

**TOWARDS AN INCLUSIVE PEDAGOGY TO CONFRONT
INTERLOCKING OPPRESSIONS IN SANTIAGO ATITLAN,
GUATEMALA**

Brisna Caxaj – Rowe

**A Thesis
in
The Department
of
Education**

**Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For the Degree of Master of Arts (Educational Studies) at
Concordia University
Montreal, Quebec, Canada**

March 2008

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Your file *Votre référence*
ISBN: 978-0-494-40803-2
Our file *Notre référence*
ISBN: 978-0-494-40803-2

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ABSTRACT

TOWARDS AN INCLUSIVE PEDAGOGY TO CONFRONT INTERLOCKING OPPRESSIONS IN SANTIAGO ATITLÁN, GUATEMALA

Brisna Caxaj – Rowe

Although 1994 to 2004 was declared the International Decade of Indigenous People, and the deepening of inequalities in Guatemala between indigenous and Ladinos (mixture of Mayan and Spaniards) got national and international attention, their situation did not improve. However, social inequalities in Guatemala are not just based on ethnicity, since the United Nations Human Development Program (PNUD, 2005) reports inequalities based on gender, social class and geographic location as well. Although these large inequalities are not just between indigenous and Ladinos, but are multidimensional, the Guatemalan government has responded by permitting multicultural education in a few schools.

This thesis describes the results of qualitative research to examine the various oppressions present in Santiago Atitlán, as a microcosm of Guatemalan society, and with the goal of identifying a pedagogy better able to resolve these inequalities. The outcomes of the study are firstly to provide evidence that there are indeed multiple oppressions interlocking in Santiago Atitlán. Secondly, because these multiple oppressions intersect in both society and the individual, a multicultural approach calling for more tolerance to diversity is shown not to be enough to address these complexities.

This study concludes that any meaningful pedagogy has to consider the historic roots of inequality, the multiple oppressions interlocking in society and the individual, and the positionality of subjects. It must encourage critical self-reflection as an exercise preparing teachers to work with students and members of the community if the goal is, in fact, to eradicate all types of discrimination.

RESÚMEN

HACIA UNA PEDAGOGÍA INCLUYENTE PARA ENFRENTAR LAS DESIGUALDADES CONVERGENTES EN SANTIAGO ATITLÁN, GUATEMALA

Brisna Caxaj – Rowe

Aunque de 1994 al 2004 fue declarado como La Década Internacional de los Pueblos Indígenas, y la intensificación de las desigualdades entre ladinos (mezcla de indígenas y españoles) e indígenas en Guatemala recibió atención nacional e internacional, su situación no mejoró. Sin embargo las desigualdades en Guatemala no son sólo entre estos dos grupos, ya que El Programa para el Desarrollo de las Naciones Unidas (PNUD, 2005) reporta desigualdades en base al género, la clase social y la ubicación geográfica también. Si bien estas grandes desigualdades no son sólo entre ladinos e indígenas y son multidimensionales, el gobierno guatemalteco ha respondido permitiendo la educación intercultural en algunas escuelas.

Esta tesis describe los resultados de una investigación cualitativa que examina las múltiples opresiones presentes y convergentes en Santiago Atitlán, como un microcosmo de la sociedad guatemalteca. Los resultados del estudio son proveer evidencia que ciertamente las múltiples opresiones están en intersección en Santiago Atitlán.

This thesis describes the results of qualitative research to examine the various oppressions present in Santiago Atitlán, as a microcosm of Guatemalan society, and with the goal of identifying a pedagogy better able to resolve these inequalities. The outcomes of the study are firstly to provide evidence that there are indeed multiple oppressions interlocking in Santiago Atitlán. Secondly, because these multiple oppressions intersect in both society and the individual, a multicultural approach calling for more tolerance to diversity is shown not to be enough to address these complexities.

This study concludes that any meaningful pedagogy has to consider the historic roots of inequality, the multiple oppressions interlocking in society and the individual, and the positionality of subjects. It must encourage critical self-reflection as an exercise preparing teachers to work with students and members of the community if the goal is, in fact, to eradicate all types of discrimination.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS AND DEDICATION

This study would not have been possible without the support of my immediate and extended family, parents, siblings and their families, friends and colleagues both in Guatemala and Canada.

I thank my husband Dr. Gerald Rowe, my children Brisna, Carla and Carlos, my brother Marco Tulio Alvarez, and my friend José Roberto, for their understanding, time and dedication in providing information, helping me discuss ideas, and reading and editing my work.

I am grateful to my parents, my siblings and their families, my former husband Carlos Leonel, his siblings and parents for their support, love and understanding throughout all my life. Their lives have inspired me to conduct this study and search for answers.

This research could not have been conducted without the help of AVANCSO (the Association for the Advancement of Social Sciences in Guatemala), specially the Ethnic Relations Team and its coordinator Elizabeth Moreno.

All participants in the study in Santiago Atitlán and especially the new school principal provided me with their disposition, time and stories. Their great contribution made it possible to conduct this investigation.

I also owe a debt of gratitude to all my professors at Concordia University, to Prof. Arpi Hamalian, Prof. Ayaz Naseem and especially to my advisor Prof. Joyce Barakett for sharing her knowledge and expertise with me. I thank her for her constant guidance, kind advices and ideas throughout all this process.

Finally this study is dedicated to Guatemalan people, to Canadian people and to people anywhere in the world that have spent their lives searching and struggling together for the eradication of inequalities.

AGRADECIMIENTO Y DEDICATORIA

Esta investigación no hubiera sido posible sin el apoyo de mi familia, mis amigos y colegas tanto en Guatemala como en Canadá.

Agradezco a mi esposo el Dr. Gerald Rowe, mis hijas Brisna y Carla, mi hijo Carlos, mi hermano Marco Tulio Álvarez, y mi amigo José Roberto por su comprensión, tiempo y dedicación al proporcionarme información, ayudarme a discutir ideas, leer, editar y acompañarme en mi trabajo.

También estoy agradecida con mis padres, mis hermanas, hermano y sus familias, mi primer esposo Carlos Leonel, sus padres, hermanos y familias por su apoyo, amor y comprensión a lo largo de mi vida. Sus ejemplos me han inspirado a conducir este estudio y a buscar respuestas.

Este estudio no se hubiera podido realizar sin la ayuda de AVANCSO (Asociación para el Avance de las Ciencias Sociales en Guatemala), especialmente el Equipo de Relaciones Étnicas y su coordinadora Elizabeth Moreno.

Todos los participantes en el estudio en Santiago Atitlán y especialmente el director de la escuela nueva me proporcionaron su buena disposición, tiempo y experiencias. Su valiosa contribución hizo posible que esta investigación se realizara.

También les debo gratitud a todos mis profesores de la Universidad de Concordia, a la Profesora Arpi Hamalian, al Profesor Ayaz Naseem y especialmente a mi asesora, Profesora Joyce Barakett por compartir su conocimiento y habilidades conmigo. Le agradezco su constante dirección, consejos e ideas a lo largo de este proceso.

Finalmente este estudio lo dedico al pueblo de Guatemala, de Canadá y de todas partes en el mundo que han dedicado sus vidas a la búsqueda y lucha por la eliminación de las desigualdades.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Declaration of the International Decade of Indigenous Peoples (1994 to 2004), as well as the 1996 Guatemalan Peace Accords have opened spaces for research into racism in Guatemala. However, the United Nations Human Development Program (PNUD, 2005) states that in spite of the fact that Guatemala is a middle income country it has a high malnutrition rate and one third of the population is illiterate. Guatemala's annual income is \$ 4,148 per capita. In secondary school, the participation rate is only 30 %. Towns with 80 % indigenous population obtain an average high school registration rate of 3 %. Moreover, the literacy rate for all men is 75.4 %, while the literacy rate for indigenous men is 60 %, and for indigenous women it is 30 %.

Although the big gaps in inequality are not just between Ladinos (mixture of Mayan and Spaniards) and indigenous people but also between males and females, urban and rural area, etc., the Guatemalan government permitted the implementation of a multicultural/ intercultural approach in some schools, hoping to diminish these big gaps between Ladinos and indigenous people. Multicultural/ intercultural approach promotes tolerance to difference and means an improvement in comparison to public education that is Ladino oriented. However, what is overlooked is that Guatemalan society not only discriminates against indigenous people, but also against women, the lower class, or in general marginalized people.

Statement of the problem

It is my belief that this multicultural approach to education in Guatemala was decided on without carefully examining and analyzing the multiple oppressions coexisting and interlocking in Guatemalan society, and without the intention of seriously eradicating oppressions. This approach only aims for a more peaceful coexistence and acceptance of all members of society, not to eradicate the roots of the problem.

For the purpose of this study, I carried out a qualitative approach to illustrate and discuss all oppressions present and intersecting in Santiago Atitlán. The understanding I gained through this process led me to conduct further interviews concerning the pedagogy implemented in the New School in Santiago Atitlán and teacher education.

I believe that because oppressions based on social class, gender, ethnicity, geographic location, etc. interlock in society and in the individual, an inclusive pedagogy is needed. This pedagogy needs to consider that the subject's positionality influences how oppressions are experienced. It also requires that teachers implementing this approach be properly trained. This education must include critical reflection as an essential exercise, and a constant interaction between experience and theoretical understanding.

Purpose of the study

In this research, I have observed, talked to, related to and worked with people in Santiago Atitlán. There are multiple oppressions at play in their daily lives and social contexts, in spite of the multicultural/intercultural approach taken in the New School in Santiago. The purpose of this study was to hopefully lend some understanding that in Guatemala the problem is not just racism but also other oppressions. This research aims to discuss a multiculturalism/intercultural approach as implemented in the New School, and the need for improved education for teachers.

The introduction includes the geographic location and brief history from Spanish colonization to the present, as well as a brief overview of education and a short history of Santiago Atitlán. I tie this brief overview with a discussion that European racism and male domination were brought to Guatemala by Spanish colonizers and reinforced by the education system, labor laws, the Church and everyday practices.

Chapter Two, "Review of Literature", discusses the types of pedagogy that provide the conceptual framework for this thesis. The types of pedagogy are presented in the way I understand they have evolved, ending with inclusive pedagogy that is a combination of all the previous pedagogies in the critical pedagogy school. In discussing feminist pedagogy I also discuss the concept of positionality. The purpose is to familiarize the reader with these pedagogies and make it easier to relate to the other chapters.

Chapter Three, "Methodology" introduces the qualitative approach I chose for this research, and also presents the opinions of thinkers inclined to the use of qualitative methods in educational research. I guide the reader through a discussion of the goal of

this study, the methods and instruments applied, and a rationale for the application of qualitative research. This chapter presents the research design for the study including all the tools and methods of analysis used, including issues related to the use of translators.

Chapter Four, “Anecdotes”, presents and discusses the subjects in this study, as well as my analysis of the anecdotes shared by the subjects. This provides supportive evidence for the interlocking of all oppressions in Santiago and the individual subjects. I discuss what I consider a more appropriate pedagogy matching the complexities of Guatemalan society. In this chapter I also suggest a few ideas from other pedagogues I have read about a more adequate education for teachers.

Chapter Five, “Conclusions and Recommendations”, briefly reviews the context in which this study takes place and provides conclusions from each chapter. I conclude that, after examining the outcomes of this study, an inclusive pedagogy implemented by properly trained teachers is necessary. This study recommends further research in teacher education as necessary to prepare a more appropriate education addressing the complexities of Guatemalan society.

Historical background

Guatemala’s location and historical background

Guatemala is bordered by Mexico to the northwest, Belize to the northeast, Honduras to the east, El Salvador to the southeast, and the Pacific Ocean to the south. Guatemala is a rich country in terms of its topography, geography and cultural diversity. Guatemala comprises 108,889 square kilometers with a population of 12.6 million (please see cartographic map, p. 64). There are three basic zones in the country: highlands formed by a chain of volcanic mountains that crosses Guatemala from west to east, forest-covered lowland, and a coastal plain along the Pacific (Pan American Health Organization, 2002).

Although defining Mayans, *Ladinos* (non indigenous) or other groups is a political question, many scholars believe that Mayans are between 50 to 60 % of the population. Mayans comprise twenty different language groups, which include K’iche, Kaqchikel, Q’eqchi, Mam, Poqomam, Poqomchí, Tz’utujil, Mam, Achi, Uspanteko,

Sakapulteko, Sipakapense, Tektiteko, Poti, Chuj, Q'anjob'al, Akateko, Awakateko, Ch'orti and Ixil (see linguistic map, p 63). This figure includes a very small percentage of *garifunas* and *xincas*. Europeans and those of Asian origin are less than 1 %, and Ladinos are between 30 to 40%. According to Cohen-Mitchell (2005) Ladinos are defined as "everyone else", however the majority of them are of mixed Mayan and Spanish origin. Some define *mestizos* as the mixture of Mayan and Spanish. Garifunas, of African descent, live on the Caribbean coast of Guatemala, while indigenous Xincas live in the eastern part of Guatemala.

Although more than 60 % of the Guatemalan population depends on agriculture for their survival, "roughly 2 % of the population, the elite, owns 70 % of all productive land" (Figueroa, 1980). It is evident that European racism, poverty and injustices have their roots in the colonization process and the history of Guatemala, as described in the remainder of this section.

When the Spaniards conquered the indigenous peoples in Guatemala the latter were not a unified mass without conflicts. According to Carmack (2001), by 1250 Mayans had been already invaded by Toltec's and were organized into five groups: K'iche, Poqomam, Tz'utujil, Mam and Kaqchikel. The K'iche was the dominant group, supported by Kaqchikels. By 1470 the latter group took advantage of revolts against K'iches and initiated their own military campaign to control other groups. Mayan society was hierarchical, comprising leaders and ordinary Mayans. However, the conquest and colonization placed the twenty Mayan ethnic groups at the bottom of the social scale as cheap labor, a practice that has continued to the present.

Martinez (1980) points out that at the top of the scale were the Spanish conquistadors who made Mayans their slaves. Slavery was eventually abolished in 1544 when a law was implemented whereby Mayans were distributed amongst the conquistadors and their descendants, not as slaves but as a semi-free labor force on large plantations. Mayans were assigned communal lands so they could pay taxes to the Spanish monarchy. Under this new system Mayans were doubly exploited – by the Spanish monarchy, and by the conquerors and their descendants.

According to Figueroa (1980), the political independence that occurred in 1821 did not change the economic and social structure of Guatemala. The only change was that

Mayans no longer had to pay tax to the Spanish monarchy. Another important period for the institutionalization of racism was that of the various liberal governments of the later nineteenth century, in which laws were enacted that tried to convert semi-free labor to waged labor. These laws facilitated the opportunity for very few Ladino families to become owners of plantations and move up the socioeconomic scale to form part of the elite ruling Guatemala. In 1952 a democratically elected, revolutionary government initiated the Agrarian Reform Law through which many large plantations were expropriated and redistributed to poor Mayans and Ladinos. Because this action affected powerful landowners from the United States, the U.S. government supported an invasion of Guatemala. From 1954 to 1985 military dictatorships supported by the U.S. ruled Guatemala, and in 1960 the first guerilla movement began. In this sense Casaús argues:

...revolutionary organizations massively incorporated peasants and indigenous people and included struggle against racism as one of its key revindications... This brought a commotion amongst the elites and brought the phantom of the indio [pejorative word for indigenous] from colonial times... as well as] the repulsion the army [as and institution] had against indigenous... [This was the result of] structural-historic racism in the country (Casaús, Dávila, Romero, and Saéñz, 2006, p. 55)

Throughout the ensuing counter-insurgency war, racism with its most cruel face ruled Guatemala; 440 villages were destroyed, and thousands of people were killed, kidnapped and tortured. According to the Truth Commission (CEH, 1999), during thirty years of war there were 42,275 victims, 23,675 executions, and 6,159 forced disappearances. Mayans were 83 % of the victims.

Negotiations between the guerrillas and the government culminated with the signing of Peace Accords in 1996. Although these accords opened spaces to work against racism, a real transformation of the educational system, to democratize it in general and de-center Ladino education in particular, has not yet taken place. Very few elementary and secondary schools by their own initiative have adopted some form of education that gives room to one of the Mayan cultures. As a general practice schools operate under a

mono-cultural educational program based on Ladino culture. In the following section I briefly discuss the history of Guatemalan education and its importance in reinforcing racism in a society based on power relations.

