nuestras escuelas con mala voluntad y sin buenas ideas y solamente quieren hacerse servir, solamente quieren mandonearnos. Algunos profesores no hablan ni quieren hablar el aymara. Los alumnos tienen miedo porque no pueden pronunciar bien el español y ya no quieren ir a la escuela. A veces se ven avergonzados por los mismo profesores. En algunos lugares estos quieren enseñar su idioma a golpes sin darse cuenta. Viendo estas causas es como para reaccionar. Acaso nosotros enseñamos nuestro idioma así? .. los que hablan el castellano están a la pesca de oportunidades, aun que estos sean semialfabetos o ignorantes. Viviendo esto en todo lugar, nos callamos y así nos vemos rezagados y marginados (Barnadas 1976:82).

As can be appreciated from this text, the assessment of 20 years of traditional education after the 1952 revolution is clearly negative. There are two main concerns here: the language question manifested in the imposition of Spanish and the difficulties of its acquisition by the pupils; and the social (power) relations question, embodied in the conflictive relations of the community with the rural teacher from without. The combination of these factors (i.e. Castilianization and mistreatment), accordingly, would make the children fearful and resilient

⁵⁰ I do not want to give the impression that discrimination, whether racial or cultural, is non existent in Bolivia; but it is not comparable to the racism practiced, for example, in the US with respect to the black population.

to continue attending school.⁵¹ In spite of these asymmetric power relations, however, the spirit of the complaint does not advocate either for the eradication of Spanish (an unthinkable) or for open confrontation with the establishment, rather it limits itself to exposing the problem and emphasizing the linguistic and cultural identity of the victims.

According to Condori (1974), more than half of the children in rural areas (56%) have no access to any form of schooling, and from those that are able to attend school (44%) only 8% finish the fourth grade. With respect to the infrastructure, he adds that most of the school buildings were 'constructed by the peasants themselves', but that they were inadequate for their educational purpose. In his words:

La mayoría de estos locales carecen de toda comodidad personal y pedagógica. En no pocos casos, los niños se sientan sobre adobes, utilizan sus rodillas como pupitres y trabajan casi a la intemperie, los dedos congelados por un frío que frisa los 5 grados en la estación invernal. (Condori 1974).

In spite of these adverse conditions, however, rural children do attend school. But problems continue piling up. Another problem is absenteeism. For Baptista absenteeism is greater during the sowing and harvesting seasons (Baptista 1974:11). This was in 1974, but as shall be seen later on (Cf. Chapter 6.) problems of this sort continue to disturb the process of education, even in the bilingual schools.

With respect to course contents, Condori also points out that they are basically simplified versions from the urban ones, both due to the insufficient preparation of the teachers and the monolingualism of the pupils. Condori does not fail to notice that the rural school is the space where two cultures and languages are confronted in an hegemonic fashion. Finally, drawing from data collected by the Ministry of Education, he indicates that most certified teachers (*normalistas*) are not from peasant extraction (20% urban, 40% sub-urban, 40% peasant extraction). Miracle, who was writing his thesis at the time, makes similar observations with

⁵¹ Some pupils in El Paredón, however, do not seem to consider the language question too problematic. For more Cf. Chapter 6.2. Some pupils' accounts.

respect to the failure of rural school with respect to the high illiteracy rates, drop-out and so on (1975:16*). Returning to Condori, all the evaluations made on the state of rural education concluded not only that it had many shortcomings but that it was a 'failure' with respect to literacy and drop-out rates. Often the situation is dramatized by the recourse of percentages derived from statistics, as the next example shows:

The drop-out is alarming: less than one-third of the pupils enrolled in the first grade of basic education reach the fourth grade, and less than one-fifth of them reach the secondary course; less than 3 per cent of the total national enrolment enter the university. / In rural areas .. barely 150 pupils complete the basic course for every 1,000 enrolled. (Baptista 1978:46-7).

It must be noted that most critics of traditional education consider that drop-out and illiteracy

rates as indices of its 'failure' (Cf. for instance, Barrera 1985:65; Lema 1985:48, 49).

Criticism of the traditional school also comes from the bureaucratic front itself. For instance,

a document of the Ministry of Planning and Coordination states that rural education, in 1978:

Carece de una fisonomía propia. Es en el fondo la escuela urbana transportada al medio rural.

Funciona como agencia transmisora de conocimientos insustanciales, incapaz de ejercer una acción cultural amplia y profunda dentro de su propio ámbito.

Vive al margen de las necesidades e intereses de la vida campesina.

Incapaz de contrarestar el crecimiento del analfabetismo y de producir estímulos que contribuyan en su terruño a los habitantes del campo. (Bolivia 1978).

Although this diagnosis of rural education is accurate in many respects, it fails to acknowledge the language question. However, given the diagnosis the remedy is immediately

offered:

En consecuencia surge la necesidad de establecer una política educativa rural sólidamente fundamentada, que permita a la escuela campesina robustecerse con una nueva orientación y convertirse en un instrumento eficaz y positivo al servicio de la comunidad campesina: una auténtica educación rural, para la superación efectiva del hombre campesino. (Bolivia 1978)

In this case, however, the subjacent orientation does not fail to surface when suggestions are made to achieve the proposed objectives. Thus, while rural education must be consolidated, for instance by the adaptation of the curriculum to regional features, it must also 'harmonize

with regional and national social and economic development' (Bolivia MPC 1978). Thus they sought to achieve these goals through the implementation of bilingual education projects such as the PER-I and the PEIA, and the PER II. It has already been mentioned that the first two were bilingual education pilot projects (cf. p. 92); the third one had to do with teacher training, development of new curricular programs and didactic materials, and the improvement of the infrastructure of rural schools. As before, this project was financed by a loan from USAID (Niño de Guzmán 1978).

So far we have seen that criticism of rural education focuses on: (a) particular shortcomings (the observed conditions of material want), (b) its failure to promote modernization and Castilianization, and (c) its unsatisfactory results as reflected by statistics. During the 80s, in addition, the political nature and the role of the State were also discussed. In this line, De La Riva (1988:26-42) advanced the point of view that education was a function of the interests of the State, that in turn was operating in function of the interests of the powerful classes of Bolivian society. In this perspective, the discussions about the 'crisis' of education, that saturated the attention of politicians, government officials, grassroots organizations, teachers and the general public at the time, did not really make any sense, and that in spite of its shortcomings the system of education was achieving its objectives, among them the "domestication" of the pupils. To sum up, De La Riva brings into the discussion two new ideas: (a) that education is the responsibility of the State that 'manipulates' it, and (b) that education has become some sort of domestication. In Chapter 5, this aspect of education is discussed in more detail.

Quisbert, a leader of the CSUTCB, speaking more recently in a public forum —the institutionalization and generalization workshop (Sichra 1992)— repeats and confers renewed freshness to the already consecrated criticisms of traditional education. In a few sentences, he conflates the negative features of traditional school:

La educación rural es coercitiva y memorizante: al niño campesino le enseñan a golpes una lengua que no conoce y le inculcan el valor de la

memorización, de la repetición. Se forma un niño temeroso de hablar, de equivocarse; un niño que repite el año, dos, tres veces hasta que abandona la escuela. (..) A la vez, la práctica educativa, los actos cívicos y las normas de comportamiento impuestas por los maestros son occidentalizantes, urbanizantes, y militarizantes. Lo mismo se puede decir de los textos escolares que desconocen la realidad campesina. Por otro lado, el calendario escolar no se rige por el calendario agropecuario. Los niños y jóvenes se ven impedidos de asistir a la escuela cuando hay labores agrícolas, o, por el contrario, asisten a clases y van distanciándose del trabajo de campo. (Sichra 1992:37).

Additionally Quisbert claims that school leaving (drop-out) is fostered by the obligation to pay a registration fee,⁵² and also because (some) schools are closed (or threatened to be closed) because there are not enough pupils to meet the required quota,⁵³ or because the *item*⁵⁴ is taken away (ibid.). Quisbert's critique is both comprehensive and repetitive of commonly voiced arguments; but since it comes from the grassroots it becomes much more relevant in so far as it discloses current perceptions and discourse of the affected with respect to the failures of the educational system. In Quisbert's view the school fails because it is 'coercitive' and 'memoristic', because it imposes urban cultural traits, and textbook contents, and because it fails to adjust to the agricultural cycle of the community. As mentioned above, these arguments have been repeated so many times, that they have become public property. However, it would seem that the responsibility of the community in this state of affairs has not sufficiently been taken into account (Cf. Chapter 6.3. Parents).

Finally, already in our days, let us consider one more criticism: that traditional school is alienating (Luykx 1993). This criticism, again, has often been repeated in the past and seems to still be current. In this sense, for Choque (1996:7), traditional school was alienating, and alienation started the first day the child came to school. Moreover, this type of school produces individuals that are easily exploited, such as those that migrate to work in Chapare, Santa Cruz or Argentina. Choque says: "Este es el producto de una escuela alienante, teórica,

⁵² Bs. 7.00 (more or less a pound) per year, at the time.

⁵³ There should be a minimum of 25 pupils per classroom.

⁵⁴ The allocation of earmarked resources for each teaching post.

consumista, unicultural y unilingüe que se ha venido implementando en Bolivia." (ibid.:8). Again, according to this connection between a specific type of school and poor living conditions, the school is the cause, the living conditions the effect.

To sum up, although rural education has come a long way from the 'clandestine' and "indigenal" schools of the first decades of the century to the modern 'intercultural and bilingual' model of the current Education Reform, it has not been free from problems and hence criticism: from observations that it was not fulfilling its objectives of Castilianization and culturization to accusations of being an instrument of the government or even of foreign agencies (as some leaders of teachers' unions seem to believe, cf. Chapter 6.4. Divided loyalties). But at the same time, some authors have asserted that the evolution of some sociodemographic indicators, mainly the increase in Castilianization and literacy rates, are due to the effects of rural education; or that rural education is in fact highly effective in transforming (or alienating) the rural peasant into an immigrant to the urban centers.

In the review above, criticism is centered in the failures of school in terms of its observed particularities or in terms of statistical results. Only De La Riva (1988) comes up with the idea that education 'succeeded', that it had fulfilled the purposes for which it had been created, namely to serve the interests of the ruling classes. The other point of view, i.e. that traditional school does in effect castilianize, albeit in a questionable way (by sanction, and often with negative effects with respect of the "Spanish" learnt), is noted, for instance by Klein (1992). There is a fact that seems to support this point of view: statistics, as we can appreciate, for instance, comparing numbers or percentages of speakers in different diachronic moments in Bolivia (Cf. Chapter 2.3. Language progression). This point is stressed by Klein, who states that the increase of Spanish literacy, from 36% in 1950 to 67% in 1976, but also the decline of Quechua and Aymara monolingualism (Quechua, from 36.59 to 13.3; and Aymara, from 24.59 to 6.74 % between 1950 and 1976), and the increment of bilingualism is due to the effects of rural education (1992:265, 281-2). In short, in spite of its shortcomings, for instance of its failure to teach Spanish systematically, traditional school

seems to have been successful in castilianizing the vernacular language speakers of the countryside.

The apparent advances of Castilianization and literacy depicted by statistics however must be relativized. For example, the emergence of linguistic systems that cannot be clearly categorized as being either Spanish or Quechua (e.g. Quechuañol) cannot be reflected by the census, that has closed the question of language variation to the categories: Spanish, Quechua, Aymara, etc. With respect to the high rates of illiteracy, it is also difficult to determine what it means to be literate: whether to be able to disclose critically the hidden meanings that lay beneath esoteric or technical texts, or the mere basics of letter-phoneme deciphering. In this connection, it might be the case that those who are counted as literate are in fact 'functional illiterates', or persons who had learned how to read and write but have forgotten them due to the lack of use. The idea of functional illiteracy is a pervading one, and resorted to even today to justify literacy campaigns, such as the Yuyay Jap'ina in North Potosí, or the ACLO, CEDEC projects in Chuquisaca. (Ventiades and Plaza 1996). At another time and geographic location, Miracle reproduces the opinion of a teacher of Qumpi, in La Paz (some twenty years after the revolution) along this same line of thinking: "There are students that graduate from the colegios who cannot read. There are no standards any more." (Miracle 1976:45). In brief, both the effects of school on Castilianization (Klein 1992) and the failure of Castilianization (Choque 1996) need to be qualified. In a synoptic rendering, education in Bolivia has been criticized for being: elitist (meritocratic), centralized, castilianizing, alienating, and westernizing.

3. Bilingual Education

Due to the fact that bilingual education is a widespread phenomenon, there is an extensive literature on the subject and numerous accounts exist to classify this alternative to regular education (Cf. for instance, Ambert and Melendez 1985; Baker 1996; Siguán and Mackey 1986; Padilla et al 1990; Arnau et al 1992). In principle, the definitions are geared towards

the typification of the languages used in the process and the expected final outcome. However, classification can become too elaborate and detailed, far beyond our present needs (i.e. the characterization of bilingual education as a process that involves languages and populations in the context of power relations between, usually a dominant sector of a given political unit, such as, for instance the nation-state and the subordinated peoples). For example, in his study of bilingual education in the US, Cohen (1975) establishes comparative matrices on the bases of eight criteria, to wit: (a) classification of pupils by the language they speak, (b) the use of languages in the classroom, whether as subject matter and/or medium of instruction, (c) the languages of the teacher, (d) the pursued goals, leading to the fostering of bilingualism or towards a transition to the language of the mainstream, (e) the distribution of languages and times for the teaching of subject matter, (f) the type of school, whether it is experimental or control, (g) the distribution of languages by grades, and (h) the results obtained by pupils with respect languages (Cohen 1975:33-36). Later on, describing a set of principles for the description of bilingual education programs, he includes the following (1) program model, type, and design, (2) student characteristics, (3) instructional methods, (4) teacher and student language-use patterns, (5) functional language ability, and (6) development of language skills (Cohen 1983:135-141). All these distinctions are certainly necessary to typify and compare bilingual education programs. In this same respect, there is no doubt that a guideline, for instance the one provided by Von Gleich (1989b) would allow for a better comparison and analysis of bilingual education programs. However, my purpose is not to produce a typification along these lines, but rather to explore in more detail the use of languages and teacher-pupil relationships in traditional and bilingual education classrooms.

Nonetheless, following Von Gleich (1989a) it is convenient to establish some basic distinctions. Firstly, **Bilingual Education** shall be understood in a broad sense as the use of two or more languages in a given educational process (p. 67), and Bilingual Education in the strict sense as a systematic program where two or more languages are involved as subject-

matter and instruments of communication. Secondly, three basic models of bilingual education shall be distinguished: (a) immersion, (b) transition, and (c) maintenance (p. 68). Previously. I would like to reiterate a generalized distinction with respect to the labeling of the languages involved, whereby L1 designates the mother tongue of the pupils, and L2 the language to be learned. Henceforth, the immersion model, also called 'submersion' (Ambert and Melendez 1985), 'sink or swim', or 'enrichment' depending on the situation of pupils and languages, designates a situation of direct introduction into L2. Given this broad definition, both the cases of majority language speakers set to learn in a minority language (epitomized by the well known Saint Lambert (Canada) and El Marino (Culver City, California) cases (Ambert and Melendez 1985:15) and traditional castilianizing rural schools in Bolivia would fall into this category. Von Gleich writes that the latter cannot be properly considered 'a systematic bilingual education' (p. 68). (In the next chapter I will return to this question.). The transitional model has the main objective of passing from L1 to L2 (p. 68-69), while the maintenance model is geared towards the promotion of L1, without leaving the mainstream language out of the equation (p. 69). In addition, Von Gleich adds that many bilingual education programs in Latin America also add the label 'bicultural' or 'intercultural' to their labels, mainly with the intent of placing on equal footing the cultures involved both in terms of identity and use in the curriculum. (p. 70-71). Von Gleich is keen to notice that these two terms might lead to misinterpretations, in the case of bicultural as a transition from a 'primitive' to a 'modern' culture; in the case of intercultural as an education trapped in between the cultures. I would like to add that the very term bilingual (in bilingual education), that in plain language simply means two languages, without any distinction whatsoever (etymologically: <bi- 'two', lingua 'language') can also be mis-interpreted as the transition from a Low language (or even dialect in the derogatory social sense) to a High language (the superior language of the mainstream).

Although I concentrate on bilingual education in Bolivia I would like to make the point that many of its features with respect to discourses and social asymmetries are also found in other

programs around the world. Due to space limitations, however, this discussion must be left out. Suffice it to say that in spite of differences with respect to the peoples involved there are some patterns that repeat themselves in many parts of the world, namely unequal power relations, thus it is usually the case that the dominant sectors of the society are the ones that provide bilingual education for the marginalized 'minorities'. (Cf. for instance: Hill and Hill (1997) for the case of the Spanish-Nahuatl in Mexico; Stevens (1983) for French-Arabic in Tunisia; Bray, Clarke and Stephens (1986) for education in post-colonial Africa; the CERI-OECD (1983) study for the situation in fifteen countries also illustrates that similar patterns of diglossia and linguistic hegemonization (or modernization) can be found in other parts of the world, for instance, the Chinese in Hong Kong, the Maoris in New Zealand, the Sami in Norway, the native Americans in North America, the so called 'aboriginals' in Australia, and many others.)

In Europe and North America another situation of bilingual education has emerged due to the influx of immigrants, also called ethnic minorities. In these cases, where the European language, culture and political grip have been consolidated, the pressures towards mainstreaming are greater but the patterns seem to be the same. Thus according to Donovan et al:

The concerns [for ethnic minorities and indigenous populations] (..) tend to be three-fold: assimilation into the general population; preservation of ethnic characteristics (linguistic and cultural); and the accommodation of the general population to the sub-culture. (Donovan, Fordham, and Hancock 1983:11).

Although three options are given (i.e. assimilation, preservation, and accommodation) my impression is that the first option is the one pursued more militantly than the others. Education in this context is no longer an abstract endeavor devised to develop the abilities of the individual or to transmit knowledge, it is rather a political project designed to cope with the presumed problems of ethnicity within the context of the ideal nation-state.

The main message is that indigenous populations in modern industrialised nations are experiencing profound dislocations in their traditional lifestyles.

Education increases this tension; while providing a means to cope with change, it also usually forms a basis for assimilation of the minority population into the dominant culture rather than being a support for the language and culture of the minority groups and help for them to cope better with change. (Donovan, Fordham, and Hancock 1983:38)

On his part, Rist concludes that languages policies in Canada, France, Germany and the juk in recent decades also tend to be hegemonic. Thus:

With the language minorities being widely dispersed and coming from multiple sending countries (each with a different culture and language), the result is the formation of policy at the national level by the dominant group to encourage a monolingual and assimilationist approach toward these disparate peoples. (Rist 1983:271)

Again, the Canadian experience, reported by McKeown, might be considered as an example of linguistic tolerance, when the policy of the exclusive use of English or French as the language of instruction was eased by allowing the functioning of some "Heritage Language Classes" albeit in a conditional way, that they "may be held in a facility other than a school, provided the instructors are hired by the board and responsible to them, and provided the boards accept full responsibility for the classes..." (McKeown 1983:149-151). And this in a country where the federal government had proclaimed "to support the concept of a Multicultural Mosaic model for the country rather than the Melting Pot concept espoused in the United States." (ibid.)

The archetype of bilingual education of the transitional model can be found in the US, the home of the Melting-Pot, especially since the promulgation of the 1967 Bilingual Act. According to Molina:

.. the legislation was specific in saying that this program must have as its fundamental goal the learning of English by the non-English-speaking child, and it stressed a quick transition to total instruction in the English language. (1975:28)

Although in the beginning there were German, French, Scandinavian, Spanish, and Dutch schools (the first German-English bilingual school was set up in 1840 in Cincinnati), by the end of the 19th century the policy changed towards monolingualism in English (Cohen

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1975:29). "Until the end of the nineteenth century, language of instruction was not an important or prominent issue in education policy." (Malakoff and Hakuta 1990:28), According to Cohen, during the Americanization movement (1913-1923) statutes were passed to ensure that "English .. be the language of instruction in the public and private schools." (Cohen 1975:30). The purpose is the implementation of the melting pot concept, in some sense the pursuit of equity and unity of the nation-state. Incidentally, I would like to add that the metaphor of the melting pot is a deceptive one. Following the logic of the pot, at the linguistic level, from all the languages a new product would have to emerge, perhaps some kind of hybrid, instead only English emerges. According to Ambert and Melendez (1985:5) during the period 1917-1950 "bilingual education was almost completely eliminated in the US, and the study of foreign languages waned." However, by the 60s bilingual education becomes a serious alternative to the policies of direct Anglicization perhaps due to the realization of the problems it generated for non-English speaking minorities or perhaps due to political considerations. It is at least suspicious, in this sense, that "[t]he first modern bilingual education program was established at the Coral Way Elementary School, Dade County, Miami, Florida, in 1963 for grades 1-3 (..) for Spanish-speaking Cubans and for Anglos.." (Cohen 1975: 31; Ambert and Melendez 1985:5), that is in the aftermath of the Cuban revolution that determined the immigration of a large number of Cubans to this region. According to Ambert and Melendez two historical events caused the reevaluation of assimilationism: the launching of the Sputnik by the USSR and Fidel Castro's "assumption of power in Cuba", in addition to the Civil Rights movement (1985:5). A few years afterwards the Bilingual Education Act would be enacted, opening the road for the expansion of the bilingual experience in the US. In this new context, bilingual education bloomed and expanded, but although we must deprive ourselves from delving further into the matter, it is perhaps useful to reproduce the definition of bilingual education proposed by the BEA. Thus according to Title VII Bilingual Education Program:

[B]ilingual education is defined as 'the use of two languages, one of which is

English, as mediums of instruction for the same pupil population in a wellorganized program which encompasses part or all of the curriculum and includes the study of the history and culture associated with the mother tongue. A complete program develops and maintains the children's selfesteem and a legitimate pride in both cultures. (U.S. Office of Education, 1971 in Cohen 1975:32)

Notice that the emphasis is placed on equity and maintenance of the mother tongue rather

than on mainstreaming. However according to Ambert and Melendez the main orientation for

bilingual education has been the usual one: hegemonization. In their words:

As in the period prior to the First World War, instruction in the native language is a recognized component of the United States school system. Today, however, unlike previous pluralistic traditions, the trend of bilingual programming in most states has been toward assimilation of the ethnic group into the dominant culture.⁵⁵ Thus, instruction in the native language is utilized only until the child acquires sufficient English language skills to function independently in a monolingual English-speaking classroom. (Ambert and Melendez 1985:8).

In any case, it was under the umbrella of the Bilingual Education Act, that countless programs were developed, and followed by research to determine the merits and problems of individual programs, including the effects of these programs with respect to language proficiency and the intelligence of bilinguals (ibid.:41), but also generating heated controversies between advocates and detractors of bilingual education.

To sum up, there is a diversity of types and modalities of bilingual education around the world, but the patterns with respect to its main motivations and purposes in the context of situations of multilingualism (multiculturalism) and language policies, or to put it differently, in the context of power relations between peoples, are the same. In this framework, I would like to make two general observations. Firstly, that the proliferation of bilingual education programs or the use of two or more languages in education has to do with the facts of multilingualism and multiculturalism with respect to the organization of nation-states. Thus, according to a number of sources, it is generally believed that there are around 5,000

⁵⁵ However the programs "on Indian reservations and in Indian schools are usually maintenance programs. [Navajo, Cherokee and others]" (Ambert and Melendez 1985:7).

languages in the world today, but only some 200 States; the *Ethnologue* lists "more than 6.700 languages spoken in 228 countries." (Grimes 1996: title page). This correlation between the nation-states (or other centers of political organization, for instance the Hispanic colonial organization before the advent of the republics in the Americas) and the number of peoples (languages and cultures) within their borders, provide the ground for the emergence of language policies and its implementation through formal education and other means (for instance, the diglossic allocation of functions for the languages). Secondly, the whole question of the use (or exclusion) of languages in education boils down to the question of power relations between peoples. Thus, it is the dominant sector of the nation-state that provides bilingual education for the other (subordinated) peoples or nations. In our case, the Spanish speaking ruling classes provide bilingual education for the languages providing bilingual education for Spanish speakers.

1. Bilingual Education (Latin America)

In the Latin American context, as noted above by Von Gleich (p. 110), a number of programs adopted the labels of bicultural and intercultural, to emphasize the fact that the program was not reduced to the bilingual component and that the quest for better understanding between the mainstream and the target populations required the treatment of the cultural dimension in the bilingual education curriculum. Hence the linguistically 'biased' definition of bilingual education is explicitly expanded to include the cultural component. Thus it can be defined as the education process in two cultures and through two languages (Von Gleich 1989:70-71; Corvalán 1985). In Latin America, there is a trend of proposing interculturality as the alternative to the projects of integration and incorporation (Godenzzi 1996). Thus for Soto, talking from Ecuador, interculturality must be envisaged as:

.. una relación necesaria entre las diversas culturas, bajo los propósitos del reconocimiento y el respeto a la diferencia. (Soto 1996:140).

López, in turn takes pains to make clear what interculturality (as a discourse, as a principle for bilingual education) is. In his comparison of the differences between interculturality and mestization he says:

Mientras que el mestizaje cultural, al igual que el biológico, va por el camino de la simbiosis y de la combinación o mezcla, la interculturalidad supone el reconocimiento y valoración de la diversidad y la búsqueda de ideales y elementos comunes que permitan la unión, no la uniformización, entre entidades que se reconoce como diferentes. Mientras que la interculturalidad supone una relación dialéctica entre las unidades que dialogan, el mestizaje implica más bien la fusión de elementos de esas unidades y la búsqueda de una identidad homogénea y uniforme, en la que, por la asimetría y la diglosia que rigen las relaciones políticosociales, culturales y lingüísticas, prevalecerán en la fusión los elementos de la cultura dominante. (López 1994:116-117)

This is an interesting distinction: cultural mestization is a process of fusion; interculturality a relationship that makes the 'union' of the diverse possible whilst at the same time preserving the differences. If so, the problem is how do un-equals establish an equal dialogue? I shall leave aside the analysis of mestization (observed) vis-à-vis interculturality (proposed), and concentrate on the proposed interculturality. Two features appear to be important: the recognition and valorization of diversity, and the dialogical nature of the relationship between the formerly dominant and subordinated sectors of society. The prerequisite (recognition and valorization) is a mental attitude; the final goal is a dialogic relationship between members of the subordinated and the dominant cultures. The question is whether these ideals can be achieved solely through education. To counter fears and/or opposition from the dominant sector (politicians and academicians) against the new Intercultural Bilingual Education (IBE), for López the method is explicitation and persuasion; for example, that diversity might be taken as a resource to unite and construct "una sociedad diferente y más democrática" (p. 117). On the other hand, the opposition from parents against bilingual education must be countered with other arguments, concretely with a reference to the complementarity paradigm of reciprocity that had always marked their culture, or/and that consolidation of linguistic abilities in the mother tongue of pupils will allow them to learn Spanish better. Whilst the recourse to an "indigenous" cultural trait (e.g. complementarity of

contraries) is novel; the idea of getting better results in the acquisition of the second language by previously consolidating linguistic abilities in the mother tongue is often advanced by advocates of bilingual education. For Cohen, for instance, -commenting on some Mexican bilingual education experiments-"..education begun in the vernacular enhances the acquisition of the second language." (1975:27; cf. also Hernández 1975:196). In the same line, but in this case for Peru, Burns (1968) writes a paper entitled: "Niños de la sierra peruana estudian en quechua para saber español." Although I am not sure whether these strategies to secure the support from both involved poles (the mainstream and the target population) will be successful or not, there is one element in López' proposal that I would like to highlight, the idea of the dialogue between the cultures. In this sense, IBE cannot be envisioned any longer as a process of transition, but of an interchange, of a dialogue. In other words, I can see in this the basis for changing the terms of the usual asymmetric relationships, that have always characterized the relations between the 'whites' and "Indians". At the discourse level, this dualization resulted in two contrary positions with respect to the 'native' cultures: their integration into the mainstream, or their revitalization. However, revitalization might be understood as implying the defense of an ideal culture that no longer exists, and this combined with the fact that cultures are always changing, led some authors to object to the feasibility of revitalization. Two examples follow.

a. Particularism vs. Universalism. For Valiente (1996), the course to follow is the diffusion of confrontation. In her view the "universal" culture (i.e. the Western one) is not universal, but neither is the ("indigenous") culture too particular to become better than the not so universal "universal." Both are relative; thus the conflict is effectively diffused. In her words it is necessary to:

tomar distancia a la idealización de la cultura propia ... [but also to] desistir de una pretendida universalidad de los valores tanto del "nosotros" como de "los otros." (Valiente 1996:304) If values are not universal, then there are only particular values, but their truth value is relative. Perhaps there is no center as in Hawkins's universe, and all our positions are relative (i.e. not absolute). In society these values are relative to each other, and their growth or decay depends precisely on the nature of their relations.

b. Interculturality. Martínez (1996) analyzing the 1993 Political Constitution of Perú asserts that what on a first reading appear as progressist approaches to language and cultural plurality, still respond to the predominant discourse that theorizes diversity as asymmetric. The chapters under criticism are the following:

Derechos fundamentales de las personas: Cap.1, Art 2, numeral 19. "toda persona tiene derecho a su identidad étnica y cultural" .. "el Estado reconoce y protege la pluralidad étnica y cultural de la Nación." De los Derechos Sociales y Económicos. Cap 2, Art 17: "formenta la educación bilingue e intercultural" y "preserva las diversas manifestaciones culturales y lingüísticas del país" y además "promueve la integración nacional."

Martínez (1996:81) notes that with respect to cultural diversity the verbs are passive and defensive, 'recognizes, protects, preserves'; that is, an avowedly paternalistic attitude towards what is at the same time imagined as a population enclosed in itself, something reminiscent of putting people in reservations. Thus, diversity is out there and is to be accepted as is; there is no will to change it. In the case of bilingual education, the assertion that it is to be 'fomented', for Martínez, is but a mere hope that it develops by itself, the State does not commit itself to participate actively; in sharp contrast, it promotes (promueve) 'national integration' (Martínez 1996:82). The reluctance of the Constitution to recognize collectivities, other than the dominant one, brings into the light a conflict that has been going on for centuries: the relations between the dominant and the dominated; this is the conflict between the recognition of diversity (peoples, languages, cultures) and the desire to integrate, a feat perhaps reminiscent of the melting pot concept.

"¿Cómo es posible pensar una integración homogeneizadora?" Martínez asks, and then suggests that for this to be feasible it must transcend the cultural universalism, cultural

particularism dichotomy (ibid.:84). On the one hand, to embrace particularism implies "la búsqueda de una esencia ahistórica que debería ser rescatada de algún recóndito espacio inexistente" (ibid.:85). Changes (to the imagined culture) are conceived of as expressions of inauthenticity (for example Tarabuqueños wearing baseball hats). The culture is idealized. Integration may become simple the juxtaposition of the different, sometimes through 'armed peace' and 'marginalizing tolerance'. Cultures are theoretically equivalent, but in practice non Western cultures will be marginalized. On the other hand, to go for the universal culture implies accepting the notion that Western culture is the only valid one, a culture which has defined itself as universal, hence cultures must liberate themselves from their past "como de un lastre que no permite avanzar," and walk the roads of assimilation, integration, and uniformization, as has been the case in the history of the Americas (ibid. p. 86). Incidentally, the same idea pervades the claims that the only possible language for national communication is Spanish; 'the way things are', they say, makes it impossible to think otherwise. There are also those who speak of the impossibility of turning the clocks back: "no se puede retroceder la historia".

In brief, says Ana Teresa Martínez, "ambas propuestas son oscuras y tramposas". and that the problems of communication are not due to contact or hybridization, but due to the processes of domination infiltrated in them (p. 86). Thus neither the embrace of the particular nor of the universal cultures will make a dent in the status quo, in her words: "Lo que importa es cómo se plantean las relaciones.." (p. 88). In short, for Martínez, rather than push for idealized cultures (western vs. "indigenous") we need to look at the types of relationship between the agents (members of the cultures in contact/conflict). It would seem that most bilingual education programs, even under the claim of being intercultural, still operate under the assumption of the two worlds and the need to conciliate the pass from the "indigenous" or ethnic worlds to the mainstream. Martínez provides an important clue: the consideration of the type of relationship.

Returning to the issue of bilingual education, it should be noted that it has spread throughout Latin America as an alternative to the regular castilianizing school. But time and space limitations force us to deprive ourselves from discussing this theme. In any case, there are a number of sources that deal with this topic (cf. for instance Von Gleich 1989:149 on, for a fairly detailed description of bilingual education in Latin America).

4. PEIB

Since I have already made reference to various bilingual education projects in Bolivia, I shall now consider in some detail the Proyecto de Education Intercultural Bilingüe (PEIB), that constituted the main site of our fieldwork. I should perhaps also point out that I have been personally involved with the PEIB albeit for certain limited periods: as a teacher at the Universidad National del Altiplano, where some of the Bolivian teachers were trained, as a technician of the Comisión Episcopal de Educación that was running a bilingual program, as the National Coordinator of the PEIB, for five months (from September 1992 to January 1993), and as a UNICEF consultant, to name the main lines of my involvement with the PEIB.

The PEIB, sponsored by UNICEF⁵⁶ and the Ministry of Education, was initiated in 1990 and ended in 1994. In other words, it was implemented for five years to cover all the elementary grades contemplated by the educational system of Bolivia. Although it was funded by UNICEF, the PEIB was a project of the Ministry of Education,⁵⁷ being dependent in administrative terms on the Dirección General de Educación Rural (DGER). In addition, as made explicit in a number of documents and also public presentations by the project's

⁵⁶ The driving force behind the PEIB was UNICEF, not only in terms of technical and economic assistance but also as an influence at the higher levels of the Ministry of Education.

members, it boasted the participation of the teachers' and the peasants' unions: CONMERB, and CSUTCB, respectively. In the Guaraní region, the PEIB counted on the participation of the APG (Asamblea del Pueblo Guaraní). These organizations had permanent delegates assigned to the project. According to my observations, their presence was more of a strategic and political nature than of a pedagogic nature, for their contribution at this specific level was somewhat limited. But for the PEIB these organizations were considered the political and social arms ("brazos políticos y sociales") that ensured the PEIB's permanence in the educational system, preventing at the same time the interference of party politics (Choque 1995:25).⁵⁸ The approval of these grassroots organizations and the novelty of the approach that went along the lines of revitalization, according to Choque, a rural teacher and a leading figure of the PEIB in Bolivia, obtained 'a massive support' from the beneficiaries of the project (Sichra 1992:7). As will be described later on (Cf. Chapters 6 and 7), however, there is evidence that this was not always so. At the beginning of the project there were 114 pilot schools (58 Quechua, 34 Aymara, 22 Guaraní) which were increased to 140 (70 Q, 34 A, 36 G) by the end of the program (Choque 1996:1).

1. PEIB's history

The project itself began with a preparatory and selection course (1er. Curso Nacional de Education Intercultural Bilingüe) held during the month of July 1988, in La Paz, under the auspices of UNICEF and the Rural Education Teachers' Union (CONMERB). This course directed by L. E. López and Lucia D'Emilio and attended by some thirty Bolivian rural teachers was truly the beginning of the most elaborated and successful bilingual education

⁵⁷ During the government of Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada (MNR, 1993-97) the Ministry of Education was replaced by a Subsecretaría de Educación. The new government (Banzer, 1997-2002) however reverted to the most customary and generalized Ministry of Education label. For this reason, and given the durability and appeal of this title we will use it in this thesis to refer to the official educational structure, even when strictly speaking the label of 'Education Subsecretariat' (Subsecretaría de Educación) should be used (e.g. during the MNR government).

⁵⁸ The reference to the intrusion of party politics in the PEIB had to do with the controversial but customary practices of victorious political parties of changing personnel in public institutions in order to favor their own acolytes. (Cf. also Chapter 6.4. Teachers)

project in Bolivia so far. For the pupil-teachers who attended the course, it was both a refreshing experience and an opportunity to have a say in the on going efforts to improve rural education. In Choque's words:

los temas abordados eran tan impactantes que por primera vez hizo que nos diéramos cuenta sobre la labor alienante que desarrollábamos como maestros en el área rural y que por tantos años habían pasado detrás de las cortinas de la ignorancia cultural. (p. 15).

Let us remember, however, that at least from the 50s on, criticism of the 'traditional' school has emphasized its 'alienating', 'vertical', 'memoristic' and 'centralized' character. Nonetheless, there is no doubt that the course helped to focus on the linguistic and cultural issues to be taken into account in a bilingual and intercultural education.

After the course, six teachers and two university graduates were sent to Puno for a year long course in Education and Andean Linguistics (Lingüística Andina y Educación), hosted by the Escuela de Post Grado de la Universidad Nacional del Altiplano. This group of 'national technicians', as they were later on known, constituted the initial team of the PEIB, and would continue to play an influential role during the unfolding of the program, and in the Education Reform in the aftermath. After this initial group, three more groups of teachers were sent to Puno to be trained in the Lingüística Andina y Educación course.

2. Sociolinguistic survey

Following the steps taken in Puno (INIDE 1979) and Ecuador, a sociolinguistic survey was also carried out in Bolivia (April-May 1989), before the setting up of the PEIB. This study directed by L. E. López had the object of identifying the regions and communities where the PEIB was to be implemented. Adding other criteria to the findings of the survey, the sites were defined according to the following matrix:

Figure 14: Coverage of the PEIB

Region	Department	Provincia	<i>Núcleo</i> (Number of schools)	Criteria *
Quechua	Potosí	Saavedra	El Palomar (8)	SL

		Linares	Qhalapaya (8)	UNICEF
		Ibañez	Jank'arachi (10)	Iglesia
	Chuquisaca	Oropeza	Potolo (8)	SL
		Yamparáez	El Paredón (6)	SL
	Cochabamba	Mizque	Tukma Baja (8)	SL
			Raqay Pampa (10)	CENDA
	total Quechua		7 núcleos (58)	
Aymara	La Paz			
	Oruro			
	total Aymara		5 núcleos	
Guaraní	Santa Cruz	Cordillera		
	total Guaraní		22 centros educativos	

Source: Choque 1996.

*Criteria:	
SL	= criteria obtained from the sociolinguistic investigation
UNICEF	= requested by this institution due to their work in the zone
Iglesia	= Catholic church working in the zone
CENDA	= a NGO working in the zone

Although the three regions were part of the same project, there was a certain degree of independence between them, especially between the Guaraní and the Andean teams. Thus besides contextual differences (for instance, more acceptation of the project by teachers of the Andean zones than those of the Guaraní region; or avowedly greater participation of the community in the Guaraní region than in the Andean region (D'Emilio 1991)), the logistic separation also brought along some curricular differences, for example in the design and elaboration of textbooks for Spanish as a Second Language. To sum up, the Quechua and Aymara teams were located in La Paz, the Guaraní team in Camiri (Cordillera, Santa Cruz). Later on (in July 1992, after two and half years of working together), the Quechua team was relocated to Sucre (Chuquisaca) to gain a better logistic access to the schools (in Potosí, Chuquisaca, and Cochabamba⁵⁹ assigned to this team (Choque p. 21). There is no doubt that a relocation of the team was convenient, especially in terms of supervision and follow up; but what was gained in an approximation to the schools was lost in the overall coordination.

3. Aims and Objectives of the PEIB

Interculturality. According to Choque the ends (or overall goals) of the EIB are:

a) El fortalecimiento de las identidades culturales del país. b) El desarrollo de la solidaridad y trato igualitario entre nacionalidades dentro de un marco de respeto y diálogo intercultural. c) La búsqueda de una articulación real en un estado pluricultural, multilingüe y plurinacional, buscando la "Unidad en la Diversidad". d) El fortalecimiento del auto-desarrollo y potenciamiento de los valores culturales originarios o indígenas. e) La recuperación, revaloración, estudio, desarrollo y potenciamiento de las lenguas originarias. (Choque 1996:22)

As the examination of this list of goals reveals, the discourse that underlies them is that of 'interculturality', but perhaps implying some sort of reification of the cultures in contact. The intention is to achieve the ideal of cultural equity between the dominant culture and the "indigenous" cultures. In the goals listed by Choque, above, this main purpose is clearly stated in b) where cultures are conceived of as 'nationalities' and c) where equity is hoped to be incorporated within the structure of the nation-state. Moreover, this project of intercultural equity presupposes the existence of identifiable cultures whose features and boundaries can be clearly established, as made clear in d). The presupposition of these separable cultures and the need to revitalize the hitherto discriminated against "indigenous" cultures, seems to situate the 'intercultural proposal' within the framework of particularism, objected to by Martínez above (Cf. p.118) In the list above, a) provides the umbrella for d) (which proposes the 'self-development' and 'empowerment of the indigenous cultural values' and for e) which has to do with 'The recuperation, revalorization, study, development and empowerment of the vernacular languages'.

Objectives of the PEIB. Due to criticism of the transitional nature of previous pilot projects, and taking into account the experience of other Latin-American contemporary bilingual education programs, the Bolivian project carefully defines their modality as "educación

⁵⁹ The trip from La Paz to Cochabamba by public land transport takes seven hours; from La Paz to Potosí at least 13 hours; and from La Paz to Sucre from 17 to 20 hours.

intercultural bilingüe de MANTENIMIENTO Y DESARROLLO" (Choque 1996:23)⁶⁰. The addition of "DESARROLLO" to define better the model, undoubtedly was a reaction against some interpretations of the 'maintenance model' as meaning 'a maintenance of the status quo'; for example, to maintain the language in its state of regression (with a lack of 'modern' vocabulary, 'mixed' with Spanish, etc.). Thus to counter this interpretation, the new model is not only a maintenance model but also one of development (especially with respect to the idea of developing and standardizing the language). In addition, the objectives of the PEIB included: b) teachers training for the EIB; c) promote the introduction of bilingual education in the *normal* schools; d) improve learning, applying old but cherished principles, such as going from the known to the unknown, from the easy to the difficult⁶¹; and finally e) to contribute to the reform of education in the country.

Activities of the PEIB. The bilingual education teams had to perform a number of activities to implement the program, among them: the development of the bilingual and intercultural curriculum; the training of teachers (from 57 at the beginning of the experience in 1991, to 173 at its termination in 1994); the production of all the materials, including textbooks in three areas: mother tongue, Spanish as a second language, maths, and social and natural sciences (conflated as *Ciencias para la Vida*); the supervision and follow-up of the experience, including periodic internal evaluations of the experience. It is perhaps necessary to add that there were also external evaluations with respect to attainment, including control schools (First evaluation: Sichra 1992a; second evaluation: Plaza 1993b; third evaluation: Zegalles 1994; fourth evaluation: Muñoz 1993; fifth evaluation: Gotrett 1995). Although there seems to be no consolidation of these reports the findings in general are favorable to the

⁶⁰ The first of the five objectives presented by Choque, the first, that had to do with the definition of the modality: "a) Implementar una educación intercultural bilingüe de MANTENIMIENTO Y DESARROLLO, como una alternativa adecuada a la situación sociocultural y económica de las nacionalidades étnicas del país." (Choque 1996:23).

⁶¹ "d) Mejorar la calidad del aprendizaje en los educandos, tomando en cuenta los principios pedagógicos "de lo conocido" "de lo fácil", evitando en lo posible el fracaso escolar (repitencia, ausentismo, etc.)" (Choque 1996:)

experience. In the evaluation carried out by Plaza (1993b), for instance, there is an advantage of some 10% in achievement (*rendimiento*) of the experimental schools with respect to the control ones. In a comparison of achievement results in third grade bilingual education schools and control schools in Puno, it was also found that in the former schools the results are better than in the latter (Jung et al 1989).

Training. The language question was included in the teachers training sessions of the PEIB; not only as a mere academic endeavor but also as a militant commitment to the quest for language revitalization. Thus, recalling their training sessions, Choque says:

También se reflexionaba sobre el tratamiento de las lenguas en las escuelas, donde la predominancia de la lengua castellana era habitual en desmedro de las originarias. Para transformar esta realidad, se propuso invertir esta práctica; y así sucedió, el uso de la lengua quechua se convertía casi en un 100%: quechua en las formaciones, quechua en los recreos, quechua en las horas cívicas, quechua en el aula y de esta manera se convirtió en un hábito generalizado. (Choque 1996:37)

Although it is true that the mother tongue (Aymara or Quechua) was frequently used as a means of communication even in the castilianizing traditional school,⁶² the PEIB legitimated its used. However, Choque's observation of language discrimination is correct. Thus in the traditional school the language of the teachers has always been Spanish. So the bilingual teachers commitment had to do more with their own use of the Quechua language, and the need to increase its use. Empirical observation however seems to indicate a clearly defined selective use of the languages (Spanish among teachers, and Quechua to communicate with parents and children). In any case, the implementation of bilingual education introduced enough changes in the curriculum to affect the processes of language use and therefrom of language dynamics. One of the effects of this attempt to reverse the trends (i.e. to privilege

the language of the pupils) had, according to a number of complaints from the teachers themselves, from education authorities, and community members, was that the teaching of Spanish as a second language was not satisfactory. In Choque's words:

Es posible que esta reconversión en el uso excesivo de la lengua quechua, haya provocado el descuido en el uso del castellano como segunda lengua, porque los maestros se sentían realizados en las escuelas, el desarrollo de las clases eran muy dinámicas, había participación de los niños y niñas fundamentalmente; en síntesis, la comunicación maestro-alumno y comunidad era muy fluida. (Choque 1996:37).

Thus, according to this account, language revitalization had the positive effect of enhancing teacher-pupil communication and pupil participation; the price one had to pay in exchange for this, a lowering of the standards of teaching and learning the second language. There is no doubt that the use of Quechua (as an instrument of communication and as part of the subject matter) improved communication (as against the traditional tendency to impose Spanish); and at the same time improved the learning process (for now pupils had to deal with contents in the language that they already knew); but perhaps it is a little optimistic with respect to teacher-pupil relations (Cf. Chapter 5.3. Disciplines in the Classroom). In brief, the discourse of revitalization helped to further the progression of Quechua, but hindered the teaching-learning of Spanish as a second language. Other reasons for the progression of Quechua (both in linguistic and pedagogical terms) were: (a) the novelty of bilingual education, (b) the discovery by teachers that the process of teaching reading and writing in Quechua was easier and more effective than their former attempts to do the same in Spanish. As a consequence the teaching of Spanish suffered. According to Fabian, one the pedagogical assessors of El

⁶² The need to communicate obliged teachers to use the pupils' languages in spite of the castilianizing curriculum. Even in those cases when the teacher did not speak the language of the pupils, still circumstances forced the acquisition of the local language by the teacher. In one interesting case, a teacher in Pocoata (North of Potosí) not knowing Quechua resorted to pupils of higher grades, who acting as translators and helpers, solved the initial problems of communication. For all this, some teachers diminish the novelty of the new bilingual programs, arguing that schools in the rural areas have always been bilingual. For more on the use of the vernacular language, cf. Chapter 4.1.2. The languages of the rural school.

Paredón,⁶³ the new program triggered a spirit of competition among the teachers of the PEIB who in the early years of the PEIB were competing *como locos* to teach in Quechua. It is needless to repeat the reasons given to justify bilingual education instead of the so called direct approach that forced pupils to learn a new language (Spanish) and reading and writing in this language at the same time, while in the bilingual education program reading and writing took place in their own language, and Spanish was taught systematically as a second language (Jung and López 1988; López 1993:151; Zuñiga 1987b). In any case, the experience of most teachers of the PEIB convinced them of the advantages of bilingual education, and in most cases steered them to concentrate on teaching the three R's in Quechua, rather than Spanish as a second language.

Opposition to Bilingual Education

In spite of the new discourses of interculturality and linguistic normalization that attempted to counter the prevalent diglossia of the country, the PEIB was faced with intense opposition from a number of fronts: teachers, education authorities and parents. The fact that opposition to the PEIB continued to be voiced, in spite of its obvious possibilities constitutes an indication that the discourses that sustained diglossia are still in effect; a situation that also troubled other bilingual education projects in the region, for instance the PEEB-Puno experience (Hornberger 1989b).

Among the reasons furthered to oppose the use of the language was its purported lack of 'literature', meaning the absence of written materials. This is precisely the reasoning of a teacher of the Escuelas de Cristo:

"¿Cómo vamos a aceptar la enseñanza en quechua si no hay libros, no hay diccionarios ni otra bibliografía para enseñar en otras asignaturas?" "¿Aceptarán los padres de familia de que sus hijos lean y escriban en quechua, sabiendo que necesitan el castellano?". (quoted by Choque

⁶³ Teacher Fabián worked in Potolo as a bilingual education teacher, then he was sent to the postgraduate school at the Universidad Nacional del Altiplano in Puno, and--at the time of the research, 1996--he was assigned to the Educational District of Tarabuco as 'pedagogical assessor'.

1996:48).

As illustrated before (in Chapter 2.4. Policies), the 'lack of literature' reasoning is a common one. In the light of types of discourses, this teacher's reasoning appears to have remained in the first stage (eradication). What is interesting in this case is that it is being voiced by a teacher of the Escuelas de Cristo, dependent on the Comisión Episcopal de Educación that was experimenting with bilingual education since the 1980s. It would seem that the diglossic discourse still prevalent in the country was stronger than the discourses of service (within the framework of liberation theory) and betterment of the quality of education (by means of bilingual education) advocated by the CEE. It is also interesting that this teacher resorts to another common argument: that the speakers themselves (in this case parents) are against the use of their language for the education of their children, and rather are in favor of Spanish. In passing, let us note that the teacher above is clever enough to present his arguments not as direct affirmations, but rather as inquisitive questions. I understand this fact as one more signal that the conflict of discourses continues to be in full effect; and that although the revitalizing momentum seems to be predominant at the present time (at least at the official level), the other discourses (eradication, transition) have not been wiped out. For Choque, this opposition to the use of languages and cultures in education was due to the loss of their cultural identity on the part of those teachers who before were 'peasants' themselves, or simply due to non acceptance on the part of those teachers who are urbanites already (Choque 1996:59). In more comprehensive terms, opposition to the EIB, whether it came from teachers, from the media, or from the communities themselves was caused by diglossia and discrimination (ibid.:59-60).

The Curriculum

The curriculum of the PEIB is defined as: Bilingüe, Intercultural, Integrado, Productivo, Comunitario y Flexible (Choque 1996:36). In more concrete terms, the curriculum is organized around five areas: socioproductive, languages (L1, L2), maths, life sciences (social

and natural sciences), and recreational areas. Each area is subdivided in sub-areas, and these in turn in main themes (Cf. the matrix in appendix 2). At this point, I would like to emphasize that the bilingual education curriculum adopted by the PEIB not only took care to ensure the use of the mother tongue and Spanish both as languages of communication (instrumental use) and as subject-matter, but also the incorporation of cultural elements of the "indigenous" cultures. In a few words, the process started in the first grade with the teaching of the three R's in the mother tongue, introducing simultaneously the teaching of Spanish orally, following a methodology of second language teaching. In the second grade, while all the subjects are still taught in the mother tongue, reading and writing in Spanish are introduced, relying where possible, on the transference of previously acquired abilities, especially in the teaching of the new letter-sound correspondences of Spanish. At later grades, both languages continued to be taught as subject matter, but also used instrumentally.

4. The Impact of Intercultural Bilingual Education

In general, most reports about the projects of bilingual education indicate that they have made a difference, mainly with respect to the teaching of the three R's in the mother tongue, and hence contributed to the improvement of the self-image of the pupils (Cf. Hornberger 1989, 1990; López 1993; Jung et al 1990). Several evaluations of the PEIB (Sichra 1992a; Plaza 1993a; Zegales 1994) likewise found that achievement in the bilingual schools is somewhat higher than in traditional witness schools. On the negative side, the impression is that the bilingual education projects were not able to tackle successfully the teaching of Spanish as a second language, a problem that annoyed the PEIB and also the current Education Reform in Bolivia. According to Albó:

(..) el impacto inicial de la EIB es que se retraza el acceso al castellano en los primeros años de básico. (Albó 1995b:163).

Although this statistical inference must be taken with caution, mainly due to the short time of the bilingual experience, a mere two years and a half at the time the census was taken; it certainly confirms the widespread complaint of parents in the communities that school performance in recent years was worse off, especially with respect to the teaching of Spanish. Again, the changes made during the present Education Reform, according to personal observations (El Paredón, Oct. 1998) and investigations made by PROEIB-Andes (Oct-Nov) in six *núcleos* of the ex-PEIB demonstrate that the teaching of Spanish as a Second Language was not implemented, mainly due to the lack of materials and training.

Finally, to complete this sketchy description of the PEIB, some statistics will be presented in order to provide a global picture. In 1994, promotion rates in spite of all the problems, for instance absenteeism (Cf. Chapter 6.3) were relatively high, as the following chart shows.

Núcleo	Inscritos	Promovidos	Promotion rates
Jank'arachi	453	423	93.38
Qhalapaya	656	611	93.14
Potolo	655	609	92.98
El Palomar	502	447	89.04
Raqay Pampa	779	660	84.72
Tukma Baja	678	571	84.22
El Paredón	552	458	82.97
Totals:	4275	3779	88.40

Figure 15: Promotion rates in the núcleos of PEIB-Chuquisaca

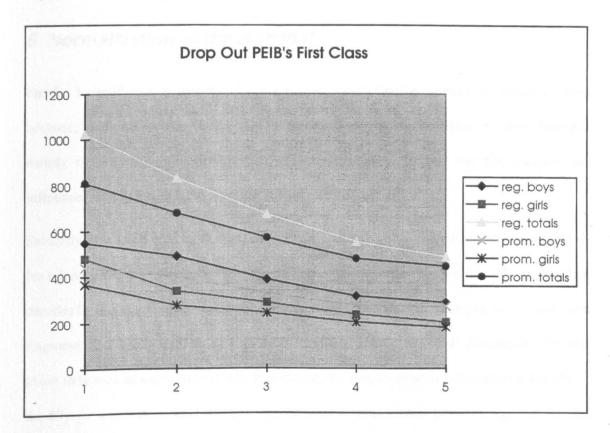
The overall average for these *núcleos* is 88.4 %. El Paredón appears as the least efficient unit in terms of promotion rates (82.97%); curiously Jank'arachi and Potolo, *núcleos* considered as problem units, boast the highest rates 93.38 and 92.98, respectively. I would like to add, that a more detailed examination of the available statistics (Cf. Choque 1996. Appendices) show that boys fare better than girls. Only in El Palomar do girls fare better than boys by a negligible 0.85 %. In all of the other *núcleos* boy have the advantage. Again this is a topic for further research.

One of the hopes of the PEIB was that the introduction of the mother tongue of the pupils into the formal curriculum in conjunction with teacher training, the provision of textbooks and so on would improve not only the quality of education but also curtail drop out rates. I

Source: C. Choque 1996

wanted to know what happened to the first class that studied under the bilingual education curriculum in the PEIB (1990-1994) and examined the changes with respect to promotion and drop-out. A graphic plotting of the pertinent statistics (Cf. Appendix 7) clearly show a decrease in the number of pupils that return to school.





The first thing to be noticed is that although promotion rates for each year average 84.78 %, the numbers and percentages of pupils retained in the system diminish quite dramatically as years go by. Thus from a total of 1,027 pupils registered in the first grade, only 487 make it to the fifth grade. In other words, a drop-out of 47.42 %. In addition, it is interesting to note that as years went by, promotion rates for those boys that remained in school increased, from 80.44 in the first grade to 94.41 in the fifth; the corresponding rates for girls were lower, but also increased from 76.67 to 89.05. Drop-out rates for this first class were around 18 % during the first four years (e.g. passing from 1st to 2nd grade, from 2nd to 3rd, and so on), decreasing only in the transition from 4th to 5th grade to 12 %.

At the light of these figures, the question is: has the PEIB made a difference with respect to attendance, drop-out and promotion rates? To answer this question, it would be necessary to analyze and compare the corresponding statistics of witness schools; but my general impression is that in spite of all the efforts made by the PEIB some problems remain unsolved.

5. Normalization of the alphabet

Firstly, I would like to note that I use the term 'normalization' instead of standardization because, as noted by Von Gleich (1989), this term has been generalized in Latin America, mainly through the influence of Catalan sociolinguistics. Bolivia has not escaped this influence, mainly through the writings of Ninyoles (1972).

Secondly, it is to be noted that the question of the alphabets has been a source of controversy for a long time, probably ever since the vernaculars were put in written form. In the last five decades in Bolivia it has monopolized the attention of many. As an example, let us consider a fragment of a discussion that took place at the Comisión Episcopal de Educación, that was about to launch an experimental bilingual education program (Spanish-Quechua) at the end of the 80s. As a new member, I was pressing for a more 'normalized' alphabet than the one that was in use by the team. The following extract from a taped discussion illustrates some of the arguments, and above all the emotions these alphabetic issues raised:

G: ¿Cuál es el uso que el hablante va a dar al alfabeto? y bien sabemos que el alfabeto en este momento si bien se ha tomado una decisión al paso del tiempo puede sufrir variaciones o modificaciones, entonces yo más bien dejaría esto a que sea el tiempo el que tenga en última instancia que decirnos, no? si el alfabeto que se está proponiendo a nivel internacional es el más adecuado o probablemente el tiempo nos diga que ese no es el más adecuado. Por ejemplo, tal vez Miss WW. ahora pueda decirnos algo; ella me decía 'Qué hago en Titicachi donde los alumnos, todos los hablantes.. no utilizan, no pronuncian -yoq, pronuncian yuj, iskayniyuj, no dicen iskayniyoq. ... ¿qué hago en ese caso?, ellos escriben con j, ellos, los que tienen el idioma. Entonces yo me pregunto: ¿van a primar los criterios los que tengan que primar? No lo vamos a resolver ahora, es cierto, lo hago simplemente... lo digo como un comentario, pero sin embargo, el tiempo yo creo que nos va a dar más luces, de momento yo creo... sólo estoy explicando como comentario.

The first argument of Ms. G. is that the question of the alphabets must be left for future discussions, in which case, by default the current version would still have to be used thus disqualifying any potential challenges. The second argument is based on the authority of the speaker and hence of the validity of their particular phonemic system. In this case according to Miss WW., who first worked in Michkhamayu as a bilingual teacher where she learned Quechua, the pupils in Titicachi (Northern La Paz) did not pronounce [-yox] but [yuh], thus the 'international' alphabet that I was proposing would be introducing a new pronunciation (i.e. [yox] written <-yuq>. In other words, the fact that the written language is not a transcription of particular forms of speech was not clear at the moment. I tried to clarify that the written word was some sort of referent only, that the local pronunciation had to be obtained from the written form following certain learned rules: thus chka, for instance, is read as [sha] in Chuquisaca, but as [sa] in Cochabamba. As Cerrón has put it:

En suma, la escritura no es de ningún modo fiel reflejo de la pronunciación, y si bien tiene un punto de partida en ella, la trasciende, para organizarse en un nivel de mayor abstracción y relativa autonomía. (1994:50)

The discussion at the CEE continued, but without really coming to an agreement.

