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AN ANALYSIS OF THE INTERCULTURAL BILINGUAL EDUCATION (IBE) OF THE INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES IN THE PERUVIAN AMAZON

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**AN ANALYSIS OF THE INTERCULTURAL BILINGUAL EDUCATION (IBE) OF
THE INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES IN THE PERUVIAN AMAZON**

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MAY 2016

A MASTER PAPER

**Submitted to the faculty of Clark University, Worcester,
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ABSTRACT

An analysis of the Intercultural Bilingual Education (IBE) of the indigenous communities in the Peruvian Amazon

Rubi Ruth Rojas Vasquez

Peru is a multicultural and multilingual country. Through the Peruvian history, there has been a marginalization of indigenous peoples. For instance, this marginalization has been represented in their educational policies. For that reason, the program of Intercultural Bilingual Education (IBE) should be a bridge of integration of all the different cultures in Peru. In order to analyze the reality of the program, there is an explanation of the theoretical concepts of intercultural and bilingual, as well as, the definition of indigenous and the international law that protects them and how the government considers them in their policies. I believe that the correct implementation of this program can generate better educational outcomes for indigenous peoples. This paper uses a case study of the reality of indigenous peoples' education in the Peruvian Amazon region. There is a research of the data published by the Ministry of Education , the training programs for teachers in the Amazon region, and the latest assessments of students.

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To my mom who has been my support all my life

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Introduction

This paper will research the reality of indigenous peoples' education in the Peruvian Amazon through the Intercultural Bilingual Education (IBE) program. The primary objective of a student who receives this type education is to become a bilingual person, which means that they would be able to adapt and communicate in two different environments: their native community and the rest of the country. To analyze the reality of the program, I will explain the theoretical concepts of intercultural and bilingual, as well as the definition of indigenous acknowledging the international law that protects them and how the government considers them in their policies. For the realization of this study, the data that the Ministry of Education has published about how the government is addressing Intercultural bilingual education policies is used, as well as, the number of students and schools that are related to this program. Also, there is an analysis of the training program for bilingual teachers, its history and its changes since the republic. Finally, there is an evaluation of the results of the current students' assessment. In addition, a review of the policies of the Peruvian state around IBE is investigated, analyzing national laws and international rights that exist for the indigenous people. At the same time, I provided my perspective as a Peruvian student with the education I received and compared it with the approach of this program.

Peru is a multicultural and multilingual country, having recognized the existence of 54 indigenous or native peoples who speak 47 native languages (Ministry of Education, 2013). This diversity must be addressed as an advantage and should be

taken in political decisions, such as in education, to contribute to the development of the country. However, the recognition of this diversity has not been easy. Throughout their history, diversity has been perceived as a problem in the minds of many Peruvians that has prevented the construction of a unified nation and the desired development of Peru (Ministry of Education, 2015). Unfortunately, vulnerable populations, such as indigenous people are the ones who have been more affected. The Peruvian jungle has always been the region that has been less taken into account in national research and policy, despite its high potential in natural resources and its capacity for social organization.

While studying about Intercultural Bilingual Education and how it has been addressed in the Amazon, it is possible to receive some insight on the situation of indigenous peoples. Over the years, indigenous people are poorer, less educated and less healthy than non-indigenous people. Around 59.5% of the natives' peoples of the Amazon area is poor and 26.4% live in extreme poverty (Benavides, Mena, & Ponce, 2010). For that reason, indigenous communities' rights have been deteriorated in the last decades. With these rights, indigenous communities have been demanding a better quality of life through the value of "self-determination" and validation of their culture. In that sense, education proposes mobility and social integration of disadvantaged sectors (Adams, 1993). However, the school must be conceived as part of a social system that acts with other sectors to address the problem of inequality, because to the extent that it improves the welfare of the population, better learning

conditions will be guaranteed (Adams, 1993). Education policies are also social policies and, therefore, must be coordinated and integrated social policy.

Intercultural Bilingual Education (IBE) is an educational system that has been promoted to improve the quality of life of indigenous communities. According to a recent document of the Ministry of Education, Intercultural Bilingual Education, which is particularly oriented to students from an indigenous community, constitutes one of the priority policies of equity, ensuring educational quality care to members of these regions (Ministry of Education, 2015). From a pedagogical perspective, children learn better if they do it from their own cultural and linguistic references, ensuring them the access to other socio-cultural scenarios, learning of Spanish as a language for national communication, and foreign language for communication in broader contexts (Baker, 2006). Thus, Intercultural Bilingual Education seeks to guarantee the right of everyone to education according to their culture and in their mother tongue when this is a native language, but also the right of indigenous students to revitalize the mother tongue of their ancestors as a vehicle access to their cultural heritage and to assert its identity. According to the Ministry of Education, in 2014 the bilingual school population was about 1 million 84 thousand students between 3 and 17 years old, who have studied in more than 600 bilingual schools in all the levels of education: basic, primary and secondary (Ministry of Education, 2015).

The following chapter will explain the concept of indigenous and their rights in the international law, as well as the meaning of Intercultural and Bilingual. Chapter 2

will describe the educational policies that Peru has. Finally, chapter 3, will explain the specific case study on Intercultural Bilingual Education in the Peruvian Amazon, the training programs promoted by the government and the latest educational outcomes revealed in the assessments.

