INTERCULTURALITY IN THEORY AND PRACTICE IN THE MASTER'S PROGRAMME IN INTERCULTURAL BILINGUAL EDUCATION IN BOLIVIA

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Master's Programme in Intercultural Encounters

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Master's Thesis

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Contents

1. Introduction

1.1. Research theme and background

My master's thesis focuses on interculturality in the context of Intercultural Bilingual Education (*Educación Intercultural Bilingüe*) and the Master's Programme in Intercultural Bilingual Education (*Maestría en Educación Intercultural Bilingüe*) in Bolivia. As a student of an intercultural Master's Degree Programme, I am interested in studying the meanings of interculturality within the Bolivian educational framework and the ways in which interculturality is reflected in the educational practices, especially at the level of higher education. A considerable body of research already exists on bilingual education, multicultural education and even intercultural education. Nevertheless, only a few researchers have considered the conceptualization and practical representations of interculturality in education, despite it being one of the current buzz-words when it comes to educational policy in many Latin American countries. Furthermore, the existing research focuses almost exclusively on the implementation of Intercultural Bilingual Education in primary schools. The politically charged nature of the interculturality discourse has led to the term being used as a slogan while the actual definitions of the concept are often vague and lack practical manifestations (Speiser, 2000: 227). The adoption of the concept in official State policy does not necessarily mean a change in actual classroom practices. I therefore consider further research on the subject to be relevant.

From the 1970s onwards there has been a change in the educational policy of many Latin American countries, including Bolivia. There has been a shift from traditionally monolingual and monocultural education towards new educational strategies that

seek to incorporate the needs of the indigenous peoples whose linguistic and cultural rights have been ignored in the past. This has been the result of decades of intensive struggle by indigenous organizations and supporting national and international institutions. Intercultural Bilingual Education (IBE) and the related Master's Programme therefore seek to respond to the needs of multicultural and multilingual Latin American societies by offering education that is socially, linguistically and culturally pertinent. This major change in educational policy forms part of a wider movement towards democratization, recognition of indigenous rights and an appreciation of cultural pluralism throughout Latin America.

The main objective of the Master's Programme is to contribute to the consolidation of Intercultural Bilingual Education in the Andean region through the training of professionals that are needed in order to expand this new kind of education beyond the pilot stages. IBE and the *Maestría* incorporate input from various academic fields of study, such as linguistics, anthropology, psychology and pedagogy. The interdisciplinary nature of the theme allows it to be approached from a variety of perspectives, which constitutes both a motivating factor and a challenge for my thesis. Nevertheless, for the purposes of this piece of research, the main focus is on how interculturality is conceptualized and how it is manifested in the different dimensions of the educational practices, especially in the Master's Programme itself. This means that the aspects related to bilingualism and bilingual teaching will not be included in this work. I will approach the research theme through an abductive analysis of the thematic interviews of eight professionals working in the field of IBE in Bolivia. The analysis of the conceptualization of interculturality in Bolivian IBE and specifically the Master's Programme will draw on the conceptual discussions in the field of intercultural studies, while the practical manifestations of interculturality will

be analyzed with the help of multicultural education and intercultural education theories.

1.2. Research questions

In my thesis I aim to clarify: 1) how the concept of interculturality is defined and 2) how interculturality is brought into practice in different aspects of the *Maestría* from the perspective of professionals working in the field in Bolivia. The focus is therefore in the implementation of IBE in higher education. I will analyze how interculturality relates to the contents, methodology, materials and evaluation of IBE and what kind of intercultural practices had been adopted in the Master's Programme at the beginning of the 2000s. Through the analysis of these different aspects, I also aim to illustrate the particular challenges related to developing IBE in higher education in the Bolivian context.

1.3. Research material

The research material consists of 8 interviews of professionals working in the field of IBE in Bolivia. The data was collected using the technique of semi-structured or thematic interviews. The interviews were carried out by Eila Isotalus MA in Cochabamba and La Paz during June and July 2004 while she was in Bolivia on a doctoral student exchange. Her original idea was that her research would include the points of view of different actors concerned with IBE: long-time IBE experts in charge of the Master's Programme, students of the Master's Programme and representatives of indigenous organizations. She interviewed all the teachers who at that time were working in the Master's Programme, and the interviewed students and organization workers were found through word of mouth. Because three of the original interviews were unfortunately destroyed while they were in storage, I could not incorporate the

perspective of all these actors in my thesis. Instead, I chose to concentrate on the perspectives of the experts and former students. The interviews that constitute the data of my thesis include: five IBE experts working as teachers in the *Maestría* (two women and three men) and three former students (one woman and two men) of the Programme who, since their graduation, have continued to work in close cooperation with IBE.

The interviews have an average duration of 72 minutes, with the shortest lasting 52 minutes and the longest 108 minutes. I transcribed the interviews between December 2009 and March 2010 from original minidisc recordings, which provided a total of 185 pages of data. A draft version previously prepared by another student was used as the basis of the transcription of one of the interviews. The original interview minidiscs were returned to Eila Isotalus after the thesis was finished. I have kept a copy of the interview transcripts.

The interviews were structured around the following themes: contents, methodology, materials and evaluation, as well as the future vision of IBE in Bolivia (See Appendix 1.) All interviews also began with a question concerning the way in which the interviewees ended up working in the field of IBE. Apart from these common themes, the interviewees were allowed to talk quite freely on various topics according to their interests. Depending on the subject at hand, the interviewer also posed other questions that were raised during the interviews.

Working with the chosen data has presented some challenges that I consider appropriate to mention. First of all, transcribing and analyzing interviews that have been carried out by another person always presents a risk of misunderstanding or

misinterpretation. This risk is augmented by the fact that I do not have first-hand experience of the context where the interviews were done. I therefore lack the possibility to enrich the research with field notes or observations of my own. On the other hand, the fact that I was not personally involved in designing and implementing the interviews as well as the fact that I am not a professional in the field of pedagogy enabled me to approach both the interviews and the theoretical framework from a relatively objective perspective without prior theoretical preconceptions.

Another challenge has been the amount of time elapsed since the interviews were done. A concrete result of this has been the destruction of some of the interviews. Eila Isotalus provided me with the dates and background information of the interviewees to the best of her ability. It must also be kept in mind that, having been recorded in 2004, the data does not reflect an up-to-date situation of the Master's Programme or IBE in Bolivia, nor is it my intention to concentrate on the most recent changes that have taken place during the presidency of Evo Morales. It is my understanding that most of the issues dealt with in the interviews are still highly relevant, while some may have changed or developed since 2004. For the purposes of this thesis I will focus on providing an understanding of professionals' perspectives of the state and the challenges of the Master's Programme primarily and to a lesser degree of IBE in Bolivia in general at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

1.4. Background information of the interviewees

According to Eila Isotalus, all the interviewees were informed about the objective of the interviews and they orally gave their consent to using the data for research purposes. Since the theme of the interviews dealt mainly with the opinions and experiences of the participants with regard to IBE, they all spoke from the position of

professionals in the field. The data therefore does not contain intimate or otherwise delicate information on the interviewees. Nevertheless, to guarantee the anonymity of the interviewees, I have chosen not to present a detailed description of each of them but instead provide a general description of the age, nationality as well as professional and ethnic background of the interviewees.

The chosen interviewees constitute a multicultural group in a variety of ways. There were two Peruvians, one Austrian and five Bolivians, of which three came from Aymara background. Their academic backgrounds were diverse: there were three anthropologists, three linguists and two pedagogues. Three were women and five were men. The ages of the participants at the time of the interviews ranged from 35 to 60.

1.5. Research method

Interviewing is a mode of collecting data that is one of the many different forms of qualitative research. Chadwick et al. (1984: 206) define the objective of qualitative research as describing "social realities from the perspectives of the subjects, not the observers." The focus of qualitative research has traditionally been on meanings, whereas quantitative research has more emphasis on numbers. Meanings are analyzed through conceptualization, which includes describing and classifying them, and analyzing the connections that can be established between them (Dey, 1993: 3).

According to Seidman (1998: 3), "at the root of in-depth interviewing is an interest in understanding the experience of other people and the meaning they make of that experience." A thematic interview is an appropriate mode for collecting data, especially when the object of research has not previously been studied thoroughly. In

the case of the research topic of my thesis, interviewing is an innovative approach in the sense that it facilitates a focus on how the actors in the field make sense of IBE in Bolivia. Thematic interviews are also an excellent way of providing new ideas to guide further research.

A thematic or semi-structured interview is a conversation-like situation that involves dealing with certain themes that have been preselected by the researcher. Prior to the interviews, the researcher has familiarized him or herself with the topic and chosen the central themes that will be discussed with all the interviewees. In this case, the majority of the interviews were carried out over lunch in a restaurant setting. The interview situations were relaxed and informal. From a technical perspective these were not the best surroundings due to background noise that made the transcription difficult at times. As is common in the case of thematic interviews, the order of addressing the themes varied somewhat from one interview to another. The possibility of changing the order of the questions gives the interviewer a considerable degree of flexibility (Saaranen-Kauppinen & Puusniekka, 2006) and facilitates posing clarifying questions according to the subject at hand.

For the analysis of the interviews I have chosen to use abductive qualitative content analysis. Traditional content analysis is commonly used to test theory-based hypotheses about social phenomena (Chadwick et al., 1984: 239). Given that the theory building in the field of IBE, especially in Latin America, is still incipient, I considered an abductive or data-driven approach more appropriate. The abductive method can be situated somewhere between deductive (theory-based) and inductive (grounded) reasoning. The benefit of the abductive method is that the units of analysis are based in the data itself, but theory can still be used as an aid in the

analysis (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2002: 98). Instead of testing previous theories, my aim in using the abductive method is to discover new issues and themes that could be relevant to further research and theory building in the field of intercultural education in Latin America.

After the transcription and careful readings of the interviews, I systematically coded data segments (sentences and paragraphs) into thematic categories. The aim in the typifying of the data is to be able to present the most relevant and central features of the research topic (Saaranen-Kauppinen & Puusniekka, 2006). Following the principles of the abductive method, the categories were not derived from theory. Instead, I classified all the data segments related to each of the interview themes (See Appendix 1. Interview guide) and formed other thematic categories out of issues that emerged and recurred during the interviews. In this initial coding process, I identified 25 themes relevant to the thesis topic in the data. Since it is not within the scope of my thesis to analyze all the themes, I chose to concentrate on five central themes which were selected in accordance to the research questions: concept of interculturality, contents, methodologies, materials and evaluation of IBE. The other relevant themes were also included in the analysis but only when they had a clear relation to the central themes. For the coding process I used ATLAS.ti software for qualitative data analysis, which proved to be a useful tool in the coding process. After the coding, I printed out lists of the data segments belonging to each thematic category for further analysis.

1.6. Research literature and structure of the thesis

Every effort has been made to use as varied current research literature as possible. Bolivian and Latin American researchers have been included whenever possible.

In Chapter 2 on Context, the most important literature is by authors who have worked with IBE in Bolivia and in other Latin American countries. The most important one, used throughout the thesis, is Luis Enrique López's *De resquicios a boquerones. La educación intercultural bilingüe en Bolivia* (2005), a comprehensive review of the context, history and development of IBE in Bolivia, as well as an article López co-wrote with Wolfgang Küper, "La educación intercultural bilingüe en América Latina: balance y perspectivas" (1999). Other important research literature in Chapter 2 includes Rosaleen Howard's article "Education reform, indigenous politics, and decolonisation in the Bolivia of Evo Morales" (2009) and Adriana Medina-López-Portillo and John Sinnigen's "Interculturality Versus Intercultural Competencies in Latin America" (2009) which I have also used in the Theoretical framework presented in Chapter 3.

In the first part of Chapter 3, dedicated to clarifying some of the main concepts related to the research topic, such as culture, interculturality and multiculturalism as well as intercultural and multicultural education, I have used the works of Indian political theorist Parekh Bhikhu (2006), Spanish educationalist Antonio Muñoz Sedano (1997; 2001) and Bolivian developmental scientist Porfidio Tintaya Condori (2003), among others. The main theories or models presented later in Chapter 3 are Krystyna Bleszynska's (2008) four frameworks on managing multiculturalism in society and education and James A. Banks' (1998; 2001a) five dimensions of multicultural education. Unfortunately, I have been unable to find theories developed for intercultural bilingual education in Latin America. This may be both due to availability problems and due to that the work carried out in the field in the region has been more practically than theoretically oriented.

Chapter 4 is dedicated to the analysis of the interviews of IBE professionals. Consistent with the chosen research method, I have aimed at using the conceptualizations and models presented in Chapter 3 critically as analytical tools. The most important findings of the thesis are concluded in the last chapter, Chapter 5.

2. Context of Intercultural Bilingual Education in Bolivia

Bolivia is a highly multiethnic, multicultural and multilingual country with a population of 9.8 million people comprised of 36 different ethno-linguistic groups. Bolivia has, along with Guatemala, the biggest indigenous population in Latin America. According to the census of 2001 (Bolivian National Institute of Statistics, 2009) 62 % of the population identify themselves as indigenous, the biggest indigenous groups being the Quechua (31%), the Aymara (25%) and the Guaraní (1.5%). Importantly, the levels of self-identification have significantly increased from the previous census carried out in 1992. It is estimated that almost half of all Bolivians are bilingual or even multilingual in indigenous language(s) and Spanish while some 12% are monolingual in an indigenous language. In the 2001 census, 65.5% of the population declared that Spanish was their first language, 20.8% Quechua, 13.6% Aymara and 0.6% Guaraní. The fact that slightly more people identify themselves as indigenous than say they are indigenous language speakers can be seen as a sign of a growing appreciation of indigenous identity as well as a change in the self-perception of many Bolivians. This shift in awareness and attitudes was finally reflected in the 1994 Constitution where the diverse nature of the Bolivian population was first formally recognized (Danbolt Drange, 2007; López, 2005: 22; UNICEF Bolivia, 2010.)

Bolivian society is marked not only by its cultural and ethnic diversity but also by a long history of discrimination, racism and political exclusion of its indigenous peoples. At the same time, it is a history of continuous indigenous resistance to oppression and marginalization. The current indigenous organizations, such as the CSUTCB (*Confederación Sindical de Trabajadores Campesinos de Bolivia*) that represents the Andean indigenous peoples and the CIDOB (*Confederación de Pueblos Indígenas de Bolivia*) of the lowland indigenous peoples are carrying on the legacy of resistance. Their efforts played a central role in e.g. the constitutional change of 1994.

Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui (1993, cited in Tintaya Condori, 2003: 63-64) has distinguished three cycles in the organization of social structures in Bolivian society. In the colonial period the hierarchy between indigenous and Western cultures was based on notions of Christianity vs. paganism. The colonial cycle continues to have profound mental and practical implications for the relationship between different ethnic groups; internal divisions along ethnic and cultural lines are still prominent today. The liberal cycle of the 19th century was marked by a series of "civilizing actions" as a means of renewing the polarization of society, now with the discourse of Western civilization as opposed to indigenous barbarity. In the opinion of the elites, assimilation of the indigenous populations was the only way to build a society based on European ideals (Medina-López-Portillo & Sinnigen, 2009: 253). During the populist cycle, from the Revolution of 1952 onwards, the forced assimilation of the indigenous peoples was advanced by state reform and related mechanisms such as public schools, military service and house servants (Rivera Cusicanqui, 2008: 7). These actions, labeled 'modernizing' by the State, resulted in the extensive cultural alienation of the indigenous peoples. These 'modernization' processes were inspired

by indigenism[1], a school of thought and a political movement that influenced indigenous policy at least until the 1970s (Layme Pairumani, 2003: 64-65; Stavenhagen, 2002: 27). Despite the changes in the last decades, the legacy of these cycles continues to have an impact in Bolivian society: being indigenous is still most often a synonym for poverty and low social status. Medina-López-Portillo and Sinnigen (2009: 254) describe the impact of centuries of exploitation and the cultural eradication of the indigenous populations in the following manner:

> "[It] has permeated all sectors of society, from the criollos and mestizos to significant sectors of the indigenous populations who, as a result of the pervasiveness of the attack, have developed a paradoxical state of internalized prejudice and discrimination, on one hand, and of cultural pride and resistance, on the other."

Furthermore, it is necessary to keep in mind that the indigenous groups have not only faced discrimination from the *mestizo* society, but there are also tensions (such as land disputes) and prejudice between different indigenous peoples and even between different sectors belonging to the same ethnic group (Trapnell, 2003: 175).

2.1. Educational context

The Bolivian population is young; around half the population is under the age of 20. 60% of children entering school speak a language other than Spanish. The sheer number of children and the linguistic and cultural diversity of the students are factors that undoubtedly constitute a major challenge to the Bolivian educational system. The great majority of children (about 97%) have access to primary education, but the

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1 Indigenism was based on an idealization of pre-Hispanic cultures whereas the attitude towards present-day indigenous peoples was paternalistic. The maintenance of indigenous cultural traditions and languages was considered to be an obstacle to national integration (Layme Pairumani, 2003: 64-65).

availability of education, especially beyond the first three years of primary school, varies significantly between different areas. Although the indigenous presence in all the major cities has been constantly growing, the biggest challenges are still faced in the countryside where the majority of the indigenous population has traditionally been concentrated. The infrastructure is often poor and there are few schools (Bolivian National Institute of Statistics, 2009; López, 2005: 20-21; Zurita, 2006.) The Education Code (*Código de Educación Boliviana*) of 1955 that was in practice until 1994 was based on the idea of education as a vehicle for national unification and standardization that failed to accommodate the needs of the diverse population and continued to contribute heavily to the cultural loss of the indigenous populations. The language of instruction was Spanish and the content focused on Western and urban knowledge and values, completely failing to acknowledge local realities (Hornberger, 2001: 218.) Thus, the motivating factor behind Intercultural Bilingual Education has been the necessity to reformulate the educational system to better correspond to the linguistic and cultural characteristics of the indigenous populations.

2.2. The development of IBE

The history of IBE can be traced back to the end of the 1930s when the Summer Institute of Linguistics[2] (SIL) introduced bilingual education in several indigenous territories of Latin America. In Bolivia, SIL was established in 1955 (Albó, 2002: 29). In

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[2] The Summer Institute of Linguistics (currently called SIL International) is a U.S.-based NGO that in its own words seeks to "serve language communities worldwide by building their capacity for sustainable language development, by means of research, translation, training and materials development." (Summer Institute of Linguistics, 2010) The history of SIL dates back to the 1930s when it started training missionaries in linguistics, anthropology and translation. The organization has been severely criticized for proselytizing among indigenous populations. The neutrality of the organization can also be questioned on the grounds that the purpose of the investigation it does is to promote missionary work.

the projects run by SIL and in other initiatives of the same kind, bilingualism was considered as a bridge to the full acquisition of Spanish after which the maintenance of the first indigenous language was no longer relevant (transitional bilingualism). This was the case also in the often-mentioned experimental *ayllu*[3] school established in Warisata as early as 1931 that had incorporated Aymara cultural elements in the school organization (Choque Canqui, 1992: 270; Layme Pairumani, 2003: 67). In the majority of cases, however, rural schools were dedicated to the so-called *castellanización* of indigenous children in which teaching and learning were to be accomplished in Spanish from the very beginning, without any kind of mediation from the children's first languages.[4] The impact of the *castellanización* programs is still felt in the representations indigenous peoples hold of educational processes, schools and the functions their languages and Spanish have in them. In general, the idea of transitional instead of maintenance bilingualism has proven difficult to change and "remains implicit in the practice of many teachers and even of many educational authorities." (Xavier Albó, 2001, cited in Howard, 2009: 585)

From the 1970s onwards, the evolution of indigenous movements and projects based on transitional bilingual education together with new scientific knowledge on bilingualism and the acquisition of second languages led to the development of a new model of bilingual education concentrated on the maintenance of the indigenous language alongside learning Spanish. In soon became evident, though, that considering the aspect of language maintenance was not enough. Traditional

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[3] The *ayullu* is a basic unit of social, economic and political organization in Aymara culture (Choque Canqui, 1992: 266; Tintaya Condori, 2003: 44).

[4] Although, López (2005: 86) states that despite the official 'Spanish only' policy, in practice many teachers have used and continue to use bilingual teaching methods, especially during the first years of primary education, as a spontaneous response to the students' difficulties in following classes in Spanish.

knowledge and values of the indigenous peoples needed to be included in teaching, which required a substantial change in the school curriculum. In this process, satisfying basic educational necessities was to be achieved alongside bringing the school closer to the everyday lives of children and involving parents and communities more in educational decision-making and school governance (López & Küper, 1999: 20-21).

2.3. History of IBE in Bolivia and the 1994 Educational Reform

Intercultural Bilingual Education as it is known in Bolivia today is based on the experiences gathered in a pilot phase called *Proyecto de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe* (PEIB) in place from 1988 to 1994. The pilot was funded by UNICEF in cooperation with the Bolivian Ministry of Education. The PEIB was concentrated in Quechua, Aymara and Guaraní areas, reaching 114 rural primary education centers. The work carried out in PEIB formed the context in which the new Education Law was planned and then drafted. In practice, the IBE became the flagship of the Reform, and in discourse they were often used as synonyms (Howard, 2009: 584). The Law for Educational Reform (*Ley de Reforma Educativa, Ley 1565*) was approved in July 1994, establishing Bolivian education as participative, intercultural and bilingual (Organización de Estados Iberoamericanos, 1994). The Reform was a complete revision of the Bolivian educational system, designed to encompass all levels of education: primary, higher, special and adult education. As such, the Reform was considered to be the most progressive in the region due to the fact that it not only included the right to intercultural bilingual education for all children with a first language other than Spanish but also the right to intercultural education for Spanish-speaking children (Danbolt Drange, 2007; Howard, 2009: 584; Speiser, 2000: 227; López, 2005: 13; Zurita, 2006).

Luis Enrique López (2005: 47-48) explains that the motivating factors behind the Reform were the educational system's inability to provide education in all areas, a high rate of early drop-outs, especially in the countryside, and the cost of many students having to repeat grades. These difficulties in school attendance are partially explained by the fact that many children assume the responsibility of contributing to the family economy from early age, and their contribution is required especially during seed-time and harvest (op.cit.: 32.) Other major issues were the inefficiency and poor quality of the education offered. Teaching was behaviorist, teacher-centered and did not favor student participation or any kind of experimentation (Contreras & Talavera Simoni, 2003: 13). Another key concern was the high level of absolute and functional analphabetism especially in the countryside. Furthermore, prior to the Reform, parents and communities had little chance of participating in the decision-making process concerning the schooling of their children.

After the Reform, a broad framework for technical and teacher training was adopted for the implementation of IBE. The ideological legacy of the old unified educational system has proved difficult to change, however. Due to the top-down implementation of the Reform, the teachers' organizations were not fully incorporated which led to both radical (urban teachers' unions) and moderate (rural teachers' union) resistance to the changes (Contreras & Talavera Simoni, 2003: 13). Despite the induction to the new pupil-centered and constructivist pedagogical model, many existing teachers who had come to the communities from different cultural backgrounds preferred to stick to their old mechanistic teaching methods (Contreras & Talavera Simoni, 2003: 13; Howard, 2009: 585). IBE has faced opposition from the part of parents as well. Failing in its intention to address the population as a whole, IBE came to be seen as

directed towards indigenous students only. This did not please parents who had regarded education in Spanish as at least a possibility for social mobility for their children. Although the teachers' and parents' opposition to the Reform persisted throughout the 1990s, the indigenous organizations continued to back up the model. Other than that, support for IBE had been mostly top-down. However, the State's commitment started to waver after the turn of the new millennium due to political instability and social agitation. Rosaleen Howard (2009: 587) has pointed to 2004 as a "discursive turning point" when, once more, a new vision for education started to emerge: "[t]he new strategy was to favor 'intercultural' over 'bilingual' education – i.e. to support the expression of cultural diversity in the curriculum without emphasizing the need for indigenous vehicular languages in the classroom".

Fidel Tubino (2005: 85-86) argues that while the interculturality discourse has been adopted at a State level in many Latin American countries, it has lost a significant part of its critical and liberating potential. In the process of institutionalization, interculturality has been "reduced to its technical-pedagogical dimension"[5] and is no longer seen as a political problem. In many cases, this has meant that legislation changes "are reflected neither in substantial changes nor in observable results at the level of concrete educational practices"[6]. In order to reverse this development, Tubino calls for a re-making and re-creating of interculturality both in discourse and in practice.

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[5] "[La interculturalidad es] reducida a su dimensión técnico-pedagógica [...]." (Tubino, 2005: 85) (all translations by author unless stated otherwise)

[6] "[L]as prescripciones legales [...] no se reflejan ni en cambios sustantivos ni en resultados observables en el nivel de la praxis educativa concreta." (Tubino, 2005: 86)

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2.4. IBE under the government of Evo Morales

After Evo Morales was elected president in December 2005 a discussion document for a new Education Reform Bill (*Ante Proyecto: Nueva Ley de Educación "Avelino Siñani y Elizardo Pérez"*) was prepared by the new Minister of Education Félix Patzi, an Aymara sociologist known for his radical opinions. This proposition was far more revolutionary than the 1994 Reform: according to the *Ante Proyecto* Bolivian education would be free, obligatory, unitary and secular (Howard, 2009: 589). The model of education it seeks to promote is not only intercultural but also 'intracultural', meaning, according to Howard, (Ibid.) "a more inward-looking and potentially segregationist idea than interculturalism." In 2006 the Constituent Assembly had been inaugurated and many of the elements of the draft law were included in the new constitution. However, since then the process of approval of the new law has been delayed on account of a disagreement between teachers' unions and educational authorities over the content of the proposal. In late 2009 the approval was postponed until the beginning of 2010, but in June 2010 the bill had not yet been passed (Cambio, 2010). This is another example of how complex political processes tend to stifle the implementation of educational reforms in a country like Bolivia where the opinions of the different actors concerned are often highly polarized. Therefore, it is too early to say what the consequences of the new legislation will be for the future of IBE and the Master's Programme in Bolivia.

2.5. PROEIB Andes and the Master's Programme in Intercultural Bilingual Education

The Faculty of Humanities and Educational Sciences of Universidad Mayor San Simón of Cochabamba has offered the Master's Programme in Intercultural Bilingual Education since 1996 through an Academic and Investigation Programme called

PROEIB Andes (*Programa de Formación en Educación Intercultural Bilingüe para los Países Andinos*). Besides the Master's Programme, PROEIB Andes carries out research and offers a specialization course on IBE for teachers, as well as an indigenous leadership program (PROEIB Andes, 2010). PROEIB Andes is the result of the joint efforts of a consortium formed by several universities and organizations as well as the Ministries of Education of Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Chile. A bilateral agreement between the Governments of Bolivia and Germany has secured the funding of the Programme through Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ) and Universidad Mayor San Simón of Cochabamba. PROEIB Andes collaborates with several national and international organizations such as UNICEF and UNESCO. During 2002-2004 the Finnish Government was also involved in a joint project called Tantanakuy which, among other activities, was aimed at developing teacher training, community participation and teaching materials in the context of IBE. Since 2006 the Finnish Government has continued to support IBE in Bolivia, Peru and Ecuador through the project EIB-AMAZ (López, 2005: 277; PROEIB Andes 2010.)

Within the Master's Programme, six classes had been completed by 2010 and the application period for the seventh class of 2011 – 2012 was open at the time of writing. The Programme is designed for indigenous professionals from different fields: educationalists, linguists, psychologists, sociologists, social communicators, anthropologists and others. Entry requirements include a previous academic degree, affiliation to an indigenous organization and knowledge of an indigenous language. The students are also required to write part of their thesis in these languages. Participants come from various Latin American countries including Bolivia, Peru, Chile, Ecuador, Colombia, Argentina and Mexico. The Programme is two years and

two months (5 semesters) long and it requires full-time commitment from participants (PROEIB Andes, 2010.)

The Master's Programme is organized into workshops that are divided into four thematic areas from which participants can choose what they specialize in. The specialization areas are: Culture, Language, Education and Indigenous languages. Theoretical and practical studies are combined with investigation and field work and supported by individual counseling as well as linguistic and thesis counseling (PROEIB Andes, 2010.) During its 14-year trajectory, the Master's Programme has become renowned throughout Latin America. Former students are involved in government ministries, organizations and educational institutions in their respective countries.