Thirdly, this section on normalization of the writing of Quechua illustrates that the PEIB not only had to contend with the administration and pedagogical implementation of the program, but also with opposition from teachers and parents and with technical problems such as the normalization of the writing systems of the "indigenous" languages. Although by the time the PEIB entered the scene, the *Alfabeto Unico* for Quechua and Aymara (See Appendix 5) had already been promulgated as a governmental Decree N° 20227 (SENALEP 1984; Albó 1987:443), a number of problems with respect to the writing of particular words or morphemes remained unsolved (some examples are provided below). These problems had to be solved by the PEIB as they went along in the production of written materials. In the process, the PEIB—and afterwards the Education Reform—contributed effectively to the consolidation of what now is becoming known as the normalized writing of Quechua.

The basic problem has to do with the fact that the design of alphabets for the American languages was done by bilinguals, literate in Spanish. Although Quechua, Aymara, and Guaraní have been written from colonial times (Cf. for example Mannheim 1991:25-8), their use did not enter the "indigenous" mainstream, due to the simple fact that formal education was not made available to them. In fact, as Mannheim notices no vernacular monolingual ever became a writer in his mother tongue. In this context, despite hegemonic tendencies of Castilianization, alphabets thrived but failed to achieve generalized acceptation. In Bolivia, for instance, after the 50s there were at least three main contenders: the 'pedagogic alphabet' used by religious organizations akin to the SIL and adopted by the Academia Aymara, the 'indigenist' alphabet recommended by the III Interamerican Indigenist Congress, and the 'phonemic alphabet' devised by local linguists at INEL (for instance, Yapita's 'Aymara alphabet'). The mixture of interests, alphabets, and points of view (not excluding the phonemic point of view of descriptive linguistics) has generated heated controversies galore. The situation is similar in other countries of the region, and manifested by the number of events (workshops and the like) and articles written on this respect (for example: Albó 1983, 1987; Cerrón et al 1987; Cerrón 1989a, 1989b, 1992; D'Emilio 1986; Hornberger 1991; Itier 1992; Jung and López 1987; Stark 1983; Rubin 1978:193; Samanez 1992; TR-SCZ. 1990 [1989]; Zuñiga 1987a). In Bolivia, after the 50s, the development of alphabets for the Andean Languages (Quechua and Aymara) can be succinctly summarized by the following events:

1954: III Congress of the Instituto Indigenista Interamericano, that proposed almost phonemic alphabets for Quechua and Aymara, its main pitfall was the inclusion of five vowels instead of the recognized three by most linguists that studied these languages (Briggs 1993; Hardman et al. 1988; Cerrón 1987b, 1994:36-46; Jung and López 1987:491). These alphabets designed with the help of SIL linguists were made official by the government of Bolivia in 1954 (Albó 1987:433). However this legislation did not deter the proliferation of other alphabets, many of them produced by interested individuals, and some by religious organizations, such as the 'pedagogic' alphabet already used in Peru and Bolivia since the 40s. 1966: INEL, under the direction of Martha Hardman-de-Bautista, reinvents the alphabets following the phonemic principles set by descriptive linguistics (epitomized by Pike's *Phonemics* (1947), hence ignoring other alphabets, including the officialized 'indigenist' one, and also disqualifying historical sources under the presumption that these descriptions were pre-scientific. In short, the initial phonemic descriptions based on a few informants were later on transformed in fairly influential writing systems. It is in this setting that Juan de Dios Yapita produced his well known 'Yapita's alphabet', that had the virtue of reflecting the phonemic system of the Aymara language, including the three vowel system (Briggs 1993; Hardman et al. 1988). It also introduced the use of double (") inverted commas to indicate fricative occlussives (p" = ph, etc.) instead of the most common h, and the use of (x) to indicate a fricative postvelar, following the North American descriptive linguistics adaptation of the IPA.

1968: INEL sponsors a meeting for the unification of the Aymara alphabet, no doubt hoping to consolidate the Yapita version. Unfortunately, the meeting, under the influence of the Comisión de Alfabetización Aymara, a Protestant organization affiliated with the SIL, and the influence of the Academia Aymara, backfired, approving instead the 'pedagogic' alphabet that both institutions have been using (Albó 1987:433). A note on the 'pedagogic' alphabet is in order. This alphabet attempts to approximate the writing of Aymara to Spanish orthography; in order to facilitate the transit from Aymara to Spanish literacy. In this intent the alphabet, of course, includes five vowels, but also introduces some complications from the Spanish orthography, such as the use of <c>, and <qu> to represent /k/. The main complications introduced by this alphabet had to do with the representation of the occlusive series, summarized below:

Figure 17: Differences between the phonemic and the pedagogic alphabets

phonemic alphabet	pedagogic alphabet
p, t, ch	the same
ph, th, chh	the same

p' t' ch'	the same
k	ca, co, cu; qui, que
kh	qh
k'	q'
q	k
qh	kh
q'	k'
x	jj

These differences made the conciliation of positions and hence the adoption of a unified version virtually impossible. And thus the situation remained a chaotic one, each side persisting in the use of their own version.

1971: INEL, under the directorship of an ex-student in the USSR, convened another unification meeting, this time with the intent of resuscitating the 1954 indigenist alphabet. After the formal inauguration with the presence of the Minister of Education of the time, the meeting was aborted in the first session, due to the alliance between the SIL and the Aymara Academy who considered any discussion of the alphabetic question unnecessary and even counterproductive in view of the 'millions' of pages published by CALA and other institutions in the pedagogic alphabet, and also the new Aymara Grammar produced by Erasmo Tarifa (1969) of the Aymara Academy. In spite of this reconfirmation of the 1968 'pedagogic' alphabet, Yapita continued using his own alphabet, INEL did more or less the same, and others with less institutional backing continued in their own ways.

1983-84: SENALEP and INEL, after a national meeting in Cochabamba, sponsored by SENALEP-UNESCO, and a meeting in La Paz (1984) sponsored by the Instituto Nacional de Antropología (under my directorship at the time), that had the virtue of bringing together the main institutions and individuals involved in the alphabetic imbroglio, were able to produce what is now know as the *Alfabeto Unico* (Cf. also Albó 1987:444-58; Rivera 1987:163-64)

for Quechua and Aymara.⁶⁴ In essence the alphabet is phonemic, although it allows for certain allophonic variation, for instance in the crucial issue of the number of vowels for Quechua. While the 'pedagogic' alphabet was definitely scrapped due to its orthographic complications, and Yapita accepted to do away with his double inverted commas, the danger of a new schism between the three and five vowel fronts forced us to reach a compromise, that three or five vowels could be used until further agreements were reached. This made both fronts happy, although this 'eclectic' treatment, objected by Cerrón (1994:52), did not really solve the problems of unification. In any case, it was one step forward in the quest for normalization. The fact that the alphabet was later on made official by Decree 20227, of May 9, 1984 (SENALEP 1984) of the government, dispelled most disagreements effectively. Not all are, of course, of this opinion. Archer and Costello, for instance, dare to say that:

The new alphabet for indigenous languages was not universally recognized. Churches, who had thousands of copies of the Bible already printed in their own version of the alphabet, refused to discard the past. Moreover, a couple of influential linguists continued to promote the superiority of their own alphabets. (Archer and Costello 1990:162).

Although there were problems of acceptation of the new alphabet, the trend was set in motion; so that Archer and Costello's comments are somewhat misleading. It would also be interesting to know who the "couple of influential linguists" were, if only to set the records straight.

1990s: The PEIB and the Education Reform start using the *Alfabeto Unico* for the production of textbooks and other didactic materials, but since this alphabet simply provided the letters of the alphabet with very few hints as to their use, first the PEIB and then the Reform were obliged to work on the normalization of the vocabulary of the languages used in the school (Quechua, Aymara, and Guaraní; and lately at least some 10 'Amazonic' languages (El Mundo: 22-Nov-95).

⁶⁴ For more details Cf. Albó 1987:434-5; Rivera 1987:162-4.

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To illustrate the problems involved in this long process of alphabet 'wars' and the problems faced by the normalization process I shall consider next three basic problems: vowels, syllable final occlusive consonants, and morphemic writing.

1. 'The war of the vowels'

The problem is fairly well defined: there were those who advocated for five vowels (mirroring the Spanish system) and those who proposed a three vowel system, in congruence with the phonemics of the American languages. In later years, some of the most prominent champions of the five vowel proposition were the members of the Quechua Language Academy, and the SIL or associated institutions both in Peru and Bolivia, while the universities and other academic institutions opted for three vowels. This discussion does not apply to Ecuador.

Figure 18: Spanish and Quechua Vowel Systems

	Spanish		Quechua	
	Front	Back	Front	Back
High	/i/	/u/	[i]	[u]
Mid	/e/	/0/	[e]	[0]
Low		/a/		/a/

Thus, in Spanish there are five vowel phonemic contrasts (thus paso, peso, piso, pozo, puso are five different words); in Quechua the 'same' physical sounds appear, but these sounds are organized differently: [i] and [e] are variations of the phoneme, usually represented as, /i/; likewise [u] and [o] are variations of /u/. In other words, these pairs of sounds are variations of the same sound unit, in what is known as complementary distribution. Thus the mid variant cooccurs with a postvelar consonant (q, qh, q', x), and the high variant in the absence of the postvelar consonant. For example: **nina** 'fire' is pronounced with [i] because there is no postvelar around; but **qhipa** 'behind' is pronounced with [e] due to the influence of the postvelar [qh]. Given this explanation there should be no controversies on the convenience of 03 Bilingual Education

writing Quechua (or Aymara) with three vowels, due to the fact that the 'excluded' vowels are predictable. However most proponents of the five vowel solution did not operate under the motivation of academic phonemics but under their own perception and experience with the Spanish writing system (Cf. for instance Samanez 1992). The argument was that one could clearly hear the open sounds in Quechua, for example in /qunqur/ 'knee cap' there is an [o] sound, in /qhilla/ there is an [e] sound and so on, hence the logical need to write these letters. In brief, the proponents of the five vowel system 'heard' the five vowels and hence they wrote them; without considering that the phonemic system of Quechua (or Aymara) only made three distinctions. In other words, they were judging Quechua and Aymara using the phonemics and writing conventions of Spanish. Itier called this the relative rationale of the five vowel solution, pointing out that if he, as a speaker of French, would follow the same reasoning of the Cuzco academicians, he would have to propose the 8 vowels that he can actually hear (Itier 1992:89). Although not everybody is convinced, it is perhaps safe to say that this debate in Bolivia has been already won in favor of the three vowel solution, first with the acceptation of the 'eclectic' Alfabeto Unico; and then with the use of only three vowels in the PEIB and the current Education Reform.

2. 'The war of the consonants'

The case of the consonants, restricted for the time to Quechua, is a much more complex one, because it breaks with long held traditions with respect to the values assigned to the letters of the alphabet. The proposed system is mostly phonemic, as above, although it also pushes beyond phonemics to take care of dialectal variation and/or historical developments of the Quechua language, as advocated for by Cerrón in various forums and publications (for instance, Cerrón 1987; 1989a). For the sake of illustration, I shall next consider the case of the simple occlusives (p, t, ch, k, q) in syllable final position, and the normalization problems that they pose. We will also follow the chronological order in which these problems were attacked.

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1. **Postvelar q**. Although Burns, had already introduced the use of /q/ in the late 70s, through the PER-I (Encinas-Burns 1978), most people preferred the traditional use of j, for example, the word llaqta 'town' could be written:

llajta (popular version found even today in restaurants and so on)llajta (an inheritance of the 'indigenist' alphabet)llaxta (an influence of Yapita's alphabet)

In other words, there was no idea of the possible connection between [q] and the fricative postvelar [x] found in syllable final position. Thus when in 1983-4, I reproposed the use of /q/ instead of the above given alternatives, mainly to make the alphabet more phonemic, since [q] and [x] where phonetically similar and were in complementary distribution, some were not convinced, and still are not. For example, some people at the Universidad Mayor de San Andrés are still looking for minimal pairs to justify the use of the letter x. In any case, the introduction of this change opened the road for further normalizations. The point to be emphasized here is that this case is similar to the distribution found in the vowel system. Thus, in comparison, the rules are:

/i/ becomes [e] in the presence of a postvelar consonant, and [i] elsewhere. /g/ becomes [x] in syllable final position, and remains [g] elsewhere.

2. Postvelar k. The tradition here was to write a single j letter, as in: llijlla 'carrying cloth', or pujllay 'play'.

But, the PEIB in its early years proposed the normalization of these words by using k. Thus: **lliklla**, and **pukllay**. Again, it must be noted that the process is the same as the one found in the preceding case, hence /k/ becomes a fricative [h] in syllable final position. However the introduction of these two rules (i.e. $q \rightarrow x$, and $k \rightarrow h$ in syllable final position) brought out a problem that was completely unsuspected by the developers of alphabets: the loss of the difference between /k/ and /q/ after the vowel /a/. In Southern Bolivia at least all that existed in this position was the sound [x]. Thus words that in the North or in the past had a distinct final k, had become [x] in Bolivia: For example:

/llaqta/ 'town, city'	became	[llaxta], but
/wakcha/ 'orphan'	also became	[waxcha].

The recuperation of this lost k in the normalized writing system means that phonemics, the system internalized by the speakers, cannot provide the clue to determine whether a given word should be written with k or q, because present day phonemics will only provide /q/. In some sense, the problem is similar to the conservation of the letters s, c, z in Latin American Spanish in words where all of them sound as [s], for example *si*, *cine*, *zapato*. At the educative level, the recuperation of this distinction requires the learning of individual words, whether they are written with k or with q.

3. ch, t, p. Once it became clear that a rule was under operation, namely that simple occlusives became fricative in syllable final position, the same solution was adopted for these consonants. Thus:

phuchka might be read as [phushka], [phuska], or [phuchka] thatki might be read as [thatki] in the North, and as [thaski] in the South. llipt'a might be read as [llijt'a], [lliwjt'a], or [llift'a]

To sum up, the principle of complementary distribution applies to the alternation of occlusives and fricatives, but also the recuperation of a lost distinction. According to Mannheim this is a case of historical consonantal weakening in syllable final position (1991). In addition, in the case of *thatki* and *thaski*, the alternance again crosses the boundaries of phonemics, because /t/ and /s/ can also be found as phonemes in their own right in syllable initial position, for example *supay* 'devil', *tupay* 'encounter'.

3. Morphological Writing

The dialectal fragmentation of Bolivian Quechua, not seriously documented yet as far as I know, determined variations not only in the pronunciation of particular words, such as [thatki] in the North, and [thaski] in the South, or variations such as [phuchka] in the North but [fushka] in Chuquisaca or [phushka] in Potosí. These variations, but also the existence of regularities (such as the fricativization rule explained above), pressed for a normalization of

the written word, especially in the context of the production of textbooks. But once the ball was rolling, normalization passed the limits of phonology and entered the realm of morphology. In other words, while above the problems had to do with the encoding of an alphabetic system (basically, one letter and its sounds), the incursion of the morphology meant the reading of larger units, or morphemes. Now since each morpheme is represented as a combination of letters, the normalization of some morphemes meant that the individual value of the letters (or the previously phonemically assigned value) was no longer valid. An example might clarify the situation. In Bolivia, the durative morpheme --to use a term proposed by Cerrón (1987, 1994)-- has a number of pronunciations, in words such as puri-chka-n 'she, he, it is walking', according to regional and sociolectal variation,⁶⁵ as the examples below make clear:

[chcha-]	in Niño Qurin (North of La Paz)
[chka]	in Titicachi, Apolo (North of La Paz)
[ha-]	in Chuquisaca (Communities of El Paredón)
[sa-]	in Cochabamba (city, rural areas)
[sha-]	in Chuquisaca, Potosí (towns)
[shka-]	in Potosí (communities of North Potosí)
[sya-]	in Potosí (towns)

The problem here is clear: how to write the progressive morpheme in view of its variation and without resorting to an arbitrary selection of one of its forms? The traditional solution was each one writes according to their own pronunciation or preference. This freedom of choice, unfortunately, cannot be exercised in the printed media; the need to print one book only for all varieties required the adoption of a single form, whichever it was. But following Cerrón's guidelines, that include the consideration of dialectal variation in conjunction with historical developments, the PEIB adopted the form -chka. Other suffixes were also normalized, among them -chik 'plural', -pa ~ -p 'genitive', -pti 'conjunctive'. All these normalized morphemes and also the rules for the consonants and vowels presented above

⁶⁵ I have personally come across these phonetic variations of the progressive morpheme.

have been included in an auto-instructive manual for Spanish speakers (Plaza 1996). Similar manuals have been published for Aymara (Layme 1996) and Guaraní (Camargo and Barrientos 1996).

The problem with Quechua is that it can no longer be treated on a one dialect basis, especially at the morphological level. Subscription to the phonemic base would result in a number of systems, depending on the features of the dialect and mediated by the solution adopted by the phonetist. In practical terms, this would mean the publication of as many versions, for example of the same textbook, as dialects have been attested or pushed for. From the point of view of the publication of materials, for instance of Quechua and Aymara for SENALEP in the middle 80s, or the Education Reform now, feasibility imposed the convenience of one alphabet only.

5. Conclusions

In general we might advance the following conclusions: (1) that formal schooling, both regular and bilingual, is not a purely pedagogical exercise but something that responds to (and allows for) the exercise of power; (2) that bilingualism likewise responds to the same patterns of domination and manipulation built into hierarchical societies; (3) that despite local differences, the motivations for bilingual education are essentially the same all over the world. In the case of the PEIB, it is important to stress that it was one of the most serious attempts to implement a program of bilingual education along the linguistic and cultural lines current in the region. One of its purposes, at least from the perspective of UNICEF, was to provide a model to be adopted by the regular system; and by the end of the program it was thought that it could serve as the basis for the Education Reform. This unfortunately (or fortunately?) was not done: the Education Reform adopted the main orientation, that it had to be participative, but the specific experiences, for instance the textbooks and the curriculum produced by the PEIB, were not taken into account. Basically, the Education Reform started from scratch.

Chapter 4. Classroom Practices: Languages

1. Introduction

There are two chapters dealing with classroom practices. This division is more methodological than empirical due to the fact that in the real classroom all factors come into play at the same time. In this chapter, I shall concentrate on the use of languages in the classroom and the teaching of Spanish as a second language in the following settings:

1. in the traditional classroom: Quechua for communication, subject matter in Spanish, but Spanish is not taught as a second language.

2. in the bilingual education classroom: Quechua for communication when the subject matter is in Quechua, Spanish for teaching Spanish; teaching of Spanish: confusion of vowels.

1. Classroom

The classroom is an extremely complex phenomenon, for an infinite array of factors intervene at the same time, making the task of description and interpretation also extremely difficult. As pointed out before (in Chapter 1.3.), my principal methodological approach is qualitative and phenomenological, in the sense that I dwell on the details and significance of real events. From the phenomenological perspective, that objects to the notion of laws as fixed paths, all that matters, all that is real, is the particular event itself (Cohen and Manion 1994). However, as I dealt with actual events, and in spite of their uniqueness, some regularities could be observed. These observed regularities, of course, are the abstractions (or abductions) made by the observer; whether they are the enactment of ontologically independent laws, is another matter. In a few words, what I tried to do was to establish relationships between what I consider general trends—linguistic hegemonization, power relations, and so on—and particular events. Thus, dividing the spectrum of social reality, we might want to distinguish macro and micro phenomena. However, the question of whether the

macro is merely a construct or a level that operates under its own laws will be put aside. I shall simply assume that there are two levels of reality, or of analysis, and that these two levels are somehow connected. For instance, the instructive from the educational authorities to teachers to use the mother tongue of the pupils, is a general statement, in fact a law, that hovers above, it comes from above, and has to be put into effect by particular teachers. This is a macro level. The workings of the particular teacher, his words and deeds, taken as actual observed instances, constitute the micro level. The point is to attempt to establish the links between these two levels. Now if we start at the general level, the world of generalizations, of statistics, of laws, etc. and attempt to verify their validity, we need to go back to the details, to the micro level. From the classical methodological perspective, this is simply the application of the deductive method. On the contrary, attempting to establish generalities on the basis of isolated individual cases, might be deemed as a case of inductionism. Both deduction and induction if conducted blindly will lead to error, or distortion. Thus the process of going back and forth from the general to the particular and viceversa, rather than pure induction or deduction will have to include the process of abduction (that we mentioned in the introductory chapter), where finding the link, or venturing a hypothesis is essentially a creative act (or a construct advanced by the observer-interpreter).

But, as they say, the devil is in the detail. I say this with two veins in mind: firstly, with respect to the details I found in the recordings that I transcribed (Cf. Appendix 3: Tapes and Videos), some 300,000 words, that in a classroom situation often implied a superposition of voices; and secondly, with respect to the problem of where to draw the line, both in transcribing and in analyzing. Thus our selection of events (things that take place in the classroom) or specific parts of events (fragments of a class), or even just some phrases and words is somewhat arbitrary because these selections attempt to bring into the open what I consider to be manifestations of the points that I am trying to illustrate. In my transcripts, I drew the line at a very broad phonological level. More concretely, I basically use the conventional spelling in Spanish and the normalized writing in Quechua, but introducing

some phonetic details when relevant to the argument. Transcription of classroom activities had to include: teachers' talk and pupils' responses, but also comments of and chats between pupils, and sometimes visitors. In the classroom, we concentrate on verbal behavior, having three levels of analysis in mind: (a) the form of the discourse / ideology, (b) their meanings and (c) the way teacher-pupil relationships. Our hypothesis is that classroom events, or more specifically verbal interchanges between teachers and pupils constitute the point of encounter (the *tinku*) of their respective worlds, but an encounter in tension where knowledge-power is applied and produced: by the teacher attempting to fulfill the requirements of the curriculum (formal and informal), by the pupils developing strategies to survive in the classroom.

2. The languages of the rural school

Teachers interviewed by Miracle in Guaqui and Ancoraimes, in La Paz, illustrate the adaptations the teachers were forced to make to solve communication problems (Miracle 1976:55). In one of the schools Miracle visited for his research (1976), the director told him that "none of the teachers at the Guaqui school spoke Aymara, and that there had been no attempt to use it in the classroom." Later on, however, Miracle found that Aymara was indeed used for communication in the classroom:

"The really bad problems are in the first year (*primaria*), the teacher said. "By *segundo* they can communicate (in Spanish). But their pronunciation is terrible!" What do you do to overcome problems of language in the classroom? "I speak in Aymara." (Miracle 1976:57).

This reference to their "terrible" pronunciation is part of our perceptions and discourses about the "right" kind of Spanish. These perceptions are always in the background: the speaker himself might be speaking in dialect, but his idea of the standard is what guides him in his evaluation of others' pronunciation, in this case of the pupils. According to Miracle's narrative, for one teacher, learning Spanish amounted to a process of "desburramiento".

In addition, while the teacher furthers the progression of the mother tongue by using it for communication with the pupils, the latter are rapidly learning the official language.

According to the director of the Guaqui school, interviewed by Miracle: "most of them [the pupils] learn Spanish within four months. After that it is not a problem." What Miracle found in La Paz, was widespread also in the Southern region of the country that I had the opportunity to visit some years later. During the late 70s, I made a trip from Oruro, to Chuquisaca, and Potosí as far as Villazón on the border with Argentina, as part of a survey for the sociolinguistic investigation the Consejo de Racionalización Administrativa (MEC-USAID) was going to undertake, as preparation for the PER-I (or bilingual education project to be implemented in Cochabamba). One of the questions we asked in every community we visited⁶⁶ had to do with the use of languages in the classroom and the situation of the pupils. I was surprised by their responses. Most teachers agreed that pupils, even the most monolingual of them, "*los más cerrados*", managed to learn Spanish in some 3 to 4 months, and "*los más lentitos*" en un año. These are, of course, opinions, and must be taken with caution; but these opinions which are repeated in many places and periods must be based on experience.

In Urmiri, Potosí (an Aymara community that had a policy of Quechuization), the young people we interviewed (c. 1974) told us that they already knew how to speak Spanish: "ya sabemos el castellano, porque somos los primeros que hemos entrado a la escuela". In retrospect, the situation seems rather ridiculous: my assistant, an old lady (a former teacher turned bureaucrat) and I, both living in La Paz, persisted in speaking in Quechua (among ourselves), while the young people of the community spoke in Spanish. In Tarabuco, today (that is 20 years later), we have a similar situation: most young people can speak Spanish. Some of them, especially in El Paredón preferred to speak to me in this language, rather than in the most normal, everyday Quechua. To sum up, these observations are congruent with statistics (demographic progression of Spanish and regression of the vernacular languages, as described in Chapter 2.3. Language progression), and also with the idea that schooling, in

⁶⁶ The communities we visited in the South of the country were part of a random sample drawn by those

spite of its purported shortcomings, contributed to Castilianization (for example, Klein 1992; Albó 1994; De La Riva 1988).

It must be pointed out in addition that the use of Spanish (and a vernacular) in the school depends on the degree of monolingualism or bilingualism of the immediate context. For example, in Siglo XX, a mining center in the North of Potosí, where I went to elementary school, in spite of the fact that many pupils spoke Quechua or Aymara, and in spite of this mining center being surrounded by peasant communities where Aymara and Quechua were spoken, in the schools of the *Empresa Minera Patiño* never was a Quechua or Aymara word uttered for communicational purposes. In contrast, in most schools entrenched in rural areas, the use of Quechua (or other languages, according to the region) became a necessity. In Wankarani, Pocoata, North of Potosí, there was the case of a new teacher that did not know Quechua, but she resorted to some pupils from higher grades to act as translators, until the pupils understood enough Spanish for her to carry on with her work.

In these circumstances (i.e. the need to communicate with pupils), many teachers managed to learn the language of the pupils. In El Paredón, at least two teachers succeeded in this endeavor: Isabel and Darío. Mrs. DD., however, only learnt the basics of Quechua. The case of Isabel, the pedagogical assessor in training in El Paredón (1995) is a good example of this pressure of the environment. Isabel spent eight years as a teacher in Michkhamayu introducing the notion of bilingual education (albeit in an empirical fashion) in a school which was sponsored by the *Centro Cultural Masis*,⁶⁷ and which was later incorporated into the PEIB. In the process she managed to learn Quechua with the aid of women from the community. The cases of Sonia, Elizabeth, Esther, Sara, Nora, Lourdes (Michkhamayu, El Paredón, Qullakamani, and Pisili) are also interesting with respect to the role of today's rural school in the process of recent Quechuization: all of them came from the University of Sucre

in charge of the "Diagnóstico Sociolingüístico" in terms of Departments, Provincias and Cantones.

with the intention of enhancing their knowledge of the Quechua language, in order to pass the oral examinations of the university to obtain their degrees.⁶⁸ In the schools of Icla, further down South, the use of Spanish in the classroom is more general. But this school is in a town, not in a community; and although towns are usually bilingual, the language of the school is Spanish.

To sum up, although there are no detailed records of classroom practices⁶⁹ in the traditional rural school, from what I have been able to see and from numerous unrecorded conversations with teachers, the general practice was to use the language of the pupils for communication while maintaining the official curriculum in Spanish. This situation is the same in the Andean countries (Perú, Ecuador, and Bolivia). Thus, for Ansión the use of the mother tongue of the pupils by the teacher is a 'need of life' in the sense that it solves the communication problems but at the same time produces 'guilty feelings' in the teachers who have the conviction that Spanish must be used. In his words:

Salvo en los programas de educación bilingüe, al actuar así, el maestro lo hace con mala conciencia, pues cree (de acuerdo a la ficción oficial que supone un país que sólo habla castellano) que debería hablar solamente castellano. La vida misma lo obliga, para dejarse enten-der, a arreglárselas "explicando" en el idioma materno y traduciendo, escribiendo, sin embargo, exclusivamente en castellano. (Ansión 1988:117-118).

In any case, I suspect that the use of the language of the pupils in many rural schools was not a transient occurrence, rather that it became customary and systematic, especially in the early grades. It was, of course, not formally planned or designed as bilingual education, for which

⁶⁷ The Centro Cultural Masis is a private organization with headquarters in Sucre and sponsored by a band that specializes in folkloric music.

⁶⁸ In the University of Sucre, students specializing in linguistics and the Quechua language had to pass an oral examination in this language; in other universities, for instance the university of San Andrés in La Paz, in recent years students in the Department of Language and Linguistics were required to write a thesis and have a viva (that is an oral exam in the language of specialization: Quechua or Aymara). In addition, it must be pointed out that in many universities some degree of speaking knowledge of a 'native' language is also required for graduation in courses such as: sociología, trabajo social, enfermería, agronomía and others.

reason some authors do not consider these practices as bilingual education properly speaking (Cf. for instance Von Gleich 1989). On the other hand, the mother tongue was disposable in so far as it was replaced by Spanish as years went by and the linguistic competence of pupils in this language increased. In short, circumstances obliged the use of local languages in varying degrees: from zero in 'modern' towns such as Siglo XX (Potosí) to full adoption as the language of communication as in Molle Mayo (Chuquisaca). It is the realization of these uses or practices, part of most rural teachers' experience that gave support to some rural teachers' claims that they have been practicing some kind of bilingual education even before the Reform. Some teachers in Cororo (Chuquisaca), for example, claimed that they have been doing 'bilingual education' all along. It must be noted that most of the teachers in Cororo were against the introduction of bilingual education', meaning the use of Quechua for communicational purposes in the classroom, was meant to counter the claims of novelty of bilingual education, especially in the context of the Education Reform.

However, the central administration ignored this traditional practice, assigning teachers to their posts without taking into account their linguistic background, so speakers of Quechua were assigned to Aymara speaking zones and viceversa (Miracle 1976; Albó 1995b:63). Thus teachers who happened to work in a community whose language they did not know usually found themselves in trouble. In Urmiri, some years ago, we found that the teacher did not know Aymara, and was thus the subject of secret comments and jokes by his pupils (Carvajal, personal communication). On the contrary, the adoption of the mother tongue of the pupils, with the exception, perhaps, of Warisata, where Aymara was encouraged, did not imply its entrance into the official curriculum. It seems that the thought simply did not occur.

⁶⁹ However, Miracle describes some examples of the use of Aymara and Spanish in some schools in La Paz (1976), but these include a visit from a 'profesor' of linguistics from INEL (in other words, not a regular traditional class); and Luykx (1993) describes classroom practices, but in the context of a normal school.

3. Opposition to the mother tongue from her own speakers

As Mejía notes, SENALEP had to face a number of difficulties to implement their literacy

program, among them the opposition of the interested parties.

.. hubo en todo el país mucha presión de parte de grupos étnicos resistiéndose a ser alfabetizados en su propia lengua y planteando que necesitaban, por razones no sólo de prestigio social, sino de utilidad práctica, aprender el castellano, que es el idioma no sólo oficial sino a la vez dominante (Mejía 1991:16).

This situation does not seem to have substantially changed, from militant opposition (Potolo, Redención Pampa (Cf. p. 318)) to complaints that the pupils are not learning Spanish in school.

2. Teaching Spanish in the traditional schools

Repeating a little, the use of the "indigenous" languages for communicational purposes in traditional schools, not being formally introduced in the curriculum, varied according to the sociolinguistic context, and of course the linguistic competence and initiative of the teacher. In fact, as we have seen in our section of criticism of traditional school, some observers advocated for the use the mother tongue, albeit to further the cause of education and Castilianization. However, it must not be forgotten that the priority was the Castilianization of the pupils, which in many cases led to violent tactics, such as the prohibition to speak the mother tongue. In the past, this prohibition to use their mother tongue, imposed on children in order to speed up their Castilianization was widespread in the region (cf. for instance De La Torre 1997, Cotacachi 1989:255 for Ecuador; Rubin 1968:27 for Paraguay; Jung 1987:85, Larson 1979:37 for Peru; C. Choque 1996:11, CSUTCB 1991 for Bolivia). During my years at the Instituto Nacional de Estudios Lingüísticos (INEL 1970-85), many of the testimonies emphasized this aspect of school experience, the prohibition to speak the mother tongue. Tomás Huanca, on his part, in his analysis of bilingual education in Bolivia, recalls that in the traditional school:

se estudiaba en castellano y era prohibido expresarse en aymara (...) lo que podía explicar el maestro en el aula quedaba en vacío, eran palabras que se repetían pero que no se entendían (quoted in Mejía 1991:24).

In Huanca's words the hegemonic nature of the tension between the polar extremes (Spanish and Aymara, in this case) resonates again: to possess Spanish one must leave Aymara behind; the main problem was that the new language was not understood. It must be added that the problems encountered by children attending rural schools were not reduced to the language question. As Yraola says:

From the moment they enter the walls of the school building, they find themselves immersed in a totally new and different medium in which their habitual code of communication is no longer of use, or its use is prohibited, and where they are exposed to a series of new experiences totally alien to them (starting with books and their illustrations, the contents of which all reflect an urban life which bears no relation to that of the countryside). (Yraola 1995:21)

It is perhaps worthy to emphasize the situation from a more political perspective: the Bolivian rural school is the school designed and implemented by the governing nation (culturally white) and the children that attend this type of school belong to other nations (Aymara. Ouechua, Guaraní, and so on). There is no doubt that problems will emerge, due to linguistic, cultural, and mentality differences. From the broad perspective of bilingual education, the traditional rural school might be classified as an immersion model; however, in spite of prohibitions to use the mother tongue, what we have observed and what teachers say about the castilianizing classroom, indicate that the 'empirical' use of the mother tongue has softened the sink or swim model. Thus, in spite of the urge to further the cause of Castilianization, teachers had no other choice than to resort to the language of the pupils for the sake of communication, although the use of the mother tongue for this purpose depended on the degree of monolingualism or bilingualism reached by the community. In any case, the ultimate goal of the school continued to be the Castilianization of the pupils. Paradoxically, however, Spanish was not taught systematically, no materials were developed to teach Spanish as a second language, no teachers were trained for this purpose, and no methodologies were developed. In these circumstances, teachers were left to their own

resources to cope with the language barrier: my hypothesis is that they solved it using the language of the pupils. The examples of the school of Molle Mayu that are examined next illustrate the point.

1. Using Quechua to teach a curriculum in Spanish

In the 'sectional' school of Molle Mayu (núcleo Elizardo Pérez, Candelaria, District of Icla), there were two grades (first, and third with 34 pupils in total) in 1996, taught by one teacher, Mrs. RR., who has been there for three years at the time of my visits. There is also a nursery run by the local *comunarios* with the aid of an NGO. The language of the community is Quechua, and all interchanges between the teacher and the *comunarios* take place in this language. In the classroom however a strange mix of languages is produced: the mother tongue is the language of communication between teacher and pupils, but the curriculum dictates the use of Spanish for the expression of its contents. In the fragment of a reading class for the third grade, we can observe this strange situation:

Reading	class,	third	grade
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Teacher	Pupils	Comments
-	tobo, tobo , kay tobo	pupils talking in Quechua
	tube, tube, this is a tube.	
Yasta imapi kachkanchik?	tobo /// ⁷⁰	response in chorus; but they say [tobo] instead of tubo 'pipe'.
All right where are we?		
tuu-bo, a ver tu ⁷¹ imamantari?	vacamanta ///	-the teacher corrects by emphasizing the syllables: tuu-bo.
<i>tu-bo</i> , let's see, you, where does it come from?	from cow	-a number of voices volunteer the answer. Teacher begins to recapitulate the mnemonics for R&W, namely the 'origin' of the syllables from code words.

⁷⁰ In the transcripts, slashes (///) are used to indicate the repetition of the same response by other pupils; and a single slash (/) to indicate the answer by another individual.

⁷¹ Two or more periods used immediately after an utterance or part of it signifies a slight pause, or a change of course (leaving a phrase or sentence unfinished, and starting a new one).

tuu uvamanta, uvamanta i? u uvamanta i? tuuu from uva 'grape,' it is from uva, isn't it? mana ñawiyuqchu i? It doesn't have an eye, does it?	arí	the vowel confusion is to be solved by mnemonics: it is uuu that comes from uva; teacher provides the right answer, not as new information but reinforcing, reminding, and re-agreeing with the assumed knowledge of the pupils; not as an imposition but as an act of agreement (made visible by the tone of her voice, but also by her use of the tag i?)
ya kunan bo y bo? imamantarí ruwankichik? All right now bo and bo? where does it come from?	<i>borro</i> manta <i>vaca</i> manta from burro from cow	non phonemic nature of b/v tests the usefulness of mnemonics.
ma. burromanta ruwaptiykichik mal kachkan. No. if you do it from burro it is wrong.	vacamanta	pupils are right in associating the second consonant of <i>tubo</i> with b of <i>burro</i> ; however the teacher disallows this association, providing instead the v of vaca, in which case the word would have to be <i>tuvo</i> , the imperfect past of tener. This meaning subtlety is ignored.
<i>vaca</i> manta from cow () ⁷²	vacamanta, vacamanta	some pupils keep repeating the clue; mixing in the process the Spanish word vaca with the Quechua suffix -manta 'from'

In brief, the words that are object of study come from the textbook, written in Spanish; but the language of communication between the teacher and the pupils is Quechua. Afterwards, the teacher observed that some pupils wrote *tobo* instead of *tubo* 'pipe', and provided the correction simply emphasizing the pronunciation of the word: **ya qhawaychik**, *tuuu-bo* 'All right, look at the word [it is] tu-bo'. As she provided the model tu-bo, all pupils pronounced the word correctly, with no traces of the interfering open sound. Since it was already time to end the class, the teacher finished with an assignment for the first grade, that again illustrates the differentiated use of Quechua and Spanish.

R: primeros a ver uyariwaychik, q'ayapaq ... <u>tarea</u>, <u>uno</u>manta <u>hasta el quince</u> junt'ankichik hojaman, ya?

⁷² Three periods in parenthesis: (...) indicate that part of the transcript has been omitted.

First graders, listen to me, for tomorrow .. homework (will be) from one up to fifteen, you will fill up the page, OK? (...) pupils: ya señorita, ya.

The need to refer to items of the lesson (that comes in Spanish) determines code switching at word (*primeros, tarea*) and phrase level (*a ver, hasta el quince*), but also certain degree of mixing, (*uno-manta* 'from one onwards', *hoja-man* 'to the page'). Pupils, in turn, always address the teacher as *señorita*, perhaps identifying the teacher with the Spanish speaking world.

In spite of the fact that pupils have been dismissed, some linger around, some ask questions to the teacher, some show her their work. The teacher checks on their work and reads aloud some of their mistakes:

R: he-chi-ce-ro ñin, kay mal kachkan, <u>a ver</u> vueltamanta, ichiciro ñin chaypi, chisero ñin. A ver qhawaychik, jinata. Kay imataq?

It says wi-zard, this is wrong, let's see again, there it says *ichiciro*, it says *chisero*. Why, you look at (the word) like that. What is this?

The teacher realizing that pupils are having problems with the word *hechizero* 'wizard' resorts to two strategies: (a) to tell them to look carefully at the written word and (b) to listen to the oral model.

Hechizero 'wizard' is a difficult word, not only because high and low vowels are confused [ichisero], or [echesero], but also because a quasi process of vowel harmony⁷³ operates in Quechua, which in this case is governed by the selection of the first vowel: thus, if [i] is selected, the tendency is to produce [ichisiro], or [ichisiru]; if e, [echesero]. Whilst the absence of the conditioning factor of vowel lowering (the presence of /q/ in the word) might leave the children (or any monolingual Quechua speaker) puzzled (Cf. below the rule of

vowel lowering, Figure 19: Vowels of Spanish and Quechua on p. 177), it appears that once a selection is made of the first vowel, the mentioned harmony applies. In brief, the first problem is to recognize the vowels; the second, to overcome the tendency to vowel harmony. This is why words with alternating high and low vowels, such as *cuchillo*, *Pepito*, *muñeca* are so difficult for the children.⁷⁴

Finally, the teacher is forced to ask pupils to leave, as illustrated in the fragment below. Although as mentioned before her sentences include words from the contents of the lesson (for instance, *sumas y restas* 'additions and subtractions' below), they also include words that have entered most dialects of Quechua (e.g. *queda-y* 'quedar', *ya* 'OK' and *pero* 'but').

Chaysitupi quedasunchik , ya?	Chayqa señoreta
We will stop there, OK?	There Miss.
Q'aya ruwasunchik sumas y restas, ya? Tomorrow we shall make additions and subtractions, OK?	The children start leaving, some still repeating their syllables.
Pero ripullaychikña, imata	The teacher urges the children to leave in a
sayachkankichik chaypi.	loud voice, but some linger around, talking
You can leave now, why do you remain	and fooling mostly, but some still counting
standing there.	their numbers in Spanish.

(Tape 106, 961113)

To sum up, in the fragment of the reading class that has been just reviewed, the language of

communication of the teacher is predominantly Quechua, with a few Spanish phrases and

⁷³ Strictly speaking there is no vowel harmony in Quechua (as in Turkish for example); in general, the allophonic high-low contrast of *ii* and *iu* is determined by the absence or presence of the postvelar occlusive /q/ in the root of the word, regardless of the position of the vowels (before or after the a). But, at least in my Quechua, there are exceptions: **lluqsiy**, but **suqta**, following the general rule. My reference to a quasi vowel harmony process has to do with the fact that the opening effect conditioned by the postvelar occlusive might also cross morpheme boundaries, for example in [warme-xta] 'of the woman', or [moroq'o-pone are chayqa] 'That is certainly a ball'. This last example, might occur in as a joke or an imitation.

⁷⁴The confusion of vowels is not restricted to children; some bilingual adults continue experiencing these problems. A young Aymara, working in INEL, used to have spelling problems with the 'dangerous' words such as viscisitudes <vescisitudes>, indivisible <endevisible>... The confusion affects all Andean countries, where Quechua or Aymara are spoken. It is also a matter of 'racist' jokes (another form of establishing disciplines). One example: Qué es una meseta? -Un accidente geográfico? No. Una meseta es una tableta con sus cuatro patetas.

tags (such as ya?, a ver) thrown in; the language of the pupils is naturally Quechua; however both teachers and pupils have to use Spanish for the words contained in the lesson.

2. Quechua for teacher-pupil conversation

Repeating a little, outside the classroom the language of communication is exclusively Quechua, although Spanish will always enter into the interchanges when references are made to the classroom-words. In addition, some words and phrases from Spanish have already become part of the vocabulary of Quechua, for instance *borra-* 'erase', *quedaku-* 'to lag behind <quedarse', *cálor* 'hot', *a ver* 'let's see'. Some of these words appear in the fragment of a conversation after the class described above.

Teacher	Pupils	Comments
Kunan qamkuna manachu ripunkichik? Aren't you lot leaving yet?		no answer from the little bunch of girls who have been hanging around after the class.
Quedakunkichikchu manachu? You're staying behind are you?		
Paraykuchikunkichik i? Paraykuchikunkichik i? manachu? You have allowed yourselves to be rained on, have you not?	Ima paranqá I do not think it will rain.	to the teacher's teasing that the pupils have allowed themselves to get rained on; one pupil boldly expresses her ideas that it cannot possibly rain.
Paranqachu manachu? Is it going to rain or not?	Rupharachkan ñin. said that it is shining wildly.	another introduces a little humor into the interchange, asserting that the sun was hitting down.
Ruphamuchkan? It is shining?	Ruphamuchkan ñin. says that it is shining.	teacher expresses incredulity, for it was cloudy outside. the pupil insists that one of them said that it was shining.
Pitaq ñin ruphamuchkan? Who said that it is shining?	Kay ñin kay. This one said it, this one.	the teacher wants to know who said that, the pupil accuses the culprit.
A ver, may ruphamusqan? Oh yes? show me where it is shining.	(laughs) sumaq calor ruwarimuwan wañuqñapis jina kani. Oh, I am dying out of the heat.	the teacher requests the evidence; the pupil says she is dying due to the heat, effectively turning the interchange into a joke.
Calor ruwasunki , a ver, a ver?	(laughs)	the teacher follows suit, and all have a laugh.

So you are hot, let's see, let's	
see.	

(tape 961113, No 106)

The passages above show that in spite of the constitution of the roles of teacher and pupils, their relationships might become relaxed under the appropriate circumstances and even friendly. The conversation above is an example of this relaxation of roles, but at the same time proves once more the point that the language of quotidian communication between teacher and pupils, even in the castilianizing traditional school such as Molle Mayu in this case, is Quechua.

3. Learning numbers, in the first grade.

In maths the problem of speaking Quechua using Spanish Maths' terminology is further complicated by the additional task of comprehending a highly abstract system. It would seem that there are two problems here: to learn the 'linguistic' forms and meanings of Spanish, and to learn the contents of maths at the same time. In a number of lessons, Mrs. RR. tried to teach numbers (in the first grade) and mathematical operations, such as multiplication (in the third grade) by rote repetition of numbers and operations. Here I reproduce fragments of a class with the first grade. (In the next chapter, I shall provide an example of the third grade).

After a short interchange with the pupils to identify where they were in their study of the numbers, she basically proceeded by (a) making the whole class read the numbers that have been written on the blackboard (1 to 20), and the (b) by making individual students read the said list of numbers. But the process is not without its nuances.

Ya, a ver yupasunchik. OK, let's now count.	uno, dos ///	as soon as the teacher tells the pupils to count, they start reading the numbers too loudly for the teacher's taste.
A ver uyariwaychik, ama qhapariychikchu a. Hello, listen to me, please do not shout.	un	the chaos that results has to be checked by the teacher, so that an orderly count is produced.
Román atiendey!	uno dos tres cuatro	after calling the attention of

Román pay attention! Mayk'a ?	cinco sais siete ocho nuybi diez, once doce trece catorce quince diecisais diecisiete diciocho dicinuybe vente. vente	Román, the class counts. In the transcript I tried to retain the predominant pronunciation of the numbers.
How much?	twenty	
Vente, i? A ver vueltamanta yupasunchik.	ono, dos	then instructs them to count again,
Twenty, isn't it? Let's count again.		
Mana utqhayta Not fast.	ono, dos, tres, cuatro cinco sais shete ocho nuybi, diez; once doce treci catorce quince dyisisais disishete disiocho disinuybe vente	but stops them shortly because they were speeding up. so they start anew. they count together, but their synchronization falters after 17.
Veinte i? Kunan kay numeros kayta ima numerokama? Twenty, isn't it? Now these numbers this up to what number?	vente	the teacher reinforces the scope of their task: that they are counting up to 20.
Ventekama i? yupasunchik vente kama kunan. Chaymanta sapa jukñataq yupankichik allinta Up to twenty, right? Now we shall count up to twenty. Afterwards each one will count in the right way		and announces that afterwards individuals will have to do the counting (the idea is that the pupils should pay attention now, and do the counting, to avoid future problems).
Ya yupaychik! OK, count!	maqawan Jatun Jasinto, señorita. Big Jacinto has hit me, Miss.	the new count is interrupted by a little girl's complaint.
Jatun Jasinto? Imamanta maqanki Jasinto? Chanta imaqta ma willawankichu qam? Ja? Ñuqa waqtasqayki ya yupamuy. Big Jacinto? Why did you hit her Jacinto? If so why did you not tell me? why? I will hit you OK, count!	uno	the teacher deals with the problem threatening to hit the culprit with a stick.
Ya, kunan uyariwaychik, kaymanta uraykusunchik, ya? Vente, diecinueve, dieciocho imapaq yupanchik jinata? Riqsinapaq numerosta i? OK, now listen to me, we shall go down from here, OK? Twenty,	Arí Yes	then she addresses the class again, and introduces a variation, now they will count again but backwards. she explains that this has the purpose of helping them to know the numbers.

nineteen, eighteen for what purpose do we count like that? To know the numbers, right?			
Y tukuchisunchik numero unopi ya?	Ya, señorita /	some pupils agree.	
And we shall finish with number one, OK?			

(Tape 961114 No 110)

But before having the pupils count backwards, from 20 to 1, she checks that the proper associations have been made between the written numbers and their meanings (for instance 17 = seventeen). She checks the class on each individual number, making them read the numerals on the blackboard. When wrong answers are produced she shows her contempt ('Not so' or 'how can you say that') or provides the right answer (*vente; diecinueve! diecinueve*); and tells them what to do: **Qhawaychik** *pizarra***man a, ama uyaytachu**. 'Look at the blackboard OK?, not at my face'; *fuertewan* 'loudly', and so on. On the other hand, the focus is on the meanings and not the linguistic forms, thus—in spite of occasional corrections by pronouncing the word syllable by syllable: die-ci-sie-te—the particular pronunciation of the pupils is not corrected. In other words, pronunciations such as *vente, disi nuebe, dyesi shete, deci sais, quinci, nuybi ~newybe ~noybe ~no-e-be, shiete, sais, and ono, among the* most deviant renderings, are neither criticized nor corrected. The process is quite lengthy, for which reason I shall skip it here, but exemplifies the use of oral repetition as a form of training, albeit without the exigency of phonetic fidelity.

The check on the meaning of the numbers has the virtue of making the teacher forget the previously announced task, to read the numbers backwards. Instead she explains that each number has a name that should be learned, just as one learns the names of persons. In short, the whole period is spent basically with the reading of these numbers, from 1 to 20, and backwards.⁷⁵ In some individual readings, this simple exercise has the effect of subduing the

⁷⁵ Next morning the process of learning by counting from 1 to 20 and backwards if possible was repeated in a lesson in the patio, using little pebbles for this purpose.

pupil into a state of confusion and helplessness. But I shall return to this use of maths as an exercise of the disciplines in the next chapter. Now, returning to the maths class, I would like to emphasize once more that the process of teaching-learning the numbers is mediated (a) not only by the unequal relationship between the teacher who calls, as it were, all the shots, by means of instructions, corrections, and personal reactions, and the pupils that have to cope with the process, and (b) by the use of a Quechua saturated by Spanish words on the part of the teacher, and usually short agreements in Quechua on the part of the pupils. The interchanges are only interrupted by some problems that the pupils, in spite of the strictness of the situation, manage to insert into the classroom. To show these two main processes (i.e. the use of languages) I reproduce next the continuation of the class.

teacher	pupils
Kunanqa kaytañataq leyesunchik ya?	Ya
Now we shall read this other one, OK?	
A ver uyariwaychik, ama ñiwankichu a, uno-dos-tres- cuatro-cinco-seis-siete-ocho-nueve, riqsinanchik kachkan numerosta i? Entonces leena qhawaspa, allinsituta riqsispa, no ve? Akayta a ver, kay ima sutin?	Mario
All right listen to me, please you (sg.) will not tell me, one- two-three-four-five-six-seven-eight-nine, we have to know the numbers, right? Therefore let us read looking at (each number), identifying them correctly, right? This one for example, this what is it called?	
Mario. Kayta riqsinchik Mario sutisqanta i?	Arí
Mario. This we know that he is named Mario, right?	
Igual numerota, kay numerota riqsinanchik kachkan, kay numero? u-no! Kay número dos. Qamkuna ma enterituchu sutikunkichik Mario i?	Arí
In the same way the numbers, we are supposed to learn these numbers, this number? one; This is number two. Not all of you are named Mario, right?	
Sapa juk kankichik sutiyuq.	Arí
Each one of you has a name.	
Igual kaykunapis ya? Ya entonces leespa.	uno dos tres cuatro cinco
In the same way these ones too, OK? OK, then reading.	
Pero ya ves, ña correchkankichikña, riqsinaykichik kachkan numerosta ñiykichik.	uno dos tres cuatro cinco sais shete ocho nuybi diez;
But you see, you are already running, you have to know the numbers I told you.	once doce trece catorce quince diecisais diecishete

diciocho dicinuybe vente

If the Spanish of the rural teacher has become a semilanguage with a considerable dose of influences from Quechua, as Yraola described (1995), the same can be said of the Quechua being used here in the context of a castilianizing classroom. The influences of Spanish that I can, hurriedly, detect here might be classified in the order of their diachronic insertion into the language of the teacher: first, the most obvious ones are the Spanish words forced in by the requirements of the curriculum (número, uno, dos, and so on); second, the loans that have already become part of the vocabulary of this brand of Quechua (a ver, igual, entonces, pero); and finally, the loans that have been already rephonemized into the language (ya, leyey, entero). It must be noted that loans such as these can also be found in the speech of the comunarios themselves (Cf. for instance, the discussion of the boy-comunario in Chapter 6.2.). In addition, it must be added that in spite of the first impression one gets when listening to the teacher's speech that it is mainly Quechua, certain regressive features can also be detected, for example the sentence Akayta, a ver, kay ima sutin? that appears in the interchange above has been simplified by the omission of the genitive -pa, the accusative -ta, the interrogative marker -taq, and the verb ka-. Thus the sentence, in a more elaborated Ouechua, should have been: a ver, kaypaqta imataq sutin kachkan? or in a more polite version .. kay yachakuqpata imataq sutin kachkanrí? There is no doubt that the urgent needs to react in the classroom might account for some lack of elaboration, but it is also plausible to suggest that this is, unfortunately, determined by the type of Quechua that the teacher has already learned. In this context, the complaints of some people that their pass by school has signified neither the learning of good Spanish, nor the consolidation of their mother tongue, start to make sense. It is as the comunario said "es que nos han hecho confundir los españoles-ps." (Cf. Chapter 1.6).

With respect to the teaching of maths, there is one practice that the examples above do not bring forth: the strategy of learning the tables by repetition (i. e. 3 por 1, 3; 3 por 2, 6; and so on). It seems that this is a generalized practice in Bolivia, and perhaps one of the reasons why

the education system is criticized as memoristic. In Molle Mayu, the pupils have transformed it almost into a song. Thus, while the teacher struggles with the pupils at the blackboard, the floor continues their study singing out the rules in a loud voice. In brief, leaving the linguistic problems aside, the main observation has to do with the methodology: the treatment of numbers as sequences, the rote memorization of tables, and the working of exercises in abstract. The main problem is the initial conception: that pupils need not only to understand the meaning of mathematical operations (something which is perhaps necessary) but also to perform these operations only with the aid of numbers, pencil and paper. The usual solution has always been to solve numerous operations both at the blackboard or as a homework. The only redeeming practice I observed in the maths exercises of the third grade is the use of marks on the blackboard to obtain the results for subtraction. Pupils often attempt to help themselves counting with their fingers, a practice that the teacher allowed but not encouraged. In other words, maths is performed without aids such as the yupana, essentially a decimal abacus of Andean origin (Villavicencio 1988), that was introduced in the PEIB. With the yupana one can add or subtract any number from any other number (including negative numbers) simply knowing how to count from 1 to 9 and how to promote and demote decimal orders (for instance ten units are promoted into one ten, ten tens are promoted into one hundred, and so on). Using the yupana pupils would be able to obtain results easily and accurately. It must be granted that operations become cumbersome as the order of numbers increase; but then if the concept of using a mechanical devise is accepted, why not jump into available electronics?

3. Teaching in Quechua in the bilingual classroom

As mentioned before there are evidences that the vernacular language was being used for communication between teacher and pupils even in the traditional rural classroom. The novelties introduced by the PEIB were: the new status conferred to the vernacular as one of the official languages of the curriculum, to be used as a language of instruction and also

taught as subject matter. So it is important to take a look at the new actions taking place in the bilingual classroom, especially in view of the lack of detailed descriptions of the bilingual education classroom's workings in the literature (one notable exception being the work of Jung et al 1989; Jung 1989).

1. Reading and Writing, in the first grade

In this class (21/07/95), Mrs. BB. started with an introduction by means of a song in Spanish, giving (me) the impression that she was about to teach this language. But then she proceeded to teach reading and writing of Quechua, following the method of *palabras normales* and introducing mnemonics in the process. This class illustrates, once more, that a number of factors (teaching, learning, relationships, strategies and so on) are usually taking place, often simultaneously; it also illustrates, on the other hand, that teachers approach their lesson plans with a certain flexibility.

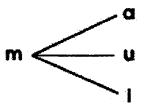
The class starts with a song in Spanish:

Adivina, adivina ¿Qué es esto, qué es esto? es un bolsonsito, to, to. es un cuadernillo, llo, llo. es un tajador, dor, dor, dor. Adivina, adivina

In the first round, the teacher leads with pupils following and providing answers to the question ¿qué es estó? 'What is this?' while the teacher shows them a different object each time. Mrs. BB. shows them **Tata** Juan, a piece of thick rubber cut out of a discarded tire, as a deterrent for unacceptable behavior. After this incident, perhaps due my presence in the school, **Tata** Juan made no more appearances, it just vanished quietly. Then the teacher decides to continue with her lessons on reading-writing in L1, combining whole-class teaching with individual teaching (basically, working with individuals at the blackboard). As a recap, she tests some pupils. For this purpose, she hands a piece of chalk to a pupil, to go to the blackboard. However, as soon as she announces that they are going to write on the

blackboard, volunteers swarm around her. This has the effect of disrupting the expected order of the classroom; but also is an indication of the interest and willingness of pupils to participate, in the activity of writing Quechua words on the blackboard. After she manages to select the pupil, she makes the rest go back to their places. However, while the teacher is busy controlling the performance of those at the blackboard, the other pupils revert to 'normal': making noises, fidgeting, talking to each other, and so on.

When the pupil writes **mama**, the teacher has the class read, all together and then by groups. To illustrate the links between the consonant (m) and the vowels (a, u, i) she writes first the consonant and then the vowels vertically:



She then writes the syllables, as the mother with each one of her daughters. The teacher, here, is trying to provide a good association for the children to remember not only the relation between the consonant and the vowels, but also to remember the key word: **mama**.

Kay wawanwan: ma - mu - mi With these children of hers: ma, mi, mu		the word "mama" is the mother; the syllables, her children
Imaynata waqan chay buey? How does the cow moo?	ทนบบบ	then introduces an association for the letter m, asking them to imitate the cow's mooing.

As she elicits the cow's moos, to establish the link between sound and letter, she walks around with a stick in her hand, somewhat threateningly. She cleans the blackboard, and writes the syllables again (ma - mu - mi). Then she tries a decomposition again, encircling the m and linking the vowels to it by means of lines, and reading the syllables, one by one, signaling the letters as she reads, pausing on the m to make sure the pupils make the connection between the symbol and the sound.

ma	ma	pupils repeat as teacher reads each syllable
m i	mi	
m u	mu	
Ponce ama mikhuychu!		Prohibition, eating not allowed
Ponce, don't eat!		
Pitaq jamunman qillqariq?		Request
Atiendewaychik!		Command
Who could come up (to the front) to write a little?		
Pay attention to me!		

Although there is no doubt that she is in complete control of the situation, as a matter of course, she shouts to quiet the class down. This at first seemed to me unnecessary, but useful for effective control. Later on I learned from first hand experience that even small children will go as far as they are permitted, and losing control once may require a lot of effort to restore it later on.

The class continues with the teacher combining whole-class readings of the words and syllables written on the blackboard and with reading and writing exercises performed by individual pupils at the blackboard. It must be emphasized that at the linguistic level, the communicative interchanges between teacher and pupil do not suffer from the oft alleged problems of communication due to the so called linguistic factor in classrooms that use a language foreign to the pupils (Cf. for instance Larson 1979:46-7, 53-4; De La Torre 1997). What the use of the language of the pupils does not solve, or that even makes it more fluid, is the asymmetric nature of the teacher-pupil relationships. Not that the language barrier would have deterred the emergence of this feature of the relationship between teacher and pupils, for even if particular words or morphemes are not clearly registered, nuances of the relationship (anger, threats, derision, calling to attention, and so on) can still be realized through non-segmental features, such as intonation and intensity; and also through gestures and contextual information. In any case, the use of the mother tongue of the pupils eliminates the communication problems for the teachers and pupils.

