

Different blackboards

Discrepancy between Bolivian education policies, primary education in Escana and knowledge needs of the people



Viola Heijnen 3013677

Master thesis

International Development Studies

Utrecht University

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. A. Zoomers

August 2010



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Acknowledgements

This thesis is the completion and the result of a year International Development Studies at the University of Utrecht. It would not have been possible without the support of some people who I would like to offer my gratitude.

First of all I would like to thank the people who are the protagonists in this thesis: the inhabitants of Escana, together with the teachers and headmaster of the school. They received me in the community with open arms and participated with enthusiasm in the research. Furthermore, the experts in Bolivia who gave me some of their valuable time in the form of interviews I would like to thank: Lady Barriga, Mario Yapu, and Maria Luisa Talavera Simoni. Moreover, I would like to offer three persons in Bolivia my special gratitude: my local supervisor Roxana Dulón González, Anke van Dam and Geke Weenink. They have been of great importance to me because of their support, good energy and criticism. Marieke, Shanty, and Daniel I would like to thank you for the nice moments we shared in our Bolivian house.

Those were the people who supported me especially during the fieldwork. Annelies Zoomers, my supervisor in the Netherlands, has guided me through the whole process of the preparation, the carrying out of the research and the thesis writing. She encouraged me to follow my heart in the choice of the research topic and has always used her critical eye for which I would like to offer her my gratitude.

This thesis is of course the result of twenty-three years of growth. For this I would like to thank my parents Marianne and Gérard, my sisters Mieke, Cocky and Astrid and my brother Laurens. Last but not least, I would like to thank Yuniel for his wonderful energy.

Viola Heijnen

Amsterdam, August 2010

Executive summary

This thesis gives an insight in the primary education at the school of Escana, a community in the department of Chuquisaca, Bolivia. The education is compared with national education policies and knowledge needs of the students. The central research question is: To what extent does the education offered by the school of Escana follow the national education policies and to what extent does this correspond with the knowledge needs of the students? In order to give an answer to this question, a research was carried out during three months in Spring 2010. Both quantitative and qualitative methods were used. In total 28 persons were interviewed and 37 inhabitants of Escana and 11 teachers completed the survey.

In the development sector, education is considered as one of the most important means for improving a person's live. Although national policies are important in determining the focus of the education, the education at the local level is even more important since this is the education that reaches the children. In Bolivia, the debate about education is already since decades concerned with the integration of the indigenous people and their cultures in the education system and the curriculum. This has been translated in bilingual and intercultural education, implemented on a national level with the reform of 1994.

The school of Escana works in accordance with the reform of 1994, but in practice there can be found similarities as well as differences. The design of the classrooms, a pedagogy based on constructivism, popular participation through the *Junta Escolar*, and the use of books especially published for this reform are similar to the contents of the reform. However, the education in Escana is not bilingual, intercultural education is limited to the contents of the books, popular participation is restricted to the practical side, and the subjects do not correspond with those of the reform.

The knowledge needs of the students stem from their future lives expectancies. The people in Escana work in agriculture, but since this is a low profit activity, a majority of the inhabitants migrate, temporary or permanent, to cities or foreign countries. To optimize the process of integration, the people would like to have knowledge of subjects which are specific for the other environments. For Escana, these knowledge needs are Quechua, Spanish, cultural expressions, history, organizations, agriculture techniques, and values. For the city, these are Spanish, mathematics, English, urban life, sex education, values, and domestic jobs. Knowledge needs for foreign countries correspond with those for the city, except urban life and sex education. The knowledge needs are mostly found back in the primary education in Escana, but more attention should be paid to agriculture techniques, logics of urban life, and sex information.

So there exists especially a discrepancy between the national policies and primary education in Escana. But the school should also take some measures regarding the incorporation of some knowledge needs.

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Introduction

The history of education in Bolivia is indissolubly connected with the history of the country. Since the arrival of the Spaniards in the 16th century, the original inhabitants of the territory, also known as the indigenous people, have been suppressed and had to adapt themselves to the culture and language of the new European and *mestizo* (people with European ancestors) elite. The same was the case in the education which was formed by Western culture and with Spanish as the instruction language. Above all, it was a service the indigenous people did not have access to. Although the education reform of 1955 changed the accessibility of education in a way that all children were allowed to attend classes, the curriculum of the education remained the same. With the revival of indigenous organizations in the second half of the 20th century, the rights of the indigenous people received increased attention from other national and international organizations which led to the introduction of bilingual and intercultural education programs in the 1980s in various places in Bolivia. The need for a more democratic education at the national level led to the implementation of a new education reform in 1994. This reform, also known as *Ley 1565*, recognized the pluricultural character of the country through the introduction of bilingual and intercultural education at the national level for the first time in history. Despite its revolutionary nature, which was applauded by indigenous organizations worldwide, the reform was criticized by others for having a colonial character. With the election of Evo Morales as the first indigenous president of Bolivia in 2005, the reform was almost immediately banned because of its colonial character. Since then there have been no concrete requirements for schools with respect to their curriculum. The whole country is waiting for a new reform to be accepted, which is known as *Avelino Siñani y Elizardo Perez*. In this reform the cultures, world visions and languages of the indigenous people play a central role.

With this chaotic situation dominating the education policies it is interesting to investigate the situation at the local level. In order to gain insight in the situation, research has been carried out in the community of Escana, situated in the department of Chuquisaca, Bolivia. In the research, a central role is given to the education which is offered by the school of Escana and the extent to what this education is influenced by national policies on the one hand and the knowledge needs of the inhabitants of Escana on the other hand. These knowledge needs stem from the future life expectancies of the people which are highly affected by the outmigration from Escana to cities like Sucre and Santa Cruz and to other countries.

The problem statement has been translated into the following central research question: To what extent does the education offered by the school of Escana follow the national education policies and to what extent does this correspond with the knowledge needs of the students? This question is divided into three sub-questions about the education policies, education in Escana, and knowledge needs of the people and form the backbone of this thesis.

The study is unique in the sense that it gives a detailed image of the local education in comparison with the national education policies. Although schools have the option to define

some parts of the curriculum according to the local culture, there are also obligatory parts. Some of these obligatory parts of the curriculum are not to be found in the education in Escana. Furthermore, the empirical material shows that the people have other priorities regarding the education than is offered by the school. In other words, the school is a world apart from the national policies and the local desires. Another unique aspect of this research is the way the concept of interculturality and intercultural education is used. Intercultural education in the theoretical debate refers to an education that encourages a dialogue between different cultures in a society by treating the own culture as well as the other cultures. In the Bolivian context, intercultural education is concerned with the different indigenous cultures. In the thesis this can be found back when referring to intercultural education within the curriculum of the Bolivian education. However, interculturality in this thesis has another meaning in the sense that it refers to the difference between the environment of Escana and that of the city and foreign countries.

In the first chapter of this thesis, the used methodology together with the research questions will be discussed. This is followed by the theoretical framework in chapter two. Theories about education in general, intercultural education more specifically and migration will be examined. The third chapter gives an overview of the contextual situation in Bolivia. Moreover, in this chapter the national education policies are being discussed with a focus on the revolutionary education reform of 1994. The next four chapters are built upon the field research results. Chapter four gives an impression of the community Escana, its inhabitants, and the characteristics of the school. In the next chapter a comparison will be made between the national education policies and the education at the school of Escana. Attention is given to the education reform of 1994, the new reform *Avelino Siñani y Elizardo Pérez*, and the national programs introduced under the government of Evo Morales. In chapter six, the knowledge needs of the inhabitants of Escana in relation to their lives will be analyzed. The outcome of the survey regarding the importance of the knowledge needs will be discussed. In the final chapter, the role played by the school and the role that should be played by the school in the education of the knowledge needs will be discussed. Finally, the conclusion gives concluding remarks and some discussion points.

1. Methodology



Illustration 1 Doing research in Escana, 2010

During three months in the community Escana I have carried out a research of which this thesis is the result. In this chapter the determination of the research area Escana, research questions, methodology, conceptual model, and some limitations and biases of the research will be presented.

1.1 Determination of the research area

The research area was mostly determined by the longitudinal research *Proyecto de Investigación sobre Estrategias de Desarrollo (PIED Andino)* where it is part of. This bigger research was carried out in 1995-1997 in 41 communities in Chuquisaca and Potosí in order to get insight into the livelihoods of the rural population. Between January and June 2010 a preparatory research was carried out to investigate the possibilities of a follow-up research of PIED Andino. Education did not have a big share in the earlier research, but would be one of the new focuses in the follow-up. The research about primary education in Escana is part of the preparatory phase. Escana was one of the 41 communities and was selected by Roxana Dulón, research coordinator in Bolivia, for a first exploring research about education, especially because of the short distance to Sucre. Together with Roxana Dulón I entered the community, where we both carried out the research. But as Roxana only stayed for a short period, it was interesting for me to stay longer and explore the education in more depth. Furthermore, Escana was extra interesting for me because of the high migration rate and the importance of the school for the region.

1.2 Research questions and methodology

The research objective is “to analyze the education in Escana and to see the extent to what it is in line with the national education policies and the knowledge needs of the people in Escana.” This objective has resulted in the following central research question: “To what extent does the education offered by the school of Escana follow the national education policies and to what extent does this correspond with the knowledge needs of the students?” The central question is divided into three research questions which will be presented in this paragraph together with the used methodology.

In order to answer the research questions and gain an insight into the situation, I have used different methods which are quantitative as well as qualitative. In the following overview of used methodology, the more informal conversations with the people of Escana are not included, although they have also contributed to the picture of the community as it is presented in this thesis. For the qualitative part of the research I have done several interviews: 21 semi-structured interviews with the inhabitants of Escana, and 7 semi-structured interviews with professionals in the field of education. Furthermore I have done three focus groups: one with the children of 5th grade primary school, one with 4th grade secondary school and another with a group of five teachers. The quantitative part consists of a survey which was completed by 37 inhabitants of Escana and 11 teachers of the school. I have tried to form a representative group of the population. Using the 10 percent limit, I needed at least 25 inhabitants of Escana of all categories combined: grandparents, parents and children, all of both sexes. At the end, the division between the groups was the following: 4 grandfathers, 3 grandmothers, 4 fathers, 4 mothers, 11 boys and 11 girls. More youngsters than older people participated in the survey, because the research is about the lives of these youngsters. All the conversations and research methods were carried out in Spanish as the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of Escana speaks Spanish. All the people were interviewed without an interpreter.

To respond to the first research question "*What are the national education policies?*" I have read numerous books and articles about the education policies nowadays and in the past. This information I have completed with semi-structured interviews with specialists in this field like Lady Barriga, expert in education at the UNICEF office Chuquisaca; Anke van Dam, expert in education at the Royal Dutch Embassy in La Paz; Maria Luisa Talavera Simoni, ethnographic education researcher; and Mario Yapu, sociologist and anthropologist.

The second research question is "*How is the education offered by the school of Escana?*" In order to give an answer to this question, it is important to have an idea of the geographical context, which is Escana. The information on Escana comes from several reports on the community and the semi-structured interviews I did with the people, especially with the older inhabitants as they know more about the history and consequently of the development of the community through time. Next to these interviews I have always observed the people, their activities and the community as a whole, which I have enriched with photos that give a better impression of the reality. Moreover, I have used a participatory method with the children of the fifth grade. The assignment was to draw the community. Afterwards I talked with the children about the drawings and we had kind of a focus group. This assignment gave me insight in what the children consider as important in their community. Information about the education offered by the school of Escana I obtained through semi-structured interviews with all kind of people, from children to teachers. Furthermore, with the youngsters who would graduate this year, I have done a focus group about the education and their future plans. I have supplemented this with a focus group with five teachers who talked about the education at the school of Escana.

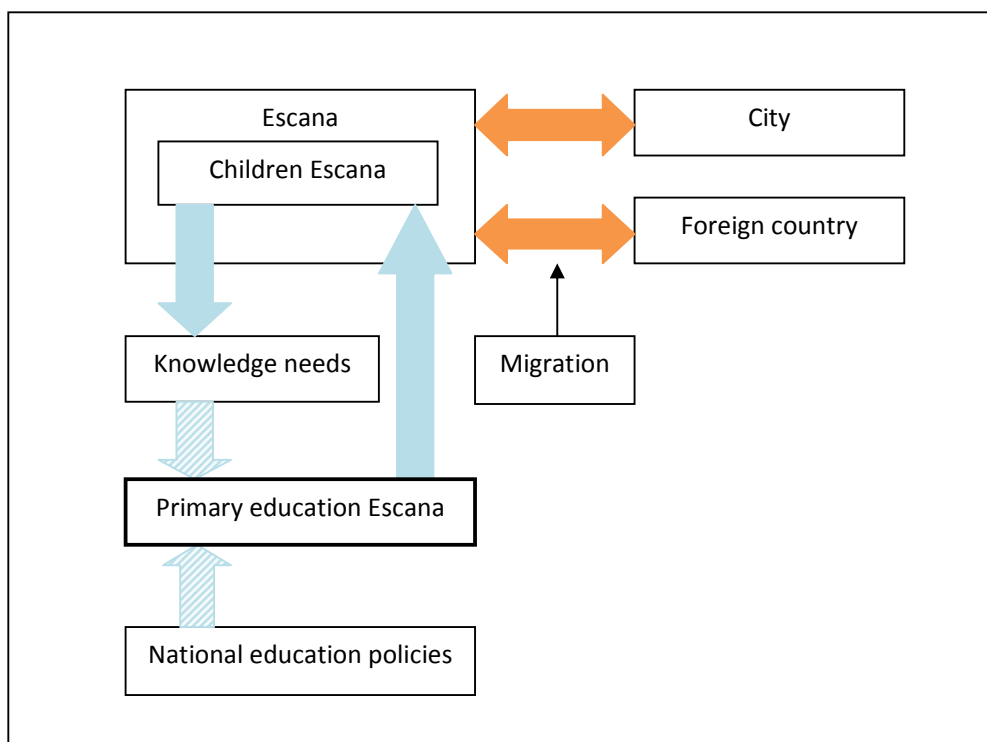
The third research question is: “*What are the knowledge needs of the students of Escana?*” First, I had to define the characteristics of the lives of the people in Escana and what the people consider as necessary to know to live their lives well. Through semi-structured interviews and the survey I have found the answers. In these interviews I asked the people about their knowledge needs. Since the lives of the people are not always set in the environment of Escana, but also in cities or in a foreign country, it was important to distinguish these environments and to discover if different knowledge needs exist for different environments. The interviews were held with inhabitants of Escana of all ages. I asked them questions about what they consider as important to live well in Escana, in the city or in a foreign country. After this qualitative part, I made a survey with the subjects mentioned in the interviews. In the survey the people could mark the three subjects most important for them to live well. I mixed up the subjects so it was not clear for the respondent to which environment (Escana, city of foreign country) the subject belonged. Afterwards I have made an analysis of the answers given and I have classified the people in the following groups which are not exclusive: teachers, parents, grandparents, youngsters, men, women, people who have always lived in Escana, people who have lived in the city and people who have lived in a foreign country. Next to the three most important subjects, the people had to indicate in the survey the institution which is responsible for the education of the subjects. The people could choose between the father and/or mother and/or other members of the family and/or the school. I have compared the answers given by the different groups, especially the difference between answers given by the teachers and the inhabitants of Escana. Moreover, I have compared the knowledge needs with the subjects offered by the school of Escana.

1.3 Conceptual model

A schematic overview of the research is given in figure 1.1 which shows the conceptual model. The blocks symbolize the concepts and the arrows the relation between the different concepts. The central concept in this thesis is primary education in Escana. Primary education refers to the eight years of schooling after the pre-primary years. During the eight years the children get a variety of courses which form the basis for their further lives. There are two blue-white striped arrows that point at the primary education in Escana: national education policies and knowledge needs. It is a hypothesis that these two concepts exert influence over the education. The national education policies are the guidelines for the Bolivian education and should be followed by the schools in the whole country. These policies are formulated by the Bolivian Ministry of Education. The focus in this thesis is on the policies from 1994 onwards, so including the education reform of 1994, various national programs and the proposal of the new reform *Avelino Siñani y Elizardo Perez*. The knowledge needs of the children of Escana stem from their (future) lives expectancies. Some people will stay in Escana, but looking at the past and at the future plans of the people, the majority will choose to migrate and to live their lives in another place. The people migrate to places with better job possibilities, like the Bolivian cities and foreign countries. This migration is

represented by the orange arrows. The migration can be of a temporary character as well as of a permanent character. The primary education, probably to a certain extent influenced by the policies and the knowledge needs, is brought to the children of Escana who form part of the community Escana. The variable 'children of Escana' refers only to the children who are in one of the eight grades of primary level at the school of Escana.