Chapter 1: Analytical Framework

The greatest treasure of Peru is its diversity. Peru possesses an ethnic, social, cultural and biological diversity that leads to different ways of being, speaking, feeling, thinking (Ministry of Education, 2013). Their diversity, then, goes beyond skin color and physical traits, it is represented in forms of life, feelings, beliefs, sense of belonging to a territory, religion, symbols, and language. In this sense, indigenous peoples represent a traditional cultural heritage and have the right to receive an education in their original language and culture. Unfortunately, there has always been a marginalization against natives' populations because they speak a different language than Spanish. A language represents more than just ways of communicating. Therefore, while we are examining languages issues, we are also studying issues of power. For instance, the school, as we discussed below, has contributed to this situation by forcing Spanish as the only language and ignoring Peru's diversity. There has been a violation of the rights of children to be educated in their mother tongue and a violation of the collective rights of indigenous peoples. For that reason, it is important to acknowledge the concept of indigenous and how the international community sees them and protect them. Also, we have to value the concept of

intercultural and the meaning of what bilingual person is, so the policies in Intercultural Bilingual Education can be efficient and not commit the same mistakes that have been before, such as trying to make everyone speaks the same language instead of accepting and respect all the cultures in the country.

The concept of “Indigenous”

In 2012, there were more than 370 million people in the world who could be considered "indigenous" in around 70 countries in the world (International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA), 2014). There has been a debate about the defining or understanding of indigenous peoples over time. According to Jose Martinez Cobo, who studied the problem of discrimination against indigenous population, he states the:

"Indigenous communities, peoples, and nations are those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing in those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal system" (UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues - UNPFII, 2009, p. 4).

Martinez Cobo also describes a historical continuity of indigenous groups that have existed for different reasons, such as, occupation of ancestral lands, culture, religion, livelihoods, languages, residency, among others (UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues - UNPFII, 2009). In this report, he also defines that an indigenous

person belongs to his community through the concept of "self-determination" and is accepted by the community, who have the sovereign right and power to decide who belongs in their group (UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues - UNPFII, 2009).

Article 33 of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples emphasizes the importance of self-determination in the following way:

"Indigenous peoples have the right to determine their own identity or membership in accordance with their customs and traditions. This does not impair the right of indigenous individuals to obtain citizenship of the States in which they live. Indigenous peoples have the right to determine the structures and to select the membership of their institutions in accordance with their own procedures." (United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, 2007, p. 34).

In addition, ILO Convention No. 169 also underlines the importance of self-identification (International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention 169, 1989). This convention also defines indigenous peoples as:

"a) tribal peoples in independent countries whose social, cultural and economic conditions distinguish them from other sections of the national community and whose status is regulated wholly or partially by their own customs or traditions or by special laws or regulations; b) peoples in independent countries who are regarded as indigenous on account of their descent from the populations which inhabited the country, or a geographical region to which the country belongs, at the time of conquest or colonization or the establishment of present state boundaries and who irrespective of their legal status, retain some or all of their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions" (International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention 169, 1989, p. 2).

Therefore, there is no universal definition of what indigenous peoples are, they should all feel identify and accepted as part of their community. For the purpose of this paper, I am building the concept of indigenous as Martinez Cobo definition because

he indicates that indigenous peoples are part of the non dominant culture. Intercultural Bilingual Education in Peru was based on the idea that the State should decide on indigenous peoples' education programs.

Indigenous rights

The UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP)

In 2007, the United Nations assembly declared the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, 2007). The Declaration is a long and complex document with a preamble and 46 articles. It concerns about the individual and collective rights of indigenous peoples. (United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, 2007). This guide is a setting for the well-being of indigenous peoples indicating that indigenous peoples are protected in the same way as non-Indigenous peoples. For instance, in the article 1 states that: *"Indigenous peoples have the right to the full enjoyment, as a collective or as individuals, of all human rights and fundamental freedoms as recognized in the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and international human rights law"* (United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, 2007, p. 16).

Furhtermore, this declaration also explains the concept of self-determination (Article 3). In the following articles, the charter ensures that indigenous people have the right to be free from discrimination (Article 2), maintain autonomy (Article 4),

belong to a community (Article 9), among other (United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, 2007).

In the case of perceiving indigenous peoples culture, Article 8 is very specific by saying: *"Indigenous peoples and individuals have the right not to be subjected to forced assimilation or destruction of their culture"* (United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, 2007, p. 19). These rights arise, in part, from the historical subjugation that indigenous peoples have suffered from the colonization and dispossession of their lands, territories, and resources (United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, 2007).

In addition, UNDRIP provides guidelines in how indigenous people should achieve education. Article 14 is very specific to an education for indigenous peoples in their own language, stating that:

"(1) Indigenous peoples have the right to establish and control their educational systems and institutions providing education in their own languages, in a manner appropriate to their cultural methods of teaching and learning. (2) Indigenous individuals, particularly children, have the right to all levels and forms of education of the State without discrimination. (3) "States shall, in conjunction with indigenous peoples, take effective measures, in order for indigenous individuals, particularly children, including those living outside their communities, to have access, when possible, to an education in their own culture and provided in their own language" (United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, 2007, p. 22).