2. Maths, in the second grade

Although the use of the mother tongue solved the basic communication problem, it introduced in turn some technical problems with respect to the vocabulary to be used in those cases where Quechua did not have the equivalents of the specialized terminology of, for instance, maths or natural sciences. In maths the approach was basically to translate when possible and to create a new vocabulary in Quechua instead of simply resorting to rephonemized loan words from Spanish (such as for example, matimakíkas, that did not sound right in the context of revitalization)⁷⁶ Not all were happy with these neologisms though, sometimes because they proved ludicrous, for instance tawa k'uchu 'four corners' to mean 'square'; or were thought to be misleading, especially from the community point of view, for example, chunkachina, pachakchina, and so on to indicate orders of ten (tens. hundreds, and so on). The idea, of course, was to use the causative suffix chi- to indicate tens, hundreds, and so on. However when the verb chunkachiy 'to make ten' is turned into a noun by the addition of the nominalizer na-, one obtains the sequence chunka 'ten' + china 'female'; thus instead of 'to group in tens', one could understand 'ten females'.⁷⁷ In any case, most teachers of the bilingual education project complied with the use of the new words, relying heavily on 'pedagogic vocabularies' published by the PEIB (Aymara: López, Laura, and Carvajal 1966; Quechua: Montalvo and Ramírez 1996). In one particular class, a curious situation emerged due to the discrepancy between the prescribed contents of the textbook (the current monetary system) and the quotidian usage of the community. Thus:

Pachaksitusta riqsinchik.		teacher goes around the classroom
Mayk'ataq kay billete?	iskay chunka.	showing pupils the money depicted

⁷⁶ As evident in most samples of Quechua, the colonizing effect of Spanish through the imposition of loan words is fairly clear (cf. Calvet 1981:81-111); at the same time, these, sometimes barely recognizable 'Spanish' words are a source for derision and discrimination (cf. Ninyoles 1972, for xeronisme in language). For these reasons the PEIB sought to avoid the use of loan words and proceeded to create new ones.

⁷⁷ In the latest edition of the Vocabulario Pedagógico Quechua (Montalvo and Ramírez 1996) the ambiguous words chunkachina 'ten females', pachakchina 'one hundred females', and so on have been changed to chunkakuna 'tens' and pachakkuna 'hundreds', respectively.

We know one hundred. How much is this bill?	twenty.	in textbook.
Chunkarí, mayqintaq kachkan? Kay? Ah kay! And ten, which one is it? This one? Ah, this one!	kay kay this one this one	pupils point to the tenner shows them 1 Bs.; then 5 Bs.;
Kay mayk'ataq kachkan? Kayrí? How much is this one? And this one?	juk waranqa 'one thousand' phichqa waranqa 'five thousand' ma rikukunchu it cannot be seen	pupils identify the money according to old tradition, whereby one boliviano is termed waranqa 'thousand'. the purpose of teaching simple numbers appears defeated.

In other words, while the bills of 10 and 20 *Bolivianos* appear to have been identified correctly (chunka, iskay chunka), 1 b. is identified as waranqa (literally. 'a thousand'), and 5 b. as phichqa waranqa 'five thousand'. Later on, a ten cent coin is identified as pachaksitu (<pachak 'hundred' + it 'diminutive', + u < o 'masculine). Besides this incongruence between the official money and the usage of the community, as in the cases above, communication in the mother tongue is fluid. It is of course not free from the asymmetric power relations, but at least the basic communicational problem has been solved. In addition I would like to add that Ms. QQ. was new to the bilingual education program. In other words she had not received any special training and was thus simply putting into practice her 'traditional' experience. It must be added that in 1995 when these observations were made, the PEIB was already officially discontinued; however, some ex-PEIB núcleos—such as El Paredón—clung to the bilingual program, but training of new comers was no longer possible. Ms QQ. continued her class:

Ranqhana wasipi imata rantinchik? Qullqiwanchu rantimunchik?	latanu misk'i
NICASIO! What do we buy in the store? Do we buy them with money? NICASIO!	bananas candy (Nicasio is sternly, and loudly, called to attention)
platanota mayk'awantaq rantinchik? misk'itarí? kay escuelapi rantichkankichik.	waranqawan

Gelatina	pachaksitu
runturí?	iskay pachaksitu
How much do we pay for bananas?	
and candy? you buy that here in the school.	with one thousand
Jelly	just one hundred
and eggs?	just two hundred

As the excerpt shows, pupils have no problem in answering the teacher's question with respect to the use of money that the teacher introduced as a motivation for the lesson. The lesson continued with the writing of numbers according to the number of objects provided in the textbook; first pupils write the answers in their places, while the teacher goes around checking; and then she asks individual pupils to write their answers on the blackboard, until the end of the period. In the second period, she works with the notions of 'larger than' 'smaller than'.

3. Cultural Homework, in the fourth grade

After the reading in social sciences (Cf. 4. Reading in Spanish, fourth Grade, on p. 189) Miss. TT. reviewed the homework that the pupils were assigned for this occasion. The interesting thing here is that this activity: the recollection of riddles (**imasmaris**), poems, songs from the community, followed militantly the discourse of revitalization of the 'native' culture. The language of communication now is almost exclusively Quechua.

S: Kunan (..) tarea, juk takiyta sapa juk apamunan karqa.

Now (..) homework, each one was supposed to bring a song. (Tape 961114 No 110)

She distributes them their books, while reminding them what they were supposed to do, that they were supposed to seek the help of their parents, or older brothers to collect their songs or other texts. Some pupils have collected riddles or songs (actually they already knew them), but they had to put them in writing.

S: A ver, ima takiytataq ruwasqa? Telmo, a ver? T: Turuman rirqani, karaju..

S: Let's see, what song did he make? Telmo, tell us?

T: I went to the bullfight, karaju...

The pupil alluded to starts singing his song in a soft voice. Later on I would find out that this is a popular song in the region, and is part of local 'traditions', actually a relic of Spanish bull fighting. In Tarabuco the corrida this year took place on the 13th of October, attracting town and community people, yet another form of integration.⁷⁸ The only problem is that pupils answer in monosyllables when asked about their homework (for example: S: Ima sutiyuqtaq? -p'aqpaku), or reproduce their work reading, later on writing it on the blackboard, and singing the songs. There is no indiscipline in the classroom, but the revision of the cultural homework was basically one of reproduction of what was already written. In other words, yet another case of repetition. Or to put it more bluntly, there was no reflection, no analysis, no creative thinking. The pattern was varied only when some pupils had to explain they could not do their work because their parents could not help them with the homework. In any case, the activities involved (collection of the text, writing it, reading it or writing it on the blackboard at the teacher's request; and finally, singing the song) signify that the pupils have already mastered the abilities of reading and writing in Quechua, and provide the occasion to exercise them further. Thus when Benita, the girl who brought the song called p'aqpaku 'trickster', copied her song on the blackboard, the whole class copied the words of the song as she progressed on the blackboard. This was a lengthy process. The girl used her hand as an eraser. Some boys corrected some spelling mistakes she made as she proceeded, reading from her notebook, erasing, writing, pronouncing the syllables.

S: chus, chus (corrects the teacher)

p: maymanta-chus 'I do not know where she comes from'. (pupil corrects herself)

⁷⁸ With respect to this notion of integration, my point here is that in spite of the fact that comunarios and town people do not really intimate, there are no segregated spaces: thus the fence around the bullfight arena is occupied by comunarios and town people alike. Likewise the bullfighters on this occasion included some town youngsters and a drunken comunario. In other places, similarly, when the comunarios invade the towns (*Tinkus* in Chayanta, Macha in Northern Potosí; or the **Pukllay** in Tarabuco) town people and comunarios gather in non segregated places. This does not mean that interrelations between town people and comunarios are profuse and intimate, far from it, they keep their distances. Actually it is like two networks intermingling with each other, in the same space, but in which the individual components of one network do not establish direct connections with individuals of the other network. Some times they clash, but often they just interslide into each other. If there is racism here, it is of another brand than the one that led to bus segregation in the US.

The song, reproduced below is a short one, but fit to theorize it as a fine manifestation of notions of knowledge (mana yachaspa 'not knowing'), of identity (maymantachus kayku; **Parirunmanta; iskwuilirus puritu** 'where we are from; from Paredón; among schoolers').

P'aqpaku	'Trickster'
takirikuchkayku ari, mana yachaspapis ari	'well ⁷⁹ we (excl.) ⁸⁰ are singing, even if we don't know (how to)'
tusurikuchkayku ari, mana yachaspapis ari	'well we are dancing, even if we don't know (how to)'
maymantachus kayku ari, ma riqsiwaykuchu ari	'well where we are from, you (pl.) don't know'
ñuqayku kachkayku ari, Parirunmanta ari	'well we are the ones, from El Paredón'
puritu puritu ari, iskwilirus pur <u>it</u> u ari	'well all of us all of us, school-goers (are)'

It would appear, for example, that the identification of the person is closely associated with the place of origin (we are from Paredón); just as in the old times, for example according to Gerald Taylor (1987), civilized people had to be associated to a **llaqta** (a social organization around a local deity), while **purum runa** were **llaqta**-less; or in more recent times, in Perú, Gregorio's identification with this place of birth is another example (Condori Mamani 1982).

The teacher has copied the words in her own notebook; she has been collecting **imas maris** 'riddles' and songs for a number of years now. She goes to the blackboard and corrects the punctuation, word separation, capitals. After making sure that all the class has copied the words, she asks the girl to read her work. The girl tries to sing the words she has written on the blackboard but finds some problems; Miss. TT. tries to find the problems, makes the girl read the words but singing. The girl realizes that something is wrong and erases the last two

⁷⁹ In this translation from Quechua to English, as well as in the other translations found elsewhere, the most difficult parts are contained in certain suffixes (for instance -ku which marks a benefactive-reflexive function, thus tusurikuchkayku would have to be translated literally as 'we are dancing ourselves a little'), and in certain tags and nuances of intonation that often indicate the position of the speaker with respect to issues and relationships with the hearer (for instance, ari in the text above, which I translated only once as 'well' at the beginning of each verse, indicates certain defiance with respect to the interlocutor but also with respect to the narrated activities: they sing even not knowing how to sing too well).

⁸⁰ As it is well known in Quechua the first person plural can be inclusive of the hearer: ñuqanchik, or exclusive of the hearer: ñuqayku. (Cf. for instance, Cerrón 1994:87-8)

lines, and writes again; meantime the teacher has gone to identify other songs. Then she makes the class read; the girl reads again; then the whole class. And finally they sing. Then, Telmo writes his song on the blackboard. All including the teacher copy the new words, murmuring at the same time. Telmo has finished, the teacher goes to check, corrects some misspellings, while the author watches.

Turu	'Bull
turuman yaykuni karaju karunillarayku	'I entered the bullring, oh my, ⁸¹ for the caronilla' ⁸²
piru imarayku karaju wawa ch'ullurayku	'but why (should I), oh my, for a child's cap'
turu waqrasapa karaju waqrasaq ñiwasqa	'the horned bull, oh my, attempted to hit me'
nitaq waqrawanchu karaju pasa pasallawan	'but then he didn't get me, oh my, he just passed by'
jawayta urayta karaju pasa pasallawan	'by my side, down my side, oh my, he just passed by'

Muy bien 'very well' says the teacher approvingly, while pupils continue copying. After they finish, they sing again. In brief, an interesting class. The language of communication is basically Quechua, with only a few phrases of Spanish appearing, usually to call the attention of some pupils (*Has terminado?* 'Have you finished?'... A ver, atiendan pues, primero **ñawirisunchik**. 'Let's see, please pay attention, first we shall read.'). Although I have not tabulated all the instances of code-switching the pattern suggests a slight change in the mood of the teacher, thus it seems to me that she often uses Spanish to indicate a more friendly attitude towards the pupils, while Quechua—being the language of instruction—becomes more formal and detached.

⁸¹ I use the expression 'oh my' to approximate the meaning of karaju which comes from *carajo* a Spanish swear word, but which in Quechua has become a more general form of expression.

⁸² A piece of cloth tied to the bull's neck and covered with Bolivian money that the people that enter the bullring try to snap up.

4. Natural Sciences, in the fourth grade

In this lesson about 'hands and hygiene' Miss. TT. first attempts to motivate the class with a few questions 'about the tasks we perform with our hands'.

Imawan pichanki? 'With what do you clean?' Imawan jap'inki? 'With what do you hold things?' (Video 950828)

She asks questions about hands, nails, sizes; goes around observing and commenting on pupils' hands, and nail sizes. And then she tells them that now they are going to study the hands and hygiene of the hands. Thus, hands grab all kinds of things, they get dirty; look at your hands, she asks, don't you wash them? Pupils defend themselves. Then she talks about the connection between dirt and diseases:

T: Maki llimphupuni kanan tiyan .. chaypi kan khuritus .. tukuy laya unquykuna. Pi qhawachkan chay khuritusta? .. ma rikukunchu .. ma qhawakunchu. Ajinalla qhawasqa, *llimphitu* kachkan makiy, chaypi kachkanku chay millaykuna, sillunchikpi .. chaypi astawan kachkan chay unquykunas, (..) *entonces*, kunanmanta mayllakuna.

Hands must always be clean ...there are little bugs there .. all kinds of diseases. Who is looking at these little bugs? .. they cannot be seen .. they cannot be looked at. Just looking at like this, my hands are very clean, (but) those horrible things are there, in our nails .. there they are more those diseases, (..) therefore, from now on we must wash our hands.

She explains the reasons why 'we should wash our hands clean: to eat, to handle objects, and so on'; and then she asks some questions to the pupils, which they respond without much difficulty. When she talks about nails, and the dirt that collects under them, self-conscious pupils look at their fingernails. The teacher emphasizes the relationship between dirt and diseases:

T: chayninta wiksa nanay .. pero chaypi kachkan junt'ita khuritus, tukuy laya .. muy bien, kunan sapa juk qhillqapuwanqa imapaq ..imapaq mayllakunchik makinchikta, mana unqunapaq..

that causes stomach ache .. but there it is full of little bugs, all kinds .. very well, now each one will write for me what for.. what do we wash our hands for, to avoid diseases..

My first reaction was that the reference to the 'little worms' ('khuritus') as the cause for diseases might have a detrimental effect in a culture that thinks of disease more in terms of spiritual factors or where the occidental metaphor of attacking the disease is replaced by a metaphor of co-existence (Reátegui 1990). It is true that diseases in the Andean cosmovision are thought of as invasions of the body, the difference is that in the Western way of thinking the invaders are microorganisms but spirits in the former. My second reaction has to do with the contrast between the ideal cleanliness asked for by the textbook and the teacher in a context where dirt was very much part of one's everyday experience. The pupils, for instance, had to play on a dirt playground, or work on the field where contact with the soil cannot be avoided. In addition there is the wind that carried dirt and cracked hands and cheeks. The teacher advised them to use a little lemon to solve the problem. Then she asks them to get their notebooks so that they can draw a picture illustrating a point of the lesson. Some pupils ask questions, the class has been relaxed, there is someone singing in the background. Eduardo and the girl next to her get their notebooks ready, their faces are full of dust, their fingernails black. They talk to each other (in Quechua, of course) and start drawing. Another boy makes lines with a ruler. The teacher keeps talking to them, animating them.

T: juk jatunta siq'iwanki, jatitunta, .. ma rikunichu, jatuchaq kanan tiyan. Maypi mayllakunki qam?

Make a big drawing for me, a little big, .. I cannot see it, it has to be big. Where do you wash yourself?

The pupils keep drawing, talking, there seems to be no great tensions in the class. The teacher walks around, asking questions once in a while, or complementing some pupils: k'achitu kachkan. After a while, she asks them to stop working on their drawings, and that she is going to ask them some questions:

T: imapaq mayllakunchik makinchikta?	What do we wash our hands for?
p: qhillqinaykupaq / p'achata churakunaykupaq	to write / to put our clothes on
T: imapaq astawan?	what else?
p: llimphitu kananpaq / mikhunanchikpaq	for them to be clean / to eat

T: mikhunanchikpaq, chay unquykunata to eat, to keep away diseases. jark'anapaq.

She asks the questions gesturing with her open hands (what for, come on?). Watching these scenes I think that they must be far away from those days of punishments and violence, that some Ecuadorians, for instance, remembered from their school days (De La Torre 1997). When the teacher then decides to have them write on the blackboard, there is no shortage of volunteers. A girl almost runs up to write her answer on the blackboard. The teacher elicits the response: **ñuqayku mayllakuyku mikhunaykupaq** 'We wash [our hands] to eat.' The girl writes effortlessly. Others follow. The teacher asks a question, the pupils provide the answer, which the volunteer writes on the blackboard:

T: imapaq mayllakunkichik? 'What do we wash ourselves for?'

p: Mayllakuyku mana unqunaykupaq 'We wash ourselves not to get sick'

another boy writes:

p: mayllakuyku llimphitu kananpaq. 'We wash ourselves so that (our hands) be clean.

There are three questions and three answers on the blackboard, which the pupils have to copy on their notebooks, to round off the lesson. This custom of finishing up a lesson with writing, has also been a source of criticism of traditional school. According to Muñoz (1993) this practice was also generalized in the schools of the PEIB (in the three regions: Quechua, Aymara, and Guaraní).

4. Teaching Spanish in the bilingual classroom

1. L1 in the PEIB

In the PEIB teaching in L1 (Quechua, Aymara, or Guaraní) replaced the regular practices of using Spanish for communication (total immersion) and also disqualified old practices of language prohibition. As mentioned above, the use of Quechua was privileged in the early grades (p. 127). On the other hand, although teachers in the traditional rural school managed

to 'teach' Spanish simply by speaking it and teaching a curriculum whose contents are in Spanish, they were at a loss in the bilingual education program. So confronted with two languages and two tasks (i.e. reading and writing in the vernacular, and Spanish as a second language) the teachers very soon found out that the teaching-learning process proceeded smoothly in the language of the pupils, but at the same time neglected or postponed the teaching of Spanish as a second language. It is possible that teaching the second language by means of models and repetitions, as exemplified in the next chapter (5.4.), was frustrating due to the apparent inability of the pupils to master the correct forms. If this were the situation, then it was more enjoyable to dedicate oneself to the teaching of subject matter in the language of the pupils. In the PEIB the method used to implement the teaching of Spanish as a second language, at least in the initial years, followed the guidelines of descriptive and comparative linguistics, for example introducing the use of drills, or comparative phonemics to teach the sound system of Spanish. At the outset, I would like to argue that linguistics in general and phonemics in particular became a double edged tool: a tool to describe the languages involved in the bilingual education program; but also a tool (a knowledge) used by teachers to render the pupils helpless, as illustrated in the next chapter.

Teaching the sound system

According to comparative linguistics, areas of difficulty (interference) or ease (transference) can be identified (Di Pietro 1971:5-8), and therefore drills devised to counter these problems. The simplified phonological systems of Quechua and Spanish below illustrate the situation.

	Spa	nish	Que	chua
	front	back	front	back
High vowels	i	u	i	u
Mid vowels	e	0	[e]	[0]
Low vowels		a		a

Figure 19: Vowels of Spanish and Quechua

From this perspective, it is clear that a Quechua speaker will have no problem with the /a/ of Spanish; but will have difficulties in recognizing the phonemic high and mid vowels of Spanish, /i/ and /e/, /u/ and /o/, due to the fact that these sounds are allophonic in Quechua (/i/ ---> [e] in the context of velar sounds and ---> [i] elsewhere), while they are phonemic in Spanish, that is they are sound units which have the function of distinguishing words (thus *paso, peso, piso, pozo, puso* are different words). These differences and difficulties were intuitively recognized both by mainstream speakers⁸³ as well as teachers; but, as pointed out above, phonemics also became an instrument of the disciplines.

The teaching of Spanish as a Second Language, general impressions

According to the impressions both of bilingual teachers as well as technicians of the Intercultural Bilingual Education Project (PEIB), one of the less successful areas of the program has been the teaching of Spanish as a Second language, in spite of the training of the teachers, the availability of textbooks, and even the interest of pupils and parents. In the *núcleo* of El Paredón, most teachers agreed with this assessment. They usually commented that the pupils came to understand Spanish quite well, could read and even write in a limited way in this language, but could not speak it at all, in spite of all the efforts made to make them talk. One of the reasons, according to the teachers is that the dominant language of the pupils is Quechua, and that they go to the playground and speak exclusively Quechua, they go to their homes and speak Quechua. So that the pupils never have a chance to practice their Spanish. Thus, I paid particular attention to this problem.

There are many problems, but the one that the teachers noticed most had to do with phonology. The problem, from the phonological perspective, more concretely from the viewpoint of contrastive-comparative phonology, has to do with the fact that Quechua has a

⁸³ This recognition is daily manifested in market places, public transportation, jokes, discrimination, and also in statements related to the language question and education.

three vowel system, while Spanish has five. Therefore the textbooks include minimal pairs, such as pila (faucet) and pela (she peels), oso (bear) and huso (spinning wheel). Following the textbooks, the teachers resort to the mechanics of repetition, trying to get from the pupils the proper sounds.

2. Teaching Spanish phonology

Although all classroom events are different in their details, some features appear once and again. Thus in all classroom lessons at least three elements occur constantly: the selected use of languages, including code-switching; the methodology of the lesson, properly speaking; and the strategies of the teacher for controlling the behavior of the children.

While there was no need to code-switch to Spanish when the lesson was taught in Quechua, the teaching of Spanish as a second language provided the setting for variations in codeswitching. Although the main policy was to keep the two languages separate, particular circumstances and needs determined code-switching: from Spanish to Quechua to guarantee communication, when it was perceived that the message in Spanish was not getting across, or to emphasize cultural contents; and from Quechua to Spanish, usually due to associations with objects and/or situations of the urban world; occasionally, the switch to Spanish was rather an automatic response to an unexpected situation or emotion. Also the use of languages had to adjust to the design of the PEIB with regard to the use of instrumental languages, for instance reading and writing in Quechua in the first grade, but with a separation of languages and contents in Ciencias para la Vida in later grades. However, in spite of the attempts to use the languages in accordance to the plans of the program (basically, the gradual inclusion and increased use of Spanish throughout the years to the point of achieving a bilingual ideal), teachers adapted to the monolingualism of the pupils and adopted their mother tongue as the 'natural' language for communication with them. Hence, Spanish became an 'ackward' means of communication between teachers and pupils.

The methodology of second language teaching in the PEIB, in the initial grades, relied heavily on the oral drill, whereby the teacher provided the model and the pupils attempted to reproduce it. Moreover, since the pupils seldom produced the linguistic forms that the teachers was expecting they were made to repeat once and again, until the teacher was satisfied or decided to give up. Now, in methods based on the old notion that language is a set of habits (Bloomfield 1933; Sapir 1921; Hockett 1958), and the virtues of empirical conditioning (following Skinner 1957), the drill (i.e. the repetition of linguistic patterns) had the purpose of installing them in the mind to the point of making the responses automatic. In some cases, teachers in El Paredón used repetition with this intention; but often the repetition of the patterns became a process of correction of bad renderings of the model. In this process, the instrument both to decide the acceptability of the pupil's response by the teacher, or the analysis of the model provided by the teacher by the pupil, was aural perception. But as mentioned before (Cf. Chapter 3.4. Normalization), perception is structured, in the sense that patterns previously learned are used to accommodate the new information. It must be added that perception might vary according to certain conditions such as previous experiences, particular motivations, and emotions, such that a configuration of perception or -as psychologists call them- a perceptual set (Hardy and Heyes 1992:15-19) is established. In the phonological realm, the theory of the phoneme, more specifically the phoneme as a psychological reality, appears as an application of a perceptual set. For instance, while Spanish distinguishes five phonemic vowels, Quechua only distinguishes three; a machine might be able to record many more physical vowels, depending on the filters one installs in the machine, but for the speakers these numbers are pretty much fixed. Thus the problems related to the discussion and confusion of alphabets due to mis-perceptions, seem to reappear in the teaching of Spanish to speakers of Quechua. The problem in a nutshell is this: the Spanish speaker hears five vowels, thus over differentiates the three phonemic vowels of Quechua; on the contrary, the Quechua speaker geared to hear three vowels under differentiates the five vowels of Spanish. In the PEIB, likewise, the question of the relativity

of perception, of the hold linguistic grids have on the speaker-hearer do not seem to have taken into account. The main emphasis came from contrastive linguistics that helped to establish similarities and differences, which were taken into consideration to plan the curriculum. In the following chapter I advance the notion that the drill, one of the most used tools in the initial teaching of oral Spanish, might become an exercise that not only teaches, but also subdues. Now I shall present a fragment of an actual practice of teaching Spanish in the first grade of the central school of El Paredón.

Chayta kichariychik, eso van abrir el número 27.	kaypi ñin kaypi.	the teacher goes around checking that pupils have the	
Open up that, you are going to open on number 27 ()	right here, she saïd, right here.	right page	
Kunan kaypi qhawarisunchik, imastaq kachkan?	ichhu, llayllo bunch grass, rooster	pupils automatically recognize the pictures and give their names in Quechua	
Now we will observe here, what is there?			
Kastilla simipi In the language of Castile	paja! /paja phaja	the teacher has to request that they use Spanish	
Qué cosas hay? Qué es esto? What things are there? What is this?	pela, paja /gorra yallu peels, bunch grass / cap rooster	she code-switches to Spanish	

(Tape 28, 950700-1)

As soon as the teacher is distracted by some particular pupil, the rest start mouthing out the words, following a rhythm that has become endemic in the classrooms of the region. Why do pupils do it? Perhaps repetition as a group serves the purpose of hiding individual deficiencies and/or stimulates boldness, for sheer numbers—as in the natural world—offer some kind of protection, of anonymity. In this particular case there is no synchronization of the rhythms, but since many have been swirled into this whirlpool of repetitions both boldness and anonymity are assured. For added effect at least one pupil accompanies his word responses with a tap on the desk. In other words, a little bit of disguised subversion.

Ya. A ver vamos a ver ahora Issac, qué es esto?	chumpi	another volunteers the answer, but in Quechua
OK. Let's see, now we shall see		

Issac, what is this?	(type of belt)	
chumpi! y kastilla simipirí? chumpi! and in Castilian tongue?	una gorra / ona gorra a cap / an cap	again the teacher requests the answer in Spanish
Kastilla a ver escuchame, faja Castilian listen to me, faja	faja /	the model-repetition
<i>Eso, qué es esto?</i> that's it, what is this?	faja / faja	question-answer model
quésesto? whatsthis?	phaja / faja	there are two renditions of the word, some pronounce it correctly, some use the quechua substitute [ph] of Spanish /f/
faja!	fuaja / faja	since the question-answer cannot be done with mispronounced words, the teacher insists with the model-repetition.
eso. Qué es esto? that's right. What is this?	i-chhu	then she tries the Question-Answer again, but the answer comes in Quechua again.

(Tape 28, 950700-1)

I have already mentioned that mistakes in pronunciation are due to mis-perceptions; but here the problem is caused by the predominance of the mother tongue, that is the pupil is mentally operating in Quechua. The teacher is forced again and again to clarify that she wants the answer in Spanish. But as soon as she gets the answer, she goes back to exercise the pronunciation again. But too many repetitions, moreover, of words in isolation soon have the effect of muddling up the differences. For example, one of the pupils, who had repeated *paja* correctly twice, misses the target in his last attempt, adding a velar to the j sound [pakha]. As Jakobson pointed out in the 40s, due to the "universality of the hierarchic structure of the linguistic expression" (Malmberg 1963:96, 172), fricatives are the last sounds to be consolidated in the process of the acquisition of the sound system of the language, and are therefore difficult sounds for the learner. If this is right, then the contrast between *paja* and *faja* (that in addition to the contrast of the first syllable, has another fricative in the second syllable), and between *foco* and *poco* will present problems. In the case of *foco* and *poco*, in addition to the difficulty presented by the fricative, we have again the classical problem of the confusion of the vowels (for example: [un poko, un fuko, un fuku, un phuku, un pjoko,

phoco]). A similar confusion is brought by the contrast between *pila* and *pela*. In brief, the use of minimal pairs in the drills: model-repetition, or question-answer generates difficulties both for the teacher and the pupil. The fact that the pupils cannot distinguish the contrasted sounds might lead to frustration, or to a little subversion, as in the sequence below, where *huerta* 'orchard' and *Berta* 'Bertha' are contrasted:

teacher	pupils
huevo	webo / weybo
huerta	werta
huerta	werta
berta	berta
berta	berta
huerta	byerta
berta	byerta
huerta	werta

In the preceding sequence, repetition was turned into a game for the pupils. It has also monopolized the attention of the pupils, they all are repeating after the teacher. But the model-repetition model has lost its meaning. The pupils are no longer imitating the words and thinking of their meanings, they are merely playing (stomping) with words. At the end the pupils repeat [berta] after each model whether it was *huerta* or *Berta*. When the teacher tried to find out the meaning of *Berta*, she found herself with a surprise:

Berta, imachus i? Bertha, what could it be?	wirta / lurasno kachkan, lurasno berta /lurasno / lurasno berta orchard / there are peaches,(it is a) peaches orchard
---	---

Bertha according to the pupils was an orchard. What seems to have happened is that the pupils considered [werta] and [berta] to be the same word. Hence, the idea of the internalization of the new phonemic contrast: /werta/ vs. /berta/ is thrown into the wind. And this is so because, in their Quechua they have the word [werta] from the Spanish *huerta*; but also Berta, which they might also pronounce [werta, or wirta]; in addition [w] and [b] might be in free variation, as in [wasi] 'house' and [wasi] or [basi] from *base* 'base'; or in the

pronunciation of some Quechua words such as waliq = [walex] or [balex] 'well'. The teacher only seemed to get some results when she associated Berta with a real person, but even in this case, it seemed to me that for the children [werta] and [berta] were synonymous.

In these first stages of the acquisition of Spanish, however, it is not only phonemes that cause problems, some morphemes might do the same. Gender agreement and less frequently number agreement are potential sources of conflict. For example, returning to Mrs. BB.'s classroom:

eso. qué es esto? That's right. What is this?	<i>un gurra</i> [gu:za] / gorra cap	the pupil fails to produce the gender agreement: una gorra
una a	<i>gorra</i> cap	the teacher cues, but the pupil simply completes the phrase
gorra	ona gorra	the pupil manages to produce the phrase, but the high vowel of <i>una</i> is lowered once more. the teacher does not insist on this
<i>qué es esto?</i> what is this?	una gallo an rooster	another gender agreement miss
ggallo	una gayo	teacher corrects the initial consonant, the pupil keeps on producing the phrase with the wrong gender agreement.
un ggallo	un gallo	the teacher corrects the agreement.
qué es esto? what is this?	om pila	asks another question, and here we go again with the gender mis-agreements and the confusion of the vowels.

After a while the teacher attempts an application of the Question-Answer drill, by making the pupils themselves ask the questions and obtain the answers from another pupil. One cannot say that the pupils were reluctant to try, rather they were eager to do the exercise on their own; but the mistakes did not disappear by this change of teaching strategy. In fact the questions and answers of the pupils fill the whole classroom, while the teacher goes around checking on some groups and individuals. Another example of the pupils' willingness to do the exercises of the textbook is provided by a girl who goes through all the pictures of the page, pointing at each one, and responding to the questions that the book is asking: iQué es

esto? and she answers: faja, ona foco, ona gorra, ona gallo, ona baldor.. ona pela, ona chica, ona niña, ona niña, una niña, una niña. Her answers are swift and loud, it does not matter to her if she is making gender or number agreement mistakes, and since the book unlike the teacher is incapable of stopping her after every mistake, she proceeds until the provision of questions is exhausted. on borrador //// pupils are going berserk repeating their answers, pointing to the pictures in the textbook; most of them keep shouting their responses filling the class; meanwhile Mrs. BB. goes on to work with individual pupils. But in spite of this apparent chaos and permissiveness, it seems to me that pupils are being trained to learn that they cannot learn Spanish well. Asked by the teacher, whether they already did the exercise, little Cirila said Ñuqapis siñuritay ati mana ati liyirimuchkaa.. ñichkani a ver. 'I too Miss am reading in spite of not always being able to, why, thus I am saying.'

When the conversation gets more real, for instance when the teacher asks the pupils whether they have dogs at home or not, the responses are eager, but the tendency is to revert to normal, in other words to speak about these real and interesting topics in Quechua. For moments the teacher surrenders to this pressure from the class, but also tries to use this interest to practice Spanish some more.

Likewise, the conversation based on the picture of children playing at the playground, was less strenuous than the model-repetition routine; but the emphasis on the meanings allowed for some syntactic mistakes.

ahora vamos a mirar, vamos a ver dónde están los al los niños. Dónde están los niños a ver?	futbul / en la kancha pilopinto*
Now we shall loot at, we are going to see where the boys are the boys. Where are the boys?	football / in the court *
ah en la cancha	en la cancha // la pe-lo-ta
all right, in the court	in the court // the ball
están qué hacen en la cancha?	jwega / juga
they are what do they do in the court?	plays / play
jue gan con pe lo ta, no ve?	sí.
they play with a ball, don't they?	yes
en la cancha?	jwegan con pelota

in the court?	(they) play with a ball
ya, esos chiquitos, esos niños van a ser los niños del pre- básico. Estos niños del pre-básico están jugando con pelota, dónde?	en la cancha / pelota in the court / ball
OK, those little kids, those boys are going to be the boys of the kinder. These kinder boys are playing with a ball, where?	

Although small children of this age (around 7 years) usually respond with monosyllables when asked questions in interview fashion, even in their native tongue, the monosyllabic answers of the children above, as well as the phrases they manage to produce are tainted by interference (for instance *futbul*), or an incipient grammar (for instance, ... qué hacen en la cancha? -jwega.. / juga.). On the positive side, in spite of the problems of pronunciation and gender-number agreement, the pupils understand and respond the questions of the teacher.

3. Missing the point of phonemics

This is the second grade (1995), taught by Ms. QQ., a teacher who came in to fill a vacancy. It happens that due to administrative problems the former teacher had left the school after two months of working there. Thus for at least two months the second grade pupils were left on their own. In the beginning they all kept coming to school. However, their numbers started to dwindle, due to the fact that being left alone they were just playing all day long. Ms. QQ., the new teacher, took over in the month of August, more than a half year into the school year. Let us take a look at one of her Spanish as a Second Language classes.

In this class, the teacher attempted to teach the vowels of Spanish following the PEIB textbook. In this lesson, designed to teach the Spanish vowel system, there is a page with pictures depicting words with the vowels u and o. The object of these pictures is to call the pupils' attention to the contrast between them, for which purpose, the first two pictures are given in frames. That is they illustrate a minimal pair: two words which differ in one sound only (in this case the contrast between *huso* 'spinning wheel' and *oso* 'bear'). Ms. QQ. asks the pupils about these pictures, but since she had not received the necessary training, and probably had not read the guides provided in the teacher's book, she completely misses the

point. Thus, when the pupils identify the first picture as phuchka (the Quechua word for spinning wheel), the teacher lets them get away with it. In fact, she did not even know the Spanish word, huso, which the picture was supposed to represent. In justice, this word huso is not a very common word in daily talk; but this of course does not really excuse the teacher. She also missed the point when for blusa (blouse), another word illustrating the u sound. she provided the word camisa (shirt). Later on, after the identification of the pictures. she transforms the planned contrastive exercise into a writing class, more exactly into a dictation class. The procedure she follows in a schematized way is this: she looks for a word, and dictates. The pupils write in their notebooks, and once they have finished start calling the attention of the teacher, Señoritay tukuniña "'Miss, I've already finished'. The teacher goes around the classroom, checking individually the pupils' renditions, telling them OK, or most often correcting their mistakes, telling them to write better, with bigger letters, and so on. Those who made mistakes keep erasing their penciled words, sometimes even to the point of drilling little holes in the paper; others, resorting to a favorite pupil survival strategy, try to copy the correct version from their neighbors. After being satisfied with the pupils renditions of the dictated word, the teacher dictates another word, goes around correcting, the pupils writing and writing, correcting their mistakes, erasing... and so on for almost an hour. During this tiring process of taking dictation, the pupils did not have the slightest chance to practice their oral skills in the learning of Spanish. It is true that they have been exposed to the instructions of the teacher giving mostly in Spanish, but they did not have the opportunity to learn Spanish in an active way (e.g. using it in a communicative situation).

In brief, used as the teachers are to teaching reading and writing (of Spanish) in accordance with their training in the normal school, they usually turn the classes of Spanish as a second language into reading and writing exercises. The pupils recognize the letters all right, but when it comes to reading them, keep making the usual mistakes, namely to confuse i and e, u and o.

Apparently, the phonological riddle has not been solved, at least not completely, in higher grades. Let us consider an example of the fifth grade. A pupil reads a poem in Spanish: *Erase un pez, con la cola al revez.* 'Once upon a time, there was a fish; with its tail upside down'. So far so good. Then come the problems: *y on gatu* (y un gato) 'and a cat', *cun su oreja en el zapatu* (con su oreja en el zapato) 'with its ear in the shoe'. But there are exceptions, in fact a continuum of readers and writers from the most interfered by Quechua to the most native like in Spanish.

As pointed out above, the textbooks approach the problem from the contrastive linguistics perspective (thus they provide minimal pairs, and exercise syntactic patterns by means of drills); the teachers in consequence rely heavily on a model-repetition strategy. What seems to be missing here is an understanding of the whole nature of the problem. As Norma Reátegui, a Peruvian psychologist with whom I happened to work in an other context, used to repeat: perception is always structured. In the case of teaching Spanish phonology both textbook writers and teachers seem to have ignored the fact that here repetition and/or identification with the written letter is not-at least not efficiently and effectively- going to accomplish the task of creating the new perception. To put it differently, the teachers operating under a 5 vowel system, clearly and loudly, hear that [oso] is different from [usu]; and duly correct the pupils who manage to blurt out [usu] when asked about the respective picture. But, from the three vowel system of the children, [usu] and [oso], are just the same word; just like [taym] and [thaym] are the same word for most speakers of English. To sum up, this phonological mismanagement in the teaching of Spanish to Quechua children is a good example of the clashes of perception, at the linguistic level. It is also an illustration of the excessive linguisticization of the bilingual education program, ignoring other venues, such as the psycholinguistic one referred to above.

4. Reading in Spanish, fourth Grade

On the wall they have the classical three premises of Quechua morals: ama suwa, ama llulla, ama qhilla, plus some posters of Jayma.⁸⁴ The desks have been arranged in two semicircles and are neatly organized, pupils can reach their places with ease, without having to climb over their desks or crouch under them to move out or to their places.

In this class, dedicated to reading a text in Spanish, the language of communication, but for a few exceptions, is also Spanish. The teacher first instructs the class to read silently, which they do without any fuss. I cannot fail to notice the contrast with lower grade classrooms, where there is a lot of noise. In this classroom, you can only hear the steps of the teacher or some coughs from the pupils. Then each pupil reads aloud a portion of the text. There are no disciplinary problems in this class.

T: Ya muy bien, una vez más voy a leer. (..) "Ahora ellos viven en la ciudad. En la ciudad la vida es diferente .. ellos viven. En el campo ellos no compraban nada, ellos tenían dos vacas, muchas ovejas, cinco chanchos, ocho gallinas. (..) las vacas les daban leche, las ovejas y la cabra también les daban leche. Ellos no compraban azúcar, tampoco compraban pan. Los Choque cambiaban y otras cosas (..)"

While the teacher reads, thus providing the correct pronunciation model, pupils follow the reading in complete silence. Afterwards the pupils read the text again, and the teacher asks them some questions in Spanish, which they answer without much problem. Although their answers are not very elaborated, they are acceptable to the teacher; and very few corrections of pronunciation are made, only in those cases where the discrepancy with respect to the 'standard' is most obvious. During the period dedicated to reading in Spanish, the language of communication of the teacher is exclusively Spanish; only at the end does she switch to Quechua, to tell pupils not to be afraid of the camera. But before I venture any conclusions, I shall consider another lesson of social sciences in more detail.

⁸⁴ Jayma is a periodical newspaper published by Félix Layme, an Aymara teacher and intellectual.

5. Social Sciences in Spanish, fifth Grade

There are only 8 pupils in this class, due to the All Saint's festivities. The benches have been arranged in an inverted U. The teacher initiates the lesson with some physical exercises, hands up and down.

Imasmaris, yo voy a decir primero 'Riddles, I am going to say one first'
muyuspa muyuspalla chinkanman 'turning just turning around would disappear'
imachus kanman? 'what could it be?' (Answer is inaudible) (video 951108)

After a few more productions by the pupils, some in Spanish and mostly in Quechua, Mr. NN. starts the lesson proper, with a reading: *Tejedora de Sueños*. Although all pupils can read, their flow is uneven, with constant pauses, and there are some problems of pronunciation. For example:

Marcelo: .. y mantener su cultura. La tie rra es pobre, los hombres .. kun sus hijos salen de sus comunedades.. van a cosechar algo-don, o a cortar caña de otros dueños, van también a trabajar a las empresás empresas madiriras o a las estancias ganaderas

Since there are only eight pupils, all of them get to read with varying degrees of fluidity.

Then Mr. NN. explains and asks questions:

- N: punto.. tenemos que descansar, por decir .. qué dice el título? tejedora de sueños, Los isoseños trabajan de diferentes formas para vivir y mantener su cultura. Hasta ahí tenemos una parte, hasta ahí tenemos que descansar... De qué nos habla aquí aquí esta parte: Los isoseños trabajan de diferentes formas para vivir.. y mantener su cultura. De quién nos habla aquí? De quiénes?
- p: (Silence)
- N: Iso..
- p: (Silence)
- N: Izoseños, que eran los Izoseños qué hacían?
- p: trabajan
- N: dónde trabajan, cómo trabajan .. a ver cómo trabajan?
- p: De diferentes ..
- N: de diferentes.. qué pero?
- p: formas para vivir
- N: ah ya de diferentes formas para vivir, no es cierto?. Por decir nosotros aquí trabajamos.. con qué trabajamos aquí en el campo?..
- p: Con bueyes!

N: También trabajan con qué más? con qué más trabajan aquí en el Paredón? o en sus casas, con qué trabajan? mhu? con qué trabajan?

- N: con pico me van a decir, después.. azadón, después qué más
- p: arado
- N: arado, qué más, pala, que más ...a ver uds conocen, qué más que más
- (..)

(video 951108)

Then the teacher goes on to ask questions about the uses of the pick, what it is for, whether it is good to dig on cement or on the field; then connects work on the fields, the usefulness of the fields for survival, for culture; and then with the need to maintain the culture, the rituals; stops his associations and retakes the reading of the text and focuses on the need to fertilize the impoverished lands, by means of animal manure and so on, while the pupils often agree uttering monosyllables.

This lesson is a long one, but it proceeds basically in the same fashion as above: with the teacher focusing on some part of the reading, the title, a paragraph, a picture, and practically doing all the talking, attempting however to engage the pupils in answering his questions. All the explanations and later on instructions of the teacher are in Spanish (except when they had to sing in Quechua at the end of the lesson); although the constant references to the local context require the use of Quechua words. For example:

- N: No es cierto? Ya, por lo menos van a revolver el <u>boy</u> <buey>, la vaca, el burro, por lo menos van a traer leñita para que hagan comida para los peones, no es cierto. Entonces también trabajan en <u>ayllu</u>, no es cierto, en <u>mink'a</u>, también ahí todos trabajan desde el papá, la marná, los hijos. Ahora, aquí dice van a cosechar algodón a cortar caña de otros dueños. Entonces ellos habían sabido ir.. a dónde habían sabido ir? a cosechar qué cosa?
- P: algodón
- N: algodon. Conocen algodón ustedes? Esta chompa de qué estará hecho?
- P: ..
- N: De algodón, no es cierto? Ya todo eso.. que nosotros utilizamos de la ciudad la ropa es hecho de algodón, no es cierto? ellos lo pintan, entonces son industrializados, ya, entonces también sirve para que nosotros.. utilicemos, no ve?. ahí está eso.. esos ponchitos de qué está hecho? Ese ponchito ese unquito.. es lana o no es lana?
- P: lana
- N: es de aquí o es de la ciudad?

p: ..

P: de la ciudad

Each topic is explained and usually exemplified with references to the local context. These are some of the topics he had to explain: sugar, sugar cane, sugar manufacture, migrant work in agriculture, timber enterprises, furniture manufacture, cattle; the life of the Izoseños: women taking care of goats and weavings, men going to work, weavings, the family, the dreams of the weaver, crops produced in Santa Cruz: cotton, coffee, sugar cane; cotton weavings by the Izoseños, commercialization of some of their weavings, styles of weaving: el simple, el moisés, el carapepo y el sumbi... He pauses a little here to write these Guaraní words on the blackboard and goes on to explain them, again in great detail. Then he touches upon their lands, their travels, their work as migrants workers, taking care of cattle; connects again with agricultural work in the local context, the distribution of labor in the family; and so on and on, for about one hour. In brief, the teacher emphasizes the cultural meanings of the words found in the reading, associating them whenever possible with local words. But while a great deal of attention is bestowed to the meanings, the structure of the lesson does not allow the treatment of the syntax of Standard Spanish. In fact the teacher, quite naturally uses forms deemed as incorrect or as 'popular Spanish', such as habían sabido ir instead of solían ir 'they used to go', Esta chompa de qué estará hecho? instead of De qué estará hecha esta chompa?, or la ropa es hecho de algodón instead of la ropa está hecha de algodón.

The next step in the lesson is dictation. Mr. NN. dictates a number of sentences, often word by word, while the pupils take their time to write them, often requesting another repetition of the word. Demetrio, one of the pupils, repeats each word the teacher dictates, almost to the point of annoyance, but he gets away with it.

- N: también se hará la instalación de la luz eléctrica
- D: también
- N: también se hará .. la instalación de la luz eléctrica .. también se hará
- D: luz eléctrica
- N: se hará
- D: se hará
- N: la instalación

D: instalación

Mr. NN. goes to the blackboard and writes these and other words that he considers difficult. As before, the dictation takes a lot of time, and I am obliged to skip the rest. After the dictation ends, Mr. NN. asks some pupils to read what they have written. The readings are not extremely good. For instance Anselmo reads word by word, pointing with his finger, but does not connect them with a sentence intonational pattern. Dario corrects him punctually. Demetrio reads: *se hára ona nueva construcción*. He has a heavy accent, and also reads words in isolation, but repeats each correction by the teacher dutifully. As pupils read, Dario walks inside the U made by the desks. There is no attempt whatsoever to misbehave on the part of these students. Only the persistent counter dictation of Demetrio. Mr. NN. corrects Demetrio's mistakes but does not hit the pupils, does not appear openly aggressive (after watching Mrs. EE.). When the bell rings (the iron clanks), the pupils ignore it and continue working. Dario has to ask them to go out for a break. After they come back they are made to sing a few songs and afterwards a homework is given: *dos sumitas y dos restitas, esito van hacer ya*? Basilio is commissioned to collect the books.

Now this was a lesson in Spanish, and it assumes that the pupils already know the language; the emphasis is on the contents and not so much on the linguistic forms. The teacher tried his best performance at explaining the contents of the text to the point of monopolizing the interchange; the pupils likewise did their best to pay attention, only straying a few times. The lesson basically consisted of explanation, reading, dictation and recreation (singing songs). In terms of language usage, Spanish predominated, with Quechua appearing only in some references to cultural objects of the community (**unku** 'small poncho', for instance), and when the singing included Quechua songs. Only at this time did the teacher allow himself to code-switch to Quechua. This classroom perhaps could be classified as the sink or swim modality, were it not for the fact that other subjects continue to be taught in the mother tongue. Looking at the lesson from the positive side, there is no doubt that the pupils had an abundant opportunity to listen to the Spanish of their teacher.

5. Conclusions

The use of languages in Bolivian schools today varies from monolingualism in Spanish to monolingualism in Quechua in some rural schools. I am considering this to be the case of Molle Mayu, where the use of Quechua up to the third grade (the last grade of the school) is Quechua. In the bilingual education schools, of course the curriculum contemplates the use of both languages; although in the initial grades the use of Quechua even displaced the teaching of Spanish as a second language. The use of Quechua as an instrumental language in the classrooms of the PEIB does not seem to have generated major difficulties, except for a few problems in the perceptions of the sound system, mainly from the teachers' perspective, as shall be illustrated in the next chapter. The case of Spanish as a second language generates some problems in the initial grades, especially with respect to the usefulness of the drill; but these problems seem to have diminished in the higher grades. In spite of this, however, the perception of the community, and the speech of the pupils, seem to indicate that total success has not yet been achieved. In addition, as described next, the teaching-learning of Spanish, especially through the use of drills, might have generated practices akin to methods of domestication.

Chapter 5. Classroom Practices: Disciplines

1. Introduction

My original intention for this thesis was to provide a description of the bilingual education classroom in contrast to traditional education. However, my readings of Foucault, especially *Discipline and Punish: the Birth of the Prison* (1991 [1975]), alerted me to a new perception of teacher-pupil relationships. Thus, when I went through some classroom transcripts made by Yraola (1992) for her thesis on the Spanish of rural teachers (1995), I found striking similarities to the techniques described by Foucault as the **disciplines**. One incident in particular, in which the teacher overpowered a pupil because he was tardy (recorded in Potolo, another of the experimental *núcleos* of the PEIB), set me in pursuit of this aspect of classroom practices. Below I provided a translated version of the incident.

1. Benedicto has come late

'Let us ask him. Why have you arrived late Benedicto? What have you done on your way? Have you played or was it your mother that made you late, or was it your father that took you to the field? How was it then, tell us'. The pupil understandably remained silent, but she continued 'Let's see Benedicto. Why have you arrived late? Have you played in the river or have you really come out late from your home? How was it?' At this point she called the attention of a noisy pupil. 'Keep silent Leonardo. Sit down properly'. And she kept on with Benedicto, now putting words in his silent mouth. 'Benedicto says he has played, that is why he does not speak, isn't that right? He is afraid, he is ashamed of himself. What can he say? "I have played," he says. It is certain that he has been playing, that is why he is not speaking, have you not? One should not remain silent...' she said, but perhaps that is all Benedicto could do under the stress. (Yraola 1992:3-S-Pot). 05 Classroom Practices- Disciplines

In like fashion she picked on one student's inadequate clothing for cold weather; she scolded pupils because they did not know the name of another tardy arrival, 'You have even forgotten how to speak or are you afraid?, one must not be afraid, one has to speak up', she said. Pupils' fear and silence were blamed on the fact that they 'want to speak Quechua only'. The teacher added that these pupils were afraid in spite of the fact that they already knew some Spanish. During the lesson she kept hammering down: that pupils did not respond correctly because they have not been paying attention, that they did not know the answers because they have been absent, and so on.

In my revision of classroom transcripts, another problem became apparent, the use of phonemics as a tool for training and thereby as a means to consolidate the unequal power relations between teachers and pupils. Noticing the pronunciation problems of the pupils, a teacher said *A ver si sale el Pepito*. In other words, whether his pupils were going to be able to pronounce this word without interferences in the presence of the observer. Later on I shall describe in more detail some incidents in the teaching of Spanish as a Second language.

The Potolo incident, and afterwards my own observations, made clear the fact that discipline or 'control of the class' was of utmost importance for the teachers. For example, Mrs. BB., a teacher at El Paredón who had some 16 years' teaching experience (in 1995), confided that it was necessary to discipline pupils, often resorting to threats of corporal punishment, (for which purpose she used to show them a piece of rubber that she had named as **Tata** Juan). *La única manera*, she said [to have pupils under control]. In any case, she brandished **Tata** Juan only once, afterwards 'he' was only mentioned, and finally disappeared in physical form. Mrs. BB.'s pupils, in spite of her apparent severity, appeared to be open and hyperactive, and would swarm around the teacher any time a volunteer was requested, *Están acostumbrados a salir al pizarrón*, 'They are used to go the blackboard', she would say. Another time (30/07/95) she confided: *Mis alumnos son los más traviesos, no pueden estar quietos por más de cinco minutos*. 'My pupils are the most playful, they cannot stay quiet for more than five minutes'. In retrospect, perhaps it was a strategy to rest a while on the part of the teacher, for total control of the class was necessarily tiring: *salgo agotada* 'I come out exhausted' she would say. On the other hand, although, among teachers, physical punishments were discouraged at the discourse level, it seems that the practice was still alive. Thus, the children themselves seemed to expect it as a natural resource for classroom interaction (see Chapter 5.5.2 Personal traits: Miss CC.; and Chapter 6.2.1).

In the preceding chapter (use of languages in traditional and bilingual schools) I attempted to show that language dynamics implied a struggle between Spanish and Quechua in the wider context of linguistic hegemonization prevalent in the country. In this chapter, I focus on how the teaching of subject matter in general and the teaching of Spanish in particular, not only reflect trends and attitudes towards these languages (and cultures) but also, becomes the space of struggle between pupils and teachers. Before proceeding however, I would like to consider some aspects of the disciplines as described by Foucault.

2. Foucault's Disciplines

Michel Foucault's *Surveiller et punir: Naissance de la prison* appeared in 1975 and has ever since influenced the academic world, not of course discounting his other celebrated works. In this book, Foucault (1991 [1975]) traces the development of the penal system in Europe, distributing his analysis in four sections: (a) torture, that deals with the public execution of criminals, and where the punishment inflicted upon the bodies of the unfortunate victims was both a revenge and a public spectacle (the scaffold), a spectacle meant to signify the disclosure of monarchical powers; (b) punishment, that adjusts the 'art of punishing' into a more rational system (based on reason, and new ways of representation), developing almost a social contract between the citizen and the law (p. 89), and where the notions of prevention, utilitarianism, and correction are the key elements; (c) the disciplines (which are commented below); and (d) the prison, where total control is exerted on the body and soul of the inmate.

05 Classroom Practices- Disciplines

The disciplines are different from torture and punishment that were basically devised to inflict pain or destruction of the body, or from the prison that, besides vacillations about its purpose (correction or vengeance), deprives the individual of their freedom. Thus the disciplines could be applied to the general public to obtain docile bodies, not by destroying them, or breaking them with exaggerated punishment, nor by confining more or less permanently to penal institutions, but by training. Thus the disciplines were formed and applied in military camps, factories, hospitals, and schools throughout the classical ages.

The body, as Foucault says, was always "in the grip of very strict powers" (p. 136), but the disciplines, which developed throughout the 17th and 18th centuries brought about differences, such as the following: (a) "the scale of the control" whereby the body is worked in "retail" not as a whole; (b) "the object of the control" directed to the activities of the body by means of exercise; and (c) "the modality" of the control which was constant and "according to a codification that partitions as closely as possible time, space, movement." (pp. 136-137).

These methods, which made possible the meticulous control of the operations of the body, which assured the constant subjection of its forces and imposed upon them a relation of docility-utility, might be called 'disciplines'. (Foucault 1991:137)

The disciplines were different from slavery, service, vassalage (Foucault 1991:137), rather they were specific techniques designed to deal with specific tasks and ends: military training, workshops, the school. The increasing specialization and detail led to finer divisions of space, time, activities, etc. all for the sake of efficiency.

The disciplines studied by Foucault evolved for centuries in Europe, but in broad terms can be envisaged as (a) methods to control and manipulate people, and (b) learning processes where the master learns and accumulates knowledge in order to better control and the subject learns to be more efficient. The learning of the dominator produces the academic disciplines: psychiatry, medicine .. pedagogy.

Before proceeding further, I would like to emphasize that one of the drives of the disciplines is to obtain obedience but also achievement. In the words of the maestro:

Discipline increases the forces of the body (in economic terms of utility) and diminishes these same forces (in political terms of obedience). In short, it dissociates power from the body; on the one hand, it turns it into an 'aptitude', a 'capacity', which it seeks to increase; on the other hand, it reverses the course of the energy, the power that might result from it, and turns it into a relation of strict subjection. (ibid.:138)

Thus the disciplines are realized and achieve their ends by applying detail to space, time, and the body (or rather the activities of the body). Without going into details, some of their features are: (a) the control of individuals through an elaborated system of distributions of space, activity and ranks (pp. 141-149); by means of these techniques of distribution of spaces and cellular placement of individuals in such a space, multitudes are transformed "into ordered multiplicities" (p. 148); (b) the establishment of hierarchies based on punishments and rewards; (c) the programming of activity according to assigned times, established rhythms, occupations and repetitions to be performed in lapses of increased minuteness (p. 150-155); (d) the capitalization of time, accomplished by the definition of periods and their succession; and by establishing series of activities in each period, that is exercises (pp. 156-158) that impose "on the body tasks that are both repetitive and different, but always graduated" and make "possible a perpetual characterization of the individual" (p. 61); (e) the composition of forces [i.e. individuals as part of a larger unit, such as the school], whereby individuals may be moved according to needs; chronologies adjusted in order to obtain greater, combined, forces; and the "system of command" be made more precise (pp. 162-166).

In summary, the disciplines, according to Foucault, create an individual with four characteristics, with corresponding techniques at operation: "it is cellular (by the play of spatial distribution), it is organic (by the coding of activities) it is genetic (by the accumulation of time), it is combinatory (by the composition of forces). And, in doing so, it

operates four great techniques: it draws up tables; it prescribes movements; it imposes exercises; and, in order to obtain the combination of forces, it arranges 'tactics'. (p. 167).

In addition, Discipline is a mechanism, a process of training (Foucault 1991:170). Its final aim is not the absence of movement or silence, but rather more efficiency in the framework of a system of power. In the school, in the classroom there are activities which might be characterized as forms of training: line-ups, exercises (for instance, in reading, in pronunciation, in crunching arithmetic numbers, showing respect, and so on). And it is also a method to isolate the individual from their group. As described later on, the whole-class approach is often combined with the individualization of pupils at many levels (identification of achievement or behavior, work with the individual). Pupils must not copy, and no cheating is allowed.

In the school, the disciplinary procedures must not be confused with punishment, especially physical punishment. Physical punishment is painful, but also visible and perhaps transient. And because it is in the open, it can also be deliberately resisted. (see Chapter 6.2). It must be added though that physical punishment is no longer acceptable as a legitimate means of enforcement neither in the wider community nor in the teaching profession. Comunarios reminiscing their old school days thought of them as rather good in comparison with present day school (see Chapter 6.3). Does not the fact that they suffered corporal punishments cloud these memories? In any case, punishment applies to a fault already committed and really cannot undo it. Discipline as training on the contrary changes the individual in subtle (and not so subtle) ways. It uses simple instruments, among which the following three seem to be still in use: "hierarchical observation, normalizing judgement and their combination in a procedure that is specific to it, the examination." (Foucault 1991:170). In brief, observation empowers by providing information about the subject, it is hierarchical, can be delegated, is sometimes anonymous, and often silent (pp. 175-177). In addition, training cannot proceed without aims or procedures. Aims in turn cannot be random. But since training meets resistance (in fact any training is devised to overcome resistance, especially in efficiency), a

system of rewards and punishments had to be established. In Foucault's words: "At the heart of all disciplinary systems functions a small penal mechanism." (Foucault 1991:177). For example:

The workshop, the school, the army were subjects to a whole micro-penality of time (latenesses, absences, interruptions of tasks), of activity (inattention, negligence, lack of zeal), of behaviour (impoliteness, disobedience), of speech (idle chatter, insolence), of the body ('incorrect' attitudes, irregular gestures, lack of cleanliness), of sexuality (impurity, indecency). At the same time, by way of punishment, a whole series of subtle procedures was used, from light physical punishment to minor deprivations and petty humiliations. (Foucault 1991:178).