A brief history of Guatemalan education

During colonial times there were two education systems, one for Spaniards and their descendants and another one for indigenous people. For the former group academic education was provided in Spanish. Catholic priests were in charge of Christianization of indigenous people. The Spanish crown had ordered priests to teach Spanish to indigenous people so they would be ready for Christianization. Instead Catholic priests learned Mayan languages and indoctrinated indigenous people in their own language. Priests wanted to ensure that they were indispensable mediators and translators between the crown and indigenous people. Indigenous education did not intend to provide learners with skills or instruments for development; on the contrary it was intended to prepare them for subjugation as an obedient labor force. Indigenous people preserved their mother languages as a way of resistance against Spanish imposition (Martinez, 1980).

Since 1935 a number of education programs have attempted to assimilate the indigenous peoples to Spanish language education. The 102 schools that provide teacher education do not provide training for bilingual education or training for rural area schools. Some programs have been initiated by the Mayan movement, which is led mainly by the urban educated Mayan minority. Some claim that these Mayan activists do not represent the large majority of rural indigenous people. However, these activists argue that most of them grew up in indigenous towns and return to their towns regularly, thus staying in touch with rural reality (Cojti-Cuxil, 1996). An important characteristic of this movement is their avoidance of political topics such as land reform. From 1980 to 1984 military governments attempted to integrate indigenous people into bilingual education programs as a way of diverting their support from the guerilla movement. This is why pilot projects were in place in the most important areas where the armed conflict existed (AVANCSO, 2004).

Presently education reaches people, or not, depending on a number of variables, in particular ethnicity, gender, social class, and geographic location. The United Nations

Human Development Program (PNUD, 2005) states that in spite of the fact that Guatemala is a middle income country, it has a high malnutrition rate and one third of the population is illiterate. This document classifies as “middle income” countries that have an annual income of US\$766 to US\$9,385 per capita. In Guatemala the average annual income is US\$ 4,148.

Table 1: Educational registration rate

Level	Registration Rate
Pre- Kinder and Kinder	41.3 %
Elementary	87 %
Junior High School	30 %
Senior High School (all)	15.7 %
Senior High School (towns with 80% indigenous population)	3 %

As shown in Table 1 (PNUD, 2002-2005), pre-kindergarten and kindergarten schools serve only 41.3 % of the population of an age eligible to attend. Moreover the rate is lower in towns with mainly indigenous people. In primary school 87 % of the eligible population registers, but only 65 % of these get to grade five. These rates vary depending on the linguistic group attending school. In 2000, Kaqchikels had 88.1 % registration rate in primary school while Q’eqchies had 72 %. What is common in all ethnic groups is that more boys than girls are in school.

In secondary school the participation rate is only 30 %. Junior high covers less than 50 % of the population and in some places it does not even reach 30 %. Although 60 % of the population lives in rural areas, only 24.5 % of junior high schools are located in these areas. Similar to the previous levels of education, towns with mainly indigenous population have lower rates. Senior high schools obtain a 15.7 % registration rate, and only 58 % of municipalities have this level of high school. Important cities such as Guatemala and Quetzaltenango have 32.5 % and 24.1 % rates of registration respectively, while other cities do not even reach 10 %. Towns with 80 % indigenous population

obtain an average senior high school registration rate of 3 %. If the gender variable is considered, school registration rates are lower for women.

Table 2: Literacy rate by gender

Gender	Literacy Rate
Males	75.4 %
Females	63.3 %
Indigenous males	60 %
Indigenous females	30 %

As shown above Table 2 (PNUD, 2005), the literacy rate for men is 75.4 % while it is 63.3 % for women. The literacy rate for indigenous women is 30 % and for indigenous men is 60 %. This report also states that the participation rate for education, including elementary, secondary and post-secondary education, is 63 % for men and 59 % for women.

History of Santiago Atitlán

Santiago Atitlán is one of the municipalities that form the Department (province) of Sololá. It is located 162 km west of Guatemala City. Santiago Atitlán has 40, 000 people and occupies 136 square km. Indigenous people constitute 96 % of the population, and the urban area contains 75.6 % of the population (Reanda, 2006).

According to Sosa (1998) the main activity of Santiago Atitlán is agriculture. The people produce corn, beans and coffee for family consumption, and vegetables and tulle for commerce. Some emigrate to the south of the country as seasonal workers on large plantations. Others work in services, carpentry, painting, jewelry and hand weaving. Their business relations are with cities at the south of the country and Guatemala City.

The counter insurgency campaign mentioned in the history of Guatemala was carried out by the army. Thus military bases were established in areas where armed conflict was taking place. Santiago Atitlán was one of these areas, where the role of the army bases was to control the population and prevent people from supporting the guerrilla movement. The so-called Civil Self-defense Patrols (PAC) were organized to

accomplish this aim. Under duress people in Santiago accepted patrolling their town up to a certain point in time. PAC people were at the front in patrolling or combating. They were not given arms or, if they were, the arms were not working properly. Sanctions for not participating in self-defense patrols or not doing their patrolling were incarceration, torture or death. The following quote exemplifies this point: "...many were killed because they did not do the hour they said ..." (Sosa, 1998, p. 71). Catholic priest Stanley Rother and the Santiago Catholic Action group had a social and spiritual mission, promoting knowledge and defense of human rights. Because of their work many of them were killed. In January, 1980, ten men were killed, and Father Rother was assassinated in July, 1980. Under these circumstances more and more people deserted the patrols, and in 1985 they were dissolved.

In December 1990 army members dressed in civilian clothes attempted to kidnap 19 year old Andrés Ajuchán, however his neighbors impeded this action. They also captured the kidnapers and found that they were not delinquents but soldiers. Santiago Atitlán residents already affronted by a history of violations of human rights by the army searched for solutions. Although they asked the mayor for help he declined at first. They asked for help from the *cabecera* [an indigenous religious authority] who convoked the entire population to an open municipal council. In the end the mayor participated, and it was unanimously agreed to request to have the army base removed from town. From that time this space is in place for a direct communication between the people and authorities. Development, security and other problems have been discussed in this space.

CAPÍTULO I INTRODUCCIÓN

La declaración de la Década Internacional de los Pueblos Indígenas del año 1994 al 2004, así como la firma de los Acuerdos de Paz en Guatemala en 1996, han abierto espacios para la investigación del racismo en Guatemala. Sin embargo el Programa para el Desarrollo Humano de las Naciones Unidas (PNUD, 2005) señala que a pesar que Guatemala es un país de ingreso medio, este cuenta con un alto porcentaje de desnutrición y una tercera parte de su población es analfabeta. El ingreso anual en Guatemala es \$ 4,148. En la escuela secundaria el porcentaje de participación es solamente 30 %. Pueblos con un 80 % de población indígena obtienen un promedio de inscripción en la escuela secundaria del 3 %. Aún más el porcentaje de alfabetismo en los hombres es 75.4 %, mientras que en los hombres indígenas es 60 %, y en las mujeres indígenas es solo el 30 %.

A pesar de que las grandes diferencias en las desigualdades no son solo entre los ladinos y los indígenas sino también entre los hombres y las mujeres, los habitantes del área urbana y los habitantes del área rural, etcétera, el gobierno guatemalteco permitió la implementación del multiculturalismo o interculturalidad en algunas escuelas, esperando así disminuir las grandes brechas de la desigualdad entre ladinos e indígenas. El multiculturalismo o interculturalidad promueve la tolerancia hacia la diferencia y significa un avance en comparación con la educación pública que es de orientación ladina. Sin embargo lo que se ignora es que la sociedad guatemalteca no solo discrimina a los indígenas sino también a las mujeres, la clase pobre, etc.

Definición del problema

Creo que la decisión de aplicar multiculturalismo o interculturalidad en Guatemala fue tomada sin examinar cuidadosamente la diversidad de discriminaciones coexistentes y entrelazadas en la sociedad guatemalteca, y sin tener la intención seria de erradicar estas opresiones. Este abordaje solo espera una coexistencia pacífica entre todos los miembros de la sociedad, sin intentar la eliminación de la raíz del problema.

De acuerdo al propósito de este estudio, el método cualitativo para la investigación se utilizó para ilustrar y discutir todas las opresiones presentes y en

intersección en Santiago Atitlán (véase el capítulo dos). El entendimiento obtenido a través de este proceso me indicó la necesidad de conducir más entrevistas en relación a la pedagogía implementada en la Escuela Nueva en Santiago y la formación docente de los maestros.

Creo que debido a que la discriminación en base a la clase social, el género, la adscripción étnica, ubicación geográfica, etcétera, están en intersección en la sociedad y en el individuo, una pedagogía incluyente es necesaria. Esta pedagogía necesita considerar que la posicionalidad del sujeto influye en la intensidad de las opresiones. También se requiere que los maestros que aplican este abordaje estén propiamente preparados. Dicha formación pedagógica debe incluir la auto-reflexión crítica como un ejercicio esencial, así como una constante interacción entre vivencias y entendimiento teórico.

Propósito del estudio

En esta investigación, he observado, hablado, relacionado y trabajado con sujetos en Santiago Atitlán. En este lugar hay muchas opresiones en juego en la vida diaria de los habitantes y en el contexto social, a pesar de la interculturalidad aplicada por la Escuela Nueva. El propósito de este estudio es alcanzar un mayor entendimiento de que el problema en Guatemala no es solo el racismo sino también otras opresiones. Esta investigación persigue discutir la interculturalidad como se aplica en la Escuela Nueva, y la necesidad de mejorar la formación pedagógica de los maestros.

La introducción incluye la ubicación geográfica, una sobrevista breve de la educación y un resumen corto de la historia de Santiago Atitlán. Conecto esta breve sobrevista con una discusión de que el racismo europeo y la dominación machista fueron traídos a Guatemala por los colonizadores españoles y han sido reforzados por el sistema educativo, las leyes laborales, la iglesia y las prácticas de la vida cotidiana.

El capítulo dos, “Revisión bibliográfica”, discute los tipos de pedagogía que proporcionan el marco conceptual de esta tesis. Los tipos de pedagogía se presentan en la forma en que la autora de esta tesis entiende su formación y evolución, terminando con la pedagogía incluyente que es una combinación de todas las pedagogías previas en la

corriente de la pedagogía crítica. Al discutir la pedagogía feminista, también se discute el concepto de posicionalidad. El propósito es familiarizar al lector con estas pedagogías y hacer más fácil su relación con los otros capítulos.

El capítulo tres, “Metodología”, presenta el abordaje cualitativo que escogí para esta investigación, y también presenta las opiniones de pensadores quienes se inclinan al uso de métodos cualitativos en la investigación en el campo de la educación. Este capítulo guía al lector en la discusión del objetivo de esta investigación, los métodos e instrumentos utilizados, y la justificación del uso de la investigación cualitativa. Aquí se presenta el diseño de la investigación incluyendo todos los instrumentos y métodos de análisis usados incluyendo asuntos relacionados al uso de traductores.

El capítulo cuatro, “Anécdotas”, presenta y discute a los sujetos participantes en este estudio, así como mi análisis de las anécdotas relatadas por los sujetos. Estas anécdotas proporcionan la evidencia de que todas las opresiones están en intersección en Santiago y en el individuo. También discuto lo que considero una pedagogía que responde a las complejidades de la sociedad guatemalteca. En este capítulo también sugiero unas cuantas ideas en relación a la formación docente de los maestros. Estas ideas las obtuve al leer a otros pedagogos.

El capítulo cinco, “Conclusiones y recomendaciones”, brevemente revisa el contexto en el cual este estudio se realiza y provee conclusiones por cada capítulo. El estudio concluye que, después de examinar los resultados de la investigación, una pedagogía incluyente aplicada por maestros propiamente formados es necesaria. Este estudio sugiere que una mayor investigación en la formación docente es necesaria para poder preparar un programa de formación pedagógica que responda a las complejidades de la sociedad guatemalteca.

Revisión histórica

Ubicación geográfica y revisión histórica de Guatemala

Guatemala está rodeada por México al noroeste, Belice al noreste y Honduras el este, El Salvador al sureste y el Océano Pacífico al sur. Guatemala es un país rico por su topografía, geografía y diversidad cultural. Guatemala ocupa 108,889 kilómetros cuadrados con una población de 12.6 millones de habitantes (por favor vea el mapa

cartográfico, p. 64). Hay tres regiones básicas en el país: la región montañosa formada por una cadena volcánica que cruza Guatemala del oeste hacia el este, las tierras bajas cubiertas de bosque y la región costera a lo largo del Océano Pacífico (Organización Pan Americana para la Salud, 2002).

Aunque dar una definición de los mayas, ladinos, o cualquier otro grupo es una cuestión política, muchos académicos creen que los mayas constituyen entre el 50 y el 60 % de la población. Los mayas incluyen veinte diferentes grupos lingüísticos como sigue: K'iche, Kaqchikel, Q'eqchi, Mam, Poqomam, Poqomchí, Tz'utujil, Mam, Achi, Uspanteko, Sakapulteko, Sipakapense, Tektiteko, Poti, Chuj, Q'anjob'al, Akateko, Awakateko, Ch'orti and Ixil (vea el mapa lingüístico, p. 63). Este porcentaje incluye una cantidad pequeña de garífunas y xincas. Europeos y asiáticos constituyen menos del 1 %, y ladinos son el 30 o 40 %. De acuerdo a Cohen-Mitchell (2005) ladinos son definidos como "los demás", sin embargo la mayoría de ellos vienen de la mezcla entre español y mayas. Los garífunas son de origen africano y viven en la costa caribeña de Guatemala, mientras que los xincas viven en el oriente de Guatemala.

A pesar de que más del 60 % de la población depende de la agricultura para su sobrevivencia, "aproximadamente el 2% de la población, la élite, son dueños del 70 % de la tierra productiva" (Figueroa, 1980). Es evidente, que el racismo europeo, la pobreza y las injusticias tienen sus raíces en el proceso de colonización y la historia de Guatemala, como se describe en los siguientes párrafos de esta sección.

Cuando los españoles conquistaron a los pueblos indígenas en Guatemala, estos últimos no eran una masa homogénea sin conflictos. De acuerdo a Carmack (2001), por el año 1250 los mayas ya habían sido invadidos por los toltecas y organizados en cinco grupos: K'iche, Poqomam, Tz'utujil, Mam y Kaqchikel. Los k'ichés constituían el grupo dominante ayudados por los kacqchikeles. En 1470 este último grupo tomó ventaja de las rebeliones en contra de los k'ichés e inició su propia campaña militar para controlar a los otros grupos. La sociedad maya era jerárquica aglutinando mayas a diferentes niveles de la sociedad. Sin embargo, la conquista y colonización colocaron a los veinte grupos mayas en lo más bajo de la escala social como fuerza de trabajo barata, una práctica que ha continuado hasta el presente.

Martínez (1980) señala que en lo más alto de la escala social estaban los españoles conquistadores que esclavizaron a los mayas. La esclavitud fue eventualmente abolida en 1544 cuando se implementó una ley (encomienda y repartimiento) por la cual los mayas eran distribuidos a los conquistadores y sus descendientes no como esclavos sino como fuerza de trabajo semi-libre en las plantaciones. A los mayas se les asignaron tierras comunales para que pudieran pagar impuestos a la monarquía española. Bajo este nuevo sistema los mayas eran doblemente explotados, por la monarquía española y los conquistadores y sus descendientes.