Moreover, this is combined with article 15 that guarantees the right of Indigenous peoples *"to the dignity and diversity of their cultures, traditions, histories and aspirations which shall be appropriately reflected in education and public*

information" (United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, 2007, p. 23).

Peru has not ratified the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), however, has voted in favor of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA), 2014). In addition, Peru's Constitutional Tribunal has determined that UNDRIP should be considered part of the international soft law, in other words, there is no legal consequences for the alternation of these rights, but the state should respect them for moral reasons (International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA), 2014).

The International Labour Organization and Convention 169

In 1957, The International Labour Organization (ILO) approved the "Indigenous and Tribal Populations Convention and Recommendation" (C107), this convention is important because it was mentioned as the *"first international human-rights treaty to recognize indigenous peoples as a distinct concern"* (Barsh, 1994). This convention had first intended to support the right of indigenous people by owning their lands and work rights lands titles (Barsh, 1994). Even though this convention was created to protect indigenous peoples' rights, it was not used by them. For that reason, in 1988 ILO revised the document and in 1989, they acknowledged indigenous people's rights, empathizing the values of "self-determination" and "decolonization" (Barsh, 1994). ILO Convention 169 is a legal document that protects the rights of indigenous and

other tribal peoples to be consulted by their national governments. This process of consultation, in Spanish identified as "*consulta previa*", means that governments should inform indigenous peoples on measures that may affect them directly. The main goal is to achieve an agreement or a consent to those measures. In the case of education, Part VI indicates in Article 27: "*1. Education programs and services for the peoples concerned shall be developed and implemented in co-operation with them to address their special needs, and shall incorporate their histories, their knowledge and technologies, their value systems and they are further social, economic and cultural aspirations...*" (International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention 169, 1989, p. 9), recognizing the right of consultation in this process, and article 28 states: "*Children belonging to the peoples concerned shall, wherever practicable, be taught to read and write in their indigenous language or in the language most commonly used by the group to which they belong*" (International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention 169, 1989, pp. 9,10).

Peru ratified ILO Convention 169 on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples, but these international treaties must be carried out through its adequacy in Peruvian law. For that reason, in 2012, the government of Peru established the Law No. 27818 "Law to International Bilingual Education" (Acuna & Eyzaguirre, 2012). However, it is not until 2015, that the government approved to the processed of "*consulta previa*" in the National Plan of IBE (Ministry of Education, 2015).

The concept of “Intercultural”

To understand intercultural, it is necessary starts from the notions of culture, because of the understanding of culture will depend on what each group understand and identify for intercultural.

The understanding we have about culture has been changing over time. Initially, for scientific purposes, cultures were conceived as isolated entities geographically and socially and seamless inside (Callirgos, 2006). However, this approach was heavily criticized because it does not explain the origins of ethnicity, or their unequal and changing development. It implies a fixed and rigid ethnicity and not pay attention to the complex processes of interaction, conflict and identification (inter) ethnic, both individually and in groups, isolating cultures (Callirgos, 2006).

In the late 70s, with the recognition of cultural diversity, some studies were based on the idea that ethnicity is relational, in other words, a culture exists, through the contact between human groups (Callirgos, 2006). It was from this recognition that the notion of culture as an absolute and universal category walked into crisis. Therefore, Vich (2001) states that there should be no meaning of culture. Instead, there should be cultures as multiple ways of learning and that constitute the social world. No culture has its origins in itself; they are born from various influences. Cultural identity, the characteristic of individuals of culture, is formed by a variety of manners coming from inside and outside the group (Vich, 2005). Identity is not something we can choose but has to negotiate socially with other meanings and images constructed

inside and outside the family. While we identify in a family and culture at the same time, we need to differentiate ourselves (Walsh, 2000). Thereby, identity is constructed through interaction with other different characters. According to Vich (2005) identity, like cultures, is not something given by nature, is rather a process of assimilation and learning that never ends and changes regularly; whose variations are due to internal dynamics and external influences.

Maria Heise indicates that culture is a set of forms and ways of communicating that an individual and a group acquired (Heise, Tubino, & Ardito, 1992). In other words, these sets of forms is all habits acquired and shared with whom one relates to the world and remain part of the daily life of the people. In these groups, people generated and shared modes of being, even their language, which denominated culture (Zúñiga & Ansión, 1997).

This heterogeneous characteristic that identifies a community is the result of a process of transformation and change (Zúñiga & Ansión, 1997). Cultural practices are changing, appropriating modes and new cultural forms. For that reason, it is important not to conceive a community as static, they are constantly changing. According to Vich (2001) and Portocarrero (2004), if you opt for a vital dimension and dynamic of the cultural practices, there should be a crucial and heterogeneous cultural meaning that involves the need to coordinate multiple and create multiple strategies during the cultural encounter. These cultural practices will help to avoid falling into a cultural hierarchy that may lead to a denial of others (elitism) and where, depending on the

interlocutor, the conditions of dialogue or contexts relativize generating isolation and disinterest in what others say or do.

According to Norma Fuller, who criticizes the cultural relationships, argues that globalization, where the West represents the dominant culture, has meant a change in cultures, due to the increased of the relations of transculturation between them, from the dominant cultural practices (Zuniga & Modesto, 2005).