3. Theoretical framework

This chapter is divided into two parts. The first part is dedicated to defining the concepts most relevant to intercultural education: culture, culture in the context of education, interculturality and multiculturalism as well as inter- and multicultural education. I have considered the definition of concepts to be of special importance as a basis for further analysis, and have therefore given it considerable attention. In the second part of this chapter I will present the theories by Krystyna Bleszynska (2008) and James A. Banks (1998; 2001a) that will be used in the analysis of the research interviews.

3.1 Definition of basic concepts

Culture
Any work that deals with interculturality needs to be based on a solid understanding of what is meant by culture in the given context. At present, hundreds of different

definitions of culture exist within various academic fields (Ruiz de Lobera, 2004: 26.)[7]
In the most general sense, culture can be understood as "the way of life of a society"
(Tintaya Condori, 2003: 126-127.) Similarly but more specifically, Parekh Bhikhu
states:

> "Culture is a historically created system of meaning and significance or [...] a system of beliefs
> and practices in terms of which a group of human beings understand, regulate and structure
> their individual and collective lives. It is a way of both understanding and organizing human
> life." (Bhikhu, 2006:143)

Bhikhu distinguishes between several levels of culture. At the very base is language
through which cultures are constructed and shared.[8] Connected to language are
myths, rituals, symbols, collective memories, jokes, customs, traditions and
institutions that are also components of culture. At the next level Bhikhu places the
artistic expressions as well as the moral code and the visions of good life of a given
culture. The third layer is formed by the rules and norms that regulate basic activities
and social relations. Bhikhu also points out that cultures also vary internally and that
they speak "in several voices" (Bhikhu, 2006: 143-144.)

Edward T. Hall, (1998: 54), a well-renowned anthropologist and the founding father of
Intercultural Communication as an academic field of study, makes an important
distinction between the explicit "manifest culture" (such as language, dress, food,
religion[9]) that is learned and "tacit-acquired culture" which is non-verbal, implicit and

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[7] For a concise division of the different conceptions of culture into six different categories, see
Erickson, 2001: 34-38.

[8] Similarly, but perhaps slightly more inclusively, Hall talks of communication as the basis of
culture.

"not learned in the usual sense but acquired in the process of growing up or simply being in different environments." (Erickson, 2001: 38-39) While the popular conceptions of cultural diversity tend to focus more on the manifest aspects of culture, it is the aim of intercultural education to operate also at the deeper level of culture.

Understanding the connectedness of culture and language is at the core of Intercultural Bilingual Education. Since culture is embedded in language, teaching in any given language will inevitably be loaded with values and symbols. So, even if Hall considers language as manifest culture, language is also a carrier of "tacit-acquired" culture. In Bolivia, the Spanish language as the language of the elite has been and still is the hegemonic language. IBE's formation as an objection to culturally and linguistically assimilatory schooling was explained previously in the chapter on the Development of IBE.

While mediating knowledge and values between the members of a community, "culture is not a reality outside of the subject" (Tintaya Condori, 2003: 126-127) but inherent to any individual's way of being and interacting with others, whether he or she is aware of it or not. Culture is dynamic; it changes and develops over time. At the same time culture is relatively permanent in the sense that it is socially inherited from one generation to the next and thus there are elements that remain the same within a person's lifetime and across generations (Baumann, 1999: 81-96; Bhikhu, 2006: 144; Erickson, 2001: 32; Muñoz Sedano, 1997: 102; Tintaya Condori, 2003: 128.) In this sense, people are both shaped by their social circumstances and active agents that can make sense of their actions in an adaptive way (Erickson, 2001: 36-

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[9] Religion can also be considered to belong to both the visible and the invisible part of culture, since some elements are clearly manifested while others, such as values and beliefs, are not.

37). An understanding of the dynamic nature of culture is especially important in the context of intercultural education, as a static notion of culture often leads to stereotyping and essentialization. Without entering in depth into the discussion on the relationship between culture and ethnicity, I will consider ethnicity as one dimension of culture. Ethnicity is one of the dimensions through which cultural differences between communities are defined.

To understand the importance of culture in the Bolivian context, it is vital to recognize the production and reproduction of culture as deeply political processes since they deal with the distribution of social power within and between different social groups (Erickson, 2001: 32). Since the 1990s, there has been a necessary shift in the conceptualization of culture from focusing on each individual society toward studying culture from an intercultural, relational perspective (Medina-López-Portillo & Sinnigen, 2009: 255).

Culture and education
Reflecting upon culture in the context of education is of essential importance since educational processes and contents are thoroughly influenced by it. Learning and teaching are a part of everyday life at its every stage, in families, at school, in community and at work. We learn culture and its variations throughout our lives but culture can also be unlearned (Erickson, 2001: 31-32.) In terms of culture and society, the school serves both the reproductive and the productive function. On one hand, it is one of the most significant arenas where culture is passed on and societal structures are fortified. For example, the school has been a vital factor in the creation of nation states. This was also one of the central aims of the *Código de Educación Boliviana* in place until 1994. Since the nation building was a project of the creole elites, it is the elite's values that have traditionally been transmitted through the

process of education. Therefore, until recently, education has seriously contributed to the cultural loss of the indigenous peoples. On the other hand, schools and teachers are also involved in promoting change and development (Räsänen, 2002: 19-20.) The *Maestría* itself is a clear example. Educators address culture when teaching and designing curricula, either consciously and explicitly or implicitly and unconsciously. The role of the teacher is crucial since they have considerable potential to act as agents of educational and societal change. On the other hand, they can also be an obstacle to positive development if they are lacking in awareness, motivation and proper skills.

Multiculturalism and interculturality
When it comes to educational responses to cultural diversity in different countries, a degree of confusion exists with regards to terminology. The terms interculturality and multiculturalism are often used interchangeably and are largely overlapping, especially when used separately. The latter term is more commonly found in Anglo-Saxon literature while the former is more used in continental Europe and Latin America.[10] The necessity to make a distinction between the two arises when they are juxtaposed, and in these cases interculturality is used when referring to an active relationship and an exchange between cultures while multiculturalism simply makes reference to the presence of several cultures within a society.[11] (Khoi 1994, cited in

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[10] The difference between the concepts is perhaps most clearly explained by the semantic distinctions between the prefixes inter and multi. The prefix *inter* refers to a relationship between different elements. There is simultaneously a reciprocal exchange (interaction) and a separation based on difference while *multi* simply denotes the presence of many different elements (Muñoz Sedano, 1997: 119-120).

[11] The ending -ity (as in interculturality) refers to social phenomena that can be observed, while -ism (as in interculturalism and multiculturalism) connotes an attitude that also serves as the basis for different practices in the institutional level (Ruiz de Lobera, 2004: 81). This distinction is not yet established among professionals in the field and is not strictly followed in this thesis.

Cushner, 1998: 4; Muñoz Sedano, 1997: 119-120)

Another conceptual distinction I consider useful to make is between intercultural competencies and interculturality. Especially in the United States, an academic consensus has developed that views intercultural competency as a set of individual skills, knowledge, behavior and attitudes needed for successful intercultural exchanges. The focus is on the individual and on the skills and knowledge that can be acquired through training. The widely used term in Latin America is interculturality which, according to Medina-López-Portillo & Sinnigen (2009: 250), refers to "the radical restructuring of the historically pronounced uneven relations of wealth and power that have existed between Europeans and their descendants and indigenous and other subordinated groups during the last half millennium." While intercultural competencies in the U.S. are mostly approached from an academic point of view, interculturality as understood in Latin America has from the very beginning been committed to the indigenous cause and political action in its favor (Medina-López-Portillo & Sinnigen, 2009: 250.)

While all modern nations are culturally diverse, the nature of the diversity varies according to context. The main historical factors contributing to ethnic and cultural diversity are slavery, immigration and colonization (Cushner, 1998: 2). Asymmetric power relations are therefore an essential component of the relationship between different cultures. Most of the discussion around multiculturalism and interculturality in the West is centered on the phenomenon of immigration, while in Latin America it is the colonial legacy that poses other kinds of challenges. Although also having long histories of immigration, it is the existence of large indigenous populations that makes the case of countries like Bolivia special. Bolivian philosopher and political scientist Luis Tapia Mealla (2002: 42) argues that rather than just a multicultural

nation state, Bolivia is actually a "multi-societal" country since the building process of a national culture has been only partially successful, and it has been closely linked to assimilation and domination mechanisms.[12] In this context, Porfidio Tintaya Condori (2003: 280) sees interculturality as a "strategy" to change the historically existing multiculturalism of unequal power relations into pluralist multiculturalism, where different local cultures can participate in the process of building a society and a nation while conserving their right to difference:

> "The appreciation of the other and the affirmation of local ways of living express the necessity that the native communities have to coexist in the national societies, consolidate their identities, conserve and fortify their potential, as well as establish a relationship of respect with different cultures."[13] (Tintaya Condori 2003: 21)

In addition, Fidel Tubino (2005: 89) indicates that the fortifying of ethnic-cultural identities of the indigenous groups cannot be perceived as a precursor to intercultural dialogue. Since identities are dynamically constructed in relation to the "other", identity affirmation and intercultural dialogue must occur simultaneously. Identities are strengthened by re-appropriating cultural traditions, revitalizing indigenous languages and banishing internalized racism. It is the objective of Intercultural Bilingual Education to work precisely in these areas. At the same time, a renegotiation of the relationship between the mainstream national culture and the indigenous cultures needs to take place at a societal level.

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[12] An important addition is Tapia Mealla's remark that these cultures before entering into relationships with other cultures also contained structures of inequality within them, whether economic, social or political.

[13] "La valoración del otro y la afirmación de formas de vida locales, expresan la necesidad que tienen las comunidades originarias de coexistir en las sociedades nacionales, de afianzar sus identidades, de conservar y fortalecer sus potencialidades, así como de establecer una relación de respeto con diferentes culturas." (Tintaya Condori 2003: 21)

Intercultural and multicultural education

As explained in Section 2.2, since the end of the 1970s and during the 1980s bilingual intercultural education has become part of educational discourse in Latin America. This has occurred in parallel with the emergence of multicultural and intercultural educational programs elsewhere in the world. In the United States the discourse on multicultural education is the fruit of the civil rights movement of the 1960s, while in Western Europe the discussion on intercultural education dates back to the 1970s (Muñoz Sedano, 1997: 115-116). As a part of a wider discussion on the relationship between different social groups, multicultural and intercultural education have received input from social sciences, economics, law, education and, most importantly, cultural anthropology. Although the field is increasingly connected across borders, and professionals often have experience from working with intercultural and multicultural education in different countries, there are certain characteristics distinctive of the discourse and practices in different countries that reflect the differences in the nature of the cultural diversity in each setting. Understanding the differences in emphasis and terminology is necessary before entering into the theoretical section of the thesis. As previously stated, intercultural and multicultural education derive from varied backgrounds where the demands of social movements have intertwined with knowledge from different academic disciplines. In this context, it is important to notice that the concepts are not part of any specific theory and that they do not constitute a unified educational model. Therefore, the same terms may be used in varying ways by different authors. I will offer some general distinctions between the concepts in the following.

Multicultural education is the preferred term in the United States in referring to an education based on pluralism. At the societal level, multicultural aims to reduce prejudice and discrimination by promoting social justice and equal opportunity, as

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well as an equitable distribution of power between different cultural groups (Grant & Sleeter, 2001: 68). Its objectives are thus largely synonymous to those of intercultural education, although it has sometimes been mistakenly criticized for being directed only at the children of ethnic minorities instead of all children (Grant & Sleeter, 2001: 68; see also Muñoz Sedano, 1997: 32) Others argue that in multicultural education multilingualism and power issues have not been given the attention they deserve (Häkkinen, 1999: 4.) Perhaps as a reflection of the cultural values of the U.S. society, multicultural education also tends to place more emphasis on the individual, as illustrated in the following quote:

> "Current multicultural education theory and practice highlight pedagogy in a cultural context and prescribe a future classroom and school whereby culturally diverse learners find educational practices that value their individual behavioral styles and culture-specific knowledge base." (Meyer, Bevan-Brown, Harry & Sapon-Shevin, 2001: 331)

In contrast, intercultural education has an approach that emphasizes intergroup relations and cooperation in a dynamic and proactive way:

> "[Intercultural education] implies comparisons, exchanges, cooperation and confrontation between groups. [...] [R]ather than focusing on specific problems such as learning style differences or language development, intercultural education recognizes that a genuine understanding of cultural differences and similarities is necessary in order to build a foundation for working collaboratively with others." (Cushner, 1998: 4)

While there has been a continuous intention to implement IE as a general educational principle for the education of all citizens (Muñoz Sedano, 1997: 32), as in the Bolivian case, it has not yet been achieved in practice either in Europe or in Latin America. In Latin America, IBE has come to be defined as "an education rooted in the culture of reference of the students but open to the incorporation of elements and

contents that originate in other cultural horizons, including universal culture. "[14]
(López & Küper, 1999: 22) It also refers to an education delivered in two languages
which benefits the learning of both the mother tongue and the second language at
the same time. It is called intercultural in reference to the dialogue and
complementarity between cultures that it seeks to promote, as well as the way in
which the knowledge and values of these different cultures are being combined in
the curriculum (Ibid).

3.2. Theories in intercultural education

Perhaps due to the interdisciplinary nature as well as the relatively young age of the
intercultural education discourse, there is still a lot of work to be done in the field of
theory-building. What has slowed down the process of theory-building in Bolivia is
the fact that after the Reform, the investigation, preparation and practical
implementation of IBE has been the responsibility of the same working groups. As it
has been of more urgent importance to focus on implementing educational changes
in practice, the investigation and theory-building aspects have played minor roles
(López, 2005: 217.)

Experts agree that the theoretical and conceptual work in the field has to be based
on a solid understanding of the challenges a specific society is facing. At the same
time it is important for professionals to collaborate and share practices across
borders. Many issues and concerns related to intercultural education are similar
while others are more context-specific. The theories I will present in the following are
born of cultural contexts that differ considerably from Bolivia's, and consequently the

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[14] "[...] una educación enraizada en la cultura de referencia de los educandos, pero abierta a la
incorporación de otros horizontes culturales, incluida la cultura universal." (López & Küper,
1999: 22)

particular challenges of a society with a large indigenous population are not given special attention in them. However, I consider these models useful for analysis, not least because I believe that it is in comparison to other contexts that the particularities of the Bolivian case can best be illustrated.