Según Figueroa (1980), la independencia política que ocurrió en 1821 no cambió la estructura económica y social de Guatemala. El único cambio fue que los mayas ya no tenían que pagar impuesto a la monarquía española. Otro período importante en la institucionalización del racismo fue la de varios gobiernos liberales del siglo diecinueve, cuando se decretaron leyes que trataron de convertir la fuerza de trabajo semi-libre en fuerza de trabajo asalariada. Estas leyes facilitaron que unas pocas familias ladinas se convirtieran en dueñas de fincas y posteriormente pasaran a formar parte de la élite gobernante en Guatemala. En 1952 un gobierno revolucionario democráticamente electo, inició la ley de reforma agraria en la que muchas plantaciones fueron expropiadas y redistribuidas a los pobres mayas y ladinos. Debido a que esta acción afectó intereses de poderosos latifundistas de origen estadounidense, el gobierno de Estados Unidos apoyó una invasión a Guatemala. Desde 1954 a 1985 dictaduras militares apoyadas por Estados Unidos gobernaron Guatemala, y en 1960 el primer movimiento guerrillero surgió. En este sentido Casaús argumenta:

....organizaciones [revolucionarias] masivamente incorporaron a la población indígena en sus filas y asumieron el racismo como uno de sus puntos clave de sus reivindicaciones...Con ello se produjo una conmoción en las élites de poder y el fantasma del indio irredento apareció de nuevo...[así como] el profundo desprecio de los militares [como institución] hacia los indígenas...[esto era el resultado de] el racismo histórico estructural del país...(Casaús, Dávila, Romero y Sáenz, 2006, p. 55)

Por medio de la guerra contrainsurgente, el racismo con su cara más cruel gobernó Guatemala; 440 aldeas fueron destruidas, y miles de personas fueron asesinadas, secuestradas y torturadas. Según la Comisión de la Verdad (CEH, 1999), durante treinta años de guerra hubieron 42,275 víctimas, 23,675 fueron ejecutados extrajudicialmente, y 6,159 secuestrados. Mayas constituyeron el 83 % de las víctimas.

Negociaciones entre la guerrilla y el gobierno culminaron con la firma de Acuerdos de Paz en 1996. A pesar de que estos acuerdos abrieron espacios para trabajar en contra el racismo, una transformación real del sistema educativo, para democratizar en general y quitar del centro la educación ladina en particular, aún no ha ocurrido. Muy pocas escuelas primarias y secundarias por su propia iniciativa han adoptado alguna forma de educación que le da espacio a una de las culturas mayas. Como práctica general las escuelas operan bajo el programa educativo mono-cultural basado en la cultura ladina. En la siguiente sección discuto brevemente la historia de la educación guatemalteca y su importancia en el reforzamiento del racismo en una sociedad basada en relaciones de poder.

Breve historia de la educación guatemalteca

Durante la época colonial habían dos sistemas educativos, uno para los españoles y sus descendientes y otra para los indígenas. Para el primer grupo la educación era académica y en español. Sacerdotes católicos estaban a cargo de la cristianización de los pueblos indígenas. La corona española había ordenado a los sacerdotes que enseñaran español a los indígenas para alistarlos para la cristianización. En su lugar los sacerdotes católicos aprendieron los idiomas mayas e inductinaron a los indígenas en sus lenguas maternas. Los sacerdotes querían asegurarse como mediadores y traductores indispensables entre la corona y los pueblos indígenas. La educación para los indígenas no tenía la intención de equipar a los indígenas habilidades e instrumentos para su desarrollo; al contrario su intención era prepararlos para subyugarlos y convertirlos en fuerza de trabajo obediente. Los indígenas preservaron su idioma materno como forma de resistencia en contra la imposición española (Martínez, 1980).

Desde 1935 un número de programas educativos han intentado asimilar a los pueblos indígenas a la educación en español. Las 102 escuelas que proporcionan

formación docente, no incluyen educación bilingüe o preparación para el trabajo en escuelas en el área rural. Algunos programas han sido iniciados por el movimiento maya, el cual es dirigido por una minoría maya educada y urbana. Algunos argumentan que estos activistas mayas no representan la mayoría indígena rural. Sin embargo, estos activistas argumentan que ellos crecieron en sus pueblos y que regularmente regresan a ellos, manteniendo así contacto con su realidad rural (Cojti-Cuxil, 1996). Una característica importante de este movimiento es su evasión a los temas políticos como la reforma agraria. De 1980 a 1984 gobiernos militares intentaron integrar a los pueblos indígenas a programas de educación bilingüe para distraerlos y evitar que los indígenas apoyaran al movimiento guerrillero. Esta es la razón por la cual proyectos pilotos se establecieron en las áreas más importantes donde existía conflicto armado (AVANCSO, 2004).

Actualmente la educación llega a las personas, o no, dependiendo de un número de variables, en particular la adscripción étnica, el género, la clase social y la ubicación geográfica. El Programa para el Desarrollo Humano de las Naciones Unidas (PNUD, 2005) indica que a pesar de que Guatemala es un país de ingreso medio, este tiene un alto porcentaje de desnutrición y una tercera parte de su población es analfabeta. Este documento clasifica como países de ingreso medio a los que tienen un ingreso anual entre US \$ 766 y US \$ 9,385 por persona.

Cuadro No. 1: Porcentaje de inscripción escolar

Nivel	Porcentaje de inscripción
Preparatoria y párvulos	41.3 %
Primaria	87 %
Básico	30 %
Diversificado	15.7 %
Secundaria (pueblos con 80% de población indígena)	3 %

Según aparece en el Cuadro No. 1 (PNUD, 2002-2005), preparatoria y párvulos cubre solo al 41.3 % de la población elegible. Aún más el porcentaje es más bajo en los pueblos con población mayoritariamente indígena. En la escuela primaria solo el 87 % de la población elegible se inscribe, pero solo el 65 % de los que se inscriben llegan a grado cinco. Estos porcentajes varían dependiendo del grupo lingüístico que asiste a la escuela. En el año 2000 Kaqchikeles tenían un 88.1 % de inscripción en la primaria mientras que los Q'eqchies tenían un 72 %. Lo que es común en todos los grupos étnicos es que más niños que niñas van en la escuela.

En la escuela secundaria el porcentaje de participación es solo 30 %. A pesar de que el 60 % de la población vive en las áreas rurales, solo 24.5 % de las escuelas secundarias de básico están ubicadas en estas áreas. Al igual que los niveles de educación anteriores, pueblos con población mayoritariamente indígena tienen porcentajes menores. La escuela secundaria de diversificado tiene un 15.7 % de inscripción y solo un 58 % de los municipios tienen escuelas secundarias de este nivel. Ciudades importantes como Guatemala y Quetzaltenango tienen 32.5 % y 24.1 % de inscripción respectivamente, mientras que otras ciudades ni siquiera alcanzan un 10 %. Pueblos con un 80 % de población indígena obtienen un promedio de inscripción en estas escuelas de 3 %. Si la variable del género se considera, los niveles de inscripción son aún menores para las mujeres.

Cuadro No. 2: Porcentaje de alfabetización por género

Género	Porcentaje de alfabetización
Hombres	75.4 %
Mujeres	63.3 %
Hombres Indígenas	60 %
Mujeres Indígenas	30 %

En el Cuadro No. 2 (PNUD, 2005), el porcentaje de alfabetización en los hombres es 75.4 % mientras que en las mujeres es 63.3 %. El porcentaje de alfabetización en las mujeres indígenas es 30 %. Este reporte también indica que el porcentaje de participación

en la educación incluyendo primaria, secundaria y post-secundaria es 63 % en los hombres y 59 % en las mujeres.

Historia de Santiago Atitlán

Santiago Atitlán es una de los municipios que pertenecen al departamento de Sololá. Santiago Atitlán está ubicado a 162 Km. al oeste de la ciudad de Guatemala, cuenta con 40,000 habitantes y ocupa 136 Km. cuadrados. La población indígena constituye el 96 % de la población y el área urbana aloja el 75.6 % de la población (Reanda, 2006).

De acuerdo a Sosa (1998) la actividad principal de Santiago Atitlán es la agricultura. Los Santiagueños producen maíz, frijol y café para el consumo familiar, y hortalizas y tul para el comercio. Algunos emigran al sur del país como trabajadores temporales en los latifundios. Otros trabajan en servicios, carpintería, pintura, joyería y tejido manual. Sus relaciones comerciales son con el sur del país y la ciudad de Guatemala.

La campaña contrainsurgente mencionada en la historia de Guatemala fue ejecutada por el ejército. Así que bases militares fueron establecidas en áreas donde había conflicto armado. Santiago Atitlán fue una de estas áreas donde el papel de la base militar era controlar a la población y prevenir que apoyaran al movimiento guerrillero. Las llamadas patrullas de autodefensa civil (PAC) fueron organizadas para cumplir con este objetivo. Bajo presión el pueblo de Santiago Atitlán aceptó patrullar su propio pueblo hasta un cierto momento. Los miembros de las PAC iban al frente patrullando o combatiendo sin armas. Si acaso les daban armas, estas no funcionaban bien. Los castigos por no participar en las PAC o no cumplir con su turno eran la cárcel, tortura o muerte. La siguiente cita ejemplifica este punto: "...mataron a muchos porque no cumplían con la hora que decían..." (Sosa, 1998, p. 71). El sacerdote católico Stanley Rother y el grupo de acción católica tenían una misión social y espiritual, promover el conocimiento y la defensa de los derechos humanos. Debido a este trabajo muchos de ellos fueron asesinados. En enero de 1980, diez hombres fueron asesinados, y el padre Rother fue asesinado en julio de 1980. Bajo estas circunstancias más y más personas desertaban de las patrullas, y en 1985 fueron disueltas.

En diciembre de 1990 elementos del ejército vestidos de civiles intentaron secuestrar a Andrés Ajuchán de 19 años de edad, sin embargo sus vecinos impidieron esta acción. Ellos también capturaron a los secuestradores y encontraron que ellos no eran delincuentes sino soldados. Los residentes de Santiago Atitlán ya cansados de las violaciones a derechos humanos cometidas por el ejército buscaron soluciones. A pesar de que le pidieron ayuda al alcalde el la negó al principio. Ellos acudieron al cabecera del pueblo (autoridad religiosa maya) para que convocara a toda la población a un cabildo municipal abierto. Al final el alcalde del pueblo participó y se decidió por unanimidad pedir que el ejército se retirara del pueblo. Desde ese entonces este espacio sirve para la comunicación directa entre el pueblo y las autoridades. Desarrollo, seguridad y otros problemas se han discutido en este espacio.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

In this chapter I explore several pedagogies that analyze various approaches to racism. I include multicultural/intercultural education, radical pedagogy, critical pedagogy, antiracist pedagogy, feminist pedagogy, engaged pedagogy/black feminism, and inclusive pedagogy.

Multicultural education/Intercultural approach

The first approach is multicultural education, which is of liberal tendency and was institutionalized in Canada by the Trudeau government during the 1970s. Although this education stresses the need for more acceptance and sensitivity to minority groups it has been strongly criticized because it is more concerned with social control than real social change (Goli Rezai-Rashti, 1995). Some critics argue that Trudeau promoted multiculturalism especially to use it as an antidote to a strong nationalism that emerged in Quebec in 1970.

To address racism in Ontario, official policies have been implemented such as in Toronto where a policy on race relations was created in 1979. Although more than 40 boards of education in Ontario followed this idea, the achievements are far from satisfactory. In 1987 the Advisory Committee on Race Relations published its report. Most of the members of this committee favored anti-racist education (see antiracist pedagogy below), however this report was vague since it mentioned anti-racist education but did not clearly define it.

The report is mainly concerned with multicultural education and not anti-racist education. Although not much is done, multicultural camps in Toronto have adopted a more anti-racist educational approach. Secondary school students in these camps receive a broader view of the historic roots of how racism is constructed and institutionalized. Students are expected to develop an action plan and implement it when they return to their schools (Rashti, 1995).

In Guatemala, as part of the educational reform following the signing of the Peace Accords in 1996, some public schools adopted an intercultural approach to their programs. One of the most common definitions of interculturalism is a systematic and

gradual promotion by the state and civil society of a positive interaction amongst cultures. The purpose of this policy is to create spaces for relations of trust, effective communication, dialogue, cooperation and peaceful conflict resolution. This approach has three principles, namely: 1) Citizenship recognizes and searches for equal rights, responsibilities, and opportunities; it also claims to maintain a constant struggle against racism and discrimination; 2) The right to difference leads to respect for the identity and rights of all ethnic groups, and the cultural expressions present in Guatemalan society; 3) Unity in diversity refers to a national unity that is built by all people by choice and not by imposition. In short the intercultural approach proposes a positive relationship amongst culturally different social actors (Cumes, 2004).

According to this concept, conflicts present in society could be resolved by positive interaction. This approach to conflict resolution could be useful, however the fact that Guatemalan reality was constructed as a society of unequal power relations should also be considered. In Guatemala, the elite transmit the idea that the cause of poverty and underdevelopment is that indigenous people do not have the same value system as Ladinos.

Cumes (2004) considers colonization and the conquest of the Americas as the root of racism. However, I argue that there was indigenous racism before colonizers came to Guatemala (see Guatemalan historical background). Racism is used as an instrument that justifies the dominant ideology which serves to buttress the oppression of indigenous and poor Ladinos by the elite minority. Cumes agrees with Heckt (2004) in considering that the reproduction of racism occurs in a hidden manner and unconsciously. This individual unawareness of the way racism is reproduced is synonymous with its social naturalization. Because Guatemalan reality is very complex, just advocating for positive interaction is not enough to eliminate racism. This could be a good first step, but it needs to go beyond such measures.

The three tendencies of the intercultural approach that Cumes found in one of the schools she studied, Escuela Normal Pedro Molina, are the following: 1) intercultural approach as an old reality - the optimist vision; 2) intercultural approach as a discourse of equality, to avoid conflicts; and 3) intercultural approach as an instrument to overcome inequality, a challenge to power relations. In this school, the intercultural approach has

limited racism because it is verbally censured. However, there is no critical reflection on the historical construction of racism.

Garcés (2004) researched groups of students selected from four Guatemala City high schools. Three of the high schools were private and one public, while two were secular, one Evangelical and one Catholic; one of the schools was for females, one for males and two were co-ed; one of them was for upper class students while the others were for middle and lower classes. Interestingly the school for upper class, Catholic females is one whose teachers have actively worked to teach about racism and punish students who evidence racist behavior. It is important to point out that access to this school is limited to a very limited circle of people. They not only attend school together but their families have other social relations, such that they have been established as an informal social grouping for generations. Therefore, these students tend not to have much contact with members of other groups. The data shows that these students understand racism in theory. At school they are careful in not showing their true feelings about other groups, but if they know that they will not be punished they have no problem expressing them. One of the schools for middle class and lower class students does not have any formal instruction about racism, however students seem more open to different groups. Some students are Ladino, some are Mayan, some are female and others are male. Some of the students practice various religions and others do not profess any religion. Students from this school seem to be better able to relate to members of different groups in terms of social class, race and gender.

Garcés (2004) concludes that the school that has racism studies as part of its program has the theory but lacks the practice. Values are reproduced at both home and school, as well as through the media and government policies. In this case the values that come from home and society appear to be more dominant than the ones teachers try to promote at school; therefore, according to Garcés, it is important to teach parents as well as students in order to get better results. Garcés advocates for an anti-racist education that studies the roots of racism, its formation and reproduction in everyday life, and who benefits from it; and, instead of punishing students for acting in a racist manner, an opportunity should be given to reflect on and correct this behavior. Garcés concludes that

education has a very important role to play in the elimination of racism, and educational work has to go beyond the walls of the classroom.

Radical vision

A second approach potentially relevant to progressive pedagogical practice is the radical view. According to this view schools should foster the integration of individuals as fully developed and informed members of society, however under capitalism the fundamental role of schools is to reproduce rather than challenge social inequality. Thus the radical view considers schools as sites that simply reproduce social, economic and cultural inequalities in a class-divided society. In the opinion of Bowles and Gintis (1981), to achieve a more egalitarian society changes have to start at the level of the social relations of production and not at the “superstructural” level, such as in the education system. Bowles and Gintis introduced the correspondence principle stating that there is a strong connection between social relations at the work place and the social relations at school.

This view considers schools as dependent institutions where inequalities are reproduced and education works as a force repressing personal development. Similarly to the division of labor under capitalism, the educational system is a highly graded hierarchy where authority and control govern. Competition rather than cooperation is encouraged amongst students. What is overlooked under this vision is that schools are places where knowledge is produced, critical thinking could be practiced and revolutionary ideas could develop. This view has been rightly criticized for its economic determinism; see, for example, Ng et al. (1995) and AVANCSO (2004).

Critical pedagogy

Critical pedagogy (Freire, 1970; Giroux, 1993; Shor, 1993; McLaren, 1993) considers education as a political act where the struggles of the oppressed, women, minority groups, disadvantaged social classes, etc., open a “project of possibility” for social change. Essential to this approach is the role of the teacher as an intellectual committed to the creation of an alternative that is collectively decided. With this type of

education minority students could be empowered and get actively involved in a transformation to a more democratic, egalitarian and just society (Giroux, 1993).