In a few words, it is "non-observance" to a "double juridico-natural reference" that matters. It is artificial (juridical) in the sense that it is established as part of the institution, it is a set of regulations; and it is natural because it is based on factual observation, for instance, how long it takes to learn a given task (ibid.:178-179). Although some punishments followed the 'judicial model' (for instance, fines), "the disciplinary systems favour punishments that are exercise". Thus it is no longer punishment for its own sake, but punishment to reinforce training. As Foucault says: "To punish is to exercise." (Foucault 1991:180).

However, since the system is double edged, there are punishments but also rewards, classification according to levels of achievement or failure is made possible. Grades, ranks, and privileges are established. Everybody is classified, but with the possibility of moving up or down the grades or ranks, of gaining or losing privileges, according to their behavior, which should not be left unmarked, but rewarded or punished. (Foucault 1991:180-181). Again, dichotomization enters the picture: "... we have a distribution between a positive pole and a negative pole; all behaviour falls in the field between good and bad marks, good and bad points." (Foucault 1991:180). The general purpose, of course, was to ensure the success of training; but there was another idea behind the constitution of these ranks (or classes): that some ranks (the lower ones, such as for instance, bad pupils) were there only to disappear; so that, in fact, all should be equalized (Foucault 1991:182). The assumption was that certain types of behavior were abnormal, thus the need to normalize. In brief, by means of

comparison, differentiation, hierarchization, homogenization and exclusion, the double system of rewards and punishments sought to normalize. Thus the idea of the Norm becomes a feature of the disciplines. It is no doubt behind the constitution of the *écoles normales* where teaching is standardized (Foucault 1991:184). Incidentally, the European influence on the education system in Bolivia, especially since the Rouma mission, early in this century, explains why the teachers' training centers are called the *escuelas normales*, and the teachers graduated from these schools *normalistas*.

Another feature of disciplinary training was the examination, a procedure that combines observation and normalization, and has the purpose of qualifying, classifying and punishing (Foucault 1991:184). In addition, it has the effect of bringing subjects (for instance, pupils in front of the examiner, even today) into the open, of rendering them visible in their strengths or (most often) weaknesses. (p. 185). The examination is integrated into the disciplinary system not only as a more specific and permanent gaze, but also linked to the training process itself.

In today's education system in Bolivia, observation and information absorb a good deal of teachers' and administrators' time, albeit not with the intent of making detailed adjustments to the efficiency of the training system, rather in the form of school statistics (registration, attendance, drop-out, rates of grade passing), and also teachers' attendance sheets, to qualify them for remuneration.

Disciplines in the Classroom

Now, before observing some classroom practices in traditional and bilingual schools, I would like to say that I am not claiming that these elaborated techniques of the European past are being directly reproduced anew in the present-day Bolivian classroom; only that certain practices have developed along these lines. In fact, it might be safe to argue that the curriculum and teachers' training does not really contemplate the meticulous planning of classroom activity as strictly disciplinarian in the Foucauldian sense, except perhaps in the

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general sense of the need of discipline, or 'classroom control', on the part of the teacher to ensure the success of the activity. In any case, the practical exigencies of the teachinglearning process provided the ground for the development of practices akin to the disciplines. An indication of the lack of meticulous planning is, for example, the fact that most teachers do not write down their lesson plans in detail. What they have is an outline of contents and activities for the week, plans, which they often ignore once they are in the classroom, adapting and improvising on the spur of the moment. In the PEIB, whose textbooks came with detailed guidelines, writing another detailed plan was often considered otiose. However, classroom practices respond to the trends of the global context (linguistic hegemonization, modernization, the ideology of racism), but also to teaching exigencies: the curriculum, the central control both administrative and curricular, and teachers' commitment. In addition, it must be noted, that not all events that take place in the classroom can be seen as disciplinary, because there are activities such as playing games, socialization, and solidarity, which do not seem to have a disciplinary purpose.

3. Patriotic exercises

In this section I shall describe three practices that take place in Bolivian schools and which serve to disseminate the discourse of the allegiance to the father land, but which at the same time become disciplinary practices. These are *horas cívicas*, line-ups, and parades.

Although many rural schools are located by the main roads, some, such as the sectional schools of Jatun Q'asa, Qullakamani, Jatun Churikana, Jatun Rumi appear to be relatively isolated and hidden from the mainstream. Yet in spite of the mountains and the distances, the bad roads or lack of them (for instance, no vehicles can reach Jatun Q'asa or Jatun Rumi), the 'encounter' of the worlds continue, not only through the actions of the school, or through the capture of radio waves (Albó-D'Emilio 1990), but also through visits of the *comunarios* to towns and cities, or of urbanites to the countryside. In the Bolivian schools, regardless of their location, the notions of the fatherland are nurtured by the formal curriculum but also by

the periodic rituals of the 'civic hours', line-ups, and public parades. Line-ups are the most pervasive, they start the first day of school and usually also mark the last act of one's primary and highschool career, with the graduation ceremony.

1. Hora Cívica, 2 de agosto

Although the curriculum includes the history of the country, it is a history that according to the new generation of Aymara historians only presents the official view (Choque Canqui et al 1992), basically the history of dates and heroes (Zavaleta 1967). If this is so, then it is a means, among others, of transmitting the official history and hence discourses. But there are other ways in which key bits of the history and the discourse of allegiance to the father land are realized almost as a ritual: the *hora cívica*, the salute to the flag, even the line up, and the public parades.

The *horas civicas*, from my disciplines and discourses framework can be divided in three aspects: (a) the speech or 'discourse of circumstances', (b) the presentations, and (c) the lineups. From the point of view of language dynamics, it shows the progression of Quechua that is used as the means of communication in the *hora civica*, but also the penetration of Spanish through songs, line-up instructives, and recitations.

To illustrate these points I shall describe in summarized fashion the 2 of August *hora cívica*, in the central school of El Paredón (Videos 950700, 950801). Although I return to the lineups within the context of the disciplines later on (Cf. 2. Line-ups in Qullakamani p.210), I shall here advance some of its features in order to provide the context for the hora cívica. The pupils have lined-up in front of the raised stage, where some parents and teachers sit on benches brought out of one of the classrooms. At the sides and at the back of the pupils, parents and *comunarios* have found a place to watch the act. The teachers hand around the ranks of pupils, watching them, minding them. Mrs. DD. has a big stick, a tree branch, which she uses sparingly, to hit misbehaving pupils on the head, on the side, or wherever. Mrs. BB. is the choir director, Mr. NN. the master of ceremonies. Mario is raising the flag while the pupils sing the national anthem; some pupils have their right hand on the shoulder of the classmate in front; some convert this measure of distance, in a friend's embrace. While the pupils sing in Quechua, the parents just look, some with great respect as the flag goes up, even the *awelitas* 'grannies' stand and keep quiet for the flag. In this occasion two *horas cívicas* (2 of August, Day of the Peasant, and 6 of August, Independence Day) have been put together, so that the weekend could be lengthened. So there are two speeches, one by Mrs. BB., one by the Headmaster. Besides the speeches and the presentations, there are songs by the general audience, such as the national anthem, and the patriotic *Salve oh Patria*, sung in Spanish. There are also what are locally known as *dianas*, by means of which, according to Howard-Malverde and Canessa (1995:238) "the community inserts itself into the formal proceedings in its own culturally relevant way." Most public events that include the contact of the two worlds, such as *horas cívicas*, the beginning or end of projects, political meetings.. are highlighted with the participation of a local, autochthonous musical ensemble that fills the gaps between acts. In this case, after every presentation on stage, the *dianas* played their martial tune, usually the same every time they performed.

Mrs. BB.'s discourse

Below we reproduce Mrs. BB.'s discourse that was spoken in Quechua.⁸⁵

M: (..) this morning we shall speak a little remembering this date because it is dos de Agosto, because on this dos de Agosto we remember three decrees and because of that now we have to celebrate this dos de Agosto. There.. a long time ago, when the first decree was coming out, this decree was signed on August 2, of 1931, this was.. that time teniente coronel Germán Busch was governing, and he made that decree establishing that on this dos de Agosto we have to remember the day of the Bolivian peasant. The second decree was about the núcleo escolar campesino, the first núcleo escolar campesino was opened in the town of Warisata, in the department of La Paz. Years later that núcleo became a rural normal, that rural normal was built for the training of many teachers, those teachers had to go to work .. to the countryside, and there they were the first teachers, where that Núcleo was made, those were teachers Elizardo Pérez and Avelino Siñani, they were the ones in charge, pioneers (..). The third decree was (promulgated) in 1953, when doctor Víctor Paz Estensoro was the president, he made the reforma agraria. But they believed that this reforma agraria

⁸⁵ The original transcript in Quechua is found in Appendix 6. p.350.

would go well every year, all the years. But they didn't think that this reforma agraria would bring about our suffering, because we keep working with picks and plows only, there is no place for us, there is no aid for us, there are no machines coming, new seeds, there is no irrigation, all is.. (for) our land, because of all those things. Because of that compañeros, children, you having heard all those things you have to come to school, you should never miss school because you have to learn well how to read and how to write. In the same way for the adults, for women, for men there are cursos de alfabetización. You too have to go there, to learn how to read and write, so that nobody.. never will there be any deceptions, nobody has the right to tread upon anybody. To finish compañeros please help me to say: long live to San José del Paredón.

At the time, the obvious focus of attention was the message. Mrs. BB. recounted the promulgation of the decrees that had to do with the establishment of the Day of the "Indian". the creation of Warisata, and the Agrarian Reform. Then she expressed her sympathy for hardships the community have to undergo due to the use of old agricultural techniques. Her solution was to turn to education, and thus she took the opportunity to urge the community and the children not to miss school. Any way, a mother sitting nearby paid attention but did not seem to have an inkling on what Mrs. BB. was saying. Later on two more levels of analysis emerge: first, the implications of discourse: the whole narrative thrives around the official history: the Day of the "Indian" promulgated by Bush, the creation of Warisata, the Agrarian Reform. With the exception of Avelino Siñani, the aymara that helped Pérez, all the other historic figures are 'Whites', and, second, the use of a Quechua splattered with words (see Appendix 6, for some examples) and syntactic patterns from Spanish.⁸⁶ A detailed analysis of the intrusion of Spanish in the Quechua of the rural teacher is unfortunately beyond the scope of this thesis, but the samples given above and elsewhere clearly demonstrate that the vernacular language keeps suffering from the linguistic colonialism exerted by Spanish. Returning to our hora cívica discourse, it is not only the subtle way to present the official history (as the only one available) that must have an impact on the audience, but also the fact that it is presented by means of a language that has already been

subdued by the extensive use of loanwords and constructions from the dominant language.

Headmaster's Discourse

Although the headmaster had already given his version of the history of Bolivia the previous evening, during the march of the torches, he took the opportunity to emphasize his views during the hora cívica.⁸⁷

E: Perhaps today, as every year on this date, we have gathered together to listen to how our country Bolivia, since a long time ago she is no longer under the grip of another nation. In the past, they say, it was Spain that had this land under her grip. Nowadays we can already say that for a long time we are free. In accordance to that we can do whatever we want in order to march forward. (..) I believe that Bolívar and Sucre could not have made war (against the Spaniards) alone, they made the peasants help them, because they all by themselves wouldn't have been able to do anything. There were armies, the so called *ejércitos libertadores*, but inside those armies there were peasants, there were people from cities, our fellow men, and this Bolívar and that Sucre perhaps manipulated them, perhaps led them forward, but history, we could say, only mentions the names of Bolívar and Sucre, thus the names of the peasants are not mentioned, we do not know who helped them, I do not know that, let me tell you again, that they were alone. That's all, at least these few words of remembrance. (..)

After this the headmaster took some time to explain the meaning of the sketch the second graders had put on stage, the story of the foolish boy that gave away the chicken, that was being raised by her mother for **Tata** *Agosto*, to some outsiders. But the boy that was supposed to be the protagonist of the story, remained in silence. The director tried to save the show by moving the children around the stage and telling them the lines. Their subdued and hence inaudible voices however made an appreciation of the story virtually impossible. This is probably why he felt obliged to retell the story, during his speech.

The discourse of the headmaster is a synopsis of the official history and present nuances with respect to the participation of the peasants. Firstly, he recounts the independence of Bolivia,

⁸⁶ One remarkable example of the intrusion of Spanish syntax into Quechua is the use of *porquechus* (a hybrid) or *imaraykuchus* (a syntactic copy) as a conjunction meaning 'because' instead of using the corresponding suffix. Thus instead of **jamunaykichik tiyan** porquechus yachanaykichik tiyan, she should have used yachanaykichik-rayku jamunaykichik tiyan.

⁸⁷ A translation of his speech is given in Appendix 6. p. .

how it was in the hands of Spain, but that now we are free (*libresña kanchik*) and are free to pursue our own free ways. Notice that in this perspective there are no longer differences between "Indians" and "Creole-mestizos". Secondly, he highlights the participation of the peasantry in the independence wars. And finally, he criticizes official history because it does not acknowledge the peasants' participation in those wars. Tamayo used to say "El indio lo es todo" in 1910 bringing his iconoclastic indigenism to the fore, to despite the ruling classes (Zavaleta 1967). Here the headmaster seems to be saying something similar. From my observations of people who work with the peasants (perhaps I should include myself in the lot) there is a tendency to identify with their pleas. (Cf. for more below, "Culturitanchikta" p. 209).

Presentations

On this occasion, pupils presented: songs (traditional songs of the region, such as *Toro* and **Sawsisa**; Creole songs; reivindicationist songs, such as those by Luzmila Carpio; and school songs), recitations (mostly from the Spanish repertoire, but sometimes allowing for a little protest: "*Pido la palabra*" by Eliodoro Aillón, a progressist poem translated into Quechua, or "500 pachak wataña", a reivindicationist piece by Alfredo Quiróz),⁸⁸ comic sketches (the barber giving the wrong haircut) and sometimes social dramatizations (see next).

On their part, the teachers of El Paredón represented a comedy of errors between teachers and parents with respect to the education of the children: the teacher being depicted as Spanish monolingual making her demands on parents and the children, Yo lo voy a castigar a Uds. Voy a hacer dormir en la iglesia, 'I am going to punish you. I am going to make you sleep in the church', the mother was a Quechua monolingual failing to understand the teacher and trying to pull her daughter out of school ajinatachu mamata wikch'una, jamuni qhawakuq kay wawitayta, 'is this the way to treat a mother, I came to protect this child of mine', and the

⁸⁸ The '500 pachak wataña' reivindicationist poem by Alfredo Quiróz was included in Quechua Qillganapaq (Plaza 1996).

bilingual child in between who was tricking both her mother and the teacher. In addition the bilingual child tells on a mate, depicted by a volunteered *comunario awra te voy a jugar*, 'now I am going to play you'. The audience celebrated the presentation and many had an honest laugh.

From my perspective of tensions and flows, the introduction of these songs, of *sociodramas* 'role-playing' (above a satire about hair cuts), the use of Quechua as the official language for the public acts, such as the *hora cívica*, the use of local clothing.. all constitute samples of the many forms that resistance can take.

The songs they sing come from the official curriculum (the national anthem "Salve oh patria"), from the Creole repertoire (Simisituyki, 'your little mouth') from revitalization movements (Indio indio ñichikuspa, 'allowing ourselves to be called Indian'), and from the community itself (Toro, P'aqpaku 'trickster',⁸⁹ and Siway azucena). In other words, there is also a musical field, whose investigation we will leave to the specialist. What we are interested to note here is simply that the school's domain is not impenetrable, that in spite of all the notions of its impact as an alienating force (Cf. Luykx 1993; Baptista Gumucio 1978) that is designed to drive the pupils out of their communities into towns and cities, there are moments in which resistance is possible. In the context of the PEIB, of course, the encouragement of the autochthonous became an open policy. Some times this resistance, this allegiance to the mother culture is expressed through songs, such as the one below that talks about the promotion of 'our little culture'.

Culturitanchikta

... wayrawan pukllakuq kani, sinch'ita. Yachay wasiman jamuyku, yachay wasiman jamuyku, yachakusun ñispa ari, yachakusun ñispa ari, sinch'ita. Culturitanchikta ari, culturitanchikta ari,

⁸⁹ These songs, presented as homework by pupils of the fourth grade, are reproduced in Chapter 4.3. Cultural Homework, in the fourth grade.

ñampaqman apana kachun, ñampaqman apana kachun, sinch'ita.

... I used to play with the wind, intensely. We come to the school, we come to the school, intending to learn, intending to learn, intensely. Our loved culture, our loved culture, we must carry forward, we must carry forward, intensely.

Throughout the *hora cívica*, setting aside official discourses and diglossic assumption of roles (the teachers direct, the pupils act, and the parents watch), there are messages that seek to invigorate the local culture. Thus the song *Culturitanchikta* advocates for the advancement of the community's culture, the poem *Soy orgolloso de ser campisinu* 'I am proud to be a peasant', and even the discourses of the headmaster and the teacher in charge (*profesora encargada*) contain elements towards revitalization. I do not intend to convey the idea that given this proliferation of revitalization messages, and also the numerous insertions of autochthonous elements into the official celebration, the problems of discrimination have been overcome. What I want to emphasize is that the relationships, in spite of their hegemonic orientation, are not devoid of tension, of contestation. If this is so, I would take it as a sign of vitality, not only at the Western end, but also at the subordinated one.

2. Line-ups in Qullakamani

Line-ups have the purpose of gathering the pupils in formation before the beginning and after the school day, and also for attending horas cívicas, occasions in which songs are sung, including the salute to the flag, and information is passed to the pupils. But line-ups also serve another purpose, to discipline the pupils. To illustrate a visit to the school of Qullakamani, on the morning of the 11 of September of 1996 (Tape 960911), is in order. It is sunny but windy outside, the sky is deep blue, and the time is running late, it is already 10 before 10. The two teachers of the school have been waiting for the pupils to arrive and decide to start the 'irregular' day with the traditional line-up. After the pupils have taken their places, according to their height, each in his own grade, the girls making one line, the boys another, the teacher in charge, Ms. HH. requires that hats be taken off and take the position of *"Firmes, firmes"* in order to sing the national anthem. We will not dwell upon the problems of understanding this hymn due to its use of grand old words, as can be observed below in the pupils' rendition. Suffice it to say that this poses problems even for native speakers of Spanish, leave alone mainly Quechua-monolingual children. The line-up proceeded as follows:

H:	ya una fila qué hacen aquí?	'All right, one line'. 'What are you doing here? '(shouting)
	kunan atencion, fir! ch'uluykita jurqhukuychik.	'Now attention, fir[m]! Take off your hats'.
m:	señorita buen día.	'Good morning miss' (a late comer, ignored by the teachers)
H:	jurqhukuychik, jurqhukuychik. jurqhukuy j urq Kunan takisun , <i>himno</i> <i>nacional. Firmes, firmes.</i>	'take them off, take them off. take it off, tak Now we shall sing, the national anthem. Firm, firm'. ()

Then the pupils sing the national anthem. In the transcription that follows, I have deliberately maintained the most salient features of their pronunciation, to illustrate the phonological and thereby semantic difficulties the hymn poses for speakers of Quechua.

'Bolivians the favorable fate'
'has crowned our pledges and hopes'
'this land is now free, free'
'her servile condition has ceased'
'To yesteryear's thunderous marching'
'to the strife of the hideous war'
'sweet hymns of peace and union'
'follow now in harmonious contrast'
'Rest'

The singing is not very good, although the teachers attempt to instill a little excitation. Although the Bolivian national anthem is very meaningful, its selection of words and constructions is very abstract. In other words, to understand this anthem is difficult even for Spanish speaking children, and it is practically gibberish for Quechua speaking children. In a former paper (Plaza 1989b:60-61) I provide an example of how the national anthem is remembered by a seven year old pupil in the community of Niño Corín (North of La Paz) and

that I reproduce below:

Bolivianos el a oktopicio	<bolivianos el="" hado="" propicio<="" th=""></bolivianos>
oroh nues es es ista	<coronó anhelo<="" nuestros="" td="" votos="" y=""></coronó>
este suey este sue suelo	<es este="" libre="" libre,="" suelo<="" td="" ya=""></es>
ya cesó nuestros tres	<ya cesó="" condición<="" servil="" su="" td=""></ya>

It is clear that this child has attempted to grasp the lyrics of the national anthem, but the

abstract language of the anthem, and the fact that he does not speak Spanish yet impede the

capture of the proper phonemes and therefrom of the meaning of the anthem.

Returning to Qullakamani, after the anthem the teacher speaks:

H: Kunan a ver, imaptin ma jamunkuchu kunan ... sapa diya ñichkani nueve en punto yaykuna, yaykumunaykichik tiyan puntual, horanpi .. imaq ma jamunkuchu a ver? kunan kaykunawan imanasuntaq? terceromanta iskay, cuartosmanta phichqa.. segundos tawa, i? kunan tuta tutantinchá ruwasun i? Imanasunmantaq? Imaptin ma jamunkichikchu a ver?

Now let us see, why didn't they come today .. every day I am telling you that entrance is at nine o'clock sharp, you have to come in puntually, within the scheduled time .. why have they not come then? Now <u>with these</u> what can we do? two in the third grade, five in the fourth grade, four in the second grade, right? We will perhaps have to work all night long, right? What could we do? Why did you not come then?

U: Samanku viernesta y ñirqanchik de que lunespi, kaypi las nueve en punto, kaypi kananchikpaq.. imaptin ma kuraqñiykichik jamunku ..., ja?

They have rested on Friday and we had said that on Monday, we would be here at nine o'clock sharp.. why didn't your elders come ..., ja?

The problem is that many pupils did not show up today. The teachers air their dissatisfaction,

especially after having recommended that they be here on Monday morning, that it was thus

agreed upon at the community meeting, and that the teachers had fulfilled their obligation to

come to the school, in spite of the fact that they had to come walking from Tarabuco (two

hours walk). The pupils remain self-conscious, not daring to say a word.

H: Kay profesorapis chamun, imaynatachus chamun pero qamkunarí? Paypis karumanta jamuchkan. Kunan castigochá kanqa, juchankichik jucharisankuchá? k'aq kunitan.. ee tukuy imatachá apamunkichik, revisasaq pañuelosta, chaywan qallarisaq... Pañuelos!

Even this teacher came, she might have confronted problems but she came, but you? She is also coming from afar. Now perhaps we will have to punish you, you seem to have comitted a sin, they are probably sinning there? k'aq (onomatopoeic sound to immitate the striking of a blow) right now.. ee I hope that you have brought everything, I shall review handkerchiefs, I shall begin with that... Handkerchiefs!

She proceeds to check whether pupils have brought their handkerchiefs, commenting and scolding those pupils who fail to produce this item of nose-blowing hygiene. The first child fails to produce his handkerchief and remains silent. 'Why', says the teacher 'tomorrow I will sent you back home'. Another produces a disastrous rag, 'Look at what he brought', she comments. Another pupil also produces an unacceptable handkerchief, making the teacher react derisively. But let us hear her in her own words:

H: Pañuelos.. ummm kayrí? Urpinchus thapachakunqa.. paychus khachkan, i? .. Pañuelo? (...) imawan pichakunki? Ya, q'aya apamunki ya?, sinos kutichisqayki. Qam?

Handkerchiefs.. oulala, what is this? Is this a pigeons nest.. or is it the pigeon itself, is it not? .. Handkerchief? (...) what will you use to blow your nose? OK, bring it tomorrow, will you? otherwise I will make you return. You?

- x: señorita.. 'Miss..' (a pupil's complaint, ignored)
- H: umm, imawan pichakunkichik, rumiswanchá, i?

hum, what will you use to blow your nose, maybe stones, right?

The line-up, in spite of the scarcity of pupils, is long, as the comments of the teacher are many and witty. One pupil produces a piece of cloth used to carry his food; the teacher will not accept this. Another acknowledges his fault, in a barely audible voice: *nwey traydo* 'I haven't brought it'. The novelty is that this response is in Spanish (no he traído), something exceptional for a pupil in this rural setting. After finishing her revision of handkerchiefs, she reminds the pupils of their obligation to bring them together with their school supplies, and then sends them to their classrooms telling them to start working on whatever they were working before, while they wait for more students to come. However, as soon as some pupils enter into the classroom, that is as soon as they are free from the teacher's gaze, they express themselves. Some of them raise their voices in the empty (teacherless) classrooms: a little protest, perhaps, after the embarrassing moments they had to undergo during the inspection of handkerchiefs? To have or not to have a handkerchief may not amount to much of an expense under other circumstances, but in the rural setting where people produce weavings

that do not include handkerchiefs or buy cheap clothes from Tarabuco but 'forget' the handkerchiefs this poses a problem for the children that go to school.

3. The pedagogy of the marches

There is no doubt that marches, line-ups, and 'civic hours' are associated with the nationalistic ideals of the father land and the need to defend it 'militarily'. Thus marches are prepared for key anniversaries, such as the Day of the Sea (24th of March), or the Day of the Country (6th of August).

Marching exercises in El Paredón: Language uses

Mrs. BB.: Isquier ñiptiy lluq'i chakiykichik juqharinkichik. Todos, marcar el paso..., izquier, dos, tres, cuatro. De frente, con compás.. mar, izquier, dos, tres, cuatro. (..) Igualankichik chaypi. De frente, con compas.. mar.

When I say left you will raise your left legs. Everybody, mark the step..., left, two, three, four. Forward, keeping the rythm.. mar[ch], left, two, three, four. (..) You shall synchronize over there. Forward...

During march exercises and during the actual parades, the use of Quechua and Spanish by teachers depends on the relationship they have with the pupils (the longer they have worked with them, the more Spanish will be used). Mrs. BB., for example, since she uses Quechua as the regular language of communication with her first graders, will talk to individual pupils in this language: **Apurakamuy waway, ama qhipakuychu**. 'Hurry up my son, don't get behind'. But will automatically switch to the Spanish terminology to direct the march: *izquier, dos, tres, cuatro* 'left, two, three, four'. Miss. TT., however, who had the fourth grade at the time, used Spanish to encourage her pupils at the march: *Ya pues!* 'Come on'. As usual, interchanges between teachers during these exercises will be exclusively in Spanish.

The instructions for the march, as in the example above, come in bilingual form: Quechua is used to provide specific meanings (e.g. the instruction to lift the left leg), while the specialized vocabulary of the march comes exclusively in Spanish (e.g. marcar el paso 'mark time', de frente 'straight ahead', con compás mar.. 'march in time'). In other words, no effort has been made to translate this 'military' terminology into Quechua. In short, the choice of languages is defined by a combination of the need to communicate (thus specific instructions come in Quechua), the need to single out individuals (Mrs. BB. in Quechua, Miss. TT. in Spanish), or the limitations imposed by the cultural contents (marches come with their own words in Spanish).

Now, in spite of the fact that these exercises lack the detail of the old infantry days of the 16 hundreds (as detailed by Foucault), or the discipline imposed in military barracks all over the world, these little marches go beyond the restricted purposes of preparing for a parade. By subjecting the pupils to the routine of the line-up, of having to respond to the commands to march, to synchronize their step, to keep the formation, and so on, the march effectively becomes one more instrument of discipline. Thus, at least three lessons can be extracted from these periodic exercises: firstly, the internalization of the main discourse, the allegiance to the father land; second, the consolidation of roles between those who command (teachers, affiliated with the urban culture) and those who obey (pupils, from the community); the identification of languages with higher and lower levels of communication (Spanish for the immovable instructions, Quechua for more intimate communication).

4. Disciplines in the Classroom

Classrooms in rural schools are designed to contain some thirty students and are furnished with a table or desk for the teacher and bipersonal desk-benches for the pupils. The benches are arranged in a fixed way, usually facing the blackboard and the teacher's desk. In multigrade classrooms (one teacher for two or three grades) the benches are arranged in groups and often facing opposing directions. In both cases, pupils often occupy the same place, so when they are absent the teacher will find out their absence with a glance. Often the benches or tables are crammed in, due to the lack of space, or in sectional schools with two grades in the same room, due to the need to create a separation between the grades. In Molle Mayu for instance, the narrow and long room had two rows of benches facing opposite walls, but where the spaces for the aisles made transit of even one person difficult. For children this represented a problem, so often they had to move in and out climbing over the desks or scurrying under them. Teachers did not fail to scold them for climbing over.

1. Dictation in the mother tongue, second grade

This is an example of the difficulties children experience in learning how to write, the method used by the teacher, and the disciplines at work. To bring these factors to the surface, let us consider a fragment of a language class (Paredón 27/09/95). Basically what the teacher intended to do here was to practice writing, because these pupils 'had forgotten what they had learned in the first grade'. These pupils had missed some two months of classes due to the fact that a teacher was not promptly assigned to the post after the original teacher had left. The method she used was dictation on the blackboard, for which purpose the pupils mostly one by one (sometimes in pairs) were ordered to go to the blackboard, and there write a word to be dictated by the teacher.

dictated	written	comments	
waqan	wa(*)q(**)n waq(***)i	(*) pupil cannot render< q>, erases, and continues; (**) writes <q> with its head to the right, as if it were a with a cross</q>	
cries		(***) reverses the <q> again.</q>	
ñanpi	ñapi		
-	ñunpi		
	ñanpi		
purin	t	cannot write	
walks	h m		
churan	chus	teacher: mal malta copianki	
puts	chu ran		
wallpa	wapa	teacher: imaynataq wallpa? Jinachu? 'How do you write	
chicken	walap	wallpa? Is that the way?'	

Although a number of words were written successfully, pupils' mistakes were exposed to the class, and those who made mistakes shamed publicly. As I see it, the constant monitoring and error finding must have a disciplining effect on the children.

These writing exercises seemed to have been done on the spur of the moment. The teacher dictated some words, usually from memory, for selected pupils to write on the blackboard. Pupils often struggled, but mistakes were not explained, nor were there indications furthered to solve the problem. But the pupil who made a mistake was brought into the open. "In your notebook" the teacher points out "the word is all right, but on the blackboard you cannot... you must have copied."

Copying is a method started in readiness and continued through out all the grades. Muñoz noticed that one of the favorite closings of a lesson used by teachers at the PEIB was precisely to copy (texts, conclusions, etc.) into their notebooks (1993). Copying thus became a teaching strategy, but also a pupil survival technique. In this class, copying became conspicuous as a method of coping with the daily exigencies of the classroom work. Some pupils would rather copy than try to understand or wrench their brains. In any case, no work counted if it did not somehow become visible: teachers required results and these could be assessed better if they were duly documented; parents also evaluated their children's progress through the contents of school notebooks (See also Chapter 6.3. Perceptions.., Complaints, and Chapter 7.3. Education). Fortunately, not all need to resort to trickery. There were some good students too. They were confident and went to the blackboard with no hesitation, writing with ease whatever the teacher happened to dictate.

The one to one approach of the teacher, used in order to have a firm grip on the pupils' attention and to monitor the assigned task (in this case, writing words on the blackboard), does not seem to be very efficient. While the teacher was engaged with a pupil, naturally the rest tended to wander around. In this particular period, some twenty words at the most got written on the blackboard, scoffed at, corrected and copied into their notebooks. However, working with individual pupils is also a feature of the disciplines: it does not only have the effect of making the gaze more precise with respect to the performance of the pupil, but by singling them out it increases the asymmetry of domination, it renders the individual more vulnerable, for camouflage can no longer be sought in the anonymity of the group.

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2. Maths in the traditional classroom

Maths is an abstract discipline, and it provides abundant material to provoke discomfort in children. For example, the tendency to teach the basic mathematical operations (addition, subtraction.. the law of commutation, and so on) by means of exercises, often in total isolation (for example, solve the following operations: 324 + 654 = ?), sometimes in some type of artificial context. According to Guzmán de Rojas (1979:101-106) this practice of piling up operations for the children to resolve is at least of doubtful utility and an unnecessary burden for the children. Among his suggestions, he proposes the use of calculators to solve these problems, a move many find controversial (ibid.:29-36).

As commented in the preceding chapter, in the PEIB, the teaching of maths benefited from the use of the *yupana*, essentially a decimal abacus, but which according to its designers is based on Andean culture (Villavicencio 1988). The use of an instrument such as the *yupana* in the PEIB certainly introduced some changes in the initial grades, although due to its cumbersome use for long operations of addition and subtraction, and more so of multiplication and division, determined a reversion to the traditional use of pencil and paper to perform mathematical operations. In brief, due to its nature mathematics offers a fertile ground for the disciplines. I have observed interesting examples in the traditional classroom, but before examining them, I would like to point out that this is not a problem restricted to the urban school, it has also entered the rural classrooms. The following example from 1930s Ecuador shows that the problem is of long date.

Sumas con trillones (Sáenz 1933:184)

En una escuelita parroquial de Colta (región de Punín), en una habitación tan oscura "que en el interior casi no pueden distinguirse las caras de los niños." ..."La enseñanza que se da a los niños en esta escuela puede juzgarse por la siguiente operación de sumar que puso la maestra a un longuito de 10 años:

345 745 203 149

297 386 188 963

El indiecito hizo la suma en alta voz y conforme a aquel formulario de 'escribir tanto y llevar tanto,' etc., pero antes de principiar la tremenda suma se persignó. (Sáenz 1933:149). The situation in Ecuador certainly must have improved, for instance with the introduction of the bilingual schools and the participation of grassroots organizations (cf. for instance, Moya 1989; Abram 1993; DINEIIB 1993 [1990]), but in the rural school of Molle Mayu, things do not seem to have changed very much. Next a few of instances in which maths is used as an instrument of discipline shall be considered. In the first grade, even simple counting could become a training exercise, repeated until success is achieved (the pupil knows how to count) or a mechanical substitute has been found (the pupil repeats the sequence by heart). The following example illustrates how numbers elude Isabella, and how this leads into a "I am right, you are wrong" interchange (to add another dimension to the analysis, that of assertive psychology, for more Cf. Harris 1973 [1969]).

Teacher	Isabella
	uno, dos
Ama apuraytachu Not too fast.	uno, dos, tres, cuatro, cinco, sais, shete, ocho, nuybi, diez.
enterituta a. [read] all of them, OK?	once doce treci catorci quince disisays diciocho dic
Diecisiete. Vueltamanta! Seventeen. Again!	uno dos tres cuatro cinco sais shete ocho (silence) cinco sais
horas sayamunki! You stop for hours	cinco sais
Vueltamanta	uno dos tres cuatro cinco sais shete ocho (silence)
Again	nuybe diez. (pause) Once doce treci catorce quince
Nueve	diecisais dieciocho
Nine. Diecisiete!	diecisiete, ocho, diecinuybe
ven? (provides the cue)	vente.
Uno-mantañataq Now read from one on	uno dos tres cuatro cinco sais shete ocho nuybi diez trece ñirpamun
once!	once, doce, treci, catorci quince diesisais dieciocho
eleven!	
17, 17! Once	once, doci, treci, catorce quince diesisais dieciocho
17! chayman jamun Seventeen comes there.	diecisais

Isabella missing a number in the written sequence

Wa?! tumpallamanta	(some pupils giggle, when the teacher stops Isabella
What? [read] little by little	who was starting to read too fast)
Once.	once doce treci catorce quince diecisais dieciocho
Eleven	
17 chaypi.	diecishete diecinuybi
It is 17 there.	
18!	dieciocho diecinuybi diez!
Vente! 'Twenty'	
Once 'Eleven'	once dos tres cuatro cinco
Ma'a 'Nope'	(more giggles)
Once, doce, trece	hmmm
once	once doce trece catorce quince diecisais dieciocho
eleven	
Diecisiete!	dicishete dicinuybe (Teacher almost out of control.)
Dieciocho!	Diecinuybe
Dieciocho	Dieciocho, dicinuybe Diez!
Vente. Vente. qhaway leey!	Vente.
leyenki!	(The last work, leyenki!, is a commando for Isabella to
It is 20. 20. Look, read! You will read!	study her numbers.)

(Tape 110, 961114)

The case of Isabella is not the only one. Although there were some pupils who could read forwards and backwards without a single mistake, a feat rewarded by the teacher with a compliment, most pupils struggled through the sequence. For some the problem started after 15, for some after 16, other had problems with 20. One girl counted well the numbers with the exception of 15, where she was stopped twice by the teacher, in each of her five attempted readings. The point is that the whole routine became a truly disciplinary exercise that at least obtained, rather consolidated, the submission of the pupils to the apparently ununderstandable will of the teacher. I say this because the pupils were not really reading the numbers but attempting to have the sequence memorized. During the reading exercise, the gaze of the teacher is unrelenting, only once in the whole period did her attention falter when a pupil got away with her mistake. Thus each mistake was spotted and retorted by the teacher with the correct number, and often by a derisive comment. Meanwhile some pupils tried to counter the difficulty by rapidly blurting out the numbers, or mumbling them. All to no avail, for nothing escaped the gaze of the teacher. To have the picture clearer I need to return to the

classroom:

Teacher	Pupil
	catorce quince disisays disiocho <u>disinn</u> vente.
Claro, vueltamanta pantaykunki	(pupils laugh)
Sure, again you make a mistake	uno dos tres cuatro disisays (skips) disiocho
Diecisiete	disishete disiocho disinwibi
A la suerte, pantaykunki a juktawan.	una dos diez,disiocho (skips) vente,
Heavens!, you made a mistake again.	vente dos
Wa, mal kachkan a, maypi ñintaq 22? Vueltamanta.	una dos quince (skips) disshete disocho
What? it is wrong, isn't it? where does it say 22? Again.	
Mal mal, yupamuy, pantaykunki vueltaman Kaykunamanta	una dos disisay (skips) disiocho
Wrong wrong, count, you made a mistake again. [Start from] these.	
Diecisiete 'seventeen'	disishete
Dieciseis chay, diecisiete	disisays disishete disiocho disnwebe
That is sixteen, seventeen	
Fuerte a 'Louder'	diecinwebe vinti!

Every time the pupil makes a mistake, mumbling (disinn, instead of *diecinueve*), or skipping a number, the teacher corrects and provides the right number, often making a comment. Above the misfortunes of two pupils have been described, but there were many more that had to go through the same routine. In the third grade, where maths was a bit more complicated, exercise continued to provide the context for the struggle: for the teacher who was determined to put this knowledge into the heads of their pupils, and for the pupils who had to go through the routine. The following reminded me of *Die Unterricht Stunde*, by Ionesco, where ludicrously the student was able to perform complicated multiplications but failed in simple additions.

Multiplication, in the third grade

In this grade part of the Maths curriculum required the mastery of the multiplication tables. Initially the teacher exercised the tables by writing the operations on the blackboard and having the pupils repeat after her; afterwards the pupils had to study them, usually by memorization. It would appear that repetition became a chant, a little subversion. In this class, Mrs. RR. is testing the knowledge of the pupils by asking them to provide the required result, as illustrated below.

Teacher	Pupil
seis por seis?	trenta y seis
seis por siete?	cuarenta y dos
seis por ocho?	cuarenta
seis por nueve?	cuarenta y cuatro
seis por diez?	sesenta

(Tape 110, 961114-2)

It is obvious that here instead of calculation, which would imply an application of rules (for example, $6 \ge 36$, and so on), what we have here is the repetition of a linguistic text (seis por seis, treinta y seis), almost like the recitation of a poem, without the aid of emotional contents. The pupil above does not have any problems. He makes a mistake though ($6 \ge 9=44$), but apparently the teacher did not notice it. The case of Berna, below, is quite different:

Teacher	Berna
Berna, sayamuy! tres por una!	tres
Berna, stand up! three times one!	
tres por dos 'three times two'	tres
tres por dos ñini, iskay kutita tres	tres*
I said three times two, three two times	
Ya ves, qué carajo.	(the teacher is upset at this point)
See, what the heck	
Si tres por dos ñini, iskay kutita tresta	
If I say three times two, three two times	

Mayk'ataq? 'How much is it?'	
Mayk'ataq, ma yachanki yupayta?	
How much is it, you not know how to count? ⁹⁰	
Mayk'ataq? 'How much is it?'	tres
Wasiykipi wawata q'ipinaykita estudianki tablata ya? Dosmanta pacha, seismanta pacha. Chay formanchik? chay patapi ñiwanki tablata dosmanta pacha seismanta. Ni dosmanta ma atinkichu. Dos por una?	dos
At home, instead of carrying the baby on your back, you will study the (multiplication) table, OK? Starting from two, from six. In the line up? right there you will tell me the table, from two, from six. You cannot say not even the table for two. Two times one?	
Dos por dos? 'Two times two?'	cuatro
Dos por cuatro? 'Two times four?'	ocho
Dos por cinco? 'Two times five?'	diez
Dos por tres? 'Two times three?'	(silence)
Dos por tres? 'Two times three?'	

(Tape 110, 961114-2)

At this point, I suggested that perhaps the girl did not have a table to study, but Mrs. RR. said

that the girl had the table, that she just did not study it enough. Then she talked to Berna:

- R: Leyemuy q'ala ya? Mana yachaspa mejor mana jamunkichu, porque q'aya castigasqayki y cinco faltastawan churasqayki, uyarichkanki? .. yachanki wasiykiman directo wawa q'ipiq. Siquiera kay diyas leyesaq ñinki hermanaykiman, ya? Ni uno ni unomanta ni dosmanta ma atinkichu tablata Berna. Enterito yachankuña, qam sapitayki ma yachankichu. Leenki, leenki. Gabriel, willawanki leyesqanta, ya?
- Go and read it thoroughly, OK? If you don't know it you better don't come, because tomorrow I will punish you and mark you five absences, are you listening? .. you get straight to your home to carry the baby [on your back]. At least these days, tell your sister that you are going to read [study], OK? You cannot recite neither the table of one, nor of two, Berna. All of them already know it, only you don't. Read it, read it. Gabriel, you will tell me if she read, OK?

The teacher then explained to me that this girl spent too much time baby-sitting her kid brother and thus neglecting her studies. There is no doubt that Mrs. RR. is trying to fulfill her duties as a teacher, the only problem is that the designs and customs she has been handed

⁹⁰ This ungrammatical sentence in the translation attempts to mimic the teacher's faulty Quechua: **ma** yachanki yupayta? which appears as a literal translation of 'no sabes contar' should have been manachu yupayta yachanki?

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down or learned from life in the classroom itself have transformed maths into a memoristic routine, that in turn became at least a source of discomfort for the pupils. The teacher realized this and even used it as a threat to misbehaving pupils: **Kunitan** pero **Romanta** ejercitasaq. 'Right now, I am going to exercise Román' (Just as Foucault has suggested, "To punish is to exercise." Cf. p. 201). The method, of course, also produced some experts, for instance Justino, who knew all the answers up to the table of 8, which he had not learned yet. In addition, while the pupils had no choice but to accept the memorization of the tables, they transformed the choral repetition of the rules into a chant, partly subversive (at times it became vociferous), and partly amusement (because it was almost like a song). Let us leave now the traditional classroom and examine some bilingual education classes.

3. Spanish phonemics in the bilingual classroom

As pointed out in the introduction of this chapter, words such as *muñeca* that contain high and low vowels pose a special problem for Quechua speakers. Other words of this 'dangerous' sort are *cuchillo*, *Pepito*, *dinero*, *billete*, *juguete*, and even *zapato*. Although there are no minimal pairs for these words, and the PEIB's textbooks do not deliberately intend to use them as double edged tools to exercise and tame the pupils, the training of the teachers (in the use of the drill) and their expectations as to what should be an acceptable Spanish pronunciation have determined a practice which seems to fail as a mechanism for teaching the 'correct' sound system of the target language, but succeeds as a little instrument of torture. To illustrate the process, I shall next examine the relevant interchanges that took place in the first grade of the sectional school of Puka-Puka, a mere hour's walk from the town of Tarabuco. Although the classroom was a rustic one, there was plenty of light streaming in through a large window and, yes, the open door. There were two rows of desks in line facing the blackboard, and one row at each side of the lateral walls of the class. These two lateral rows faced towards the center of the classroom, where the other desks were positioned, and with narrow aisles in front of them, so that the teacher could walk through them to get a closer look at the pupils work and also to exercise individuals. The teacher is Mrs. JJ., a teacher of vast experience and on first impression a patient and dedicated one. There is no need to describe the whole set up of the lesson, suffice it to say that the context for the emergence of the *muñeca* drills included scenes of children's play and corresponding questions and answers on these activities. The teacher's approach was a combination of whole-class and individual work. First, the pupils looked at the pictures and then the teacher started to ask them some questions. Thus:

Question and Answer drill

Tu a qué quieres jugar? Como cuál de los niños quieres jugar a ver?	a la pelota
Ah tu quieres jugar a la pelota, a ver?	
Tú a qué quieres jugar?	ñuqarí? / ñuqarí?
	and me? / and me?
Yo quiero jugar, dime a ver? A la esto o esto?	
A la pesca pesca. A ver ahora toditos van a repetir conmigo. Yo quiero jugar, digan.	Yo quiero jogar a la pelota.
A la pelota. A ver tu, yo quiero jugar?	trompo
-	yo quiero jogar a la piluta
a la pelota! Así a ver. Tu a qué quieres jugar? yo quiero jugar di a ver	yo kyero jugarpiska piska

(Video 951114b Puka-Puka)

There are some problems of pronunciation and of syntax, but the teacher at this point is satisfied with providing the right reinforcement, which she inserts after their answers. This interchange of questions and answers goes on for a while. Most of the time the teacher directs the proceedings using Spanish, code-switching occasionally to ensure understanding of some instructions or commenting on the drawings. Since pupils are responding in chorus, individual mistakes are not always singled out for correction, but there is no shortage of interfered forms, such as [jogar] (< jugar 'to play'), [piska] (< pesca 'fishing'), [piluta] (< pelota 'ball'). With variations she uses the pattern: Question, sometimes followed by the model answer or a cue, waits for the answer, and reinforces it with the correct answer or sometimes a reward (ya, éso 'OK, that's it'). Pupils on their part usually are able to respond,

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at least, approximately to the question. Those who have problems have found a way to cope with the situation, they wait either for a cue from the teacher or from the answer provided by those who know, and then they join the chorus:

Ya, qué dice la niña?	yo k jugar a la pesca pesca
	a la pesca pesca

In this example, some pupils start hesitantly with yo.. in an unsynchronized fashion, then they join in to finish with a la pesca pesca. In other words, they wait for cues, if they do not come from the teacher —which is the best source— other pupils' will do. Although some pupils chat among themselves while the questioning is going on, when their response is required they usually comply. What puzzled me is that they seemed to be very capable of reproducing the teachers' intonation, although they might still miss the pronunciation of the phonemes, for example:

Qué dice ese niño? yo quiero jugar?	yo quiero jogar?
a la? soga.	a la? soga.

In this interchange, the intonation of the three patterns is copied successfully: (a) yo quiero jugar..? (b) a la ..? and (c) soga, including the raising intonation a la ..? which begs for completion, and the falling affirmative of soga. The puzzle, as I said before, is the miss of the phoneme in jogar. This is not an isolated incident, I observed it in other classrooms also. This uneven perception and reproduction of the segmental and the suprasegmental seems to indicate that not all aspects of the phonology (or for that matter syntax or semantics) are learned in the same way. Unfortunately I could not investigate this further. When the teacher decided to work with individuals, she concentrated more on correcting their pronunciation mistakes, often resorting to the model-repetition framework. For example:

Ya, qué dice este niño?	(No answer)	
yo quiero?	yo kyero	
jugar	jugar	
a la?	a la pilota	

pelota. ya qué dice aquí esta niña? Yo quiero	yo kyero
jugar	jogar
a la pesca?	a la pisca pisca
Eso, qué dice este niño?	Yo quiero jugar a la soga

To illustrate the game of *pesca-pesca* 'catch me if you can' the teacher then took the pupils out and taught them the game. She also had to take out a boy that got sick in the class. When they came back, she continued with her drills, and used the experience of the game to ask them some questions. After this, they turned to the next page, which depicted a number of children's toys. She started to tell them that all those things were toys (juguetes), a word that also proved to be difficult:

Que són?	jugyetes
()	
Ya, todo esto todo esto lo que están viendo son juguetes. qué son?	son joguites
Qué son?	son joguites
Ju-gue-tes	jo-gue-tes
juguetes	joguetes
A ver escuchenme bien, escúchenme: ju-gue-tes	joguetes
ju	jυ
gue ·	gye
tes	tts.
juguetes	jogites
juguetes	jogites /jogyetes
jú-gue-tes	jugyetes (varying degrees of u)
otra vez	јо
juguetes, a ver	jogyetes (teachers speed is also copied)
ya, repite conmigo, juguetes	jugyetes
Qué son estás cosas, qué ven aquí? Son	jogyetes
júguetes	jugyetes
júguetes	jogyetes

First she tells the pupils that those objects are toys, then she asks them the question: Qué son?, usually repeating it two or three times to obtain a more generalized answer; but as soon as she notices that she is getting the wrong pronunciation, she repeats the model, which the

pupils dutifully repeat; if she still gets the wrong answer she tries again, taking care to vocalize the word more carefully and often breaking it down into its syllables (ju-gue-tes); since this does not usually work she asks the pupils to listen more carefully, and pronounces the word syllable by syllable, which the pupils repeat after her, and then tries with the whole word again. Some times she just asks them to repeat 'again'. In brief: she tries questions, whole words, syllables, all to no avail. The presumption is that pupils are capable of hearing the model and reproduce it correctly. After a sequence of questions and answers, of models and repetitions, as in the example that have just been examined, she goes on, with the next item. If the new word does not result in obvious pronunciation problems, she asks a few questions and goes on. Some of these relatively unproblematic words are: *trompo, pelota, volador* 'kite'. And then she encounters *muñeca*.

Muñeca, a dangerous word

un volador! Ya, ahora ahi abajo hay una	una muñyeka
muñeca	

I hear varying degrees of vowel openings in the production of this 'most dangerous' word: from [u] to [o], from [i] to [e]. In the transcription only the most salient features between high and low (i, vs. e; u, vs. o) are noted; sometimes [1] and [v], although the latter ones are usually the most common.

una mu-ñe-ca	m / ona moñeka
A ver escuchenme bien, escúchenme, dice mú-ñe-ca	mó-ñi-ka
mu	mv
ñe	ñe/ñı
ca	ka.
mu	mv
ñe	ñ1
ca	ka.
mu ñe ca	moñeka (raised e)
a ver aver, escuchenme otra vez. Muñeca	moñika
múuu ñe ca	moo ñe ka

mú ñe ca	mu ñe ka
mú ñe ca	mu ñe ka
mú ñe ca	mu ne ka (lowered vowels)
muñéca	mo ñi ka
muñéca	mo ñe ka
muñéca	mo ñi ka

At this point two aspects of the drill seem to be obvious: firstly, that it is not working despite the teachers insistence in providing the model and requesting listening attention; and, secondly, that the teacher is trapped by the model. While it is conceivable that the teacher gets frustrated by this lack of success, the pupils must be puzzled and confused on their part. I would also like to observe, in addition, that accentual patterns influence perception: when the teacher stresses the first syllable [mú-ñè-kà], pupils achieve a good approximation [mµ ñıkà] but since the accentual pattern is wrong the teacher goes back to the normal accent [muñéka], this causes the pupils to produce a more open initial vowel, and the second tends to get closed, thus providing the funniest sounding [moñika] (funny from the perspective of Spanish phonemics). A seemingly unimportant feature (emphasis) throws pupils' perception out of balance. After so many repetitions, one does not know what is going on, perception is blurred (once she accepted [moñika]: Eso, así tienes que decir. 'That's it, that is the way you have to say it'. Pupils kept responding, still making mistakes: [monyika, monika]. In a few cases the teacher accepted what to my ears sounded 'wrong', either because she gave up or because her own perception of the sounds became unstable. The class continues with more Question-Answer drills, and later on with dialogues. But the main problem was posed by muñeca that obliged the teacher to spend a sizable part of her lesson with the problem, both working with the whole class as well as with individuals. Finally I would like to note that the work with individual pupils constituted a bothersome experience for the pupils, that appear to be apprehensive and afraid, at least to judge by the scenes that have been recorded by the video camera, for instance, some girls kept covering their mouths (a cultural trait) with their hands, some looked at the teacher with recognizable fear at the moment of questioning (all of this is 05 Classroom Practices- Disciplines

recorded on video tape).

A question remains: Where does this [o] sound come from? According to Quechua phonemics, complementary distribution predicts a high sound (i. e. [u]) in this context,⁹¹ the teacher provides the correct model 'mu' consistently and persistently; but it would seem that the pupils are not really listening. In addition, often pupils produce they phonemic /i/ and /u/ in an intermediate position between Spanish /i/ and /e/ and /u/ and /o/ respectively, and this might be affecting also the perception of the teachers (and of any other Spanish speaker).

Before going into another classroom, I would like to point out that although scenes as the ones depicted in the struggle with *muñeca* are not isolated events, it would be wrong to assume that all the teachers' activities follow the same pattern. In the case of Mrs. JJ., for example, there are also lessons which lack this excessive preoccupation with the phonetic detail, and which therefore are more fluid in terms of the opportunities for using the language in a more contextualized fashion: *Qué hacemos los martes? -Los martes hacemos matemáticas*. In any case, it must be stressed, that Mrs. JJ. tries to be a good teacher, treats the children kindly, does not pull them around, and so on.

4. Phonetics in the bilingual classroom

There is another side to the story above: while the interference problems of Spanish (e.g. the three vowel system of Quechua interfering the five vowel system of Spanish) are to be expected, the same problem appeared in the teaching of the writing system of Quechua. One example is provided by a practicing teacher-student who came from the *normal* of Cororo to El Paredón for her practices.

Let us examine some interchanges, which took place when the teacher exercised reading and writing of Quechua words in the first grade.

⁹¹ The rule as already explained in Chapter 3.5. The war of the vowels, is: high ---> low / _Q_ (informally stated).

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Teacher	Pupil	Comments
uchu	[ocho]	Repetition of words
(a hot spice)		
uywa 'animal'	[oywa]	
juku 'owl'	[joko]	
nina 'fire'	[nena]	
inti 'sun'	[ente]	
inti, ma ente.		teacher corrects
It is inti, not ente.		
	<t'eka></t'eka>	pupil goes to the blackboard, draws
	flower	a flower, then writes t'eka
Mana t'ekachu, t'ika!		(puzzled: teacher corrects
It is not t'eka, (it is) t'ika!		immediately)

(28.09.95: ucho vs. ocho, practicing teacher from Cororo)

Pronunciation of pupils with open vowels where the bilingual's Quechua would have high vowels, resembling the five vowel system of Spanish, is apparently a disturbing element for the practicing-teacher. She is not accepting this type of pronunciation from the pupils, who -needless to mention- are simply saying the words as they usually speak them. It would seem that the teacher's perception (of neat, classical distribution of high and low vowels of Quechua) becomes the pronunciation parameter and pupils must adjust to it. This task however proves to be a difficult one: these children do not seem to recognize the difference between [t'ika] and [t'eka], or between [nina] and [nena], etc. For the teacher this becomes an area to be worked upon: children must be able to distinguish these vowels. Let us remember that this distinction is crucial in Spanish, and vowel confusion a constant source of amusement or confirmation of incapacity. For pupils, for whom [i] and [e], or [u] and [o] are the same sound (i.e. members of the same phoneme), the situation must be one of genuine puzzlement. Thus when the teacher asks the pupils 'What is this?' pupils provide answers such as [p'oyño] <p'uyñu 'jug', and [yoro] <yuru 'a gourd container'. The teacher considers these pronunciations unacceptable and on the verge of getting upset she corrects: P'uñu, mana p'oñochu. 'It is p'uñu, not p'oño'. When the 'error' persists she provides the correct version again: p'uuu-ñu, ma p'oñochu, p'uñu, p'uñu! 'p'uuu-ñu, It is p'uñu, not p'oño,

p'uñu, p'uñu!'. Meanwhile pupils attempt to produce the right answer trying several phonetic variations: [p'υñυ], [p'υño], [p'oño].⁹²

Another dimension is added to this apparently simple situation: the correspondences between written letters and pronunciation. Pupils in this area happen to pronounce their i's and u's in a noticeable open fashion (heard by my ears, and also the teachers), almost resembling Spanish e's and o's. In this case, the written word t'eka is wrong on two counts: it does not conform to the written norm (t'ika); and it does not conform to the pronunciation of the teacher [t'ika] because it has been written with the letter e, and also because afterwards pupils read it wrong, that is as [t'eka].

One response is not enough, pupil is obliged to repeat as many times as deemed necessary, but also the volume of the voice has to be monitored, in a fashion reminiscent of sergeantsoldier relationships.

Qam! 'You!'	[p'oño]	response in a subdued voice
Ma uyarinichu, fuerteta!	[p'oño]	
I did not hear it, aloud!		
p'uñu	[p'uño]	
p'นกัน	[p'uño]	model-repetition
fuerteta	[p'uño]	voice control
u-wan kachkan.		identifying the pronunciation
It (is written) with u.		with the written letter

When all the preceding attempts did not produce the desired result, the teacher resorted to analysis; part of their training in the teaching of reading and writing with key words (palabras normales, analysis of syllables, composition of new words)

The practicing teacher-student gets upset by this incapacity of the pupils to produce the Quechua words they way she wants them. For brief moments pupils produce the vowel sound required by the teacher (i.e. [u]), but they end up reverting to the wrong pronunciation. Her

⁹² Incidentally, the normalized writing for 'jug' is **p'uyñu**.

recourses to overcome the problem are two: (a) to provide the model and expect an accurate rendering, and (b) to write the words, after she was done with the model-repetition section.

The class continued with more incidents of mispronunciation of the vowels of Quechua. This problem, however, was also attested in other classrooms. I remember for instance a memorable scene (recorded in video, of course) of a teacher pronouncing **ruuuu** emphasizing the high back vowel /u/ (of **rumi** 'stone'), while at the same time the pupils were saying **roooo**. The difference in frequency can be clearly appreciated in the recording. In brief, I believe that the problem emerges from the fact that the teachers speak a different dialect of Quechua: while the teachers' Quechua contains a neat complementary distribution between low and high vowels (as explained in the preceding chapter), the Quechua of the children of this region contains in addition free variation for these cases. This certainly is an area that needs to be investigated further.