This transculturation for the dominant class has its origins in social practices inherited from the colonial period, which justified and guaranteed the hierarchy order (Castro-Gomez, 2005). Hence, "coloniality of power" does reference to the specific structure of domination through which were subjected the native populations of America since 1492 (Castro-Gomez, 2005).

Today, new representations of neoliberal development do not mean the end of colonialism, but colonialism that materializes in postmodern form (Castro-Gomez, 2005). Currently, this post colonialism thoughts of cultures seeks to reinvent new ways of interpretation and analysis, which also involved the cultures and languages of those peoples whose knowledge has been considered inferior, challenging the only way to approach reality through different interpretations and visions of this (Trapnell, 2009). From the above, it is seen as important to note that this paper will study the concept of intercultural from a critical view of unequal cultural relations. This has resulted in conflicts between different cultural and social groups. For that reason, the Amazon has always been neglected from state policies, such as in education. For instance, the

Intercultural Bilingual Education program that the state has promoted, and it is explained later in this paper, addresses only of bilingual education one way around. In other words, students from indigenous communities learn in their mother tongue and Spanish as a second language, but non-natives peoples learn in their mother tongue Spanish, but they do not acquire a native language. With a traditional passive stance, there is a risk to continue supporting conditions of inequality. By contrast, a critical view is the starting point for understanding reality and making a difference.

The concept of “Bilingual”

Bilingualism has different meanings. It has a relation to acquiring a second language and the process of learning the mother tongue. Moreover, this notion has been developed from various disciplines and with different theoretical and methodological approaches. The first case is that if the acquisition of a second language occurs simultaneously and in the same conditions as the addition of the first, it will be difficult to establish distinctions between the first and second languages (Mayor, 1994). The other case is when someone acquires a mother tongue but later that person learns the second language by interacting with a community or in his or her family, without the decision of learning (Mayor, 1994). Another case is when someone learn a second language after the first one is acquired, as a result of an

intentional attitude or deliberate intention, which almost necessarily implies the existence of various mechanisms or systems for educational purposes (Mayor, 1994). In the case of teaching in indigenous communities, there are two types of teaching prevalent in the system: the transition (the native language is used as support for the purchase of Spanish and subsequently becomes displaced by it), and submersion (direct teaching of Spanish) (Miguez, 2010). The second case is how Intercultural Bilingual Education in Peru has been implemented; however, in the last decade, the government decided to implement the transition model. Students are in the school to learn a second language. In this context, Maurice Van Overbeke argues that bilingualism is the ability to move wisely and more efficiently in two environments with two different languages. He states that having the knowledge of two languages also means being able to live in their natural environment, in other words, not only about being able to speak two languages but also a bilingual person has the knowledge of cultures, traditions and everything that is related to languages (Deshays, 1990).

According to Baker (2006), Bilingualism means not only being able to speak two languages, but this ability has educational, social, economic, cultural and political consequences. Bilingualism within families can be the bridge between generations, for instance, a bilingual child can communicate with their grandparents in their traditional language and be the nexus with the modern world (Baker, 2006). Bilingualism brings economic advantages since a bilingual person has a wider choice of the workplace. Also, bilinguals have a more flexible and creative thinking (Baker, 2006) . It is easier

to think more freely, wider, for a bilingual individual. Bilinguals take more interest in languages and communication in general because they are moving between two languages (Baker, 2006).

From the moment in which the child learns a language, he also learns to see the world in their special way. Baker (2006) believes that the child learns a complete and unique way of living through language, and the rules and conventions of the country, moral values, and ideals, music, history and way of seeing things. Talking, listening, reading and writing in a new language is like a "transfer" of the same culture. Thanks to language, the child assimilates the new culture, which, over time, eventually forming his personality (Baker, 2006). According to Baker (2006), a bilingual can be a bicultural person because the individual possesses a complex but well-integrated combination of the two cultures.

However, depending on their location, a bicultural person can identify more with one culture than with the other. Here is why intercultural education must be considered, taking away the preconception that one culture is superior to the other, as we saw in the paragraph above, a bilingual person can adapt and coexist in two cultures. Unfortunately, the approach to teaching indigenous languages in schools has weakened the implementation of a bilingual system. The school curricular dominance the instruction of the new language, which prevents a continuous development of the two languages, Spanish, and the indigenous language (Baker, 2006). Therefore, the languages of origin, as part of the cultural heritage of indigenous girls and boys stays

in primary education level and might not continue to secondary education. It is important to consider that bilingual education requires planning, considering the different sociolinguistic contexts in which the student develops.

Education Inequality

The human capital raised through education is one of the most important sources of income of people (Mincer, 1958). Yet there are many factors associated with low quality of education, which prevents many from developing their human capital, or the skills and expertise needed to improve income through increased productivity. There are many ways to describe quality in education. The terms efficiency, effectiveness, equity, and quality have often been used synonymously (Adams, 1993).

Farrell (2007) describes that when considering problems of educational inequality the view of schooling is a long-term process, in which he distinguishes four facets of equality that are relating to school enrollment:

Equality of access: probability of children from different social groups getting into the school system

Equality of survival: probability of children from various social groups will stay in the school system to some defined level

Equality of output: of children from various social groups will learn the same things at the same levels at a defined point in the schooling system

Equality of outcome: the probability that children from various social groups will live relatively similar lives subsequent to and as a result of schooling

Poverty, rural residence, and gender inequality are the most common factors that negatively affect attendance and student's performance (Unesco Institute for Statistics , 2013). The Peruvian government should take into account that improving quality in education increases the productivity and reduce the gap between the powerful class and the emerging class, and the income inequality among Peruvians.