Although Giroux criticizes Freire's work for containing "binarism" (a Manichean view of oppressors and oppressed), he admits that Freire made visible not only "the ideological struggle against domination and colonialism but also the material substance of human suffering, pain, and imperialism" (McLaren & Leonard, 1993, p. 181). I agree with Giroux in criticizing the purportedly homogeneous character of oppressors and oppressed as binarism, but I consider that the conceptual development made in Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* was an important first step. The work of feminists and post-colonialists also helps us to better understand the complexity of the struggles; that they do not take place between two homogeneous groups. Ellsworth (1990), a feminist pedagogue, also takes to task critical pedagogues who uncritically imply that any given group of people is unified. She argues that this unified character of "the oppressed" against oppressors presents a problem because it does not consider the multiplicity of contradictions present in the classroom.

Certainly Freire's contributions alone were not enough to address the complexity of many simultaneous struggles. However, in response to critiques by feminist pedagogues, he acknowledges this point in his book, *Critical Encounter* (1993).

...it is important to appreciate the multiplicity of modes of oppression suffered by women and people of color in the United States and elsewhere across the globe; it is equally important to discount claims to unitary experience of oppression not only among women, but with respect to all oppressed people (Freire, 1993, p. x).

The application of critical pedagogy would clearly differentiate multicultural education from anti-racist education. The former originates from a liberal-reformist view of racism, while the latter originates from the struggle of "racial minorities against imperial, colonial and neocolonial experiences" (Ng et al., 1995). In other words, multicultural education does not aim to consider the historical roots of the problem and does not search for a solution to the problem. On the contrary, this education only promotes tolerance amongst different cultures without having, for instance, aboriginal

people, people of color, women, lower class, or minority groups in general, experiencing a liberating education.

Freire is an intellectual whose writings are a discursive struggle that challenges the state and oppressive socio-economic systems. He is also sympathetic to the formation of new subjects and movements engaged in the struggle for freedom, equality and social justice. Freire's pedagogy is political education that connects human suffering with a pedagogy of hope. His pedagogy is grounded in critical pedagogy, and his work, acknowledged or not, is one of the strongest influences on both liberal and radical educators. However, if Freire's work is read without consideration or knowledge of the historical and political context in which it was developed, it loses its political meaning. In Giroux's opinion, Freire's work has to be read in its totality, and cannot be separated from its political context nor reduced to a single historical location: "Freire's work represents a textual borderland where poetry slips into politics, and solidarity becomes a song for the present begun in the past while waiting to be heard in the future" (Giroux, 1993, p. 186).

Another critique of critical pedagogy is expressed by Rezai-Rashti (1995). Although she points out the contributions of critical pedagogy to anti-racist education, Rezai-Rashti sees in critical pedagogy a problem of separation between theorists and practitioners. This critique is based on the fact that sometimes what pedagogues write is not reaching the classrooms. Some argue that this occurs because the language in which articles and books are written by intellectuals is not directed to teachers and students but rather to other intellectuals. She suggests as a solution a more active interchange between intellectuals and practitioners, in the spirit of creating "organic intellectuals" earlier advocated by Antonio Gramsci (1971). This idea was expressed by Gramsci as follows:

The popular element "feels" but does not always know or understand; the intellectual element "knows" but...does not always feel... One cannot make politics-history without this passion, without this sentimental connection between intellectuals and people-nation. (Gramsci, 1971, p. 100)

In my opinion this division between theory and practice is solved by Regnier (1995) with his proposal, “Warrior as pedagogue, pedagogue as warrior”, discussed in the next section.

Antiracist pedagogy

Anti-racist education goes beyond critical pedagogy as it addresses not only oppression based on social class but also racism. This education advocates a deep analysis of the historic origins of racism as well as challenging the existing socio-political structures. Anti-racist pedagogy aims for a society with true equality, justice and emancipation of minority students.

Regnier (1995) proposes “pedagogue as warrior” as a model for anti-racist education, to confront racism in schools. He advocates “warrior as pedagogue”, arguing that the actions of warriors reveal the contradictions between the dominant ideology and the aboriginal peoples. These actions also inspire the oppressed to oppose their subjugation, and attract public support for their demands. Aboriginal peoples want their language and culture preserved and restored; they want recognition and sovereignty; they want their illegally taken lands returned; they want promised but never transferred land granted; and they want aboriginal rights recognized and their socio-economic conditions improved.

Most important, in his “pedagogue as warrior” proposal Regnier (1995) advocates for anti-racist pedagogies that challenge racism in the hidden curriculum that perpetuates racism in schools. What is needed is a pedagogy that creates the necessary conditions for aboriginal students to engage in a liberating education that leads to social action. In this sense, he talks about the Mohawk survival schools in which students learn that survival depends on obtaining sovereignty and self-sufficiency. The results of this kind of curriculum are seen in the Mohawk direct actions at Oka, and by other aboriginal nations elsewhere in Canada in 1990.

In terms of the “warrior as pedagogue” Regnier discusses both the opposition to the passing of the Meech Lake Accord, and the Oka confrontation. The Meech Lake Accord intended to alter the Canadian Constitution to recognize the distinctive character of Quebec’s society; however, it did not address aboriginal people’s concerns. Moreover,

official aboriginal representatives were not part of the process of considering the Constitution. By June 23, 1990, the Accord had to be unanimously passed by each of the ten provincial legislatures in Canada. In Manitoba, Elijah Harper, an aboriginal Chief and elected Member of the Provincial Legislature, used a number of tactics to delay a vote on the accord. He started public hearings which hundreds of aboriginal and non-aboriginal people registered to address. Harper thus gained time and prevented the Canadian government from building public consent for the accord. When a vote was taken, Harper, with a feather in hand, was the only member of the Manitoba Assembly who said no to the Meech Lake Accord. He thereby prevented the Legislature from approving the Accord. The Newfoundland Legislature subsequently did not approve it either.

Harper's actions opened a discourse of possibilities and demonstrated that as a person working in the legislature he could be an effective voice of change, or at least give other aboriginal people a space to voice their concerns. He also brought the struggle against racism to the living room television. The Mohawk actions at Oka in the summer of 1990 had a similar effect. This time Mohawk warriors publicized suppressed truths about their oppression and confronted the dominant ideology. This stand, as well as the "Elijah factor", could be considered pedagogical. These actions inspired other aboriginal people and touched the conscience of many Canadians.

In summary, the anti-racist pedagogy proposed by Regnier advocates political activism both on the streets and in schools, constructing an alternative curriculum to the present hidden, racist curriculum. In this manner he applies critical pedagogy to the struggle against racism.

The liberation of aboriginal education, implicit in Chief Elijah Harper's opposition...the Mohawk warriors' confrontation... [and students] in the school of the streets...called upon the Canadian government and public to transform its relations with aboriginal peoples. This is an anti-racist pedagogy that reflects Freire's admonition that authentic learning finds its source in the experience of the learner, in this case the experience of the aboriginal warrior. (Regnier, 1995, p. 85)

Although I agree with Regnier in proposing an anti-racist pedagogy that connects survival school and indigenous political activism in the streets, and admire Elijah Harper for his courage in leading actions to have aboriginal people's voices heard, it does not appear that he considers the multi-dimensional oppressions experienced by oppressed groups. In the above context, for example, I believe that unless Quebec citizens, working class, women and other minority groups struggle together for a Constitution that defends the rights of all oppressed groups in Canada, there will not be a significant change in Canadian society. In this sense bell hooks (1994) amongst other black feminists takes a step forward with her engaged pedagogy or black feminism, which is discussed in the next section.

Engaged pedagogy or black feminism

Engaged pedagogy as proposed by bell hooks (1994) advocates for education as a "practice of freedom", describing it as "a way that anyone can learn" (p. 13). Her two great influences are Paulo Freire and Thich Nhat Hanh, a Vietnamese Buddhist monk. Two of the more relevant of the Fourteen Principles of Buddhist mindfulness training are as follows:

The first ... Openness...to help me to develop my understanding and *compassion*... The thirteenth ...*Generosity*... kindness... I will practice *Generosity* by *sharing* my time, energy and material resources *with those* who are *in need*...(Mindfulness Trainings, 2005)

According to hooks (1994), both Freire and Hanh emphasize praxis, action, and reflection about the world and transforming it. She criticizes traditional education for paying little attention to spiritual well-being; hence the need for an infusion of Buddhist philosophy. Moreover, she talks about the need for addressing diversity in the classroom and advocates for "Engaged Pedagogy". For her, Engaged Pedagogy requires teachers to constantly self-actualize, which means to promote well-being by addressing the unity of body and mind. In this type of pedagogy, students' opinions are valued, teachers and students are empowered, and critical thinking is at the heart of the process. In the

classroom, hooks encourages her students to use their first language with translation so that they do not have to negate their own language in order to get post-secondary education. In her opinion, even though a language and social system have been imposed on blacks, regaining their own language gives blacks a space to share, and from which the dominant group is excluded.

Oppression based on socio-economic class is discussed at length. hooks (1994) notes that the concept of socio-economic class is very seldom discussed in the United States, especially in the educational institutions. One implication of having a dominant class is that they define the educational system to serve their own needs; therefore it is not designed to address students of working class origin. If students who are not from the bourgeois class want to succeed in academia, they have to assimilate a language and behavior imposed upon them. Although students and professors from working class backgrounds are made to feel like outsiders, hooks says that working class students cannot let class contradictions prevent them from succeeding in academia. It seems to me that the “Engaged Pedagogy” that hooks proposes makes sense; I also agree that spaces for discussion amongst teachers need to be created. This type of pedagogy uses active learning, addresses diversity in the classroom, promotes people’s voices being heard, and acknowledges the unity of body and mind; however the concept of positionality advocated by black feminists needs to be further developed. Black feminists argue that there is more than one location of oppression and that black women have a different positionality than white women or black patriarchy (Barakett and Naseem, 2008). This concept of positionality is deepened by Roxana Ng (1995) in her teaching practice, as discussed more fully in the next section on feminist and antiracist pedagogy.

Feminist and antiracist pedagogy

Roxana Ng (1995) proposes a practice that applies critical, anti-racist and feminist pedagogy. She considers herself a critical teacher, which means a teacher who brings “into sharp relief the historical inequalities that have entrenched the social structures [and] to facilitate the radicalization of students” (p. 131). She talks about common sense sexism and racism, using the term “common sense” as Gramsci (1971) and Bourdieu (1973) did. This term refers to the norms and actions that have become ordinary ways of

doing things of which people have little consciousness, to the extent that certain things disappear from the social surface. It is in this way that in an unconscious manner we all participate in naturalizing racism. In her opinion, critical teachers have the responsibility to explain common sense racism and sexism, and to begin a process of critical reflection with their students and together confront them.

Ng et al, (1995) discusses institutional power and students' resistance to it. In her opinion, feminist teachers are the ones who explore power relations, probably because of their own marginality. Some feminist pedagogues argue that it is impossible to have education as an empowering tool in a patriarchal society. They criticize critical pedagogues for not questioning power relations between teacher and student. However, in my opinion Freire includes this power relation in his *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* when discussing the teacher-student contradiction, as the following quote shows:

Education must begin with the solution of the teacher-student contradiction, by reconciling the poles of the contradiction so that both are simultaneously teachers and students...the practice of problem posing education entails at the outset that the teacher-student contradiction [to] be resolved... In this process, arguments based on authority are no longer valid; in order to function, authority must be on the side of freedom, not against it. (Freire, 1970, pp. 79- 80)

As a feminist pedagogue, Ng discusses the silencing of female students. In this sense she herself as a critical teacher played that role without wanting to do so. In a course that she taught called Gender Stereotyping she and her students were discussing how, in a study done, males dominated the conversation between heterosexual couples. Students tended to discredit the study and say that the result of the study is not true. They argued that women are the dominant ones because they talk more. Then Ng would ask students to do some empirical research to support their conclusions. As the class progressed another dynamic occurred. Female students were making faces at each other, and giggling. When Ng asked them what was going on they continued giggling and started writing and passing notes to each other. At the end of class one of the most assertive female students stayed and explained that the other female students noticed that

“I was giving the man more air space” (Ng et al., 1995, p. 143). Ng decided to take the next classes to discuss more deeply how gender hierarchy is embedded in our own consciousness.

In terms of how the authority of minority teachers is challenged, Ng shares her experiences as a teacher of Chinese background. In one instance she was required to change her program because a male student complained. Her course was called Cross-Cultural Education and the course outline clearly included gender relations. A male student complained about this content to the department chair half way through the course. Ng had to change it and was cautioned about not giving the student a bad grade. She also mentions tactics that students use to resist teachers’ power, and that teachers use to exercise power.

Ng concludes that classroom process is important, and equally important is that the critical teacher motivates her students to examine how systems of inequality have emerged, become institutionalized, historically developed and become part of “our collective consciousness”. In this form she argues, the critical teacher and students can begin confronting contradictions and work towards transformation. Although feminist pedagogues combine black struggles, minority groups’ struggles, and the concept of positionality, other struggles need to be considered. A pedagogy that addresses all struggles, aims to educate the dominant culture, and considers positionality, is discussed in the next section.

Inclusive pedagogy

Education based on inclusive pedagogy is a way to bring awareness not only to minority groups but also dominant culture members, and to engage in transformation. Under this pedagogy anti-racist education is “an action-oriented strategy for institutional, systematic change to address racism and the interlocking systems of social oppression” (Dei, 1996, p. 25). Race and social difference are considered in relation to power and equity rather than as issues of cultural and ethnic difference. In inclusive education social difference is not considered as a handicap, but rather individual and family histories, beliefs, experiences and ways of knowing are included to promote empowerment and

social transformation. Moreover, inclusive education makes it possible to connect the global with the local.

While the multicultural/liberal approach considers difference exotic, and seeks tolerance to difference, it does not de-center the dominant culture. The integration of difference is like adding a little “spice” to the dominant culture curriculum. Events such as multicultural week would be part of this type of approach. Dei (1996) argues that this type of practice does not challenge the present educational system or power relations present in it. This point reminds me of an experience when I worked as an English as a second language teacher in two elementary schools in Ontario. We organized an activity that was called “Global Community” which welcomed students and parents to share their music, foods and traditions with the school community. The goal of this activity was to attract minority parents that very rarely came to school. Many obstacles prevented parents from coming to school: language barrier, exclusion of their histories in the school curriculum, racist practices not only in school but other spaces, etc. The activity was successful in attracting parents to school, however it did not move the dominant culture from the center of educational programs. As a solution to the deficiencies of multiculturalism, Dei proposes inclusive pedagogy because it deals with the different oppressions based on race, gender, social class and others. Under this approach all different oppressions, how they intersect and how relations of power shape school experiences are carefully examined.

Inclusive pedagogy advocates for the presence of centers of knowledge in school, including indigenous, spiritual and community knowledge. Indigenous knowledge is the ideas, practices, common sense, or local ways of knowing the people in the community have about their social, cultural, spiritual and physical realities. The objective here is to give space to other ideas and knowledge that are suppressed because of the imposition of colonial or imperial values and ideas by others. Spiritual knowledge is not limited to institutional religions but refers to the connection between consciousness and the material world. For example, the official religion in Guatemala is Catholic but there are also evangelical denominations. Some Mayans who have not been assimilated by Catholics or evangelicals have their own spiritual practices. Many have mixed Catholic religious practices with Mayan ones. Community knowledge has some elements in common with

indigenous knowledge in the sense that both types of knowledge are associated with a particular space, time and group of people. Community knowledge includes culture, language, spirituality etc. Knowledge is produced at the local and global level. By including the knowledge from the community the dominant culture is de-centered.

The point is not to eliminate Western or European knowledge but to include and reflect on other equally valid ways of knowing. This practice has the potential of including parents and the community in running schools, and producing and spreading knowledge. Including other types of knowledge reminds me of a school in Guatemala where Mayan history was included in the school program. The way in which it was presented suggested that the Spanish colonization was positive since it brought advanced knowledge to Mayan culture. However, it did not mention all the negatives such as illnesses brought by Spanish colonizers, and the subjugation, oppression, exclusion, exploitation and killing of indigenous people by Spanish colonizers. In short, I suggest to be aware of the fact that all knowledge has a point of view that should be acknowledged.