At present, a considerable amount of IE scholars' theoretical work deals with the different approaches to multiculturalism and education that have been manifested in varying ways at different times and geographical locations. Numerous IE professionals (see Banks, 2001b: 229-241; Cushner, 1998: 5-8; Muñoz Sedano, 1997: 121-127) have classified these approaches into sets of paradigms or frameworks that serve to illustrate how the guiding principles behind educational policies differ and what these differences mean in terms of the educational possibilities and rights of diverse groups within a multicultural society. These classifications are usually mainly descriptive but they also serve to clarify the context in which a new approach (multicultural and intercultural education) has been formulated, how it differs from past approaches and what its core values are. In the following, I will present Krystyna Bleszynska's (2008: 537-545) concise model of paradigms for intercultural education in order to illustrate the kind of shift in educational paradigm that has taken place in Bolivia.[15] Afterwards, James A. Banks' (1998: 69-84; 2001a: 3-30) "Five dimensions of multicultural education" will be explained in order to understand how multicultural or intercultural concerns should be incorporated in different aspects of educational practices.

Krystyna Bleszynska's "Four basic paradigms for intercultural education"
Krystyna Bleszynska presents four basic paradigms for conceptualizing different

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[15] For a more detailed classification of IE see Muñoz Sedano, 2001 & 1997: 121-127.

approaches to cultures in contact in her article "Constructing intercultural education" (2008: 540-542): a national, racial-compensatory, civic and cultural borderline paradigm. The national paradigm aims at assimilating communities with different cultures into the national culture as a way of promoting social cohesion. Minority cultures are often marginalized or ignored in the process and issues related to them are not dealt with in public schools, at least outside the areas inhabited by minorities. Until recently, this has been the dominant paradigm in Bolivia despite the fact that in many areas indigenous populations constitute the majority. The racial-compensatory paradigm tends to politicize the discourse on inter-group relations and the discussion focuses on concepts such as race, racial inequality and social justice. The "need to compensate for the oppression experienced by particular groups [...] by means of boosting their present social status" (Bleszynska 2000: 541) is another feature of the racial-compensatory paradigm. The United States serves as an example. The civic paradigm, found for example in France, is concerned with giving civic society precedence over issues of race, ethnicity and cultural difference. These concepts are marginalized and they are considered part of the 'private sphere'. The values of the civic society are considered superior to those of other cultures.[16] The last paradigm offered by Bleszynska is that of cultural borderlands, which can be found in Australia and Canada, for example. Concepts such as ethnicity, diversity, social change and dialogue are common in this paradigm. As long as the ethnic culture values do not challenge the core cultural values, cultural differences are recognized and valued as part of society.[17] Bleszynska considers the cultural

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[16] For a practical example of this, consider the recent banning of the public use of headscarves in France.

[17] Bleszynska states that these core values are usually those of the dominating group, while Parekh Bhikhu's (2006: 221-222) notion of a "multiculturally constituted common culture", that is needed in order to hold a multicultural society together, seems to stay more true to the ideals of interculturality.

borderlands paradigm to be the most dynamic one due to its interest in promoting intercultural contacts as a part of the transformation of society and cultural identities. It is within the cultural borderlands paradigm that intercultural education comes closest to its objective of "promoting the dialogue between cultures and civilizations, as well as supporting the development of democratic multicultural societies." In the case of Bolivia, a change from the historically rooted national paradigm towards the cultural borderland paradigm is taking place. This shift has already taken place at the level of legislation and educational policy, but the practical implementation will be a long process that will not occur in a uniform manner throughout the country. Some features of the racial-compensatory paradigm are also present in Bolivian society as indigenous groups struggle for social justice.

James Banks' "Five dimensions of multicultural education"
Banks (2001a) sees the school as a social system in which all its major components depend on each other. The variables he suggests are: School Policy and Politics, School Culture and Hidden Curriculum, Learning Styles, Languages and Dialects of the School, Community Participation and Input, Counseling Program, Assessment and Testing Procedures, Instructional Materials, Formalized Curriculum and Course of Study, Teaching Styles and Strategies and the School Staff: attitudes, perceptions, beliefs and actions. According to Banks, school reform may be initiated from any of these factors, but changes must occur in each of them for an effective multicultural school environment to be created and sustained over time.

One of the major challenges of intercultural education is to neutralize the standardizing force of the majority language and culture by giving a space to different cultural manifestations within the school. This has often been interpreted to mean

including oral storytelling, riddles, songs and other representations of local folklore in classroom activities. Fidel Tubino (2005: 92-93) attributes this to intercultural competence being too vague as a concept: the teachers might not understand what it means or how to develop related activities. They therefore resort to reproducing local folklore instead of promoting true cultural understanding by recognition of the more invisible aspects of culture, such as differing worldviews or philosophies. To rephrase using the terms of Edvard T. Hall, the manifest culture is more easily integrated into the school than the tacit-acquired culture. James A. Banks[18] has named this dimension of multicultural education content integration. The common misconception is to assume that this is what intercultural or multicultural education is all about: adding content related to ethnic or cultural groups to an already-existing curriculum. According to Banks (2001a: 20-24), this is problematic because it creates resistance to multicultural education among those teachers who do not see how cultural issues are related to their disciplines (for example mathematics or physical education). It also tends to focus on the exotic and trivialize cultural differences to the level of external manifestation without acknowledging the fact that members of other groups might also think in fundamentally different ways and hold conflicting views on life. The dimension of content integration is the first in Banks' "Five dimensions of multicultural education" model.

1. Content integration.

The examples used in class and the content of the teaching needs to reflect the knowledge and traditions of different cultures. In the case of Bolivia, this means

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[18] James A. Banks is an internationally recognized expert in multicultural education. Banks talks of multicultural rather than intercultural education (following the aforementioned Anglo tradition) and his work is focused on the US context. Despite the terminological difference the guiding principles are the same and the five dimensions model can be used as an analytical tool to study IBE in Bolivia as well.

including local knowledge, that is, knowledge that has been relevant to the Quechuas, Aymaras, Guaranís or Amazonian peoples among others, such as local religious or cultural traditions, agricultural practices, knowledge of the plants and animals of the region etc.

2. The knowledge construction process.

According to Banks (2001a: 20) "The knowledge construction process relates to the extent to which teachers help students to understand, investigate, and determine how the implicit assumptions, frames of references, perspectives, and biases within a discipline influence the ways in which knowledge is constructed within it." The European colonization of the Americas or the history of the conquest varies drastically depending on whether it is told from the point of view of the Spaniards or the Aymara, for example. The indigenous people's perspectives have traditionally been excluded in Bolivian classrooms, invalidating their experiences and often alienating indigenous children from the way in which their people have made sense of their experiences.

3. Prejudice reduction.

Prejudice reduction refers to processes that aim at changing the negative attitudes students have towards different ethnic and cultural groups. The role of the teacher in designing activities to support the development of positive attitudes is crucial. I consider it important to add something that Banks does not mention in this context: the teachers need to have awareness and willingness to work with their own attitudes and misconceptions as well, and this should take place before they are to help students develop positive attitudes. Banks suggests that Gordon Allport's contact hypothesis (1954, cited in Banks 2001a: 21) be used as a guideline for the

student's attitude development. The contact hypothesis states that:

> "[C]ontact between groups will improve intergroup relations when the contact is characterized by these four conditions: (1) equal status; (2) cooperation rather than competition; (3) sanction by authorities such as teachers and administrators; and (4) interpersonal interactions in which students become acquainted as individuals."

Banks also points out that, according to research, multiethnic lesson content and teaching materials that portray ethnic groups can positively support more positive intergroup attitudes if used in a systematic way.

4. Equity pedagogy.

With Equity pedagogy Banks (2001a: 21) refers to teachers' necessity to "analyze their teaching procedures and styles to determine the extent to which they reflect multicultural issues and concerns." Teachers should use teaching styles that are in accordance with the different learning styles of students of various ethnic groups. It seems clear that a research-based understanding of the knowledge construction process within the cultures in question is required prior to the adoption of suitable teaching techniques.

5. Empowering school culture and social structure.

According to Banks (Ibid.) all members of the school staff must contribute in the restructuring of the school organization and culture so that it promotes equitable relations across gender, ethnic and social-class differences. This includes for example the interaction that takes place between staff members and students of differing ethnic groups.

Although Banks mentions assessment and testing procedures as an integral part of the educational process in which multicultural aspects need to be considered, he does not elaborate more on the matter. Since evaluation is one of the areas which I am interested in studying in the context of Bolivian IBE, I consider it necessary to include a brief theoretical explanation on what can be understood by evaluation within multicultural or intercultural education.

María Jesús Vicén (1992, cited in Muñoz Sedano, 1997: 198) has proposed a series of criteria for evaluating students, with the objective of promoting evaluation practices that are consistent with the objectives, contents and methodologies of multicultural education. The criteria include: a) social interaction between students of different cultural backgrounds, b) tolerant and respectful practices within a diverse school setting, c) participation in debates and discussions concerning diversity, d) attitudes and behaviors manifested in group-work and e) sensitivity, receptivity and a critical spirit towards racist incidents in school or in the media. Muñoz Sedano (1997: 198-199) suggests evaluation be considered an "integral, systematic, gradual and continuous" process. During this process both participant and non-participant observation of the students can be used as an evaluation technique in which the aforementioned criteria can be exercised.

4. Interculturality in theory and practice in IBE and the Master's Programme

Given the limited number of people interviewed, it is not the purpose of the analysis to make general assumptions on the perspectives and ideas of people working with IBE. The analysis reflects only the issues that were raised through these particular interviews and the opinions of the interviewees. Their viewpoints might or might not

present concerns of a more general nature, but this is something that could only be verified by further research on the matters at hand. The most salient themes in the data in relation to the research questions were the concept of interculturality, the relationship between academic culture and interculturality, as well as the contents and methodologies used in the Master's Programme. The questions related to materials and evaluation received less attention which was at least partially due to the fact that they were dealt with at the end of the interviews when there was no longer time to elaborate in detail on these themes. These differences in emphasis will also be reflected in the amount of attention given to each theme in the following analysis. Since the chosen method of analysis was based on a data-driven approach, I have included a considerable amount of direct quotations in order to give the data a chance to "speak for itself".

The first question posed to all of the interviewees was that of their background and how they had ended up working with IBE. There were considerable differences in the interviewees' approaches to the question with two main tendencies: those who stuck to a description of their academic background as the path through which they had become interested in the field, and those whose interest in intercultural issues stemmed from personal experiences (students with indigenous background). Only one of the five interviewed teachers referred to his own experiences as a factor that determined his interest in intercultural matters. Those who chose to tell about their own experiences also generally took a lot longer and more contextualized approach to describing how they had ended up in the field, while some teachers preferred a short summary of their academic achievements. I mention these different approaches here because one of the most conspicuous themes during the interviews was the relationship between academic knowledge constructions vs. gaining

knowledge through practical experience. One of the main challenges of the Master's Programme is to be able to fuse these approaches in a way that creates a profound theoretical and practical understanding of interculturality.

4.1. "Having fun defining it": the concept of interculturality

A considerable variety of different ways of approaching the definition of the concept of interculturality is reflected in the interviewees' responses. It becomes very clear that "interculturality is something immense" (M4) and it can be defined in innumerable ways. One of the interviewees mentions interculturality as a topic that is being widely discussed worldwide, but at the same time there is no general agreement on what is meant by it (M4). As was stated at the very beginning of the thesis this could result in the term being used vaguely. The development of IBE depends largely of the discussion and joint efforts of all the actors concerned with IBE in Bolivia, including policy makers, researchers, indigenous activists, school teachers, parents and community members, all of which might hold a different vision of what interculturality means. The plural nature of the conceptualizations offered by the professionals' obviously echoes the diverse views held by different actors.

Most of the interviewees' responses implied an understanding of interculturality as a process rather than a product, although only one of the interviewees (M3) mentioned this explicitly. The potential of the concept lies in its inherent complexity and richness: "a very beautiful part of the work is that we have fun defining it [...], it has been a very interesting exercise and what comes out is exquisite [...]"[19] (M4). It becomes evident that one of the fundamental basics of the process of interculturality

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[19] "[...] parte del trabajo muy bonito es divertirnos a definirla [...], ha sido un trabajo muy interesante y lo que sale es riquísimo [...]." (M4)

is its commitment to a variety of perspectives and a continuous, dynamic process of conceptualization and re-conceptualization. Instead of reaching consensus, emphasis should be placed on understanding the different visions of interculturality in their context. As one of the interviewees points out:

> "Interculturality for the Guaranís is different from what it is to the Aymaras, in my opinion, the demands are different, the ways to accomplishing it are different, because the culture is different, the history is different, each has a different relationship with [...] the *mestizo* population and with centers of power. With some the relationship is older; with some it's newer, so I believe that each case requires other ways of translating that need into education, and translating that demand into contents and forms."[20] (W2)

Altogether, six different approaches to interculturality could be distinguished in the interviewees' responses. The approaches are:

1) Interculturality as a relationship and exchange between groups of people that are different ethnically or culturally

2) Interculturality as a way of managing diversity in society

3) Interculturality as a study of power relations and politics

4) Interculturality as a relationship and exchange between individuals

5) Interculturality as a set of individual attitudes and competences

6) Interculturality as identity affirmation and self-reflection.

Furthermore, these approaches can be classified into two main categories according to the tendency of the professionals to conceptualize interculturality either as a

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[20] "La interculturalidad para los guaranís es otra que para los aymaras a mi entender, va por otras demandas va por otros, otros modos de lograrlo porque la cultura es distinta, la historia es distinta, el relacionamiento es distinto de unos y otros con [...] población mestiza y con los centros de poder. Algunos otros son más antiguos en su relacionamiento, otros más nuevos, entonces yo creo que cada caso requiere otras maneras de traducir esa demanda a la educación, y traducir esa demanda a contenidos, a formas." (W2)

societal, inter-group level or to focus on the individual. I have named these two main categories the *macro-* and *micro-social categories*, respectively. Each of the categories consists of three different ways of conceptualizing interculturality. In the following, the categories and the related approaches will be analyzed in more detail. I will use Medina-López-Portillo's and Sinnigen's (2009: 249-263) ideas on interculturality and intercultural competencies (see Chapter 3.), as well as Bleszynska's paradigms (see Section 3.2.) as aid in the analysis.