In order to gain a quality education, there are many aspects to consider. Based on Farrell's facets of educational equality outlined above, the absence of equality of survival, output and outcome, even where there is access, constitutes educational inequality. The Peruvian government has focused its policies in quality learning environments that have increased their equality of access. However, the Government of Peru has not taken any action in quality in content and quality outcomes, quality processes and quality learners. Therefore, students in Peru are not benefiting from education equality, as I will show in the following section.

Chapter 2: Policies

Education Policies in Peru

Peru is a diverse and heterogeneous country with many natural resources. According to the Peruvian Constitution of 1993, the state recognizes as official

languages Spanish, Quechua, Aymara and the aboriginal languages of the Amazon, according to their location (Republic of Peru, 1993). In rural and jungle areas there are different dialects, and most people learn Spanish as their second language. Peru's economy relies on extractive industries. For that reason, during 2008 and 2009, while many parts of the world were in economic crisis, Peru grew more than the average of countries in Latin America (Central Reserve Bank of Peru , 2011). In contrast, of this economic growth, the Gini coefficient, that measures the inequality of wealth in a country, was in 2009 49.6 (Central Reserve Bank of Peru , 2011). As a consequence, total poverty in the country in that year was 31.3% in average (Central Reserve Bank of Peru , 2011). According to this statistics, most of the population lives in poverty in Peru, even though the country has grown in the last decade. Furthermore, because of the historical status of indigenous people, they are more likely to experience even higher poverty levels.

The teaching of students in their native language to obtain a meaningful learning has a historical significance. During the conquest, The Spaniards face communication problems in the administration of the conquered territories, especially in educational projects where their major goal was to promote the evangelization of indigenous peoples (Huamán Cosi, 2007). Unsuccessful attempt to evangelize through the Spanish language, the priests decided to learn the major local languages to fulfill better their spiritual mission. Simultaneously, the priests contributed to the setting and maintenance of these languages by developing dictionaries and didactic texts in the

indigenous languages; however, Spanish was still imposed as a dominant language (Huamán Cosi, 2007). However, after the revolution of Jose Gabriel Condorcanqui (Tupac Amaru II) in Peru (1780), King Carlos III definitively banned the use of Quechua in school, so Spanish was back as the only language in which to evangelize (Huamán Cosi, 2007). During the Independence and the Republic, no radical break was given to improve the domestic situation, to the contrary, a liberal state installed in the country ended up in an exclusion of the natives groups (Barnach-Calbo, 1997).

It wasn't until the 1970s that different social reforms took place, including the most important educational reform in the Peruvian history. Through the first phase of the military dictatorship of General Juan Velasco Alvarado (1968 - 1975), the government gave significant reforms to education. For instance, the state introduced early education, enacted the General Education Law No. 19326 in 1972, and created the National Policy on Education Bilingual-Bicultural, which proposed to introduce in teaching indigenous from their traditional forms (crafts, family Constitution, a form of social organization) cultural aspects. The Issuance of the National Bilingual Education Policy (ELBW) 1972 and Decree Law No. 21156 (the Quechua language was formalized in 1975) placed in Peru at the forefront of legislation promoted bilingual education in South America (Huamán Cosi, 2007).

In 1982, the civilian government of Fernando Belaunde Terry took up the language policy of pro-indigenous languages, made official by the Constitution of 1979 (Huamán Cosi, 2007). At that time most of the IBE was left in the hands of the NGOs

and International Organizations (Bodmer & Mayor, 2009). In 1991 the official educational policy of the country recognized the ethnic, cultural and linguistic diversity of Peru, but without elaborating on the nature of that plurality and how it is involved in the development of the country (Huamán Cosi, 2007). During the 1990s, the government of Peru has taken certain policies regarding education. They increased the number of schools in the country, hired new teachers, increased teacher's wages, provided training to teachers, gave computers to schools, among others (Arregui, 2000). As a result of those policies, Peru has one of the highest enrollments in Latin America. For instance, in 2010, around 96% of girls and 95% of boys attended primary school; and 78% of girls and 77% of boys were enrolled in secondary schools (Unesco Institute for Statistics , 2013). However, evidence shows that the quality has remained the same or has even decreased. Even though, schools and teachers are important, there are other policies that should be included in order to achieve quality education. During this decade IBE was no taken into account.

Between 2007 and 2011, during the government of Alan Garcia, the Ministry of Education applied a minimum approval note to facilitate teachers to practice in schools. This reform was implemented by a test qualification but was not taken into account sociocultural contexts, cultural reality and demand for teachers IBE in each zone or region (Huamán Cosi, 2007).

In 2011, the government created the National Education Project, which starts giving attention to indigenous children from the Andean and Amazon, as well as Afro-

Peruvian people (Ministry of Education, 2015). In addition, the 21 percent of public educational institutions around the country have been recognized to offer the service of intercultural bilingual education (IBE) to almost one million indigenous children who speak some of the native languages (Ministry of Education, 2015). In October 2015, the government has approved the "*Consulta Previa*" for the education plan to 2021.