In brief, (a) pupils do attempt to imitate the model, and achieve some success. They not only repeat the sentences but also try to reproduce the intonation patterns; where they fail is in the pronunciation of Spanish vowels. How can one explain their pronunciation problems? 1. The model provided by the teacher is faulty, this position has many adherents; but there are varying degrees of approximation of the model to the standard. 2. Pupils are incapable of following the model; (b) Some of their problems stem from phonological and syntactic differences, typical in second language acquisition (juego-hweygo; muñeka) point once more to the old problem of perception and acquisition, interference being a key concept here; (c) The technique to solve the phonological problem is model-repetition, which does not seem to be working; (d) The technique for the acquisition of syntax is also the repetition of a model, a set of sentences which cannot be and are not changed. In brief, this is a repetition of the sentences and dialogues contained in the book, and their use in set-up dialogues (teacher-pupil; pupil-pupil). In other words, the method is not the use of Spanish as a real language, functional; it has rather become another enactment of the foreign language class. The

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important point to be made is that the repetition of fixed sentences is not sufficient to speak a language, because language use entails creation, adaptation to the context.

The main conclusion I want to draw from the examination of the above instances is that phonemics, in the case of the PEIB trained teachers, certainly became an instrument that sharpened their awareness with respect to the sound systems of Quechua and Spanish. Hence this knowledge in conjunction with the drill was transformed into quasi disciplinary training, detailed, meticulous, and systematic. In this sense, the lack of insistence on the right pronunciation is lacking in those classrooms serviced by teachers who did not benefit from the training sessions of the PEIB, for example, the case of Mrs. RR., in the traditional school, who only occasionally corrected a mispronunciation, or the case of Ms. QQ., a teacher who came to El Paredón in 1995, when the PEIB was no longer in operation. On the other hand, the case of Mrs. SS., the practicing teacher-student, who did not have specific training in language teaching at the *normal* of Cororo, due to the fact that her specialty was in home economics, illustrates that the drill, or for that matter the disciplines in general, is prone to emerge spontaneously given the task to teach a particular pronunciation (in this case, the teacher's own pronunciation).

5. Teacher-pupil relationships

Although the general purposes and ends of teaching are the same for all, the actual classroom practices rely a lot on individual strategies and personalities. In any case, the notion of having control of the class is part of the teaching ethos.

I shall now consider teacher pupil relationships in a language classroom, as a token of the pedagogical practices and (hopefully as a hint of the exercise of power) taking place in many bilingual schools in Bolivia. For this purpose, first I shall transcribe a fragment of a writing and reading class in the First Grade of the school of El Paredón. Afterwards, I shall synthesize some of the teacher's talk (or discursive features) relevant for the disciplines, as

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she proceeds with her class. The pupils' task here is to write a word dictated by the teacher

on the blackboard.

1. Whole class approach combined with individual control

Teacher	Pupils (Comments)
watiqmanta, si-pas	(sipas).
again, 'young woman'	
Eso es. Pitaq munan jamuyta?	Ñuqa señoritay
A ver Roberto, jamurichun, Roberto, Roberto, kaysitupi. A ver. ¡Suchuy astawan jaqayman!	Kaypi tiyakun yakumanta
Kaypi kunan, a ver, qam ruwarinki (mmm), yawri, ya imamanta lluqsimun? That's it. Who would like to come? Let's see Roberto, let him come, Roberto, Roberto, right here. Let's see. ¡Move over there! Now, right here, let's see, you will write m, 'big needle', OK where does it come from?	I, miss He sits here (volunteering information) from yaku 'water'
ja? ya ya ya, yu yu yu	yurumanta!
what?	from yuru 'gourd container'
Ah, yurumanta.	(yurumanta)
Eso es. Yaaaa, kunan imata chayman churana?	(a pupil volunteers the clue)
Aha, from yuru	aa
That's it. Yaaa, now what do we put there?	
aa. () kay laduman k'achitu ruwarquy a? Ajinata, ya Kunan!, oye Imatá jaqayman yapanan tiyan pay? Yawww ñisani. () wallpa chakita icharí?, yawww ñisani. yaw • yaw-ri. Ri- imamanta lluqsimun? aa. () write it nicely right here, OK? This way, OK?	•(wallpa chakita) rumimanta!
aa. () while it incerts right here, ork: This way, ork: Now!, hey What is he supposed to add there? I am saying yawww () a chicken's foot, right?, I am saying yaw. yaw yaw-ri. Ri- where does it come from?	from rumi 'stone'

The teacher insists in eliciting the code words from which the dictated syllables come from; at the same time, she deals with misbehaving pupils either telling them to behave or approaching them and making them seat and so on. Then she continues working with the individual, who keeps struggling with the writing of the words at the blackboard.

Yaw-riii, Ima <i>falta</i> n kunan kayman, ri, ri, ri, ri, Imá faltan?	(wasisitun) (her little house) (guessing)
Yaw-riii, what do you need to add here, ri, ri, ri, ri, what is missing?	(
iii, imá <i>falta</i> n?	i
iii, what is missing?	
Kunan kayta ñawiriy!	yaw-ri
Now read this!	
a ver watiqmanta	yaw-ri (again)
Let's see again.	
watiqmanta	yaw-ri (and again)
again	

Only when she is satisfied, she lets the pupil return to her place; closes the work with the individual, often asking for a round of applause, and then proceeding to select a new pupil:

S: Eso. Kunan t'aqllarikuychik Robertopaq. (..) Jina yachakunan tiyan pisimanta pisi, icharí? Ay, Vicenta munan lluqsiriyta. Kunan, a ver, qillqarichun Vicenta. Kaypi, kaypi: liwqi-liwqi. [lew.] imamantataq [lew-] lluqsin?

That's it. Now you applaud for Roberto. (..) That is the way he has to learn little by little, has he not? Ay me, Vicenta wants to come up front. Now, let's see, let us Vicenta write. Here, here: liwqi-liwqi. [lew..] where does [lew] como from?

(Tape 5, 950929)

Surprisingly, there is no shortage of volunteers. In any case, this is a tiring process, both for the teacher and for the pupil, but it is well suited to put in practice the disciplines. All this to have a pupil write a word. And almost all the children in the class had to go through this strenuous routine. In a half of an hour just 16 words and a short sentence were exercised in this manner. In other words, 17 pupils had to go through this learning process, in which they had to write a word, but at the same time they had to obey the teacher's instructions, and most often feel inadequate due to the unequal interaction with the teacher.

From the pedagogical point of view this teacher's methodology for exercising the writing skills of the pupils proceeded through the following steps: (1) selection of the pupils, usually asking who would want to come out, or sometimes picking on a particular pupil, (2) selection of the word, usually thought up on the spur of the moment, (3) dictation, first the whole word, then syllable by syllable, (4) keeping a constant eye on the pupil's writing and either asking

the pupil to hear the word-syllable again, or to eliciting from her/him the right cue (where does this sound come from?); (5) making the pupil read the word, sometimes up to four times, until she was satisfied with the pupil's performance, and (6) finally, dismissal of the pupil, sometimes with a reward (a round of applause). And then the whole process is repeated again with another pupil.

In addition, besides the obvious situation that clearly marks the differences: one individual is bigger, older, wiser, she is the teacher; the others are smaller, younger, they are the learners; it may perhaps be useful to point out that during this writing exercise the asymmetries between the teacher and the pupils are also reflected in their verbal production. In general, the teacher talks more than the pupils, perhaps due to the nature of the exercise, perhaps to demonstrate her ability as a teacher for the benefit of the observer. A word count provides more than 1,300 words for the teacher, but only 390 for the pupils.

The teacher's talk includes mostly commands and questions: to get volunteers, to ask them to write a word, to elicit the appropriate cues (each letter has been derived from a picture-word, for example w wawamanta 'from child', k kukamanta 'from coca', q qinamanta 'from panpipe', ll llamamanta 'from llama', w wallpa chakimanta 'from a hen's foot', s katarisitumanta 'from a little snake'; so every time the pupil has to write a letter the teacher asks 'Where does this come from?'), to ask them to read once and again, to tell them what to do and what not to do ('Don't hit him', 'Don't move the bench Cirila', 'Listen carefully', 'Move over there', etc.), and to send them back to their seats. The teacher's talk also includes information ('Now we shall remember this', 'Now we will read this') but also her complaints and criticisms about the class or some pupil ('Who's talking over there?' 'Is this a pig pen, or what is it?'). Sometimes her criticisms of the pupils' performance become scornful ('Do it nicely', 'What is that, is it perhaps drunk?' 'Or is it drinking (uquykuchkan) chicha in a corn field, what can it be?' 'Can you not write it nicely down here?'). Understandably, the pupil is left speechless; she is not prepared to defend herself from this verbal assault. In justice, however, it must be added that the teacher's talk also includes some forms of reward, mainly

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praising a successful performance ("Eso es". 'That's it') or asking the pupils to reward the successful writer with a round of applause. In some cases, she also positively reinforced the pupils' performance, and at times even became very motherly.

On the contrary, the pupils' talk is mostly reduced to responding to the teacher's requests, including volunteering to go to the blackboard (**nuqa** senoritáy 'me Miss'), echoing the teacher's orders (she said no more), providing the right cue, reading the written words, and sometimes complaining to the teacher ("Senoritáy, this Roberto has pushed me"). In brief, the teacher talks (orders, questions, complains, praises); the pupils respond, provide information.

2. Personal traits

The cases above illustrate how different the classrooms can be with respect to teacher and pupil relationships, on classroom management, on the intensity or laxity of the techniques to be used. My contention is that a great deal of input for these variations comes from the personality of the teachers. Besides the drills and obvious scolding, the attitudes of the teacher toward the pupils come out in the form of their discourse. Due to space limitations only a few cases will be examined.

Miss CC.

This is the lesson on "Sara Tipiy" 'Corn harvesting' from *Wiñay*, the Life Sciences book for the third grade. The teacher is Miss CC., a university graduate, who took the teaching post due to her interest to consolidate her knowledge of the Quechua language. She was also one of the teachers that usually did not hit the pupils. This is also an example of teaching subject matter in the language of the pupils. The whole morning (950803, also recorded in video) was dedicated to this lesson: in a nutshell, discussions about what is in the picture (*lámina*) and afterwards to write three sentences.

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In the classroom, according to the teacher, pupils are well behaved "se portan bien", although there are some that stray a little. For example, one of them that does his work very quickly but with mistakes, hace sus tareas rápido pero mal; this pupil is the one that causes the most problems to the teacher, es el que más me hace renegar. .. Le explico y dice 'ya', que ha entendido, pero después se olvida y vuelve a preguntar, el mismo dice que se ha olvidado.

In this third grade classroom all speak at the same time, but in spite of this they seem to be doing their work. The teacher's voice is never loud enough to overpower the surrounding noise.⁹³ A ver cállense she requests, but to little avail; so she opts to give the instructions in spite of the noise. It is not that pupils are making noise to spite the teacher, they are not being aggressive in any way, they are simply talking to each other while they are working. Once the instructions are given, pupils start working. The teacher then proceeds to monitor their work. She goes from group to group (benches have been aligned along the lateral walls of the classroom, and there are usually three pupils in each bench, and they are treated as a group; however there are some groups with a larger number of pupils, seating at both sides of the tables) and checks their work, spending enough time helping each group or pupil. Some pupils leave their places to show their work to the teacher. Some times she tells them to wait in their places, some times she pays attention to the pupil.

What is lacking in this classroom, in contrast with the scenes we have reviewed in other classrooms, is that the relationship, the link, between the teacher and the pupils seems to be a weak one. Or to put it differently, Miss CC. does not impose her authority on the pupils; the consequence is greater freedom for the pupils. The fact that she did not hit the pupils, for instance, was recognized by the pupils themselves. Miss CC. told me that she was challenged by her own pupils to punish them with a stick. They even brought her two or three sticks for

⁹³ In some of the video recordings, for example (video 951113), pupil's constant chatter made it difficult to single out utterances for transcription.

05 Classroom Practices- Disciplines

this purpose, as illustrated in the conversation below.⁹⁴ When she asked them why, they said:

'The more we are hit, the better we learn'. This is a little theory not devised by academicians or educators, nor by the University's curriculum—in fact, the fashionable discourse among educators is that hitting pupils is not advisable and in bad taste, a thing of the past— but by the pupils themselves.

- C: .. in other words, one day one of my pupils could not do an exercise and he told me that.. one of them suggested that I should hit him, and the one that couldn't do the exercise said he was going to bring a stick, so that, so that you can hit us, because the more they hit us the more we learn, he told me, one of them. And he brought it for me, the stick is right there .. there is one here and there is another one here. But another pupil said that the teacher cannot hit (us), she cannot, he told me, that's what they told me.
- P: What do you mean 'she cannot', is it prohibited?
- C: No .. they tell me that I do not hit them bec.. I do not hit them, that is why I do not.. they tell me that I cannot punish them.
- P: And therefore they just bring the sticks.
- C: Yes, they have already brought three sticks, they are over there.

In the school environment, enforcement of discipline was visible everywhere: during lineups, in the classroom, even during recess. The relationship between teachers and pupils assumed the right of teachers to command and of pupils to obey. From community accounts and pupils' perspective (see Chapter 6.2. Pupils) discipline is part of the process; and Miss CC.'s story above (p. 238) not only shows that pupils (now in third grade) have accepted this facet of their education, and although physical punishments can be painful, it would seem that the pupils themselves are willing to be punished in order to learn. The disclosure of this little learning theory also illustrates the personal character of Miss CC., one of the teachers that does not hit pupils, but does not exert (traditional) control of the class either.

Mrs. DD.

Pre Básico Class, 26-09-95, afternoon session (Field Notes).

⁹⁴ The original conversation in Spanish is found in Appendix 6.

The teacher is Mrs. DD., there are some twenty pupils, all of them relatively tiny. The activity seems to be writing readiness. The pupils task is to write 1 1 1 on their notebooks and on the blackboard. The activity of the class was 'colorear'. Qué van a hacer? -Van a colorear. Most of the crayons were provided by Mrs. DD.. Pupils were basically left to draw as they wished. (I was somewhat disturbed by the situation: the contrast between the big and powerful, and the tiny and helpless; pupils appeared frightened, although Mrs. DD. did not seem totally satisfied either).

The tall and husky teacher, standing in front of the class and appropriately attired with her Bolivian Flagged baseball hat, watches as the pupils write on the blackboard, sometimes alone, most often in pairs; then she asks in her broken Quechua, for she with the exception of the basics of the language does not really speak it, actually she rather screams: **allin?** 'good?' or **mana allin!** 'no good' for the pupils to approve and then applaud if they think that the performance of the pupil was acceptable. The teacher corrects the production of some of the pupils who have gone to the blackboard, while the rest of the pupils are left to their own devices.

Some wander out. Mrs. DD. goes out to get back three stray pupils. She goes around with her stick in her hand, hitting those who are misbehaving. A girl was leaning on to the bench; she gets hit kind of softly (perhaps because I'm around). The girl complains **Señoritáy, kay Jaime** bancota kuyuchichkan 'Miss, this Jaime is moving the bench'. The teacher ignores the plea.

When the time for recess came, according to Mrs. DD.'s mental inventory, a color pencil was missing. Some of the children were already out, but the teacher made them come back. Mrs. DD. proceeded to search each bag, some of the other children who were about to go out, opened their bags for inspection voluntarily, like workers coming out of a factory, or miners coming out of the mine. After recess, the pupils are ordered to come back to the classroom. As they come in, Mrs. DD. stands at the door; she is an imposing figure. She almost blocks

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the entrance. Pupils come in, some of them running. She shouts and moves around. One little girl approaches the door. Fear is clearly etched on her face. She looks up at the teacher and moves cautiously towards the door, to the narrow space between the enormous teacher and one of the sides of the door. She looks at her and moves forward trying to avoid any close contact. Indeed, she tries to shun eye contact and squeeze in as fast as she can. These eyes of fear are an unforgettable sight.

In classes she shouts with a powerful voice that eclipses all the tiny voices and movements of the little pupils.. I think of them inwardly, little boys of 5 to 7 years of age, entering the age of total submission. The children in this class cannot avoid being children, moving, accusing each other, fighting, talking and so on; but their movements and voices are shy and, it seems to me, that they are always aware of the presence of their teacher.

Mariela is the daughter of teachers, she is 6 years old, happened to be in the rural school; and was sent to Mrs. DD.'s *pre-básico*. Mariela had decided not to come to this class anymore, although she was easily convinced when I told her that I was also going. The first thing Mrs. DD. did, was to complain about Mariela's absences *Tiene que pagar multa, tres faltas, un jornal*. Then she explained that she was pretty intelligent but was capricious and when pressurized she threw her books and left. From Mariela's point of view, this teacher was mean (*es una mala*) and that she did not like going to her class. And this little city girl appeared to be highly vivacious and inquisitive. Once she knew me enough she would come to ask for a little ride on the jeep and ask all kinds of questions: *Tio, y las montañas están vivas?* 'Uncle, are the mountains alive? -*Claro, pues*. 'Of course'. 'And where are their feet?' -Están pues en la tierra. 'They are inside the ground'. *Ah, y su cabeza es aquello?* 'Aha, and is that its head?' -*Ajá*. 'Uhum'.

Mrs. EE.

Due to space restrictions, however, I shall restrict myself to one example only, the case of Mrs. EE., a teacher of Puka-Puka, in 1995, and of Pisili in 1996. Mrs. EE. is also a teacher of

vast experience, and the first impression one gets when entering her classroom is how well

behaved her pupils are.

This is the reading lesson in L1:

	rantirqayku
	we had bought
ya, urapi.	ñuqa
OK, now down there	I
qhawachkankichu José Luis? Yacha?	yachachiqniywan
Are you following (the reading) José Luis? Yacha?	with my teacher
tin	tinkuni
(providing a cue)	I met with (someone)
tinkukuni	tinkukuni
(providing the correct version)	I met (myself) with (someone)
ñuqa	ñuqa yachachiqniywan tinkukuni
(another cue)	I met with my teacher
tinku kay karqa. tinkukurqani!	tinkukurqani.
met this was. I had met with him! (providing the correct version)	I had met with him.
Martínez. Ya yachachiq?	yachachiq qhapaq
Martínez. OK teacher?	teacher rich
pase urqu	urquta . rikuchiwan.
Go on urqu	showed me the mountain.
Ya kunan tikray. Yachachiq?	yachachiq
OK, now turn (the page) over. Yachachiq?	the teacher

(Tape 29, 951114-2, Video 951114-3)

In this initial fragment of the lesson, she is having individual pupils read a text in Quechua, but —to go to the point— she controls the production of every word that the pupil reads, not so much correcting mispronunciations, but cueing the pupil on the word he is having difficulty in deciphering, as if saying 'since you cannot read, I'll provide the cue, so you read it, now'. Now, although there are only a few lines here, the attitude of the teacher comes out in every word she utters, in every act of cueing the pupil. The strategy of cueing is repeated with every pupil, and the process again is a lengthy one. Often the teacher's coaching commands are drowned by the environmental noise; and are therefore missed in the transcription; but sometimes the command is a simple signal (raises head and whispers qam) (a reminder of the old disciplinary tactics of the European past, the signals describe by Foucault) but the response from the pupils is always instantaneous. In terms of the strategy of domestication by training to respond to the slightest of signals, this teacher has achieved a highly effective system. And this can be done in Spanish or in Quechua. Can one say that this teacher has commodified her production? or does it respond to a deliberate racist discriminatory tactic? or how do the ideologies of interculturality and revitalization enter into this practice? The wider factors are always in the background, built into the structure; but in cases such as the present one, the individual factor, the personality of the teacher, seems to take precedence. The teacher too is a "survival machine" to resort to ideas developed by Dawkins (1989 [1976]) for a more general context; she has to survive in the wider context (work as a teacher for a pay) and also survive in the realization of her specific job: teaching in the classroom. Thus in the classroom there are two forces that seem to be struggling always: pupils and teacher. The reading class continues (after I have skipped a number of lines).

ya, Francisco qallariy OK, Francisco you start	uywaqa paqarinku wiñanku machuyanku wañunku animals are born, grow, grow old, die
ya, qhipanpi José Luis	pukllana muyuqtaqa wayra muyuchin
OK, you follow José Luis	the wind turns the toy around
ya, Faustino	mana unayta paraptin ch'akin pacha
OK, Faustino	when it does not rain for a long time there is a drought.
ya, Martinsito	kawallu suyumanta apamusqa kanku
OK, Martty	the horses are brought from a country
ya [eqeqo]	riwuta
OK, dwarf	grain

This fragment brings out two samples of the way the form of discourse can take to reflect attitudes: (a) the use of ya + name; this ya (which I have translated as OK) has a double function: it accepts the preceding performance, although with a taint of disdain, and

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requests/forces the participation of the next pupil, properly identified by his first name: the nature of the future threat is also implied: it does not matter how the pupil will perform, the evaluation will usually be tainted by a half hearted acceptation. (b) the explicit use of a derogatory term, in this case, iqiqu 'dwarf, midget', adding insult gratuitously. In fairness, the teacher also uses some more encouraging words: *esooo* 'that's right'. When she decided, later on, to change the activity, she used another derogatory term: *abuelo* [awelo] 'old man': pirqa qillqanapi qillqamusunchik awelos 'we are going to write on the blackboard, *abuelos*.

The use of "awelo/s" 'old man/men' implies derision again. But she has a whole repertoire of derisive vocatives: tatáy, che, eqeqo. Sometimes she also made derisive comments about the pupils: Ya están durmiendo, che. 'You are already falling sleep, you', is just one example. Even the use of suprasegmental modulations helped her to express this sort of contemptuous attitude on her part, for example when she says ya, pizarrónmàn, 'OK, to the blackboard' or chay imátàq? 'What can that be?'. The tone rises and the vowel is lengthened in the penultimate syllable (e.g. rrón) and goes down in the last syllable (màn). And yet the apparent paradox is that this appears as a disciplined class, where pupils do not make problems, and that —inferring from what they read or respond— have learned a few things. Actually there is no paradox at all, sometimes derision, humiliation can cause compliance, for example in the case of black slaves who learned to accept the system (cf. Yeboah 1997).

6. Conclusions

In spite of the fact that I did not attempt an exhaustive inventory of all aspects of the disciplines, I think that our description of concrete situations in the school and the classroom suggest a double edged process in the unfolding of the disciplines: (a) that they are methods of knowledge, because teachers learn as they extract knowledge (or phonemes) from the pupils, and because pupils also acquire some curricular and extracurricular knowledge through these practices; and (b) are methods of power, because —through exercise, and

asymmetric interchanges— they can obtain political obedience and economical efficiency, while pupils resist and adapt.

In the light of the teacher-pupil interactions already examined I shall argue that the classroom has to a great extent become a mechanism of domination where the teacher is in control; that the teaching of Spanish using drills has become an effective instrument not necessarily for the fluent acquisition of this language but to strengthen and consolidate unequal power relationships. Other technical mechanisms are used, perhaps unintentionally, for this same end.

Individualization is one of these mechanisms. The class is fragmented and separated, thus the interaction takes place between the teacher and one individual, so that examination and the accumulation of power-knowledge is simple and direct. Although different language abilities are to be taught in SLT, phonology becomes a favorite concern. Pronunciation is carefully monitored by the teacher, mistakes are spotted and corrected immediately. Sometimes an individual is subjected to his peers' gaze and his faulty pronunciation brought into the light. An example: 'Basilio, what is this? *-Botila* (for 'botella'); Louder. *-Botila*; Again. *-Botila*; Again, clearly. *-Botela*. The other students laugh.

The technique of the drills which is profusely used to teach pronunciation and reading in some cases becomes burdensome, almost a torment instead of an enjoyable learning activity. Thus even when pupils read successfully "Anita es una niña", they are forced to repeat this sentence three more times. In another case, pupils have to repeat their answers until they come up with the proper truth, that bottles are made out of glass.

One final comment about the instruments of discipline. This has to do with Spanish. Although the Spanish the teachers speak is just one more variant, they treat it as the right variety. Thus words are pronounced in a true way and that pupils renderings are often wrong. In this context, pupils are not just learning a new language (a variety of Spanish), they are learning the right variety. In the process they are often made to feel foolish and inadequate.

These pupils will be forever haunted by the existence of a right Spanish, which they are supposedly learning now and which they will hopefully use in Bolivian society later on.

The school is a space where socialization takes place. However, under the present circumstances of social, political, and economic inequalities between the urban and the rural sectors of Bolivian society, traditional education, rather than being a process of mental and physical development is a complex and sometimes ambiguous machinery for the social, cultural and linguistic domestication of the "indigenous" pupils.

On the other hand, the bilingual education program in spite of advantages over the traditional schools such as teachers training and free distribution of textbooks and other materials does not seem to be doing much better, especially at the level of teacher-pupil interactions. It seems to be obvious that the use of Quechua can not but enhance the teaching-learning process, but practices such as those recorded in the analyzed transcripts show that much more needs to be done at the level of second language teaching, for example incorporating the use of Spanish functionally, in context.

Finally, the observation of practices of constant correction, repetition, individualization, examination, that is, the classroom as a discipline, where power-knowledge is constantly flowing but struggling, which we have encountered in the Spanish as a Second Language classes, show us that perhaps Foucault was right when he compared schools with prisons in which individuals can be controlled and disciplined.

Chapter 6. Agents

1. Introduction

In this chapter, my purpose is to show that the normal unfolding of school activities is affected in multifold ways by agents, discourses, attitudes and interests. The obvious agents of the education process are the teacher, the pupil, and the parents. But there are other, less obvious agents, such as the teachers' unions, and the State administrative and political apparatus. Even the infrastructure and material conditions (types of buildings, didactic supplies; and most importantly salaries) have a role in the educational process.⁹⁵ In this chapter, however, I shall concentrate on the social agents and their perceptions (or discourses) with respect to education in general, and to rural education in particular. The main point is that classroom phenomena are not independent and self contained; and that external events, and external participants, affect their unfolding. In this perspective, the classroom appears as the meeting point of forces, languages, cultures, and individuals; where the teacher is the instrument of state education and a representative of western culture (De la Riva 1988), where the parents represent the "indigenous" community, and where the children experience the main impact.

The notion of agent implies an active role, but sometimes the consideration of all the intricacies of the socioeconomic fabric, the institutions and powers of the nation state, the power of global capitalization, and so on, might lead us to think that the 'agent' is nothing but a cog in the global machinery. Bourdieu has reacted against this tendency. In his words:

I wanted .. to reintroduce agents that Lévi-Strauss and the structuralists, among others Althusser, tended to abolish, making them into simple epiphenoma of structure. .. Social agents, in archaic societies as well as in

⁹⁵ Actually, these two factors (i.e. inadequate buildings and lack of didactic materials) are often adduced as part of the causes for the inadequacies of rural education. (Bolivia 1974: Section 1.2 Básico e Intermedio, p. 2)

ours, are not automata regulated like clocks, in accordance with laws which they do not understand. .. they put into action the incorporated principles of a generative habitus: .. dispositions acquired through experience, thus variable from place to place and time to time. (Bourdieu 1990:9)

The first point to be stressed is that agents are not automata, that they have wills of their own, that they can observe and construct reality in their minds (and also outside their minds), and that they are able to change the course of events. The second, that a key element in this process is the "socially constituted" habitus that embodies not only "categories of perception and assessment" but also "the organizing principles of action," which in turn constitute "the social agent in his true role as the practical operator of the construction of objects" (Bourdieu 1990:13). In this framework symbolic structures "have an altogether extraordinary power of constitution" without, however reaching the point of directly generating "the social structures." (Bourdieu 1990:18). Thus:

.. agents possess power in proportion to their symbolic capital, i.e. in proportion to the recognition they receive from a group (Bourdieu 1991:106).

I would like to add that this recognition of the symbolic power of agents is often based on the perception of observable attributes such as external appearances, possessions, position in the social and cultural ladder, and so on. In other words, power is acknowledged and accepted in function of the position of the individual (or group) in the hierarchies of society. But my point is that this recognition is an ongoing process of abduction, of constructing social realities on the basis of hard and soft facts (socioeconomic indicators and discourses). In this perspective, the main agents: teachers,⁹⁶ pupils, and parents contribute to the progress of education, but also to its shortcomings.

⁹⁶ Teachers is used here as a cover term to include headmasters, district directors, pedagogical assessors, and so on. In addition, other visitors (NGO technicians, City functionaries, local politicians, even priests adopt the same code switching choices as the teachers.

2. Pupils

Vast numbers of works on education have been produced in Bolivia, covering many themes, such the history of education; its relation to the rural community and the "Indian" question; criticisms, diagnostics, proposals, policies and plans; textbook analysis, the curriculum, methodologies; literacy, languages and cultures, bilingual education and so on. Most surveys have been conducted focusing on parents and teachers, and achievement tests on pupils. Thus, as far as I know, there are two areas that apparently have not interested educators, planners, and researchers, namely (a) classroom practices (which I have described in Chapters 4, and 5), and (b) pupils' perspectives. Because of this, I have committed myself to exploring pupils' perspectives with respect to their school perceptions and experience.

Perhaps the first point that should be made is that children spend a considerable amount of time in school and the classroom: thousands of hours per year during their school careers, as Illich (1991) has noted in his plea against formal schooling. In Bolivia, according to the Code of Education, rural schools must spend five hours of classes per day, for 200 days per year (Bolivia 1955:41). This would mean exactly a thousand hours in the classroom per year. However, due to strikes, demonstrations, staff meetings, training sessions, absences, and so on, the number of hours and days is usually cut short (see section 4, Teachers in the public eye, below). In spite of this, rural children still spend a lot of time due to schooling, as can be gathered from what follows.

Since in the highlands of Bolivia rural peasants usually live scattered and not in concentrated populations, the rural school obliges many children to spend varying amounts of time walking to school. The nuclear system installed in Bolivia since Warisata, had no doubt the purpose of ameliorating this situation of dispersion, although it has not solved the problem. In brief, school attendance for many children signify at least two hours of walking daily. In addition, pupils have to stay in school or nearby during the midday break for lunch. Incidentally, in the central school of El Paredón, the midday break provides pupils with an

excellent opportunity to gather in small groups and share the 'lunches' that each pupil has brought from home. Thus this is a time to renew or establish friendships, and to strengthen solidarities and complicities. In other words, during these moments their culture takes over the alien curriculum. Since pupils usually start walking to school at about 8.00 a.m. and get home at around 6:00 p.m., they are away from home from 9 to 10 hours, during each week day, except on Friday when they leave school at about 2:00 p.m.

In El Paredón, an hour long walk is not considered burdensome. But Gabino Tardío, now (1996) in the sixth grade, at times had to walk in excess of two hours (four hours daily) from Puka-Puka to the central school of El Paredón. He could have gone to Michkhamayu, less than an hour away; but community rivalries (e.g. Paredón vs. Michkhamayu) made this unthinkable. There is an *internado* 'student residence' in Michkhamayu, and the school has all the grades, including some handicrafts; but at least some pupils from Pisili were reluctant to go there, because according to one *comunario* (ex SENALEP, and literacy promoter) the place was like a prison. In sum, in spite of disruptions and even early leaving, rural children spend a considerable amount of their time in school.

1. Some pupils' accounts.

To find out what the children's perceptions of their school and classroom experience were, I conducted a series of interviews with pupils of El Paredón's central school,⁹⁷ recorded on tape and video (951115, 951120-1, 951120-2, 951129; video 951120), where they talked about their teachers and the things they learned, but also of their experience in the community as cultural participants. In general I just asked them to tell me about the things they remembered from the school career, from the first grade to the present. Two things became clear from the start: their assessment of the teachers and the learning they have achieved. To

⁹⁷ Although I observed and talked with children of other schools, I concentrated my work with these children because they got to know me quite well due to my constant presence in the school of El Paredón, where I was living at the time. The task was made easier because, as I had a jeep, they were harassing me constantly to have a ride.

illustrate these points, and following the phenomenological dictum of letting them speak in

their own words, some of the things they said will be next reviewed.

Bernaco Vela Condori, third grader, reminiscing his pre-school year, said:

B: Señorita Consuelowan, k'achalla, awisnin maqawaq kayku, mana liyiy atiptiyku. Wakinqa waqarpaq kayku. (..) yachachiwaq kayku a i o chayta. (..) ribujitusta, wasista wakitasta tukuy ima ovejitasta. Chayllata.

With miss Consuelo, she was nice, [but] sometimes she used to hit us, when we could not read. Some of us used to shed a tear. (..) she used to teach us $a \ i \ o$, those things. (..) little drawings, houses, little cows, everything, little sheep. That was all.

Telmo Tardío Vargas, fourth grader, on his first grade class:

TT: primeropi profesora Idegarwan karqayku (..) Payqa ma allin saqrachu karqa, pero sumaqta leyechiwarqayku. Allillanta yachakurqayku. Awisnin mana atiptiykuqa maqawaqpunitaq kayku. (..) k'aspiwan warrutiwaq kayku.

in the first grade we had teacher Edgar (..) He was not very mean, but he made us read well. We learned well. Some times when we could not [do something] he did hit us. (..) he used to hit us with a stick.

In most of their accounts these themes appeared again and again. For Juan Vela Flores, a 6th

grader, teachers, languages, and punishments were the most important.⁹⁸ Thus:

J: In the first grade the teacher was Carmela. (..) She was all right. In the first grade I was just learning for the first time there, in Spanish and also in Quechua. (..) how to read and to write.. There was a book entitled Margara. .. it was.. it was in Quechua, my teacher. (..) Then the following years there were other books. (..) In the third grade [the teacher] was José. José.. (María or Vargas) [whispering to himself]. That one taught us exclusively in Spanish. He was more or less, no .. he used to punish us, he would hit hard, my teacher.

Before we proceed with his account, I would like to highlight that the use of languages in the classroom (in both languages, or exclusively in Spanish) was, in this pupil's view an important ingredient of his experience. The behavior of the teacher with respect to punishment, was another important point. I, obviously, wanted to know more about this matter and asked Juan why and how they were punished. His answers were:

⁹⁸ When only the English version is provided, the original transcript can be found in Appendix 6. To save space, however, footnotes for the following cases have been deleted.

J: Pukllaq kanku chaymanta. Ñuqaykupis pukllallaqtaq kayku chaymanta garrutiwaq kayku. "Ancha pukllankichik" niwaq kayku.

Because they used to play. We too used to play, he used to hit us [with a stick] because of that. "You play too much", he used to tell us.

- P: **Qhasillamantachu** garrotikuq? 'Did he hit you for no reason?'
- J: Ah, mana profs. Ñuqallanchiktaq pukllaspa garrotichikunchik. Juk barretitan karqa, chaywan; ah... k'aspimanta ruwasqitapuni karqa, k'achitu, ... garrotenapaq jina rakhitu karqa. Wasapi garrotekuq, makisninchikpi.

Ah, no, my teacher. We ourselves bring punishment upon us, by playing. He had a little stick, it was this thick. He would hit us on our backs, on our hands. (Tape 2, 951120)

The point to be stressed here is that punishment does not seem to be questioned, and further that pupils themselves through their behavior brought it upon themselves.

From these accounts it would appear that corporal punishment in the classroom was a common occurrence; or at least, an experience that left strong marks in the mind of the pupil. Let us also remember though that the denunciation of this 'punishing' aspect of rural schools is a generalized one (for instance, Caiza 1989:309-10 for Ecuador). A fact that prompted De La Torre (1997) to write a paper called "La letra con sangre entra." Racismo, Escuela y Vida Cotidiana en Ecuador. Incidentally, the sentence "La letra con sangre entra," whose English equivalent might be 'No pain, no gain', is very well known in the Hispanic world, and is often used to indicate that learning how to read and write has a price. Ansión (1988:88-95) describes how in some communities in Southern Peru attitudes toward punishment are ambivalent. But what is striking in my interviewees' accounts, is the notion that punishment is all right, that it was only inflicted upon those that played too much, that the pupils themselves with their actions brought punishment upon themselves. Not only that, even the instrument of punishment is deemed as **k'achitu 'beautiful'**.

Another pupil, Eduardo Vela Flores, a 4th grader, for his part remembered corporal punishment, since his kindergarten days. His teacher, he said, was also the mean type (saqra riq karqa), and that she hit them with a stick (*warrutewan warrutewaq kayku*) or hit them with the knuckles (saqmawaq kayku), again because they played (Imata pukllankichik ñiwaq kayku. 'Why do you play, she used to tell us'). This teacher also pulled them from the

ears, causing some pupils to cry (wakinga wagarpayag kayku, profesorniy, 'Some of us used to burst into tears, my teacher'). But these punishments had the effect of restraining the pupils from keeping on playing (Chantaqa, jukpaqwanqa, manaña pukllaqchu kayku, prufsniy. 'After that, at the next opportunity, we stopped playing, my teacher'). Before going on, I would like to make a note on this pupil's persistence in calling me profesorniy, which I translated as 'my teacher'. Although I did not teach them any classes, the pupils assumed that I was another teacher in the school, and thus used the vocative that they have learned as a sign of respect in the classroom. In other words, another subtle way to consolidate the power relations between teachers and pupils. At least in the interviews I conducted, this pupil reminded himself and at the same time reminded me of our status (e.g. pupil or teacher) almost every time he uttered a sentence. Now, with respect to the behavior of the teachers, there is no doubt that their same commitment to teach and the difficulties of the pupils to learn, must have created the conditions to resort to punishment. I have the impression that sometimes things must get out of control, as when a teacher tore up pupils' notebooks because they did not meet her expectations. As Telmo Tardío put it: cuadernopi mana atiptiyku llik'ipuwaq kayku. 'When we couldn't do it in the notebook, she used to tear them up'.

Returning to Eduardo, in contrast to his bad pre-school teacher (saqra), *Profesor* Edgar, his first grade teacher, was not so bad (ma saqrapunitaqchu chay karqa 'that one wasn't really mean'), because he did not allow them to play and instead made them read, write; but got upset when they made mistakes or were unable to cope with their work (Imaptin jina kankichik, mana *leyeytapis* atikunchu ñiwaq kayku, *prufsny*. 'What's the matter with you, you can't even read, he used to tell us, my teacher'). From the second grade on, Eduardo had his current 4th grade teacher. Although, in this case, nowhere does he brand his teacher as saqra 'mean', he has no qualms about disclosing her use of corporal punishment, although he also emphasizes the fact that she taught them well.

- P: Chayrí imayna karqa?
- E: awesnin.. saqmallawaykupuni, prufsny. Chay chukchasniykumanta jap'iwayku, saqmawayku, [lingri]sniykuman jap'iwayku.

P: chantarí?

E: allillanta ñuqaykuta yachachiwayku, prufsny.

'And how was she?'

'some times.. she still hit us with the hand, my teacher. She grabbed us from our hair, hit us, got us from the ear.'

'and then?' 'she taught us acceptably well, my teacher.'

The things they were taught were how to read and write, to add, divide and multiply. Although, sometimes, he confided, they were unable to cope with the work, in which case the teacher would hit them (... saqmawaq kayku, *prufisurniy* .. 'she would hit us with the hand, my teacher').

All three years, according to Eduardo, the situation was the same (kikillantaq, ingualitullataq chaypipis, *prufisur*. 'it was the same, the same there too, my teacher'). With respect to this sameness observed by Eduardo, it must be added that this practice of teachers teaching progressively the same class as it is promoted grade by grade is a common practice in the rural schools of this region. I have not investigated the matter further, but, incidentally, I was surprised to find that the practice also exists at the other side of the world, in Bahrain, in the Middle East (Al-Mannai 1996).

There were two pupils, Gabino Tardío, and Mario Vargas Condori, both 6th graders, that provided very fluid accounts of their school experience. Gabino provides us with an insightful perspective from the pupil's angle of one of his teachers and her teaching methods.

G: I then came back to the third grade [after vacations]. There the teacher was Mrs. DD... She taught us in the Spanish tongue, she didn't know Quechua, she spoke only in Spanish. In that third grade she taught us... we spoke in Spanish. Then speaking to us so, she taught us more. Then.. she was just regular, she would just engage in cooking, because of that she didn't use to look after us well. No.. she used to cook with wood, that engaged her until twelve o'clock, then.. she used to go out, when she went out we played. Then when she came back in she would give us a sample, on the top of the page, and leave us telling us to do that, but when she was not inside we didn't do it either. Sometimes she would hit us because of that purpose. We just had to suffer it but she did that to us because we didn't do our work. After twelve o'clock she would come back in. She had a little boy, that Dioni.. (...) she would bring in jumper-knitting for him, she used to do that. Meantime she would make us go to the blackboard, telling us to draw, we used to draw there all kinds of little things, we

drew what we could. After that she taught us well, addition.. she would make us count from one hundred... to one thousand. We couldn't do that, but with guidance (with patience) we could do it, then we used to do it. Then we did additions, doing additions .. mm [but] when we couldn't do them she would whip us with a belt again. Then .. she would scream in Spanish... She would go out, coming back in she would scream like that, coming back in "Fools why don't you do it?" she would scold us.. "Mud heads," she would blurt out. We just stood there, then she would whip us, speaking like that. Then she would make us stand in a corner when we couldn't do it, some of us could do it some could not, because of that she used to tell us so. (tape 2, 951120)

This saga continued for two more years in a similar fashion. Gabino confided that the teacher continued to teach them in her special way. She would, for example, bring in a thick notebook and dictate from there, teaching subject matter always in Spanish (and this is taking place in the bilingual classroom under the PEIB's responsibility), and she would write samples on the blackboard for the pupils to copy. Although all the subjects: language, social sciences, biology, mathematics were covered, Gabino was not satisfied. He talked much more, but we must leave it here.

Mario Vargas Condori had a different experience: while Gabino is considered a good student, it seems that Mario had to struggle to pass the grades, especially during his early years. Now, in spite of the fact that many pupils in the rural areas leave school after a couple of years, passing a grade —in consonance with the organization of hierarchies within the disciplines (as mentioned in Chapter 5.2)— is always crucial for the pupil. Here is Mario's account:

M: My name is Mario Vargas Condori (...) I did not pass for two years, I did not pass the grades, [but] I didn't pass only the first grade. Then again [the teacher] would separate those of us who could not do it and place us in the back, and those who could were placed at the front. (...) Then there was no way I could do it, I used to get tired of it. umm. Being tired of it I used to tell my father 'I will not go in [to school]' ... He would oblige me by force to come to school... Then then I entered to another class, I couldn't cope with that either... I failed again. Then teacher NN. arrived, with him I read. (...) teacher NN. was also the same, he would give us some work and then we would do it, but some of us did not do it, some of us did not do it. He would make us stand on our very heads, all those of us who did not do the work. (Tape 2, 951120)

Then he demonstrated standing on his head. He then said that these punishments (standing on hands, raising hands, walking like ducks) caused many to cry and made them unable to walk properly the next day due to the muscular pain (overtraining). Finally he confided that in

spite of his difficulties with coping with schoolwork and his many absences he was promoted

to the next grade, a feat he did not believe he would achieve:

M: Chantaqa faltakullarqani faltakullarqani, chantaqa junio yaykurqani, antis pasani. Mana pasanayta creyekurqanichu (...) kusikurqani kusisqa purirqani pasani kunan ñispa.

Then I missed and missed school, and then entered in June, but fortunately I passed. I didn't believe I would pass (..) I was so happy, I walked around happily saying that "now I have passed".⁹⁹ (Tape 2, 951120, MVC)

Mario's happiness, in my view, illustrates that children care about school, and that passing the grade is an important ingredient of the process.

Now, although my interviewees might have fallen prey of the interview effect whereby they attempted to say what I wanted to hear, it is also possible that their choice of answers was part of their habitus. For instance, contrary to what one would expect from children, they said that they preferred writing than playing.

P :	Chaychu pukllaychu <i>gusta</i> sunki astawan?	'Do you like best playing or that (learning)?'
E:	Iscribiykuna prufsny; pukllayqa mana prufsniy	'Writing things, my teacher; not playing, my teacher'
P:	pukllarqunas allillantaq i?	'But playing is also good, isn't it?'
E:	Arí	'Yes'
P :	mayqintaq aswan allin pukllaychu <i>escribi</i> ychu?	'Which is better, playing or writing?'
E:	escribiy prufsniy.	'Writing, my teacher'. (Tape 2, 951120, E. Vela)

Notice that although this pupil just said that he liked to write but not to play, when questioned again whether playing a little was not good, he also agreed. However, at the next opportunity he reiterates his former viewpoint. In other words, playing is not categorized in absolute terms with respect to its [good] or [bad] attributes, but in relative terms; thus although playing in isolation is good, it is bad in comparison with writing. I think that the

⁹⁹ Since the school year begins generally in March, to enter in June is a little bit late.

incomprehension of this logic might lead to a distorted vision about the 'intelligence' of the comunarios.

To sum up, the repertoire of corporal punishments included: the 'pig' whereby the victim has to support his body on his hands while his feet are placed horizontally on some elevation, a variation was to stand upside down; kicking; hitting with the hand, with the knuckles, with a stick; whipping some times on bare bottoms for better effect, as Bernaco, a third grader, disclosed. The effects were undoubtedly painful; thus some cried and later on, in the playground, complained on the mean teacher. In the classroom it also had the effect of reducing the children to silence, and according to the pupils' own accounts it served as a deterrent to bad behavior and as an incentive to be dedicated to school work. In other words, punishment had the effect of obtaining 'docile bodies'.

In contrast with the meanness attributed to some teachers due to their habit of punishing pupils, a teacher that did not hit was considered a nice teacher. As Bernaco put it talking about her teacher:

B: k'acha chayqa. .. mana siq'uwaykuchu (..) maqanakuptinkupis ma maqanchu, *trata*rpallan. Imapaq maqanakunkichik nin.

that one is nice. .. she does not belt us (..) even when they fight she does not punish them, she just scolds them. "Why do you fight" she says. (Tape 2, 951120, B)

What I did not expect was that this teacher's reluctance to administer corporal punishment would be condoned by the potential victims themselves. Although Miss CC., the third grade teacher, did not hit the pupils, she threatened them with making them spend the night inside the church. In a world impregnated with spirits, especially in the dark of the night, just the threat was already a punishment. According to Bernaco, pupils got scared, some even cried. In fairness, it must be added that Miss CC. —and other teachers as well— resorted to this 'trick of the trade' only when some object had disappeared and theft was suspected. Under the threat, Bernaco added, the culprit would usually blush or even cry. Another teacher

threatened potential thieves with bewitchery, again a spiritual threat but very effective. I would like to add that often these little thefts had to do with pencils and erasers,¹⁰⁰ which if accidentally dumped on the floor would cause the finder to appropriate it immediately. This is clearly connected with the scarcity of these manufactured supplies in the community, which at large still practices the art of vernacular production, in Illich's sense, a form of independent and self-sustaining production (1981; 1991). In other words, the insertion of the rural school in the community also has the effect of creating new needs, as in the case of school supplies, or new tastes, as in the case of sweets that some teachers brought to exchange them for local crops. Juan Vela Flores, one of the pupils, said that children brought potatoes, wheat, eggs stealing these items from their homes, to swap them for chewing gum, candy, or Jell-O sticks.

Returning to the issue of corporal punishment, although it has seriously been contested in recent years in Bolivia, from the pupils' accounts given above, it seems that it has not yet disappeared from the classroom. However, I must add that with the exception of the use of sticks used more symbolically than physically to mind pupils during line-ups, I have not seen any serious misdemeanor in this respect. Although corporal punishment might be considered as tangible and concrete, it also lingers in the mind, as the narratives reviewed above have shown, hence conferring it a lasting effect. At least that is what I would like to think, in consonance with my framework of domestication by means of discrimination. Just as the ideology of racism contemplates complex mechanisms of justification and self fulfillment (Yeboah 1997:45), my hypothesis here is that persistent discrimination, instead of harboring desires of rebellion, achieves quite a contrary effect, that of taming the discriminated. The

¹⁰⁰ In a recent visit to El Paredón (November 1999), thanks to the cooperation of Modesto Vargas, a comunario from Qullakamani, I collected the views of his third grader son, whose narrative provided a fresh account of the pupil's perspective of school experience: some of his recurrent worries included the conflicts of interrelationships with his peers due to the scarcity of erasers and pencils, and bullying incidents (for instance, an older pupil appropriating somebody else's eraser, or scribbling or tearing up notebooks). These conflicts do not appear to have been investigated properly, thus they remain a project for the future.

teacher that tore up notebooks and cast esthetic judgment on pupils' efforts (chhika millay 'how ugly') seems to be reproducing the same processes. For Ansión 'the notion of symbolic violence is fundamental to understand how authority is exercised in the rural school' where the exercise of authority in the rural school is one of the forms of symbolic violence that is applied 'on children, with the complicity of parents and even the children themselves, ... with the hope that schooling will help them in the long term' (Ansión 1988:88).

2. Absenteeism

So far I have considered pupils' perceptions of their teachers, the treatment they received from them, and their ideas about the work they have accomplished. The question now is how does all this impinge on the success of the teaching-learning process. The obvious answer would be to suppose that corporal punishment might have a deterrent effect on children's willingness to come to school (Ansión (1988:88-91) reports some testimonies in this respect). On the other hand, we might take these punishments as techniques developed by the teachers due to the exigencies of the task at hand (i.e. to teach), and, in the process, incorporate the practice as part of the scheme of rewards and punishments, achieving in fact political obedience and economical efficiency (as Eduardo said in his recollection, after undergoing corporal punishment, they did not play any longer).

Besides the learning problems pupils might have, some experience bullying, and this might be also a factor that affects children's attendance and drop-out. This was made clear by an old woman that used to squat in front of Mrs. DD.'s classroom. One day, she approached me and told me that she had to bring her little boy to the school and wait for him, because older boys hit the small ones, and then the little ones refuse to come to school altogether; she had requested several times that the teacher take care of this problem but had no success: **chay jatunkuna maqanku**, **chayrayku manaña jamuyta munankuchu** 'the big ones hit them, that is why they don't want to come any longer'. I have not researched the matter any further, but I witnessed instances of mock fights that turned real among pupils, and heard that certain animosities exist among pupils that linger sometimes for years. But teachers in El Paredón never mentioned bullying as a problem. In any case, the will of the pupil, being subjected as it is to the authority of the home, for example as depicted by Mario (fersa kachamuwan 'he obliged me to come by force'), or even bullying (that consists mainly of older boys pushing around or hitting smaller pupils) cannot be taken as the principal factor of non-school attendance.

Thus there are two community activities that get children periodically out of school. The first one is the integration of the children into the productive apparatus of the family whereby they have to help their parents in their work in the fields, or in the care of their animals. This causes the children to miss school, sometimes for a day, a few days, or even weeks. Here is a conversation with one of the pupils:

P :	<i>falta</i> kuyta yachankichu?	'Do you miss school?'
T:	awisnillan faltakuni, juk phichqa juk iskay awisnin juk diyasta, licenciawan awisninqa, awisninqa mana.	'I miss it only sometimes, some five some two [times] sometimes a few days, sometimes with a leave of absence, sometimes without one'.
P:	ima ruwanapaq <i>falta</i> kunki?	'What do you miss school for?'
T:	llamk'a surk'amunaykupaq papata.	'work to work in the potato field'.
P:	pitaq <i>falta</i> chisunki?	'Who makes you miss school?'
T:	tatasniyku <i>licencia</i> ta mañakamunkichik ñiwayku.	'our parents, get a leave of absence, they tell us'.

Often, the obligation of parents and children towards school attendance is resolved requesting a leave of absence from the teacher. It is the same all over the place, I have recorded particular complaints in Qullakamani (Nora and Sara), El Paredón (Elizabeth, María), Puka-Puka (Teófila) to name but a few cases. In Jatun Q'asa this was treated in a community meeting with the presence of the headmaster. According to Ms. GG., the teacher of this sectional school, some parents came and took their children out of the school without even asking for permission. Some *comunarios* pressed the teacher to tell the names of those *comunarios* so that they could take action, but the teacher did not disclose any names. The matter was settled with the recommendation of the head master to avoid this kind of behavior in the future (Tape 63, 960905). Likewise, in El Paredón, Elizabeth, the pre-school teacher confided that absenteeism was high at the time, just before All Saints (2 November 1996), because many pupils had to participate in the agricultural work of the season. *Incluso, vienen a pedir licencia para estos enanos. Y son tan chiquitos.* 'They even come to ask leaves of absence for these tiny tots. And they are so little' she said, referring to her 6 year old pupils. 'And what do they do in the fields?' I asked. *Dice que ayudan a wanear* 'They say that they help with the fertilizing'. (Tape 87, 961030).

The other factor that determines absenteeism has to do with the celebration of ritual festivities, such as Mama Guadalupe, the Pukllay, and especially *turus santus* 'All Saints'. These are important moments for adults, but also for the children, for whom these occasions are what for urban children might be, for instance, a visit to an entertainment park. Children during these times, with the implicit consent of their parents, simply do not attend school. For example, on the 6^{th} of November 1995, I happened to make a video of all the classrooms of the central school of El Paredón (Video 6, 951106), the toll was:

Grade	present	out of N° of registered pupils	
Pre-school	5	29	
1	4	33	
2	5	30	
3	3	39	
4	5	22	
5	0	15	
6	1	23 attending. (reg. 55)	

Sources: Teacher's reports and PEIB's statistics for 1995.

Under these circumstances most of the teachers simply did some revision work or assigned some work to the pupils, but covering new lessons was avoided, for they would be forced to repeat them when the majority of the pupils came back. And this is after All Saint's day had already passed. During this type of celebration, teachers usually return to their homes, while the *comunarios* on their part concentrate on their festivities. One of the pupils said that they

don't see the teacher in those days, but do not have the time to think of them either because they are so busy with the activities at hand.

According to Yraola (1995:22, and footnote 7) "one of the fundamental causes" of absenteeism rates "is the low efficiency which schools have demonstrated, and demonstrate, in the education of children." Parents in El Paredón likewise complained that teaching was unsatisfactory (Cf. section 3. Parents, p. 272) and thus justified or threatened to take their children out of school because of this. But I beg to differ with the point of view that this is the 'fundamental cause' for absenteeism as proposed by Yraola, especially in consideration to (a) the ambivalence of the community, and (b) the restricted offer of the educational establishment to the rural areas, particularly the sectional school, where usually only the first three grades are taught. School statistics, available at the Dirección Distrital of Tarabuco, on the other hand, in contradiction to the observed facts, paint a more optimistic picture. According to these figures, see the chart below, the average attendance of all grades in the núcleo of El Paredón is 94.33%.

				Grades				
Schools	pre- básico	1	2	3	4	5	6	% in each school
Paredón	97	94	97	92	95	100	85	94.29
Michkhamayu		89	100	100	100	86		95.00
Puka-Puka		100	100	100		91		97.75
Pisili		73	89	93		80		83.75
Churikana		100		96				98.00
Jatun Q'asa		85			88			86.5
Qullakamani		100		100		100		100.00
Jatun Rumi		100						100.00
Thayawaka		100						100.00
Angola		100						100.00
% in each grade	97	94.1	96.5	96.8	94.3	91.4	85	

Figure 20: Attendance %s in the Núcleo of El Paredón, 1995.

Source: Dirección distrital Tarabuco.

At the national and departmental levels, the statistics released by INE (1997) through the internet, depict also high rates of attendance and promotion. In any case, absenteeism has been repeatedly noted in the literature on rural education, especially in reference to the fact that the school calendar clashes with the agricultural cycle followed by the community. Thus, the school is in vacation when the children are not needed as helpers in the family, and there are classes when they are most needed, for instance during the sowing and harvesting seasons (Cf. for instance Barrera 1985:17, Choque 1996:82, Yraola 1995:94, for Bolivia; Ansión 1988:70-71, for the Peruvian Case). Parents in the *núcleo* of El Paredón have not failed to notice this incongruence of the school calendar.

3. Boy wants to be comunario

Another factor that seems to influence drop-out rates in Tarabuco has to do with the culture of the community: the case of the boy who quit school in order to become a *comunario* is a good example (tapes 63, and 96, 960905). The case of Nazario, not only illustrates the particular circumstances that might oblige a pupil to drop-out, but also the way the community is organized with respect to some of their public obligations. Next, I will combine excerpts from the discussions of the meeting and my reactions to them, with the purpose of showing the point of view of the community with respect to Nazario's drop-out, but also the contrast between the discourses of the education system, represented here by the headmaster (H) and the teacher (G), and those of the *comunarios*, including Nazario (N) himself.

H:	y juk kay retiradomanta, imataq pasan paywan? sutin Flores Nazario Flores	" and the case of the drop-out, what is the matter with him? his name is Flores Nazario Flores"
I:	allá está.	'He is over there'.
N:	ñuqapis ma atiniñachu	'I am also no longer able to [come]'

These three interventions, in spite of their condensed style, already illustrate the main confrontation: the perspectives of the headmaster and the teacher, vis-à-vis the perspective of the community. The headmaster, assuming his role of authority, not only purports to find out what is happening with respect to the 'retiree' (Nazario), but also to solve the problem, that is

making his return to school possible. Both the headmaster and the teacher are interested in retaining as many students as possible, a fact that later on will be evaluated and reflected in the corresponding school statistics. In addition, the teacher's participation above, actually a volunteered interruption, has the virtue of affirming her knowledge of the situation (e.g. identifying the 'retiree') but also recognizing and submitting to the authority of the headmaster for whose information she had blurted out her accusation (*allá está*). At the same time, her intervention in Spanish has the effect of reminding everybody of their linguistic and cultural affiliation: the Spanish speaking teachers, and the Quechua speaking community. The headmaster, however, ignores her code switching and proceeds with the meeting. On the other hand, the point of view of Nazario, embodied in just three words: **ñuqapis ma atiniñachu.**. 'I am also no longer able [to come to school]', in addition to the main assertion that he is unable to attend school, implies that he was trying [to attend school] but had to give up, and that there were also others in the same situation. This last nuance is expressed by the inclusive **-pis**, added to the first person pronoun. The interchange continued:

H:	qam kanki Nazarió?	'You are Nazario?'
N:	arí, tatay wañupun.	'Yes, my father has died'.
H:	qam sapayki <i>queda</i> kapunki?	'You have been left by yourself?'
N:	um.	'um'
H:	wakchitu kapuchkanchu?	'He is becoming an orphan?' (talking to the audience)
N:	arí.	'Yes'.

While the headmaster attempts to identify the pupil, Nazario comes to the point: his father has died. Afterwards, a *comunario* explains that nobody in the community would neither 'push in' nor 'pull out' any one deliberately, that in this case it was perhaps the fact that the boy's father had died and hence the boy had to take his place in the organization (i.e. the *sindicato*), because he had no older brothers to do so for him. This explanation, for the headmaster, however was not enough. The *comunario* then adds that they had suggested that Nazario could come once or twice per week to school, but since he could not make it, because there was no one to assume his responsibilities (as an affiliate), he had to quit school.

To the headmaster's question whether the leaders and the *comunarios* did not think of helping the boy because he was in school, the answer was negative.