Interculturality as a macro-social phenomenon

> "Interculturality, the way we dream of it, in the sense of cultures in contact but in a respectful, horizontal relationship, that interculturality does not exist and it has never existed. If we study a little bit of history, there's always been cultural hegemony. A culture, usually the one with more military power imposes itself upon another, uses the other, assimilates some of its values, imposes others. So yes, we are dreaming of something that has never existed, something new. But it seems it's absolutely valid."[21] (M4)

The most common way to describe interculturality among the interviewees was to attribute it to the relationship between different groups in society and the way in which these relationships are managed. Interculturality is simultaneously seen as a means of changing society and as an aim that is still far from reality, a utopia. The approaches in this category are: 1) Interculturality as a relationship and exchange between groups of people that are different in terms of ethnicity, culture or religion;

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[21] "La interculturalidad como la soñamos en el sentido de culturas en contacto pero en una relación respetuosa horizontal, esa interculturalidad no existe y nunca ha existido. Si leemos un poco de historia que siempre ha habido hegemonía cultural. Una cultura por lo general la que tiene mayor poder militar se impone a otra, utiliza la otra, asimila algunos de sus valores, impone otros. Esa sí que estamos soñando con algo que nunca ha existido, algo nuevo. Pero parece que es absolutamente válido." (M4)

2) Interculturality as a way of managing diversity in society; and 3) Interculturality as a study of power relations and politics.

The first two approaches are very similar to those that are found in academic literature in many countries, and reflect contemporary issues and concerns across borders. In the first approach, interculturality is seen as a relationship between different ethnic or cultural groups and emphasis is placed on the reciprocal exchange of knowledge between the groups. Curiously, the religious dimension of interculturality was only mentioned by one of the interviewees. This may indicate that religious differences are not one of the central focuses of the intercultural problem in Bolivia, unlike in Europe where a considerable amount of attention is given to religious difference.

In terms of a societal response to managing diversity, one of the interviewees emphasizes the change of paradigm that has been taking place throughout Latin America.

> "[...] this idea starts forming that becomes popular in Latin America in the sense that it seeks a different form of articulation in societies that are multiethnic and multicultural, where until then the only way for the minorities and oppressed peoples had been that of the assimilation [...]. So from the vision of the oppressed this new way of looking at society is formed."[22]

Using the terms coined by Krystyna Bleszynska (2008), the national paradigm is giving

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[22] "[...] comienza a generarse esta idea que toma fuerza en América Latina en el sentido de que busca una forma de articulación distinta en sociedades que son pluriétnicas y multiculturales donde hasta entonces el único camino para las minorías o para los pueblos oprimidos había sido el de la asimilación [...]. Entonces desde la visión de lo oprimidos comienza a generarse una nueva una nueva mirada de sociedad." (M3)

way to the cultural borderlands paradigm, in which the conditions of the interaction between dominant and subordinated groups can be renegotiated. Here, it is also evident that in the view of these professionals Bolivian multiculturalism is not the same as that of Canada or Europe, for example. Several interviewees underlined this distinction, which might have something to do with the fact that the interviewer was seen as the representative of a different cultural context. Tapia Mealla's (2002: 42) ideas (see Section 3.1) are echoed in this quotation:

> "What is proposed is different from that which is done in Europe at more or less the same time because the meaning of the Nation State is questioned. That is a fundamental milestone that differentiates what would be interculturality in Latin America, [...], of interculturality in Europe."[23] (M3)

The third approach was formed by the views of those interviewees who repeatedly defined interculturality in Bolivia as a highly politicized concept from which issues of power relations, conflict, inequality and social justice are inseparable. This approach confirms Medina-López-Portillo & Sinnigen's (2009: 250) conceptualization of interculturality as seen in Section 3.1 on Multiculturalism and interculturality. Of central importance here is the idea of interculturality in Bolivia as something that has been conceived from the bottom-up, out of indigenous people's demands for respect and consideration. In this sense the professionals' view of Bolivian interculturality connects to Tintaya Condori's (2003: 280) idea of interculturality as a "strategy" for societal change and shares some features of Bleszynska's racial-compensatory paradigm.

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[23] "Se plantea una cosa distinta a lo que se hace en Europa más o menos en la misma época porque se cuestiona el sentido del estado-nación, ese es un hito fundamental que diferencia lo que sería interculturalidad en América Latina, [...], de interculturalidad en Europa."

"[...] one thing is interculturality in Europe between more or less equals, with the exception of the immigrants, that are in another condition, right? And another thing is interculturality in colonial societies [...] where it's about first compensating that which we have deprived the oppressed of, which is above all self-esteem [...]."[24] (M3)

It is in this aspect of compensation that the macro and micro-levels intersect: IBE's role is vital in affirming indigenous identities both at the individual level and through promoting a change in the way in which indigenous knowledge is conceived of in the educational system as a whole.

Interculturality as a micro-social phenomenon
The micro-social category includes the following approaches: 1) Interculturality as a relationship and exchange between individuals; 2) Interculturality as a set of individual attitudes and competences; and 3) Interculturality as identity affirmation and self-reflection.

If the macro-social category was more related to interculturality as it is understood in Latin America in terms of changing unequal intergroup relations and the way in which society deals with diversity, the micro-social category is closely related to what Medina-López-Portillo and Sinnigen (2009: 250) describe as the U.S. concept of intercultural competencies. The macro and micro levels are of course tightly linked: every intercultural encounter is an encounter between individuals, "a relationship between different people who need to interact, who need to understand the other,

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[24] "[...] una cosa es la interculturalidad en Europa, más o menos entre pares, salvo los migrantes que están otra condición, ¿no? Y otra cosa es la interculturalidad en sociedades coloniales [...] donde se trata primero de restituir aquello que les hemos quitado a los oprimidos, que es sobre todo autoestima, fe en lo propio."

respect the other and not try to change the other"[25] (M3) and where the individuals can ideally "bring their own knowledge and place it under discussion together with the other one" (W2) on equal grounds.

As previously stated, the interviewed professionals were conscious of the distinction between Latin American and U.S. or European interculturality and actively reinforced this difference. Two of the interviewees (W2 and M4), mentioned the importance of the dimension of knowledge, both in the sense of gathering knowledge of different cultures and in the sense of being willing to exchange it. Interestingly, individual "intercultural skills", the acquisition of which occupies a central position in the intercultural competence discourse, were completely absent from the discussion apart from being mentioned as an example of U.S. conceptualization of interculturality.

> "Let's say there's a vision of interculturality [...], I don't know, more "light", [...], the vision of the relationship between cultures as such. The conflict and the inequality is not seen, many times it's a vision, let's say [...] where two people can make an agreement in order to do better business, to live better in the world [...]. How you can do business with someone from another culture, how you can interrelate with less conflict in reality [...]. How you can benefit from different kind of relationships and reach consensus. All that question of conflict resolution [...]. A more political vision of interculturality was lacking."[26] (M5)

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[25] "[...] relaciones entre gente diferente que tiene que interactuar que tiene que comprender al otro, respetarlo y no intentar a cambiarlo [...]." (M3)

[26] "Digamos que hay una visión de interculturalidad [...], no sé, más "light", [...] esa visión digamos de relación entre culturas nomás. No se ve el conflicto, no se ve la desigualdad, donde muchas veces es una visión digamos [...] donde se pueden poner de acuerdo dos personas para [...] hacer mejor sus negocios, para vivir mejor en el mundo [...]. Cómo puedes hacer negocios con alguien de otras culturas, cómo puedes [...] interrelacionarte con menos conflicto en realidad [...]. Cómo puedes sacar provecho de relaciones distintas y llegar a consensus. Toda esa cuestión de resolución de conflictos [...]. Faltaba una visión más política de la interculturalidad." (M5)

Instead, at the individual level, one of the most important themes throughout the interviews was that of attitudes. What seems distinctive of the Latin American interculturality discourse is the close link made between attitudes and identity affirmation. The sixth and last approach, interculturality as identity affirmation and self-reflection is about a personal reappraisal of indigenous identity and understanding oneself to be able to understand others (Abdallah-Pretceille, 2006: 477). The dimension of identity affirmation as an inseparable part of interculturality is especially relevant in the Bolivian context considering the internalized prejudice and shame that have been related to indigenous identity. A change in consciousness is necessary in order to gain self esteem (W2). As mentioned before, the macro and micro-levels of interculturality are intrinsically connected when it comes to issues of identity affirmation: at the societal level the change in consciousness is reflected for example in the fact that the amount of people who identify themselves as indigenous in national censuses has grown considerably over the last decades. The question of attitude development and identity affirmation within the Master's Programme will be discussed in more detail in Section 4.2.

One of the interviewees with an Aymara background emphasized the importance of self-reflection and acceptance in intercultural relations.

> "From my own identity I can, by being myself, I can then continue to be more, right? And at the same time I can continue to understand this other logic, this other way of life in order to learn, in order to respond to this dynamic, this context, in order to simultaneously fortify what's mine. That is the attitude. So always thinking this way, every space for me is for learning, those who I have conversations with, even talking with you now is a moment of learning [...]. In that

way, in contact with another person I did myself a favor."[27] (M8)

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This notion of interculturality as a learning process, a journey of self-discovery, or often rediscovery after a period of estrangement, is present in the responses of the three former students of the Master's Programme (M6, W7 and M8) (see also Hornberger, 2001). Another (M8) talks of his experience as a student of the Master's Programme, and the necessity of finding a balance between identity affirmation and "an intercultural mentality" which would allow students to stay open to the contributions of other cultures while maintaining an appreciation of their own heritage. Establishing this kind of balance can be seen as the Master's Programme's main challenge with regard to interculturality at the micro-social level.

Academic culture and interculturality

An extremely interesting theme that recurred throughout the interviews and is connected to all the aspects of intercultural education that I set out to study, is that of the relationship between academic culture and interculturality. Nancy Hornberger (2001: 216) has called this "an ideological paradox wherein a traditionally standardizing and sorting educational system is increasingly called on to make room for and promote diversity." This is one of the issues that emerged that would definitely require further study. Since IBE initiatives have so far been mainly carried out at the level of primary schooling, the challenges related to implementing it at university level also demand more attention. Curiously, when discussing intercultural

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[27] "[...] a partir de mi propia identidad puedo siendo yo mismo puedo entonces seguir siendo más, ¿no es cierto? Y a la vez puedo seguir entendiendo esa esta otra lógica, esta otra forma de vida para también aprender, para también responder a esta dinámica, este contexto para al mismo tiempo fortalecer lo mío. Ésa es la actitud. Entonces pensando en eso siempre todo espacio para mí es de aprendizaje, [...] con quienes converso, incluso conversar contigo ahora es un momento de aprendizaje [...].Así de contacto con otra persona me hice un servicio." (M8)

education in higher education, the focus of the discussion changed from the relationship between indigenous and hegemonic *mestizo* culture to the relationship between academic and other forms of knowledge construction. One of the main questions seems to be: is the idea of a Master's Programme that deals with intercultural bilingual education to *study* interculturality or also to *be* intercultural in practice? If the latter is the case, interculturality then becomes a major demand for the diversification of the entire notion of education.

One of the interviewees (M5) states that the centuries-old tradition of thinking and the academic structure as such is a hindrance to the introduction of intercultural education in universities. This is true especially if the idea is to implement it beyond the dimension of content integration. The academic tradition dictates to a large extent which kind of knowledge is accepted, how it is transmitted (traditionally emphasizing writing and reading), the norms of academic writing and evaluation practices, not to mention entrance criteria and learning outcomes. In this sense, the academic culture exerts a considerable assimilatory force upon all its members, even to the extent of promoting cultural loss. One of the interviewees remarks:

> "An indigenous scholar that has gone through all the Western education cannot become a scholar without soaking him or herself in Western education. So, recovering what's his or her own after having been successful in all the education is difficult."[28] (W2)

Another asserts:

[28] "Un docente indígena pasado por todo la educación occidental no llega a ser docente sin empaparse de la educación occidental. Entonces rescatar lo propio después de haber sido exitoso en toda la educación es difícil." (W2)

"Because in the long run we could be transforming these individuals that started out cultural, intercultural, turning them very academic. That is the risk. So why not, that could be another form of colonizing them as well." [29] (M8)

The paradox is very clearly illustrated in these quotations. The presupposition that rises from the first one is that indigenous peoples could only truly contribute to the diversification of academic knowledge and practices from outside the educational system. While this statement might be true in many cases, it effectively undermines the entire founding principles of the Master's Programme itself. The second quotation in some ways goes even further in referring to 'academic' as the antonym of 'intercultural'. Understandably, the interviewed professionals are also products of their own educational backgrounds and as such they are unable to offer clues to resolving the paradox. Again it becomes clear how complex a concept interculturality is, and on how many levels it operates simultaneously. It remains a question how the alternative knowledge construction processes of the indigenous cultures could be incorporated within academia. If this is to be accomplished then academia needs to be ready to critically examine its own hegemonic position in relation to other knowledge construction systems. What seems evident, though, is that this kind of major epistemological restructuring cannot occur as a project confined to academic circles but requires the input of indigenous peoples:

"[...] they [the indigenous peoples] need to pilot this, they have to be the ones to take the decisions in order to be able to create an alternative form to the academy [...]. Where the knowledge is truly holistic, where this idea of discipline, of specialization, could be truly

[29] "Porque a la larga podríamos estar haciendo de estos sujetos que en principio eran digamos culturales, interculturales, volverlos muy académicos. Es el riesgo. Entonces por qué no, eso podría ser otra forma de colonizarlos también." (M8)

overcome. [...] to approach knowledge in an integral way."[30] (W1)

4.2. Contents for IBE

The theme of contents that the professionals consider important in IBE again gathered a vast variety of different responses. They echo both those contents that have already received attention in curriculum design in Bolivia, as well as those that in the opinion of these professionals should be developed further. The interviewees were asked about contents relevant to IBE in higher education in general, including the Master's Programme. The interviewees mention both implicitly and explicitly that the dimension of content is where IBE has made most progress. This view corresponds to what Banks (1998; 2001a: 20) (See Section 3.2.2.) writes about content integration usually being the first, and often the only modification done to include the other culture's knowledge into the curriculum. In terms of contents for IBE, the interviewees' responses correspond somewhat to their own academic backgrounds.