Dei (2002) says that knowledge must be communicated, and he therefore concentrates on language and representation. Language is concerned with the transmission, preservation and growth of culture. Dei's intention is to create spaces for multiple languages present in the community. Knowledge representation refers to actively learning about different cultures, histories and experiences. Availability of multicultural books, reading resources and active celebration of different cultural and religious holidays is a good indicator of a school's commitment to this goal. Visual representation refers to how images, pictures and artwork represent the ethnic and cultural composition of the school population. I would add that murals painted on the walls of schools or community buildings can illustrate aspects of the history of the community (see p 67). When I visited Quiche (see map p 64), I was impressed by murals painted on buildings displaying institutional violence suffered by Mayans in Quiche. Inclusive education advocates for staff equity, meaning that schools should implement the appropriate practices to recruit teachers, support staff and administrators from diverse ethnic backgrounds.

In Guatemala most of the teachers are Ladinos in spite of the fact that over 60 % of students and the population in general are Mayans, Xincas or Garifunas. However,

since the signing of the Peace Accords some multicultural schools have changed this practice. Although the number of non-Ladino teachers has increased, this practice by itself is not enough if it is not accompanied by adequate teacher education that includes critical and reflective thinking.

Inclusive pedagogy has four inter-related learning objectives, namely:

1. Integrating multiple centers of knowledge. Under this objective it should be acknowledged that the concepts of race, religion, class, ability, ethnicity, and gender have roots in history and are socially constructed. With this in mind the teacher should be able to question the official knowledge, teach from a global perspective and include other systems of knowledge as legitimate.
2. Recognition and respect for difference. This objective requires understanding that everyone is socially positioned. Students and teachers should go through the exercise of locating themselves in terms of class, ethnicity, gender, etc. The classroom should accommodate diversity and welcome families and community members into the school.
3. Teaching for social and educational change, equity of access and social justice. This objective requires the teacher's ability to challenge the status quo, understand the historical roots of the relations of power, how he/she and the students are related to the structure of dominance and oppression, and how the oppressions intersect. He/she also needs to understand that power and political action are not entirely exclusive to the dominant group, and how we all consent and contribute to maintaining power relations and injustices.
4. Teaching for youth and community empowerment. This objective requires working on building individual and group self-esteem, and promoting the participation of families and community members of diverse ethnic, gender, cultural and class backgrounds in decision making in school. This requires an understanding that the potential of human agency exists in minority

groups and that through this political engagement social change can be achieved. (Dei, 1996, p. 13).

I agree with Dei when he argues that a critical self-reflective exercise is necessary to help teachers understand and define their positionality, and prepare them for a more inclusive pedagogy. I consider this exercise a first step to be taken by teachers before they work with students or program participants to discover their location or positionality. Some of the questions that could be asked are the following: How does my teaching address the issues of race, class, gender, ethnicity, religion and spirituality as embodied in my students, the school and society? Am I responding to the physical, cultural, spiritual, emotional, social and intellectual needs of the learner? Am I providing a clear context and history for the materials that I introduce? What is the role of first languages and literacy in my work? What brings me to this work? What brings me to a particular conversation? What am I trying to accomplish as a teacher/learner? How do I see myself in relation to others? How are we multi-positioned in spaces of privilege and subordination?

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY AND DATA COLLECTED

Approach to the problem

The following factors have influenced my approach to pedagogy: inequalities in a society based on power relations, cultural diversity in societies, people's struggles for their emancipation, my own struggles, my experiences as a teacher in Ontario, Quebec and Guatemala, and my search for an inclusive and liberating form of educational practice. The latter should not only address the cultural diversity found in our classrooms but also be based on a pedagogy that understands the influence of positionality on oppressions. Knowing that such a study needs to be concrete and test theory against practice, I focus on oppressions present in Santiago Atitlán (see history section), their intersection and critical reflection on positionality as an essential step for teachers working against racism.

Under the Peace Accords (United Nations, 1996) by their own initiative a few schools adopted multiculturalism in their programs. Previous research done by AVANCSO (see literature review section) discusses the multicultural approach recently implemented in some of these schools. What seems to be missing is a discussion of the different types of oppression present in Guatemalan society and suggestions about a pedagogy that would address all of these oppressions. It is also missing a study of positionality and its influence on oppressions experienced by the subjects.

Is evident that in Santiago Atitlán a variety of oppressions coexist and interlock in individual subjects and in the community, therefore an inclusive pedagogy that addresses these complexities is needed. At the same time, this pedagogy has to consider positionality of subjects, its influence on experiencing oppressions and a process of critical reflection. This critical reflection is a necessary first step for teachers and students wanting to begin a process to eradicate racism. Therefore the goal of the research was to first observe and understand the multiple oppressions existing and interlocking in society; to analyze the information shared by subjects when answering questions in interviews and informal conversations; and to search for a pedagogy that considers this intersection of oppressions in the individual and society.

Outline and rationale for research methods

After deciding on the topic and its limits it was clear that a form of qualitative research was appropriate to explore positionality and the multiple oppressions present in three groups in Santiago Atitlán (see Chapter 5, Anecdotes). Data was collected through observations, individual interviewing, informal individual and group conversations, and the study of photographs taken by the researcher. A more detailed explanation of the research design follows after explaining my rationale for choosing qualitative research for this study.

The assumption that the subjects of research can be treated as objects and that they can be studied in an objective way has been challenged by more qualitative approaches. Contrary to ignoring the views and opinions of the researcher, qualitative research is a dialogue between researchers and their subjects where the views of both shape the research. Qualitative researchers consider human beings tied together in a complex net of social interconnections. Moreover, qualitative researchers in education ask the people they are learning from questions about how they experience, understand, interpret and structure their social realities (Bogdan and Biklen, 2003).

I chose qualitative research because this approach permits my study to draw attention to people in Santiago Atitlán and gives the subjects a voice when sharing their anecdotes. This approach also permits the study of people in their natural settings, considering their social life and culture. In other words, qualitative research allows considering the connections between individuals and society. The people studied in this research are potential beneficiaries of a pedagogy that considers their oppressions and experiences, and aims to eradicate inequalities in a society based on power relations. Briefly then, the choice of qualitative or quantitative research is not just a choice of method, it is connected to a certain ideological standpoint. My view is that discrimination is learned by socialization, and it is reinforced by family, school, workplace and society. This process occurs in a manner invisible to the subjects involved. Subjects experience their oppressions in relation to their positionality, which is their location in relation to the axes of power in a society based on inequality. Therefore studying subjects disconnected from their societies will not satisfy the nature of this study.

I do not mean to dismiss the importance of quantitative data. On the contrary I use some quantitative information in the historical background section. However, social sciences require qualitative methods to enrich data gathered by quantitative methods, and it is important to be aware of and explain the meaning of the variables in the latter. Although some argue that qualitative research could be set up in an artificial situation, such as the case of fixed interviews, this problem can be overcome by allowing enough time to build rapport between the researcher and the subjects, and by allowing interviews to be flexible. Formal interviews can also be complemented with observations, field notes, informal conversations and interviews, and analysis of photographs produced by the researcher.

Selection of sites and participants

During July, August and November, 2006, and January, March, July and August, 2007, I conducted observations, had informal conversations, accompanied AVANCSO's Ethnic Relations team researchers in their work, participated in meetings and gave mathematics, English and pedagogy workshops to subjects who participated in this study. Below is more detailed information about each activity that I carried out in this research.

Observing AVANCSO's Ethnic Relations team gave me the opportunity to see their three sites of work in Guatemala City, Quiché and Santiago Atitlán. A researcher of the Ethnic Relations team works with the New School (a school implementing multiculturalism) and three groups of people connected to the school, a youth group, a teachers' group and a clothing weavers' group. Given these factors, for the purpose of this study Santiago Atitlán offered the best option. Most important I did not have to search for and convince people to participate in the study since I could do my research with the groups with which AVANCSO's Ethnic Relations team has agreements. After conducting the research with the youth group, the New School's teachers group and the clothing weavers group, I felt that the information obtained needed to be complemented by an additional perspective. Therefore, I had informal conversations with three graduates of a university in Guatemala to supplement the data obtained in Santiago.

Observations, field notes and photographs

I observed and assisted AVANCSO researchers in their work at three above sites. This period of time gave me the opportunity to familiarize myself with the subjects of this study and how AVANCSO conducts research. I learned what topics were of interest to subjects so that I could begin informal conversations to break the ice. In this process I was able to build good rapport with subjects before I interviewed them. I combined my observations with the use of field notes and also used photographs taken by me, other researchers and one assistant as an important supplement to informal conversations and interviewing. During this time I also observed that AVANCSO obtains subjects' collaboration in their research in exchange for professional support from AVANCSO researchers. I therefore followed their practice and offered mathematics, English and pedagogy workshops, besides assisting AVANCSO's workshops.

I began observing for only a few hours per day and increased to half a day or a day. My field notes were done in Spanish because it was easier for me to observe, listen, think and write in my first language. Sometimes I used a voice recorder, and then transcribed my recordings and incorporated them with my field notes. As I observed other researchers in their work I also took photographs of the subjects, the New School building, and surrounding areas in the community so that I could study the photographs to remember relations better and complement my field notes. I also observed peoples' relations at the church, market, restaurants, the town fair, and generally in Santiago and small towns around Santiago Atitlán. At some other times as I was working with the subjects, other researchers or an assistant took photographs (see photographs in pp 67-76).

Interviews

Through the use of observations, individual and group interviews with the youth group, the New School teachers group and the clothing weavers group, I explored the oppressions present. I also explored the intersection of these oppressions in the individual and society. In this sense the first questions in the interview guide for all groups asked each subject to locate himself or herself in terms of social class, and ethnicity. This part of the interview helped me to illustrate the multiple oppressions present in Santiago. I

continued by trying to explore how oppressions intersect in society and the individual, and ask all groups question four in the guide. The interview guides follow.

All groups' interview guide

I started by explaining that the answers they give are confidential and that they are not obligated to continue or answer if they feel uncomfortable.

1. What social class do you belong to?
2. How old are you?
3. What ethnic culture do you belong to?
 - a. European
 - b. Tzu'tujil
 - c. Kiché,
 - d. Kakchiquel
 - e. Garifuna
 - f. Xinca
 - g. Ladino
 - h. Other
4. When did you first witness or experience being treated differently because of your social class, ethnicity or gender?

I moved into exploring the teachers' awareness of positionality, its influence on oppressions and in their work as teachers, and asked them questions five and six (see interview guide for teachers' group).

Teachers' group interview guide

I started by explaining that the answers they give are confidential and that they are not obligated to continue or answer if they feel uncomfortable.

1. What social class do you belong to?
2. How old are you?
3. What ethnic culture do you belong to?

- a. European
- b. Tzu'tujil
- c. Kiché,
- d. Kakchiquel
- e. Garifuna
- f. Xinca
- g. Ladino
- h. Other

4. When did you first witness or experience being treated differently because of your social class, ethnicity or gender?

Defining racism and positionality:

I explained the following definitions.

Racism is a belief or action that considers some people inferior or superior depending on people's ethnicity or culture.

Positionality refers to people's location in terms of geographic location, social class, race, gender, sexual orientation, ability, etc. Self-awareness of this location helps us to understand better the relationship between where we come from and our actions.

- 5. Why do you work in the New School?
- 6. How does the awareness of your positionality influence your work as a teacher?

The responses obtained from teachers indicated that I needed to explore the teachers' education program, and through informal individual conversations I asked the following questions:

- 7. Where you studied to become a teacher did you have the opportunity to study the following?
 - a. The historical roots of racism or inequality?
 - b. To discuss different forms of oppression based on class, ethnicity, or gender?
 - c. To critically reflect on them?

8. If you had the opportunity described under question seven, how does it help your work as a teacher?
9. Did you learn about inequalities in school or by experience?
10. What else could be done to eradicate oppressions in Guatemala?

After obtaining the responses from teachers to questions seven to ten, I thought that I could get a better picture if I talked to graduates from a university in Guatemala City. I asked the following questions:

University graduates' conversation guide

1. Are you aware of your positionality? How did you become aware of it?
2. At the university you studied did you have the opportunity to study the following:
 - a. The historical roots of of inequality in Guatemala?
 - b. Critical reflection on inequalities?
 - c. What else do you think could be done to eradicate inequalities?

Translators

Although most of the subjects participating in this study are bilingual (Spanish-T'zutujil), my first language is Spanish and I was born in Guatemala; the older women from the cooperative were monolingual as they only spoke T'zutujil. We were fortunate to have two translators; one of the teachers from the New School and a trilingual person from outside the school. The latter person is very knowledgeable about the history and characteristics of the community, and was hired as an assistant to the AVANCSO's Ethnic Relations researchers in Santiago Atitlán.

I am aware that working in a different language and having people translate can cause problems by changing the meaning of expressions or statements. In this case I consider this problem diminished because I did the translation from Spanish to English, and the translators from T'zutujil to Spanish were both completely fluent and knowledgeable members of the same community.

CHAPTER IV

ANECDOTES

In this chapter I begin by presenting tables containing general information about the subjects who participated in the three groups with which I worked. The first one is a youth group of nine people, the second is a group of nine teachers from the New School in Santiago Atitlán, and the last one is a small group of women from a cooperative of clothing weavers, including the cooperative vice-president's husband. The cooperative of clothing weavers have members working in different activities. Some weave clothing material, others embroider and others make non-precious jewelry. Although the women's cooperative joins about one hundred women; I only interviewed two. The names of the subjects and the school have been changed to protect their identity. After presenting general information given by subjects in the tables, I move to illustrating that oppressions interlock in Guatemalan society by presenting subjects' answers to the remaining questions in the interview guide (see pp 29-32). In parts relating the subjects' anecdotes, I use their own words to illustrate the points that I make. I continue with an argument about the need for an inclusive pedagogy, followed by a discussion of people's identity in Santiago Atitlán and the pedagogy that the New School I observed implements. I move into a discussion of teachers' positionality and training in the school in Santiago. To support this discussion I include responses given by a fourth group made up of three university graduates. I continue the discussion about teacher training, ending with comments about the need for training that emphasizes critical reflection and discussion of positionality.

Who are the subjects?

Tables 3, 4, and 5 summarize the answers of the first few questions in the interview guide. The intention is to illustrate their location in terms of social class, gender, and ethnicity.

The youth group described in Table 3 shows a range in terms of age from 20 to 39 years. There is diversity in terms of gender, ethnicity, occupation, language spoken, and level of education. People in the youth group are located at different positionalities.

Table 3: Youth group members' background information

Name	Age	Gender	Ethnic Background	Occupation	Language Spoken	Level of Education	Social Class Background
Alfredo	21	Male	T'zutujil ¹	Taxi driver	Spanish and T'zutujil	University	Middle class
Luisa	21	Female	T'zutujil	Receptionist	Spanish and T'zutujil	Completed high school	Middle class
Mario	21	Male	T'zutujil	Merchant	Spanish and T'zutujil	University	Middle class
Armando	25	Male	Ladino ²	Teacher	Spanish	University	Middle class
Anastasia	23	Female	Kiché and Kakchiquel	Babysitter and student	Spanish, Kiché, Kakchiquel and T'zutujil	Grade 8	Poor
Pedro	20	Male	T'zutujil	Agricultural worker and student	Spanish and T'zutujil	Grade 9	Poor
Mateo	20	Male	ladino	Construction worker	Spanish and T'zutujil	Grade 8	Poor
Jorge	20	Male	T'zutujil	Agricultural extension agent	Spanish and T'zutujil	Completed high school	Middle class
Daniel	39	Male	T'zutujil	Fisherman	Spanish and T'zutujil	Completed high school	Middle class

In informal conversations they were asked about their social class; in their responses they considered mainly their income, the quality of the house they live in, etc. The terms used were either middle class or poor. The table suggests some relationship between level of education and social class in that the subjects indicated that the more

¹ It is one of the 22 ethnic groups in Guatemala. They are located around Lake Atitlán. See Guatemalan location and historical background for more information.

² See definition of the term in Guatemalan location and historical background section.

education they have the higher is their social class. For them a middle class person is able to satisfy basic needs and have money for a little extra. They also consider that most middle class people either own a house or are able to rent one with electricity, and running water, while most poor people live in shacks without these services.