Figure 1.1 Conceptual model



1.4 Biases and limitations of the research

The main limitation of the research was the limited time available. In thirteen weeks, the whole research had to be carried out, from determining the research area to handing in the report. It took especially a long time to really start the research and talk with the stakeholders, particularly because of the bureaucracy in SEDUCA, the regional department for education, where I had to obtain statistical information. Moreover, because of the tight timeframe, there was no time for visiting the local libraries and discover the local sources on the topic. The libraries in Bolivia do not have a digital catalogue and it is not allowed to take the books home or make copies. Furthermore, the time available for carrying out the qualitative and quantitative part of the research in Escana was short, so the number of people involved in these parts is limited too. Another limitation was my lack of dominance of Quechua. Gratefully this was not a big problem because almost everybody in Escana speaks also Spanish, but it has led to a bias in stakeholders as I was not able to do interviews with the older women who only speak Quechua. Furthermore, I did not understand the informal talks the children had with each other, although I asked them to translate it for me, but

sometimes they did not want to that. There were also some women who did not want to talk to me because they considered their level of Spanish too low. I tried to convince them of the opposite, but this was quite difficult. Another bias of the research is the seasonal bias. By day, the people were working at the lands which led to often empty houses or only women were present. This made it more difficult to find men to talk with, since they were only available during the nights. A few times I went to the lands to do interviews with the people, although this resulted in interesting talks and an impression of their work, it was also difficult as the people were occupied with their work and did not have time to talk. Finally, the cultural bias should be mentioned. Although I have stayed in Latin America for a long time, I am still a girl from the Netherlands with Western customs and a Western worldview.

2. Theoretical framework



Illustration 2 Drawing. Escana, 2010

In this section some existing theories regarding the concepts important for the research will be discussed. First, the concept of education will be briefly introduced, followed by a more specific topic which is intercultural education. This kind of education plays a central role in the current Bolivian education and is in a particular way linked to the final concept of migration. It is difficult to imagine Escana without migration and this has consequences for the contents of the education in the community.

2.1 Education

Education is “the setting in motion of a process of all-round development of human beings, taking place throughout life and aiming at complete personal fulfillment in intellectual, physical, emotional, moral and spiritual terms” (UNESCO 1992: 18). This is the general definition, but education in this thesis is about the formal education which takes place at school from a teacher to a child.

Education is universally considered as a human right and is thus included in the Universal Declaration on Human Rights of 1948 in article 26:

- *Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory.*
- *Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups.*
- *Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.*

Besides being a human right, education is also a tool to achieve specific goals. As every child should get minimally education at primary level, it is an important tool to shape the citizens

and the society. Education can be an instrument to shape the national society. The UNESCO lifts the importance of education even to a higher geographical level and underpins its importance for the global society by stating that in these times of globalization, education can be used to promote social cohesion and peaceful existence in the world (UNESCO 2006). Education is thus a tool to keep the society the same or to change the settings (Gamboa Rocabado 2009). However, to really change the settings, education alone is not enough: the whole society should change, including politics, economy, media, etc. Regalsky and Laurie (2007: 233) illustrate the strength of education for a society by quoting Torres (1996) who sees “the educational system as a way of accumulating cultural capital or as a system of classification and skills screening for the labour market. In this way it legitimizes the knowledge system of authority, in relation to an ideological attempt to consolidate and defend the hegemonic order and system of discipline and control”. However, it depends on the interpretation of the national curriculum by schools to what extent the knowledge system of the authority is legitimized. In the vision of Torres, education is seen as human capital. Another theory emphasizes the role of education as empowering. Through education the people attain the knowledge and skills to take part in the society and to let their voices be heard.

When talking about development, it is generally agreed that education is one of the most important means of creating and improving a life. As a result, education is often used as a factor in measurements of development. An example is the Human Development Index (HDI). This index is a composition of GDP, life-expectancy and education. For the measurement of education, the adult literacy and school enrolment ratio are used. Although the former is about the quality of education, the latter is a quantitative measurement and consequently gives not an idea of the quality of education. Furthermore, though education is considered as very important within the development debate, it does not always lead to positive development. Education can be a catalyst for development, but it can also hinder development when it is not carried out well. For example, in case of unequal enrollment, education will increase social inequality.

When investigating the education of a country, it is important to look at the national education policies because they define the focus of the education in a country. However, it is probably more important to examine the education at the local level, because this is the education the people get. The intentions on a national level can be fantastic, but the education the children get can be quite different. A combination of the national education policies and the education at the school will thus result in a complete research.

2.2 Intercultural education

Interculturality is a concept that refers to the dialogue between cultures. According to Bhikku Parekh (2000) a culture is a historically determined system according to which a group of human beings organize their lives. But cultures are not static and are open to

influences from other cultures. Intercultural education can thus be summarized as education that encourages the dialogue between different cultures. With intercultural education people are taught according to their own culture and learn about other cultures. This has to result in a society in which the people respect themselves, respect other cultures, and with openness for a dialogue between the different cultures. Intercultural education can thus be an instrument to create a society in which mutual respect exists for the cultures that live together in the country. "Showing respect when dealing with the 'different' gives it, him, her, them the right to remain as such and at the same time gives the possibility of attaining equal rights, independent of existing differences" (Speiser 2000: 235-236). An important concept when discussing intercultural education is equality. When the different cultures are not seen as equal, real intercultural education is impossible since an unequal relation will always lead to assimilation to the culture of the dominant group. So the whole environment or the whole society should be based on this principle of equality. However, this is complicated because of the existence of a dominant group and minority group(s) mostly determined by a long historical process and difficult to change.

Intercultural education might be a solution to a lot of problems in countries that struggle with friction within their society because of the existence of different cultures within the borders. In Europe and the United States the coexistence of different cultures in one country has its roots in migration. The first assumptions were that the migrants would integrate and assimilate to the new culture, but as this did not happen, a solution was (and is) searched in intercultural education. In the Latin American context, intercultural education is especially linked to the indigenous people. After centuries of struggle, the indigenous people have started to stand up for their rights. They wanted to end the oppression of their cultures which was among other things exercised in the form of an education totally in line with the dominant culture and the dominant language of the white and *mestizo* elite. Since the 1980s there have been various experiments with intercultural education in different countries in Latin America and in some countries, like Ecuador, Bolivia, Colombia, Mexico and Guatemala, intercultural education is now even part of the national curriculum (López and Küper 1999). Through this intercultural education, the indigenous cultural and linguistic practices should be strengthened and their participation in the mainstream society should be facilitated (Sheila Aikman 1997). In accordance with this vision, intercultural education is thus considered as human capital as well as empowering.

Anke van Dam (2006), education expert at the Dutch embassy in La Paz, mentions three visions on the role education can play in the multicultural society. According to the first vision, which is a more conservative one, children should have the same capital in order to have the same chances in life. This capital is formed out of knowledge and skills which are defined by the dominant group in the society. The second vision is a liberal one that takes the differences of the children into account. Not every child has the same chances as all children differ, for example, because of ethnicity and social and economic position. In order

to give everybody the same opportunities, the government should take measures that give the children in a backward position the same chances as children in a better position. A possible solution might be bilingual and intercultural education. The third vision is based on structural differences in the society. Language and culture are part of the identity of people, but also form the basis for discrimination and inequality. Through a positive approach regarding languages and cultures, positive attention can be paid to the discrimination of people. Whereas the first vision was of bigger influence in the 1980s and 1990s, the third vision can be found in the education policies of nowadays, including Bolivia.

In this thesis the concepts of interculturality and intercultural education are partly used in another way than the traditional approach discussed above. This traditional approach will be treated as part of the Bolivian curriculum, but two differences can also be found between this approach and the one used in this thesis. Escana can be called an indigenous community, but the research is not focused on the relation between the indigenous culture and the culture of the dominant Bolivian culture. Namely, intercultural education in this thesis refers to an education that prepares the students for their future lives in the environment of Escana, the city or a foreign country. These are not the traditionally compared environments. Another difference, which is particularly a limitation, is that only one side of interculturality is researched. There is no attention for the education of the children in other environments, like the communities that receive the migrants.

2.3 Migration

In the development debate, the concept of migration is used to describe the movement of human beings from one place to another with the intention to stay for a longer period in the new place which can be in the same country or across the border. A distinction can be made between forced migration and voluntary migration, although most people will see migration as a necessity because there is no other option. The migration, however, is not forced in the sense of an ongoing war, but the people may feel as if they are forced because they are unsatisfied with their current living conditions and do not see a possibility to improve these in the current place they live. In this thesis migration is used to describe the movement of persons from place A to place B in their search for an improvement in their living conditions. In this case “migration is viewed as a means of investing in human capital that enables migrants to secure employment for themselves and [in some cases] educational opportunities for their children” (Akar 2010: 263). Migration can be of a permanent character when the migrant is not planning to go back to the community or it can be temporary when the migrant has the intention to return to the place he comes from. In the second scenario, migration can be for a short period (a few days-a few months) or for a longer period (a few months-a few years), but the migrant still has the intention to return.

Migration is a loved subject within the development debate. Especially the economic and social effects on the receiving and sending community have been studied thoroughly. In the

beginning attention was paid to educated people who migrated, also known as 'brain-drain'. This theme has been replaced by the positive or negative sides of remittances which are sent home by the migrants. Furthermore, the new situations in which the migrants live have been researched. Less attention has been given to the effects on the people who are left behind in the community. Migration in relation to education, with a focus on education in the receiving community has been studied, but studies are missing about education in the community that delivers the migrants, the sending community. An example is the research of Hanife Akar (2010) about schools in migrant neighbourhoods in Turkey, which could have been comparable to the research for this thesis, but is about the schools in the receiving communities. Interesting, however, is the focus on the contents of the education and whether these are in line with the knowledge needs of the children or not.

In the context of migration and interculturality, the social psychologist Cees Boekestijn grabs the attention with the concept intercultural migration. Intercultural migration means "placement in an unfamiliar cultural context in which old habits and contingencies no longer apply" (Boekestijn 1988: 84). This may lead to a culture shock which can be prevented when the migrants are well prepared. Boekestijn argues that the migrants, at least the permanent migrants, are willing to change because of two reasons: the first reason is that they know that they are leaving which makes them, partly, open for new influences. The second reason is that migration means a "strong reduction of interpersonal relations" (idem: 88) which will weaken the migrants' relation with their beliefs. Furthermore, the migrants have to learn new things since some things of their old life do not apply anymore for their lives in the new places. According to Boekestijn special attention should be given to language since commanding the new language makes it easier to build up new lives. However, to underline the complexity of the situation, he adds the concept of the immigrants' dilemma. The dilemma can be defined as "the inherent tension between socio-cultural adaptation and the preservation of identity. The wish to be accepted is counteracted by the wish not to deny cherished beliefs and values. The strength of the dilemma will be proportional to the degree of difference between the two cultures and to the salience of the aspects present in these differences" (idem: 90). Consequently the dilemma will be stronger when it is about two totally different environments and cultures. Rural-urban or urban-rural migration will thus lead to a bigger dilemma than rural-rural or urban-urban migration. The same applies for international migration.

When the migrant settles in a new place, there are four possibilities to go about with the new situation: through integration, assimilation, segregation or marginalization. Integration refers to the maintenance of the culture of origin, but in combination with contact with other cultures. Assimilation, on the contrary, is about giving up the culture of origin to become a full member of the new society. The third process is segregation in which the migrant keeps to the culture of origin and confines himself to the least contact with the new culture as possible. The last possibility is marginalization in which the culture of origin is

given up, but there is neither contact with the members of the other culture (Nauck 2001). The departure point for migration in this thesis is the process of integration and not one of the other three options although in practice these will take place too. The migrants do not have to assimilate to the new environment, but there are some aspects very specific for the new environment which the migrant should know. Examples of this knowledge are language, organizations, and culture. If the migrant is willing to obtain this knowledge, the receiving community will function better and the migrant may feel as a part of his new culture faster, although he will maintain his culture of origin. The school in the sending community can be the institution that offers this knowledge to the people. There is of course never a one-way movement as also the receiving community has influence on the process, but this was beyond the scope of the research.

3. Education in the Bolivian context



Illustration 3 Children in front of the school, Escana 2010

Education in Bolivia cannot be studied thoroughly without knowing the social situation of the country. So this section starts with an impression of the country, and is followed by the national education policies of Bolivia.

3.1 Bolivia

The social situation of Bolivia is being determined by geographical differences of the country. The western part of Bolivia is the rough mountain range of the Andes with the *Altiplano* plateau. Here and in between the valleys live mostly the indigenous people. The eastern part is more flat and inhabited by the richer people of the country, mainly *mestizos*. Despite unclear boundaries between the different ethnicities, sources come up with the same amount of indigenous people living in Bolivia, which is around 60 percent of the whole population (CIA 2009; Luykx 1999; World Bank 2009). However, the concept 'indigenous' is too general because there is no homogenous group of indigenous people living in Bolivia. The Quechuas and Aymaras are the major groups as they represent respectively 30% and 25% of the Bolivian population. These two ethnic groups live mostly in the highlands and valleys, while the majority of the other 34 smaller indigenous groups live in the lowlands. Traditionally the indigenous people lived in the rural areas, but this is changing since an increasing amount of them moved to urban areas. In spite of this changing pattern, still 72% of the people in rural areas speak indigenous languages as opposed to 38% of the people in urban areas (World Bank 2009). According to a census held in 2001, a majority of 60% of the Bolivian population lives in urban areas. This division counts for indigenous people as well as non-indigenous people although a relatively small amount of the latter lives in rural areas (see table 3.1). The non-indigenous people in the rural areas live mainly in the eastern part of Bolivia.

Table 3.1 Geographical division of the Bolivian population in percentages, 2001

	Total Bolivia	Quechua	Aymara	Non-indigenous
Rural area	35.5	49.2	40.4	20.8
Urban area	64.5	50.8	59.6	79.2

Source: Own elaboration of data of Instituto Nacional de Estadística de Bolivia 2009

Remarkable about rural-urban migration within Bolivia is that there is not just one urban centre, but the urban population is divided between the cities of La Paz, Cochabamba and Santa Cruz (Vargas 2005). Regarding international migration, Bolivia has a migration rate of -1.01/1000 persons which signifies that of every 1000 persons one person leaves the country. The majority of the international migrants stays on the continent as 70.5% of the migrants searches for a better life in a country in Latin America (UNDP 2009).

With respect to the characteristics of migrants, national as well as international, it can be noticed that the majority are men, young people of around 25 years old, and, in case of international migrants, people with higher education. This means that the areas with a negative migration rate are losing their human capital (Vargas 2005).

Politics

In spite of the indigenous people being the majority in Bolivia, until recently the power was in the hands of a minority of wealthy *criollo-mestizo* people. Bolivia has had a turbulent political past with more leaders than years of independence. Until 1982 most of these leaders came to power by a *coup d'état*, but since 1982 Bolivia has been a democracy without interruption. It was also in this period that the social organizations, like the indigenous movements, became more active. In 2005 the power relations in Bolivia changed drastically when Evo Morales was elected as the President. He is the first Bolivian President of indigenous origin. With a policy more inwards oriented and by paying attention to the richness of the cultural diversity of the country, Morales can count on the support of most of the indigenous people. However, there still exists social unrest as a lot of people in the lowlands, especially the richer ones, offer resistance to the government's plans. Nevertheless, most of the people still seem to be in favor of Morales because he was reelected with more than 60% of the votes in December 2009.

With regard to the process of decentralization, Bolivia made a progress with the adaptation of the Law of Popular Participation in 1994. This law meant a new division of the Bolivian territory in 327 municipalities which had to result in a better division of the national transfers. Moreover, with this law, rural and urban grassroots organizations were recognized and could play an active role in local policy matters. Nowadays twenty percent of all national state revenues are distributed among local governments (UNDP 2005). With this budget the municipalities have to take care of education, health, infrastructure, sports and culture and to invest in it.

Economy

Bolivia is one of the poorest and least developed countries of Latin America. In 2009 Bolivia had an estimated GDP of \$45.11 billion. Besides the relatively low GDP, there is also a high income inequality in Bolivia with the highest 10 percent earning 44.1% of the GDP and the lowest 10 percent earning 0.5% of the GDP. This results in a Gini-index of 59.2 (CIA 2009). As a consequence of this unequal distribution, a high percentage of sixty percent of the population lives below the poverty line of one dollar a day. The unequal distribution of wealth can also be found between the rural and urban areas. In 2007, half of the urban population experienced poverty against 77.3% of the rural population (Instituto Nacional de Estadística de Bolivia 2009).

Chuquisaca

The community Escana is located in Chuquisaca which is one of Bolivia's nine departments. This department is situated in the south-western part of the country with some parts in the Andes mountain range and others reaching the basin of the Amazon river. According to an estimation of the National Institute of Statistics in 2009 approximately 650.000 people lived in the department with a majority of 59 percent living in the rural areas. In 2001 Chuquisaca was the department with the second highest percentage of poor people when 61.5% of its population lived in extreme poverty. According to Nutrinet, an organization which strives for the eradication of hunger in Latin America, this high percentage can be partly explained by the department's geographical dispersal, the low yield of the soil, and the concentration of the production in specific areas.