The headmaster then tried his best rhetoric to convince the *comunarios* that they should help the orphan boy; that the union leaders were there to provide advice, not only to push for contributions (for example, labor quotas), that denying the community's help to the boy, would amount to 'add insult to injury' (H: *retirar*puway, *listo*, *fregar*qullanchik astawan 'take him out [of school] for me, done, we just ruin him more'); that being forced to be a man at 12 would lead Nazario into drinking, or to be mesmerized by a nubile female; that teenagers need orientation because of their immaturity; that his leaving school now would signify the loss of all he had learned and that he would not be able to get his *libreta* (the certification of the meritocratic system). The *comunario* that spoke before tried again to clarify that the boy's situation of trying to go to school, but also attending meetings and fulfilling his labor quotas, produced an ambiguous situation that in the end determined the boy's decision to quit school, a situation they had to accept:

C: entonces paymantapis parlakunanpaq faltallantaq, intuns pay payta ñuqayku aysaykuna trabajuman, asambleasman, intusqa escuelaman ñichkallaykutaq, mayqinmantaq pay asunamunqa, mayqinmantaq pay pertenecemunqa, asambleamanchu, trabajomanchu o mayqinman? solamente palabras faltan, entoncs paypa tatan wañupun, entonsqa ñuqayku kotas trabajuman mañayku, trabajapun, entos imanasuntaq?

then we also require that he speaks [in meetings], therefore we have already taken he him to our works, meetings, but then we are also thinking about his schooling, where is he going to attend, where is he going to belong, to the meetings or to work, to which one of them? only the words are missing, because his father happened to die, therefore we request his labor quotas, he does his work, therefore what can we do?

Thus, "what can we do?" the *comunario* asks. The headmaster insists that the community should help the boy, that he should be allowed to attend school, and that he should be released from his 'affiliated' obligations, at least for the time being. The *comunario* in turn explains that the system of quotas is vital for the survival of the community and that in the absence of monetary resources their work is the only way to sustain their life.

In spite of the apparent fait accompli situation described by the comunario, the head master,

changing his tactics slightly, presents his request as a yes/no dilemma.

- H: very well. could I.. could we still solve the problem so that he returns [to school] or not? Let's see, what do you say? The majority has the word.
- Q: it would be possible mister headmaster, now that you are here mister headmaster you can solve it. you know, when we in a meeting like this establish a fine, he is not going to be able [to pay], mister headmaster.
- H: but what do the majority of you say? because what the majority decides that must be done, if there is the goodwill or whether there is not. if you come to an agreement with me, as soon as I turn my back you will start pressurizing him again.

C: y claro. 'That's right'

G: eso va ser. 'That's what'll happen'

The headmaster tells the *comunarios* that he does not want that to happen, and given the assurances of the *comunarios*, it seemed that the headmaster had finally been able to stir the community into accepting that the boy returns to school. It seems that the *comunarios* found it difficult to say a plain 'no' to the choice demanded by the headmaster. Some people even spoke of the need to help each other, although some doubts and ambiguities remained. When Ms. GG., the teacher, expressed her doubts about their commitment to help the orphan boy, some reasserted that they would help. The headmaster tried to take advantage of the new mood pressing the audience into a commitment to help the boy.

H: ajina uyarinchik compañeros, atisunmanchu juk makita yanapayta, mana ñisunmanchu de que trabajowan, .. qullqita jaywaykuyta chaywan kawsakunanta /C: mana mana mana/ mana chaymanchu chayasanchik, sino imaynatataq yanapasunman escuelata tukunanpaq, porque ya ñiwanchikña ña chay preparasqetaña¹⁰¹ kachkan. Kunanchá ma atinqa.. (..). qhawarisunman chayta pero enteromanta, ma dirigentellachu, nitaq secretario generallachu, atisunmanchu chayta yanapariyta?

thus we have heard *compañeros*, could we lend a hand, this does not mean that we would work [for him], ... that we hand over money for him to live with that /Cs: no, no, no/ we are not advocating for that extreme, we are only discussing how we could help him to finish school, because it was already reported that he is already prepared [to continue his schooling]. He may not be able [to fulfill his responsibilities as a

¹⁰¹ Although I have not purported to analyze linguistic mixing between Quechua and Spanish, really a theme for another thesis, I cannot resist the temptation here to point out that mixing goes beyond the loan and appropriation of phonemes and words. In the case of this word *preparasqetaña* we have (a) the loan of *preparar* 'to prepare', + {sqa} 'past participle' + {it} '(Spanish) diminutive', + {fia} 'already'; (b) the intrusion of the Spanish diminutive inside the Quechua past participle; and the vowel opening of the Spanish diminutive in reaction to the presence of the postvelar occlusive [q].

comunario].. (..). we would have to take care of that but all of us, not just the leaders, nor only the secretario general, could we help in that way?

V: atisunman señor director, yanapasun.

we could mister headmaster, we will help.

The headmaster genuinely thought he had solved the problem, now he just wants to obtain the reassurance of the community, to wrap up the commitment. But then Nazario, who has remained silent all of this time, interrupts the grand plans of the headmaster:

N:	ñuqa ma <i>escuela</i>man yaykur qanichu chanta	'I did not come to school then' (child cries)
pp:	ima ñin?	'What did he say?' (I ask Ms. GG., the teacher)
G:	yo no entraría a la escuela dice, más bien a alfabetización entraré.	'he said he would not like to attend school, that he'd rather attend the literacy program'.

While some *comunarios* immediately accept the idea that Nazario attend the literacy classes, both the headmaster and the teacher dismiss it, because the boy already knows more than they can teach him in the literacy classes. Thus, all the efforts made by the headmaster to secure the community's help start falling apart at this moment. Some *comunarios* agree that Nazario could continue his education in the literacy program. But then it became clear that although they would accept Nazario's return to school, he would still have to fulfill all his 'affiliated' obligations. One *comunario* said:

M: kotata compañeros maypipis tukuy.. maytapis rinayaspa churanchikpuni compañeros, chayqa mana chinkananpaq, mana chaytaqa churanqachu ñispachu .. kutiykunman, mana atiykumanchu kutirinanta.

the quota compañeros everywhere all.. to go somewhere we always have to put in compañeros, that cannot disappear, would he return to school not to pay his quotas, we wouldn't accept that he returns.

Another added:

C: ...compañeros, jukchhikanta allillan.. claro atisunchik atiyta compañeros, ma manachu; qhawanapaq kachkan pinsana kachkan, solamente, compañeros, ma atichkanchikchu jukllawan qhayqeayta.. tukuyninchik compañeros .. ima yuyaytapis tratarinanchik kachkan compañeros, kay pataman compañeros junturinanchik kachkanman, chayqa atikun a compañeros; por lo menos qhawasqaymanqa kachkamanchá kay: mana atisunchu compañeros kotasninmanta rebajariyta, mana atisunchu turnusninmanta ribajariyta, por lo menos personal atiymanchá, mana compañeros reiteraspa, ama wasisman [bases] yaykunqachu, pero tareasnintataq qunman jurqhunman y chaytataq ruwamunman voluntadninpi, chay kanman compañeros.. ñuqa chayta munayman, ... maypichus kanman tareas chaytaqa atin compañeros, por lo menos kanmanchá juk semanapi juk diyallapis, por lo menos mantinikunan nada más. / chay señor director.

...compañeros, this is OK to a certain degree.. of course we are capable of helping compañeros, it is not no; this is something that should be pondered further, the only problem, compañeros, is that we are not being able to speak the same language.. all of us compañeros .. we have to find an answer compañeros, we would have to make amends to what has been said compañeros, that we could do, compañeros; at least from my perspective this would have to be done: we will not be able, compañeros, to go down on his quotas, we will not be able to reduce his turns, perhaps I would be able to do so on a personal basis, but no, compañeros reiterating, he may not attend the meetings, and he would have to get his homework and do it according to his will, that would be it compañeros.. that I would want, ... whenever he gets [school] homework, he can do it compañeros, at least one day a week, at least he can remain in school, that is all. / That is it, mister headmaster.

In brief, the point of view is clear: Nazario can attend school if he wishes but there is no way to decrease his obligations, except that he would be released from attending meetings. In the intervention of the *comunario* above notice the loans from Spanish that plague his speech; I have the impression that this use of loans (e.g. *claro, por lo menos, compañeros*) has the purpose of investing his speech with authority and prestige. Returning to the meeting, the headmaster tries once more to convince Nazario, asking him directly whether he would come back to school if his obligations were relaxed. Nazario's answer:

N: juk semanapi ni juk diyata mana.

'not one day in the week'.

H: Nazario, mana churachisuptinku kotas, mana junt'achisuptinku jornales escuelapi, ñankunaspi o imas trabajuchus kachkan comunidadpi, mana junt'achisuptinku, mana exigisuptinku, qam siguiwaqchu escuelapi, tukuchawaqchu manachu? .. Manapuni munankichu? chay qhanmanta.

Nazario, if they do not oblige you to give quotas, if they don't require that you work for the school, or the roads or any other work of the community, if they do not oblige you [to fulfill these obligations], if they do not demand that you do these things, would you remain in school, would you finish or not? .. You still don't want to? that depends on you.

- N: ... (Nazario remains silent)
- H: ja? 'what?'
- G: no, no quiere dice... 'no, he says he doesn't want to...'

The headmaster tries once more to convince Nazario to come back to school asking him whether he would come back to school if he were exempted of his duties with the community. His answer was comprised in one final word: **mana** 'no'. The episode ends with the headmaster turning his frustration on the boy himself: that he did not want to return to school because he must have already tasted the worldly things of adulthood. He also reminded the community that the decision to have the fifth grade (that the boy was attending) was made in an effort to get the most of the teaching post assigned to the community, and to counter the practice of school leaving after three or four grades, and that in our society today everybody should know how to read and write. The *comunarios* insisted that he could still go to school, and that the teacher could give him the required homework. The headmaster then insisted once more, that the community help the boy to remain in school, freeing him from his affiliated obligations. But a *comunario* retorted:

X: chaytaqa sigui mañaykuman .. filiadomanta jina. Solo munayku ñuqaykuqa simanapi juktapis jamunanta y tareastataq profesora qunan .. chayta ñuqayku qhawayku. that we would still demand .. as from any 'affiliated' comunario. We just want him to

attend school once a week and for the teacher to give him homework .. that is what we expect.

Thus in spite of the *comunarios* apparent willingness to help the boy, there were certain obligations that he would have to fulfill in any case, especially in view of the paucity of their numbers. At this point, a little more than an hour had already elapsed, but both the headmaster and the *comunarios* maintained their perspectives intact. The headmaster trying to convince the *comunarios* to change their point of view in favor of education (an abstraction); the *comunarios* skillfully maneuvering around the headmaster's suggestions and pushing for the acceptation of their cultural reality (a concrete participation of the boy). Finally the headmaster gave up. There seemed nothing else to be said, except to air out his pent-up frustration against the resilient *comunarios*.

As we have seen, sending children to school has become a community affair, something that can be and is decided in a community meeting. But, for the community, sending children to school seems to be conceived of more as a burden than as a blessing. In this particular case, one of the *comunarios* suggests that the younger brother of the boy-*comunario* attend school without incurring in absences. Thus schooling appears as an imposed obligation, not as a service to the community (Cf. next section below). But perhaps the most important point is that there is a time to go to school, and a time to become a *comunario*.

In addition, this incident suggests that the fulfillment of the obligations of each head of family 'affiliate' is collectively enforced; each individual knows what their agreed upon obligations are, he is willing to fulfill them but at the same time is on the watch so all other members of the 'affiliate' structure also live up to their end of the bargain. I have the impression that the community is effectively glued together by discourse and practice. However, the relationship among the members of the organization is not asymmetric, of High and Low, and it does not have the purpose of extracting knowledge or energy for the benefit of the individual; rather it is horizontal and egalitarian, thus all contributions (in labor, for instance) are for the benefit of all. The interesting thing is that the implementation of this system does not need a written law, or enforcement agencies; because every 'affiliate' in their quest for equity is neither shunning their contribution nor willing to give more than necessary. Thus every 'affiliate' is a contributor, but also a watchdog. Another point needs to be reiterated in this confrontation between the headmaster and the comunarios: whilst the former is interested in abstract education, the latter are interested in practical matters, in this case the need to secure the labor force of the boy. According to some teachers of El Paredón, this is not an isolated event, and that they have witnessed other cases. On a more general level, it appears that the death of one of the parents is indeed an important factor for drop-out rates (Talavera 1989:4).

To sum up, all these situations illustrate that children's attendance to school is not simply a pedagogical matter: of children failing to succeed with school work, because they are unable to cope with the exigencies of the curriculum or because the program, the training of the teachers, the infrastructure, and so on, are inadequate. As has been shown, school work can be disrupted by ritual celebrations, by work; but also by a strict adherence to the community's rules of the survival game.

3. Parents

In the lines above we have already advanced the idea that parents and the community contribute to drop-out rates. So here we shall concentrate on some of their ways of thinking with respect to the school. The first thing to notice, especially in connection to the case of the boy-*comunario*, is that there seems to be a paradox here: on the one hand the community strives to have a school in the community; on the other, they take their children out of school, temporarily to migrate to labor centers, seasonally to help on the fields and participate in fiestas, or permanently, when the pupils have come off age. For D'Emilio discussing the insertion of school among the Guaraní, "para el campesino la relación con la escuela es conflictiva y ambivalente y está marcada por una tensión dada entre repulsión y atracción" (Mejía 1991:38). Ansión discusses similar concepts for the Peruvian situation (Ansión 1988:79-82). Without delving any further into this matter, I would like to advance the idea that both paradox and tension are caused due to the fact that the rural school is the point of encounter (or conflict) between the Western and the local vernacular community.

Both sides of this paradox have been noted in the literature, but there seems to be no disagreement with respect to the interest of the community to secure a school. For instance, Sanginés Uriarte notes that in Bolivia the expansion of the school system to the countryside after the revolution of 1952 was made possible by the contribution of the peasants themselves. In his words:

Otro factor digno de anotarse para la proliferación de escuelas, es la emulación casi a nivel de competencia sostenida entre comunidades por el prestigio que otorga contar con una escuela propia. (..) El campesino se siente gratificado por su esfuerzo cuando ve techada su escuela. Los padres de familia construyen su propia escuela, luego solicitan al Ministerio la provisión de un maestro, si no lo consiguen, mantienen escuelas particulares, demostrando así, sobre todo en las áreas tradicionales, su gran interés por la educación. (Sanginés 1968:97)

In other words, the *comunarios* not only contribute by building their own school buildings, but also by paying a teacher when necessary. In 1966, according to statistics displayed by

Sanginés, there were 1,424 'private schools' in the country serving 65,336 pupils, that is about a fourth of the total rural student population (ibid.:98,101).

1. The Community

Life in the community is mainly self-contained in many respects, or following Illich (1981. 1991) it has a vernacular mode of production; but it is by no means isolated from the outside world. In fact, as Abercrombie (1992 [1991]:95) puts it we must abandon "the assumption that indigenous societies are autonomous cultural isolates" and must instead recognize that "faced with colonial and state domination, they are inevitably altered by their relationship to dominant forces." Thus, communities, ethnic units, nations can no longer be studied in isolation as traditional anthropology did for many years. These "groups" are inserted in the structure of nation-states, and have become part of society (Sherzer and Urban 1992 [1991]: introduction). According to Abercrombie, the relationship between the White-Creole sector and the "Indian" one is "interpenetrating," that is these sectors influence each other, and although the dominated culture manages to retain its ethnicity it is not without constant adaptation and recreation. The fiesta-cargo system analyzed by Abercrombie is a detailed elaboration of this process of mutual accommodation between Creoles and Indians (ibid.:95-130). However, penetration goes in both directions, peasants go to towns and cities, urbanites enter the communities. Needless to say, the interchange is asymmetrical. But the important fact is the interchange, the point of contact that shapes the relationship. For Abercrombie, "it is the interface that determines the cultural whole" even in resistance (ibid.:95). Contact takes many forms and its impact varies. We do not have the space or the time to explore all the aspects of this contact, for our interest here lies in the point of view of the parents in the community, with respect to the school. However, a few hints about the asymmetric nature of the contact seem to be in order. The main context, as indicated elsewhere in this thesis, is the relationship between two peoples: 'urbanites' and comunarios (in Quechua: llagta runa 'town people' and kampu runa). Although the days of direct and legalized oppression are over, at least in general terms (for instance, traditional haciendas and pongueaje have been abolished since the 52 revolution), the relationships between these peoples today are far from fair. Since internal migration is one of the ways of establishing points of encounter, a few comments seem to be in order.

Migration in Bolivian history has always been a feature of social structural relations between the urban and the rural peoples, taking different forms at different times in post-conquest history. For example, from colonial times, the discovery of silver in the mountains of Potosí determined an intensive exploitation that obliged the movement of "indigenous" labor force from the communities to the mining center; in the republic, mining determined the emergence of the proletariat, mostly constituted by "Indians." (Cf. for instance Galeano 1974 [1971]). In Zavaleta's view (1967:39) the most alert "Indians" constituted this new proletariat, thus reproducing a historical trend, the agrarian peasants becoming workers, already observed by Marxist theorists (Mandel 1979). In more recent decades, many peasants left their communities to go and work on private farms in Santa Cruz de la Sierra (introducing Ouechua and Aymara to previously monolingual Spanish zones (Albó 1980; 1994; 1995), and to El Chapare, in Cochabamba, as farm laborers or peons. In our conversations with comunarios of El Paredón it became clear that many young people had gone to all these places, and also to Monteagudo, in the South, and to Argentina (Tape 25, 951121 Jatun Rumi; Tape 46, 950805 Benigno). A note of sadness was manifested in this respect by an old man from Qullachaway, near Pisili, (Tape 115, 960916-2) who expressed some bitterness because his sons whom he had put to school had abandoned the family to live in the city, possibly Sucre. These temporal migrations have disruptive effects on education programs. Thus (a) in schools it causes pupils' absenteeism, and (b) throws off balance literacy programs-in Chuquisaca, the project Musuq Kawsay Mask'aspa (ACLO-UNICEF-Distrital Tarabuco) had to contend with these temporal migrations.

In brief, *comunarios* are constantly going to towns and cities, some of them migrating permanently to the urban centers. According to recent statistics it appears that Bolivia now is

more urban than rural: in 1992 57.55 % of the population lived in urban areas, 42.45 % in rural ones (INE 1997). On a temporal basis, people go to the urban areas for a number of reasons: to work, to sell crops and handicrafts, to visit relatives, to hear mass and get married, and sometimes just for the fun of it. In the region of Tarabuco, the most typical way of interacting with the urban center was the Sunday trip to the town of the same name. Most young people went to Tarabuco regularly. Town people, on the other hand, also invade the communities, albeit in lesser numbers and only in the context of professional or business interests: the most typical and ubiquitous of them all are the NGOs technicians (for instance, the *ingenieros* wearing baseball hats, leather jackets, heavy walking shoes, blue jeans and driving a jeep). Other typical visitors are priests, doctors or anthropologists, middlemen, local authorities, and occasionally politicians.

Now although going to school and migration can be equated with entering 'urban' spaces, the values ascribed to them are in sharp contrast. Thus, in consonance with the predominance of pragmatism over abstract thinking, migration as a source of income is considered concrete and useful, whilst reading-writing appears to have no immediate value. Lorenzo, a former literacy promoter from Churikana,¹⁰² says:

L: Their purposes are to go to Santa Cruz, to Chapare, to Cochabamba, to make money, because it is in those places that we make more money, that we are finding money, therefore they do not believe in these writing things [e.g. literacy]... It appears that we are toiling in vain, they learn [reading and writing], but it seems that we are learning in vain (...) because they discuss [these matters] even in meetings, see what I mean? Thus they are discussing of meetings, of work for high schools, for [primary] school and of those that do not attend the meetings [e.g. *faltones*], because some do not ever come; and then they are branding them as k'ullus.¹⁰³ But then all that is just spoken it does not get registered in writing, but learning the how-to we would probably have to write that down, don't you think? (Tape 118, 961222)

¹⁰² The original Quechua text is found in Appendix 6. p. 353.

¹⁰³ As far as I am aware of, the use of k'ullu 'tree trunk, wood' to indicate a 'stubborn person that does not listen to' is a quotidian metaphor in Southern Quechua. Antero Klemola (1997) who studied "communal practices" in Kila-Kila (Chuquisaca) also notes the use of this term to refer to comunarios that fail to fulfill their communal obligations.

The main point here is that temporal migration is justified as a means of obtaining some needed cash; but at the same time the results obtained thanks to these migrations seem to foster the idea that literacy is useless, because during these migrations, the *comunarios*, basically, sell their manual work force and never their literacy skills; therefore, concrete manual work is effective, abstract literacy is useless. In this line of thinking, then, it is also a valid alternative to get the children out of school when they are of age to work, for instance, as peons and therefore get some money for the family. To put it differently, the short-term exigencies have precedence over the long-term investments, as Ansión (1988:82) has found in Peru.

2. Perceptions of school

In general, it seems that community perceptions of the school of past years are positive, while accounts of present day school are sometimes ambiguous, and often negative. According to Lorenzo, this is precisely the impression *comunarios* have. Thus, the school was good because pupils were under orders of the teacher (**kamachisqa**), and were allowed to play for only a little while; in contrast, school nowadays is characterized by too much play. It would also appear that there is an age to play and an age to learn. In a meeting in El Paredón, among the complaints expressed by the *comunarios* the question of too much play in the school was emphasized. One *comunario* said: *prebásico* **atin pukllayta**, *primero***pi manaña**. 'those in pre-school can play, those in first grade no longer' (Tape 960807 N° 8). In Lorenzo's words:

L: Kunanqa casi hora y media pukllaspallaña kanku. Chanta jina kaptintaq tata mamasqa mana sunqu kanchu kachananpaq wawasta escuelamanqa. Now they spend almost an hour and a half just playing. Then, it being this way, parents have no heart (desire) to send the children to school. (Tape 118, 961222)

So school in the past was good, because there was much work and little play. Notice that play is considered bad. For some Churikana *comunarios*, schooling in the past was definitely

better because teaching included not only reading and writing, but even the use of rifles, and that now they no longer teach like that (Tape 118, 961222).¹⁰⁴

The observation that there is much play in today's school is a generalized complaint from parents in the núcleo of El Paredón, and determines a feeling of distrust, of hesitating commitment to send children to school (**mana sunqu kanchu.** 'there is no heart'). Let us also observe that this feeling is expressed by means of a metaphor: the metaphor of the heart (there is no heart to send the children to school). Thus the situation would appear to be not a matter of reasoning but of feeling, in this case of a distressing feeling. In contrast, the school of yore was good because it emphasized working activities, principally reading and writing.

L: (..) ñawpaqta sumaq qhillqachiwaq kayku; chanta mana allin kaptintaq watiqmanta ruwachiwaq kayku; chanta .. *leyechiwaq kayku .. yuyanaykupaq* jinata; *pero* kunanqa .. ñinkutaq wakinqa, *porque* ñuqayku ñawpaqpi *escuela*pi karqayku .. kunan manaña

(..) in the past we were made to write a lot; then when it was not well [written] we were made to do it again; then .. we were made to read .. so that we could remember; but now .. some say, because we were in school [we know].. but now it is no longer the case. (Tape 118, 961222).

According to accounts such as the preceding, that contrast schools diachronically in connection with the values of work and play, good and bad, respectively, today's school would be worse off than before. Similar ideas have also been found in Southern Perú (Ansión 1988). However, this conclusion must be taken with caution. Firstly, because there are other contrary opinions, such as the one expressed by Francisco Vargas, a *comunario* of Puka-Puka (Tape 16, 951204b) who thought that bilingual education did indeed make a difference. Secondly, because these conclusions are based on memory. So, it is the adult of today observing the school of today, and comparing these observations with those he had made (experienced) while he was a child. Not only the points of view (position of the observer) are different: the adult now is observing the school activities from the outside; while as a pupil,

¹⁰⁴ Some rural teachers take their rifles to shoot vizcachas and wild doves while on their rural school posts. In El Paredón, Lucho and Daniel still practiced this art, in part for fun and in part as a means of supplementing their budget (vizcachas are considered a delicacy.

he was experiencing school from the inside. In addition, the quality of the data is affected by two factors: the maturity of the observer, and the degree of deterioration and/or contamination of the data (forgetting, and/or modification of the original version, for instance to embellish it). As it is commonly known, even perception of time is relative to the ages (usually what for a child is a long time, might feel short for the adult).¹⁰⁵ For instance, the idea that in the past playing was allowed a short time (and work took most of the school day) is in reality an adult's re-construction of their memories; but also a reaction to these observed/experienced activities with respect to their effects on the individual. Thus the child experienced play as taking a short time (he needed more), and classroom activities as taking longer due to its inherent difficulties and perhaps the stress of the situation. Adult observers, on the other hand, usually looking at the school from the field where they are working, can only see pupils when they are outside (of the classrooms), and if they are outside they are naturally playing. Since comunarios are also 'obliged' to work for the school (labor, serving as an auxiliary or a member of the school council), it must not seem fair that while they work. teachers take it easy allowing the children to play. Tata Manuel Vela in El Paredón expressed this point of view on a number of occasions. In a few words, the idea that pupils play too much in school nowadays is perceived as negative on two counts: one the one hand as detrimental to the main objective of school, that of imparting knowledge, to learn how to read and write; and secondly as inductive to unacceptable behavior. In Lorenzo's words escuelapi pierdekun wawa 'in school children['s behavior] break down'. (Tape 12, 961212) One might suppose then that in this context of distrust, sending the children to school would

appear as an imposition to be countered not only by means of permitted absenteeism but also

¹⁰⁵ There is a common notion among adult people that time seems to pass faster year after year (Christmas is here again). There is no experimental way of knowing whether it is time itself that is shrinking, because if that were the case everything else including the instruments of measurement would shrink correspondingly; or simply an impression associated with old age. However according to impression experiments, whereby people of different ages were asked to guess different time spans, the question of time perception was linked with the ticking of the inner clock, faster in children, slower in adults. This in turn determines that the same physical span of time, for instance one minute, is perceptually longer for the child and shorter for the adult.

by allowing the children to leave school permanently as soon as they have come of age. But perhaps it is the other way around: the practices adopted by parents (mainly, taking their children out of school) determine their reasoning, which in rigor are justifications to continue with those practices and have peace of mind at the same time. I can think of two parallels immediately: (a) slave traders and owners that concluded that their slaves were inherently inferior (Yeboah 1997 [1988]:73), (b) Hispanic conquistadores and colonizers that concluded since Columbus early exploits that those "Indians" that complied with their demand were more or less civilized, while those that resisted where 'savages' (Houben 1935:125-28); in addition all the "Indians" were idolaters and therefore to dispose of them was a duty. In the communities of El Paredón, some of their reasons to distrust school were:

a) Schooling is a waste of time, a routine. In Lorenzo's perception, after he interviewed a number of people in Jatun Churikana, sending children to school rather than an individual decision appears as an obligation. Thus:

Most people keep on saying because 'we just go to school as part of a routine', both in the past and today, it is just the same, without thinking seriously, they say. Thereby, just as we would say 'get out' to a dog, OK? in the same way they tell their children to go to school, the children just go, probably without questioning themselves why they are going. Parents likewise do not think, about their children's education, hoping that they get some profession, 'we do not think about these things'. (Tape 118, 961222)

Thus sending children to school appears as a passing commitment of the community, almost a rite of passage.

b) Schooling is usually limited to a few years. When I asked Lorenzo how long do parent send their children to school for, he replied that people send their children to school only for a few years, mainly because they have to work. Thus:

L: Campopiqa astawanpis jina trabajakuna, chaywan mikhuchkanchik, chaywan mantinichkanchik familiata ñispa. Chay wawitas chayta amañakunanta munaspachá ñin.

In the countryside more than anything else we have to work, we are eating thanks to that, we are maintaining the family thanks to that. Probably they wish that their children learn the ropes. (Tape 961222)

It is well known that survival determines a prioritization of work in the rural areas, and that in this framework it is common sense to teach children how to work the land, tend the animals, and so on. But let us consider the continuation of the preceding comment:

L: Porque mana, ñinku wakin, porque llaqta runachu kasunman? ajinata papel qhawaspalla kanapaq, ñin; entos campopiqa labranzapi trabajaspa, chaywan mikhunchik, chaywan imatapis rantikunchik ...

Because no, some say, because or are we going to be urbanites? to be there just looking at paper, they say; therefore in the countryside we eat working the fields, with that we buy everything (Tape 118, 961222)

Since I have not conducted a survey in all of El Paredón, I do not know how widespread this rejection of the written letter is. But similar ideas about the value of symbolic objects, such as letters, identification cards, and even money taken as abstract objects (*letra*tachu mikhusaq? 'am I going to eat letters?')¹⁰⁶ in contrast with concrete food, are also voiced in other quarters (for example, in San Pedro de Buena Vista, North of Potosí). From all of this, I gather that on the one hand there is the tendency to appropriate urban values, (even to the point of internalizing the anti "Indian" ideology (Abercrombie 1992 [1991]:96), but at the same time there is resistance and even rejection sustained by the exigencies of the vernacular mode of production and their way of thinking (for instance the preference for the concrete and pragmatic, rather than for the ideal and abstract).

c) Forced schooling. Accounts of rural education often highlight the commitment of the community to schooling (creating private schools, fighting bureaucracy to obtain *items*, and building schools with their own hands; as mentioned above (p. 272). But when I asked Lorenzo if parents were no longer sending their children to school, he said that they were sending them to school, but only because it was still an imposed obligation:

L: Kachachkankupis .. manachus ñawpaqpipis obligasqallapuni escuelaman kachakuq kanku chay wawata, kunanpis jina obligasqallataq kachkanku.

¹⁰⁶ In Guaman Poma de Ayala's Nueva Coronica y Buen Gobierno a similar question is asked by the natives to the Spaniards: "Kay quritachu mikhunki?" 'Do you eat this gold? Or 'Are you going to eat this gold?'

They are sending them.. but just as in the past when they used to send their children to school obliged [to do so], nowadays they are also being obliged [to do so].

P: Pitaq obligachkan? 'Who is obliging them?'

L: Dirigentes, chanta ..escolar, churaychik wawata ñinku...

The community leaders, then .. the [junta] escolar, put the children in school, they say... (Tape 118, 961222)

Thus in spite of all the efforts of the community to construct a school building and to fix it periodically, it would seem that sending the children to school rather than an act of the free will is an imposition. If this were so, the idea that *comunarios* see schooling as long term investment (Ansión 1988:77) must be reconsidered, at least in the case of El Paredón.

d) There is another notion, closely related to the economic factor mentioned above: that there is a definite age to go to school, after which the pupil must integrate into community life, such as the case of the boy-*comunario* described above (p. 264 on) illustrates. The matter often is discussed in community meetings. In Jatun Churikana, according to Lorenzo:

L: .. ñuqapis qhawarini .. asambleapi wawankutaqa ñinku ñapis jatunña mana escuela edadpiñachu ñispa, entonces, churay wawayki qampa kachkan wawa escuelapaq, profesor llank'ananpaq ñispa, juk cursopaq, ñin. (..) mana atinmanñachu yaykuyta ñin ñispa, ñapis jatunña ñispa llank'anan tiyan, piyoneakunan tiyan, (..) sinoqa rinan tiyan llaqtaman ganakuq qullqita chayachikamunanpaq ñispa..

.. I also observed .. [that] in the community meeting they say 'he is already big, he isn't of school age any longer, hence, they say 'you put your child to school, you have a child ready for school, so that the teacher can work, with one class, they say. (..) he will not be able to go to school any more, they say, he is big already, he has to work, he has to work as a peon, or alternatively he has to go to the city to make some money to bring home, they say.. (Tape 118, 961222)

So, if there is an age to go to school, and an age to quit school, there is no doubt that functional illiteracy rates will keep being high: 20 % in Bolivia, 39.3 % in Chuquisaca (INE 1997). On the other hand, no education reform, or even the free handing out of school supplies, as the PEIB did thanks to the aid of UNICEF, can solve the problem. The main considerations to get children out of school seem to be (a) to allow the children to learn how to survive in the community, and (b) to integrate them as work force in the activities of the family. Thus once the pupil has become a worker, he quits school usually for good.

In brief, it seems that the idea is that children quit school as soon as they become strong enough for work. If asking for/getting a temporary leave of absence can be explained as the fulfillment of short term needs vis-à-vis education as a long term investment, as proposed by Ansión (1988:70-3),¹⁰⁷ the permanent abandonment of school due to the coming of age of the child (i.e. he is strong enough to work in the fields or work as a peon in other places) signifies a giving up of the long term investment (i.e. urban controlled education) and return to consolidating the vernacular mode of production of **ayllu** life.

3. Main current complaints from parents

In this section, some current complaints expressed by the *comunarios* will be briefly reviewed. A frequent complaint by parents with respect to rural teachers is that the latter do not always fulfill their responsibilities with respect to attendance. Everywhere I went, parents reiterated this complaint; and I witnessed numerous instances of this situation myself. The following opinion illustrates the point. **Tata** Manuel, leader of the central school of El Paredón would usually air his pent-up frustrations regarding teachers' attendance at meetings and almost every time we met. Just before All Saints, when there were no classes because most teachers and pupils did not show up, **Tata** Manuel came to talk to us (Assessor Remigio and I) to ascertain one more time the absenteeism of teachers:

M: pero chay KK. SS.s, intuncs chaykuna, LL. ima, ima pasan a ver? ñichkayku ñuqayku chay pasaq viernes, juk asamblea, ma munaykuchu.. lunesmanta hastal jueves wawasta ma faltachinachu ñiyku ñuqayku, ichá qaynalla ma chamunchu, (..) kunan wawas ni jamunñachu.

but that KK. and the SS.s, well them, Mr. LL. also [did not show up today], what can the matter be, you know? We just told them last Friday, in a meeting, that we do not want.. we said that from Monday till Thursday the children should not be absent [from school], perhaps he did not come just yesterday, (..) [but] today the children came no longer.

¹⁰⁷ In Ansión's words: [when parents require that their children get a leave of absence] "No es que nieguen la importancia de la escuela, sino que las necesidades de supervivencia son a veces apremiantes, por lo que los padres, en determinadas circunstancias, optarán por sacrificar la inversión de largo plazo que significa mandar a los niños a la escuela, por la resolución de problemas inmediatos." (1988:71)

Thus a vicious circle seems to have been perfected: the parents cannot do without their ritual fiestas, the children then tend to escape from school and participate, or have to work substituting their parents who are engaged in the celebrations, the teachers do not show up because there are no pupils, or (in other circumstances) the pupils stop coming to school because the teacher did not come, and so on. The point of view of the parent seems to have been synthesized in this wondering of **Tata** Manuel:

M: No se, ma.. ancha grave, imachus pasan i? Tata Pedro?

I don't know, no.. it is extremely grave, who knows what is going on, isn't that so, mister Pedro?

I have the suspicion that the problem also exists in other countries of the region. Ansión (1988), for instance, documents a similar situation for the Southern part of Peru.

Another ubiquitous complaint has to do with the inadequacies of the teaching of Spanish. This complaint, paradoxically, has appeared in the context of bilingual education, that endeavored to teach the mother tongue of the pupils and Spanish in a systematic way (C. Choque 1996:43, 47, 73). Benigno, an elder from Membrillar, a community of El Paredón, synthesizes the point of view of the *comunarios* on the teaching of languages. When I asked him how he assessed the functioning of school,¹⁰⁸ he said:

B: it must be OK, but I do not have little children here, no longer little children, I have grandchildren, they come. [People] say [school] is OK, but that we do not want Quechua. What do they teach Quechua for? we all know Quechua, saying. Those who have children simply say "We want Spanish, they should teach [our children] more Spanish." But I do not have any children, only grandchildren. That is what they say, "we are being able [to speak] Quechua, our children here are learning it." Those who have children usually say "What is that Quechua for?" Those who have children say "They should learn more Spanish." Yes, it is said that [they] usually say "we want that our children learn more Spanish. To read Quechua. We already speak Quechua, we just speak it," they say. (Tape 46, 950805)

Thus while before the advent of bilingual education the quest of rural peasants was to obtain a school for their communities, perhaps without questioning much its castilianizing and westernizing character; afterwards it was the demand that Spanish be taught more in the bilingual schools of the PEIB, or the transformation program of the Education Reform nowadays. The perception of the parents seems to be that an excessive or exclusive attention is being given to the mother tongue, which 'they already know' thus reducing the time and resources dedicated to Spanish as a second language. When I asked Modesto, a literacy promoter from Qullakamani, about the school in his community, he said:

M: Allillan kachkan ñinku don Pedro, arí. Solo astawan munariyku castellanumanta kananta porque qhawaspa.. qayna wata primero intermedio ñisqa Qullakamanipi (..) pero qhichwalla yachanku, ma yachankuchu castellanota.

they say it is OK don Pedro, yes. It is just that we would like more Spanish because under examination.. last year there was the so called *primero intermedio* [6th grade] in Qullakamani (..) but they only know Quechua, they don't know Spanish.

- P: A ver, chayta allinta sut'inchaway. 'Let's see, could you clarify that?'
- M: Chayta munarinku astawan kananta castellanopi apaykachanankuta, kananta munanku primero sigundu chay iskay puro qhichwa chaymanta castellanu kanman ñinku.

That's what they desire, that more Spanish is used, they want that Quechua be taught in first and second grades, and then it should be in Spanish, they say.

- P: pero acaso qhichwallatachu quchinchu? 'but, is it the case that they are teaching only Quechua?
- M: Qhichwallata a. 'Only Quechua, OK?'. (Modesto, Tape 116, 960823)

From this testimony, I gather that the *comunarios* must feel cheated with respect to their projected aspiration that their children learn Spanish in school. There is a hint of impotence in Modesto's last sentence, marked by the use of the tag **a** which I translated as 'OK?', but must add that this is just an approximation, for this tag expresses an affirmation accompanied by certain degree of defiance.

It is possible that the same bilingual education technicians and teachers inadvertently planted the idea that Spanish was being neglected when they proclaimed that in the bilingual program the children would learn in two languages and two cultures, first learning how to read and write in their own language, and then learning how to speak Spanish as a second language. In any case, the fact that both the PEIB and more so the Education Reform experienced

¹⁰⁸ The original transcript is found in Appendix 6. on p. 354.

problems with the teaching of Spanish as a second language provided the *comunarios* with a foothold to believe that Spanish was not being taught to their children.

Another discomfort expressed by parents had to do with the suspicion that pupils nowadays were being permitted to play more than before, as already illustrated in the preceding section. Here I shall add some complementary comments. First I must confess that under the influence of ideas developed by Piaget and others with respect to the desirability of activity, including games, to develop creativity; or more specifically to use the potential of games for cognitive development (Murphy 1982 [1972]:105-112), I suggested a number of times that teachers resort more to games to make the teaching-learning process more effective and enjoyable. In hindsight, I realize now that my comments must have caused some discomfort among the comunarios, in whose way of thinking 'playing' in school is thought of as negative. as depicted both by pupils and parents in the preceding sections. Remigio, the pedagogical assessor for El Paredón also confided at another time that the inclusion of games in the modules of the Education Reform was causing some problems: No permiten los juegos, he said (Tape 94, 960904). Teachers also are aware that parents are not sympathetic with playing in school. Thus when I suggested that games might be introduced to the classroom, Ms. UU., one of the teachers of Qullakamani said Chayrayku tatasninkupis ñinku a, pukllallanku cursopi ñispa 'Why, that is why their parents also say, "they just play in the classroom."" (Tape 64, 960911).

On the contrary, punishment was regarded as positive by *comunarios*, because it had the effect of ensuring a good performance from pupils. In this respect, Lorenzo said:

L: chaywanqa allinsituta ruwayparin. Mana jinas kaptinqa wist'uta .. tukuy imaymanasta ruwanku..

with that [punishment] he does it carefully. If it is not like that, they do it crooked .. they do all kinds of things..

- P: allinchu kastigananku? 'Is it OK to punish them?'
- L: Chaywan allin, chay kastiganawan. kastiganawaykuta manchaywanqa allinta ruwayku ñinku, jina ñinku. Kunan kastigawanqachu mana allin ruwaptiyqa? entonces allinsituta ruwasaq ñiymanpuni ñuqallapis, jinata ñinku.

It is good with that, with that punishment. With the fear of being punished we do it carefully, they say. Now am I going to be punished if I do not do it well? therefore I will do it carefully, I myself would say so, that is what they say.

For the *comunarios* of Churikana, then, punishment in school is viewed positively. A point of view that interviewed pupils in El Paredón also share (Cf. Children, some pupils' accounts, p. 253). In this context, the suggestions made by technicians and authorities about the desirability of using games in the teaching-learning process have probably been understood by the *comunarios* as one more proof of the school's breakdown.

For similar reasons, the new pedagogy of the current Education Reform (i.e. constructivism hence activism) did not impress the *comunarios* of El Paredón. In Qullakamani, for instance, while the **ayarichis** (dancing and music playing ensemble) were performing their long enduring ritual, people all around talked animatedly. On this particular occasion (Tape 115, 960916), one of the young men took over my video camera and started to 'make a movie'; I asked him to make an interview about the school and what they thought about the new school (under the Reforma). Two of their complaints struck me as unusually interesting: one of them was a complaint against the proscription of punishments; the other, against the introduction of certain manual tasks. Thus one *comunario* said that he did not agree with the new school, because 'now to punish pupils was prohibited', that this was not going to work 'how can it work without punishment?' he queried; and second, he disagreed with this new teaching system because they were teaching things such as *t'uru q'allpiy* 'mud squeezing' and *manka llut'ay* 'pottery', activities that pupils easily learn in the community.

According to **Tata** Fidel, designated Junta Escolar of Qullakamani, teaching should proceed in consonance with the mentality of the community. In his words:

F: chay kachkan, como campesinos yuyayninman jina apaykachananku, icharí? that is one thing, they should organize school according to the thinking of the peasants, right?

With respect to the disagreements, raised earlier, about what the school should teach, he also thought that it did not seem to be acceptable to teach those things that the children can readily learn in the community.

F: ... chaysituta ma wakinqa i? tumpitata mana *entindi*kunchikchu. Imapaqtaq chay t'uru q'allpiy, chay mankas ... ruwakun. *Bueno* ñuqanchik yachallanchikña, yachachinallanchik kachkan. ...

.. that part, some don't.. OK? we don't understand it too well. What is the object of the manipulation of mud (clay), the making of .. those cooking pots. Well we already know [how to make those things], we ourselves can teach those things. ...

The problem arose because the modules of the Education Reform, operating under the principles of constructivism and of the pupil centered classroom as opposed to the traditional teacher-teaching centered model, introduced activities that not only included the manipulation of clay but of other materials as well. I think that from the community's perspective, for the school to teach matters that could and would be learned in the community just did not make any sense.

In a grand meeting of the community of El Paredón (960817-1,2,3,4) with the presence of the District director, the headmaster, and some teachers, a complaint was formally presented with respect to a demand one teacher was said to have made to her pupils for the provision of certain materials. One mother spoke and said that the teacher had demanded for 'some flower accompanied by its own salt' (jak'uta kachintinta mañasqa). The implication was that to ask for the main ingredient (flour) was already bad, but to request also its condiment (salt) was simply outrageous. The *comunarios* were upset by these demands because they imagined that the teacher was demanding these ingredients for her personal use. The affected teacher was allowed to speak. She said that she did not request that children bring these ingredients for her own use, but because they were required by the activities of the module.¹⁰⁹ She also explained that the flour was used to make different geometric objects, and that the salt was

¹⁰⁹ As part of the modifications that the Education Reform introduced was the substitution of the textbook by a series of *Módulos* or sets of activities to be performed by pupils according to their abilities and their own learning speed.

used as a cure to harden the material. To lend credibility to her words she brought in a basket with the objects 'their' children had made with the materials they had brought. She stressed that she did not ask the flour and salt for herself. Although the provision of a few grams of flour and salt would make no one drastically poorer or richer, the fact that the *comunarios* have to toil hard to obtain them makes it hard to part with them; in addition, it is probably that for them the idea of using food stuff to make inedible objects was incomprehensible.

Finally another unusual complaint was presented to me by Bernaco's mother. She was concerned that teachers were selling candy in the school. When I asked her why was that a problem she said that the availability of candy, jelly sticks obliged the children to secretly filch crops (mainly potatoes) or eggs from home, to exchange them for the sweets. Ama chay misk'ista vendenkumanchu 'they should not sell those sweets', she added.

4. Teachers from the community perspective

Although the school, military service, and the peasant union might be seen as forms of 'penetration' (Rivera Cusicanqui 1994:8), they are also spaces of interrelationship. In this sense, the school in the community provides a space where both teacher and *comunarios* interact and form opinions of each other. Besides the protests with respect to teachers' irregular attendance already described above (p. 282), *comunarios* formed their own opinions about teachers; thus some were considered good some bad. It has already been pointed out that a good teacher is the one that keeps the children busy and restricts play, Lorenzo added one interesting point: Mr. LL. was a good teacher because he taught the children how to play native instruments. In other words, a teacher that identifies with certain cultural aspects of the community is a good teacher. The point to be made here is that teacher evaluation is not based on direct observation of the performance of the teacher in the classroom, but on his ability to establish good relations with the *comunarios*. Likewise, bad teachers were identified with respect to their lack of involvement with the community. Thus:

L: Astawanpisqa kunanqa kay wataspiqa profesorniykuqa comunidadpiqa as jovencitus jina kanku. Entonces chayta ñinku as wawallaraq, wawallaman rikch'asqa, mana as yuyaysituyuq jinachu i? as .. mana yanaparinchu, ñinku. Entonces chayjina mana allinchu cambiarina kanman ñinku ..

These years more often than not our teachers in the community are somewhat young. Thereby [the *comunarios*] say that they are as babies, they look like babies, they don't seem to have reasoning, OK? it appears .. that they do not help them [i.e. the community], they say. Thus that kind of teacher is not good, it would be convenient to change them, they say .. (Tape 12, 961212)

With respect to the action proposed 'to change' bad teachers, I would like to add that this is a common resource of the community to attempt a betterment of the school's staff. For this purpose, first they reach a consensus in a meeting and then present to the headmaster their request that the teacher be changed.

In this conversation with Lorenzo I also asked him about the relationships of the teachers with the community, in view of the criticism cast on teachers with respect to their lack of integration to the "indigenous" community (Cf. for instance Baptista's words below). Speaking of some teachers, Lorenzo said:

L Mm ['no' (with closed lips)] from what I observed.. because this Richar completed two years .. no. No, no, teacher Richar says that it is because he does not speak Span.. he says he does not know Quechua, that would be why he has no friends at all. They say it is only his wife that does not know [Quechua], but she responds when talked to .. if she is spoken to. But they do not make friends neither with the community leaders nor the [literacy] promoter .. walks with him. Only when the leaders celebrate some fiesta, .. they invite the teachers.. they do that OK?, and the teachers also participate .. (Tape 12, 961212)

Likewise, according to Yraola (1995:21) teachers have "few dealings with the community members" and these relationships are always established "in terms of inequality." However, despite some encounters (talk with parents on matters associated to the school and pupils, ritual celebrations, or bargaining on the price of produce being bought from the *comunarios* (Yraola 1995:113) both teachers and *comunarios* seem to be insulated in their own cultural ways. Thus the rural school appears as 'a foreign body' (Ansión 1988:61), 'a strange organism' or 'an island within the community' (Soto 1996:141), 'an alien cultural institution at the heart of the indigenous community' (Howard-Malverde and Canessa 1995), but also as 'an instrument of acculturation (Barrera 1985:15). My point is that they belong to different

worlds. However, from the point of view that considers teachers to be agents (or even instruments) of the dominant society, this lack of enthusiasm to mingle with the locals is often seen as another cause for the failure of school. Consider for instance the following critique:

(...) el profesor se confina al galpón, llamado escuela, en el que imparte algunas inanidades (las que aprendió en la Normal) y no se ocupa de lo que sucede más allá de sus narices; no le interesan los "desertores" que dejan el galpón para ayudar a sus padres, tampoco le conmueven los entierros de niños cuyas vidas se habrían salvado con unos pocos consejos que él mismo habría podido impartir. Nada de eso. Su mundo empieza y termina entre sus cuatro paredes. (Baptista 1974:10)

For the *comunarios* the fact that teachers do not mingle with them does not seem too important; what comes up once and again is their anger and impotence with respect to teachers' irregular attendance. Thus:

L: That's the way it is, because recently these teachers do not arrive on Monday, they hardly arrive on Wednesday, in consequence they make the pupils work on Thursday or Friday and even on Saturday during a week and afterwards the following weeks they depart on Thursday, after that they arrive on Monday or Tuesday. Nobody controls them on. And that is the way it is .. they say, but even they say so they also say 'because the teacher will get cross, then he will want to leave [the school for good], we will be left with no teacher' saying they say... (Tape 12, 961212)

In a few words, most often than not *comunarios* are not happy with the teachers' performance, and complain to the headmaster, to visitors, and even the district director; but are careful not to confront the teachers directly and run the risk of losing them.

To close this section about parents, I would like to add that the words and deeds of *comunarios* with respect to education and the 'urban' world betray also some ambivalence. I have been able to identify the following: a) while they build school rooms and make efforts to send small children to school, they take them out as soon as they are 'strong enough' (kallpitayuqña) to become a worker, a peon, or an labor immigrant; b) while they seem to recognize the benefits of literacy, Spanish and Maths 'to defend ourselves', as manifested by literacy students in an evaluation (Ventiades and Plaza 1995), they think that 'letters' are of no use in the real world, 'one is not going to eat the letters'; c) while they express the desire

that their children become 'professional', they despise those who adopt urban fashions; and finally d) while at times they reassert their *kampu* runa 'peasant' identity, they start buying manufactured clothing.¹¹⁰ One can also wonder why they keep alive their commitment towards the construction and upkeep of the school, sometimes even paying the teachers themselves,¹¹¹ and then complaining on its shortcomings.

In brief, while practices are geared to reproduce the vernacular mode of production, aspirations of some *comunarios* are geared towards Castilianization and modernization.¹¹² Following Fairclough (1996 [1992]:88), it must be emphasized that the nature of discourse is conflict between opposing views, like a tug of wars, and this seems to be attested by discourses about education in the rural communities of Chuquisaca. The differences between parents and teachers might even lead to personal animosities. Thus there are many points of conflict, usually at the level of ways of thinking, of impressions (for example that the teachers miss school, or that school today is questionable compared with the good old past). Confrontations often take place during community meetings with the presence of teachers and authorities, such as the incident of the flour and salt, in El Paredón. But sometimes the confrontation might become more personal, and therefore more detrimental for the relationship. For example, when parents go to talk with teachers, often acrimonies are the final outcome, as the next example illustrates.

L: Pero imaptintaq ajina pukllallanku wawas, llank'achiwaq ñiptinku junta escolares. ... Casi phiñanakuyku ajinaspi.. Porque rimarinkupuni entero runapis .. wawastaqa yachachinan allinta profesorqa, ama pukllachillanmanchu, ñispa. Ajinata ñiwanku. (..) Porque manapuni kunanqa qhawasqaman jinaqa .. allin rikch'akunchu; porque tukuy día ñuqayku ruwanayku patamantapis qhawamuyku porque wawaqa pukllachkallanpuni .. juk ratitulla trabajunqa .. ña vuelta pukllanallapiñataq ..

¹¹⁰ In the town of Tarabuco, many peasants from surrounding communities buy cheap used clothing, 'any piece for one boliviano' (some 15 pence).

¹¹¹ In the núcleo of El Paredón the schools of Michkhamayu and Pisili maintain some private teachers, even today (1999), albeit in combination with private and religious interests, respectively.

¹¹² Similar aspirations are expressed in Southern Peru (Ansión 1988).

Well, when the juntas escolares ask the teacher why he just makes the children play, in lieu of making them work. We almost get cross with each other in that situation.. Because all the people speak out .. saying, the teacher should teach the children well, not just make them play. That is what they told me. (...) Because nowadays according to observation.. it does not seem that right; because all day long we observe [the school] from our fields because the children keep on playing ... work goes on for an instant only .. and then they are playing again .. (Tape 12, 961212)

There is no doubt that teachers are not happy about this, first because all observations (from above and below) are felt to be an assessment (and often condemnation) of their work, and second, because in this case the observations come from the *comunarios*.

4. Teachers

There is no doubt that the teacher is a fundamental agent of the formal teaching-learning process. Indeed, he is usually held responsible for the success or failure of the process, he is either a hero or a villain. In this context, the solution to teaching problems is usually the training of the teachers. However, in my view, factors such as the following should also be considered to assess teachers' performance: (1) his identification with 'urban' culture and society, (2) his transient accommodation in the community, (3) his commitment in connection with public definitions, (4) his divided loyalty as a worker of the State and as a affiliate of the Teachers Union. The four factors are examined next.

1. The teacher as urbanite

Perhaps the most salient (even determinant) feature of the rural teacher is that he is a member of the dominant culture-society. According to Yraola rural teachers constitute a: "fairly homogenous group with respect to origins, training, acquisition and mastery of languages, and style of life..." and although they identify themselves with "the social group of Spanish speakers" they have links with the native peoples through ancestry, culture, and language (Yraola 1995:14-15). "The teachers thus form an intermediate group, which is the product of a process of adaptation, and in which the confluence of certain values and attitudes has provoked the rise of hybrid values and behaviour, tending to create a new order, which we could denominate an interculture." (Yraola 1995:15)

For Luykx (1993), the composition of rural teachers in La Paz in recent times includes an increasing number of teachers of Aymara extraction. In a recent visit (1999) to the province of Batallas (La Paz) I could observe first hand that most teachers are indeed of Aymara extraction. But even in this case, the Aymara teacher (culturally, economically, linguistically) has become different from the Aymara *comunario*. In the Guaraní region, most teachers nowadays are mainly Guaraní, thanks to the actions of the APG that struggled successfully to substitute the Caray (white) teachers with Guaraní ones.

In spite of these trends to incorporate native teachers into the forma system, however, at least in Chuquisaca, most teachers rather than coming from the ranks of *comunarios* come from towns and cities, a sector in between **kampu runa** and **llaqta runa**. At the linguistic level, although many are Quechua speakers, others are monolingual in Spanish. Some of the latter due to the exigencies of communication have learned the language of the pupils. As usual, there are also teachers that have been unable (or unwilling) to learn the "indigenous" language.

Not only teachers' life style (commuting, living in the city, more integrated into the consumer intensive society than the vernacular one) sets them apart from the *comunarios*, their cultural and linguistic identification and ways of thinking contribute too. The way they categorize the *comunarios* is but one example.

Due to the 1952 revolution's legal transformation of the "Indian" into *campesino*, it became politically incorrect to use the former term, especially in public gatherings, such as meetings, reunions, political rallies, etc. Thus *campesino*, *hermano campesino*, *hermano* or *compañero* became the new labels for addressing the *comunarios*. In the background however the pervading category of "Indian" survived, hidden but ready to come out if needed; but at the same time creating a conflict between political correctness and the need to categorize the

others. Thus the "Indian" through a trick of resemantization became: mamas and tatas, sometimes invested of paternalism or perhaps even endearment: mamita, tatitu. In my view, however, the image of the "Indian" as the incarnation of 'savagery' is still alive and surfaces in certain occasions. This is what happens, for instance, when people say se le salió el indio to indicate the unacceptable behavior of someone under the influence of alcohol. Once, the headmaster of El Paredón expressed a similar concept in criticizing the comunarios drinking habits during a celebration, in this case the opening of the new school building: van a chupar, indio en tierra y listo. (Tape 95, 961015).

Another example of the way the *comunarios* are considered was provided by several teachers in a spontaneous reunion (26/07/95). The main point was that some customs of the *comunarios* can be objectionable (not to say 'savage'). Thus it was commented that some parents bring their children and request that the teacher punishes them: **siq'upuway!** 'whip him for me!' or else he himself would do so. The case of a parent who brought a whip (a *rebenque*) used to hit horses to punish his own child was highlighted. Other examples of their strange ways were disclosed. A husband mistreated his wife, hit her constantly, until he caused her death. In short, in spite of discourses that proclaim that 'we all are equal' or that the peasant is 'our brother' these teachers felt themselves to be different from the "Indians."

Another feature of the rural teacher is that he seldom settles down in the communities in which he teaches. His principal residence, his true home, is in the town or city; during the school year he lives in the school, in quarters built specifically for this purpose, but during weekends and vacations he returns to his main residence. For some the practice of living in the quarters provided by the school (and not in the community) contributes to his isolation and non-integration to the community. Yraola says "after school day has ended there is nowhere else to go..." leave alone the city or even the main town (for instance from the central school of El Paredón, one would have to walk at least three hours to get to Tarabuco; from Jatun Rumi, at least six hours). But it is really not the physical distance that makes it difficult for the teacher to establish relationships with the *comunarios*, for in a few minutes one could

reach the nearby houses; rather, it is the linguistic, cultural, and social distance that marks the separations. Thus teachers visit each other, sometimes having to walk for about an hour (for instance, from Michkhamayu to El Paredón, from the sectional school of Molle Mayu to the central school of Candelaria). In other words, if physical distance is not a deterrent to make a visit to another teacher; why should it isolate the teacher from his *comunario* neighbors? Most teachers of the *núcleo* of El Paredón had their home in Sucre and permuted weekly, to their schools; except one couple that (in 1995 and part of 1996) resided permanently in the central school, and two teachers in sectional schools that went to Sucre only once a month.

These weekly commutations, apparently a form of escape from the community, contribute to make a busy teacher's life. A typical week of a teacher of the central school of El Paredón will be described as an example. The week starts on Monday morning, at 5:00 a.m. to take the bus from Sucre to the town of Tarabuco, arriving there at about 7:00 a.m. Then comes the hard part, the trip to El Paredón depends on the availability of transportation. With luck they will make it before 9, and start work in the morning. But if they have to walk, they will be arriving at about 11:00 a.m., too tired to start classes, which will then be begun in the afternoon. From Tuesday to Thursday classes are held regularly, from 9:00 to 12:00 and 14:00 to 16:30. But on Friday, usually the day is cut short. According to the teachers of El Paredón, due to an agreement with the District Director, work stops at 1:00 O'clock in the afternoon.

Due to the poor conditions of the roads and the scarcity of public transportation this weekly commutation is more often than not a difficult one, obliging some teachers to walk part of the route. Ms. UU. provides us with one vivid example. When I suggested that she should come from Sucre on Sunday, to avoid the rushes of arriving at midday on Monday, she described her ordeals:

U: el domingo es lo mismo, venimos tenemos que.. no almorzamos bien, no tomamos ni te ni cena, al final (..) venimos ayunando, por qué? porque todo el día es el viaje; a las diez hay que salir de allá, a las doce.. / si yo quiero ir.. bueno, despertando bien, tomando desayuno bien como para que aguante la caminata? salgo a las diez de mi casa .. y voy a la parada, y de ahí .. a veces se le ocurre cargar diesel a esa hora a la movilidad, va a cargar, o sea se le ocurre dar una vuelta y hasta eso ya es las once, aquí llegamos a las dos a la una, y de ahí en Tarabuco hay que hacer otro lío hasta buscarlos a los **tatas**, como todos son igualitos, no se puede distinguir. (laughs) Cuántas veces me he hecho gozar de Michkhamayu del Paredón le habyá hablado. / (...) Y así, entonces hasta eso ya es las tres, las cuatro digamos, al final a las cuatro se encuentra siempre a alguien y seguros de que no los van a traer [nuestras cosas] nos venimos, llegamos a las seis y media, siete, directo a dormir; todo el día, peor si no nos gusta comer en la calle, peor-ps nos aguantamos; peor a veces si estás con dieta, que te den ají, uy. ... Pero es un día siempre, y el director es un loco, digamos un día jueves hay parte, el viernes se soluciona ya tenemos que aparecer aquí como magia.