Funding education in Peru

Funding education in Peru for the entire population is a problem, it still less, and we see the indigenous population it is even worse.

The level of government spending on education in Peru is very low and not equitable. Even though, public investment in education has grown in the last years, it still represents a small share of the Peruvian Gross Domestic Product. In 2003, education expenditure was about 1700 millions and in 2011 it was 4600 millions of dollars (Guadalupe, Juan, & Cueto, 2013). It is not a priority for Politician because people can only see the results in a long term period, and in Peru, the presidential period is only five years, that it is not allowed to reelection. For that reason, the government of Peru has invested in a quality environment, building new schools and providing computers or books to them. These actions are visible in a short period. During the 90s, the government of Peru has taken certain policies regarding education. They increased the number of schools in the country, hired new teachers, increased teacher's wages, provided training to teachers, gave computers to schools, among

others (Arregui, 2000). As a result of those policies, Peru has one of the highest enrollments in Latin America. For instance, in 2010, around 96% of girls and 95% of boys attended primary school; and 78% of girls and 77% of boys enrolled in secondary education (Unesco Institute for Statistics , 2013).

In Peru, the education system has three mandatory levels: one year of pre-school, six years of Primary education and five years of Secondary education. There is a huge distinction between the quality of education that students receive in private institutions than in public schools. These differences are reducing equality of outputs, generating a huge gap in students who go to private schools versus students who study in public schools. The government runs mainly finance public schools. On the contrary, private schools are run privately, and parents support them. The distinction is important because 85% of students go to public schools and 10% to private schools in Peru (Soto, 2011). Unfortunately, there are still a 5% of children that do not go to school.

Even though Peru has one of the highest educational access in Latin America, students are not achieving the desired standards. For instance, in 2013 Peru participated in the PISA evaluation, which compares the education level of students from different countries, published by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), showed that Peru was in the last place in Latin America in three test's areas: mathematics, science and reading comprehension (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development , 2005). These results show that even if more

children go to primary school in Peru, they are not at the level of other countries in Latin America.

Although, the State is primarily responsible for financing teacher's salaries, there are other costs, such as, the costs of goods and services, which are essential for a school to operate that are not covered by the State. Thus, in many schools, particularly outside Lima, payment of public services depends on parental contributions, both in money and in teaching materials, cleaning services, maintenance of equipment, among others (Saavedra, Melzi, & Miranda , 1997). Therefore, parents have found ways to fund these services through various mechanisms. As parents have different income and spending capacities, the result is inequality in total expenditures per student in public education.

In public education, the society spends on average \$ 199 per child per year and of this amount families contribute about 32% (Saavedra, Melzi, & Miranda , 1997).. For secondary education, the state contributes \$ 191 per child per year and families \$ 94; that is a total of \$ 285 per student per year, and families contribute around 33%. This additional third with which they contribute serves to cover the shortfall in provision of complementary inputs needed to operate schools (Saavedra, Melzi, & Miranda , 1997).

The crisis in Peruvian education may be seen in the contradiction that while families believe in the socio-economic potentials of schooling, and, therefore, advocate for greater access for their children, the quality of education in schools does not match

social expectations. In all this cultural differentiation the most affected are the vulnerable populations, especially those who have Spanish as their second language.

Chapter 3: Case Study

Intercultural Bilingual Education in Education in the Peruvian Amazon

The Peruvian Amazon is about 62% of the country, and there are 42 ethno linguistic groups that belong to 17 linguistic families, these groups represent different cultural, economic and policies than other sectors of the population (Huamán Cosi, 2007). The most populated families are the Arawak, that includes the Ashankinkas and Matsiguengas dialects, the Jibaru that includes the awajun dialect, and the Kichwa that includes the Napo dialect (Huamán Cosi, 2007). In this lands, there are 47 different languages, including 4 Andean and 43 languages from the Amazon. Indigenous peoples have always lived in close contact with nature and in harmony with it. Their knowledge was born in the forest (Chiodi, 1990). However, the Amazonian indigenous peoples have suffered the impact of colonization, by the construction of roads, the extraction of natural resources and state policies (Chiodi, 1990). Nowadays, the social landscape of the Amazon is very complex. There are indigenous peoples in voluntary isolation, migrants from the Andes, mestizos, and traditional indigenous that are in contact with the society (Chiroque & Rodríguez, 2007).

The division between different ethnic groups is based on their linguistic differentiation. The native population of the Peruvian jungle has integrated less into the country than local Quechua and Aymara people, whose process of articulation with Western society dates back from several centuries (Chiodi, 1990). The Amazon population through this condition of isolation preserved nearly intact its original physiognomy. However, with the phenomenon of the rubber boom and the opening of the Amazon economic border, native ethnic groups have been subjected to all kinds of open plunder and exploitation (Chiodi, 1990).

The policy of conquest of the Amazon region revealed in the appropriation and conversion of territories that formerly belonged to the Amazonian tribes, agricultural land suitable for domestic consumption and exploitation of natural resources of the forest (Chiodi, 1990). To enable this transformation, the first Government of Belaunde (1963-1968) influenced the road of colonization by conducting the Marginal Highway that would connect the principal areas of the Peruvian Amazon (Chiodi, 1990). However, the policy of economic conquest and expansion of the communications network did not mean a very positive impact on local populations. On the one hand, the poverty and marginalization did not ease, as the socio-economic and political structure of the dominant society moved to the region, reflecting the same situation of unequal distribution of wealth, poverty, and emigration.