3.2 Bolivian education policies

In the Bolivian constitution of 1994 education is called the highest function of the state that should be universally accessible. However, until the Education Code of 1955 education was not universal accessible but a privilege of the mestizos. With a few exceptions of projects directed at the indigenous population, this group could not enter the education system. The most famous example of such a project for the indigenous people is the *escuela-ayllu* of the community Warisata (project is also known as Warisata). The experiment was initiated in 1931 by the mestizo educator Elizardo Perez and the Aymara leader Avelino Siñani. Their different backgrounds resulted in this experiment which was guided by the combination of a socialist philosophy and the cultural and organizational principles of the Aymaras (Luykx 1999). The Warisata project "introduced a curriculum and methodology decades ahead of its time, incorporating coeducation; bilingual education; community control over school decisions; communal labour; and elimination of grades, hourly schedules, and annual vacations" (idem: 46). After ten years the project had to end as the community was terrorized by neighbouring mestizos. However, the project gained a lot of attention and still gets this attention since its ideas form the basis for the new proposed education reform (as will be explained below). The objectives of the education reform of 1955 were to decrease the illiteracy; to increase the accessibility of the education by making it more democratic and

to include the indigenous people; to promote the Bolivian culture and national integration; to promote science and technology; and to improve the productivity of the country (Ministerio de Educación 2003). In spite of the more positive attitude towards the indigenous children in this reform, many of them were still not able to go to school because of the long distances and the bad economic situations which obliged them to help the family. Although the reform aimed at equality in the access to education, the aims regarding the contents of the education were far from equal: education was still in Spanish with a curriculum according to the culture of the mestizos. The reform of 1994, also known as *Ley 1565*, was a real reform in the sense that it established the democratic character in the whole education. It promoted the popular participation in all facets of the educational system. For example, the various educational institutions could participate in the design of the reform. Furthermore, the new education recognized the pluricultural character of the country with the implementation of bilingual and intercultural education at the national level. Looking at the pillars of the reform, some fundamental elements can be distinguished: education is the highest function of the state; it is universal and free accessible when public; it is democratic with the participation of the whole society; it is national as it integrates all different geographical-cultural zones of the country; it is intercultural and bilingual; it is a right and duty of all the Bolivians as it is organized and developed with the participation of the whole society; it is revolutionary because it has a new attitude regarding the presentation of history; it responds to the needs of the learners; it promotes justice, solidarity and social equity; it is essential for the development of the country and the democracy; it is the fundament of the national integration and the participation of Bolivia at all geographical levels (República de Bolivia 1994). The biggest changes of the reform of 1994 compared with the education before this year can be found in the following:

- Eight years of compulsory schooling instead of five years. Also the number of years of primary school changed from five to eight.
- More space for the specific characteristics of the learner. Next to the general curriculum, schools can give their own interpretation based on the characteristics of the learner and his environment.
- The pedagogy changed from behaviourism to constructivism. The latter puts the student and his experiences in the centre and gives the teacher a role as a facilitator in the learning process.
- The introduction of bilingual and intercultural education at the national level in the struggle against racism and discrimination, originated in the existence of different ethnic groups living in Bolivia without knowing each others cultures.
- A better popular participation at various levels: the different ethnic groups are represented by their CEPO (Consejos Educativos de los Pueblos Originarios) and have a say in the formulation of the education; the communities have a bigger share in the education of the children through the *Junta Escolar* (education board).

To make the majority of these changes possible, the education of the teachers had to be changed drastically. The teachers, who worked already at the schools, were reeducated by special educationists. Furthermore, new books were designed to help the teachers in the implementation and the performance of the new education. In chapter five the characteristics of the reform will be discussed in more detail when comparing it with the education in Escana.

The education reform of 1994 generally received a warm welcome because of the attention paid to the indigenous groups with the implementation of bilingual and intercultural education. Furthermore, the focus on popular participation was applauded as this would make education more part of the society. However, its implementation has also been criticized. A main criticism concerns the colonial character of especially the background under which the reform was implemented. The critique is partly based on the external support. The reform of 1994 is implemented with important economic support of the World Bank (45%), Interamerican Development Bank (16%), and to a lesser extent the UNESCO (1%), the embassies of Denmark (0.7%), Sweden (3%), the Netherlands (3%) and the German Development Bank (2%). Only 29 percent of the funding of the reform in the period 1995-2003 came from Bolivia's National Treasury (Gamboa Rocabado 2009). However, according to Anke van Dam, this is only the case for the costs of the implementation, because the labor costs of the teachers were paid by the ministry itself. Of course the funding of the multilateral organizations was necessary to make the implementation of the reform possible, but these funds came along with conditions of neoliberal politics. Other voices about the colonial character underline the role of Sánchez de Lozada, the President of Bolivia under whom the reform was introduced, as he was an advocate of neo-liberalism. In order to achieve development for Bolivia according to the neo-liberal model, he proposed various reforms, including the education reform. Education in this reform should lead to an improvement in the productivity, economic growth, a reduction of poverty, and an improvement of equity (Albó in Contreras and Talavera Simoni 2004). So, education is used as an instrument to create a population who develops itself for the sake of the country in order to have more economic growth and power in the world (Gamboa Rocaboda 2009). To refer to Torres (1996 in Regalsky and Laurie 2007), education in Bolivia under the reform of 1994 legitimized the knowledge system of the authority. Another argument regarding the colonial character is on the education system, as books are still the used material. However, books do not form part of the culture of the indigenous groups who have an oral tradition (Van Dam 2006). So ideally, both oral and written material should be part of education. A final sign of the colonial character is that the existing structures in the Bolivian society are still supported by the education because the characteristics of the indigenous people, like their way of thinking, their world vision, their way of organizing the world, are not included neither in the design of the reform nor in the contents of the education (Ministerio de Educación y Culturas 2009). Opponents of the colonial and neo-liberal vision state that thanks to the support of multilateral organizations and the peer-projects of bilingual and intercultural education, which were supported by UNICEF, bilingual and intercultural

education is implemented (Regalsky and Laurie 2007). Otherwise, this may not have been the case.

A second criticism on the education reform is directed towards popular participation. Although the idea was that all the stakeholders would participate in the design of the reform, this happened only to a small extent. Especially the voices of the teachers were not being heard. And according to Gamboa Rocaboda (2009) the indigenous organizations were even absent in the design of the reform. He states that the reform is very vertical implemented without the consultation of the population. Moreover, the existing political structures of the communities were not recognized by the law, but in stead of these organizations, new institutions like the *Juntas Escolares* (education boards) were established. Thus, the local jurisdictional authority over the school continues to be ignored (Regalsky and Laurie 2007; Howard 2009).

Another element that is criticized is the incorporation of intercultural and bilingual education only in the rural areas. The children in the rural areas learn two languages and are being educated about their own culture as well as about the culture of the mestizos, although this is based on very standard assumptions and homogenous groups. The people in urban areas do not get bilingual education, which gives the bilingual education in rural areas a significance of what it was also in the past: transitional bilingual education. This implies that people are educated in their mother language in order to learn the dominant language (López 2001). Moreover, rural schools do not take into account the agricultural calendar which explains the high school abandonment rate which is still visible in the rural areas (Regalsky and Laurie 2007).

Because of the criticism on the reform and with Evo Morales coming to power, the once applauded revolutionary education reform was banned in 2006. Bolivia is now waiting for the approval of the new reform *Avelino Siñani y Elizardo Pérez (ASEP)*, named after and based on the ideas of the two pioneers of indigenous education in the 1930s. This new education model should replace the old monocultural model by a pluricultural one. Together with this shift, education changes from a service to a universal right of all the Bolivians, the indigenous people included. Through this new education, a new country can be created in which the identities, ways of thinking, and the world visions of the indigenous people are accepted and play a central role in the education (Ministerio de Educación 2009). The fundamental pillars of this new reform are decolonialism, intra- and intercultural together with plurilinguistic education, productive education and participatory communitarian education.

The focus on decolonization fits into the broader policy of the President Evo Morales who pursues a “new national project towards ‘dignity, decolonization’, and the nationalization of natural resources” (Lopes Cardozo 2009: 410). Decolonization of education “supposes linguistic and cultural curricular content based on indigenous knowledge and technology, without disregarding universal knowledge” (Howard 2009: 590). Another important aspect of decolonization in the proposed law is the equality of opportunity. The second pillar is

intra- and intercultural along with plurilingual education'. Intraculturality signifies the decolonization, regaining proud and the revaluation of culture of the local, especially of the indigenous people who have been suppressed for eras. However, according to Anke van Dam and Ton Salman (2009) this will lead to some problems. Firstly, the indigenous people have to be aware of what their culture is before the dialogue can be started. Furthermore the emphasis on the own culture can lead to the underlining of the differences between the cultures in stead of the similarities. Under plurilingualism every student should learn Spanish, the local indigenous language and a foreign language (e.g. English) "in recognition of the plurality of the Bolivian population and their interests" (Strauss 2010: 32). The third pillar of productive education is oriented towards work and sustainable development. Education should provide every student with the knowledge and abilities to enter either the labor market or the university. The final pillar is communitarian education and is based on indigenous principles wherein the community is more important than the individual. "Community education supports collectivity, solidarity, harmonious living with nature and the philosophy of living well" (Strauss 2010: 33).

The new education reform ASEP is supposed to be accepted before the end of 2010. However, the Strategic Institutional Plan 2010-2014 of the Bolivian Ministry of Education is already based on the fundamentals of this reform. Even though the reform is not legally recognized, the education in all educational institutions should already be along the pillars of ASEP since February 2010. A reason for this fast pace is the lack of a leading curriculum since the ban of *Ley 1565* in 2006.

3.3 Education system of Bolivia

The education system of Bolivia nowadays distinguishes five different levels: preprimary education, primary school, secondary school, colleges and universities, see table 3.2.

Table 3.2 Education system Bolivia with reform of 1994 and new reform ASEP

	Reform 1994	ASEP
Pre-primary school	5 years informal (family)	4 years informal (family)
	1 year formal (school)	2 years formal (school)
Primary school	8 years	8 years
Secondary school	4 years	4 years

Source: Own elaboration of information from International Bureau of Education of UNESCO, 2007

Preprimary consists of six years of schooling. The first four years have an informal character as it is the responsibility of the family and community. When a child turns four years old, he enters the formal education system which starts with two pre-preparatory years. In *Ley 1565* this pre-preparatory period was only one year. At six the child enters the primary school which consists out of eight years of schooling. Until 2006 the primary level was divided into three stages of respectively three (stage 1 and 2) and two (stage 3) years, but these stages have been eliminated in the new education reform. Since the education reform of 1994

primary education is free accessible and compulsory. The next level is secondary school which has duration of four years. In the old system these four years were divided in two cycles, but since now it consists of different pillars which are productivity and humanism. Secondary school in the new reform is compulsory. After secondary school, students can move on to colleges and universities (International Bureau of Education of UNESCO 2007). In this thesis the focus is on primary education.

3.4 Illiteracy in Bolivia

Looking at the illiteracy of the Bolivian population (table 3.3), there has been a decrease for both men and women in rural and urban areas between 1992 and 2001. However, in 2001 women in rural areas were still in the worst position as 37.9% of them did not know how to read and write.

Table 3.3 Illiteracy-rate of the Bolivian population of 15 years and older, 1992-2001

Area	Census 1992			Census 2001		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Rural	23.1	49.9	36.5	14.4	37.9	25.8
Urban	3.8	13.5	8.9	2.5	10.0	6.4
Total	11.8	27.7	20.0	6.9	19.4	13.3

Source: Ministerio de Educación 2004 in Contreras and Talavera Simoni 2004

As a consequence of the educational exclusion of the indigenous people for a long time, their literacy rate is lower than that of the non-indigenous people. Although there have been improvements, the differences still exist as table 3.4 shows. Whereas 95.5% of the non-indigenous people know how to read and write, this is only 86.2% of the indigenous population. Especially the percentages in the rural areas are striking as only 77.2% of the indigenous people are literate, almost 10% less than their non-indigenous counterparts.

Table 3.4 Literacy rate of indigenous and non-indigenous people in Bolivia, 2007

	Total Bolivia	Indigenous people	Non-indigenous people
Rural	80.0	77.2	86.3
Urban	95.9	93.3	97.8
Total	90.7	86.2	95.5

Source: Instituto de Estadística de Bolivia 2009

Despite statistics which show that illiteracy still exists in Bolivia, the UNESCO declared Bolivia free of illiteracy in 2008. This means that at least 96 percent of the population of 15 years and older knows how to read and write. The eradication of illiteracy is attributed to the audiovisual program “Yo sí puedo” which was introduced by the Cubans.

Chuquisaca

Chuquisaca, the department where Escana is located in, scored very badly regarding literacy in the census of 2001. Its percentage of illiterate people was 27% with 18.4% of the men being illiterate and 34.8% of the women. Other big differences exist between urban and rural areas (see table 3.5). With these illiteracy-rates Chuquisaca scores worst, apart from Potosí. The same pattern as for illiteracy can be seen in the years of schooling, where Potosí is the only department that scores worse than Chuquisaca. The average amount of years of schooling in Chuquisaca was 5.78 in 2001 (6.40 years for men and 5.23 years for women) (Instituto Nacional de Estadística de Bolivia 2009).

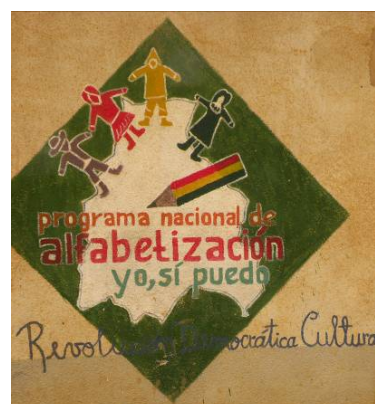


Illustration 4 Literacy programme
Yo sí puedo. Pucará, 2010

Table 3.5 Illiteracy-rate of the population of Chuquisaca of 15 years and older, 2001

	Men	Women	Total
Rural	28.9	52.8	41.1
Urban	5.1	14.2	10.0
Total	18.4	34.8	27.0

Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística de Bolivia 2009

Chuquisaca has its own department of education 'SEDUCA' which works in line with the policy of the Bolivian Ministry of Education. According to this department 28 schools in Chuquisaca had to be closed in 2009, mostly because of a shortage of students. The minimum amount of students a school should have is ten (Correo del Sur 2010).

4. The school of Escana



Illustration 5 Panorama view of the valley and the community of Escana, 2010

In order to understand the primary education at the school of Escana, in this chapter an impression is given of the community Escana and the school Gerardo Ríos Murillo.

4.1 The community Escana

Escana is a community situated in a valley on a relatively short distance (approximately 1.5 hours in car) from Sucre, one of the capitals of Bolivia. The community is accessible by an unpaved exit track from the asphalted road which connects Sucre and the touristic community of Tarabuco. Escana has a moderate climate with an average annual temperature of 20.7°C. Despite the mild climate, the region suffers from hailstorms, frost periods and droughts which destroy the crops. Escana belongs to the municipality of Yamparaez which is one of the 28 municipalities of the department of Chuquisaca. Within Yamparaez Escana plays an important role as the capital of the *subcentral* which is formed by the communities of San José de Molles, Sauce Pampa, Era Pampa, Carama and San Antonio. Furthermore it is the capital of the *cantón* (territorial division) and the *núcleo escolar* Escana (cluster of schools) (Gobierno Municipal de Yamparaez 2007).

The HDI- index of Yamparaez for the year 2005 was 0.529 which signifies an increase compared to 2001 when the HDI was 0.481. However, this low Human Development Index shows that there is a high poverty rate in the municipality as it is comparable to the index of the least developed countries in the world.

Nonetheless, the situation in Escana is not so bad.

The community has all basic services with most of them already present since some decades: drinking water (1971), electricity (1997), health post (1980) and a school (since 2001 also secondary education). Furthermore, Escana counts on an artificial lake and a working irrigation system since 2006-2007 which have significantly improved the lives of its inhabitants (see below). Some families cannot fill



Illustration 6 House in Escana, 2010

their basic needs and live in real poverty, but a lot of families do not live under bad conditions, mostly because they have extra income out of migration of one or more family members. This has resulted in houses provided with television, DVD-player, fridge and cooker. Despite the luxurious goods, only some houses are well-maintained and have an attractive exterior. In 1994 a program of the restoration of the walls of the houses against the plague of the *chagas* (an insect that nests in the walls of adobe) was executed, but since then the people have neglected the walls which has resulted in the shabby looks of the houses nowadays (see illustration 6).

“*Escana no tiene historia*” (Escana has no history) is an often heard phrase when asking the people about the history of the community. In the opinion of its inhabitants, Escana has no history because they do not know the date Escana was founded. It has to be some 100-120 years ago, according to a woman who always has lived in this community surrounded by the green hills. The older people remember the times when Escana was a *hacienda* (until 1952) ruled by a *patrón* for whom the people had to work. These were hard times, according to the people, but they also remember this period as one in which the region had more vegetation than today. Like in the whole country, the situation of the people in Escana changed drastically with the *Reforma Agraria* (Agrarian Reform) of 1952 when the land was given to the people who had been working it. They became the new owners of the land and to join their forces, they initiated the *sindicato* which until today is the organization where important decisions about the community are being made and where the political orientation of the community is decided. All married man of the community are affiliated to this organization and are obliged to participate in the weekly meetings, fulfill the communal labour, and pay the financial contribution. The *sindicato* of Escana has lost some of its strength because the inhabitants are politically divided. Traditionally the community was in favour of the MAS (Movimiento al Socialismo), the party of the current president of Bolivia, but this year in the elections for the mayors and the departmental leaders some people wanted to vote for a candidate who was born in Escana but belongs to another party. Another organization in the community is the *Asociación de los Regantes del Valle de Escana* (ARVE) of which all the families with access to irrigation are member (all families in Escana minus two).