I have identified four central content areas that recurred in the interviewees responses: 1) Local or indigenous knowledge and learning processes, 2) Attitude development, 3) Politics, conflict management and social policy, 4) Indigenous languages. As explained at the beginning of the thesis, I have made the decision to exclude issues related to bilingualism and the role of indigenous languages from this thesis and therefore the latter content area concerning indigenous languages will not be dealt with here. It will suffice to mention here that indigenous languages were

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[30] " [...] ellos [los indígenas] tienen que pilotear esto, ellos tienen que ser [...] los que tomen las decisiones para que se pueda crear una forma alternativa a la academia [...]. Donde realmente el conocimiento es holístico, donde realmente se supere esta idea de la disciplina, de la especialización. [...] aproximarse a los conocimientos de forma integral." (W1)

one of the central content areas mentioned by the interviewees, and the interviewees considered one of the major achievements of the Master's Programme to be the development of academic writing in indigenous languages.

The content areas that were mentioned most often by the professionals were the first two, which will also be given more attention in the analysis that follows. In addition to these often-mentioned four content areas, gender and environmental issues were mentioned as transversal themes that should cut across all areas of study, and in which further theorization based in local realities is considered necessary.

Local or indigenous knowledge and learning processes
One of the main objectives of IBE from the very beginning has curricular diversification (*Diversificación curricular)*, a term that refers to the inclusion of local knowledge ("Diversified branches", *Ramas diversificadas*) into the national curriculum ("Common trunk", *Tronco común*). In the face of the enormous cultural and ethnic diversity of the country, this means adopting the curriculum at the level of local communities while maintaining a nation-wide core curriculum that also has an "intercultural character" (López, 2005: 17, 217.)

In terms of what this diversified knowledge is, the interviewees mentioned the traditional knowledge related to biodiversity, local flora and fauna, agricultural practices, herbal medicine, crafts and other art forms, as well as knowledge of traditional cultural practices, local and colonial history and worldview, myths, legends and tales (W1, W5). The revision of the official history, and its institutionalization were given special importance, but always in relation to present-

day issues.

> "The fundamental question is to make a re-reading of history [...]. Whether in school, an official history of Bolivia has been created at the universities that does not correspond at all [...] with the importance of the participation of the indigenous peoples in Bolivian economy, [...], in everything. I think that, let's say the level of university structure it should be considered to do a re-reading of that history [...]. There is already material, fortunately the Bolivian history is already being re-read. In reality what I think is lacking is to institutionalize that historical revision [...]. And the other thing I believe is to see that it [interculturality] is contemporary [...]. I mean that interculturality is something that we live, it's not only history, it's actual, it's the present and the future."[31] (M5)

With regards to contents and cultural knowledge, and connected to what was said in Section 4.1 about the conceptualization of interculturality, there needs to be an understanding of culture and interculturality as processes. As such, they cannot be reduced to the level of content, but as questions of relationships and attitudes they need to be approached from a dynamic perspective (M3). A static vision of indigenous cultures can lead to an essentialization of "authentic" traditions, a focus on the "exotic" and a simplification of cultural manifestations, in other words, cultural folklorization (See Section 3.1.). One of the interviewees stated that folklorization, an occurrence common to different cultural contexts (see Banks, 1998: 74; Gorski, 2008;

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[31] "La cuestión fundamental es la cuestión de hacer relectura de la historia [...] Sea en la escuela, en las mismas universidades se ha hecho una historia de Bolivia oficial que no ha coincidido para nada [...] con importancia con la participación de los pueblos indígenas en la economía boliviana, en la, en todo. Yo creo que a nivel digamos de estructura universitaria habría que pensar en hacer una relectura de esa historia [...]. Que ya hay material, ya se está releyendo la historia boliviana por suerte. En realidad lo que yo creo que falta es que institucionalizar esa revisión histórica, ¿no? Y, lo otro también creo que es ver que eso es contemporáneo [...]. O sea que la interculturalidad es algo que vivimos no es solo historia es actual, es presente y futuro." (M5)

Muñoz Sedano, 1997: 190), is characteristic of the IBE in Bolivia as well where indigenous art forms and especially music is the component most commonly studied in class. This confirms Tubino's (2005: 92-93) (See Section 3.1.) thoughts on teachers resorting to reproducing those cultural manifestations that are perhaps the most accepted and easiest to incorporate in class. Teacher training therefore needs to aim at developing an understanding of the different levels and dynamic nature of culture. Overcoming the simplified notions of culture and the way culture is addressed in intercultural education requires, in the opinion of one of the interviewees (M3), a more holistic approach of considering interculturality as a transversal theme that would permeate all subjects that are studied in an interdisciplinary way. This also involves restructuring the pedagogical processes, the ways in which knowledge is shared. This is a fundamental step in constructing an education that is truly intercultural, instead of operating at the surface level of content integration. Several interviewees mentioned the importance of studying local learning processes, as well as the transmission and acquisition of knowledge in indigenous cultures. This issue will be dealt with in more detail in Section 4.3. on Methodologies.

Attitude development

> "I think there is still a series of aspects that need to be developed in terms of learning in attitude development. [...] Because in La Paz they are also working with the theme of knowledge but at the level of attitudes more needs to be developed. Like in practice. Well, some things are being done but it is important still to work a lot in practice how to reach [...] development of an attitude of respect of cultures. Which I believe is different from tolerance. It means being able to share with another, [...] to know how to exchange reciprocally [...] with a different person [...]."[32] (W1)

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[32] "Creo que hay una serie de aspectos que todavía faltan desarrollarse, en términos de

A change in attitudes and values cannot be considered an educational content as such, but relates more to the desired outcomes or objectives of IBE, and the ways in which these changes can be advanced as a part of the teaching process. Since it was referred to as part of the thematic about contents, I have chosen to analyze it in this section. While recognizing that the attitude development of teachers, parents and communities are also important dimensions to consider, I have decided to concentrate on the views that the professionals expressed regarding the attitude development of the students of the Master's Programme.

The change of educational paradigm in Bolivia is essentially a change in the society's values and attitudes towards cultural difference, and the values transmitted through educational practices should promote this change. The importance of this aspect of IBE is echoed in the fact that attitude development was the most common response when asked about important contents for IBE in Bolivia. It was also referred to as one of the most complex ones.

As explained in Section 3.2., Prejudice reduction is also one Banks' (1998; 2001a: 21) "Five dimensions of multicultural education". In the views of the interviewees, the measures taken in the Master's Programme to promote attitude development in the students correspond to a large extent to Allport's Contact hypothesis (1954, cited in Banks 2001a: 21). According to the professionals, the objective of attitude change is promoted in the Master's Programme through the following practices:

aprendizaje en el desarrollo de actitudes [...] Porque pasa en la Paz también se está trabajando el tema de los conocimientos pero al nivel de las actitudes hace falta desarrollar más. Cómo en la práctica. Bueno [...] se están haciendo cosas, pero es importante todavía [...] trabajar mucho en la práctica cómo llegar [...] el desarrollo de una actitud de respeto de las culturas. Que es distinta a la tolerancia yo creo. Es es poder compartir con el otro, eee... saber intercambiar reciprocamente [...] con la otra persona distinta [...]." (W1)

1) Equality of treatment while respecting the individuality of the students (W2)

2) Emphasis on group assignments and teamwork, collaborative learning methods (M5, M6, M8)

3) Considering attitude development in the evaluation process (W2)

4) Promoting the abandonment of stereotypes through everyday practices and encounters (M3)

5) The creation of teaching materials that reflect the cultural, ethnic and linguistic diversity of the country (Materials will be further discussed in Section 4.4.)

Attitude development was mentioned by almost all the interviewees as the most important, or at least one of the most important aspects of IBE. Despite the above-mentioned measures taken, more attention has to be dedicated to advancing this aspect even more. In the context of the Master's Programme, the issue related to attitudes that received the most attention during the interviews was the dimension of identity affirmation. It needs to be taken into account that self-affirmation can also have negative effects and manifest itself in conflictive situations. One interviewee (W7) explains that a certain ethnocentrism or ethnic self-affirmation on the basis of negation of the others is also a common phenomenon in the Master's Programme. Lucy Trapnell (2003: 173) has explained this as a necessary stage in the affirmation process that indigenous peoples need to go through in order to challenge the domination and marginalization rooted in the Andean societies.

The interviewees mentioned the vital importance of the peers in the students' process of recognition of their own cultural backgrounds, as well as in developing an attitude of respect towards the experiences and contributions of the others. The interculturality of the learning community formed by the students and teachers of

the Master's Programme is dual in the sense that both the element of international mobility (students from different Latin American countries) and the element of domestic multiculturalism are simultaneously present. Fidel Tubino's (2005: 89) (See Section 3.1) thoughts on the process of identity affirmation as simultaneous to an intercultural dialogue seem to be potentially true at least in the small scale of the Master's Programme.

Politics, conflict management, social policy

> "The educational project should necessarily prepare students, in the first place to learn to live with difference and with frequently divergent points of view and secondly, to live with and in conflict, understand its causes and effects, and above all, learn how to manage it and search for consensus, as minimum as it can be, in order to learn to live together." (López, 2001, cited in Trapnell, 2003: 175-176)

According to the professionals, the politically charged nature of Bolivian notions of interculturality, to which I have referred previously in Section 4.1., needs to be better reflected in the contents of the Master's Programme. While a study of the State's indigenous and language policies is part of the curriculum of the Master's Programme, the professionals expressed the need to pay more attention to them, as well as to a more profound study of conflict management and social policy.

> "One cannot forget the political dimension, the category [refers to interculturality] is political and has to be seen as political, also as a tool in the battle against subalternization and hegemony [...]. And very much hand in hand with the construction of democratic societies. So this political level also has to be discussed with the students, everything related to the issue of power. Because it is inherent to the theme of interculturality [...]. Another angle from which we need to discuss interculturality in that level [refers to university level] [...] is the issue of conflict [...]. I know the educators do not like it very much because many times pedagogy evades

conflict. But any intercultural relation by its own nature is a conflictive relation. So we are not preparing people to be able to manage conflict, or to resolve it because it will never be resolved, but to manage it. So, we are not preparing them to be intercultural either." [33] (M3)

In the view of the professionals, political analysis and conflict management skills are part of the Master's students' preparation for the practical challenges and realities they will encounter later in their work as active agents in different arenas related to IBE, whether it is in ministries, educational institutions or NGOs. It is therefore essential that the students acquire an understanding of the positions different actors within Bolivian society hold. The intercultural professional's work is largely about being able to assist in negotiations between different, often conflicting demands.

As discussed previously with regards to attitude development and identity affirmation, conflict is also part of the students' relations within the Master's Programme itself. In this sense, one of the interviewees (W7) accurately describes the Programme as "a little laboratory" in which historical tensions and prejudices manifested in interpersonal relationships between the students can be discussed.

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[33] "Uno no puede olvidar tampoco la dimensión política, la categoría es política y tiene que ser vista como política, también como herramienta para lucha contra la subalternización y la hegemonía [...]. Y [...] muy de la mano con la construcción de de sociedades democráticas. Entonces en ese plano político también hay que discutir con los estudiantes todo lo que tiene que ver con el tema del poder. Porque es inherente al tema de interculturalidad [...] Otro tipo de vertiente por el que tenemos que discutir la interculturalidad en ese nivel, con los chicos en la escuela es otra cosa, es el tema del conflicto [...] Sé que eso no les gusta a muchos los pedagogos porque muchas veces la pedagogía le huye al conflicto. Pero toda relación interétnica o intercultural es una relación conflictiva por su propia naturaleza. Entonces si no preparamos a la gente para que pueda manejar el conflicto, no resolverlo porque nunca se va a resolver pero manejarlo. Entonces [...] no los estamos preparando para ser interculturales tampoco." (M3)

4.3. Methodologies

The interviewees' remarks clearly manifest that at the time when the interviews were done, the focus of the IBE discussion in Bolivia was starting to shift from content integration towards methodological concerns. When it comes to methodologies, it becomes especially clear that IBE is still very much a work in progress. This is connected to the over-arching challenge briefly discussed in Section 4.1. on Academic culture and interculturality. In order for intercultural education to become truly intercultural, academic culture needs to open up to negotiate alternative ways of constructing and sharing knowledge. How intercultural education at university level could benefit from indigenous ways of learning is still largely unknown territory even for IBE professionals, although they were able to offer some examples, which will be presented and analyzed in the following.

While some of the interviewees (W2, M4) stated that intercultural methodologies at the level of university education do not yet exist, they all recognized the need to develop teaching practices that would better utilize the potential of indigenous people's ways of sharing knowledge. One of the interviewees argues that the reason for which IBE has been so concentrated in contents, instead of challenging the pedagogical processes, is that the academic disciplines involved in the intercultural debate in Bolivia have traditionally been anthropology and linguistics, while the educationalist have only recently entered into the discussion (M3). In his opinion educational sciences are just beginning to open up for the issues of diversity.

As we have seen in Section 3.2., Banks has included Equity pedagogy as one of his "Five dimensions of multicultural education". Equity pedagogy for Banks (1998: 80) is about "techniques and teaching methods that facilitate the academic achievement of

students from diverse racial and ethnic groups". This is where the context specificity of multicultural and intercultural education becomes especially tangible. The methodological diversification Banks refers to concentrates on learning style differences instead of cultural differences. While this kind of pedagogy might work well in a Western immigration-based context of diversity, it seems that Banks' approach is too limited for IBE if the aim is to promote the creation of new intercultural teaching methods which require a more profound rethinking of pedagogical processes and their relationship to communitarian ways of teaching and learning (M3). This will be discussed further in the following Section.