In the matter of education, there have been several attempts to form a government in intercultural bilingual education. In 1945, the Peruvian government

formally handed to the Summer Institute of Linguistics (ILV) the training of professors in the Peruvian Amazon. The program focused on teachers and local youth speakers who achieved a secondary education in the Amazon area, in order to give them more appropriate teacher training (Chiodi, 1990). At this time, the educator's role was to support a monologue in the classroom, in which the indigenous peoples were taught cultural values and information far away from their environment. Also, the Bilingual Education Program ILV managed to cover only 20% of native communities possessed school (Chiroque & Rodríguez, 2007). The decade of the 70s globally restates the theoretical framework and objectives of Bilingual Education of the country with an education reform managed by the dictator Velasco Alvarado. In this decade also arise the first indigenous federations (Chirinos & Rivera, 2004). The most popular are the national confederation AIDSESEP (Interethnic Association for the Development of the Peruvian Rainforest), which during its first years of operation was concerned with the defense and recovery of ancestral lands of peoples Indians subsequently became responsible for educational affairs of these populations (Huamán Cosi, 2007). This association arises around 1,340 indigenous communities, including the Ashankinkas and Matchiguencas (Huamán Cosi, 2007).

Thus, in 1975 began the program of Bilingual and Intercultural Education Upper Napo (PEBIAN), directly under the Ministry of Education and the initial support of the Vicariate of Iquitos "San José del Amazonas" (Chiroque & Rodríguez, 2007). In 1964 and there had been an attempt to create schools with mestizos teachers in the area;

however, this program ignored that the Napuruna Pueblo had a culture, a language and an own way of educating their children. With this attitude, an educational process begins that collapsed the fundamental axes of development of the Napuruna child. If the child was raised by his parents in the events of daily life, from that moment, he or she was given an education that sought to teach creating artificial or unrealistic situations. The Napuruna children, who had learned by doing things, began to learn by memorizing words they did not understand. For that reason, the primary objective of this program was to encourage young Indigenous children who had finished secondary, to work as teachers for napurunas children, respecting the culture and lifestyles of the population. In recent years indigenous teachers run this program in agreement with the Ministry of Education (Chiroque & Rodríguez, 2007).

Although educational reform initiatives did not generate immediate changes in the Amazon education system, undoubtedly they represented a breakthrough in ideological terms, compared to the flat horizon that until then had bilingual education. In 1980, the ILV proposed the creation and operation of the National Pedagogical Institute of Bilingual Education: this Institute would assume the professionalization and training of primary school teachers for the Amazon area which was approved by the government in 1983 (Chirinos & Rivera, 2004). In 1989, other educators and specialists of four new ethnic groups Yagua, Candoshi, Chayahuita, Achuar entered the program (Chirinos & Rivera, 2004). The teaching program team includes anthropologists, linguists, ecologists, historians and mathematicians; The management team consists

of the pedagogical, technical director, the director of AIDSESEP and the director responsible for the program.

It is from this new reality that began to emerge in the area some new programs that claim to offer an alternative, to the educational reality. In 1988, an agreement with the Ministry of Education was signed for a program called AIDSESEP Training Bilingual Teachers of the Peruvian Amazon (FORMABIAP) incorporating in the Loreto Pedagogical Institute for the training of indigenous teachers (Chiroque & Rodríguez, 2007). The creation was formalized by Ministerial Resolution No. 364-88-ED, which would be ratified by R.M. 389-200-ED No. FORMABIAP born with a general purpose: "Improving the quality of education in bilingual schools in the Peruvian Amazon." "Teacher training" initial activity was FORMABIAP, to guide teachers working with indigenous populations in curricular aspects, in the perspective of intercultural bilingual education (Chiroque & Rodríguez, 2007). The last group of native students who entered 2002 consisted of 45 young people from the villages tikuna, Kichwa and Kukama-Kukamiria (Chiroque & Rodríguez, 2007). Since 1999, a work training for mothers was created to promoting early childhood education (Chiroque & Rodríguez, 2007). This is done in two indigenous peoples: Ashaninka and Nomatsiguenga. By 2005, 38 mothers were available, who developed school programs with children from 0 to 5 years old (Chiroque & Rodríguez, 2007).

At that moment, the possibility of developing an education for native populations arises, in which indigenous languages and cultures were not only

considered tools for learning Spanish, but also, they were valued as a unique expression of linguistic and cultural identity of each people. The number of indigenous teachers has increased in recent years. However, we lack statistics. Therefore, it is important to note that increasing native teachers and teaching programs are one of the few indicators of improving indigenous education.

Moreover, in the Amazon area, in the departments of Ayacucho, Cusco, Junín, Loreto, Pasco and Ucayali, where the Ashaninka population lives, there are 603 bilinguals schools. The awajún language has identified and recognized 592 educational institutions located in the regions of Amazonas, Cajamarca, Loreto, San Martín and Ucayali (Ministry of Education, 2015). The language Cocama-Cocamilla (Loreto) has around 279 schools (Ministry of Education, 2015). Also, due to the immense diversity, there are schools whose students come from different nations and speaking different languages. Thus, in Loreto, for example, there are four multilingual educational institutions where the murui-muinani, speak the Cocama-Cocamilla and Yagua were recorded (Ministry of Education, 2015). Another Amazonian languages, the Shipibo, will be incorporated into the curricula of 286 educational institutions located in Huanuco, Lima, Loreto, Madre de Dios and Ucayali. In addition, 249 schools of Loreto and Martín incorporate the shawi in the curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2015).