Already since the 1960s the phenomenon of migration has been present in Escana. The first people migrated temporarily for economic reasons in times of *zafra* (sugar cane harvest) to Sucre or Santa Cruz. The temporary migration turned into permanent migration to these cities and also to the neighbouring country Argentina in the 1980s. Since 2000 there are also some cases of people who have migrated to Spain. The people, who migrate temporarily or permanently, are all in search for better economic resources. Because of the fragmentation of the lands through the years, which has made their income out of the agriculture insufficient, and because of the climate change, which has made some of their lands more up on the hills impossible to cultivate, the people see the necessity to move to other places where they can generate an income through other activities than agriculture. As a result of the high amount of migrants, Escana may feel like a starving community: lots of houses and

agricultural lands are abandoned. However, there seems to be a changing pattern in this outgoing flow of people because people are also coming back since the construction of the irrigation system. Yet, this is still a small percentage and their return is mostly temporarily because they live most of the time in Sucre, but come to Escana once a week to cultivate the land. Some of the houses of these people are significantly in better condition than those of other people and attract the attention as the walls are well maintained and painted in different colors.

Because of the emigration and the presence of a family planning program, the number of inhabitants has decreased significantly during the last decade. In 1997 Escana counted some 130 families with more than 600 people (1 family: 4.6 members), which in the census of 2001 had already decreased to 394 persons. An estimation based on questionnaires in 2006 shows that this number has decreased even more to 247 inhabitants divided over 69 families (1 family: 3.6 members) (Gobierno Municipal de Yamparaez, 2007). Although the numbers are estimations (except for those of the census of 2001), the trend of a decreasing population is clear. In March 2010 the inhabitants estimated that around one-third of the people who were born in Escana, now live in other places. The earlier mentioned ARVE, of which almost all the families of Escana are affiliated but with members of two neighbouring communities too, has 100 associates of which 75-80 are active members. When using the calculation of 4 members per family, this would result in around 300 people, of which the majority lives in Escana. However, in reality this number will be lower because of the high emigration rate, especially of the younger generation.

As already mentioned, the construction of the artificial lake and its irrigation system is of great importance to the people of Escana as to some families of two neighbouring communities. No conversation with the inhabitants ended without mentioning this big change for the community. Also the children of the fifth grade of primary school were convinced of its importance: almost all the children drew the irrigation system, next to the mountains, their houses, and the school when they had to draw their community. The whole process of the construction of the irrigation system took more than a decade and was completed in 2006/2007. When operating at its full potential, the water going through the irrigation system can reach 300 hectares of land, of which 200 belong to Escana and 100 to the two other communities. Nowadays the irrigation system is functioning on 60-70% of its potential.



Illustration 7, 8 & 9 The irrigation system. Drawings of children of 5th grade primary school and an irrigated land. Escana, 2010.

The construction of the irrigation system has meant a big change at all levels: at the individual level the way of cultivating the land has changed; the situation of the families has changed because of a better income which diminishes the need of migration for economic reasons; and the community has got a more positive input since more people are also willing to stay and to invest in the future of Escana, although this is still a small percentage. Even though the people have irrigation at their disposal, the existence of the *minifundio* system makes migration still a necessity. This system refers to the subdivision of lands among the children of the owners of the lands. However, after many subdivisions, the lands have become very small and it is impossible to subdivide them again.

With the introduction of the irrigation system, the products people cultivate have also changed. Before construction, the most important products were corn, wheat, potato and chickpea. With the introduction of the irrigation, but also because of the assistance of some specialists for specific products, this list has changed. The number one product now is oregano, followed by corn and potato and on the third place chickpea. Furthermore, the importance of fruits like figs and peaches has decreased enormously which is the same story for cattle breeding. Oregano is directly bought by the organization UNEC, but the other products are brought to the *mercado campesino* (farmer's market) in Sucre. There is a public service *micro* between Escana and Sucre leaving every morning from Escana and returning in the afternoon.

Traditionally the people of the region of Escana speak Quechua and this is also the language all the people speak nowadays. Data of the census of 2001 show that a vast majority of 97% of the people identifies him/herself as descendant from the Quechua people. Besides Quechua, the people also speak Spanish with some exceptions of mostly older women. Although almost everybody is bilingual, the language used in everyday life is Quechua. Also in the communal meetings, the principal language is Quechua. An exception is formed by the meetings of the community with the school which are in Spanish.

The connection the people feel with their ancestors is also visible in the clothes they wear. Although there are no specific requirements, especially not for the men, almost all the women wear a *pollera* (a typical skirt), have their hair styled in two braids, and carry the stuff on their back in a colorful cloth.



Illustration 10 & 11 Clothing style. Youth at the Carnival of Yamparaez and a woman in Escana 2010

Nonetheless, this is not the clothing style of the youth. The boys and girls wear clothes based on the European and American style. This is in big contrast with the youth of the neighbouring community Carama: when the children of Escana and Carama went together on an excursion it was easy to differentiate the children as those of Carama were all dressed in *polleras*, with their hair in two braids and those of Escana wore jeans. Only on special occasions, like Carnival and the celebration of the community, the youth of Escana wears clothes based on those of their ancestors. The local celebration of Escana is *Señor de Agonias* which is on the 24th-26th of September. It is celebrated with a lot a dancing, singing, drinking and a bull ride. This celebration, together with the Carnival and *Todos Santos* are the most important celebrations of the community.

4.2 The school Gerardo Ríos Murillo

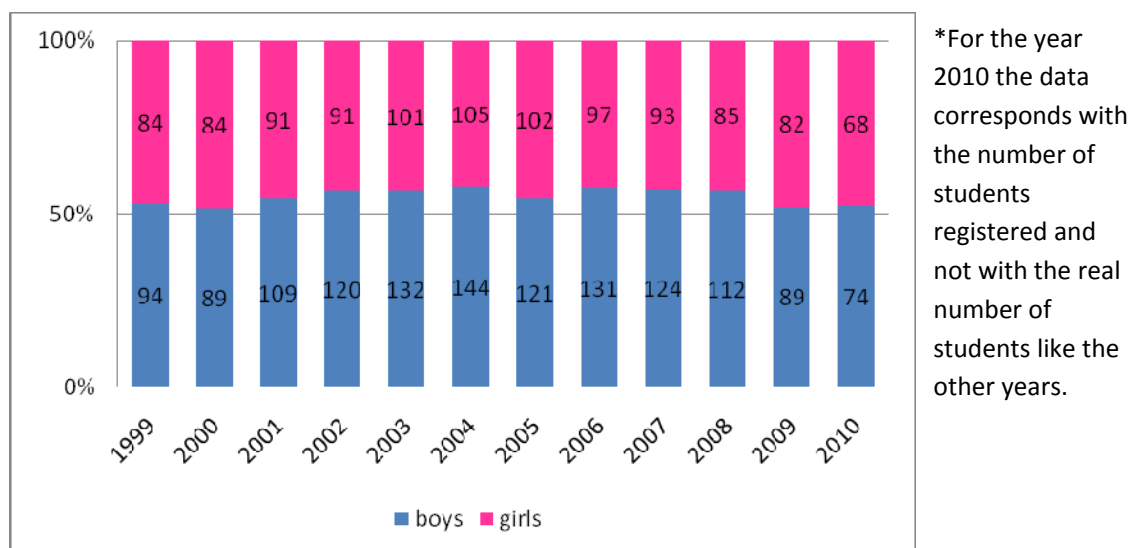
The school Gerardo Ríos Murillo, named after the inhabitant of Escana who donated his land to build the school there, is located in the centre of the community Escana. It is the central school for the *núcleo* (group of schools) Escana which consists out of the primary schools in the communities Carama, Kota, San José de Molles and Sauce Pampa. When entering Escana, the school is the first building that catches the eye as it is the biggest and most modern building in the community. The school is equipped with a room for every class, a sports field, a big room for multifunctional use (theatre, meetings, etc.), a library, a classroom for computer lessons, toilets and showers, and a terrain for the cultivation of products.



Illustration 12, 13 & 14 Playground, the school and the sports field of the school of Escana, 2010

Since 2004 there is also a boarding school in the community for the children of the other communities. The boarding school was an initiative of the project *Niña Indígena* of UNICEF which was set up to reduce gender inequality in education through the construction of boarding schools and the introduction of school transport. The cause of the high school absenteeism of girls after the third or fourth course of primary school was to be found in the fear of the parents who did not like that their daughters often had to walk a long distance to school. Although inequality in gender still exists, the project has achieved that in general girls stay longer in school. According to Lady Barriga, responsible for education at the UNICEF office of Chuquisaca, the girls now stay until the 7th or 8th grade of primary school, an average of four years longer than before the introduction of the projects. However, in the case of Escana there is no narrowing difference in gender since 2004 (see figure 4.1). Although the difference has been smaller in the two last years, boys are still the majority.

Figure 4.1 Division boys-girls school Escana 1999-2010*

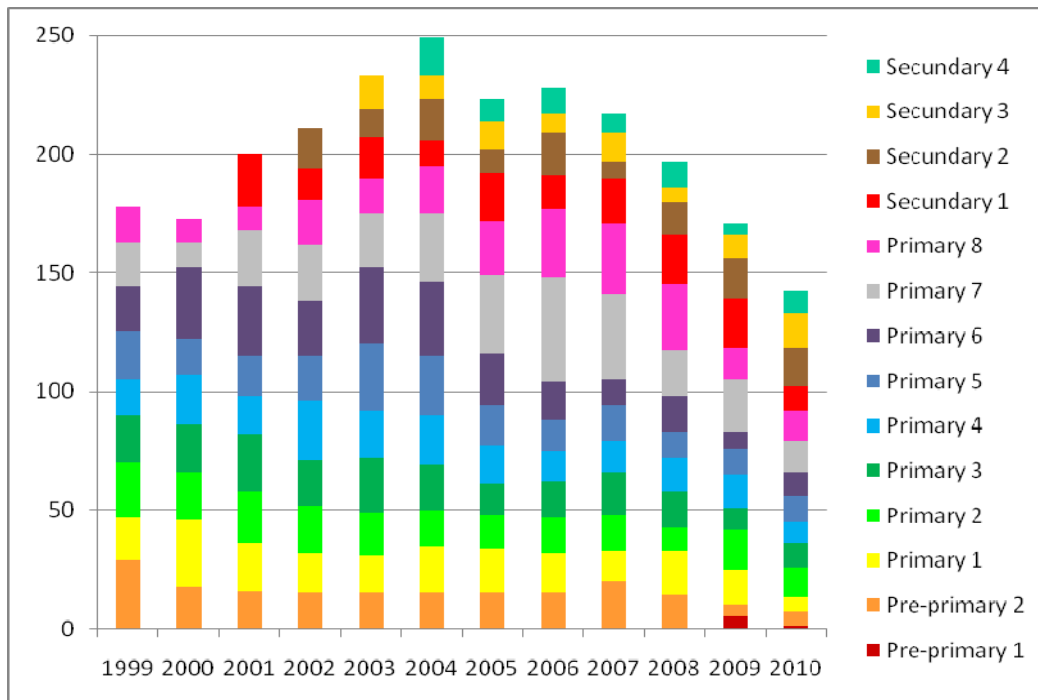


Source: own elaboration of data of SEDUCA and the school of Escana.

According to some older inhabitants of Escana there has always been a school in the community, but the education was not accessible for all children. In times of the landlords (before the Agrarian Reform), some teachers were present in the region, but education was a privilege of the children of the landlords. This situation changed with the education reform of 1955 as all children could enter the school system. However, in reality it turned out that particularly boys went to the school. Later, in 1978, the building of the school was extended with the help of a program aimed at the development of the communities. Until the year 2001, the school offered pre-primary and five to eight grades of primary level, but since this year there is also secondary school which resulted in the first graduation class in 2004.

2004 was also the year that the school Gerardo Ríos Murillo had most students as is shown in figure 4.2. Although some 533 students were registered to attend classes at the start of the school year, in reality 249 students came to class of which 58 percent were boys and 42 percent girls. After this year the number of students has decreased drastically with the lowest point at the start of this year (2010) whereas this is only the number of registered students in stead of the real number of students. This difference between registered students and students that really attend classes existed in every school year in the period 1999-2009. According to the headmaster of the school this is caused by migrating families. However, in most cases the difference is so big that this can be doubted. A possible explanation may be that the schools also register students who are already registered at another school in order to get more financial and material support. As a result of the small number of students registered in 2010, the school has lost one *item* which is equal to one teacher's post. The teachers of the school as well as the community see this as the start of a trend which, in the worst-case scenario, will lead to the loss of the important position Escana has as the central school of the *núcleo*.

Figure 4.2 Net number of students school Escana: 1999-2010*



*For the year 2010 the data corresponds with the number of students registered and not with the real number of students like the other years.

Source: own elaboration of data of SEDUCA and the school of Escana

The trend of an increasing number of students until 2004 can be explained by a period of major activity in the community. In this period the artificial lake and the irrigation system were constructed which brought extra employment, especially for men. The decrease in students since 2004 can be interpreted by three factors. The first cause can be found in a better family planning as already mentioned. Whereas families in the past had an average of 8 or 10 children, the younger families nowadays have about three children. Furthermore, the increasing number of migrants can be considered as the second reason. With the completion of the irrigation system, men in Escana lost an important source of income and the necessity to move to other places increased. Entire families moved to the cities or to other countries. The teachers now try to convince families with plans of moving to stay. Although there are some families who have returned to Escana, the number of students has not increased because these families mostly live only part-time in Escana. Moreover, the parents prefer their children to go to the school in the city as they consider the education in the city better than in Escana. One exception is a girl whose parents live in Sucre whereas she lives with her uncle and aunt in Escana because the education would be better here. However, she admitted that the quality of the education in Escana was better in the past when there were more students. The third factor for the decreasing number of students is the reputation of Escana as a discriminatory community. In 2009 there was a clash between the inhabitants of

Escana and the boys and girls of the boarding school and their parents. The people of Escana accused the youth of the boarding school of having stolen fruit from the lands of the families of Escana. One father of the community Carama was very upset with this accusation and decided to remove his child from the school and boarding school of Escana. He talked with the community members of Carama which has led to a boarding school without students of Carama, neither is there a student from Carama attending secondary school in Escana. Besides this incident, the people of Escana are also known for their discriminative attitude towards the people of other communities who generally live a more traditional way of life.

According to the head of the School District Yamparaez, the decreasing number of students is a trend in the whole municipality. However, Escana is an alarming case because big investments have been made the last years (like the sports field, the room for multifunctional use) which are not used in their full capacity.

Summarizing, the school of Escana can be characterized as one with a perfect infrastructure but with a decreasing number of students because of migration, better family planning and the reputation of Escana as a discriminatory community.

5. Primary education in Escana



Illustration 15 Children of fifth grade primary level. Escana, 2010

In this chapter a comparison will be made between the national education policies and the way they are carried out at the local level: the school of Escana. According to the headmaster, the education at the school of Escana is in accordance with the education reform of 1994. So first a comparison will be made between this reform and the education, followed by some thoughts of the teachers about the new reform *Avelino Siñani y Elizardo Perez*. Finally, some national programs, introduced under the presidency of Morales, will be discussed in relation to the education in Escana.

5.1 The education reform of 1994 and the school of Escana

The education at the school of Escana is in accordance with the education reform of 1994. Interesting characteristics of this reform can be found in the curriculum, books, pedagogy, bilingual and intercultural education, and popular participation. In the next section a comparison will be made between these characteristics and the implementation of these at the school of Escana.

5.1.1 Curriculum

Curriculum in the *Reforma Educativa* of 1994 is defined as “the structure that organizes the transmission of cultural contents understood as knowledge, language, values and skills” (Regalsky and Laurie 2007: 234). The competences that should be achieved by every student consist of the general curriculum and a locally defined curriculum (Van Dam 2006) which in the case of Escana is the education of weaving and the local culture like dances, songs, and the history of the community. The courses included in the curriculum of the education reform of 1994 are not very different from those before the reform, but the contents of the courses do differ from the past. Courses like mathematics, language and communication, science, creativity and gym form the core whereas themes like environment, democracy, gender and health, and sexuality are woven into these themes. Looking at table 5.1 the similarities with and differences between the curriculum before the reform, the curriculum of the reform and the curriculum of Escana can be noticed.

Table 5.1 Curriculum before the reform of 1994, with the reform of 1994 and in Escana

Before the reform 1994	The reform 1994	Escana
Communication	Language and communication	Language Quechua
Mathematics	Mathematics	Mathematics
Natural sciences	Life sciences	Natural sciences Social sciences
Social sciences	Technology and practical knowledge	Technology and practical knowledge
Arts	Expression and creativity	Arts
Music		Music
Religion	Religion, ethics and morality	Religion
Gym	Gym	Gym
		Computer education

Source: own elaboration of data from the school of Escana and Yapu 2009

The school of Escana only follows the curriculum of the reform on three subjects: mathematics, technology and practical knowledge, and gym. In courses like the sciences, language, creativity, and religion Escana works with the curriculum of before the education reform. Quechua is not in the list of the reform of 1994, but was introduced under the name of this reform because of the revalorization of the indigenous languages and cultures. Computer education is not part of the reform, but is offered by the school of Escana. Already in the first grade of primary school children get computer classes in which they learn how to manage the computer. However, since there is no internet in Escana, the knowledge is limited to the basics of the computer and programs like Word.