Likewise, while school activities are normal, teachers' days are often busy. A typical day of the rural teacher in the central school of El Paredón might include: rising early, having breakfast at about 8:00 am., getting ready for the day's work; watching the line-ups from 9:00 to 9:30; teaching classes from 9:30 to 10:30; having a recess to have a snack and start preparations to cook lunch up to 11:00; returning to classes; having a lunch break from 12:00 to 14:00; returning to classes up to 16:30; line-ups; having tea time and listen to the *Hora del Maestro* from radio ACLO from 17:00 to 17:30; idling until dinner, at about 19:00; having a chat or a visit with other teachers; and go to bed at about 21:00. In short, teachers' days and weekends are filled with countless activities, including some bouts of nostalgia, usually at dusk. The question is how and when can they prepare detailed lesson plans, update their technical know-how, or even read the newspaper (as Baptista, complains below)?

Another feature that characterizes the rural teacher is his tendency to change posts at regular intervals. Thus they can move or are moved from their posts according to yearly evaluations and recommendations of the headmaster. According to Albó (1995b.:148), teachers only last one or two years in a given place and then move with the final objective of working in the city. Thus in their quest to get nearer to the main urban centers some teachers pass through rural schools 'as cats over burning embers' (Albó 1995c).

In countless meetings and reports about rural education and bilingual education, this facet of teacher behavior (i.e. the tendency to change posts) has been singled out as detrimental to the success of a given program, because teacher training has to be repeated each year due to the

fact that those who have been previously trained had decided to move to another post. This problem plagued the PEIB, and seems to be affecting the transformation program of the current Education Reform also.

2. Commitment, and public definitions

In the preceding section, the situation of the teacher in the community was described. But the ideologies and idealizations are part of the wider context. Thus, teachers are conceptualized in manifold ways, as heroes or villains (to emphasize only the polar extremes). Thus the success or failure of education becomes a function of their dedication or lack of it, respectively. To illustrate the point we shall consider next a number of ideas on teachers in various places and times.

a) The apostles of education. The idea that the teacher has a mission is an old one. For instance, for Adhemar Gehain, Director General de Instrucción, this mission is sacred: "Vuestra obra es la más santa de todas las obras humanas." (in Landívar 1921:12). Landívar, on his part, imagines the teachers as the apostles of education. Thus reflecting on Don Pancho, one of his teachers, he says:

antiguo maestro de escuela, en cuya frente rugosa y calva se leía la resignación apostólica del educador provinciano; de aquellos escasos ejemplares, especie de Quijote, que de vez en cuando encontramos en los pueblos, en lucha abierta con el cura sobre predominio de autoridad. (Landívar 1921:67-68)

For me the interesting thing here is that the negative economic situation of the teacher (e.g. his poverty) is actually exalted rather than denounced. According to Landívar's account, the teacher himself has accepted this situation. In words put in Don Pancho's mouth:

Arduo y penoso es mi apostolado; pero al mismo tiempo lleno está de emociones gratas. / Es mi única recompensa. (Landívar 1921: 70).

Don Pancho has accepted the terms of official reference, that the teacher is an apostle and that monetary retribution is not the only reward. In this case, emotion is also a compensatory reward. In short, 'the teacher must be a true teacher', must be motivated by love, [by] the

fatherland for whom she prepares the children, and not my monetary interest (ibid.:72, 73). The connection is not made between teaching and remuneration, but between teaching and vocation. Under this logic (read discourse), if teachers have poor incomes, it is their ascetic choice. On the contrary, teachers' exigencies for better salaries are considered incongruent with the ideals of the teaching profession.

b) The teacher as a hero, that fights against 'traditionalism' and 'savagery' to 'elevate the spirit of Man':

Los Maestros forman dentro de la Humanidad el Ejército que lucha sin desmayos, que entabla sangrientas batallas para romper los moldes del tradicionalismo y para elevar el espíritu de los Hombres. Ellos son los que hacen desaparecer los resabios del salvajismo y los que despedazan día a día prejuicios y convencionalismos estúpidos. (Beltrán Morales 1928:3)

In this idealized context, teachers that resort to corporal punishment are the really bad guys, that are incapable of works of 'love' and 'social and individual dignification'. It is because of these teachers that "la Escuela sigue siendo Casa-Cárcel: presidio del Espíritu." (Beltrán Morales 1928:4)

c) As agents responsible of education. Federico Joffré, at the time Subsecretario de Estado en el Despacho de Educación y Bellas Artes, entitles his Preface to the 1955 Code of Education "A los maestros: responsables de la reforma educativa." Among his 'reflections' he mentions that the President has publicly acknowledged the 'preponderant, decisive, and perhaps unique role of the Bolivian teacher' in the implementation of the Education Reform. Joffré also quotes the message of the minister of education to the teachers: "podemos y daremos todo el apoyo material y técnico para la ejecución de la Reforma, pero si fracasa el factor humano de la Reforma, el Maestro, habrá fracasado Bolivia." (Joffré 1955:12). Paz Estenssoro, in his discourse before the signing of the Code, expresses a similar view:

Toca pues, a los maestros ser los forjadores del boliviano de mañana, porque los medios de la liberación de nuestro pueblo de todo yugo explotador no se hallan sólo en los fusiles, los tractores y las máquinas, sino sobre todo en el nuevo espíritu que anime al hombre que los maneja. (Paz 1955:22)

Notice that President Paz Estenssoro makes an important distinction of material and 'spiritual' means, and that teachers are assigned the responsibility of 'molding the Bolivian of the future'. Federico Alvarez Plata, minister of education, in his discourse elaborates on basically the same idea: that the key is the will of the spirit of the teacher rather than material elements.

Pero puede la opinión pública acompañarnos con patriotismo y entusiasmo constructivo, puede el Gobierno Nacional arbitrar los recursos suficientes para la obra material de la reforma, mas esta obra en su sentido completo será negativa, el fracaso asomará por todas partes, si es que falla el principal y acaso único de todos los factores: EL MAESTRO DE ESCUELA, EL PROFESOR DEL COLEGIO Y EL CATEDRATICO DE LA UNIVERSIDAD. He aquí la única reforma, he aquí el único plan y el único tema: EL MAESTRO. De qué servirán todas las comodidades de local ni todas las exigencias de material didáctico ni toda la preparación intelectual del propio maestro si falla su ESPIRITU? (Alvarez 1955:34-5).

From this perspective, the crucial ingredient of education is the teacher. Material conditions

(e.g. infrastructure, didactic materials) or even the training of the teacher may be necessary

but are not sufficient, only the 'spirit' of the teacher is. In other words, his willingness to

perform his duties as a teacher.

d) The teacher as a model of modernity. According to Paredes and Soberón (1977) the teacher is not only an agent of education, but also a model of urban life. Thus:

(..) debe destacarse que la presencia del maestro en la comunidad rural produce fundamentalmente dos cosas: difunde el valor de la educación, presentándose al mismo tiempo, ante los ojos de los campesinos, como un ejemplo del resultado del proceso educativo. Segundo, el maestro representa una nueva alternativa, ya que cumple un rol no-rural símbolo del estilo de vida urbano. El campesino tiene con esto, además, un elemento de comparación respecto a su propio estilo de vida, haciendo del maestro un modelo de referencia. (Paredes y Soberón 1977:72-3)

If the teacher (as an agent of education and as a finished product of the system) effectively becomes a 'model of reference' for the 'peasant', the implication (or demonstration) once more is that the world of the teacher and the world of the 'peasant' stand in an asymmetric relationship, and where the direction of change is from the world of the latter to that of the former. In addition, when the teacher is understood as the product of the system, the long and subtle (almost invisible) effect is the acceptation and hence penetration of the hidden curriculum, as proposed by Illich (1991:14-22), as a system of meritocratic certification.

e) Success dependent on teachers' performance. For Zuñiga, teachers (in this case in Peru) play a central role in the implementation of bilingual education programs. More concretely, she says [el] "éxito .. depende en mucho del comportamiento de los docentes dentro y fuera del aula, en su convivencia con la comunidad." (1989:549). With respect to the 'behavior of teachers' outside the classroom, there is no doubt that a good relationship between the teacher and the community is desirable; but it cannot be taken as the determinant of success. As pointed out before, there are many factors and agents that intervene in the make up of education.

In summary, the teacher is all in the education process. But there are opposing views, which are examined next.

Teachers under criticism (1971)

Baptista, the ex-minister of education, was one of the most influential and dedicated critics of the system and of teachers:

Some of the worst aspects of Bolivian education are the schoolteachers' poor training, bureaucratic and routine-ridden attitude and their lack of interest in contemporary educational methods not laid down by the authorities. One need hardly say that the vast majority do not read books, and some do not even read the newspapers. Professional qualifications leave much to be desired: in 1971, 42 per cent of primary-school teachers and 15 per cent of secondary-school teachers were untrained. It is impossible for ill-trained teachers, who earn less than the salary of a door-keeper in a bank, who use up even their monthly book voucher to buy food and who have no material or moral incentives of any kind, to give their pupils a good education. They, too, are victims of the system. (Baptista 1978:51).

Although Baptista concedes that the teachers "are victims of the system." his criticism mixes institutional obligations (e.g. training, administration) with personal traits (e.g. attitudes, lack of interest), and economic conditions (low salaries, mostly used to buy food, not newspapers or books).

Almost 80 years after Don Pancho's resigned acceptance of low salaries (p. 297), the situation does not seem to have changed much for the teacher. Thus for Noel Aguirre, a specialist in education, the problems of the Education Reform are 'complicated' by the low salaries teachers get (about 90 US\$ per month at the time) as the 'soldiers of education' (quoted in Pinto 1997).

3. Divided loyalties

The teacher is a worker of the state, but also a member of the teachers' unions. For De La Riva, teachers cannot be viewed as workers or peasants, but as a "sector asalariado" constituted by 'middle classes, peasants, small merchants, and others', hence:

El maestro se constituye en un recurso del Estado, con la misión, ciertamente noble en sí, de materializar lo que el Estado pretende con la educación en la sociedad. / El estado lo entiende muy bien. Por esto prepara al maestro, lo contrata y lo coloca a su servicio (...). Considero que de acá le nace al maestro el carácter de mentor, de formador, así como también de trabajador noble, porque en definitiva está entregado por profesión al sostenimiento del sistema. (De La Riva 1988:36)

Thus the teacher knows what his mission is: not only to educate as a job somebody has to do, but also a personal choice. He knows his work is noble, but also a sacrifice. All this is part of the received discourse. Pupils are introduced to this discourse both in the classrooms and *horas cívicas*, there is even one day exclusively dedicated to the teachers: *el día del maestro*. The teacher, in his capacity of worker or 'resource' paid by the State, accepts the structured and submits to the chain of command of the education apparatus. To begin with, he has to take the post to which he is assigned; and then he has to apply the curriculum designed by the Ministry. In exchange, he is offered paid vacations and a job for life.

However, there seems to be one main catch: teachers salaries are relatively low. D'Emilio says:

Que el magisterio boliviano, al igual que la mayoría de los maestros de América Latina está mal pagado es un hecho, así como es un hecho que es imperativo dignificar la labor del maestro, empezando por remuneraciones más humanas que le permiten (sic) satisfacer sus necesidades básicas. (D'Emilio 1993:266)

This is one of the main sources of teachers malcontent, the other is ideological. The method is to struggle against the government, the instrument is the teachers' union, and the actions are strikes and demonstrations. At the beginning of each school year normal activities are disrupted for weeks and even months due to the struggle; in addition, throughout the year there are short interruptions. From the perspective of parents and authorities this leads to desperation. One *comunario* in El Paredón, while working in the construction of the new school building and after hearing that a teachers' strike was in effect, exclaimed: Juk *huevada* kay maestros, belga belgalla 'These teachers are rubbish, just strike upon strike'; the district director wishes that the authorities should enforce the proposal of día trabajado día pagado (tape 113, 961212), to counter the facile expedient of the strike. Usually the authorities discount the salaries for the days that the teachers have not worked; a few months later, however, they end up reimbursing these discounts under the pressure of new strikes.

Demonstrations often turn violent, with rural teachers at the receiving end: shattered bones, incarceration, fines. Desperation leads teachers to express their pent-up frustrations even at the risk of their own lives. The government through the ministry of education and the repressive forces present an aggressive front; often verbal abuse is not absent: Hoz de Vila, Minister of Education, said that teachers 'are fascists and small dictators' (Tiempos 980324, Portada). It would be interesting to explore further these events, unfortunately space limitations dictate that this theme be left out.

Although most teachers do not subscribe to any particular ideology, the decisions taken by the unions are usually accepted; for each strike is taken by some teachers as some sort of bonus, a compensation to their low salaries. The most militant union leaders follow the outdated Trotskyst dictum of the permanent revolution (Mandel 1979:66) and still believe that the disruption of the social order, for instance through the general strike, will eventually lead to the dictatorship of the workers and peasants. At the ideological front teachers, mainly through public appearances and interviews of their leaders, disagree with the current Education Reform. I shall limit myself to a couple of examples.

In a radio interview (Radio Panamericana), J. L. Alvarez, a well known teachers' union leader, is asked to comment on how the Education Reform is being implemented, two years after the promulgation of the law (cf. Bolivia 1994a).

.. como sector docente (..) queremos ratificar lo que habíamos anunciado alguna vez en sentido de que la reforma educativa iba a caerse a pedazos y por su propio peso, porque es una reforma totalmente contrahecha que no va a satisfacer las necesidad que tiene el proceso educativo en nuestro país. No es una reforma educativa que se haya realizado para resolver realmente la crisis educativa, sino es una reforma educativa diseñada elaborada y creada fuera del país, como un mandato del banco mundial. Es decir, es una receta externa ajena a la realidad nacional. (Tape 49, 970300)

There is no doubt that Prof. Alvarez is wholeheartedly against the Education Reform. Then he states that the reform 'goes against the national reality' because it plans to reduce the number of *normal* schools (from twenty two to only nine) ignoring that many teachers were retiring (some 1800 teachers) and many more had already left the teaching profession due to the 'miserable salaries paid in this sector'. Alvarez also voiced a generalized objection to the Education Reform, that it was disrupting the salary system that contained bonuses according to 'categories' reached by teachers, and increases per year worked. Another objection had to do with the reform's intention of requiring that primary teachers become 'polyvalent', that is 'a teacher that teaches all subjects', not only the three R's but also physical education, music, crafts, and so on. This would mean that physical education teachers would be 'reabsorbed' by sports schools o other sports institutions, and music teachers would go to musical academies, and so on.

Thus although "La educación boliviana está en una crisis de muerte." it is merely 'oriented to reduce fiscal expenditure' and to obtain 'graduates' in the most economical and shortest time possible. This would be the reason for proposals such as the non-graded and terminal primary school. In addition, for J. L. Alvarez, the ministry of education and its actions 'have always been considered as a war bounty by the different governments', such that higher posts in the Ministry of Education are taken not by the 'most capable teachers' but by opportunists

affiliated with the ruling party. In his view, even the pedagogical assessors have been designated not by their merits rather by their political loyalties. Thus:

Los asesores pedagógicos que supuestamente tienen que ser los que orienten, los que regulen y superen todas las falencias del proceso educativo, son casi analfabetos, y ellos han llegado a ese cargo, bueno generalmente, o por lo general, por favor político, y toda la reforma educativa se ha quedado solamente en las cúpulas o en los aspectos administrativos. (ibid.)

Another discordance with the Education Reform has to do with the salary differences it has introduced. Thus, according to J. L. Alvarez, 'the minister of education has an income of 22.000 Bs., a pedagogical assessor 4.500 Bs., an specialist 3.500 Bs. and the teacher continues with his salary of 423. Bs. [per month]'. Due to these differences, teachers and union leaders are understandably against the Education Reform, for from their point of view while technocrats are well paid, teachers' salaries have not been improved, and education continues to deteriorate. In this context, pupils do no longer go to study but to obtain a certification. Another point he made was that the Education Reform was doomed to failure because it does not respond to the needs of the country, and was designed by foreign technocrats. In addition, he said that the final intention of the government was to get rid off the responsibility of public education, by pushing it into the private sector.

Because of all these arguments, his conclusion was that the Education Reform is against education and above all teachers:

(..) la reforma educativa aparte de caerse porque está contra la realidad (..) se va a destrozar fundamentalmente porque en vez de incentivar siquiera una mejora, un paliativo a las condiciones de vida del docente, están orientados a liquidar toda conquista de los docentes, .. para que toda la educación en sí caiga sobre la espalda de los maestros, quienes van a ver disminuidos sus salarios, disminuidos sus conquistas salariales, su categorización, su inamovilidad docente, etc. etc. (ibid.)

While denounces such as the preceding are normally expressed in Spanish, there are also cases in which Quechua is used. One example is provided by Moisés Avendaño, leader of the rural teachers union, during an interview in Radio ACLO:

MA: I would like to take this opportunity to speak of the Education Reform. Indeed some communities or the majority of parents are perhaps confused because

the government is spending many millions and millions of money in [paid] propaganda stating that the Education Reform is going forward. Certainly that is not so, we as responsible [union] leaders, as teachers that are in the schools working with the children, we are observing that this Education Reform is not advancing, on the contrary ... it is going backwards as a crab. (Tape 66, 960821)

If the reform is going forward, Avendaño pronounces, it must be going forward in the interest of the government, not of the population or the children; due for example to disparities in salaries (teachers 200 to 300 Bs, pedagogical assessors and district directors 3600 to 5000); it might be also going forward in the promotion of 'bad things' (e.g. referring to swear words).

Thus:

MA: Perhaps it is also advancing in bad things, as the government said that children should be acquainted with good and bad things, but we say that the children should only learn good things, those nice things, they should not teach them bad words (swear words), as they are being included in those [new] books ahmm.. such as.. words ahm: pata peta pita pota puta, ropita ripeta pipita reputa.. that is good neither for us, nor for any parents. (Tape 66, 960821)

Avendaño adds that rural teachers also disagree with the propaganda against teachers, and reject pedagogical assessors.

In summary, although teachers identify with different ideologies and political parties, it seems that their condition of paid workers of the State draws them together, and they thus present a united front against the government. Their methods of struggle are ideological confrontation, as exemplified by the comments above, but also militant actions such as the participation in public manifestations and strikes that drastically reduce the number of days worked in the classroom during the year.

Teachers in the public eye

The conflicts between teachers and teachers' unions with the State administration have determined numerous demonstrations in the streets, strikes, hunger strikes, and so on. This situation has in turn determined that the prescribed number of 200 work-days during the school year be reduced considerably. According to the District Director of Tarabuco during the 1996 school year there were 72 days of strike (Tape 113, 961212).

Public opinion today is divided with respect to teachers, for some they are the dedicated and misunderstood 'workers of education', for some the 'enemies' of education. These opinions emerge in the context of street conflicts and strikes that cut the school year short. The story repeats itself at the beginning of each school year, and the debates and disputes pervade the media and the attention of the layman, politicians and education authorities, union leaders and teachers. In this context, the actions taken by teachers' unions constitute one more, fundamental, factor for the failure of education. For Pinto (1997), for example, the new Education Reform 'stumbled' due, among others, to the 'conspiracy of poverty, teachers, and social structures'.

Another example: according to Mario Rueda Peña (1998) during 'the first quarter of the year, the COB engages in demonstrations and other forms of protest, with religious faithfulness .. using as a vanguard the rural teachers (and a the rearguard the coca producer of El Chapare)'. However, in his view, in the absence of legislation to regulate public demonstrations, these in recent years have turned 'delinquential'. It must be noted that his comments are a fresh reaction to the havoc caused by street demonstrations of rural teachers, especially in La Paz (April 1998).

Paulovich (1998), a purported humorist, by means of his daily column published in a number of national newspapers (La Razón and Los Tiempos, in the Internet, among others) is another opinionated critic of anyone that demonstrates, on this occasion the rural teachers. He portrays them as 'quasi' terrorists. Which in turn brings into play another discursive set against those who, possibly in desperation, have no other resort than to attempt the use of violent demonstration to counter the force the State also uses regularly, both in democratic and undemocratic ways. Juan Martínez, Minister of Education at the time, probably in a fit, said that people think of them as *desgraciados*, *ganapanes*:

La misma sociedad, el mismo pueblo [dice] que realmente es un sector privilegiado y que se le de más plata?; porque desgraciadamente hoy cualquier ciudadano, cualquier hijo de vecino, dice estos desgraciados que paran a cada rato, encima son ganapanes, y todavía quieren más plata, cuándo.. si si vive de huelgas. Así dice la gente y los

desprestigia y a mi me duele porque yo también soy maestro. (Tape 42, 951208: 19 de enero de 1996, El Hombre Invisible, radio program.)

There is no doubt that some of these venomous outbursts are part of a fierce political struggle of discourses and ideologies in the public arena. But it is also true that the normal unfolding of the curriculum is constantly interrupted. From the point of view of education authorities interested in promoting a normal school year, the interruptions caused by the action of the unions appear as incomprehensible. From the point of view of the unions, the imposition of the Education Reform, repression, low salaries, and the threats to fire teachers are equally incomprehensible.

5. Conclusions

Although the main agents that intervene directly in the classroom are the pupils and the teachers, the actions and influence of agents outside are also important.

Pupils are the beneficiaries (or victims) of the system, but in spite of their obvious disadvantages (less knowledge, untrained skills, restricted or no knowledge of Spanish, smaller in physical size) they are active participants in the process of education (or domestication). Thus they obey but also resist, they learn but also construct their own ideas and discourses (for instance, that playing is bad and writing good), develop their own strategies to cope with school work (for instance, memorization, or copying), and even develop their own little subversions.

Parents, on the other hand, also participate in material and discursive ways in the implementation of the process. Although the part of their material contribution has not been explicitly treated in the preceding sections, it must be stressed that it is this participation (roads, school buildings, repairs, quotas) that seems to confer them the right to have an opinion on school matters, and even on the behavior of teachers, mainly with respect to their irregular attendance to classes. In general, among their observations is that school nowadays

is worse off than it was in the past, and that there is much play and little work, and above all little teaching or none at all of Spanish as a second language.

With respect to teachers, the main point is that they cannot be taken as the single factor to account for the failure or success of the education experience. In short, teachers' performance is not purely a matter of the individual's will (or habitus): the teacher is a cog in a huge machinery (or the field). After examining some instances of classroom practices in the traditional classroom, for instance, the incident of the pupil in Mrs. RR.'s class, who kept on making the mistake of skipping number 18 from the sequence one-to-twenty and backwards (Tape 110, 961114, Isabella), one is tempted to blame the failure of the traditional rural school to the teacher's ineptitude to handle the teaching-learning process. The frequent disruptions of the school calendar due to strikes and street demonstrations, that contrast with the ideal teacher of the received discourse (i. e. the teacher is dedicated, an apostle of education, and so on) also determine the verdict that the problem in the chain is the teacher: the solution is to change the teacher by means of training; or as is the case with the current Education Reform by recertifying them periodically (every four years). I think this is on the whole unfair, because the actions of the teacher are never pure individual happenings independent of the overall context: to name a few, salaries, living conditions, centralized curriculum and administration, strikes and demonstrations, the interruptions due to ritual festivities of the community, the absenteeism of children to aid the family economy, the problems of transport between cities and towns and the rural schools, and so on and on.

In my view, the process of education is being implemented in the context of the **tinku** of two worlds. I use the word **tinku** here to emphasize that at this meeting point, the polar opposites become somewhat equalized, for neither the dominant world achieves all of its objectives of education, nor are the target populations left unscathed. But also to call the attention to a new idea, that the process of education, or more concretely the teacher-pupil interaction is but another form of flow, a connection: the teacher gives (explanations, instructions, rewards or punishments..), the pupil responds (by obeying and relying on the teacher) but also

introducing his 'little subversions'; the teacher by constantly watching the progress of the pupil, the pupil by submitting to the gaze.. and so on.

The teacher in this context is one more cog of the social machinery. Determinism is not implied here: the teachers are not unthinking unwilling automata; for they can think and have wills of their own, as Bourdieu has stressed. But the structural organization of education, that is the conditions provided by the Bolivian society for the implementation of a complex and delicate educative process, impose powerful influences from which the teachers cannot easily detach themselves.

In summary, classroom events are not self-contained events and that the wider context influences their unfolding. However, this does not mean that the teacher, or the pupils are mere puppets of the system, controlled by external forces and therefore not accountable in any form; rather, the external factors, the agents, the methods, the ideologies, the ways of thinking, the asymmetric relations and so on, all intervene in the innerworkings of the classroom.

Chapter 7. Conclusions

1. Introduction

In this final chapter, I intend to focus on the main points raised in the preceding chapters. My main conclusion is that the rural school operates within a context constituted by a dominant pole (associated with Western culture) and a dominated pole (associated with "Indian" American culture); and that the crucial element between these two poles is the contact: that is the moment in which a flow of power-knowledge takes place; this is the **interface**, in Abercrombie's terms (1991:95), or the 'type of relationship' in Martínez' terms (1996:88). It is in this context that languages, cultures, education, tastes, and so on participate in the interfaces and exchanges. A feature of this relationship is conflict (for instance conflict between languages, cultures, mentalities); but also the capacity to generate mixtures, negotiations, appropriations, clashes, resistances and even pseudo communications (typically referred to as 'misunderstandings,' or as suggested by René Arze as *resbales* 'interslidings')¹¹³.

As an example of these tensions, I would like to describe what on the surface appears as a minor incident, but that in fact marks all relationships between members of the opposing poles. Although there are no apartheid signs in towns and cities of Bolivia, there is a de facto segregation. Just as there is diglossia at the linguistic level, where functions are allocated to each language or variety, agents are also distributed in the hierarchy, and hence the places where they are allowed to go. In Tarabuco there are a few public places: the market, bars, restaurants, and street meal vendors' stands. The Sunday market and the main Plaza are of

¹¹³ When I commented on the problems caused by the contact of different mentalities in the relationships between 'urbanites' and 'comunarios', René Danilo Arze, at the time head of the National Archives located in Sucre, suggested that the situation of this contact more than a clash, more than a collision, was rather a case of passing by without touching each other, *un resbale cultural*, and where each side retained their own way of thinking. (Tape 961106 N° 70)

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course open to all. There are also schools, the church, the telephone office, and some official and health institutions. Restaurants are exclusively for town people, mostly transient, doctors, engineers, teachers, nurses, lorry drivers and Sunday tourists. In contrast, certain bars are only frequented by the *comunarios*. Unaware of the exclusiveness of restaurants, I invited Modesto, a *comunario* from Qullakamani, when I was first meeting him, to eat dinner with me in one of the central plaza restaurants of Tarabuco. When the lady owner of the restaurant saw him, she appeared both surprised and angry but she said nothing, her facial gestures and open eyes being more eloquent than words. When she noticed that Modesto still had his *montera*¹¹⁴ on she said *Wa*, *hay que sacarse el sombrero*. 'Hey, one ought to take his hat off.' Hers was not a polite request, it was an order and a lesson to be learned. It should be noted that she never made any fuss at all when other 'upper' class people or I kept their hats or baseball hats on. But a *montera* .. a *montera* in her presence had to be taken off.

The point of friction in this incident has to do with etiquette. But it is the urban (or Western) idea of etiquette being used to judge the behavior of the rural *comunario*. In other words, it is the application of urban values, assumed to be the only valid ones. It should also be pointed out that the dimension of etiquette is only one of the factors that, I surmise, triggered the judgment of the urban lady. There is no doubt that other factors are simultaneously registered: racial features, dress, speech (we were speaking in Quechua), and the 'invasion' of spaces assigned according to 'one's place' in society. This incident in itself, of course, is nothing. The problem is that there are millions of similar incidents, or encounters between the agents that belong to different poles (or fields), and where tension is developed. At the linguistic level, to provide an example, it is as Mannheim says, that speakers of Quechua in the context of the bilingual and diglossic nation-state in which they find themselves are always aware of the stigma attached to their language whenever they speak it (Mannheim 1991:81).

¹¹⁴ In the region of Tarabuco both men and women wear monteras, headgear resembling old Spanish.

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2. Language dynamics revisited

It is perhaps otiose to conclude that the main trend of language change in Bolivia is that of linguistic hegemonization: on the one hand the generalization of Spanish as the language of national communication, and inversely the relegation of the American languages. But the point I want to make here is that language dynamics (the progression or regression of the languages in contact) is not so much a matter of the individual will, nor even of a collective decision of the community as proposed by Fishman (1991)¹¹⁵ to 'reverse language shift,' rather it is a phenomenon tied to the structural and political conditions current in the general context, in our case the Bolivian nation-state. Thus in Bolivia higher and lower socioeconomic indicator can be correlated with Spanish and the American languages, respectively. For instance, in Bolivia the departments of Potosí and Chuquisaca are the poorest of the country, but also the ones with higher percentages of speakers of vernacular languages, as the following chart¹¹⁶ illustrates:

helmets.

¹¹⁵ Fishman says that "The initial, basic problem of RLS boils down to attaining a greater demographic concentration of the faithful, on the one hand, and judicious decisions as to which intercommunal boundary maintaining or reviving institutions to give priority to, on the other hand." More over "Judicious decisions as to what to do and when are at the very heart of successful RLS-efforts." (1991:67)

¹¹⁶ The statistics from which the chart has been generated can be found in Appendix 7. p. 356.

07 Conclusions

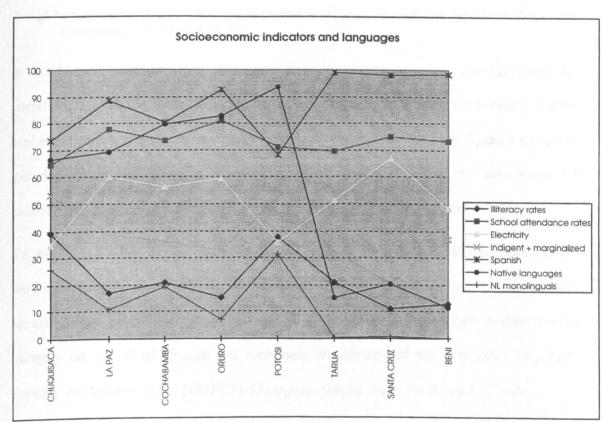


Figure 21: Socioeconomic indicators and languages

Although this chart depicts only some of the available statistics (socioeconomic indicators, poverty levels, and languages), it serves to show that languages, socioeconomic indicators and poverty levels are correlated among them. Thus:

- a) Illiteracy rates are higher in Chuquisaca and Potosí (39.3 % and 38 %)
- b) School attendance rates are lowest in Chuquisaca (64.4 %) and and third lowest in Potosí (71.4 %)
- c) Electricity consumption is lowest in Chuquisaca and Potosí (34.9 % and 35.9 %)
- d) Indigent and marginalized populations are highest in Chuquisaca and Potosí (53.51 % and 52.2 %)

According to the four preceding sets of rates, these two departments can be classified as the poorest ones. Thus, if my hypothesis is correct, they should also exhibit greater percentages of 'native languages' and a less pronounced advancement of Spanish. Let us see:

- e) Spanish: has advanced less in Potosí and Chuquisaca (68.38, and 73.65 %)
- f) Native languages: are highest in Potosí (93.74) and in the middle range in Chuquisaca (66.49). The situation of Chuquisaca with respect to the knowledge of native

Source: INE 1997, 1998

languages does not follow strictly our hypothesis (the poorer, the more native languages), but still this percentage is higher than in Tarija, Santa Cruz, and Beni.

g) Monolinguals in NL: although dwindling in general, are still the highest in Potosí and Chuquisaca (31.47, and 25.51).

In brief, these statistics prove the point that socioeconomic levels and languages are correlated. In addition, other clear correlations can be found in the chart, for instance: that the higher the school attendance rates, the lower the illiteracy ones; the more Spanish spoken in the department, the less the 'native languages'; and the greater the percentages of monolingual speakers in the department, the less electricity available to them.

To sum up, in spite of the tendency of each pole to reproduce itself (for instance, the vernacular languages and cultures tend to subsist in their domains, in our case, in the rural areas), the processes of increasing monetarization, urbanization, and modernization tend to increase the spread of Spanish and conversely the attrition of the vernacular languages. Paredes and Soberón (1997 [1972]: 71-83) express similar views for the case of Perú.

On the other hand, there are numerous forms of relationship between 'whites' and "indigenous" peoples, and each form is prone to produce its own ideologies and discourses. Unfortunately, all these connections between practices (i.e. the relationships) and ways of thinking cannot be explored here due to space limitations. However, I would like to highlight two recurrent policies that permeated the relationships between the ruling classes and the vernacular populations: the policies of Castilianization and integration. These two themes have been profusely discussed throughout the thesis, so that here I shall add only a few comments on the issue of integration.

In Ecuador the existence of a 'homogeneous' or 'unitary' nation-state is put in doubt, for instance by Soto and Moya, below. I think that the main purpose of these authors is to indicate that there are other nations within Ecuador, for which reason there can be no 'national project' or 'integration' to the 'non-existent united Ecuadorian nation'. But then this heterogeneity would seem to imply also a separation and independence of these nations within the nation-state. Thus, for example, for Soto education is realized in function of a

'national project' under the assumption of "un inexistente Estado homogéneo." (Soto 1996:140). Likewise for Moya "El proyecto.. [de alfabetización] se inscribió en una concepción 'integradora' de las naciones indígenas a la supuesta unicidad de la nación ecuatoriana." (Moya 1987:327).

I agree that the 'indigenous nations' and the 'nación ecuatoriana' were not integrated in the sense that there was equity between them. But, there are two ways to understand the question of 'integration': firstly, at least during this century, as the main discourse of the whitemestizo milieu, according to which the "Indian" population was marginalized from the mainstream, hence the need for integration (Cf. for instance, Nieto Ramírez 1986:3. La Marginación, for a number of definitions of marginalization). Thrown into the bargain was the idea that this integration meant a transition from an inferior language, culture, etc. to a superior one; it was a case, as Tamayo (1910) had stated for the Bolivian case, of 'elevating the Indian to our heights' (Cf. p. 72). Secondly, as a purely ideological stance: because. at least to some degree, the "indigenous" peoples have always been integrated into the mainstream, not as rulers or decision makers (as Koning (1993) emphasizes), but as exploited and subordinated peoples (from the colonial times, from the taxes for the Crown, the work in the mines of Potosí, to the manual labor in the cities today, and the production of crops in the countryside, still some two thirds of the total food consumption in Bolivia (Luykx 1993:81). Sáenz, for the case of Ecuador, says that the abolition of the tribute in 1857 was a positive measure, "pero queda el concertaje, anticipo que esclaviza de por vida." (Sáenz 1933:93). Or as Verónika Bennholdt-Thomsen, in more recent times, talking about Mexico, puts it:

La concepción modernista divide a la sociedad en dos sectores, uno; tradicional y otro moderno, el primero es considerado marginal mientras que no se integre al segundo; sin embargo actualmente se reconoce que la marginalidad no es una situación dada previamente sino un proceso atribuible a las leyes de acumulación capitalista. / Todos ellos: jornaleros agropecuarios, asalariados eventuales, peones, comerciantes callejeros, campesinos temporaleros, indígenas confinados a los sitios más inhóspitos de selvas, sierras y desiertos, artesanos, oficiales y aprendices que tratan de competir contra el sistema industrial, obreros cesados por reajustes o motivos políticos, presentan un marco homogéneo de características tanto en lo esencial como en lo económico que los convierte en marginados. (in Nieto

1986:78).

In other words, my argument is that although marginalized the "indigenous" peoples have always been integrated into the social and economic structure of the nation-state. If we accept this to be the case, then what does the discourse of 'integration' or 'incorporation' signify? Moya provides a clue:

..aunque en términos de la ley todos los ecuatorianos gozamos de los mismos derechos, tenemos las mismas obligaciones, etc., en términos prácticos las diferencias configuran una sociedad jerarquizada desde una doble perspectiva: la étnica y la socio-económica. (Moya 1987:335).

Does this not mean, again, that there is only one society albeit hierarchized along the lines of ethnicity and socio-economic differences? Thus, the way I understand it, the "indigenous" nations are already integrated into the hierarchized society, and to talk of integration, as if implying the existence of a physical or social separation, makes no sense.

To sum up, language phenomena and language policies are closely connected with the hierarchies and asymmetries built into the make-up of the nation-state. Or from a historical perspective, in Escobar's words:

Aquello llamado por tradición la historia externa de las lenguas viene a ser la relación entre el destino de los idiomas y la historia y destino de sus hablantes.. (Escobar 1979:85)

Thus if a population is subordinated, its language is prone to be subjected to regression rather than progression.

3. Education

In the context outlined in the preceding section, education—or more precisely, rural school can be viewed as an instrument of the dominant sector. Hence, the rural school is not only controlled, planned and implemented by the ruling classes, but it is also used as a mechanism of linguistic and cultural hegemonization. In this vein, one of its purposes is to achieve the integration of the "indigenous" population into the mainstream; as epitomized by the revolutionary government of 1952's "commitment to education [that] led to the development of a new educational code in 1955." and whose "basic goal .. was the complete integration of the nation." (Carter 1971:144). But integration had a side effect: the de-structuration of the vernacular community and the abandonment of language and culture.; For instance, as Paredes and Soberón state:

.. en el ámbito rural la educación tiende a enajenar al individuo, inculcándole una sobrevaloración de lo urbano, paralelamente a una desvalorización de la propia vida rural e induciéndolo a dejar su condición de tal para incorporarse al medio urbano (Paredes and Soberón 1977 [1972]:80).

Hence, it is in this context, that the quests of *comunarios* to secure education for their communities, not only in Bolivia, but also in Perú and Ecuador, be it for the defense of their interests with respect to land tenure (Choque et al. 1992), be it to gain upward social mobility (Ansión 1988), be it as a means of resistance (Claure 1989), be it as a struggle for education (Conde 1994) can be understood.

In a similar way, traditional education with its built-in project of Castilianization and Westernization can only be understood as a process that reflects and implements the discourses and ideologies of the ruling classes. But the analysis of the results obtained by this type of education (high rates of drop-out, low achievement, failure of Castilianization, and in general the shortcomings of rural education) and the demands of the grassroots for a more adequate education for the rural populations, have determined the search for alternatives, such as the numerous education reforms, and lately, the projects of 'intercultural and bilingual education.'

With respect to bilingual education programs, I would like to make three points: (a) that they have been introduced with the technical and economic aid of international agencies; (b) that they have remained as short-lived projects (Cf. Chapter 3.2. Bilingual education projects); and that, (c) in spite of the infusion of monies and know-hows, provided by the mentioned agencies, and in spite of their greater cultural and linguistic adequacy to the rural population, they have faced innumerable difficulties in their implementation. In chapters 4 and 5, I

attempted to show some of these difficulties, revisited in the next section below. But the problems were not limited to the classroom; paradoxically, the same purported beneficiaries of the new alternative were often against bilingual education. In chapter 6, I attempted to show that the process of rural education is affected by the interests and vernacular organization of the community, as well as by the actions of teachers' unions. To illustrate further the opposition of some rural communities to bilingual education, I shall next reproduce some of the complaints voiced on the 10th of October 1996 by rural demonstrators in Redención Pampa (Chuquisaca), rallying against the new Education Reform, that includes the teaching of Quechua in the curriculum.¹¹⁷

(..) We have been busy these two weeks, seeking a solution for our children. We had not realized what .. this education reform was. Now we have sent our children [to school], but they study nothing, they almost don't know anything, hence all of them are dropping-out, (..) and there is nothing written in their notebooks. We are worried because of that, the mothers of the first grade are preoccupied, consulting with each other, saying "what will we do, what will we do." (..) For us it will not be all right that our children learn Quechua for full three years, and get no report cards (..) .. We do not want this education reform for our children, it is lagging behind. We want that our children read in Spanish, and no longer mixing [Quechua and Spanish]. (Tape 55, 961009)

The inhabitants of Redención Pampa, not only disagreed with the reform education, but also asked for the resignation of the District Director because he was unable to solve the problem in their favor. For his part, the District Director maintained that the reform would continue because it was sanctioned by a law. In the mood of direct confrontation, the parents of Redención Pampa argued that they ought to have a say in their children's education; that the children did not want to go to school and cried; that did not know a single word, nor learned the vowels, **ni siquiera a e y e-ta ma yachankuchu**; that they would appeal to higher instances in Sucre, and that if solution was not to be found there, they themselves would administer justice with their own hands. In a few words, this was a serious demonstration; perhaps, not reaching the levels of violence manifested in some public demonstrations in the

¹¹⁷ The original transcript is reproduced in Appendix 6. p. 355.

main cities but nonetheless a difficult problem for the local education administrators. This type of militant opposition highlights that the problems of rural education cannot be reduced to the technical dimensions (the curriculum, the methods, the textbooks, the modalities of bilingual education, and so on), and that external factors must be taken into account. But this does not mean that 'everything that occurs in school is derived from external factors', as Revel (1990 [1988]:177) seems to be criticizing. In brief, it is what happens inside the classroom in correlation with what happens outside its walls.

To conclude this section, I would like to comment that the Education Reform, currently being implemented in selected rural *núcleos* since 1996, --in spite of the novelties it introduced, such as the pupil-centered education, following rediscovered Piagetian and Vygotskyan orientations-- is struggling in its implementation due not so much due to the opposition of some communities but also to the disagreements from teachers themselves. Apparently, one of its major shortcomings has to do with the difficulties in the teaching of Spanish as a second language.¹¹⁸

4. Classrooms

The encounter. Although there are innumerable points of encounter between the "indigenous" and the "urban" worlds, in my view, it is the rural school and more precisely the classroom that constitutes the point of cultural and linguistic encounter par excellence between the two worlds, not only because it has been designed to educate rural children by means of an urban curriculum but also because the hidden curriculum introduces a meritocratic system into the basically vernacular rural society (Illich 1991). The classroom in this context constitutes the space where power relations are clearly defined, due to differences such as: (a) size, the physical make and age of the teacher and pupils, (b)

¹¹⁸ According to a recent study, the teaching of Spanish as second language has fallen short of all expectations (for more cf. López 1999).

knowledge, the teacher that knows and the pupils that do not know, (c) authority, the teacher invested with authority and the pupils assumed to obey, (d) language, the teacher being a monolingual or bilingual in Spanish and a "native" language, while the pupils are monolingual in a vernacular,¹¹⁹ and (e) culture, the teacher being in command of the values and knowledges of a culture deemed as superior, the pupils in possession of the values and knowledges of a culture presumed as inferior. These differences cannot but create the conditions for encounters but also for conflicts and resistance. In addition, the classroom becomes a learning-ground, not only for the contents of the formal curriculum but also for coping with relationship: for the teachers because they learn how to control and discipline the pupils, and for the pupils because they learn how to cope with the strains of the teachinglearning process. In this regard, to have control of the pupils in the classroom appears as a crucial element for the teachers; as exemplified, for instance, by the recommendations given to practicing teachers in El Paredón, who according to their supervisors had little 'class control'. But even in those cases that the teacher did not have formal academic training in 'class control' the situation (e.g. the assumption that the teacher has to teach) seems to generate spontaneously the techniques to discipline the pupils. A case in point was the comunario of Molle Mayu that positioned preschoolers in their places using his hands.

Let us turn now to the linguistic dimension. In general, the language of the teachers is Spanish. In the traditional classrooms, the language of instruction and subject matter is Spanish; although the practical exigencies of communication also determined the use of the mother tongue of the pupils. In the PEIB, the purpose was to teach in two languages and two cultures as proposed by bilingual education programs in many countries in the region (cf. for instance López 1987:242; Zuñiga 1987:260); thus, making the use of the mother tongue

¹¹⁹ I am aware that this is a simplification simply designed to emphasize the polar extremes at the linguistic level. C. Choque (1996:7) makes reference to six types of pupils, from monolinguals in a vernacular, to monolinguals in Spanish, and in between bilinguals with varying degrees of command of the languages they speak. Albó (1994) distinguishes 40 different situations to be taken into consideration for planning bilingual education in Bolivia.

official and purporting to teach Spanish as a second language in a systematic way. The results achieved in the PEIB can be summarized as success in L1 but problems with L2.

I surmise that success in the teaching of the mother tongue, on the one hand, was determined by the novelty of using it both as the language of communication and the language of subject matter, and also because of the rewards associated with the experimental program (teacher training, provision of didactic materials, and a bonus to teacher salaries). The provision of textbooks to the children was also viewed positively by the *comunarios*. **Tata** Francisco from Puka-Puka said:

Eso es-ps bien-ps aura. Como otros por lo que no hay plata o sea que no hacen estudiar, aura quel proyecto.. vienen los **p'anqas**, que dicen los libros no? todo, eso es ayuda a los pobres y otros por falta de cuaderno, por falta de eee libros de los **p'anqas** o sea que no, nooco no lo ponen a la escuela no, a la educación. (Tape 16, 951204, FV)

In this *comunario*'s perception the advantage of the PEIB over the traditional school is that it solved parents' economic problems for the provision of their children's school supplies.

On the other hand, teaching in L1 seems to have been successful due to the fact that teachers basically continued to teach in their customary ways (e.g. whole-class approach, use of textbooks,¹²⁰ teaching of reading and writing through the method of *palabras normales*,¹²¹ and so on), what changed was simply the language: instead of using Spanish as they did in the past, now they switched to Quechua. In addition, the teachers of the PEIB did not fail to notice that pupils learned to read and write better under the bilingual program than before, and appeared to be more assured and self-confident. In Puno, López finds similar results (1987:250). On the negative side, the normalization of the writing of Quechua brought about

¹²⁰ It is interesting to observe that at the other side of the world the same methods are also current. In Bahrain the use of "textbooks determine whole-class teaching" and "teacher obligation to the syllabi and textbooks is extreme." (Al-Mannai 1996:119)

¹²¹ This method devised by Carlos Vogel is also known as the method of "Palabras Generadoras, ... Básicas, .. Tipos"; in Bolivia, it has been advocated and extensively used at least since the 50's (Bolivia 1954:34)

some problems for teachers and technicians, basically the argument was that certain words were not pronounced in the way depicted in the textbooks. The problem subsists even today.

In spite of the accomplishments of the PEIB, however, the teaching of Spanish as a second language fell short of expectations. There is no doubt that teachers tried their best to implement the program devised by the PEIB, but the lack of experience and perhaps insufficient training in the methodology determined some problems. I also think that the methodology itself set up its own traps. Thus one of the problems sprung from one of the main ingredients of the method: the use of model-repetition, as described in Chapter 4, rather than, for instance, the use of the language in 'real' situations. Two factors seem to have contributed to make the model-repetition approach untenable: first the adherence of teachers to Standard Spanish, whereby they would insist that pupils produce the 'correct' forms; and the assumption that the differences (especially the phonemic differences) can be 'heard' and therefore imitated. My contention with respect to this point is that the phonemes of the second language cannot simply be heard, due to the fact that perceptions are structured and that the mother tongue in which the children are natively competent operates under a different syntax. Thus, while the bilingual teacher distinguishes clearly five vowels, the Ouechua children only distinguish three.

To reiterate, the teaching of Spanish as a second language seems to have been the weak point of the PEIB. Incidentally, the current Education Reform seems to be doing worse than the PEIB, for in three years of implementation (1996-98) —and in spite of a novel methodology that purports to free the teacher from the textbook and allow him to exercise his creativity to generate meaningful communicative situations for the teaching of the second language (Bolivia 1997)— it seems that the teaching of Spanish is lagging behind. Although it is too early to cast a judgment, according to my own observations at El Paredón (Chuquisaca), and Cutusuma (La Paz) and a study conducted by PROEIB Andes (López 1999) Spanish is simply not being taught.

The disciplines. The school is not only a place where the teaching-learning process takes place, it is also the battleground for the unfolding of the disciplines, in the Foucauldian sense (1991 [1975]). Thus teachers do not only teach, but in the process of implementing the formal curriculum they also learn: how to control and train the pupils. So pupils will do their school work better but also become more docile with the order of things hoped for by the teacher. Traditionally, compliance and efficiency were obtained more by means of punishment than reward, a trait denounced by many in the regional literature (Cf. for instance, Ansión 1988:74, 88-96; De La Torre 1997). In El Paredón, many comunarios and children also manifested that physical punishment was not absent in the classrooms they attended (Cf. Chapter 6. Pupils). Thus physical punishment fell in disrepute. But there are other more subtle practices that lead to the disciplines: (a) horas cívicas, the 'salute to the flag,' and lineups where pupils are taught 'patriotic' disciplines, standing in line, often in the baking sun. hearing speeches that the littlest ones cannot possibly understand; (b) classroom practices, that require repetition, memorization, exercises, even copying; and (c) teachers' personal traits, from the kind and understanding type to the derisive one. In the PEIB, the teaching of Spanish at times unexpectedly developed into a true disciplinary process, even a torture. The teaching of minimal pairs such as pila vs. pela, for instance, under the spell of the modelrepetition approach, repeated countless times until the teacher was satisfied with the pupils rendition, more than teaching Spanish, it seems to me, had the effect of throwing the pupils psychologically off balance. The same effect was achieved through the teachers' insistence that pupils achieve the correct pronunciation of 'dangerous' words with high and low vowels, such as cuchillo, muñeca, Pepito, and so on. I believe that pupils were at least uncomfortable during these repetition sessions, but teachers also got frustrated and sometimes even angry with the failure of the pupils.

Pupils' survival strategies. In this context of the imposition of language, culture, and disciplines, pupils, however, do not remain impassive; rather they develop their own survival strategies, which—in my observation—have never been confrontational with the authority of

the teacher, being instead hidden, clandestine, subtly subversive. Two types of strategies might be distinguished, those developed to cope with (a) school work, and (b) the teacher. With respect to the first point, coping with the schoolwork in the classroom basically has to do with 'knowing the answer' or 'having the work finished' to comply with the teacher's requirements. A favorite strategy, used by many pupils, was to copy the answer from another pupil; for example, when the teacher dictated some Spanish words, some pupils who did not know how to write them would peek at their neighbors' work and copy, in spite of the efforts made by those who knew to hide their work (Cf. Chapter 4.4. Missing the point of phonemics, p. 187); or when Mrs. BB. (1rst grade, 1995) organized a little game to teach the differences between high and low Spanish vowels: every time she said [i] the competing pupils were supposed to run forward and every time she said [e] they were supposed to go back to the end of the line, but since most pupils were at a loss at recognizing these isolated sounds, many resorted to watch the other competitor and do what the other did, with a slight delay (Video 17, 951129). Another way to cope with the work and save face in front of the teacher was rote memorization, usually of multiplication tables, as pupils did in RR.'s class (3rd grade, Molle Mayu 1996); or the memorization of a few key words to respond to the teacher's questions, as in JJ.'s (1rst grade, Puka-Puka 1995) Spanish as a second language lesson: while the teacher asked pupil by pupil ¿Con qué están jugando? most pupils were distracted, buy when their turn to reply came they had a ready answer, con trompo, pelota. and so on. In all of these cases, pupils are shunning the exercise but leaving the teacher satisfied.

The second type of strategy basically has to do with how to cope with the teacher and the activities he imposes. Due to space limitations, these strategies have not been developed in this study, but there is no doubt that they merit future attention. Here, I shall limit myself to providing some examples, to illustrate the point that pupils in spite of all pressures placed upon them are able to react and cope with them. I call these strategies 'little subversions'

because of their subtle nature and because they are devised even by the little ones (those in kindergarten). Some examples follow.

a. Repeating the teacher's commands. In a first grade class, when the teacher was having the children repeat some words and phrases in Spanish, some of them took the opportunity to turn the repetition into what could be considered a little subversive game:

Teacher	Pupils
регто	регго
los?	niños
los niños. Ustedes	ostedes

(Tape 28, 950700)

When the teacher says *Ustedes* she means that now is the pupils turn to produce the phrase *los niños*; but one of the pupils repeats this command, effectively introducing into the exercise an element of subversion. One can never know whether the pupil is repeating the words uttered by the teacher, (a) innocently, assuming that they are part of a new set of words to be repeated, in which case he makes a fool of himself in front of his peers, or (b) he realizes that the teacher is talking to the class, but repeats after the teacher anyway, in which case he is making fun of the teacher and getting away with it. In this particular instance, the teacher appeared to be bewildered by the response, but assumed that the pupil made the mistake of repeating her command as if it were part of the exercise. Other pupils assumed the same, albeit more wholeheartedly, for they laughed at their peer's wisecrack.

b. Talk in Quechua. Sometimes little subversions to the order proposed/sought by the teacher are introduced by pupils steering the exercise onto familiar terrain (i.e. knowledge of their immediate context). In Spanish as a second language classes, this tactic includes code switching to the mother tongue, as in the example below:

¿qué se llama tu perro?	enrico fernando romero
ahhh, paypa allqun sutikusqa Erico Fernandez Romero nin .	(some laughs) /señoritay paypa allqun jinasqa a, ima chakarqusqa
ah, his dog's name is Enrico Fernández Romero, he says.	Miss, his dog had, got stuck

a ver hablen, hablen.	Misalú ñin pay / diabliru ñin	
	He says his is Misalú / he says his is diabliru (diablero).	
ja? diablero? de la Juana su perro dice que se llama diablero. De vos de vos tu	vule vule, ñuqaykuqta ours is vule vule	
perro qué se llama? What? diablero?she says Juana's dog's	(pupils converse all at the same time and	
name is diablero. Yours what is your dog's name?	shouting, impossible to pick out individual speakers)	
Chusss parlaspa parlankichik castilla simipi	(teacher tries to redirect the use of Spanish)	
Hush if you speak, speak in Spanish		
Ya, basta!	/ vigilante / vigilante hihihi	
vigilante basta basta basta	basta bastaa!	
	(there is one pupil that keeps imitating some commands or cues given by the teacher.)	

(Tape 28, 950700)

There are two difficulties here: one the one hand, the exigency that Spanish be used for the responses; and, on the other, the effort that requires to conform to the Question-Answer format, which after a while looses its interest. In this circumstance, and with a little complicity of the teacher who switches to Quechua, pupils subvert the exercise in two ways: firstly, switching to Quechua; secondly, accosting the teacher with a polyphony of responses. In the interchange above, there is another instance of the boy that keeps repeating the teacher's commands.

c. Getting upset. Although, as mentioned before, these survival strategies are not confrontational, sometimes the natural emotions of the pupils counter the exigencies of the teacher, as in the example below.

que está haciendo?	trompota muyurichichkan
	he is making the top spin
castilla simipiri?	I en la trompooo
And in Spanish?	/ in the top [meaning 'playing with a top']

(Tape 28, 950700)

These responses of the pupil, more precisely the code-switching from Quechua to Spanish at the request of the teacher, attest that the mother tongue and Spanish are reckoned as separate

languages; but they also show that his linguistic competence in these languages is not the same. We might assume that this first grader is in the process of acquiring the second language. But the fact that he has been obliged to use a language he does not fully command does not deter him from expressing some annoyance manifested by the loud lengthening of the last vowel of *trompo* accompanied by a higher tone. These three elements: lengthening, loudness, and higher tone are naturally used by children to signify a mood that verbalized might be: 'this is the answer, can you not understand?'¹²²

d. Piki causes a little rebellion. Usually pupils comply with the teacher's requests, so that when a first grade girl refused to accept the teacher's suggestion to be a member of the group of Pikis 'fleas' (Tape 117, 950726) the teacher was understandably surprised. But the girl's expression and her subdued resistance made it clear that she was not going to compromise. The problem was solved when a mate suggested sik'imirita 'little ants' as the name for the group. Although this might appear as a minor issue, the choice of animal names to nominate groups of pupils might be rejected by the pupils due to cultural reasons. Briggs criticized the PEIA precisely because the first word of their primer was achaku 'mouse' and because the pupils were taught a song that identified them with 'mice'. In her words: "The identification of children with a thieving animal that steals human food is culturally unacceptable to rural Aymara, and may help explain why some parents were reportedly resistant to the idea of bilingual education." (Briggs 1983:92).

In brief, pupils find ways to subvert the course of activities established by the teacher, sometimes, as in the examples above, by means of subtle subversions or simply, exceptionally, refusing to accept the teacher's commands; other times, by transforming the activities that require repetition (of words, of movements, of answers, and so on) into noisy

¹²² In a study on the acquisition of Aymara, and Spanish (Plaza and Carvajal 1984), we found similar responses by children accosted by the investigator. Thus, when the interviewer (actually the big brother of the subject) asked the 3 year old boy what the figure represented (a pig), he answered 'un chancho' but in a whisper; since the interview was being taped the interviewer wanted a louder

games (for instance, turning repetitions into chants, or responding loudly in chorus aaaarí 'yes') —there is no doubt that in these collective games, the group provides anonymity and hence impunity; and yet other times, saturating the teacher's attention with demands and complaints. In Mrs. DD.'s classroom (kindergarten 1995), where the teacher was overpowering and the pupils tiny, the magnetophonic recording disclosed that pupils were constantly requiring the teacher's attention, addressing her as **señoritay** in a multitude of tones and phonemic renderings. Finally, other manifestations of the pupils resistance to being absorbed by the disciplines is their tendency to talk to each other and reverting to their natural interests as soon as the teacher looks the other way, and to long for recess and the lunch break. In the central school of El Paredón the lunch break was another moment to reaffirm the customs of the community with respect to the sharing of food.

5. Conflict of mentalities

Many reasons have been offered to explain the apparent failure of rural education. Among teachers, for instance, frequent explanations are children's undernourishment, absenteeism, parent's negligence, insufficient economic resources of the family, children's mental makeup, and their linguistic problems (Ansión 1988:151-160). Linguists, of course, emphasized the linguistic dimension, and there is no doubt that language is a crucial element in the education process. In fact, it is this conviction —among others— that made possible the elaboration and implementation of bilingual education programs in the region. From my experience in the field, I would like to add that besides the linguistic dimension, other factors must be taken into consideration, such as the vernacular mode of organization of the community, on the one hand, and the action of the organized teachers, on the other (as described in Chapter 6.4.3). In addition, I would like to explore next the idea that besides language and culture in general the "indigenous" peoples and "whites" have developed their

response, 'más fuerte,' again the boy whispered; 'más fuerte,' 'un chanchOOOOO,' replied the little

own ways of thinking, that also influence not only the implementation of formal education in the rural communities but mark all relationships between these two peoples.

From the "undertakings" of Columbus that asked Pope Alexander VI for "mendicant friars" to preach "the Gospel to the Indians" so that they could be converted to Christianism (Houben 1935:101), to the current literacy campaigns that bring the letter to the illiterate "Indians" nothing seems to have changed, in the sense that this is the history of one people (Europeans) trying to "educate" other peoples (native Americans). From the perspective of ways of thinking, the Europeans (and their genetic and/or cultural descendants) usually thought that they were in possession of the truth and knowledge that justified their asymmetric relationship with the peoples of the New World. In fact, it was the conjunction of power and knowledge, and —as Koning (1993) notes— a millennium of technological differences that made the asymmetric relations possible. However, in spite of 500 years of contact-conflict, the Native American peoples, their languages, cultures and ways of thinking have survived.