"Everything is a teacher": Interculturality as a challenge for Western notions of education

> "My mother, so that I would become a little lady, put me to school so I would learn to read and write in Spanish. As expected, on the way I wandered off to the mountains and there I took to weaving, observing all the corners that I found along the way; I liked to sing against the wind, towards the wind, I wanted to learn how to fly from one mountain to another."[34] (Luzmila Carpio, well-known Quechua singer-songwriter, 2004, cited in López, 2005: 19-20)

In my opinion, one of the most important themes that emerged from the interviews is the potential and challenge that interculturality has in broadening the notion of education in general. This is also closely related to the theme of academic culture versus other forms of knowledge construction as discussed in Section 4.1. I think the previous quotation reflects the same ideas that some of the interviewees expressed

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[34] "Mi madre, para que sea una 'señorita', me puso a la escuela que aprenda a leer y escribir en castellano. Como era de esperar, yo no iba a la escuela; en el camino me desviaba a los cerros y ahí me dedicaba a tejer, a observar todos los rincones que a mi paso encontraba; me gustaba cantar contra el viento, hacia el viento, quería aprender a volar de un cerro a otro." (Luzmila Carpio, 2004, cited in López, 2005: 19-20)

about intercultural education's necessity to build bridges between Western school-based notions of education and a more holistic vision of education as conceived in indigenous cultures. Roberto Choque Canqui (1992: 265-266) has characterized indigenous education using the following features: a holistic view of education in which the biological, social and cultural elements are inseparable, learning as an integral part of primary socialization, the importance of the family and community as 'teachers' and a gradual augmenting in knowledge and responsibilities in accordance to the age and developmental stage of a person. These ideas are expressed by one of the interviewees:

"It's about breaking out of the idea that we learn by imitating, we learn by observing, it's a lot more complicated than that. So... What is the role of the older siblings, what is the role of the parents, the grandparents, the uncles and aunts? How do we learn, it's little by little, it's by doing, it's by working and learning and playing at the same time for example [...]. Sometimes we get caught in thinking of the school, as if education were only imparted at school when education is imparted since birth [...]. In the case of indigenous peoples education is imparted where they practice agriculture, "la chakra" as they call it. It's imparted in the mountain, in the forests, [...] the child that takes the animals to pasture... We are very limited in thinking that Intercultural Bilingual Education must pass through the school."[35] (W1)

In addition to the familiar and community-based learning processes, the idea of

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[35] "Se trata de salir de la idea de, se aprende por imitación, se aprende por observación, entonces es mucho más complejo que eso. Entonces...Qué rol juegan los hermanos mayores, qué rol juegan los padres, los abuelos, los tíos. Cómo se va aprendiendo, es poco a poco, es haciendo, es jugando, es trabajando y aprendiendo y jugando al mismo tiempo por ejemplo, [...] A veces nos encajonamos en la escuela, como si la educación fuera solamente dada en la escuela cuando la educación se da, desde que se nace [...]. La educación se da para el caso de los pueblos indígenas en donde se practica la agricultura como dicen "la chakra". Esto se da en la montaña, se da en los bosques, [...] el niño que esta pasteando... Nos cerramos mucho en pensar que la Educación Intercultural Bilingüe tiene que pasar necesariamente por la escuela." (W1)

nature as teacher was also mentioned throughout the interviews. Many interviewees expressed the idea that life experiences and everyday social and economic activities should be considered part of the holistic learning and growing process of a person. One of the professionals crystallizes these aspects, stating:

> "Everything is a teacher. Nature is a teacher for the one who wants to learn. So, [...] in education, we have lots and lots to learn from indigenous people in terms of methodology."[36] (M4)

Approached in this way, practical intercultural experience becomes one of the most important methods of learning. Lucy Trapnell (2003: 173) argues that learning through participation in everyday activities in which indigenous knowledge is developed is a strategy that "strives to bridge the gap which half a century of schooling has built between what happens inside schools and outside of them." While this approach has already proven to be successful in primary schools, there is considerably less information on how it works in higher education.

One of the ways in which the Master's Programme promotes the students' learning through a combination of academic work, "learning by doing", and practical everyday experiences of intercultural encounters is field work. The idea is that the students live and carry out a small research project in an indigenous community that differs from their own cultural background. The highland Aymara doing field work in the villages of the Amazon basin, for example. Many of the interviewees stated that the Master's students often considered field work periods to be the most fruitful learning

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[36] "Todo es maestro. La naturaleza es maestra para el que quiera aprender. Es así que [...] en lo educativo tenemos mucho mucho que aprender de los pueblos indígenas en lo metodológico." (M4)

experiences of the entire Programme. But, as one of the respondents (M4) stresses, an everyday experience is transformed into an educational experience through the dialectic of reflecting upon practical experiences in class with the group.

Cooperative learning, "the pedagogical couple" and sociodrama
In terms of teaching and learning methods, the interviewees mentioned some that had been tried in the Master's Programme, but they did not elaborate much on them. Several of the interviewees stated that in the Master's Programme the working methods are a combination of individual assignments, group assignments and tasks that require cooperation with the local community. While this latter method seems especially interesting, it was not explored more during the interviews. The importance of the group and team work, however, was a recurring theme. The most important learning and teaching method used in the Master's Programme according to the interviewed professionals is cooperative learning[37], which is also connected to the ideas presented in the previous Section about learning through practical experience.

> "In my opinion there is an indissoluble link between cooperative learning and interculturality
> [...]. Cooperative learning by its own nature is and has to be intercultural in that diverse people
> in a society like this one, diverse people sit together to construct a common project that in this
> case can be a learning project, but where they have to negotiate meanings. They need to agree
> first on what to work on, how to work, on times, on ways of working etc. So they are doing
> interculturality in practice, even when interculturality is not mentioned. I think that is not very
> well understood and people think that interculturality in the classroom means an ideological
> discourse on respect and ethics etc., but for me that is not enough. There can be a long way

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[37] Cooperative learning is a teaching strategy in which students work in small teams to gain a a shared understanding of a subject and support each other in the learning process. Students are both responsible for their own learning and the learning of their peers (Oxford, 1997: 443).

between word and deed [...]. It's more about permeating everyday practices with learning, or teaching, right?"[38] (M3)

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Apart from using teamwork and cooperative learning strategies in class, the professionals also stated that the teamwork between the teachers of the Master's Programme was also given special attention. This method, referred to as "team teaching" by one of the interviewees, consists of having two teachers present in class at the same time in order to allow a more varied discussion to take place in the classroom. The teachers can express conflicting ideas and the focus of education can shift from "searching one truth" to a debate where multiple perspectives are given room.

The so-called "pedagogical couple" (*la pareja pedagógica*), as described by one of the interviewees (M3), is an interesting teaching method that could be considered an intercultural variation on the team teaching method. In this case too there are two teachers in one class, one of whom is an indigenous teacher chosen by the community and one is a Spanish-speaking teacher. The idea is to combine two different traditions and practices within the classroom to find an alternative way of

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[38] "[...] para mí hay una ligazón indisoluble entre aprendizaje cooperativo e interculturalidad [...]. El aprendizaje cooperativo es y debe ser por naturaleza propia intercultural en la medida en que gentes diversas en una sociedad como ésta, gentes diversas, se sientan a trabajar juntos, a construir un proyecto común que puede ser en este caso un proyecto aprendizaje pero donde tienen que negociar sentidos y significados. Tienen que ponerse de acuerdo primero sobre [...] qué trabajar, sobre cómo trabajar, sobre tiempos, sobre maneras etcétera. Entonces están haciendo la interculturalidad en la práctica, aún cuando no se hable de lo intercultural, ¿no es cierto? Creo que eso no se entiende mucho y se piensa que interculturalidad en el aula significa el rollo, ideológico del respeto y la ética etcétera pero para mí, eso no es suficiente. Del dicho al hecho puede haber un camino muy largo [...] Y se trata más bien impregnar las prácticas cotidianas de aprendizaje, de enseñanza, ¿no?" (M3)

teaching in which the knowledge and methods of both cultures and languages can form a mutually enriching synthesis. The interviewee referred to this method as something that had been tried in some indigenous communities in Argentina, but it could be an alternative worth testing in a wider context as well.

Another method briefly mentioned was sociodrama, in which short dramatizations of historical events are acted out by the students under the guidance of the teacher. One of the interviewees mentioned how this had been successfully used in the Master's Programme to study the indigenous uprisings in Bolivia. Using methods such as sociodrama is consistent with Banks' Equity pedagogy in that it offers variety in terms of catering to students with different learning styles. In sociodrama there is also a possibility to take advantage of the oral knowledge transmission tradition of the indigenous cultures.

Written vs. oral culture
One of the most important aspects of the methodological debate within the Master's Programme that emerged in the interviews is the question of written vs. oral culture. It is a theme that is also related to materials, which will be discussed in the following section. While the academic tradition is heavily based on reading and writing as the methods of acquiring knowledge, in the indigenous cultures the transmission of knowledge has traditionally been oral. According to the professionals, the tension between the oral and written traditions is visible in the difficulty many Master's students have in adapting to the large volume of written material they are required to read during the studies. There are also problems in expressing ideas in written form in an academic way. The authorities' concerns about illiteracy rates and consequent extensive alphabetization programs throughout the country has

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emphasized the importance of the written word while the traditional forms of sharing knowledge face-to-face have lost importance. As traditional family structures are dissolving due to urbanization, sharing knowledge around the fire at night and other communal knowledge sharing practices are no longer as common as before. Two of the interviewees (W2, W7) expressed concern that the rapid societal change is contributing to the cultural loss of the indigenous peoples. As it is one of the aims of intercultural education to re-appropriate cultural traditions, oral knowledge transmission should be given special attention. One of the interviewees states:

> "My concern is that at the level of educational policy we are so preoccupied with literacy that we have forgotten the orality of the elderly. We have given school so much importance that we have forgotten about the living libraries that the grandfathers and grandmothers are. We are so preoccupied with writing well that we have forgotten to discuss things with old men and women. So I believe that at the level of education we need to balance this or find a way for a direct contact between the children and the elderly for an oral transmission to take place. Because it is not just knowledge that is shared, it is also affection and identity."[39] (W7)

IBE should therefore work on building these connections between the generations. In the context of the Master's Programme, the aspect of oral vs. written cultures was mentioned by almost all the interviewees, but few concrete educational practices had been adopted that would have been inspired by the oral knowledge transmission tradition.

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[39] "La preocupación que yo tengo es que a nivel de la política educativa estamos tan preocupados por la lecto-escritura que nos hemos olvidado de la oralidad de los viejos. Le hemos dado tanta importancia a la escuela que nos hemos olvidado de las bibliotecas vivas que son los abuelos y las abuelas. Estamos tan preocupados en escribir bien la lengua que nos olvidamos de conversar con los viejos y las viejas. Entonces creo que a nivel de educación o sea tenemos que equilibrar o ver la forma del contacto directo del niño con el adulto con el anciano por esa transmisión oral. Porque no es solamente conocimiento que le da, que le da afectividad y le da identidad." (W7)

4.4. Materials

As mentioned at the beginning of Chapter 4., the question of materials was not one of the most prominent themes in the data. Most of the issues related to materials, such as the use of alternative materials, were mentioned very shortly by the interviewees. Most of the discussion on materials concentrated on the availability and development of materials in primary education, whereas the university level was addressed only a few times during the interviews.

The issue of materials is intimately related to working methods as well as the aforementioned question of written and oral traditions. According to Banks (2001a: 21) the use of teaching materials that positively reflect the ethnic and cultural diversity can contribute to prejudice reduction in students (See Section 3.2.2). This idea was included in the 1994 Educational Reform, and the Bolivian Ministry of Education created new text books and other teaching materials for IBE in at least the Quechua, Aymara and Guaraní languages (Contreras & Talavera Simoni, 2003: 13). One of the achievements of PROEIB Andes has been the development of new teacher training materials with an intercultural focus through projects such as Tantanakuy (See Section 2.5). In these materials the gender perspective has also been considered (W2 and M3). Despite the advances made in materials development for IBE, it continues to be a challenge, not least because of the linguistic and cultural diversity present in Bolivia. The creation of intercultural bilingual material, especially for the smaller indigenous minority groups, is still pending (López, 2005: 221). The availability of teaching materials differs considerably within the country, and again the situation is most difficult in small rural schools.

Apart from the traditional textbooks, the professionals also mentioned radio and

video as alternative teaching materials that have proven themselves useful for the purposes of IBE and the Master's Programme. Radio has successfully been used as a medium of education in Bolivia for several decades (for more information, see Choque Canqui, 1992: 281-284), and one of the interviews mentioned its potential for spreading intercultural programs for listeners of different age groups (W1). The radio is an especially suitable means of education when considering the tradition of oral transmission of knowledge that has been characteristic of the indigenous cultures of the region. Video was another medium that was mentioned by three of the interviewees (W1, M3 and W7), both as an educational material that inspires analysis and as a means of storing indigenous knowledge for the future. For the best effects, the videos should be produced by members of the same target group at which the video is directed (i.e. university students producing videos for other university students for example), and be made in everyday contexts and spaces of learning, whether formal or informal (W1).

The use of natural resources such as local plants and animals was mentioned as a good way of combining practical "learning by doing" and materials that are available in any context, and these were attributed to primary school level (M8). With regards to materials at the university level, the question of academic culture emerged yet again. The interviewees stated that in the first semesters of the Master´s Programme there is an emphasis on reading theoretical literature on disciplines related to IBE. Former students claimed that the amount of reading seemed overwhelming at times to students coming from cultures with a strong oral tradition. The teachers attributed this to the academic requirements of the accrediting University. While the interviewees said that some measures had already been taken in order to diversify the working methods and materials used, it became clear that it is another area that

requires further development. One of the interviewees argues:

> "We should decentralize, we should put more attention to let's say oral things for example,
> other forms of expression of thoughts that are not written. Sociodrama, drawings [...].
> Thoughts that are more spatial. But it's difficult, it's complicated. The thing is that there is also
> pressure for certain content that those in a Master's should know."[40] (M5)

While the lack of proper teaching materials is undoubtedly a real challenge in many schools, it was not a very salient theme in the professionals' interviews. One of the professionals (M8) criticized teachers for having become too dependent on material. He proposed that the emphasis should be on the creative use of whatever material is available:

> "So I believe that the bigger challenge is rather how you can take advantage of the materials
> that you have. [...] I am of the idea that any material is useful if you have the capacity to make
> it work. It's creativity, it's creativity." [41] (M8)

4.5. Evaluation

> "[Evaluation] is complex [...] in the sense that it is one of PROEIB's limitations that is the
> pattern of academic university evaluation, very centered in writing for example. So I would
> rather mention that as a limitation of PROEIB. PROEIB has not been able to develop let's say
> evaluation strategies that would not be so centered in alphabetic writing."[42] (M5)

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[40] "Habría que decentrarse, habría que prestar más atención digamos a las cuestiones orales por ejemplo, a otras formas de de expresión de pensamiento que no son escritas. Los [...] sociodramas, dibujos [...]. Pensamientos más espaciales. Pero es difícil, es complicado. Es que hay por otro lado también una presión en un cierto contenido que deberían saber en una Maestría." (M5)

[41] "Entonces yo creo que más bien el desafío mayor es cómo tu puedes aprovechar a los materiales que tengas. [...] Yo soy de la idea ésa, cualquier material te sirve siempre y cuando tú tengas la capacidad de hacerlo funcionar. Es creatividad, es creatividad." (M8)

[42] "[Evaluación] es complejo [...] en el sentido que ésa es una de las limitaciones que tiene el

When it comes to evaluation, in the view of the professionals, the biggest challenges related to creating intercultural evaluation practices are again related to the academic tradition. The previous quotation also refers to the question of oral vs. written culture discussed in Section 4.3. Higher education programs, such as the Master's Programme, are governed by the academic norms and requirements of universities, such as in this case the University San Simón of Cochabamba, which impede the creation of alternative evaluation strategies (M5). What became evident is that evaluation within the Master's Programme is a process governed by at least three different factors: the requirements of the University, the institutional standard agreed upon within PROEIB Andes and the individual disposition of each teacher. Many of the interviewees mentioned that evaluation practices were one of the constant concerns and issues of debate among the teachers of the Master's Programme. Apart from the evaluation done by the teachers, self-evaluation and peer-evaluation are also practiced in the Master's Programme.