Table 4: New School Teachers group members' background information

Name	Age	Gender	Ethnic Background	Occupation	Language Spoken	Level of Education	Social class Background
Rafael	23	Male	Chortí ³	Caretaker	Spanish	Completed high school	Poor
Jacinto	28	Male	T'zutujil	Teacher	Spanish and T'zutujil	university	Middle class
Carolina	19	Female	T'zutujil	Teacher	Spanish	Completed high school	Middle class
Marta	21	Female	T'zutujil	Teacher	Spanish	Completed high school	Middle class
Juana	28	Female	T'zutujil	Teacher	Spanish and T'zutujil	Completed high school	Middle class
Pablo	23	Male	T'zutujil	Teacher	Spanish and T'zutujil	University	Middle class
Inés	20	Female	T'zutujil	Teacher	Spanish and T'zutujil	Completed high school	Middle class
Tomasa	19	Female	T'zutujil	Student - teacher	Spanish and T'zutujil	High school	Middle class
Rolando	33	Male	T'zutujil	Principal	Spanish and T'zutujil	University degree	Middle class

The New School teachers' group described in Table 4 has an age range from 19 to 33 years. In terms of ethnicity all of them are T'zutujil, except Rafael who is Chortí. This is not casual since this particular school hires mainly T'zutujil teachers to promote their culture and identity (see pp 43-44). Six of them are bilingual because it is one of the requirements for teachers to work in the School. The two teachers that claim to speak

³ It is one of the Mayan ethnic groups from western Guatemala.

only Spanish have a good understanding of T'zutujil language. Only one out of nine claims to be poor, however he lives in the school and not in a shack.

Although Table 4 suggests less diversity than Table 3, not all of them have the same positionality; five are female and four are male. One is poor and eight are middle class. Their level of education varies; five completed high school, two are in first or second year of university, and only one has a university degree.

The clothing weavers' group described in Table 5 has an age range from 22 to 39 years. Similar to the previous table this one suggests not much diversity, which has a lot to do with people's occupation. However in spite of the fact that the two women are members of the cooperative of weavers they specialize in different types of craft; Doña Rosa weaves and Magdalena makes non-precious jewelry. The three people from this group interviewed have different positionalities.

Table 5: Clothing weavers' background information

Name	Age	Gender	Ethnic Background	Occupation	Language Spoken	Level of Education	Social Class Background
Doña Rosa	38	Female	T'zutujil	Weaver	T'zutujil	None	Poor
Don Rosalío ⁴	39	Male	T'zutujil	Merchant	Spanish and T'zutujil	Grade nine	Poor
Magdalena	22	Female	T'zutujil	Weaver	T'zutujil	None	Poor

Looking at Tables 3, 4 and 5 together, the total sample has subjects from 19 to 39 years of age, members of both genders, five ethnic groups, two social classes, and people with different levels of education as follows: no education, elementary school, high school and university education. In terms of language spoken there are monolingual, bilingual and trilingual people. Although the study focuses on only one small region in Guatemala (see Guatemalan and historical background section), in a number of trips to Guatemala I informally observed three other areas. These observations suggest similar

⁴ Don Rosalío is not a member of the cooperative; he is Doña Rosa's husband and participated in the interview.

findings to the ones presented by the tables, which indicate that subjects are located at different positionalities.

In the next section, I used one more question from the interview guide: When did you witness or experience a different treatment because of your ethnicity, social class, or gender? The responses from subjects help me to illustrate that different oppressions are present and intersect in Guatemalan society and in the individual's identity.

Are oppressions interlocking?

When subjects were asked: When did you witness or experience a different treatment because of your ethnicity, social class, or gender? Regardless of the group all subjects shared stories of their own experiences of oppressions that they suffered or witnessed. Although I did not include geographic location in the question, some of the stories suggest that people are also oppressed because of geographic location (see history section).

This study suggests that in Guatemalan society all oppressions intersect, and therefore a critical and inclusive pedagogy is required to engage in a process to deconstruct racism. Dei (1996) makes this claim when he argues that racism does not exist alone but in interlocking systems of social oppression (see literature review section). The veracity of this claim is illustrated by some stories that show several types of oppression overlapping. For example Alfredo, Juana and Pablo witnessed or experienced discrimination based on ethnicity. Juana comments:

I was ten years old when a ladina girl called me *india* [female indigenous person]. Because the girl's parents were T'zutujiles, I answered: Fine I am an india if that is what you believe. But what are you? Your grandparents are T'zutujiles the same as me.

The term *india* or *indio* [indigenous person] is a common term used to insult the individual, implying that the insulted one is not smart and is stubborn. In this story Juana faced discrimination based on ethnicity, however at other moments in her life she faced discrimination based on gender. For example, when she has to attend school meetings she

has to bring her son because her husband will not look after him in the evening or weekends, although he does not work then. Sending their son with their wife is a way men sometimes use to control women.

The stories of Rosa, Magdalena, Luisa, Anastasia, and Juana exemplify discrimination based on gender. However different types of oppression do not present themselves separated from others: "...there is a deep and embedded relationship between sexism and racism in which the latter haunts as well as strengthens the former" (Barakett and Naseem, 2008). For example Magdalena (see Table 5) complains about the problems she faces in trying to sell her product. She says:

I have to sell my product to the local stores and not directly to tourists because I don't speak Spanish...the owners of local stores treat me badly...Once I went to this store and asked if they wanted to buy my *mostacilla* [little pearl like pieces used to make bracelets] work. The man did not even look at me or my product and said no. I came back the next day asking the same question. This day he turned around, grabbed one of the bracelets I made, ripped it and said it is not good quality.

This story suggests a combination of racism, sexism, ageism, classism and discrimination based on ability. Magdalena is a young T'zutujil woman, from a low income family, with no formal education and unable to speak Spanish. On the other hand, the owner is an older middle class Ladino male, with some education and able to speak a number of languages. Moreover, his response to Magdalena suggests not only discrimination but abuse. Our next example, Doña Rosa's is an illustration of sexism. Doña Rosa is the vice-president of a cooperative of weavers. When I met with her, her husband was present, and it was evident that Don Rosalío, her husband, controlled the conversation. Doña Rosa's gender and little knowledge of Spanish (ability) had a lot to do with her acceptance to Don Rosalío's domination. However, in his opinion he is very progressive and supports women's freedom and independence. Her situation shows what Ng (1995) calls commonsense sexism, which occurs when men unconsciously control and direct conversations. Women very often perpetuate their own subordination,

supporting situations where they are excluded or have to follow topics of conversation selected by men.

Rafael, Carolina, Marta, Jacinto and Anastacia share stories that illustrate discrimination based on social class. Anastacia says:

Her friend was a T'zutujil young woman, who worked in a house as a cleaning person. Although her clothes were clean she was asked by her middle class "patron" [another T'zutujil] to wash her clothes because they wanted her to look clean.

This case suggests that social class and age are the reasons for discrimination, since Anastacia's friend is a low income, 16 year-old female and her friend's patron is an older middle class woman.

The stories given by Alfredo and Daniel exemplify discrimination based on geographic location. Although Alfredo considers himself to be progressive when he talks about the T'zutujiles in Panabaj he states: "They [people from Panabaj] are poor and are in the situation they are because they are conformists." In further conversations he implies that T'zutujil people from downtown Santiago Atitlán are better off because they struggle and do not give up. Panabaj is a peripheral Santiago neighborhood inhabited by poorer people, which also brings the social class contradiction into the picture.

In Daniel's opinion he was denied the right to go to high school when he was of age to do so because in his village there was no high school. He went to school when he was an adult and moved to another town with a school. Although he completed his teacher training he works as a fisherman. His case is not the only one, and most of the subjects complained about a lack of job opportunities. This can be viewed as a form of systemic discrimination against certain groups, especially indigenous, women and lower classes that live in more rural areas.

Not only do oppressions intersect in society and in the individual, but the individual's positionality influences the level of oppression experienced. This claim is well expressed by Barakett and Naseem (2008) when they point out that "marginalized groups are not homogenous in the face of the oppression". This could be interpreted to

mean that not all subjects observed in Santiago Atitlán face oppression to the same degree. An example that illustrates this point is Rafael's story. Rafael is a Chortí indigenous person from the eastern part of Guatemala. Although he is a trained elementary school teacher, and applied for a teacher position at the New School, he was hired as a caretaker. He states:

...on an occasion when I was looking for a job I was told that I could not get it because they wanted someone with more education...In this school there were celebrations to which I was not invited...I am a Chortí...everyone in the school is T'zutujil... Also the gardener was not invited. Only because the school principal insisted that I should be included I am now invited. In all activities in school every staff member is now included...

Although in his opinion he is discriminated against because of his ethnicity, I argue that social class and ability or level of education are also responsible for him facing more discrimination than the other members in the school. Rafael's story illustrates the story of the majority of Guatemalans. To solve Rafael's problem an approach dealing with social class only is not enough; as stated previously, a pedagogy is needed that addresses other oppressions as well.

Although each example presented so far seems to show oppression taking place between people from a certain group [the discriminator] against people from another group [the discriminated], that is not always the case. There is discrimination amongst people from the same ethnic group, same social class, same gender, etc. Supporting this point Giroux (2002) states: "...the [oppressor] and the [oppressed] relate not as polarities or binarisms in postcolonial discourse but in ways in which both are complicitous and resistant, victim and accomplice", (p 185).

This is illustrated by Juana's story where teachers discriminate amongst themselves, as do students. Juana notes:

In this school teachers discriminate against other teachers. For example some T'zutujil teachers who speak their mother language discriminate against another

two T'zutujil teachers who are not able to speak the language...students who wear their traditional dress discriminate against the ones who do not and vice versa.

This story brings me to my next point, which is that, unless teachers critically reflect on their contradictions (racist attitude in this story) as a group and as individuals, they are not able to engage in working with students to build an antiracist and inclusive pedagogy in their classrooms and community. In this sense Ng (1998) notes: "... it is the responsibility of [we] critical teachers to begin to explicate them [teacher's own contradictions], so that we can confront our own racism and sexism, and to work towards eradicating them" (p 133). I discuss this point further under teacher training, below.

Are discriminations an individual choice?

Although the anecdotes presented in the previous section may imply that discriminations are performed by individuals as their choice, I feel the need to explain firstly that Guatemalan society was structured based on power relations for economic reasons. Secondly, in this society built for the benefit of small elite, individuals are socialized to participate in the reproduction of discriminations. When we are born into the world we have no consciousness, information, misinformation, biases, stereotypes or prejudices. We learn about discriminations in the family from parents, relatives, friends and the daily activities of the family. These early experiences shape our first values, rules and role models. This socialization process is reinforced by the institutions of society, for example, the legal system, the media and advertising, institutional religion, schools, etc. The fact that schools in Guatemala are mainly Ladino culture oriented is an example of this point, as Pablo's story illustrates.

I studied in a public regular school; I did not learn much Spanish. Then I only spoke T'zutujil; I remember being punished for speaking an indigenous language. I actually learned Spanish on the street. Public schools then had Ladino teachers that discriminated against us.

Pablo's story illustrates the story of most indigenous people that attended public schools. The programs included the history of Guatemala from the colonizers' point of view, and the objective of these schools was assimilation of the indigenous rather than their education. Cohen-Mitchell (2005) found that most of the subjects in her research in Quetzaltenango complained about the dramatic experiences they suffered by being rejected and discriminated against by the public school as an institution. Another example is that schools are mainly located in urban centers in spite of the fact that the majority of the population lives in rural areas. In Daniel's opinion discrimination is not only at the individual level but also at the level of society. He was unable to attend high school until he was 35 years of age. Daniel's story illustrates the story of people excluded from the educational system because most of the schools are built in urban and non-indigenous areas.

This process of socialization is also reinforced by culture and practices in everyday life. These include music, films, TV, etc.; for example, television programs mainly convey messages from a middle or higher class point of view. The socialization process takes place in both a conscious and unconscious manner. Rewards and punishment are given to certain people according to the values of society. For example members of the middle class or higher class who succeed in an educational system designed for them are acknowledged. At the same time members of the lower class or indigenous communities that are unable to succeed in this system because the system does not satisfy their needs are pointed out as failures, not smart or not good enough.

Power relations are at the centre of the process, meaning that this type of relation influences the whole cycle of socialization, including discrimination based on social class, gender, racism and other oppressions; at the same time we all consciously and unconsciously participate in the reproduction of power relations (Adams, and Bell 1997). However, I argue that we have two choices: either to accept and promote the status quo or to question our present situation. Once we educate ourselves, we are in a position to commit ourselves and engage in promoting social change.

T'zutujil identity, the New School, positionality, and teacher education

T'zutujil identity

Most of the people that I had interviews or informal conversations with had no problem identifying themselves as T'zutujil or indigenous people. This is different from previous experiences that I have had with indigenous people other than T'zutujil. I remember that when I was a teacher in a high school in Guatemala City some students would omit one of their last names if it was indigenous. On one occasion a student from a school where I was teaching waited for me at my office, although she was not taking any of my classes. She wanted to meet me because she had heard that I proudly presented myself as “Brisna Caxaj”, and Caxaj is an indigenous name. She wanted to be proud of her indigenous last name as well but felt intimidated by Ladinos.

The four times that I visited Santiago I found pride amongst T'zutujil people, however some consider that too much of it is not good, as Jorge's opinion indicates: “We [T'zutujiles] should be more open to other cultures.” Other people also feel pressure from T'zutujil culture, as Anastasia's case shows. Although she clearly identifies herself as a mixed indigenous when she is asked, she wears a T'zutujil dress and speaks the language. She moved to Santiago when she was very young and is a mixture of K'iche and Kakchiquel.

In informal conversations, I asked people what it meant for them to be a T'zutujil person. In their responses the markers most people used to determine ethnic identity were geographic location of birth, ethnicity of parents and grandparents, language spoken, and dress and traditions. Luisa very proudly identifies herself as a T'zutujil. She says: “Although our dress is expensive, [T'zutujil] women wear it proudly and men should wear theirs too.” Mario thinks that it is not necessary to wear the traditional dress to be a T'zutujil. He says that most men, especially young men, do not wear their traditional dress because they go out of town for business and work. He adds that fashion also influences people in what they wear. In his opinion women still wear their traditional dress because they stay more in the community. This situation may change in about 10 or 15 years, and young women will not wear their T'zutujil dress any more. “Not wearing the traditional dress or not speaking T'zutujil language does not mean the person is not

T'zutujil", he concludes. Most people agree with Mario's statement however, they consider it important to transmit their culture to their children.

In terms of preserving language and culture, Cohen-Mitchell (2005) argues based on her research in Quetzaltenango (in the western part of Guatemala) that many Mayan language speakers think that their language is intimately connected to their culture, and many indigenous people want to preserve their language and culture. Because they had traumatic experiences in public schools where education was in Spanish and about Ladino culture, they want a different experience for their children. In this sense the people of Santiago Atitlán moved a step ahead by organizing themselves and the New School, which is discussed in the next section.

Is the New School an antiracist or a multicultural school?

In 1997 a group of parents, especially single mothers and elementary teachers, organized themselves to look for alternatives to their current situation. Amongst their priorities was an education that starts from their culture as opposed to public education that starts from Ladino culture. The community also wanted a school with the following characteristics: accessible to families with few resources, implementing different teaching methods, providing occupational education as well as academic, and functioning as a cooperative. As a result the New School was born.

New School follows the principles of Mayan education, namely: 1. Respect for balance amongst people, nature and society. 2. Oral transmission for the most part, with some written component. Traditions and knowledge are also maintained in historic documents. 3. Respect for all forms of life. 4. Learning takes place every day throughout life. 5. Mayan education believes that knowledge and wisdom travel through time with the help of elders, who deserve respect in the community. 6. Different forms of art such as music, dance, painting and weaving are encouraged. Music speaks about nature and life, and in the New School students learn how to play marimba and other instruments. Dance is an art that communicates people's feelings about their own nature, and students present in activities the traditional dances they learned in school. Painting is another form of expression practiced at this school where teachers and students paint beautiful murals about nature and views of Lake Atitlán. 7. Mayan history is transmitted through their

dress by particular designs and colors. 8. Mayans believe it essential to work the land with dedication and keeping harmony in nature. In school students sow and maintain trees and other plants, and also plant vegetables. Students are taught to be environmentally friendly and to work to preserve natural resources better.