Despite of all the teaching programs and the creation of schools, educational outcomes have been poor. In 2012, the government of Peru published the results of the Censal Evaluations (Evaluación Censal de Estudiantes - ECE 2012) (Ministry of

Education, 2013). This exam was sent to all public schools in the country for all 4 grade students. The results of this evaluation have confirmed the dramatic situation of education in the Amazon region. The national census has considered students of 2nd grade and 4th grade in reading and math comprehension of the institutions of Intercultural Bilingual Education (IBE) in reading comprehension in Spanish and in four indigenous languages (Awajún, Cusco-Collao Quechua, Aymara, Shipibo-Conibo) (Ministry of Education, 2013).

The evaluation has reached 97.7% coverage of educational institutions, and all regions have participated in the process. Loreto, the Amazonian region with the largest indigenous population, ranks in last place ranking nationally in both reading comprehension and math (Ministry of Education, 2013). The exams showed that only 6.3% of students from an IBE schools approved the math comprehension and 1.4% of students approved reading comprehension, in other words, very few students have reached a satisfactory level by the extent to which they are (Ministry of Education, 2013). However, these exams do not represent the indigenous students culture, most of the questions have a western orientation that might not make the student feel identified. Intercultural education approach requires different approaches to incorporate the reality of indigenous peoples, and not just the reality from a Western perception.

Conclusions

Peruvians have had some problem in recognizing that they are a diverse, multicultural and multilingual country. Throughout many years, diversity was seen as a problem and an obstacle in achieving development. It has been a long process to see the diversity as an opportunity respecting the knowledge, culture and traditions of the indigenous peoples and letting live free around nonindigenous Peruvians.

The Peruvian education system, throughout its republican history, has seen this diversity of cultures and languages as a difficulty, and has tried to rectify this by attempting to unify the country with one language, Spanish. Nowadays, the government has to recognized that people are different but with equal rights. In that sense, the Amazon region has always been neglected by the state, especially regarding education. Lack of interest and knowledge has been the main cause of failure of any policy pursued in this region. The historical origins of this failure date back to the political and economic history of the country, and settle in the situation of neglect and misunderstanding in which a very large part of the population lived over the years.

Although national and international law, such as, the Peruvian constitution (1993), the Convention 169 of the International Labour Organization (ILO) and the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007), establish the right of indigenous peoples to receive education in their mother tongue that is respectful with heir culture, their environment and their livelihoods as equal as any other Peruvians. The State has promoted and implemented education policies aimed at the integration

of the indigenous component through a process of acculturation. The discourse on Intercultural Bilingual Education can and should be part of a process of reorganizing the State, from recognition of multicultural and multilingual as characteristics of Peru as a nation, use these features as one of the economic, social and cultural resources necessary to build a new society project. The significant challenge facing Intercultural Bilingual Education is to contribute to breaking the asymmetrical power relations that exist in the country and seek to build a more equitable and just society, where everyone is recognized as equally valuable and necessary, and has same opportunities for personal and collective development to be part of a people.

For this reason, that poor results in the educational tests, especially from indigenous children, represent the failure of national policies, through a unique educational model based on methodologies and on Western ideas. These policies have not favored social inclusion and social integration with respect for cultural diversity, but have aggravated the level of inequality of indigenous peoples. IBE are pedagogical plans, but also policy proposals seeking democratic exercise of power. To gain success requires actions that go beyond the school and demanding public policies favorable for this purpose from various sectors of the state.

Also, over the years, education in the jungle has been managed by NGOs, missions and especially by the Summer Institute of Linguistics (ILV), which is the one that has worked with most indigenous populations. It has never been planned and implemented an education that was truly bilingual intercultural, in which all citizens

are committed to the respect of linguistic and cultural diversity. In this sense, the educational situation of communities living in the Amazon region, result of total neglect by the state, is presented as the biggest challenge for the Ministry of Education (MINEDU) and need an unyielding and immediate intervention.

To this extent, the Intercultural Bilingual Education must be focused on a model of maintenance and development of languages. IBE should be based on a deep respect and appreciation of knowledge, practices, and values of the culture of the student and should promote coordination with other types of knowledge and values of national and universal. Similarly, the state should guarantee the use of mother tongue and Spanish throughout the entire school, (pre-school, primary and secondary) with different levels of learning that sure ensure to the student to be able to be Bilingual.

All students of Peru should have the opportunity to be developed as individuals and citizens from their roots and cultural heritage, as well as from the recognition and appreciation of different cultures that allow the affirmation of a national, Latin American and global identity. Accepting the different cultures is how the country will obtain real wealth, representing the various evaluative and interpretive systems of reality, spirituality, knowledge, cultural expressions and ways to interact with the social and natural environment. However, Intercultural Bilingual Education in Peru is still one way around, from a native language to the learning of Spanish. In order to accept the diversity of the country, this program should distinguish the entire education system, and non indigenous students should also be able to learn a native language.

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