Several of the interviewees stated that they were personally against the use of traditional evaluation practices based on grades, but were obliged to follow the grading norms set by the University. One of the factors contributing to the professionals' critical view of grading is that it promotes comparisons and competition among students. A former student of the Master's Program (W7) argues that the students' obsession with asking "What grade did you get?" should be replaced by "How much did you learn?" The grade-centered culture is difficult to

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PROEIB que es la forma de evaluación académica universitaria, muy centrada en la escritura por ejemplo. Entonces eso más bien lo pondría como limitación del PROEIB. El PROEIB no ha podido desarrollar digamos estrategias de evaluación [...] que no sean tan escritura alfabética céntricas." (M5)

change, though, since both teachers and students have been strongly conditioned to it in their previous education.

One of them (M6) stressed the importance of distinguishing between the processes of grading and evaluation, the latter of which should be based on a more holistic vision of the student's development, which I will present in the following. These holistic and process-oriented evaluation practices as expressed by the interviewees correspond to a large extent to María Jesús Vicén's (1992, cited in Muñoz Sedano, 1997: 198) evaluation criteria and Muñoz Sedano's (1997: 198-199) ideas explained in Section 3.2.2.

First of all, the teacher in the Master's Programme aims to evaluate the student's entire learning process instead of concentrating on the end product, such as a report or an exam. Another important factor is that the students are not evaluated in comparison to one another, but as individuals with different personal histories and abilities. One of the interviewees describes the challenges of this kind of evaluation process:

> "We work hard in not doing a comparison between the students, but more to see where one comes from, what one can do, how much he or she makes an effort or challenges him or herself. In reality I think we evaluate more the effort that the person makes, which you can see in different ways – it is not an effort because they do nothing but study, she is interested, asks questions and for help, tries to do something even though she makes mistakes, right? Those attitudes more than knowledge or abilities. I think that's the way it goes but it's also difficult, it's not easy because one is accustomed to grade a product. So when you read a text [...] you have a standard in your head although you tell yourself you shouldn't. Many times it's your own standard, or the standard of other students you have had, it's not a standard of the culture or the person X. It always requires quite a lot of reflection, but the attempt is not to consider them all at the same time but rather consider them individually, to contemplate also

[...] what kind of lives they have led [...]. All those conditions that the student brings with him or herself so that you can determine what can be required from him or her and where he or she is headed."[43] (W2)

Although there is an evaluation framework that is agreed upon institutionally, this quotation illustrates the responsibility of each teacher to question their own preconceptions and evaluation habits. There is also an attempt to emphasize the evaluation of contents rather than focusing on the form, which means that what is being expressed by a student should be considered separately from how it is being expressed. Here the issues of academic culture and written versus oral culture re-emerge. The academic tradition places the emphasis on the evaluation of products, and these products are almost always written. As mentioned before, efforts are already made to move from product-based evaluation to evaluating the learning process as a whole, but some of the interviewees also expressed the necessity to develop a way in which the oral tradition could be taken advantage of in the evaluation process. The evaluation practices of the Master's Program are certainly more sensitive to the cultural diversity of the students than those practiced in universities more generally. However, the professionals' statements illustrate that an understanding of how evaluation could be truly intercultural is yet to be reached. In

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[43] "Mucho se trabaja en no hacer una comparación de unos con otros sino más de ver de dónde viene uno, qué puede uno y cuánto se esfuerza o cuánto se desafía esa persona. En realidad, lo que creo se evalúa más es el esfuerzo que hace la persona que se ve en distintas maneras, no es un esfuerzo porque solo estudia sino porque se interesa, pregunta, pide ayuda, intenta a hacerlo aunque se equivoca ¿no? Esas actitudes más que conocimiento o habilidades. Creo que va por allí pero, también es difícil, no es fácil porque uno está acostumbrado a calificar a un producto. Entonces si lees un texto [...] tienes un estándar en la cabeza aunque digas no debo. Muchas veces es tu propio estándar, o el estándar de otros alumnos que has tenido, no es un estándar de la cultura o de una persona equis. Requiere bastante reflexión eso siempre pero el intento es no tener una mirada para todos sino miradas individuales, que contemplen también [...] cuáles son las, vidas anteriores que han tenido [...]. Todas las condiciones que trae el alumno para ver qué se le puede exigir y hacia dónde se mueve." (W2)

relation to the previously discussed contents, methodologies and materials, evaluation is perhaps the least developed area when it comes to the creation of intercultural practices.

5. Conclusions

The aim of this thesis has been to examine how the concept of interculturality is defined and how interculturality is manifested in the educational practices of the Master's Programme in Intercultural Bilingual Education in Bolivia. I have approached the research questions through the thematic interviews of eight professionals working in the Master's Programme or in the field of Intercultural Bilingual Education in Bolivia. The interviews were analyzed using the method of abductive or data-driven content analysis.

I started by offering an overview of the educational and historical context in which the Bolivian IBE has developed. The contextualization also included a presentation of the 1994 Educational Reform and its effects on IBE. Since the interviews are from 2004, the focus of the research has been the first half of the 21st century, although I have also included a short section on changes that have occurred during the presidency of Evo Morales. The Master's Programme in Intercultural Bilingual Education as well as the PROEIB Andes organization were presented. The objective of Chapter 2. was to illustrate the change that has been occurring in Bolivia with regard to the relationship between education and the enormous cultural and linguistic diversity of the country.

The theoretical framework presented in Chapter 3 consisted of two parts, the first

one dedicated to the definitions of the concepts most relevant for the understanding of the research theme: culture, culture and education, multiculturalism and interculturality, and multicultural and intercultural education. In the second part of the theoretical framework I presented Krystyna Bleszynska's (2008) "Four basic paradigms for intercultural education" and James A. Banks' (1998; 2001a) "Five dimensions of multicultural education". Bleszynska's model was chosen to illustrate the shift in societal and educational paradigm that is taking place in Bolivia while that of Banks' helps to understand the different aspects of educational practices that should be considered in the implementation of multicultural or intercultural education.

In line with the chosen method of analysis, the analytical categories were not derived from theory, but were based on the data. Following the research questions, Chapter 4. was dedicated to the analysis of the professionals' conceptualizations of interculturality and their views on how interculturality relates to the contents, methods, materials and evaluation in the Master's Programme. A recurring and very interesting theme related to each of these dimensions of educational practices was the relationship between academic culture and interculturality. The tension between the standardizing and even assimilatory power of academic practices and the diversifying demand of interculturality is a major challenge to IBE especially at the level of higher education. In my opinion, this topic in particular would require further research.

The interviewees presented a vast variety of different ways to define interculturality. Instead of seeking consensus on what is meant by interculturality, the concept itself is inherently about negotiating between a variety of perspectives and demands. The

meaning of interculturality differs according to context and it requires a continuous, dynamic process of conceptualization and re-conceptualization in which all the different actors concerned should participate. I divided the definitions into a macro-social and a micro-social category, of which the former is comprised of those approaches to interculturality that place the emphasis on the societal or inter-group level, while in the micro-social category the focus is on the individual. This categorization corresponds fairly well to what Medina-López-Portillo & Sinnigen (2009: 250) have described as the Latin American interculturality discourse (concurs with the macro-social category) as opposed to the intercultural competencies discourse (concurs with the micro-social category) that is common in the U.S. Those perspectives, in which interculturality was seen primarily as a relationship and exchange between groups of people that are different in terms of ethnicity, culture or religion or as a way of managing diversity in a society, reflect to a large extent the approaches found in the academic literature of many countries. The religious dimension, although not completely absent, was mentioned by only one interviewee, which might indicate that religious difference is not perceived as one of the central issues in the Bolivian interculturality discourse. An especially salient feature was the emphasis the professionals placed on politics, power relations and conflict as inherent to the concept, conflict and inequality as opposed to a Western individual competence-centered approach to interculturality.

The interviewees' perspectives with regards to important contents for IBE at university level were also multiple. The content integration dimension was also unanimously declared as the one in which most of the development has been accomplished in Bolivian IBE, including the Master's Programme. This confirms Banks' statement of content integration usually being the first step in the

development of multicultural education, since it can be achieved with relatively little effort and does not require a profound restructuring of teacher's working methods. The important contents according to the interviewees were divided into four categories: 1. Local or indigenous knowledge and learning processes, 2. Attitude development, 3. Politics, conflict management and social policy, 4. Indigenous languages. The content areas that were mentioned most often by the professionals were the first two, and they were consequently given more attention in the analysis. In accordance to the delimitation of issues related to bilingualism outside this piece of research, the fourth category was excluded from the analysis.

Related to content integration is the common risk of teachers simplifying or folklorizing cultural manifestations and reproducing in class those that are the easiest to incorporate, such as music and art. According to research this is a universal phenomenon wherever intercultural education is introduced, and the professional's views confirm that Bolivia is no exception. Overcoming this problem requires that teachers develop a more profound understanding of culture as a dynamic process, as well as the adoption of interculturality as a transversal theme instead of an isolated addition to an already-existing curriculum. Attitude development was another dimension of intercultural education that the professionals considered to be of highest importance. A characteristic feature of the Latin American interculturality discourse seems to be the close connection established between attitudes and identity affirmation. Although attitude development is promoted in the Master's Programme through a variety of practices that largely correspond to Allport's Contact hypothesis (1954, cited in Banks 2001a: 21), the interviewees stated that even more work in this area is necessary. In correspondence related to the definition of interculturality in terms of power relations and societal inequality, the

professionals expressed the need for a more comprehensive study of politics, conflict management and social policy in order to prepare the Master's Programme students for their later work as active agents in different arenas related to IBE.

The main issue of the Section on methodologies was the question of how teaching methods could be diversified to incorporate elements or practices from indigenous knowledge construction and sharing processes. While the professionals were eager to admit that the development of alternative teaching methods for IBE is of great importance, the overall opinion was that such methods do not yet exist apart from in isolated but interesting experiments such as the "pedagogical couple". There are, however, clear signals that the interculturality discourse within Bolivian IBE is shifting from content integration towards methodological concerns, and it is in this area that the greatest development potential of IBE lies. The intercultural methodology applied in the Master's Programme has so far relied on the principles of constructivist and cooperative learning. If the aim of IBE is to create new intercultural teaching methods, a profound rethinking of pedagogical processes and their relationship to more holistic communitarian teaching and learning is required. In this way Banks' dimension of Equity pedagogy seems too limited an approach and is probably better suited for Western immigration-based contexts of school diversity than Bolivian IBE. Practical intercultural experiences and "learning by doing" were also emphasized as crucial learning methods both in primary level IBE and the Master's Programme. The practical and theoretical aspects are perhaps best joined during the field work periods of the Master's Programme students. The question of oral vs. written culture was another intriguing issue that emerged related to both methodological concerns and the relationship between academic and indigenous knowledge transmission practices. While some of the methods used in the Master's

Programme such as sociodrama try to take advantage of the oral tradition of the indigenous cultures, this was often mentioned as an aspect which could be further developed.

The oral tradition was also mentioned with regards to IBE teaching materials. According to the professionals, radio and video have great potential as IBE instruction materials, and their use has already provided some positive experiences. Material development was also one of the areas invested in after the 1994 Reform. From another perspective, the interviewees also stated that teachers should not become too material dependant and emphasis should be placed on the creative use of natural materials and whatever resources are available. In this sense, diversifying the materials is easier at primary school level: traditional academic literature has still a prominent role within the Master's Programme. This is due to the requirements of the accrediting University: another example of the confrontation between academic culture and IBE's commitment to diversity. The case of evaluation is similar. The evaluation process has to meet the requirements of the University while at the same time respect the institutional standard agreed upon within PROEIB Andes. A third factor is the individual disposition of each teacher. At the level of institutional standards the evaluation practices of the Master's Programme challenge the traditional academic evaluation standards based on products over processes and form over content. The professionals stated that there is an attempt to evaluate students' progress holistically and on an individual basis. These holistic and process-based evaluation practices concur with those presented in intercultural education literature (such as the evaluation criteria of María Jesús Vicén 1992, cited in Muñoz Sedano, 1997: 198).

In general the conceptualization of interculturality and the way it is reflected in the educational practices of the Master's Programme in Intercultural Bilingual Education is still, to a great extent, based on Western academic tradition. The academic tradition is also a significant hindrance to the creation of intercultural practices at the level of higher education. There is, however, a constant effort from the part of the actors in the field to diversify contents, methods, materials and evaluation practices to incorporate practices based on indigenous traditions. This is a challenge not least because all the IBE professionals themselves are products of the same education that they are now trying to reinvent. With this in mind, and in the interest of respecting the founding principles of interculturality (such as diversity and dialogue), the development of IBE cannot be left solely at the hands of academic professionals. The input of students, parents, communities and their elders as well as indigenous organization activists is needed conjointly and across national borders. IBE and the Master's Programme is still very much a work in progress and its future development is shaped by the efforts of all concerned. Another great challenge is posed by the unstable political climate in Bolivia, in the context of which any kind of long-term visions for IBE are at best little more than just hopeful speculations.

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Appendix 1: Interview guide

Background of the interviewees: How did the interviewees end up working within the field of Intercultural Bilingual Education?

Contents of IBE: What kinds of contents are important in IBE, especially in higher education?

Materials: What kinds of materials are necessary for IBE and the Master's Programme, and how could these materials better reflect interculturality?

Intercultural methodology: How could indigenous knowledge construction and sharing practices be incorporated in IBE?

Evaluation: What kind of evaluation practices that differ from the academic tradition have been adopted in the Master's Programme?