5.1.2 Books

As part of the reform of 1994, new books for the subjects were developed by professionals. In total an amount of eight million books were printed in four different languages (Spanish, Aymara, Quechua and Guaraní). Next to the languages, the different cultures of the various ethnic groups of Bolivia were incorporated in the books. Besides these workbooks, the Ministry of Education chose 200 books for the libraries which were translated into the four languages and were distributed as monolingual and bilingual versions. Furthermore, some indigenous Bolivian authors were elected to write special books in indigenous languages about their cultures. Since a few years the books of the *Reforma Educativa* are not obliged anymore so it is up to the schools which material they use. The teachers of Escana still make use of the books of the reform and use them as their guideline which has resulted in an education which is more interactive than before (see paragraph 5.1.3 Pedagogy). Moreover, the books contain a lot of examples of different cultures of Bolivia and have an intracultural

character, in other words, they teach the children to respect themselves and to enlarge their self-esteem (see illustration 16).

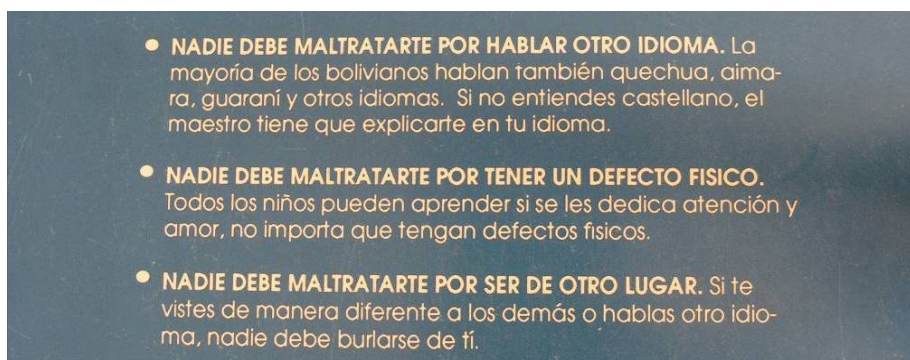


Illustration 16 Sentences in a book of the Reforma Educativa used by the school of Escana.

Criticism on the texts books comes from Anke van Dam (2006). In her opinion the books represent a bias between the urban Spanish culture and the rural indigenous culture. Herein the Spanish/Western culture is seen as modern and ideal, whereas the indigenous culture is being portrayed as very traditional.

According to Contreras and Talavera Simoni (2004) a real improvement has been achieved concerning the reading books as the children visit more often the libraries because of the broader scope of books available. However, this is not the case in Escana. Whereas there is a library in the school, it is difficult to enter it. It is always closed. Besides this, the children are not motivated by their teachers to read a book, so the books are still untouched. A teacher tells: *“It [the library] is a big one with a lot of books. It is behind the secretary. There are a lot of books but the problem is that the teachers do not stimulate reading. And the children do not enter the library because the secretary does not want to give them. For the literature class they should go to the library, but the problem is a bad organization.”*ⁱ And he continues: *“The children are not accustomed to go to the library. But every hour you read a book, you are learning a lot.”*ⁱⁱ Some children do not even know there is a library and as their parents do not read, they are not an example for them. According to an older man in Escana, the television is the problem: *“It is necessary to have a library. But the people do not want to read because the television has stolen their hearts.”*ⁱⁱⁱ In short, although very nice reading books have been published in times of the *Reforma Educativa* they are not used by the children of Escana because they are not stimulated to do so.

5.1.3 Pedagogy

Before 1994 the pedagogy in Bolivian education was highly influenced by behaviourism which sees the human being as an object. According to this way of thinking, the psychology is only concerned with the behavior of people and not with the mind or human consciousness. The specific characteristics of students were not taken into account by the teachers, who in their turn did not know better as they were educated in the same way. The

reform of 1994 replaced behaviourism with a constructional vision. Constructivism is a theory of knowledge which argues that humans construct the understanding of the world they live in by reflecting on their experiences. Therefore the Bolivian teachers had to change their methods drastically as they should observe the children and concentrate more on the way of learning instead of the completion of the assignments. It is based on the experiences of the students, the interaction with other people and an active participation in class. Instead of each student working individually, the constructionists want the students to work together (Von Gleich 2008).

According to the teachers of the school of Escana, the new pedagogy enables them to use methods that request a more active attitude of the children. The children do not have to copy anymore since they use more interactive methods. A teacher says: *“We facilitate them, explain, and we give examples. They do not have to copy anymore, because it is boring.”*^{iv} Although you would expect children now to be more inquisitive, open and creative, as observed in La Paz by Contreras and Talavera Simoni (2004), the children in Escana are still very shy. During the workshops in the fifth grade primary school and with the youngsters of the graduation group, the majority did not dare to talk. The shyness of the children of the countryside is something everybody notices, but different opinions exist about the cause. According to Lady Barriga, responsible for education at UNICEF Chuquisaca, the children are shy *“because they treat them bad. And the teachers behave like gods.”*^v A teacher gives another reason: *“The children here are shyer than in the city because of the environment, the way of life.”*^{vi} Another teacher says: *“They are shy because of the environment. They are really closemouthed; they have difficulty to associate themselves with other people. The fear for example is a fear to express themselves. Because they have their original language which is Quechua, they have fear to express themselves in Spanish because they make mistakes. And the children who do speak Spanish well, they laugh about them. So it is maybe for these reasons that they do not dare to express themselves or associate themselves with other people.”*^{vii} However, the teachers recognize that children from other communities are even shyer than those in Escana. The design of the classroom, which since the *Reforma Educativa* has changed from tables in lines to tables in circles, has not really changed the shyness of the children.



Illustration 17 Classroom Escana, 2010

Another change in pedagogy since *Ley 1565* is the end of physical punishments. Although the children seem to be very happy with this change, there are also people who complain. A grandfather tells: *“Now with the punishments they [the society] give to the parents, the parents fear to speak to their children when they have done something against the rules. The children are not well-educated. It is also the fault of the government as it has given this freedom.”*^{viii} A teacher contends: *“In the past the education was better. I worked here also in 1983. I stayed two years. And these students win from their children, because formerly the*

assignments came with punishments. They learned well.”^{ix} And he continued: “It had a better result because the students had to work and to respond. They punished them. The student was afraid for the punishment. And the students accomplished the assignment. But if they do not accomplish now, the teachers cannot touch the student. The education has worsened.”^x In contrast with these judgments a young man of Escana says: “Formerly the school was bad with the punishments, but now the teachers are better.”^{xi} According to some older people, the absence of punishments has caused the loss of respect for the older people: “Before the children greeted and said “good morning sir/uncle”, but not anymore. They pass without saying anything. The teachers do not teach this respect any longer. The difference between the city and the countryside is that the teachers in the countryside are playing with the children. It is not like in the city where the children respect the teachers and the teachers respect the children. In the city they learn more than they do here because they have respect.”^{xii} A teacher does not agree with this and describes the relationship teacher-student in the countryside as more respectful than in the city: “There is a lot of respect. The students have this respect, it has not been lost. And also from the side of teachers this respect exists. It exists. We respect them and they respect us. Because we are here from Monday until Friday we have more contact with the children. That is the reason why there is this respect, whereas in the city it does not exist.”^{xiii} So the absence of punishments has caused less respect for the older people and the teachers, although not everybody agrees on this. In general it seems that the teachers comply with the law, but a boy commented that his teacher does punish him and his classmates when they do not listen.

5.1.4 Bilingual and intercultural education

Bilingual education in the curriculum of the education reform of 1994 is the development and maintenance of the mother language and learning of Spanish as a second language. So the mother language is not only a means to learn Spanish as it happened to be in the past. Intercultural education, as already mentioned in the theoretical framework of chapter two, is an education for the strengthening of the indigenous cultures, and to create at the same time a better participation of this group in mainstream society. Through education, people of a culture learn from other cultures, which enables them to discuss cultures while having respect for the others (Aikman 1996; Van Dam and Salman 2009). The reasons mentioned in *Ley 1565* to choose for bilingual and intercultural



Illustration 18 Propaganda for intercultural education. Tarabuco. 2010

education are that bilingual and intercultural education enrich the national identity, strengthen the historical and cultural values of the nation, and underline the richness of the pluricultural nation Bolivia (República de Bolivia 1994) .

In Escana there is no bilingual education. Although the children always speak Quechua in informal situations, they have to speak Spanish at school, in the classroom and with their teachers. For example on Tuesday and Wednesday nights, the boys and girls of the graduation group organize a soccer championship. All the children and even the parents and other people of Escana come to the sports field for this event and they all speak Quechua. However, when they communicate with the teachers, who are also a team, it is all in Spanish. On the one hand, it makes the school a world apart, not integrated in the other social contacts the children have. But on the other hand, the children obtain skills in using two languages. Furthermore, all the children and the parents are convinced of the importance of knowing Spanish as a way to improve their lives. When they know Spanish well, the children will be able to find a job in the city or in a neighbouring country without being discriminated or being cheated.

As was discussed in the previous paragraph, according to one teacher the shyness of the children in Escana has to do with the limited command of Spanish. A solution could be bilingual education, but in Escana Quechua is only taught as a subject. The education of it starts in the first grade of primary school until the first grade of secondary school. After this, Quechua is replaced by English. Why is there no bilingual education in Escana whereas this is a Quechua-speaking community? *“There is! There are classes which are given in Spanish as well as in Quechua”*^{xiv}, tells a teacher, but at the end it results that the teacher is referring to Quechua as a subject. In the eyes of this teacher, the children have to learn to speak Spanish well because of the factor discrimination: *“When they graduate, the students are going to do exams and sometimes they pass and those who pass go to the university or to the Normal (teachers academy). They enter the Normal and when they have to give a presentation, sometimes they make a mistake, pronounce the words in a wrong way and their classmates make fun of them, they discriminate them and this can be a reason why they quit their study. They stop because of the factor language.”*^{xv} According to the headmaster of the school there is no bilingual education because *“bilingual education is very heavy. It needs dedication of the teachers and not all teachers have this, but the bilingual education has good results.”*^{xvi} Formerly, at the introduction of the education reform there was bilingual education in Escana but *“it resulted to be unnecessary because it was very difficult to learn to write Quechua and it did not serve for anything”*^{xvii}, judges a teacher. The problem of the bilingual education of the *Reforma Educativa* was in the materials, says Lady Barriga, *“There were no good materials.”*^{xviii} Furthermore, there have always been parents who have rejected this type of education. *“When they teach us in our language, maybe we are not going to learn Spanish well”*^{xix}, tells the sociologist and anthropologist Mario Yapu about his experiences with the parents in the communities. And he continues: *“To be bilingual is a big*

fortune, but they do not write in the original languages, maybe because there are no readers.”^{xx} It is a vicious circle: if people do not read, nothing will be written in the original languages, but as long as the society is Spanish, the people will reject bilingual education. The same is the case for the parents in Escana who indicate that it is more important to learn Spanish than to learn Quechua because to *vivir bien* (live well) in Bolivia, a person has to know Spanish well. Quechua is only necessary to know in places like Escana.

The intercultural education in Escana is limited to the contents of the books. Because the teachers use these books as their guidelines, they also apply the intercultural elements. However, when looking at the contents of for example the subject religion, it is only about Catholicism and not about other religions that exist in Bolivia or in other parts of the world. So, intercultural education is out of the question here. Furthermore, it can be stated that the education at school of Escana is very dependent on the contents of the books.

5.1.5 Popular participation

The *Reforma Educativa* promised a better popular participation of the parents and the community among other things through the formation of advisory bodies for the schools (*Junta Escolar*). On the next level there is the *núcleo* which is a cluster of schools. A *núcleo* can formulate an education program for all schools belonging to that cluster. These programs can be geared towards the specific regional characteristics. At a higher level the advisory bodies for the districts can be found. Other educational institutions are the *Consejos Educativos de los Pueblos Originarios* (CEPOs) which represent the different indigenous groups. Nowadays there are seven CEPOs each representing another indigenous group.

Despite of the good intentions of the education reform, there are doubts about whether there is real popular participation. Mario Yapu (2009) remarks that the parents and the community have a big share in the education of the children nowadays, but Anke van Dam (2006) refutes this as the role of the parents and the community is more a practical one in serving food and cleaning the building. According to Van Dam, the parents do not have much influence in the education, although they are increasingly seen by the children as a source of information for their school assignments.

Looking at Escana it can be observed that there is a *Junta Escolar*, consisting of four parents, who change every year. The *Junta* represents the community in issues concerning the school and plays an active role in the organization of the school breakfast, the lunch and the supervision of the quality of the education. So, two of the three principal roles are practical issues, as was mentioned by Anke van Dam. The supervision of the quality of the education is, according to the teachers, especially with regard to the behavior of the teachers. The *Junta* checks their schedules, the political preferences, and the trips they make. For example on a Wednesday in April 2010, when five teachers had left to a party and had not returned the next day, the *Junta Escolar* directed themselves to the headmaster to ask for an explanation. In case they cannot solve the problem themselves, the *Junta Escolar* addresses

the *Dirección Escolar* and after this the *Dirección Distrital*. In 2009 the *Junta* went nine times to the *Dirección Distrital*. The popular participation of the community, however, is restricted to the *Junta*. Although they all care about the education of their children, the people do not really have a voice in the contents of the education. Only if the teachers do not show up, which happens a lot, the parents start to complain. As a source for the school assignments the inhabitants of Escana do not play an important role either. Only when the teachers want to tell something about the history of Escana, they involve the people of Escana.

Thus, the education reform of 1994 is only partly implemented in Escana although the headmaster and teachers say to work in accordance with this reform. There are some similarities like the design of the classrooms, a pedagogy based on constructivism, the abolition of punishments, the popular participation through the *Junta Escolar*, and the use of the books which are especially written for the *Reforma Educativa*. However, there are also a lot of characteristics of the school of Escana which do not fit into the picture of the education reform of 1994. There is for example no bilingual education, the subjects do not correspond, and the popular participation is restricted to the practical side.

5.2 Avelino Siñani y Elizardo Perez (ASEP)

The teachers in Escana did not talk a lot about the new reform ASEP, but they mentioned the possibility to professionalize the education, the importance of the decolonization of the education, and the value of a good infrastructure and facilities. According to the headmaster, ASEP “has good things and the education is more practical”.^{xxi} Furthermore he sees in this new education a possibility to work more on the subject agriculture “We need technicians who work with the children as well as with the community”.^{xxii} A teacher who graduated recently is well informed about ASEP and talks about the importance of intraculturality, one of the pillars of ASEP, which refers to the revalorization of the own culture. The teacher tells: “I think that the first thing the children have to know is to respect themselves, respect all people, older people as well as people of the same age. And that they accept who they are, where they come from. There are a lot of children who are ashamed that their mother wears a pollera. I think they should revalorize this more”.^{xxiii} To the question what *vivir bien* means to her, she answered: “There are a lot of people who refuse where we come from, so I do not think it should be like that. We have to accept who we are and where we come from”.^{xxiv} Mario Yapu completes this with: “The intraculturality seems interesting to me. The idea is that when you do not know well your own culture well, you do not have competences and this will result in a bad relation in the interculturality. For example, to learn another language well, first you have to know your own language linguistically”.^{xxv} Lady Barriga from UNICEF has no confidence in ASEP yet as “it lacks how to do it. The practical side”.^{xxvi} However, if the proposal is accepted, without a doubt it will also be implemented in Escana although this will still take a few years.

5.3 National programs

Next to the reforms, the government of Evo Morales has introduced some specific education programs at the national level. There is a program directed at the children which is *Bono Juancito Pinto* and the program *Yo sí puedo* which is for adults. The *Bono Juancito Pinto* is introduced to reduce the school abandonment. Furthermore, the program is anti-migratory as it motivates the children to study (in Bolivia) and prevent them from working in Bolivia or in a foreign country. Since 2006 Bolivian children, until the 8th grade of primary school, receive a yearly bonus of 200 Bolivianos (approximately 25 USD) if they finish the school year successfully. The results of the bonus are not known yet, but according to Anke van Dam, it can already be noticed that there is less school abandonment and more children have identity papers as they need these to receive the money. The parents and children indicate that they buy school material, clothes, shoes, and rucksacks with the bonus. But according to some teachers some parents use the bonus for alcoholic drinks.



Illustration 19 A girl shows the Bono Juancito Pinto which is equal to 200 bolivianos.

Source: S. Hans, 2009

The program *Yo sí puedo* is directed at adults who do not know how to read or write. In 2007/2008 *Yo sí puedo* was also carried out in Escana. Although the program is aimed at a higher literacy rate, at the end of the period the thirty women who participated only knew how to write their name and to put their signature. The program was performed by the teachers of the school and was taught in Spanish which is surprising because the majority of the women who participated are monolingual in Quechua.

Another program is the introduction of the school breakfast. The *Junta Escolar* has the responsibility to organize the preparation of this *desayuno escolar*. In the beginning the parents, mostly mothers, had to make bread too, but now the breakfast consists out of *api* (a drink made of corn) and biscuits. Next to this breakfast, the children get a lunch at school twice a week.

A program which is especially directed at the countryside are the grants that give free way to enter the university without doing an exam. The *núcleo* of Escana receives five grants every year which are normally all used by the youngsters of the graduation group. However, there are always students who quit the study because of economic reasons.