Mayans maintain that whatever exists today was created by parts which are interrelated and dependent on each other. The story of human creation is contained in the ancient book, *Popol-Wuj*. Students learn their mother language first, and their reading book for the first grades is *Popol-Wuj*. This book contains the history of Mayans and it starts with the creation of “true people”, made of maize. According to some critics this story makes sense since it was the cultivation of corn that changed inhabitants of the area, going from hunters and gatherers to a community that developed the highly advanced Mayan civilization. Below is a small sample of a translation of the book, *Popol-Wuj*, by Dennis Tedlock (1996):

THE CREATION

Here is the story of the beginning,
when there was not one bird,
not one fish,
not one mountain.
Here is the sky, all alone.
Here is the sea, all alone.
There is nothing more
–no sound, no movement.
Only the sky and the sea.
Only Heart-of-Sky, alone.
And these are his names:
Maker and Modeler,
Kukulkan,
and Hurricane.
But there is no one to speak his names.
There is no one to praise his glory.
There is no one to nurture his greatness.

Although in mathematics they follow the traditional western math program, they also study the Mayan number system, adding and subtracting with the Mayan numbers, and a little of the Mayan calendar. In grade three they learn Spanish and all subjects required by the Ministry of Education. In the higher grades they take typing and with the

help of volunteers they learn English. Although the school is just the elementary grades, in the evenings there are youth programs offered. These include carpentry, baking and electricity. There is also a cooperative of weavers that operates in this school.

Evidently the school functions to promote T'zutujil pride and Mayan values at the same time that it helps members of the community in general. The school attempts to provide better preparation for children, and to obtain better job opportunities for youth and better prices for craft women's work. However the school needs to move from a multiculturalism/intercultural approach to consider implementing an antiracist pedagogy that could begin preparing students and members of the community to engage in transformation. The question is, are teachers and school staff ready to undertake this enormous task? I discuss this point more fully after looking at positionality and teachers' training in the next section.

Positionality and teacher education

To find out about teachers' awareness of positionality, its influence on their experiences of oppressions and their work as teachers, I asked members of the New School staff two questions. The first question was: What prompted you to work in the New School? Inés and Tomasa said that they work in the New School because it has different visions and programs compared to the public schools; and Pablo and Jacinto said that they do it because they are capable to work in school like this one. Juana Carolina and Marta argue as follows:

Although we are T'zutujiles and have the same culture, we live our culture differently. For example in this school all students belong to the same ethnic group [however] there is diversity in terms of religious beliefs and social class. This school accepts middle class students that are able to pay the school fee and also provides scholarships to low income family children... It is love for children that makes us work in the New School.

The second question was: How does the awareness of your positionality influence your work as a teacher? The term positionality was unknown to all subjects. After explaining

the term: Positionality refers to people's location in terms of geographic location, social class, race, gender, sexual orientation, ability, etc. Self-awareness of this location helps us to understand better the relationship between where we come from and our actions. Their responses suggest that it is understood as location in terms of ethnicity, social class and gender. Inés and Tomasa note that knowing who they are and where they are located has a great influence on what they do since as T'zutujil teachers and T'zutujil speakers they are able to work better with students in the New School. For Pablo and Jacinto this awareness helps them to feel better, while for Juana Carolina and Marta knowing themselves and their location helps them to work in this school and have better interpersonal relationships.

The answers given by the teachers suggest that they are aware of their identity and that they notice that they are not a homogeneous group. Although it is claimed that in the school there is acceptance of difference (see above quote), Juana's story seems to contradict this claim (see her quote p 40). Moreover, it is not clear to me that they are aware of how positionality influences the level of oppression people face.

Most teachers did not give any evidence of awareness of their participation in oppressions, with the exception of Juana. Readings that I have done, informal observations and teachers' responses lead me to think that they follow a multiculturalism/intercultural approach (see literature review section). Another very good example illustrating discrimination taking place in the school is Rafael's story (p. 39). Pablo's comment in the following story exemplifies how participating in reproducing the normalization of dominant culture is invisible for them. Inés said her grandfather was of Spanish origin: "His skin was white, his eyes were light color, and his hair was light brown". At this moment, Pablo says: "Ah that is why she [Inés] is pretty". Spanish colonizers invaded Guatemala and many colonized believed that the more a person looks like a Spaniard, the better looking the person is.

In the next section I discuss my impressions about their teacher education program, and discuss interviews of three university graduates.

Teacher education

Although the objective of this study was not to conduct a deep analysis of teacher education I cannot ignore the need to at least mention a few points about it. In informal conversations I asked nine teachers from the New School about their teaching education.

Table 6 shows that although all nine teachers studied different kinds of discrimination, their answers included only discrimination based on social class and ethnicity. Three out of nine teachers had the opportunity to study the historic roots of classism and racism. In terms of the types of discrimination three studied racism alone, four studied classism alone and two studied a combination of the two totaling nine teachers. Moreover, only two teachers claim their training had some space for critical reflection.

Table 6: New School Teacher's education

Question:	# of teachers Yes	# of teachers No	Total
1. In your teaching training did you have the opportunity to study any of the following:			
a) Historic roots of racism	3	6	9
b) Types of discrimination	9	0	9
c) Racism only	3		
d) Classism only	4		
e) Racism and classism	2		9
f) Machismo and other types	0		0
g) Critical Reflection about Any of the topics above	2	7	9

When I asked teachers what else they thought could be done to eradicate discrimination in Guatemala, some of them said that they have to tell students not to discriminate, while others argued that the work has to be done not only with the students but also with parents and other people to keep spreading the message of non-tolerance to discrimination. However, Juana thinks that more than just talking about it is necessary, as the following quote illustrates:

I think that in our country we have not studied enough the topic of discrimination or inequality. We also need to critically think before we act... We teachers need to start working with our children and everyone to eradicate discrimination.

Another teacher adds that it is also important to work to bring awareness about discrimination to government officials, business people and other people in general. It is not surprising to me that Juana, who had the opportunity to be exposed to studying discrimination, its historic roots and some critical thinking, is the one who provides statements that suggest more awareness. She added that her own experiences and interest had helped her to keep searching for answers.

Although Juana seems to be searching in the right direction, I suggest that critical reflection at the individual and collective level is a necessary practice for teachers working in the New School. Moreover, a training that prepares them to begin the process of eradicating discrimination needs to be a requirement. That this will not be easily achieved is evident from the following statement by a university professor training in-service teachers to implement multiculturalism:

Perhaps the most disturbing...aspect of the multicultural...exercise, as I reflect on ten years of conducting it for in service and graduate courses is the confused and confusing way in which educators understand or misunderstand the concepts of "African" and "European". Believing that teachers are, in general, reflective of the educated population at large, I am struck but not surprised at the invisible nature of the ethnicity of [dominant culture] white folks [Ladinos] (Meyer, 2007, p.4)

The responses obtained from teachers suggested that interviewing a few more people would benefit this study. This time I chose Brenda, Carolina and Rolando, three university graduates with whom I had had informal conversations before beginning the study in Santiago. My observations of them suggested that they had some awareness of positionality, and more political awareness in general. I felt that their opinions could make a useful contribution to this study.

Table 7: University Graduates

Name	Gender	Age	Language spoken	Social class	University studies
Brenda	Female	33	Spanish	Middle class	Sociologist
Rolando	Male	30	Spanish	Middle class	Anthropologist
Carolina	Female	28	Spanish	Middle class	Engineer in renewable resources

The table shows a range in age from 28 to 33 years, and there are two females and one male; they are all middle class and attended the same university in Guatemala City. They all have some political involvement, either in the student movement, women's movement or a leftist political party.

I asked them: How did you become aware of your positionality and social consciousness? Coincidentally, all of them had parents that were committed to political participation. They had all lost at least one parent who was killed by the security forces because of their political participation. They all consider that achieving awareness of positionality and consciousness is a long process. Especially Brenda described the experience of losing a parent as playing a big part in her process of becoming socially conscientious. Brenda said:

It is a process of formation in which one begins to understand that societies are not "naturally" the way they are. Definitely one's history and life influences this process; [as well as] having parents politically active; the death of one of them, living in exile. This is a first moment that shakes [you]...however I went through a period of rejecting any political activity. I can not think about a specific moment that made me change this rejection. I think it was a process in which somehow when one understands that countries are structured and built by particular groups and that one could influence a change; it is something that you can not ignore anymore.

Carolina considers important in this process of gaining awareness how she was brought up, her formal and informal education, and also living in exile, which gave her the opportunity to experience other cultures. For Rolando living in Guatemala, a country with large differences based on social class, gender, ethnicity, etc., it was difficult to ignore so much injustice and inequality that was a daily reality.

The intention of my next question was to explore the subjects' opinions on the relationship between studying about inequalities, discrimination and the roots of inequality, and critical reflection, achieving awareness of positionality and social consciousness. Therefore I asked them: In the high school or university where you studied did you have the opportunity to study the historical roots of inequality; critically reflect about them and what to do if someone discriminates against you; or how not to discriminate against others? They said that this occurred not at the high school level but more in university; however, Carolina remembers a phrase she was constantly told in high school. She said:

It was by observation and in the moments in which I felt discriminated against. At these moments I really learned about them...by discussing them with other people that had the opportunity to study the roots of inequalities... in high school, I studied in a Catholic high school and I remember the repeated phrase "treat others the way you like to be treated". Although I did not question then discriminations within the Catholic Church, this phrase made me think about not discriminating against others. At university reflection on [positionality and discrimination] is more at a personal level. I was in a space of so much discrimination and the institution [university], although it calls itself inclusive, it does not promote critical reflection.

Carolina is an engineer and studied in one of the most male dominated faculties. Not only as a woman but as a woman with an indigenous last name she faced discriminations more intensively. However, I believe that her political involvement in the student movement and participating in political discussions about discrimination helped her to understand better her positionality and achieve more consciousness. Brenda thinks

that it was not so much the content of the programs at university that helped her to critically think about discrimination and positionality as it was the initiative of some professors who had already achieved some awareness.

Next I asked them: Besides experiencing, studying and critically reflecting on inequalities, what else could be done to eradicate inequality? They all agreed that it is a very difficult and complicated process. Rolando pointed out:

...we have to be aware that discriminative behavior is learned. Once you understand this point, critical self reflection exercises helps. After these exercises your behavior has to improve. The goal is to have a coherent behavior and then you could teach by example. This process is necessary not only in our society but other societies as well.

I asked them the last question: If you had the opportunity to study inequalities and discrimination, the roots of inequality and critical reflection and achieving awareness of positionality and social consciousness, what influence would it have in your work, studies, activities and everyday life? They all agreed that being aware of how societies based on unequal relations of power were constructed, where they are personally located in relation to these axes of power, and how they face oppressions because of their positionality, helps them to understand their world. Illustrating this point Brenda said:

In general it helps you to understand the world; it is unavoidable that in any space I am, I am observing how inequalities take place, or how whatever people say continues reinforcing these inequalities. The clearest example is the role assigned to women [in this patriarchal society]. Not only what I studied at university, but jobs I had, spaces in which I participate, all of it is part of the process of building my awareness of my [positionality and social consciousness] visions and positions. In my job what I studied helps, but my job also helps what I studied. In other words it is spaces and learning processes intersecting and strengthening each other.

The opinions of these last three subjects suggest that understanding positionality and achieving political awareness results from a constant relationship between experiencing and studying and experiencing again; one helps the other and vice versa. It also seems essential to be in contact with a mentor(s) that are politically aware and searching for transformation.

These responses bring me back to my argument about proper training for teachers in the New School. The New School teachers seem to be lacking the experiences and opportunities Brenda, Rolando and Carolina had for achieving a better understanding of positionality and political awareness. Because Brenda, Carolina and Rolando not only experienced it but formally or informally studied and discussed with more aware people [mentors, university professors], they were able to achieve awareness. I suggest that in order to begin deconstructing and to really transform dominant culture and the invisible normalization of discriminations, a training that emphasizes critical reflection is needed. Giroux (2006) supports this point arguing that university professors teaching future teachers should make it clear that they have a responsibility to critically educate their students. One of his approaches is using popular culture and discussing Hollywood movies in a way that reveals invisible message in them.

Ng (1995) also supports the importance of proper teaching education program as she argues that teachers have the responsibility to discuss with students and together confront the invisibility of racism and sexism. She also talks about reflection on positionality, a point that I support since it is an essential factor to be considered in working against discrimination. Ng uses every moment and situation that takes place in her class to critically reflect and discuss with her students commonsense sexism and racism.

In the same vein Barakett and Nassem (2008) agree with women of color as they argue that additional factors such as positionality influence their oppression both at the individual and collective level. They also advocate the use of autobiography to examine their own internalization of racism. I suggest that autobiography is an excellent instrument to promote critical reflection about any type of discrimination.

I support Dei (1996) in advocating for an inclusive antiracist education that addresses all oppressions coexisting and interlocking in society; that considers the

importance of positionality in how subjects experience oppressions; that acknowledges the importance of proper teacher training before teachers are ready to engage in working against discrimination. Without ignoring Santiago's reality, some of these suggestions could be implemented in the New School. Although I believe that the New School has taken a great step and has lots of potential for transforming the community, without considering the previous suggestions teachers are far from really moving away from a multiculturalism/intercultural approach and undertaking an antiracist and inclusive pedagogy.

More research needs to be done to find what education program is most appropriate for future and in-service teachers to work in Guatemala. I argue that having proper teacher education program is an essential step to begin the process of deconstruction of normalization of the dominant culture and racism. If teachers are trained to critically reflect on the historical roots of power relations, oppressions and positionality they will be able to collectively work with their students, parents and community, and together begin confronting contradictions and move towards achieving transformation.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

When Spanish colonizers came to Guatemala, Mayans were a non-homogenous group made up of different ethnic cultures that had their own contradictions and indigenous racism in place. Spanish colonizers brought European racism which placed all Mayan cultures at the bottom of the scale for economic reasons. Ladinos, a new group, emerged as a result of the mixture of Spaniards and Mayans, and they were socially located above Mayans. Although there are poor Ladinos, practices from colonial times placed Mayans at a lower level.

Education for indigenous people, or Christianization for assimilation purposes, was carried out by Catholic priests. Education, the Church and the implementation of labor laws reinforced the naturalization of racism and male domination. The independence from Spain did not change racist and discriminatory practices, although some Ladinos managed to move up the social scale and form part of the elite composed of descendents of the Spaniards. In this process of naturalization and institutionalization of racism, sexism and classism, the developing elite put in place an education system based on Ladino culture. This education excludes a large portion of the population, especially indigenous, women and poor. After the U.S. invasion and successive military dictatorships, tens of thousands of people were assassinated, kidnapped and tortured, with Mayans accounting for 83 % of the victims. Peace Accords were signed after more than thirty years of armed conflict, after which an approach based on multiculturalism/interculturalism was introduced in a few schools.

In the meantime, at the international and at local level, followers of critical pedagogy continued searching for a pedagogy that addresses oppressions in society. Some proposed a pedagogy that deals with social class contradiction, others proposed one that deals with racism, and others proposed a feminist pedagogy. Feminist pedagogues went beyond previous pedagogues by combining feminism with other pedagogies, and introduced the concept of positionality and its influence on how oppressions are experienced.

Similarly to Canada and other countries, the Guatemalan government permitted the implementation of a multicultural/intercultural approach in schools that take the

initiative. T'zutujiles, one of the twenty Mayan cultures, was one of the ethnic groups that implemented an alternative approach in a school that they organized. This approach is different from the one in public schools, and under these circumstances the present study was carried out in this alternative school in Santiago Atitlán.

My discussion throughout this thesis illustrates that there are multiple oppressions present in Santiago Atitlán and that they intersect in society and within the individual. I argue that a study of this nature requires qualitative research because it considers the study of subjects in connection with society. Observations, conversations, formal and informal interviews, and photography produced by the researcher are used. Anecdotes from the three groups this study worked with reveal that in Santiago Atitlán some people are discriminated against because of social class, gender, ethnicity, geographic location, etc. Some people, like Rafael, are discriminated against at different times for several reasons. For example, at the New School he was excluded because of his social class and ethnicity. He was lower class and a Chortí amongst T'zutujiles; he also came from a rural area into an urban area. At the same time this example illustrates multiple oppressions intersecting in society and the individual; it also illustrates that, although at the New School teachers claim openness and tolerance to difference, there is discrimination against the one who is different.