Some manifestations of these 'distinct visions of the world' of the Andean that I have been able to observe have to do, for instance, with the idea that corporal punishment is good for learning, the tendency to agree with the teacher or interviewer, the prioritization of life in the community (the case of the boy-*comunario*), and even the little subversions of pupils in the classroom.

Miracle (1976) too first thought that the failure of rural schools was due to the linguistic factor; but soon found this explanation insufficient, and came to conclude that a more powerful, in fact, determining factor was at work, namely, cultural perception. This was not merely a case of miscommunication, but of the clash of different cultures, those of the teacher and of the pupils. This is perhaps no novel discovery in the light of all that we know about the relationships between European and "Indians," but it seems to me that this area (e.g.

boy.

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07 Conclusions
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mentalities) has not been sufficiently investigated.¹²³ The main point I want to make here is that to speak the same language is no guarantee of total communication. Besides linguistic structures, meanings and ways of thinking need to be taken into account. Thus for López et al:

Las diferencias resultantes de la comparación entre un sistema de pensamiento más analítico y compartamentalizante (el occidental) y otro más integral y holístico (el indígena); junto a uno que apela más al recurso de la abstracción de un lado, y a la concreción, de otro, nos llevan pues a admitir la existencia de dos *Weltanschauung* diferentes, de dos distintas visiones del mundo; lo que a su vez tiene también hondas repercusiones curriculares. (1993:204-5)

Likewise after the transcription of a number of interviews made by Mr. YY. in Kokurí, Chuquisaca (Tape 121, 95000), in the course of his training as a pedagogical assessor, I realized that while the *comunarios* insisted on emphasizing concrete and practical matters, the interviewer kept emphasizing the abstract and ideal. Thus, in one of the interviews, to the question of what parents expected from school for their children, the *comunario* responded *materialta* a 'well, [school] supplies'. Mr. YY. was taken back, he expected a list of ideals. The same thing happens later on:

Mr. YY.	comunario/s
Ya. qué deben aprender en la escuela. Imatataq qamkuna tatajina qhawankichik yachananta wawas, escuelapi?	c: tukuy ima yachakunanta a.c: that they learn everything.
What do you as parents think that the children should learn in school?	
Imas chay tukuy imas?	y: matirialesta rantinanku tiyan
What do you mean by everything?	tatanku.
	y: their parents have to buy supplies
	c: arí, a.
	c: yes, that's right.
Pero imastataq yachanan tiyan?	c: <i>karpita</i> tukuy ima a
but what things do they have to learn?	c: notebooks and everything, ok?
Ja?	c: karpita

¹²³ One step in this direction, as far as I am aware of, is Hardman's proposal of 'linguistic postulates' (1972; 1988:16).

What?	c: notebooks.

Thus while Mr. YY. insists on ideal future events, the comunarios bring things down to

present necessities. Another comunario, to the question of what they expect from school,

responds with an account of his perceptions about the march of the school.

R: Chay educación partemanta a, imata qamkuna suyankichik escuelata, imaynatataq escuela actuanan tiyan kay educación ukhupi, chaypaq imataq ... imata suyankichik comunidad escuelamanta?

With respect to education OK?, what do you (pl.) expect from school, how should the school behave with respect to education, for that what .. what does the community expect from the school?

c2: comunidad piru suyayku.. manapuni allinta, yachachiy kanchu unayman pacha, escuela pierdekapun, unayqa allin kaq, yachachiwaq kayku allinta, y kunan manaña qhasillaña. escuelaspis sumachik ruwayku pero astawan pierdekapun escuelas, mana allin yachachipuwaykuchu wawasniykuta. Astawan .. qhipaman qhipaman, astawan pierdekapun. qhasilla kayku directorniyuqpis, mana nankuchu, fuerza ruwan directorpis.

why, the community expects.. but they don't [teach] well, there is no good teaching even from the past, the school has deteriorated, in the past it was good, they used to teach us well, but now not any longer, it is in vain. We even build beautiful schools but schools have deteriorated more, they don't teach our children well. The more .. time goes forward, goes forward, [schools] deteriorate more. It is even in vain that we have a headmaster, they don't ahm, [not even] the headmaster makes an effort.

In other words, the *comunario* has not actually responded to the question of the interviewer, although a lot has been said. There were more interviews, but the same pattern repeated itself: while the "urban" interviewer was interested in abstract and ideal things, the *comunarios* concentrated in practical matters.

I think that these different mentalities are inextricably linked to the structural conditions prevailing in their respective worlds (agrarian vs. consumer intensive; or Western vs. Andean), and thus need to be further investigated, especially in relation to their possible effect on the implementation of the rural school. So on the one hand it is not only the formal curriculum, the pedagogical method, the training of the teacher, the will of the pupils, and so on (e.g. internal, technical factors), but also the action of outside forces (the agents, the central government actions, the remuneration of teachers) that must be considered in order to find explanations for the failure of rural education. On the other hand, it is not enough to consider language and culture to produce a program, the possible effect of mentalities, or ways of thinking, must be also taken into account. A case in point is the incident of the boycomunario described in Chapter 6.

To sum up, in this encounter of two worlds the interrelationship assumes diverse forms: a clash, an interpenetration, an intersliding into each other but without really touching or affecting each other. It is a clash because the two worlds are at war, through conquest, colonization, and rebellions and resistance. It is an interpenetration because modes of production, of culture, of language produce mixes and hybrids. And some times it is an intersliding because, in spite of contact, these worlds (the old and the new) seem to ignore each other and stubbornly maintain their own languages and cultures, their own social and economic organization. But despite the differences peoples, languages, cultures, mentalities and so on have become part of the nation-state.

6. Final words

Throughout the thesis, I have tried to bring forward the idea that the basic issue has to do with the encounter or clash of two peoples. I have also tried to advance the idea that although discourses and ideologies, just as education, play an important role in the relationships between the said worlds, they are, more than the cause, the effect of objective (or structural) conditions. For instance, the practical thinking of the *comunarios* can be viewed as a result of their necessities within what Illich (1981; 1991) calls a vernacular mode of production (others call it a self-sustaining one (Carter 1971:31)). In a nutshell, I would venture to say that material conditions have precedence over mental realities.

I have also tried to show that the main context, in spite of plurality, continues to be hierarchically organized, with "Whites" and "Indians" at both polar extremes. Discourses from the ruling classes, likewise, despite the advances made, still contain traces of racism and culturalism, as the quote below for instance exposes somewhat ironically:

El "desprecio racial" y mantener ese gran estrato social marginado bien podría traer graves problemas al país. Empero; creemos que aquí no hay un problema de segregación como en Africa del Sur con los negros o el que hasta hace poco existía en los EE.UU. Nuestros --mestizos y aún indígenas que culturalmente están al nivel de los blancos y que en casos los han superado; tienen socialmente los mismos derechos que éstos y han llegado a altas posiciones políticas y sociales. El problema subsiste en la masa indígena que no ha evolucionado culturalmente y vive con costumbres casi primitivas, por lo cual no tiene acceso igual que el resto de la población. La solución radica únicamente en la educación y culturización de esta masa hasta hoy postergada... (Cataldi 1992:145-6) (Italics in original)

There is no space to analyze and deconstruct these ideas, let it suffice to say that some people still adhere to the colonial theorization of the inferiority of the 'others' and that education might be used to confer the right of passage from primitivity to modernity. On the other front, grassroots organizations and advocates of bilingual education continue their struggle to make 'bilingual and intercultural' education available to the native peoples in the hope that this type of education will lead to a more equitable society.

Finally, although discourses are important, hard facts still seem to defy the 'power' of words alone, as the troubling incident below demonstrates.

Omagh. The death toll from the Omagh bomb was 28,¹²⁴ with 220 injured. It was "Northern Ireland's worst single terrorist atrocity" (Freedland 1998) in a conflict that has been going on for more than thirty years. A conflict where discourses from the two sides of the confrontation will speak of 'terrorists' or of 'freedom fighters'. Throughout this thesis I have tried to show the relevance of discourse as a complement and counterpart of practice, of how discourses and ideologies are used as methods of softening and domesticating protest, but it would seem that words, for all their worth, must bow down to real hard core action. In this connection, Jonathan Freedland's report of the tragic events after the 15th of August bomb highlights the counterpart nature of words:

Like every place whose name has entered the unholy canon of atrocity— Guildford, Warrington, Brighton—Omagh has seen a procession of

¹²⁴ Up to the 12 September 1998, when I wrote these comments there were 28 dead people; in the following days, at least one more death was announced.

dignitaries come to mourn. A helicopter chops overhead, then there they are, standing before a microphone. John Prescott, Gerry Adams, Mary McAleese, Tony Blair ... The words are all so similar, so utterly useless really, that after a while they merge into a blur. It is not their fault; no one can say anything. ... (Freedland 1998)

In brief, there are words and there are practices; and although words are used to design practices or twist perceptions, it is practices that count. Put differently, words are powerful, but deeds are much more so; and while words might be re-considered as being superstructural, in the old Marxist sense, it is within the confines of the structure (i.e. the make up of society, for instance with respect to the position of the agents, their possessions and their political power) that words are generated. In this light, the discourses of hegemonization (integration and Castilianization, for instance) are but a reflection of structural changes (such that language shift, for instance, is triggered by socioeconomic differences, opportunities and expectations). Likewise, rather than understanding development as a function of education (first education and then development), we need to understand that it is the structural conditions that determine the quality of education, not barring of course the interrelationship and feedback between them. In this context, the disciplines, understood as a specific type of relationship, both in the wider society (ideology, discrimination) and in the classroom (teacher-pupil relationships) serve the purposes of the powerful, by, for instance, allowing, as Foucault (1991 [1975]) has pointed out, political submission and economic efficiency.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Languages spoken in Bolivia

	Language families languages (dialects)	Albó 1995		Location: provincia (departamento)
		1995	1900	notes & comments (Grimes 1966):
	Lowland Languages			* Nearly extinct, ** Extinct.
	Arawakan	,		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
	Baure		300	Northwest Magdalena (Beni)*
2	Saraveca			Eastern jungle**
	Tsimané	5791		
\$	Chimán (Muchane)		5000	Ballivian (Beni); Larecaja, S. Yungas (La Paz)
ŀ	Mosetén		500	Santa Ana, Covendo (S. Yungas, La Paz)
	Chiquitano			
i	Chiquitano (Ignaciano, Javierano)	5235	20000 to 42000	Velasco, Ñuflo de Chávez (Santa Cruz)
	Mataco-Guaicuru			Gran Chaco (Tarija)
5	Chorote, Iyo'wujwa			No more than a couple of families
,	Toba		100	
;	Weenhayek, Mataco	1517	1427	
	Moxos Pluriétnico	8179	Moxos (Beni)	
}-	Chimane < Tsimané			
)	Ignaciano <arawakan< td=""><td></td><td>4000</td><td>South central Beni.</td></arawakan<>		4000	South central Beni.
0	Movima <unclassified< td=""><td></td><td>1000</td><td>Central Beni. *</td></unclassified<>		1000	Central Beni. *
1	Trinitario (Loretano, Javierano) <arawakan< td=""><td></td><td>5000</td><td>South central Beni.</td></arawakan<>		5000	South central Beni.
2	Yuracaré <isolate< td=""><td></td><td></td><td>Parque Isiboro Sécure; Chapare (Cochabamba)</td></isolate<>			Parque Isiboro Sécure; Chapare (Cochabamba)
	Pano-Tacanan			
3	Araona (Cavina)		87	Manupari River
4	Cavineña		2500	Riberalta, río Beni (Beni, Pando)
5	Chácobo	243	520	Vaca Diez (Beni)
6	Ese-Ejja	347	600- 650	río Beni, Ballivián (Beni), Pando
7	Pacahuara	9		Northwest Beni *
8	Reyesano (San Borjano)		1000	Beni; there may still be some elderly speakers (1982) **
9	Shinabo			Existence improbable; contact has been attemped several times. Thought to have

Appendices

	ł			possibly been a Chácobo group.**
20	Tacana	601		Iturralde (La Paz); (Beni)
21	Toromona			not located. May not still exist.
22	Yaminahua		150	Northwest Pando
22	Tupi	1		
	Guaraní	60286		
23	Ava			Cordillera, StaCruz; Chuquisaca
23 24	Izoseño		15000	Gran Chaco (Tarija)
24 25	Simba			Chuquisaca, Tarija
26	Guarasug'we (Pauserna)			(in 1991, Adelaar) Iténez (Beni) *
27	Guarayu	7656		Guarayos (Santa Cruz)
21			to 8000	
28	Jorá			(in 1991, Adelaar) **
20 29	Sirionó	184		El Iviato, Cercado (Beni); Eastern Beni and northwestern Santa Cruz
30	Tapieté	51	40	Río Pilcomayo, Gran Chaco (Tarija)
31	Yuki <unclassified< td=""><td>134</td><td>150</td><td>Ichilo>Chimore (SantaCruz, Cochabamba)</td></unclassified<>	134	150	Ichilo>Chimore (SantaCruz, Cochabamba)
	Others (except Guaraní)	35942		
32	Ayoreo <zamucoan< td=""><td>1272</td><td></td><td>Chiquitos, Germán Busch, Cordillera</td></zamucoan<>	1272		Chiquitos, Germán Busch, Cordillera
-			to 1500	(Santa Cruz)
33	Cayubaba <isolate< td=""><td></td><td>900</td><td>Beni *</td></isolate<>		900	Beni *
34	Itene (Itenez)		100	(in 1959) North Central Beni *
35	Itonama <isolate< td=""><td></td><td></td><td>Only a few speakers 25 years ago *</td></isolate<>			Only a few speakers 25 years ago *
36	Canichana <tucaonan(?)< td=""><td></td><td>500</td><td>Lowlands *</td></tucaonan(?)<>		500	Lowlands *
	Highland Languages			
37	Aymara	1,503754	1,785000	(1987) La Paz, Oruro, Potosí
38	Quechua	2,194099		
-	Northern Quechua		116483	(1978) Northern La Paz
	Southern Quechua		2,782500	(1987) Cochabamba, Oruro, Potosí,
				Chuquisaca
39	Callawaya		10 to 20	Charazani (Northern La Paz). Ritual language
40	Leco <quechuan?< td=""><td>-</td><td>200</td><td>(in 1991); Apolo (La Paz) Recently extinct linguistically. **</td></quechuan?<>	-	200	(in 1991); Apolo (La Paz) Recently extinct linguistically. **
	Uru-Chipaya			
41	Chipaya	1087	2000	Atahuallpa (Oruro)
42	Uru, Muratos			Poopó, Challapata, Carangas (Oruro) a few older people 20 years ago. *
	Iru Itu	142		Jesús de Machaqa, Ingavi (La Paz)
	total 42			
	Official Language			
43	Spanish		3,483700	(1995 estimate)

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Foreign Languages

Mennonite(English)	14735		(Santa Cruz)
Japanese	528		Ichilo, Warnes (Santa Cruz)
Portuguese	7013		Pando
German, standard		160000	
Plautdietsch (Low,		18000	
Mennonite German)			

Sources: Albó 1995a, b; Grimes 1996

Appendix 2: Curricular Organization of the PEIB

AREAS	SUB AREAS	EJES TEMATICOS
Socioproductiva	- Producción	- Ciclo Agroecológico
	Comunitaria	- Ciclo Ritual
	- Proyectos Educativos	- Hogar
	Complementarios	- Artesanías
		- Agropecuaria
Lenguas	- Lengua Materna	- Comprensión y expresión oral
		- Comprensión y expresión escrita
		- Reflexión y análisis gramatical
	- Segunda Lengua	- Comprensión y expresión oral
		- Comprensión y expresión escrita
		- Reflexión y análisis gramatical
Matemáticas	-Matemáticas	- Numeración
		- Operaciones
		- Medidas.
Ciencias de la Vida	- Ciencias Naturales	- Seres Vivos
		- Recursos Naturales
		- Salud
-	- Estudios Sociales	- Sociedad
		- Historia
		- Habitat
Recreaciones	- Educación Musical	- Danzas
		- Canciones
		- Himnos
	- Educación Física	- Gimnasia
		- Deportes
		- Festivales

Source: Choque 1996:35-36.

Appendix 3: Tapes and Videos

Abbreviations: T = tape; V = video; d = transcribed in detail; n = notes taken; conv. = conversation; class = classroom; interv. = interview; r. = radio; eval = evaluation; literacy program = lit.prog.; Michkha = Michkhamayu

N° T/V	Date	Place	Event	Who	What	d/ n
T1	900502	La Paz	meeting	technicians of PEIB- CEE.	definition of alphabet for use in textbook.	d
T120	940000	Sucre	r. ACLO	locutores	definition of football terms	n
T119	941127	Sucre	r. ACLO	locutores, visitors	uvas quiero pasas no	d
T121	950000	Kokurí	interv.	Mr. YY.; pupils, teachers, headmaster.	point of view on education and the Education Reform.	d
T27	950700	Paredón	class	María	L2: berta; faja /paja; teaching words by repetition.	d
V01	950700	Paredón	•	•		n
V02	950726	Ma-Su		•	•	n
T117	950726	Paredón	line-up	Miss. TT.	line-ups	d
		Paredón	class	María	song (accent shift); sik'imirita	d
		Pisili	talk	PP	basic sociolinguistics in Quechua	d
		Sucre	r. ACLO	Demetrio Reynolds	disqualifying teacher's strike	d
		Pisili	visit	promotores	lit. prog.	d
		Sucre	r. ACLO		messages	d
V-03 .	950728	Paredón	class	Susana; María	ciencias; pela-pila, lotas	n
T103	950728	Sucre	r. ACLO	Severo La Fuente, Froilán, Cecilio, Cesar	entrevistas sobre ed.	d
V04	950731	Paredón		•	•	n
V05	950801	Paredón	Line-ups, hora cívica, class	Filomena, Esther	drinking chicha; pupils kee busy	n
T44	950803	Paredón	hora cívica	teachers, pupils	talks; carrera de antorchas	n
T45	950804	Paredón	conv.	María	cambios director	n
T46	950805	Paredón	conv.	Benigno; Darío; Goni; Isabel	on education: allillanchá, castellanu munanchik	d
T57	950807	MolleMayu	agosto	Mrs. RR.	vida del maestro	n
T5	950929	Paredón	conv.	María	reclama por entrevista	d
			class	María	writing and reading	d
V06	951106	Paredón	class	Esther, Filomena, Darío	Todos Santos; little learning theory; fiestas; L2.	n

V07	951108	Darío				n
V08	951109	Miriam			•	n
V09	951113	Par-Puka		Mrs. JJ.	•	n
T77	951114	Puka-Puka1	class	Mrs. JJ.	castellano	d
T28		Puka-Puka2	class	Mrs. JJ.		d
T29		Puka-Puka3	class	Mrs. JJ.; Mrs. EE.	watunakunkichik iskay iskaymanta ya?	d
V10	951114	Puka-Puka		•	•	n
V11	951114	Puka-Puka	•		•	n
V12	951115	Paredón	class	Filomena	school experiences	n
V12	951115		eval.	Celestino	•	n
V12	951115		interv.	Gabino T., Mario V.	school experiences; fight.	n
T7	951115	Paredón	class	Filomena	readiness pre-básico	d
			line-ups	Lucho	wounded boy	d
			conv.	María	strike conflict	d
T19	951116	Paredón	meeting sindicato	Celestino, teachers	info. situation of PEIB; conferences	n
T39	951118	Tarabuco	talk	Celestino	eib y reforma	n
T20	951118	Tarabuco	talk	Plaza	lengua y educación	n
T61	951118	Tarabuco	meeting	Celestino, Artemio, Walter	school administration	d
T2	951120	Paredón	interv.	Pupils1	school experiences: ferza kachamuwan a payqa	d
T2 1	951120	Paredón	interv.	Pupils2	on school; pukara; kasaminto	d
V13	951120	Paredón	•	pupils; Filomena; María	accounts; tiny tots	n
T22	951121	Jatun Rumi	meeting	comunarios	deception by circumstantial promises	d
T23	951121	Jatun Rumi	lit. prog.	•	•	n
T24	951121	Jatun Rumi	lit. prog.	•		n
T25	951121	Jatun Rumi	conv.	Serapio Vela	etnografía de Jatun Rumi	d
V13	951121	Jatun Rumi	class, hora cívica	Octavio, readings	readings; Octavio's room	n
T84	951122	Jatun Rumi	class	Octavio	origamis	d
T4	951122	Jatun Rumi	hora cívica	•	songs	n
V14	951122	JatunRumi2	class	Octavio	origamis comments	n
V15	951123	Retorno		•	•	n
T43	951124	Michkha	conv., eval.	teachers, Gladys, Sonia; pupils.	pullu: wallpaq wawitan	n
V16	951129	Paredón	futbol	María, Miriam, pupils	<empty></empty>	n
V17	951129	Paredón	class	María	Sound perceptions: malita vs.	n

				Esther, Filomena	maleta; [i] vs. [e], [u] vs. [o]; repetitions	
T18	951129	Paredón	interv.	Pupils: Gabino, Mario V., Florentino, Roberto, Bernardino.	short accounts of school, domestic work: yuntawan rini qhatirispa	d
	951130	Churikana	conv.	Ilafaya; Richard; J. Waylla, Pisili	crops; on school; red hat: example of penetration	d
		Qullakamani	conv.	Freddy	general comments on school	d
			class	Freddy	L2, Vicuñita: cómo estás? voy a hablar con el Valerio entienden? Sí, se dice.	d
V18	951130	Churikana			,	
T56	951130	Qullakamani	class	Freddy	qué es esto? es un foco, es una pila	d
			conv.	candidato	elecciones; propaganda hasta esta noche nomás ya	d
			readings	3rd and 6th grade	Daniel conducting interviews, and reading tests.	d
V19	951201	Freddy		Freddy		n
T17	951201	Churikana	eval.; conv.	Daniel's talk; question and answer in L1; dictation	tika imachus i?; readings: un tigre el pequeño oso	d
			conv.	<i>comunarios</i> de Churikana; Puka-Puka: Valentín, Claudio Limachi	qaynapis mana kanchu escuela; tropa tomanku chaykuna	d
T26	951204	Michkha	conv.	Sahonero	on school, community	n
T15	951204	Michkha; Paredón	conv.	Daniel's son; pupils;	Readings.	n
	951204	Paredón	meeting	•	•	n
T16	951204	Paredón	interv.	Felix Tardío; Julián Vargas; Francisco Vargas	tukuy imamanta pay astawan valen (cebada); @ de papa en 4 a 5 Bs. (about 1 US\$); p'anqas	d
T13	951206	Cororo	talk	PP	bil ed	n
T14	951206	Cororo	talk	PP	bil ed	n
T10	951206	Sucre	R. Aclo	noticias	statistics: teachers, staff.	d
				noticias	mujeres tienen menos documentos	d
				Walter Gutiérrez, dirigente CSUTCB	ed bil restringida a los tres primeros años	d
				Inocencio Flores, técnico del PEIB	restricciones a PEIB	d
T3	951207	Tarabuco	meeting	Teachers	evaluation of the academic year	n
				Lucía D'Emilio	experiencia, elévenla arriba; vicuñita	n

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T62	951208	Tarabuco	meeting	teachers	evaluación anual, estadísticas	n
				teachers	evaluación anual, estadísticas	n
T6	951208	Tarabuco	meeting	Lucía	eib	n
				Renato, tecnico PEIB		n
T42	951208	Tarabuco	meeting	teachers and Distrital	administrativos, y problemas de sueldos; CLAUSURA	d
			conv.	Manuel Vela	complaint against teachers	d
			conv.	Telmo Tardío	Pukllay, fiesta ruway	d
T42	960119	La Paz	r .	Fides	hilo directo, el hombre invisible	d
V20	960806	Tarabuco	parade	tarabuqueños	•	n
V21	960807	Tarabuco	class	Freddy	•	d
T8	960807	Paredón	meeting	Asesores: Remigio, Fabián	not only Paredón, asesoramiento; no housing	n
				comunario	queja against María: prebasico atin pukllayta, primeropi manaña	n
				comunario	ñawpaqta karqa 5 vocales.	n
	1			Manuel Vela	castellano qhipapi	n
Т9	960808	Paredón	class	María; Remigio	asesoramiento	n
T40	960812	Paredón	class	Freddy	L1, 3er grado: payqa jamun grabadoritanwan; writing in L1	d
T36	960812	Paredón	class	Freddy	castellano, 3er grado: pampa sarata t'akan	d
T32	960812	Paredón	class	Freddy	L1: cosecha con e	d
	<u> </u>		conv.	pupils	•	d
			conv.	Señora Wila	allqujina tratachikuhayku	d
V21	960814	Pisili	ļ.	Martín, María	•	n
V22	960814	Pisili	•	•	•	n
V23	960814	Pisili		•	•	n
Т33	960815	Michkha	meeting	asesores	participación popular	n
T34	960815	Michkha	meeting	asesores	participación popular	n
T35	960815	Michkha	meeting	asesores	participación popular	n
T58	960817	Paredón	meeting	comunarios, teachers	school problems	n
T59	960817	Paredón	meeting	comunarios, teachers	school problems	n
T60	960817	Paredón	meeting	comunarios, teachers	school problems	n
T73	960817	Paredón	meeting	Manuel Vela	school problems	n
Т86	960820	Pisili	meeting	comunarios, Walter	education; complaint: sunquy nanawan	d
		r. Loyola: in Mundo Laboral	interv.	dirigente normal Eduardo Caba; profesoras	conflicto normal, profesión loable, disculpas a la población; escuela de padres; marcha indígena	d

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T6 6	960821	radio ACLO	hora del maestro	Prof. Paredes	news: Edgar Noya, distrital de azurduy; Reforma Educativa	d
			ración 30	Augusto, visitors, Edith, Ernesto; Carlos Paredes; Moises Avendaño; Aldo Loayza	on communication (attitudes); news; complaint against swear words in reform's books.	d
T85	960822	Paredón	class, conv.	María	maths: yupaykuna	n
V24	960822	Molle Mayu	•	•		n
Notes	960823	Molle Mayu	class	RHM	class in Molle Mayu	n
T116	960823	Qullakamani	conv.	Modesto	alfabetización, machay, educación	d
			Г.	José Luís Alvarez	rechazo a seguridad social	d
T72	960824	Cororo 1	meeting	<i>comunarios</i> , profesores, distrital	asesores, education	n
T93	960824	Cororo 2	meeting	•		n
T67	960824	Cororo 3	meeting	•	•	n
T116	960826	Qullakamani	meeting	Remigio	participación popular	d
T30	960826	Retorno Alfa	conv.	•	•	n
T78	960828	Paredón	lit. prog.	Dámaso	demonstration of work	n
T74	960831	Cororo	meeting	comunarios, maestros	distanciados entre autoridades y sindicatos; asesores con amenazas	n
T94	960904	Paredón	asesor	Remigio, María	cuestionario; Reforma Educativa	n
T63	960905	Jatun Q'asa	conv.	director	vinchucas; boy-comunario	s
-			meeting	<i>comunarios</i> , director, profesora	boy-comunario	d
Т96	960905	Jatun Q'asa	meeting	comunarios	resbale cultural: pupil became comunario	d
V25	960905	Jatun Q'asa	•	•		n
V26	960905	Jatun Q'asa	•		•	n
T64	960911	Qullakamani	class	Sara	absenteeism; preparations	d
			conv.	Fidel; Nora	education, particular schools; pukllallanku	d
			line-ups	Sara, Nora	national anthem; cantachunku a (9:50 am); pañuelos	d
			fiesta	comunarios	Mama Guadalupe	d
T115	960916	Qullakamani	fiesta	<i>comunarios</i> ; dirigente Fidel	Marna Guadalupe, ayarichis	d
		Pisili	conv.	<i>comunario</i> Qullachaway	horapi jamunku (Pisiliman); ma (escuela) karqaraqchu, saqirpanku awelitutaqa	d
V27	960916	Qullakamani				n

T55	961009	Qullakamani	meeting	Walter Delgado	on education, literacy prog.: lluqsipullanku p'inqayta	d
		Sucre	conv.	Augusto Valda, radio Aclo	comments on Redención Pampa, and education	d
			news	radio ACLO	Redención Pampa, against bilingual education	d
V28	961013	Tarabuco	Corrida; class	<i>comunarios</i> José	On teaching L2; unthintable to accept accented Spanish	n
T101	961013	Tarabuco	conv.	Lucho, Mr. LL.	vida del maestro; le invito una chichita don Pedro	n
		Paredón	conv.	María, Lucho	vida del maestro, relaciones, chantaje Gladys	n
T102	961014	Paredón	class	José	L2: atiendan a ver antes de mirar el libro, hermanos tienen?	d
			conv.	José; Remigio	sugerencias enseñanza Cast.	d
T104	961014	Paredón	conv.	José	modernity: electricity, cities; acculturation: baseball hats.	n
				Lucho, María	vida del maestro	n
				Remigio no había maestros en Michkhamayu	asesor citado by Armando, tenían que estar los maestros, no habian llegado la Sonia nomás tiene salida	n
T105	961014	Paredón	conv.	Lucho, María, Susana, Freddy, Remigio	vida del maestro; poemas, curriculum oculto	n
Т99	961014	Paredón	conv.	asesores, María, Susana	wañuchidor I, II; anuncia supervisión de módulos; pupils sent out;	n
			conv.	Guillermo	no more line-ups; mentirosos: queremos los libros;	n
			class	Elizabeth	corto, largo: jaqaysituman riy, ya?, imaynataq kay?	n
1			conv.	Elizabeth	problems in Michkhamayu	n
			asesoría	Remigio-María	attempted counselling	1
T100	961014	Paredón	meeting	Remigio, profesores	hacer conocer documentos	n
	<u> </u>			Plaza	enseñanza del castellano	n
T105	961015	Paredón	conv.	Elizabeth	pre-básico	n
T95	961015	Paredón	conv.	Remigio	problemas de cursos de asesores con sindicatos.	d
			conv.	Guillermo	inauguración: van a chupar indio en tierra y listo; caso Elizabeth;	d
V29	961015	María-Eli1		•		n
V30	961015	Paredón			•	n
V31	961015	EU2				n

Т90	961023	Tarabuco	conv.	asesores	problema de Michkhamayu; borrachos	n
		Paredón	conv.	María	use of modules	n
T83	961023	Tarabuco: big Hugo	conv.	asesores	día de la lectura: no estamos de acuerdo; L2; metodología; normalización; Office Talk	d
				Kuki: Elizabeth	returned from Chapare; personal problems	d
T98	961023	Paredón	conv.	Walter Delgado, María, Director, Remigio	problemas de cuartos; José; son dos modos de pensar; permiso	n
			panpipe training	Mr. LL.	cebadilla amarilla	n
		Tarabuco	conv.	Walter	asesores; relaciones con la comunidad	n
Т37	961026	Qullakamani	conv.	Nora, Walter Aparicio; Modesto		d
V32	961026	Tarabuco		•	•	n
Т80	961026	Qullakamani	wedding	Modesto, others	varios	n
T38	961027	Tarabuco	conv.	Director Rosalía	anuncia cumpleaños de director	n
T109	961027	Tarabuco	conv.	Walter Aparicio, Walter D., Director Rosalía	remembering Modesto's fiesta, vida del maestro: mulas están (at bar)	n
Т95	961027	Tarabuco	conv.	Susana, Elizabeth	día de la lectura	d
T 41	961028	Qullakamani	class	Nora	28 día de los valientes; la tartaruga	d
			conv.	Nora	ya van a ser las seis triste	d
T38	961028	Qullakamani	conv.	Sara; Nora; Modesto	Nora complains that her 4th grade pupils cannot write whole sentences.	n
T108	961028	Tarabuco	conv.	Walter Delgado	comentarios sobre maestras; on María.	n
			talk	Plaza	normalization in Quechua	n
V33	961028	Qullakamani		•		n
T52	961029	Michkha	conv.	Segundino Rivero from Michkhamayu	on problems in Michkhamayu	d
		Paredón	conv.	Elizabeth	formularios; normalización	d
				Manuel Vela	complaint against teachers	d
T53	961029	Paredón	conv.	Manuel Vela	internado	n
V34	961029	MolleMayu				n
T51	961029	Paredón	conv.	Remigio, Susana	•	n
T50	961029	Paredón	lit. prog.	María	teaching of L2	d
	961030		conv.	Remigio	on PEIB's history	d
T65	961030	Paredón	asesoría	Remigio, María,	llenado de cuadros, evaluation;	n

				Elizabeth		
T54	961030	Paredón	eval.	Remigio, Elizabeth	problemas administrativos	
T87	961030	Paredón	conv.	Elizabeth	eib: rescate de los idiomas; teacher's problems	d
				teachers	problem with headmaster; Miss. TT.: weekly plan	d
T54	961031	Tarabuco	conv.	Benigno Ilafaya	problemas de alfabetización	n
T65	961031	Tarabuco	conv.	asesores	problems	n
T68	961101	Tarabuco	conv.	Kuki	sindicalismo	n
				Modesto	cuanto/cuando	n
T89	961103	Jatun Rumi	conv.	comunaria	registro único nacional	n
		Tarabuco	conv.	Walter Delgado	problemas con alcaldía, problemas administrativos	n
T68	961103	Qullakamani	conv.	Modesto		n
T88	961105	Tarabuco	fiesta	asesores	cumpleaños maestro	n
T89	961105	Tarabuco	fiesta	asesores	cumpleaños maestro	n
T70	961106	Sucre	conv.	Arze; Platt	interrelación: resbalan	n
		Tarabuco	conv.	asesor	•	n
T114	961108	Tarabuco	conv.	Dámasọ,	invitación, 200 afiliados en Paredón,	n
			conv.	María	inauguración, gladys,	n
			r. ACLO	Daniel	alfabetización: sunquchay, kallapachay, songs: Chakra Mayu	n
V35	961112	Paredón	Opening	•	Opening act of new school.	n
T 97	961112	Paredón	fiesta	teachers, asesores	teachers party, for opening.	n
T71	961112	Tarabuco	Opening	Fabián	modas; songs: Angolallamanta ajajay	n
T106	961113	Molle Mayo	class	Mrs. RR.	readings; tarea;	d
		r. San Rafael	interv.	Humberto Ortíz, dirigente sindical	contra la Reforma Educativa	d
T75	961113	Tarabuco	conv.	Walter, profesores, asesores		n
		MolleMayu	conv.	Mrs. RR.	experiencias ed.	n
T82	961114	MolleMayu	conv.	Mrs. RR., junta auxilio Molle Mayu	health statistics; juntas escolares; Reforma Educativa	n
		Icla	conv.	profesora 3er grado; director	escuela Icla	n
T110	961114	Molle Mayo	class	Mrs. RR., pupils	maths: readings, subtractions: carrochá	d
			conv.	Mrs. RR.	complaint against asesores	d
T81	961115	MolleMayu	class	Mrs. RR.	maths 1-20	n
T79	961115	MolleMayu	class	Mrs. RR.	readings, ñuqawan kuska:	n

					insectos enseptos pekaron; no fuss about phonetics	
T76	961117	Sucre	r. ACLO	varios	tales; songs: admonision to candidates; ayni in Lupiara Pampa; willaykuna	n
T11	961210	Cororo	promo.	colegio de Cororo	graduation ceremony	n
T12	961212	Tarabuco	conv.	Lorenzo	escuelapi pierdekun wawa	d
T113	961212	Tarabuco	conv.	Walter, asesores	paro, 72 días de; accidente	d
			rally	Jaime Paz Zamora	campaña política	d
T69	961214	Tarabuco	conv.	Armando	teachers, problems	n
		Sucre	conv.	Ilafaya	alfabetization	n
T118	961222	Tarabuco	conv.	Lorenzo Ilafaya	community's view point on schooling	d
T11 1	970105	Tarabuco	conv.	Benigno	junta escolar, alfabetización, cancha	n
				Modesto y Sra.	despedida	n
T107	970106	Sucre	conv.	Artemio, Teófilo	ex-headmasters of El Paredón	n
	970107	Sucre	meeting	Walter, asesores	planificación alfa, educación	n
T91	970121	Sucre	conv.	Lucho, María	vida del maestro; car problems	n
T92	970122	Sucre	conv.	Lucho, María	vida del maestro	n
T47	970129	Cochabamba	sem-taller	PROEIB	dos modalidades; maestrías	n
				Froilán Condori	para profesionales en EIB.	
T48	970129			López; Albó	•	n
T49	970129			F Condori; E Camargo; C Huanca.	formación docente; los que traban son los alcaldes	n
	970300	La Paz	r. PanAm.	José Luís Alvarez	sobre críticas de Ipiña y Reforma Educativa	d

Appendices

Appendix 4: List of Abbreviations

ACLO	Acción Cultural Loyola, Sucre.
APG	Asamblea del Pueblo Guaraní, Camiri.
CERA BC	Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos "Bartolomé de las Casas", Cuzco.
COB	Central Obrera Boliviana, Bolivia.
CONMERB	Confederación Nacional de Maestros de Educación Rural de Bolivia.
CSUTCB	Confederación Sindical Unica de Trabajadores Campesinos de Bolivia.
DGER	Dirección General de Educación Rural, Bolivia.
ETARE	Equipo Técnico de Apoyo a la Reforma Educativa, La Paz.
I.I.I.	Instituto Indigenista Interamericano
IEP	Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.
INE	Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Bolivia.
INEL	Instituto Nacional de Estudios Lingüísticos, La Paz.
INIDE	Instituto Nacional de Investigación y Desarrollo de la Educación, Perú.
MEC	Ministerio de Educación y Cultura.
OREALC	Oficina Regional de Educación de la UNESCO para América Latina y el Caribe.
PEIA	Proyecto Educativo Integrado del Altiplano, La Paz (1976)
PEIB	Proyecto de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe, Bolivia.
PER-I	Proyecto Educativo Rural I, Cochabamba (1976)
SENALEP	Servicio Nacional de Alfabetización y Educación Popular, Bolivia.
SIL	Summer Institute of Linguistics.
TRB	Proyecto Texto-Rural-Bilingüe, Comisión Episcopal de Educación, Bolivia (1982-1988*),
UDP	Unidad Democrática y Popular, a coalition of leftist parties that governed Bolivia from 1982 to 1995.
UNST	Unidad Nacional de Servicios Técnicos, Bolivia.
UNST-P	Unidad Nacional de Servicios Técnico-Pedagógicos, Bolivia.

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Appendices

Appendix 5: Alfabeto Unico

Alfabeto único para los idiomas aymara y quechua. D.S. 202227, 5 de Mayo de 1984.

(SENALEP 1984)

Consonants:

Occlusives

	simple	p, t, ch, k, q
	aspirated	ph, th, ch, kh, qh
	glottalized	p', t', ch', k', q'
Nasals		m, n, ñ
Laterals		1, 11
Fricatives		s, [sh], j, [q] (1)
Vibrants		r
Semiconsonants		w, y

Vowels:

i [e] [o] u (2) a

Notas:

(1) Alófono de /q/

- (2) Opcional
- (3) "Por influjo castellano pueden existir también otros fonemas de dicha lengua: b, d, g, f, rr." (Albó 1987:443).

This alphabet provides a list of letters defined in terms of their articulatory features, which in turn were obtained on the basis of phonemic analysis, that is a grapheme for every attested phoneme; but it does not prescribe the orthography of particular words.

Appendix 6: Transcriptions

Chapter 1.3. Extracting knowledge

- B: Pero.. ayj.. Tukuy ima proyectos kachkallanpuni a... pero solo que.. ima proyectostapis profesormanqa burruta jina llamk'achiwayku gustunkuman.. y...
- P: Ñuqa llamk'achichkaykichu?
- B: Mana.. pero uyariway a, recién parlachkani. Ima proyectopis gustunkuman burruta jina llamk'arichiwayku profesoresman y aplausos, felicitaciones, gratificación económica, chaykunastataq jap'irinku sumaqta autoridadeslla y profesor-ri ni imata. Antis kay bonotowan qhichuykuwayku gustunkuman, ni chaypis kanchu kunan, kayman siquiera chayllatapis qunawayku karqa kay educación bilingüe kasqanrayku; qhasilla.. kay reforma educativa kasqanraykullapis a, 60 pesoslla karqa.
- P: Ñinkutaqqa kay Reformawan mana pipis aswan pisita jap'inqachu, ñispa.
- B: Chay sonserallapuni a. (..) Kay wataña ñirqanku Agostomanta pagakunqa ñispa. Kay tata Agostopis ripunña .. ni kunan kanchu ni ima, watallamantaña ñin. Kunan watallamantaraq recién kanqanku chay profesores primer cursowan kunan kachkanku wataman segundowan kanqanku, chay segundoman pasaspa profesores watiq fregakunqanku, sonsos jina llamk'asqayku primeropi, watamantaq recién waqkuna mana ni imapi sufrispa tukuy ima qullqitapis jap'inqanku.. (Tape 5, 950929)

Chapter 5.3. Hora Cívica

Mrs. BB.'s discourse

B: (..) kunan p'unchaw parlarisunchik tumpata yuyarispa kay dos de agosto kasganrayku, porquechus kay dos de agostoga yuyarinchik kimsa decretostapuni y chay ñiqta kunantaq ñuqanchik festejana tiyan kay dos de agostota. Chay... ñawpaqpiqa primera vez que juk decreto lluqsimuchkaptin, firmakurqa kay decreto el dos de agosto de 1931, kayqa karqa.. chay pacha kachkarqa kay teniente coronel Germán Busch paytag chay decretota ruwarga que ñispa kay dos de agosto yuyarina tiyan el día del campesino boliviano. Segundo decretotaq karqa kay núcleo escolar campesino, primer núcleo escolar campesino kicharikurga kay Warisata llaqtapi, kay chiqan La Pazpi. Watasmanta chay núcleo ruwakurqa juk normal rural, chay normal rural ruwakurqa capacitanankupaq chaypi achkha profesoresta, chay profesores rinanku karga llamk'aq ... kampuman, y chaypitaq paykuna primeros profesores chaypi kachkarqanku, maypichus chay núcleo ruwakurqa chayqa karqa chay profesores Elizardo Pérez y Avelino Siñani, chaykunas cargupi karqanku, pioneros (..). Como tercer decreto karqa kay 1953, maypichus kachkarqa presidente jina kay doctor Víctor Paz Estensoro, pay ruwarga chay reforma agraria. Pero paykuna creerganku que kay reforma agraria allillantapuni rinanta sapa wata, tukuy wata. Pero mana paykuna piensarqankuchu que kay reforma agraria apamunanta kay llakiyninchikta, *imaraykuchus* ñuqanchik *sigui*llasanchikpuni llamk'aspa kay *picota*wan aradowan chaykunallawanpuni, mana ñuqanchik kanchu lugar, mana kanchu

yanapaykuna ñuqanchikpaqqa, jamunanpaq chay maquinarias chay musuq semillas, mana kanchu imawan qharpana lla.. chay jallp'anchikta, chay tukuy imarayku. Chayraykus compañeros, wawakuna, qamkuna chay tukuy imata uyarispa jamunaykichik tiyan yachay wasiman, mana ni jayk'aq faltanaykichikchu tiyan porquechus qamkuna sumaqta yachanaykichik tiyan ñawiriyta y qhillqayta. Jinallamantataq chay machuspaq ima, warmispaq, qharispaq kasallantaq chay cursos de alfabetización. Chayman qamkunapis rinallaykichiktaq tiyan yachakuq ñawiriq y qhillqaq, mana ni pi ni jayk'aq engaños kananpaq, ni pi sarunan tiyanchu nipita. tukuchanapaq compañeros yanapariwaychik ñiyta: qhallalla San José del Paredón. (Tape 44, 950803)

Headmaster's Discourse

E: Ichapis kunan p'unchawpiqa, sapa wata jina, tantasqas kachkanchik uyarinanchikpaq imaynatachus kay Bolivia suyunchikqa, unaymantapachaga kunankamaga ñapis mana wak nacion jap'iyninchikchu kachkanchik. Unayga kasqa kay España ñisqa .. jap'iykachaspa kay suyutaga. Kunanga ña ñisunman unaymantapachaga ñapis libresña kanchik. Chayman jinaga atinchik ruwayta *imatachus* ñuganchik munanchik ruwayta ñawpagman rinanchikpag. (..) Ñuga yuyani Bolívar Sucrega mana sapallankuchu paykunaga maganakunkuman karga, paykunaga yanapachikumun.. yanapachikunku campesinoswan, porque paykunaqa sapitankullaqa ma atinkunkumanchu karqa imatapis ruwayta. Karganku ejércitos ñisga, ejércitos libertadores, pero chay ukhupiga karganku campesinos, karqanku llaqtamanta kaqkuna, runa masisninchik, y paykunataqa ichapis aysaykachaspa ichapis ñawpaqman apaspaqa karganku kay Bolívar y chay Sucrepiwan, pero historiaga solamente ñisunman jugharin sutitaga Bolivarmanta Sucremanta, chantaga campesinosmantaga mana jugharinchu, ma yachanchikchu pikunachus yanapakurqanku paykunataqa, ma ñuqa yuyanichu. watiqmanta ñiykichik, paykunaqa sapitas kasqankuta. Chaylla kanman ichapis kay pisi palabrasta kaymanta yuyarispa. (Tape 44, 950803)

Chapter 5.5. Miss CC.

- C: .. o sea un día uno de mis alumnos no podia hacer ejercicio y me dijo de que.. uno de ellos me dijo porque no le suenas, y el que no podía me dijo voy a traer un palo, así, para que nos suene, porque cuanto más nos pegan más aprendemos, me dijo, uno de ellos. Y me lo trajo, ahí está el palo .. aquí hay uno y aquí hay otro. Pero el otro dijo no no puede pegar la profesora, ma atinchu, me dijo, así me dijeron.
- P: cómo que ma atinchu, está prohibido?
- C: No .. me dicen que yo no les sueno p.. no les castigo, por eso es que no.. me dicen que no puedo hacerles.
- P: Y entonces traen noáas el palo.
- C: Si ya me han traído tres palos, estan por ahí. (Video 06, 951106)

Chapter 6.2. Some pupils' accounts

Juan Vela Flores

J: Primero cursomanta pacha Carmela karqa. (..) Allillan karqa. Primer cursopi reciellanraqpuni yacharqani chaypiqa, kastillanupi qhichwapipis. (..) leyiyta escribiyta.. Libro karqa Margara sutin karqa. .. karqa.. qhichwasmanta karqa chay, prufisur. (..) Chaymanta chay qhipan watas juk librosñataq karqa. (..) Terceropiqa karqa José karqa. José... (maríachus/ Vargaschus karqa) Puro kastillanumanta chayqa yachachiwarqayku. Regularlla karqa, mana ... kastigakuq, sumaqta garrotekuq, prufsr.

Gabino Tardío

G: Escuelaman ñuqa tercero cursoman kutiyamuni. Chaypi profesora Mrs. DD. karqa, prufisuray... Pay yachachiwarqayku kastilla qallupi, [qhichwata] mana yachaqchu, puro kastillanumanta parlan. Chay tercer cursopi yachachiwayku kastilla simimanta parlayku. Chanta jina parlawaspa yachachiwayku pay astawan ña ruwayta. Chaymanta.. as tumpa regularlla karqa, mikhunallata wayk'ukapuq, chaymanta mana allinta qhawawaqchu kayku. Ma.. llamt'awan cocinakuq chayllata atiendemuq docekama, chaymanta.. lluqsipuq jawaman, ñuqayku chay lluqsipuptinga pukllaykutaq chaykama. Chay kutiyyamun muestrata qurpuwayku laphi hojapi pata kantunpi ruwarpapuwayku, chayta ruwankichik ñispa saqiwayku, chay mana chay ukhupi kaptin ni ruwaykupistagchu. A veces chaymanta magawag kayku, sig'uwag kayku, juk warata.. mollemanta waritata apaykamuq chaywan. Jina awantallayku pero chavtapis chav mana ruwasqaykurayku jinawaq kayku. Chavmanta docemanta kutiyyamun. Chay wawitayuq karqa chay Dioni (..) chaypaq chumpa ruwanata chayta ruwaq. Chaykama ñuqaykuqa pizarronman ima apaykamun llugsichkavku, dibujavchik ñiwavku, dibujavku chaypi imavmanitasta, atisoaykuta dibujakuyku. Chaymanta sumata yachachiwaq kayku, sumata... pachakmanta... waranqakama yachachiwaq kayku. Chayta mana atiriqchu kayku, allinmanta atiq kayku pero, atispaña ruwaq kayku. Chaymanta jina sumas ruwayku, sumas ruwaspa mm chayta mana atiptiyku siq'ullawaqtaq kayku. Chaymanta ... kastillanumanta qhapariq... Jawata lluqsirpaspa, chaymanta kutiyyamuspa chay jinata qhapariq, kutiyyamuspa "Tontos por qué no hácen?" ñispa niwaq kayku.. "Cabeza de barros," ñirpawaq kayku. Jina kakuchkayku ñuqaykuqa, chaymanta siq'urpariwayku chay jina ñispa. Chanta juk *ladu* k'uchituman mana atiptiyku sayarpachiwayku, wakin atiq kayku wakin mana, chaymanta jinata ñiwaq kayku. (Tape 2, 951120)

Mario Vargas Condori

M: Ñuqaq sutiy kachkan Mario Vargas Condori (...) iskay watata mana pasarqanichu, cursosta ma pasarqanichu, primer cursollapi ma pasarqanichu. Chantaqa wakmanta ñuqaykuta mana atiqta rak'irquwaq kayku qhipa kantuman, atiqkunarí ñanpaqpi karqanku. (...) Chaymantaqa nipuni atiqpunichu kani, qhillakuq llimphu kani. umm. Qhillakuspaqa ma yaykuymanchu ñiq kani ñuqa, tataytaqa .. Fersa kachamuwaq payqa.. Chanta chantaqa watiq jukmanñataq yaykuni, chaytapis niñapuni niña.. ma pasallaniñataqchu. Chanta chaymantaqa profesor NN. chamurqa chaywan paywan leyerqani. (...) profesor NN.-pis jinallataq karqa, jukta tariyata qurpawaq kayku chanta chay ruwaq kayku, wakin ma ruwaykuchu, wakin ma ruwaykuchu. Uma chakimantapuni mana ruwaqta sayachiwaq kayku. (Tape 2, 951120)

Chapter 6.3.

Comunario-boy

- H: ya bueno. atiymanraq.. atisunmanraqchu solucionayta pay kutiykunanpaq o manañachu? ima ñinkichik qamkuna a ver? mayoríapi palabra.
- q: atikunman señor director, kunan kaypi kachkaptiyki señor director solucionay. sabes ñuqayku ajina reunionpi ñuqayku jinata multaptiyku, ma atinqachu, señor director.
- H: pero qamkuna mayoría ima ñinkichiktaq? porque mayoría decidisqa chay junt'akunan tiyan, si kan voluntad o mana kan voluntad. si ñuqawan arreglasunchik, ñuqa kutiripusqaytawan watiq mat'iyta qallaripuwankichik.
- c: well, of course.
- G: that's what'll happen.

The Community

L: intencionninkuqa kan riyman Santa Cruzman Chapariman Cochabambaman jina chay gananciaman, porque chaypi astawan ñuqayku ganakuchkayku qullqi tarikuchkayku, entonces mana kay escribiy cosapiqa creyenkuchu... Qhasillapaq ruwachkasunman jina, jap'inku, pero qhasillapaq jinapis ruwachkasunman (...) porque asambleapipis parlanku i? entons rimachkanku asambleasmanta colegiosmanta escuela trabajomanta y chay faltonesmanta, chay wakinqa manapuni jamuchkankuchu wakin runas; entonces k'ullus nichkanku chayta. entonces chayta parlaylla parlakun mana qhillqankuchu, entonces amañakuspari entonces qhillqanachá kanman chaytaqa i? (Tape 118, 961222)

Schooling a waste of time

L: Mayor parte ñillankupuni porque riyllata riyku escuelamanqa ñawpaqpipis kunanpis jinallapuni mana normaleayta piensaspachu ñinku. Entonces imaynatachá allqutapis lluqsiy ñirpasunman i? entonces ajinallata escuelaman riy ñirpanku, wawaqa rillan, nichá t'ukurinchu imapaq rini ñispa. Ni tatan mamanpis nillataq mana t'ukurinkuchu, kay wawayqa yachachun ñispa, ima profesionniyuqllapis lluqsinanpaq ñispa, mana t'ukuykuchu a. (Tape 118, 961222)

Teachers from the community perspective

Appendices

- L: Mm [mana] ñuqa qhawasqayman porque kay iskay wata junt'asqa kay Richar ... mana. Mana mana, profesor Richar ñin porque ma kaste.. ma qhichwa yachanichu ñin, ñispa mana amiguspiwanpunichu. Warmillan ñinku ma yachanchu ñispa, pero parlapayasqaqa parlan ñinku. .. parlapayasqa. Pero mana amigusta ni diriginteswan ni promotor .. purintaqchu. Dirigentes fiestarikunku? .. chanta profesorwan.. chayta kawsanku i, profesorpis fiestarikun ... (Tape 12, 961212)
- b)
- L: Jinankupuni, porque kay ñawpaqpi kay profesores lunes ma chayamunkuchu mercolespiraq chayamunku, chanta jueves o viernes sabadontin llank'arparichinku juk semanapi y chantaqa qhipan semanaspitaq ripurparinku juevesta ajina, chaymantaqa luneslapiña martesllapiña chayamunku. Ni pi mana.. ñinku.. chayman controlanchu. Y chayjina .. ñillankutaq, entonces ajina ñiptinpisqa porque profesorqa phiñarpakunqa ñispa ripurpaq tukunqa, mana profesorniyuq quedakusunman ñispa ñinku... (Tape 12, 961222)

Benigno

B: Allillanchá, manataq wawitasniy ancha kanchu ñuqaqta kaypi, mañana wawitay, nitus kanku jamunku. allillanta ñinku, pero de que ñuqayku ma munaykuchu ghichwataga, imapag yachachinku ghichwata? ñuganchikpis vachallanchik ghichwata ñispa. castellanuta munanchik, castellanu astawan yachachipuwasunman ñillanku wawasniyuqkunaqa. ñuqaqa mana kantaqchu wawaspis nietosllaña kanku. chayta ñinku qhichwataqa ñuqanchikpis atichkallanchik, kaypi wawasninchik yachachkallanku, imapaq chay qhichwa ñig kasganku wawasgniyugkuna. castellanuta astawan yachankuman ñinku castellanuta wawasniyuqkuna. arí, astawan munayku wawasniykuta yachananta ñiq kasqanku. qhichwa liyiyqa.. qhichwataqa parlachkallanchik ajinata ñuganchik parlachkallanchikga ñinku. (Tape 46, 950805)

Chapter 6.4. Divided Loyalties

- MA: Kay ratuta ñuqa aprovechay munani parlarinapaqqa kay reforma educativamanta. Ciertamente wakin comunidades o mayoría padres de familia talvez desorientasqa kachkanku porque gobierno gastachkan achkha millones millones qullqita chay propagandaspi ñispa de que reforma educativa avanzachkan. Ciertamente chayqa mana jinachu kachkan, ñuqayku como dirigentes responsables, como maestros pikunachá kachkayku escuelaspi wawaswan trabajaspa ñuqayku a diario qhawachkayku de que kay reforma educativaqa mana avanzachkanchu, mas al contrario naw.. qhipaman richkan como cangrejo. (Tape 66, 960821)
- MA: Avanzallantaqchá talvez chay saqra cosaspi, como gobierno ñin wawasqa yachanan tiyan chay saqra cosasta y k'acha cosasta, pero ñuqayku ñiyku de que wawasqa yachananku tiyan solamente chay waliq cosasta, chay k'acha cosasta, mana atikunmanchu yachachiyta chay malas palabrasta, como chay libros chay textospi lluqsimuchkan eeeh.. como.. palabras eeeh, pata peta pita pota puta; ropita ripeta pipita reputa.. mana chayqa cosachu ñuqaykupaqqa, ni ni tukuy padres de familiaspaqpis. (Tape 66, 960821)

Appendices

Chapter 7.3. Education

Redención Pampa's complaints

(..) kay iskay semana junt'ataña purikuyku, solucionta mask'aspa kay wawasniykurayku. mana ñuqayku kwenta qukurqaykuchu, imachus .. kay reforma educación kasqanta. kunanqa wawasniykuta kachayku, pero mana nimata apankuchu, casi ni imata yachankuchu, sino q'alitunpi ripuchkanku, (..) nitaq ni ima qillqasqanku cuadernonkupi kanchu. chaymanta preocupasqas, primer gradumanta puririnku mamas, jukman jukman willarikuspa, imanasaqkutaq, imanasaqkutaq. (..) mana ñuqaykupaq allinchu kanqa kay qhichwa yachananku wawasniyku kimsa wata junt'ata, mana libretayuq kananku (..) .. reforma educativa ma munaykuchu wawasniykupaq, retraso kachkan. ñuqayku munayku wawasniyku leyenankuta .. kastellanu qalluman, astawan jinaman chaqrunankuta... (..) (Tape 55, 961009).

Appendix 7: Some Statistics

Chapter 3.

Evolution of the first class of the PEIB (1990-1994)

		1	2	3	4	5
Registered	boys	547	491	388	319	286
	girls	480	341	288	235	201
	totals	1027	832	676	554	487

	boys	440	401	328	280	270
Promoted	girls	368	278	244	201	179
	totals	808	679	572	481	449

							averages
Promotion rates	boys	80.44	81.67	84.54	87.77	94.41	85.76
	girls	76.67	81.52	84.72	85.53	89.05	83.50
	totals	78.68	81.61	84.62	86.82	92.2	84.78

		1 to 2	2 to 3	3 to 4	4 to 5
Drop-out grade to grade	boys	10.24	20.98	17.78	10.34
	girls	28.96	15.54	18.4	14.47
	totals	18.99	18.75	18.05	12.09

Source: C. Choque 1996.

Chapter 7.

Socioeconomic indicators

	Chuqui- saca	La Paz	Cocha- bamba	Oruro	Potosí	Tarija	Santa Cruz	Beni
Illiteracy rates	39.3	16.8	21.1	15.3	38	21.1	11	12.8
School attendance	64.4	77.8	73.5	81.1	71.4	69.7	75	73.3
Electricity	34.9	60.1	56.3	59.6	35.9	51.4	67	48.2
Indigent + marginalized	53.51	38.73	36.00	32.69	52.20	32.48	20.72	36.68
Spanish	73.65	88.66	80.44	92.58	68.38	99.07	98.06	98.16

Appendices

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Native languages	66.49	69.40	79.87	82.66	93.74	15.32	20.11	11.65
NL monolinguals	25.51	10.73	19.13	7.17	31.47	0.28	0.61	0.16

Sources: INE 1997, 1998; Albó 1994, I: 30-59.

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