6. Knowledge needs of the inhabitants of Escana



Illustration 20 Different lives in Escana, at market in Sucre and as a construction worker, 2010

Escana is a community with a high emigration rate. The people migrate to other places in search for better economic resources. In these new places the migrant has the option to integrate, assimilate, segregate or marginalize (see paragraph 2.3). The migrant will suffer from the immigrants' dilemma which is the friction between maintaining one's culture and adapting to a new culture. Integration would be a good option for the migrant as well as for the community where this person settles, because the migrant maintains the culture of origin, but in combination with contact with the new culture. If the migrant would have knowledge of the new environment, this would help to accelerate the process of integration. In this chapter the different environments the people of Escana (will) live are being analyzed, together with the knowledge needs for these environments. Furthermore, the knowledge needs, considered by the inhabitants as most important to live well their lives, will be discussed.

6.1 The different environments

Escana

When talking about Escana some inhabitants become sad. Although they have the irrigation system at their disposal which results in better production, the people feel forced to leave the community and to migrate to other places. The lands are very small and the people cannot control the climate that has changed during the last years. There is less rain and the harvests are being destroyed by hailstorms and frost periods. Some people are even very pessimistic about the future of Escana and think that the community will not exist anymore in ten years. According to their opinion, everybody will leave. This is surprisingly also the opinion of a woman who is constructing a pension for the people she expects to come and visit Escana. Despite the negative future image, which is not the opinion of all the inhabitants though, the people seem to be proud when talking about Escana and the characteristics of the lives in this community.

According to the inhabitants of Escana there are some specific knowledge needs to live well in the community. First, the language is a very important topic which makes the people feel proud. They all speak Quechua and this is the principal language of the community. A person

who wants to live in Escana has to know Quechua to speak with his neighbors and to participate in the communal meetings. Besides the oral part of the language, the school also teaches how to write Quechua. The older people see this as a progress because the children will have more knowledge of their language. In addition to Quechua, the people in Escana see the importance of speaking Spanish because this is the principal language used at school. All the communication with the teachers is in Spanish, with the children as well as with the parents. Although the majority of the teachers do speak Quechua, they prefer to talk in Spanish. About the importance of the culture of Escana does not exist agreement amongst the inhabitants. An older man, for example, talks very negative about culture: *“So, culture is not useful for anything.”*^{xxvii} On the contrary, there are a lot of inhabitants, mostly young people, who are proud of their culture. They mention the typical dances and songs of Escana, which they perform for example with the Carnival. Another important topic for the inhabitants of Escana is the history of the community. Although the people say that Escana does not have a history, they are convinced of the importance of knowing it. An older man says: *“It is very important because one day a tourist will arrive and when someone is not able to answer the questions, it is not decent. A person has to ask his parents what is the history, how they lived, how they grew up, how they suffered at the hacienda. They have to know this all to tell their children or for the day a tourist arrives, or another person, they always pass by.”*^{xxviii} It is clear that this man is aware of the importance

of knowing one’s history, but he sees the importance mainly for being in contact with people from other places, not for the own community. The ‘organizations of Escana’ was another mentioned topic regarding the knowledge needs for Escana, because the organizations in the community are quite different as those of the cities for example. The majority of the people are member of the *sindicato* and/or the *Asociación de los Regantes* and this is of big importance to them. Being an affiliate of one of these organizations, means that you belong to a group and have a say in important decisions regarding the community. Another important theme is to have knowledge of techniques to cultivate the land in a better way. Agriculture is the most important income source of



Illustration 21 Man working at the land in Escana, 2010

the inhabitants of Escana so it is essential to know techniques to improve the production. The problem of the people now is that they do not yield sufficiently to live well in the community. The presence and assistance from experts, who could teach new production methods, could be a solution to the problem. At this moment some professionals are already active in Escana and help the people with the production of specific products. However, these persons come and go. The permanent presence of such a man would be a good investment in the community, according to the respondents. Another often mentioned theme, which is important for living well in Escana, is having respect. The inhabitants express

this respect by greeting the people and by having good contact with the others. According to some older men, the children lack this respect because they do not greet the other people anymore. Furthermore, there is a deficiency of respect in the community because the inhabitants are divided for political reasons, which has led to friction between the community members. The last knowledge need to live well in Escana is knowing how to weave. The people do not make weavings for the sale, but all women weave fabrics for their own houses and this is thus part of the culture of Escana. For an overview of the knowledge needs for Escana, see table 6.1 on page 51.

The city

Inhabitants of Escana have migrated and still migrate to cities like Sucre and Santa Cruz. Although some people migrate temporarily, more people choose to stay permanently in these cities. A first group of migrants consists of young people who leave the community to study in the city. The most mentioned careers in fifth grade primary school and fourth grade secondary school are teacher (literature and sports), nurse, mechanic and carpenter. Once graduated from college or university, the young adults do not really have the option to return to Escana as there are no job possibilities for them in the community. People only come to Escana to visit their family in the weekends or for festivities of the community. The second group of migrants are men who leave Escana for a few days to work as a construction worker in Sucre in order to have an extra income. This temporary migration is stimulated by the relatively short distance between Escana and Sucre. The third group consists of definitive migrants who have their houses and work in the city. A majority of this group is not a professional but works as a construction worker, taxi driver or street vender. The final group is somewhat an exception in this list. This fourth group consists of people who live in Sucre, but still have their houses in Escana. Once a week, or once in a period, they come to Escana to work on the land. Although they have everything in the city, like a house, a job, and the school of their children, they do appreciate Escana so much that they cannot say goodbye. Also in this case the distance to Sucre plays an important role.



Illustration 22 Chewing coca during the break of construction work. Sucre, 2010

The city has a different environment than Escana, which leads to other knowledge needs. In the opinion of the inhabitants of Escana the most important thing to live well in the city is to know how to speak, read and write Spanish well, as show the next quotes: *“To live well in the city you have to speak Spanish well. In Escana they speak Spanish with another accent and for this the people in the city discriminate them”*; *“When people do not speak Spanish well, they will be treated like animals”*; *“When we cannot speak Spanish, they will also discriminate us”*; *“We want our children to learn to speak and write Spanish so they can cope*

in another environment and they will not be swindled outside of the community”; “The most important thing is that they know how to read and write Spanish because in this way they will be able to cope in another environment, or in other words, their lives will be better.”

^{xxix} So it is clear that knowing Spanish is important because of the factor discrimination and swindling. Another theme which is mentioned for the same reason of not being swindled in the city is mathematics: *“When we do not know how to calculate, they will swindle us.”* ^{xxx} Besides Spanish as an important language, the people indicate English also a knowledge need for the city because of the presence of tourists in the city. Moreover, speaking English can be a key to other parts of the world, like the United States of America and Europe. One man also mentioned Quechua as important to know in the city. He gave the example of the work of civil servants and doctors, because these are jobs where the people get in touch with people from the countryside who in some cases are monolingual in Quechua. Another knowledge need specific to the city is logics of urban life. The inhabitants of Escana are not accustomed to a place with so many people, so much traffic, public transport and offices where they have to pay their bills. Being prepared for this life may decrease future problems. The most surprising topic to know for living in the city is information about sexuality. The sexual life of the youngsters in Escana starts relatively late, but there are cases known of young girls who went to the city and returned pregnant to Escana after a few months. A mother says with regard to this theme: *“I am afraid that my daughters go to other places because I have heard stories of girls who went to the city and were pregnant within a year.”* ^{xxxi} Other knowledge needs for the city are the values not being shy, being a good worker and having respect. People who are not shy will not be swindled easily and good workers live the best at all places in the world. Furthermore, people who have respect for other people will also receive this respect from the others. Interesting is that these three values are exactly the same values which are always mentioned in foreign countries when referring to the Bolivian migrants. The final two important things an inhabitant of Escana should know to live well in the city are domestic ones: to wash the clothes and to cook. Because of the absence of the parents, the people have to know how to take care of themselves. For an overview of the knowledge needs for the city, see table 6.1 on page 51.

Foreign countries

The inhabitants of Escana who decide to leave the country go mainly to the Spanish-speaking countries Argentina or Spain. The migration to Argentina can be temporary as well as definitive, but most of the migration to Spain has a more definitive character. People of Escana go to Argentina to work as a construction worker in the bigger cities or to the countryside where they work in the agriculture. This is kind of the same work they do in Escana, but in Argentina the land is not theirs and they earn more. The international migration leads to two different experiences for the people: either the people are very enthusiastic or they never want to go anymore. One woman says: *“You earn well and the people are good in Argentina”* ^{xxxii}, but another woman tells: *“You have to work very hard there, you do not have a house, you do not have anything. It is also suffering. It is worse than here. It is not your country. It is different.”* ^{xxxiii} The majority of the migrants go to Argentina,

but there are also some cases of people who went to Spain. In Spain they do mostly unskilled labour as a cleaner or a construction worker.

The knowledge needs for foreign countries correspond with those for the city. To live well in a foreign country, the people should also know to speak, read, and write Spanish well, to speak English, and have some knowledge of mathematics. Furthermore, the three values (not being shy, being a good worker and having respect) and the domestic tasks (washing clothes and cooking) are considered as essential to know.

Table 6.1 gives a schematic overview of the different knowledge needs and the corresponding environments of Escana, the city or a foreign country. Next to the knowledge needs, the table indicates the number of respondents who gave that particular answer. A total of 13 respondents were interviewed regarding the knowledge needs: 6 women, 4 men, 2 girls, and one boy.

Table 6.1 Knowledge needs of the inhabitants of Escana

Knowledge needs	Escana	No.	City	No.	Foreign country	No.
1. To speak Quechua	X	13	X	1		
2. To read and write Quechua	X	13	X	1		
3. To speak Spanish	X	13	X	13	X	13
4. To read and write Spanish	X	13	X	13	X	13
5. English			X	4	X	5
6. Mathematics			X	5	X	5
7. Songs of Escana	X	6				
8. Dances of Escana	X	6				
9. History of Escana	X	6				
10. Organizations in Escana	X	4				
11. Techniques to cultivate the land in a better way	X	12				
12. Logics of urban life			X	9		
13. Sex education			X	2		
14. Not being shy			X	13	X	13
15. Being a good worker			X	13	X	13
16. Having respect	X	13	X	13	X	13
17. To wash			X	2	X	2
18. To cook			X	2	X	2
19. To weave	X	2				

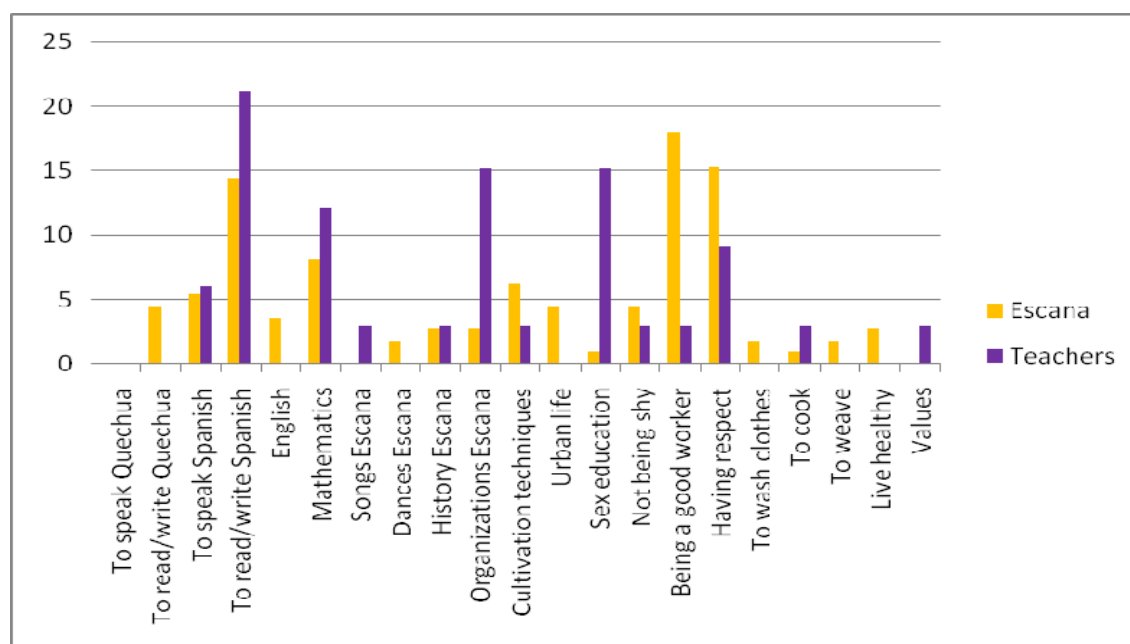
It can be noticed that the knowledge needs for the foreign countries correspond with the subjects for the city, but to live in the city other things are important to know than for living in another country. Remarkable in this list of knowledge needs, is the absence of computer education and more practical knowledge for professions like carpenter or mechanic. The

answers in the next paragraph are influenced by the earlier mentioned answers of the respondents and probably would have been different if the list contained other knowledge needs as well.

6.2 Importance of the knowledge needs

Irrespective of the environment for which the knowledge needs are necessary, it is interesting to know what the people consider as the most important subjects to *vivir bien* (live well) their lives. Figure 6.1 shows the difference in opinion between the teachers (11) and the community Escana (37). The vertical axis shows the percentage of people who gave that particular answer.

Figure 6.1 Importance of the knowledge needs: Escana - teachers

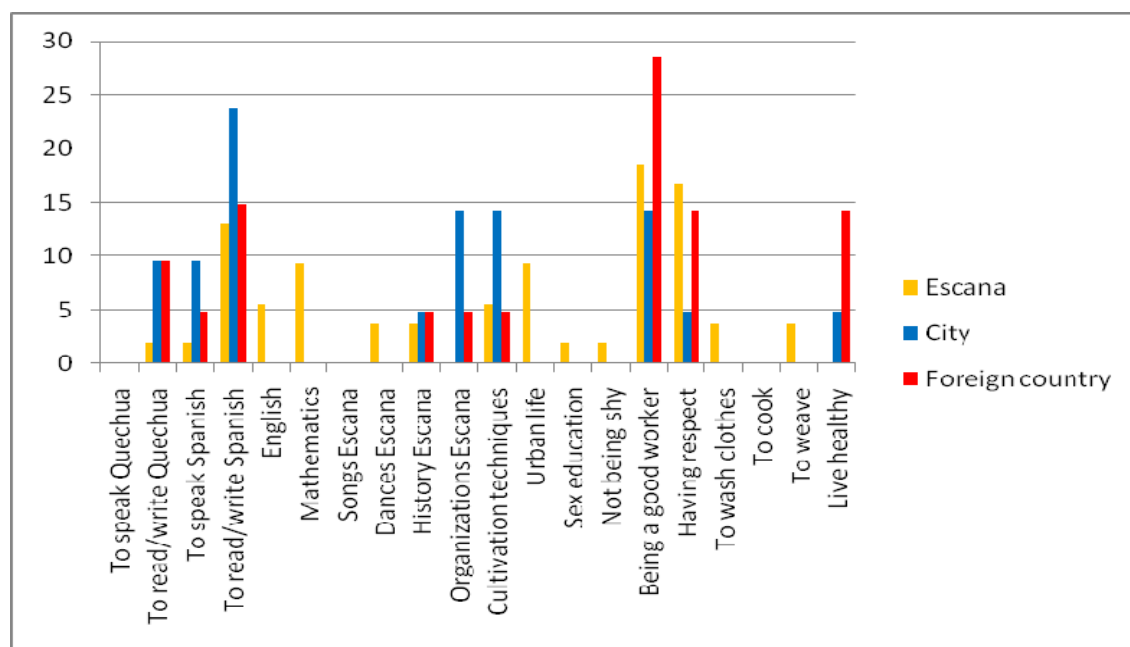


The top three of most important knowledge needs for the people of Escana are ‘being a good worker’ (city, foreign country), ‘having respect’ (Escana, city, foreign country) and ‘to read and write Spanish’ (Escana, city, foreign country). Remarkable is the absence of a knowledge need specific for Escana in this list. For the teachers, in the first place is ‘to read and write Spanish’ (Escana, city, foreign country), followed by ‘organizations in Escana’ (Escana) and ‘sex education’ (city). Notable is the big difference in opinion regarding the subjects ‘organizations in Escana’, ‘sex education’ and ‘being a good worker’. The first two knowledge needs are very important for the teachers, but not for the community, whereas the latter is very important for the community and not for the teachers. The only subject without any vote from one of the two groups is ‘to speak Quechua’. Subjects with only votes of the teachers are ‘songs of Escana’ and ‘values’. This latter refers to other values than the three which are included, namely being responsible and honest. Topics only chosen by the people of Escana are ‘to read and write Quechua’, ‘English’, ‘dances of Escana’, ‘logics of urban life’, ‘to wash clothes’ and ‘to weave’. Remarkable is that ‘techniques to cultivate the

land in a better way' is, with its 5th place, the first subject on the list of the people of Escana which is specific for the environment of Escana. It can be concluded that the opinions of the teachers and the community Escana differ a lot regarding the importance of the knowledge needs. A hypothesis is that the teachers will treat the knowledge needs which are important to them more often than the other subjects. And this may lead to dissatisfaction about the education from the side of the community, because the subjects they consider as more important, are not treated to the same extent. However, first it is important to investigate which institution is responsible for the education of the knowledge needs (see chapter 7).

In figure 6.2 a new comparison is made between the opinion of the people who have always lived in Escana (18), those who have also lived in a city (7), and people who have lived in a foreign country (7).