The outcome of this research has been to illustrate oppressions interlocking in society, as well as to analyze my observations of the type of pedagogy that the New School implements. Although teachers and administration have the best intentions, by including Mayan and T'zutujil knowledge, and working with the community to promote T'zutujil pride, it does not seem to be enough to address racism and other types of discrimination. This research suggests two problems. One is that because oppressions interlock in society, multiculturalism or an antiracist pedagogy is not enough to address all the interlocking oppressions. The other problem is the lack of appropriate teacher education. I am not saying that it is the teachers or school's fault; however through this research process it became clear that although teachers would like to change their realities, that of their students and community, they were not provided the opportunity to acquire the proper education. I argue that unless they study the roots of inequality and all types of oppressions interlocking in their community, critically reflect on positionality

and naturalization of oppressions, and learn the necessary techniques to work with students, they are not going to be able to begin the process of transformation to which they aspire. Although more research is required to prepare a program providing the necessary education for teachers, in the appendices I provide a few examples of participative techniques that could be used in such a program (pp. 65 -67).

It is my belief and interpretation of the responses given by the university graduates that acquiring an understanding of the roots of inequalities, discrimination, positionality and critical reflection is possible. Their responses lead me to conclude that in order for a teacher or mentor to be prepared to actually work with people to achieve awareness of the roots of inequality, discriminations and their normalization; of how being a female indigenous person makes you feel oppression differently than if you are a male indigenous (positionality); the teacher or mentor needs to have first achieved awareness, and be able to critically reflect on and question the status quo. In other words, mentors, teachers and professors need to have the proper education. As Carlota and Brenda said:

It was when I was discriminated against that I learned...and having a [mentor] person and people that had the knowledge to discuss with that helped me grow and gain awareness...What I experienced when I am discriminated against helps me understand what I study ... what I study helps me to understand what I experience...what I study helps me to understand my job and my job helps me to understand what I study...

Carlota and Brenda state very clearly that it is a constant relationship between experience and theory, practice and theory, theory and practice that helps the individual to achieve awareness. In short, before teachers are able to work with students, parents and members of the community to study historic roots of all types of discrimination; to understand all oppressions coexisting and interlocking in society, and the naturalization of commonsense racism and sexism and all types of oppression; and to decide what is to be done to begin a process of eradication of these oppressions; they have to experience

and acquire the necessary knowledge in a constant process relating experience and theory.

In conclusion, this thesis has aimed not only to illustrate oppressions interlocking, and to criticize the multicultural approach to beginning a process of transformation; but also to suggest an inclusive pedagogy and an appropriate education program for teachers. The complexities of society need to be seen in their totality and not through a narrow lens that only calls for tolerance to difference, or only sees one or two oppressions at a time.

CAPÍTULO V

CONCLUSIONES Y RECOMENDACIONES

Cuando los colonizadores españoles vinieron a Guatemala, los mayas no eran un grupo homogéneo, sino formado de diferentes grupos étnicos que tenían sus propias contradicciones y el racismo indígena. Los colonizadores españoles trajeron el racismo europeo el cual colocó a todos los grupos mayas en lo más bajo de la escala por razones económicas. Los ladinos, un nuevo grupo, surgieron como resultado de la mezcla entre españoles e indígenas, y fueron ubicados socialmente por encima de los mayas. A pesar de que existen ladinos pobres, las prácticas coloniales colocaron a los mayas en un nivel más bajo.

La educación para los indígenas o mejor dicho la cristianización con propósito de asimilación, estaba a cargo de sacerdotes católicos. La educación, la iglesia y la creación de ciertas leyes laborales reforzaron la naturalización del racismo y la dominación machista. La independencia de España no cambió las prácticas racistas y discriminatorias, sin embargo algunos ladinos lograron subir en la escala social y formar parte de la élite compuesta por los descendientes de los españoles. En este proceso de naturalización e institucionalización del racismo, sexismo y clasismo, la élite que se iba desarrollando implementó una educación de corte ladino. Esta educación excluye sectores grandes de la población especialmente indígenas, mujeres y pobres. Después de la invasión de Estados Unidos y una serie de dictaduras militares sucesivas, decenas de miles de personas fueron asesinados, secuestrados y torturados, siendo los mayas el 83 % de las víctimas. Los Acuerdos de Paz fueron firmados después de más de treinta años de conflicto armado; después de la firma la interculturalidad se introdujo en algunas escuelas.

Mientras tanto a nivel internacional y local, los seguidores de la pedagogía crítica continúan buscando una pedagogía que considere todas las opresiones existentes en la sociedad. Algunos proponen una pedagogía que enfrenta la contradicción de clase, otros una que lucha en contra el racismo, otras una que resuelva el machismo. Las pedagogas feministas han ido más lejos que los pedagogos anteriores al combinar el feminismo con otras pedagogías anteriores, y también al introducir el concepto de posicionalidad y su influencia en la intensidad de las opresiones que se viven.

Al igual que en Canadá y otros países, el gobierno guatemalteco permitió la implementación del multiculturalismo o su sinónimo la interculturalidad en escuelas que toman la iniciativa. Los T'zutujiles, una de las veinte culturas mayas, fueron uno de los grupos étnicos que crearon una escuela nueva para implementar esta visión alternativa. Este abordaje a la educación es diferente a la de las escuelas públicas, y bajo estas circunstancias este estudio se realizó en esta escuela alternativa en Santiago Atitlán.

Mi discusión en este trabajo ilustra que hay múltiples opresiones existentes en Santiago, que concurren e interseccionan en la sociedad y en el individuo. Argumento que un estudio de esta naturaleza requiere investigación cualitativa porque ésta considera el estudio de los sujetos en conexión con la sociedad. Observaciones, conversaciones, entrevistas formales e informales, y fotografía producida por los investigadores se usaron en este estudio. Anécdotas obtenidas de tres grupos con los que este estudio trabajó revelan que en Santiago Atitlán algunas personas son discriminadas por su clase social, género, etnicidad, ubicación geográfica de sus viviendas, etc. Algunas personas como Rafael, son discriminadas por diferentes razones en diferentes momentos. Por ejemplo en la escuela nueva el era excluido por su clase social, etnicidad y origen. Al mismo tiempo este ejemplo ilustra que múltiples opresiones se entrecruzan en la sociedad y el individuo; también ilustra que a pesar de que la escuela nueva propugna por la aceptación y tolerancia a la diferencia, también hay discriminación a quién es diferente.

El resultado de esta investigación ha sido ilustrar las opresiones que se entrecruzan en la sociedad, así como analizar mis observaciones de la pedagogía que la escuela nueva aplica. A pesar de que la escuela y administración de la escuela tienen las mejores intenciones, al incluir el conocimiento maya y T'zutujil, y al trabajar con la comunidad para promover el orgullo T'zutujil, esto no parece suficiente para combatir el racismo y otras clases de discriminaciones. Este estudio sugiere dos problemas. Uno es que debido a que las opresiones se entrecruzan en la sociedad, el multiculturalismo sinónimo la interculturalidad o una pedagogía antirracista no es suficiente para responder a todas estas opresiones concurrentes. El otro problema es la falta de formación pedagógica de los maestros. Yo no digo que es culpa de los maestros o la escuela; sin embargo a lo largo de este estudio se evidenció que a pesar de que a los maestros y a la escuela les gustaría cambiar la realidad de ellos, sus estudiantes y la comunidad, a los

maestros no se les dio la oportunidad de obtener la preparación adecuada. Argumento que a menos que se estudien las raíces de la desigualdad y todas las opresiones en intersección en la comunidad, críticamente se reflexione en la posicionalidad y naturalización de las opresiones, y se aprendan las técnicas necesarias para trabajar con los estudiantes, el proceso de transformación que se desea no se puede empezar.

Mi interpretación de las respuestas que dieron los graduados universitarios es que sí es posible adquirir un entendimiento de las raíces de la desigualdad, discriminación, posicionalidad y reflexión crítica. Sus respuestas me hacen concluir que para que un maestro o mentor esté preparado para realmente trabajar con personas para que adquieran conciencia de las raíces de la desigualdad, discriminaciones y su normalización, como ser mujer indígena hace la discriminación diferente que si es un hombre indígena (posicionalidad), el maestro o mentor necesita primero adquirir conciencia de esto, y ser capaz de cuestionar y reflexionar críticamente sobre la realidad. Dicho de otra manera mentores, maestros y profesores necesitan obtener la preparación adecuada. Como Carlota y Brenda dicen:

Fue cuando me discriminaron que aprendí...y tener a [un mentor] personas que ya habían adquirido el conocimiento para discutir lo que me ayudó a crecer y obtener conciencia...[cuando soy discriminada] mis trabajos o los espacios en que he participado aporta a lo que estudié, y lo que estudié me ayuda en mi trabajo porque lo investigo...

Carlota y Brenda lo dicen muy claramente que es una constante relación entre experiencia y teoría, práctica y teoría, teoría y práctica lo que ayuda al individuo a alcanzar una conciencia. En breve, antes que los maestros estén preparados para trabajar con los estudiantes, los padres y miembros de la comunidad; para estudiar las raíces históricas y todas las clases de discriminación; para entender todas las opresiones que coexisten en intersección en la sociedad, la naturalización del racismo y sexismo de sentido común y todas las opresiones; y decidir que se debe hacer para empezar un proceso de erradicación de estas opresiones; ellos deben tener experiencias y adquirir el conocimiento necesario en este proceso relacionando experiencia y teoría.

En conclusión, esta tesis ha tenido como objetivo no solamente ilustrar las opresiones que se entrecruzan en la sociedad, y criticar constructivamente el abordaje multicultural para empezar un proceso de transformación, sino además sugerir una pedagogía inclusiva y una formación docente apropiada para los maestros. Las complejidades de la sociedad necesitan que sean vistas en su totalidad y no a través de un lente reducido que solo pide tolerancia a la diferencia, o solo ve una o dos opresiones al momento.

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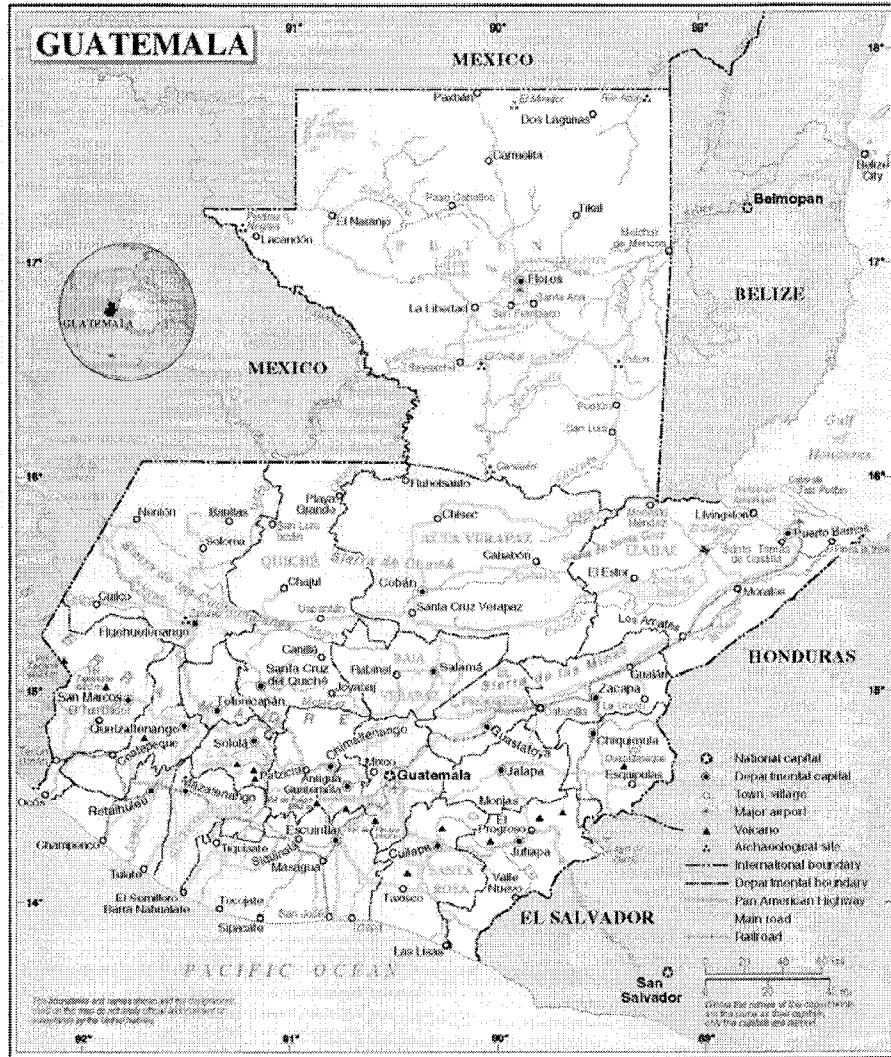
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Cartographic map of Guatemala



Map No. 3014 Rev. 2. UNITED NATIONS
May 2004

Department of Peacekeeping Operations
Geographic Section

Participative techniques for an anti-racist/inclusive pedagogy

In order for teachers to be prepared to implement a pedagogy to confront racism and oppressions, they need to learn appropriate instruments. In the present section I provide a few examples of participative techniques, however much more research is needed to prepare the necessary program of teacher education. The techniques described are called participative because they require active participation to construct knowledge, at the same time that they avoid the traditional lecture/banking method of education (Freire, 1960). I argue that these activities could be applied with student teachers, youth groups and adults in a school setting, in a workplace, in community groups, or in organizations aiming to deconstruct racism and other type of discriminations. Thus I call them “Participative techniques for an antiracist/inclusive pedagogy”.

Warming up techniques

Spider web

This technique could be used as a combination of warming up and introduction. Ask all participants to stand in a circle. You hold a ball of string and start by saying your name, occupation, ethnic group or culture and a little bit of your background. You pass the ball to a participant and he has to introduce himself covering the same information you did; then pass the ball to another participant and continue until the last participant receives the ball and introduces herself. Once all participants have introduced themselves, the last participant returns the ball to the person she received it from and repeats the information given by that participant. In other words the ball travels through all participants but now in the reverse direction until the ball comes back to you. It is important to request concentration before starting the game since participants do not know who receives the ball first, and who receives it next. The following technique is also a good one to use for a combined warming up/introduction, but perhaps not for the first day of the course.

The patchwork quilt

If the group is culturally mixed, this technique provides an opportunity to appreciate the diversity of our ethnic and cultural composition. Even if the group is not very diverse, display the map of Guatemala (see linguistic map p. 63) showing the different cultures present in Guatemala on a screen by an overhead projector or laptop. Give a piece of paper to each participant and ask them to fold it in four sections. Ask participants to write the answers to the following questions in the specific sections: 1. Where (town or village) are you from? You may draw a symbol or picture that represents your town. 2. What culture or ethnic group do you belong to? 3. List or describe an aspect of your culture that makes you proud. 4. Describe what you know about the heritage of your first or last name. Include questions about gender, social class and sexual orientation, if you want to use this technique to show how different types of oppressions intersect within the individual, in groups and in society. After participants are done they are to describe the four sections of their quilt to the group. At the end of the presentations ask them to tape their patches together on the wall to form a group patch quilt and leave it there for the duration of the course (Adams et al., 1997, p.89).

Diagnostic/building knowledge techniques

Paper charts/gallery walk

Have the definitions of cultural and institutional racism on paper charts.

Cultural Racism: the aspects of society that attribute normality to members of the dominant culture and devalue and stereotype members of other cultures.

Institutional Racism: the network of institutions that promotes advantages for the dominant culture, considering them as rights, and discriminates and oppresses other cultures.

Divide the group into two or four sections, and give each one a definition; two of the groups can work with the same definition. Ask them to think about examples of the type of racism defined. They could illustrate the concepts with drawings, sentences or symbols. After 15 to 20 minutes have them display their charts on the walls of the room. Ask participants to take a gallery walk and after they have had a chance to see all the

charts, ask them to sit in a circle for closing this activity. Ask them if they have more ideas or thoughts about their examples. Emphasize that racism and other discriminations do not take place only at the individual level but that they are part of the fabric of a society based on power relations (CEDEPO, 1996, p. 2.27; Adams et al., 1997, p.90).

Photographs