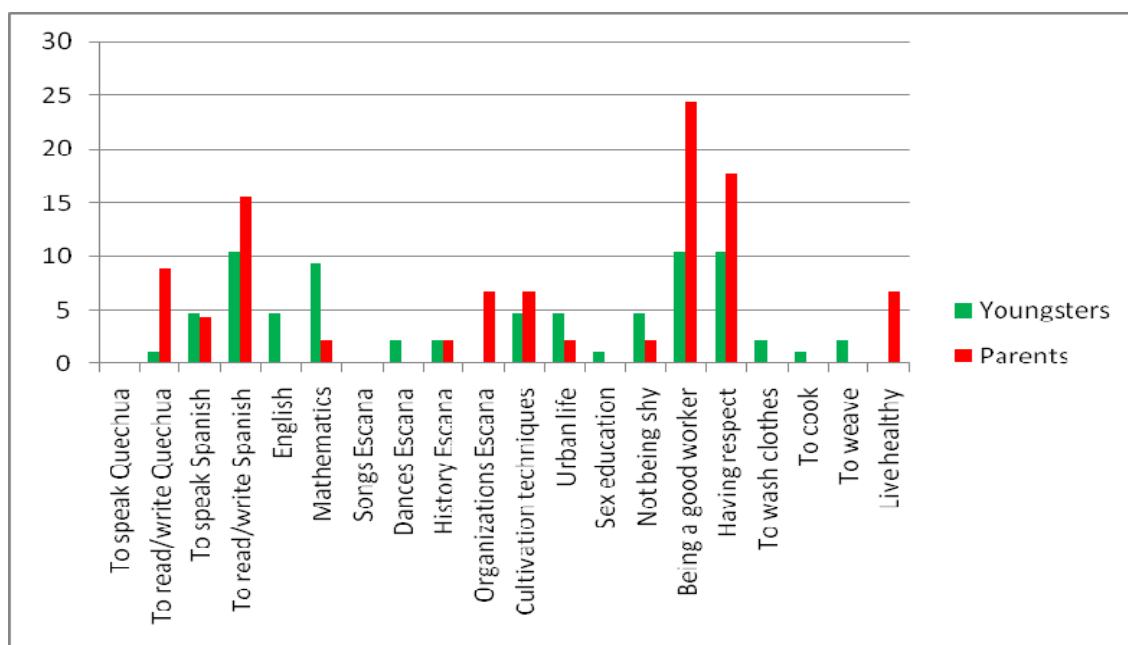
Figure 6.2 Importance of the knowledge needs: Escana – city – foreign country



The most important subjects for Escana are already known ('being a good worker', 'having respect', 'to read and write Spanish'). The people who have lived in a city have a quite different top three. In the first place is 'to read and write Spanish' (Escana, city, foreign country), followed by 'organizations in Escana' (Escana), 'techniques to cultivate the land in a better way' (Escana) and 'being a good worker' (city, foreign country). The group that has lived also in a foreign country has almost the same list as the people of Escana, but in a different order: first 'being a good worker' (city, foreign country), second 'to read and write Spanish' (Escana, city, foreign country), and third 'having respect' (Escana, city, foreign country) and 'to live healthy'. This last subject was not in the list of the survey, but was added by some people, specifically by people who have lived in a foreign country. Apparently these people have experienced how it is to live in an environment without the fresh air of Escana. Surprising is the preference of the groups of Escana and the foreign country for more general themes, whereas the city group has chosen for subjects which are

more specific for Escana. This can be explained by the people who live partly in Sucre and in Escana. These migrants come especially to Escana to cultivate their lands. These people are very interested in the theme of cultivation techniques in order to improve the production. And probably, these migrants have experienced the richness of having an organization like the *sindicato* or the *ARVE*. Another interesting observation is that the community Escana is the only group that has given any votes to the following eight subjects: 'English', 'mathematics', 'dances of Escana', 'logics of urban life', 'sex education', 'not being shy', 'to wash clothes' and 'to weave'. These knowledge needs can be divided into six subjects which are specific for the city and two for Escana. The choice of the group foreign country for the two values 'being a good worker' and 'having respect' is in line with the image the foreigners have of Bolivians: people who work hard and have respect. In their eyes these values are the key to a better income through the work in a foreign country.

Figure 6.3 Importance of the knowledge needs: youngsters - parents



In figure 6.3 the opinion of the youngsters (22) and parents (15) of Escana about the importance of the subjects are compared. The three most important themes are the same for the two groups and correspond with the top three of Escana in general. It is clear that 'being a good worker' is the most important one for the parents, followed by 'having respect' and 'to read and write Spanish'. The youngsters, however, do not have such a difference between the three themes, for them their importance is equal.

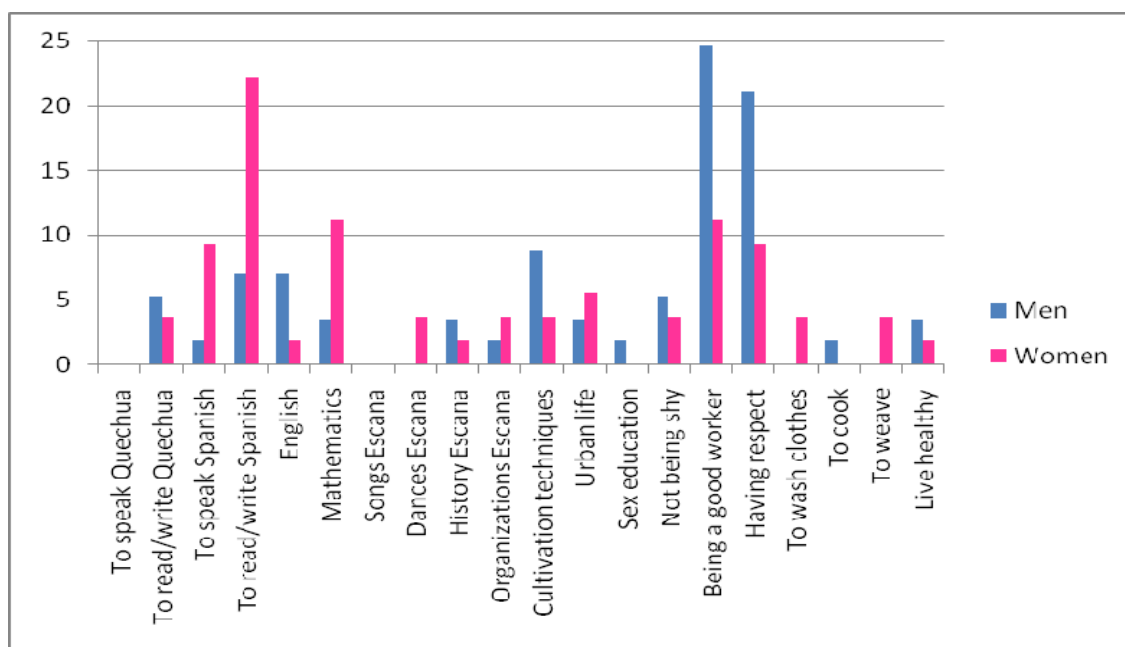


Illustration 23 Woman with her children and grandson, Escana 2010

The differences in opinion between the younger and the older people can be found in the themes which are less important. Some youngsters have chosen for ‘dances of Escana’, ‘sex education’, ‘to wash clothes’, ‘to cook’ and ‘to weave’, whereas this is of no importance for the parents. The subject with only votes of the parents is ‘to live healthy’. It seems to be of no importance for the youngsters, but maybe if this subject would have been included in the survey more people would have chosen it.

A last comparison is made between men (19) and women (18) and is shown in figure 6.4. The men give the most importance to ‘being a good worker’, ‘having respect’ and ‘techniques to cultivate the land in a better way’. The women have chosen for ‘to read and write Spanish’, ‘mathematics’ and ‘being a good worker’. The most surprising outcome is the choice of the women for mathematics as such an important subject. An explanation for this may be that in general the women go to the market to sell the products.

Figure 6.4 Importance of the subjects: men-women



So a big difference exists between the opinion of the teachers and the people of Escana with regard to the importance of the knowledge needs. But also within the group of Escana variations in opinion exists, especially between the people who have lived in the city and the groups of Escana and the foreign country and between men and women. In general, the values ‘being a good worker’ and ‘having respect’ together with ‘to read and write Spanish’ are the most important subjects, the teachers not included.

7. The role of the school in the education

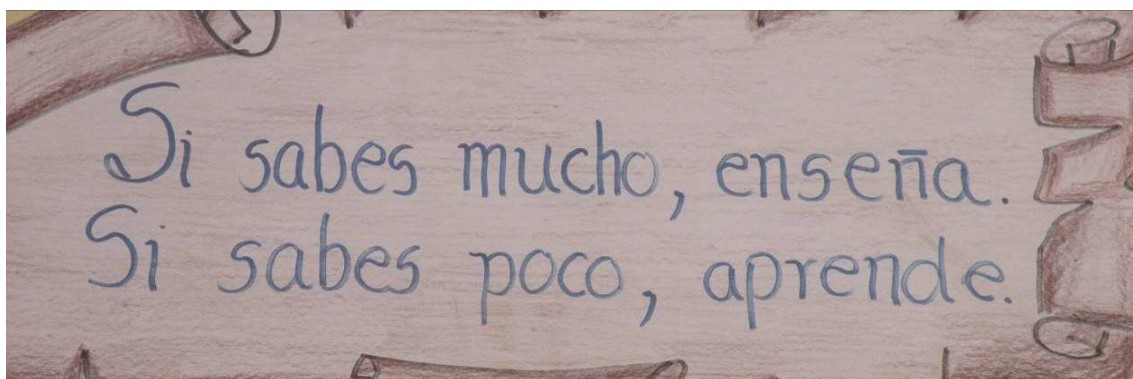


Illustration 24 If you know a lot, you teach. If you know little, you learn. Escana, 2010

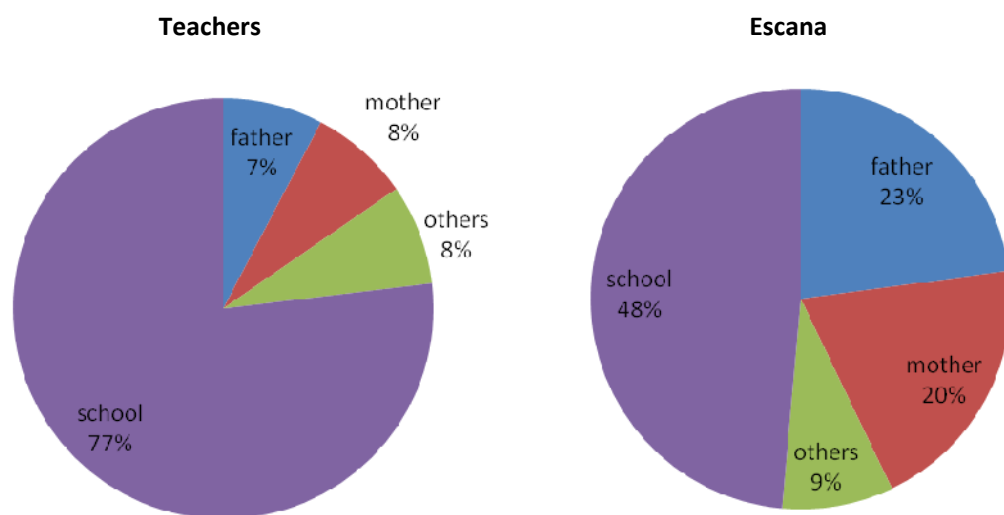
In this final chapter the knowledge needs of the people of Escana will be compared with the subjects offered by the school. In a way this can be called intercultural education since the subjects are concerned with other environments which are unknown by the learner. Knowledge of these subjects can result in more respect for the people in the other environments. However, it is not the traditional approach of intercultural education in the Bolivian context which is focused on the indigenous culture and the culture of the dominant Bolivian culture. Furthermore in this chapter, the responsibility of the education will be discussed. In other words, which institution should offer the education of the earlier mentioned knowledge needs? The school or the family?

Table 7.1 A comparison of the knowledge needs and the subjects at school, Escana

Knowledge needs	Subject at school
1. To speak Quechua	-
2. To read and write Quechua	Quechua
3. To speak Spanish	All subjects
4. To read and write Spanish	All subjects
5. English	English
6. Mathematics	Mathematics
7. Songs of Escana	Music
8. Dances of Escana	Music & Expression and creativity
9. History of Escana	Life sciences & Social sciences
10. Organizations in Escana	Life sciences & Social sciences
11. Techniques to cultivate the land in a better way	Technology and practical knowledge
12. Logics of urban life	Sometimes integrated in themes
13. Sex education	Depends on the teacher
14. Not being shy	All subjects
15. Being a good worker	All subjects
16. Having respect	All subjects
17. To wash	-
18. To cook	-
19. To weave	Technological knowledge

In table 7.1 the subjects of the school are mentioned in case the knowledge need is a subject at school. The different groups, (teachers and community Escana) are convinced that teaching 'to speak Quechua' is the main responsibility of home: both father and mother get more than 30% of the responsibility. But also the school should have its contribution in the education (21-23%). Some disagreement exists about who has to teach the children 'to read and write Quechua'. According to the teachers, the school plays a very important role in the teaching of it, but the people of Escana see a more important role for themselves (see figure 7.1).

Figure 7.1 Responsibility of teaching to read and write Quechua



The same pattern can be seen in the responsibility of teaching 'to speak Spanish'. According to the teachers is the school the most important institution (73%), followed by the father (14%) and the mother (13%). The people of Escana see the school also as the most important one, but give the parents as educators also importance (school 41%, father and mother each 25%). The same trend and almost the same percentages can be distinguished by the education 'to read and write Spanish' (teachers: school 72%, father and mother 14%; Escana: school 42%, father 27%, mother 29%). The people of Escana have indicated that the school is the most important institution in teaching the children Spanish, but the parents help their children whenever they can because they also see it as their responsibility. Knowing 'to read and write' Spanish was one of the subjects considered as very important by the teachers as well as by the people of Escana. And it seems that this subject receives enough attention, either from the school or from the family. Regarding the education of 'English', the teachers consider the school and other family members as responsible for the education. On the other hand, the inhabitants of Escana are convinced that this is the full responsibility of the school. The majority of the inhabitants do not know any English, so they cannot play a role in the education of it. Looking at the education of 'mathematics', the teachers as well as the inhabitants of Escana are convinced that this is the major responsibility of the school. But an

interesting difference can be found between the opinion of parents and children. According to the parents, the school has the full responsibility, but in the eyes of the children, the school is less important (63%) as also the father (12%), mother (12%) and other family members, mainly brothers, sisters and uncles (13%) can teach them this. In sum, the knowledge needs which are specific subjects at school are seen as the main responsibility of the school by both the teachers and the community Escana. However, also the parents should have a role in the education of these topics, especially according to the people of Escana.

Looking at the knowledge needs which are specific for Escana, another trend than in the previous section can be distinguished. The teachers see a more important role for the family, whereas the community considers the school as the responsible institution. The 'songs of Escana' for example, should be taught by the parents (father 37%, mother 33%) according to the teachers. The people of Escana, however, see the school (45%) as the most important institution in the education, followed by the mother, father, and other family members. The same goes for the 'dances of Escana'. The teachers say: the responsibility of the father and mother is 32% each, school 27%, and other family members 9%. The people of Escana have another order: school 59%, mother 19%, father 15%, and other family members 7%. Furthermore, the people adjusted that it is not only the family or the school, but also the community and friends teach the dances to the children. The difference in opinion does not lead to a problem because the school does teach the songs and dances, but it is remarkable that the teachers and the community have other expectations from each other. Although 'history' is a subject at school, both teachers and community are convinced that this is the major responsibility of the parents. The teachers do not know the history since they are not from Escana. Moreover, there is no book in which the history of Escana is put down in writing, so the teachers always have to inquire with the older people of the community. In the education of the 'organizations of Escana' the teachers see a more important role for the school 35% and the people of

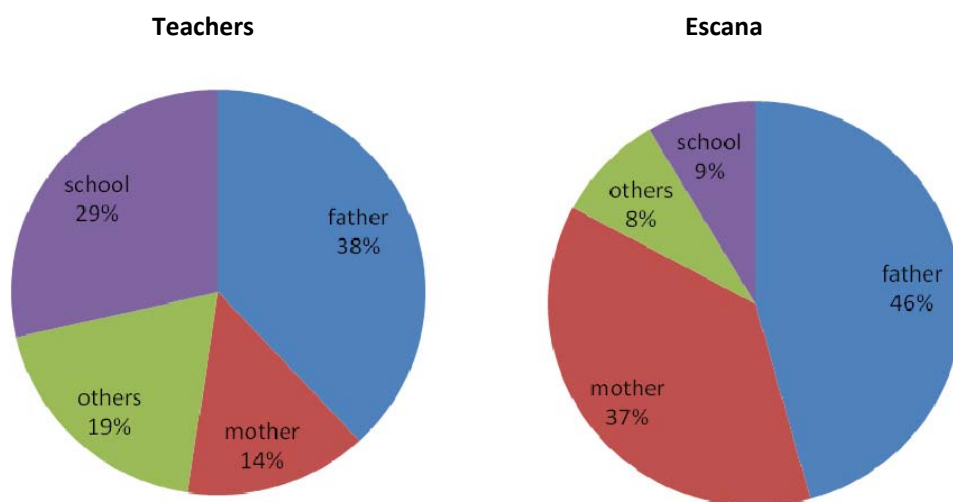


*Illustration 25 Cleaning oregano.
Escana, 2010*

Escana a more important role for the parents (father 33%, mother 33%). Some respondents adjusted that also the organizations themselves have the responsibility to teach this to the children. 'Organizations of Escana' was one of the knowledge needs the teachers put a lot of importance on and this is shown in the fact that it is a subject at school and the teachers see the education of it as their responsibility. The next subject 'techniques to cultivate the land in a better way' leads to disagreement between the two groups (see figure 7.2). The teachers see the major responsibility for the father 38%, followed by the school 29%. The people of Escana put the father also at the first place with 46%, but the mother follows with 37% and the school gets only 9%. Remarkable is the importance of the mother in this topic

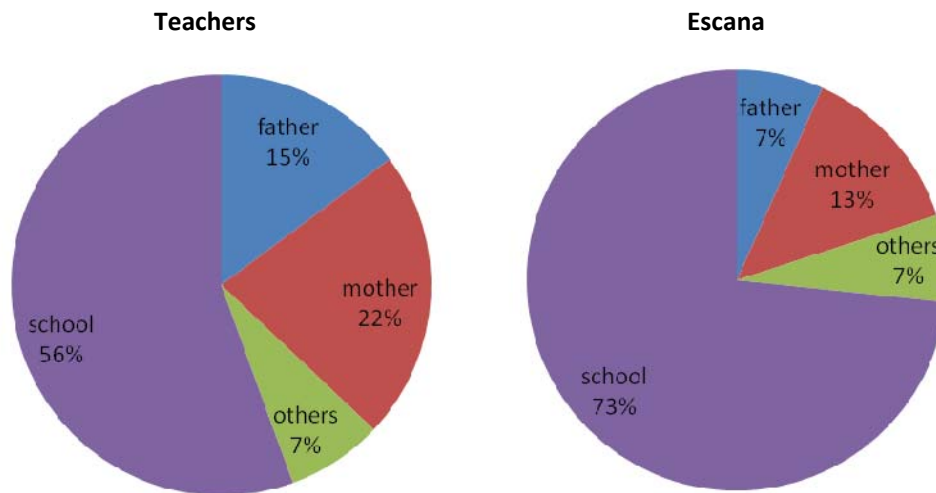
which indicates that the father as well as the mother works on the land. Furthermore, the inhabitants do not see the school as an important institution in the education of this subject. This can be explained by the very low level of agriculture education at school where the children are learned things they already knew from their parents. Besides this, some parents even do not know that agriculture is taught at school. Next to the school and family, some people mentioned a professional as responsible for the education of agriculture techniques.

Figure 7.2 Responsibility of teaching techniques to cultivate the land in a better way



Although it is not a subject at school or a specific theme, the teachers see the teaching of 'logics of urban life' as their responsibility (58%), followed by the father 16%, other family members 16% and the mother 10%. The people of Escana too consider the school as most important institution in teaching this topic (37%), but also the mother (30%) has an important role as has the father (27%). The next subject is 'sex education'. Since it is a taboo in Escana to talk about this theme, although this is changing a bit by the younger generation, it would be logical that the teaching is the responsibility of the school. But it is not a subject and not a fixed theme at school, but a theme which education depends on the teacher, according to the head master and the teachers. This makes the outcome of this theme extra interesting. In figure 7.3 can be seen that both groups consider the school as the most important institution in the teaching of this subject both followed by the mother, the father and then other family members. So the mother plays a more important role than the father as sexuality in Escana in general is seen as something of women. A woman has to protect herself if she does not want to become pregnant. But striking is that the school is seen as the most important institution whereas the attention for this theme at the school is missing. Furthermore, the teachers indicated 'sex education' as one of the most important knowledge needs, and they feel responsible for the education of it, but they do not include it in the curriculum of the school. Some respondents added that sex education is also the responsibility of the nurse of the health post in Escana.

Figure 7.3 Responsibility of teaching sex education



The children should be taught 'not to be shy' by the school 55%, father 20% and mother 20%, according to the teachers. These percentages are 47% for the school, 23% for the father, and 24% for the mother in the opinion of the people of Escana. When talking about the value 'being a good worker' the teachers consider the school as the most important institution with 39%, and is followed by the father with 30% and the mother with 22%. The people of Escana minimize the role of the school to 18%, whereas the father is the most important with 47%, followed by the mother 35%. The value of 'being a good worker' is linked to the work on the land which is the main job of the man and which explains the important role for the father in the education of this value. 'Being a good worker' was indicated by the people of Escana as the most important knowledge need. The last value 'having respect' has a more or less equal division between the school and the parents. In the eyes of the teachers, the school is the most important institution with 33%, but there is hardly any difference with the father 30%, and mother 30%. Almost the same division exists in the eyes of the inhabitants of Escana, although according to them the mother is the most important one (school 30%, father 32%, mother 34%). This value was also one of the three most important knowledge needs chosen by the people of Escana. Interesting is the difference in opinion of the people of Escana regarding the values as they consider the school as most important in the education of 'not being shy', the father in the education of 'being a good worker', and the mother in the education of 'having respect'.

After the values, only the domestic jobs are left. Like in most cultures, these are the responsibility of the mother. Although the importance differs a little bit, both teachers and people of Escana see the mother as the most responsible for teaching 'to wash clothes' (teachers 55%, Escana 67%), 'to cook' (teachers 65%, Escana 71%) and 'to weave' (teachers 50%, Escana 69%). Interesting is that the teachers also see the school as an important player in the education of the domestic jobs (to wash 17%, to cook 18%, to weave 27%), whereas

the education of this is not offered by the school, except the education of weaving. Another fascinating observation is that the people of Escana give more importance to the father in the education of the domestic jobs than to the school. This can be explained by migration as this has resulted in men living alone which obligates them to do the domestic jobs. The same counts for the mothers who are also seen as responsible for teaching how to cultivate the land. Although traditionally the men were the ones who worked on the land, the migration has also obliged the women to work more on the land.

Summarizing, with regard to the education of almost all the subjects a difference exists between the opinion of the teachers and the people of Escana. The teachers give the school a more important role than do the people of Escana. As long as both institutions, school and family, take care of the education of the subjects there is no problem. But in case of a difference, like in the education of the specific subjects for Escana, it is important that this will be discussed between the school and the community. However, in order to solve this problem, a better popular participation of the community is necessary.

Conclusion

In this thesis the education in Escana in relation to the national education policies of Bolivia and the knowledge needs of the people in Escana has been analyzed. Although education in Bolivia has been studied thoroughly, this research is a contribution to the debate as it gives an impression of the discrepancy between the policies, the education at the local level and the knowledge needs. Furthermore, the knowledge needs of the indigenous people of Escana are not approached in the traditional sense of their culture, but there has been looked at their reality as migrants. In this way, intercultural education is used in another way. Normally in the context of Bolivia, intercultural education refers to an education about the indigenous cultures and the more urban/Spanish cultures in order to create a society in which exists mutual respect. In this thesis, however, it refers to an education about the environments of the community, the city and foreign countries.

With regard to the Bolivian education policies of the past century it can be noticed that these have changed from an education totally neglecting the indigenous people to an education based on the knowledge of these people. Currently there is a somewhat chaotic situation in the Bolivian education because it lacks a leading curriculum. According to the headmaster of the school of Escana, this school works with the education reform of 1994. Comparing this reform and the education in Escana, there can be remarked some similarities and some differences. Although Escana is a Quechua-speaking community, the education at school is in Spanish. There is a special subject for Quechua, but the other courses are in Spanish, so bilingual education is out of the question. Moreover, all the contact between the community and the school and teachers is in Spanish. This leads to alienation of the school. Another difference can be found in the intercultural education which is at the school of Escana limited to the contents of the books that are especially written for the reform. The popular participation is restricted to the *Junta Escolar* which is particularly busy with practical stuff and not with the quality of the education. A final difference between the reform and the education in Escana can be found in the subjects. The subjects offered by the school of Escana resemble more with those before the reform than with those of the reform. The similarities of the reform and the education in Escana are the design of the classroom, a pedagogy based on constructivism, and the end of punishments. Furthermore, the school of Escana has a library stuffed with books especially written for the reform, but because of a bad organization, the books are not read by the children. Summarizing, the school of Escana works only to a small extent in accordance with the reform of 1994. If the Bolivian government would have the intention to use education to create a society according to a specific idea, the government should achieve that the school works according to the prescribed curriculum. However, first it is important to reestablish the order in the education sector, so the schools will have a clear curriculum.

There is a discrepancy between the national education policies and the execution at the local school in Escana, but is this also the case for the knowledge needs of the students and the education offered by the school? At the end, the education the people get is more important

to them than the national policies. The knowledge needs of the students of Escana stem from their future life expectancies which are characterized by the high emigration rate of the community, which has its origins particularly in the low profits of agriculture. The majority of the inhabitants exchange, temporarily or permanently, their place of birth for Sucre, Santa Cruz, Argentina or Spain. The migrants will suffer from the immigrants' dilemma which is the friction between maintaining one's culture and adapting to a new culture. Integration would be the best solution to this dilemma, because it gives the migrant the possibility to function well in the new society without giving up his identity. In order to improve the integration process in the new environments, people would like to have knowledge of the following subjects: Spanish, English, mathematics, logics of urban life, sex education, values, and domestic jobs. For their lives in Escana, the people mentioned Quechua, Spanish, songs, dances, organizations and history of Escana, techniques to cultivate the land in a better way, to have respect and to weave as important to know. The education of Quechua, to wash clothes, and to weave is seen as the main responsibility of the family. These are also the only subjects which are not offered by the school. In spite of the other knowledge needs being offered by the school, some comments can be made. The education of cultivation techniques is limited to basic knowledge which is already known by the children. The presence of a professional could give the subject more profundity which, in the most positive case, can lead to a lower emigration rate because of the higher yield of the agriculture. Another remark should be made about sex education. The school is considered as the responsible institution for the education of this subject by the people of Escana as well as by the teachers, but it depends on the latter if it is offered or not. In order to prevent teenagers who go to the city from becoming pregnant within a few months, it is very important that the school incorporates this subject in its curriculum. Logics of urban life, about the characteristics of the city, is sometimes integrated in themes, but as the people consider this as something they should know, the school should do good to make it part of the curriculum. So the school offers the majority of the subjects which form the knowledge needs of the students of Escana, but more attention should be paid to the subjects cultivation techniques, sex education, and logics of urban life.

The research was a case-study which makes generalization difficult, but the case of Escana shows the school as a world apart in between the national education policies and, to a lesser extent, the knowledge needs of the students. A possible explanation for the first discrepancy is the chaotic situation in the Bolivian education since 2006, when the education reform of 1994 was banned. However, the fact is that the implementation of the reform of 1994 in Escana differs a lot from the intentions of this reform. The second difference can be solved with a better popular participation. First, the *Junta Escolar* could play a more important role, also about the qualitative part of the education. Second, the participation of the community should not be limited to the *Junta Escolar*, but the parents should be more involved with the education of their children. After all, education can be the key to a better future when it is carried out well.

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Original texts of the translations

ⁱ Hay, hay, pero no hay quien atienda. Grande es, hay hartos libros. De la secretaria por allá. Hay hartos pero el problema es que los directores no son activos. Hay muchos libros. Ni los alumnos utilizan porque la secretaria no quiere prestarles. Por la clase de literatura deben ir a la biblioteca. Falta la organización.

ⁱⁱ Y no es hábito de irse a la biblioteca no. Porque cada hora que lees un libro, superas mucho.

ⁱⁱⁱ Es necesario. La gente no quiere leer porque la tele les ha robado el corazón.

^{iv} Les facilitamos, les explicamos, y de ahí venimos con ejemplos. Ya no es copia, porque aburrido no más es.

^v Porque les tratan mal. Y los profesores se comportan como dioses.

^{vi} Los niños están más tímidos que en la ciudad por el ambiente, la forma de vida.

^{vii} Son tímidos por su ambiente. Realmente son bien cerrados, no se pueden relacionar fácilmente con otras personas. El miedo por ejemplo es miedo a expresarse. Por lo que manejan su lengua original que es el quechua, tiene miedo expresarse en castellano porque se equivoca. Y los que saben hablar, se ríen. Entonces es por eso tal vez no les gusta mucho expresarse o relacionarse mucho.

^{viii} Ahora con los castigos que se dan a los padres los padres tienen miedo de decir cualquier cosa. Los niños son malcriados. Es por parte del gobierno también porque han dado esta vía libre.

^{ix} Antes la educación era mejor. Yo trabajé acá en 1983. Estuve dos años. Y estos alumnos los ganan a sus hijos. Porque antes les dieron con castigos la tarea. Aprendieron bien.

^x Tenía mejor resultado porque antes al alumno tenía que trabajar y responder. Se castigaba inclusivo. Tenía miedo al castigo el alumno. Y cumplía el trabajo. Pero ahora como no cumple y no se puede tocar los alumnos, la educación ha bajado.

^{xi} Antes la escuela fue muy mal con castigos, ahora los profesores son mejores.

^{xii} Antes los niños decían buen día tío/señor, pero ahora no más. Pasan sin decir nada. Los profesores ya no enseñan este respeto. La diferencia entre la ciudad y el campo es que los profesores en el campo están jugando con los niños. No es como en la ciudad, en la ciudad los niños tienen respeto para los profesores y los profesores respetan a los alumnos. En la ciudad aprendan más que aquí porque tienen más respeto.

^{xiii} Hay mucho respeto. De parte de los alumnos existe este respeto, no se ha perdido. Y también de parte de los profesores a los alumnos existe este respeto. Hay. Respetamos y nos respetan. Porque estamos aquí de lunes a viernes, estamos en más contacto con ellos. Por esa parte hay este respeto mientras en la ciudad no es así.

^{xiv} Sí, hay. Hay clases en que se les enseñan quechua como en castellano.

^{xv} Cuando salen bachilleres los alumnos van a dar exámenes y a veces aprueban los que aprueban van a la universidad o al normal, entran al normal y cuando les toca disertar a veces se equivocan, pronuncian mal las palabras y es para que los demás de sus compañeros se burlen, los discriminan más que todo y eso es un factor por lo que dejen de estudiar. Dejan por el factor idioma.

^{xvi} La educación bilingüe es muy pesada. Necesita dedicación de los profesores y no todos tienen esto, pero sí tiene buenos resultados.

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- ^{xvii} Resultó inútil porque aprender a escribir el quechua era muy difícil y al alumno no le dejaba a servir para nada.
- ^{xviii} No había buenos materiales.
- ^{xix} Cuando nos enseñan en nuestro propio idioma, tal vez no vayamos a aprender bien el castellano.
- ^{xx} Ser bilingüe es un capital muy importante, pero no se escribe en los idiomas originarios, tal vez porque no haya lectores.
- ^{xxi} Tiene buenas cosas y la educación es más práctica.
- ^{xxii} Necesitamos técnicos especializados que trabajan con los niños y con la comunidad.
- ^{xxiii} Yo creo que el primero que tienen que saber los niños es el respeto a su mismo, a toda la gente, a la gente mayor o sea gente de su edad. Y que aceptan cómo son. Cómo es el lugar de donde son. Hay muchos que tienen vergüenza que su mamá tiene su pollera. Yo creo que tienen que valorar esto más.
- ^{xxiv} Hay muchas personas que rechazan de dónde somos, entonces yo no creo que debería ser. Aceptamos cómo somos, de dónde somos.
- ^{xxv} La intraculturalidad sí me parece interesante, la idea es que si no conoce bien su propia cultura, no tiene competencias, puede sacar mal esta relación de la interculturalidad. Por ejemplo para aprender bien una otra lengua, tienes que conocer tu propia lengua bien, lingüísticamente.
- ^{xxvi} Falta el cómo hacer. La parte práctica.
- ^{xxvii} Entonces, no nos ayuda en nada la cultura.
- ^{xxviii} Es muy importante porque siempre algún día un turista llega y si no sabe a contestar nada, no es conveniente. Uno tiene que preguntar a sus padres cuál es la historia, cómo han vivido, cómo se han crecido, cómo han sufrido en la hacienda. Tiene que saber todo esto para contar a sus hijos mismos o sea cuando venga algún turista, o alguna gente, siempre pasan.
- ^{xxix} Para vivir en la ciudad se necesita saber bien el castellano. En Escana se habla el castellano con otro acento y por eso la gente en la ciudad le discrimina ; Cuando no saben hablar el castellano se van a tratar como animales ; Cuando no sabemos hablar castellano nos discriminan también ; Nosotros queremos que nuestros hijos aprendan a leer y escribir en castellano para que afuera puedan desenvolverse y para que no se hagan engañar afuera ; Principalmente tienen que saber leer y escribir en castellano porque así van a poder desenvolverse o sea que van adelante sus vidas.
- ^{xxx} Cuando no sabemos sumar nos engaña.
- ^{xxxi} Tengo miedo para enviar mis hijas a otros lugares porque he escuchado historias de las chicas en la ciudad y ellas estaban embarazadas en medio año.
- ^{xxxii} Se gana bien y buena es la gente de Argentina.
- ^{xxxiii} Hay que trabajar duro también allá, no tienes casa, no tienes nada. Es sufrir también. Es peor que aquí. No es tu país. Diferente es.