

Schools of the Street: Hip-hop as Youth Pedagogy in Bolivia

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ABSTRACT

The experience of hip-hop in El Alto, Bolivia is at once familiar as it shares much of the sound, symbols and oppositional aspects with youth counterparts around the world, and also unique insofar as it takes on an explicit educational dimension. In El Alto, an environment where schools are scarce, poverty and unemployment rife, and mistrust of government and elite institutions widespread, the practice and culture of hip-hop seem to be fulfilling a role of popular, non-institutionalized public sphere education. Hip-hop has served as a means for youth to narrate their stories, write alternative histories, and act pedagogically and politically, especially during the political mobilizations in the past decade. Through life histories of two of the young men involved in popularizing hip-hop locally, this paper analyzes youth as public pedagogues and the streets, songs, and local cultural centers as public sphere schools.

Key works: hip-hop, Bolivia, youth, El Alto, alternative education

Since hip-hop exploded onto the youth music scene in the South Bronx, New York in the mid-1970s, it has been understood and conceptualized as many things; a voice of the subaltern, a commercial art form, a medium to promote global solidarity, an expression of violence and misogyny to name a few categorizations (see et al. 2009, Cutler 2003, Dyson 2004, Kong 1995, Lusane 2004, Maira 2000, Ntarangwi 2009, Potter 1995). But one thing that exemplifies hip-hop above all is the degree to which it has travelled around the globe and been appropriated by youth who are involved in oppositional and social justice causes. As hip-hop spreads across the planet among diverse youth communities the form does not get simply transplanted from one milieu to another. Youth borrow, appropriate, adapt and localize musical genres where they inscribe them with their own significance, symbols, and power (Osumare 2008).

The manifestation of hip-hop in El Alto, Bolivia is at once familiar as it shares many sounds, symbols and oppositional aspects with the genre around the world. But it is also unique insofar as it takes on a life of its own as it grows in a

International Journal of Critical Pedagogy, Vol 4 (1) (2012) pp 172-184

local context with its specific political economy, history, and geography. El Alto is an environment where poverty and unemployment are rife, mistrust of government and elite institutions widespread, and schools are scarce. In this context the practice and culture of hip-hop seem to be fulfilling a role of popular, non-institutionalized public sphere education.

Our study of hip-hop is positioned at the intersection of non-formal education and youth studies. It differs from some of the innovative work in education studies that argues that hip-hop should be incorporated into the programs of formal and non-formal education. We fully endorse the position that hip-hop can be a source for raising the critical consciousness of learners (Williams 2009, p. 2) and that it is “a viable option for infusing social justice into the classroom” (Land & Stovall 2009). But our purpose in this article is to argue that hip-hop in El Alto represents a form of youth organized street-based public education that merits being understood in its own right.

This takes us to the second point about the public sphere and education. The practice of looking outside formal schools to understand diverse sites and processes of teaching and learning and their relation to citizenship has a long tradition. American educational historian, Lawrence Cremin, wrote about “public pedagogy” as that which “projects us beyond the schools to a host of other institutions that educate: families, churches, libraries, museums, publishers, benevolent societies, youth groups, agricultural fairs, radio networks, military organizations, and research institutes” (Cremin 1970, p. xi). In this conception of public pedagogy, education takes place in a range of institutional and social contexts, but for the most part adult authorities are assumed to perform the role of transmitting values, dispositions, and culture to the young. The field of cultural studies shifted the focus away from adult-mediated sites to youth cultural spaces and took more seriously the role of the young themselves as public educators (Giroux 2004). With the communications revolution as youth have at their disposal more effective tools to create and transmit their own messages and movements, youth pedagogy has become even more diffused and influential in local and global public spheres. Those youth involved in cultural production, public performance, and public pedagogy—whether local hip-hop using the streets and radio, to bloggers—can be viewed as public sphere youth educators.

This study began as a thesis in development studies by Rocio (Ramírez Baldivían 2007) and continued with fruitful exchanges between the supervisee and supervisor (and co-authors of this article). Both had an interest in music and politics and its relation to youth cultural politics (see Herrera 2005 & 2008). Rocio’s engagement with this topic began in early childhood in Bolivia when her mother introduced her to “revolutionary music.” This led her to assign music a role beyond pure entertainment, a notion that underpins this work.

While studying development economics in college, she felt that economic modeling fell far short of addressing the deep structural causes and responses to poverty in Bolivia. In order to understand poverty one needed direct contact with

the people suffering the reality. A hip-hop group in a known cultural center called Wayna Tambo provided the perfect example of how music served as a window into a world of those living a marginalized reality. By going deeper into both the artistic expression of hip-hop and the situated lives of the hip-hoppers and other youths of El Alto we sought to understand the connections between youth politics, cultural expression and change processes. This study thus draws on analysis of lyrics, political economy of El Alto, and the life stories of two hip-hoppers in El Alto- Bolivia. Rocio, a resident of La Paz, conducted the life history research during a summer field work trip in 2007. Though she was eventually welcomed in the world of the hip-hoppers the early encounters were not always comfortable. As a “white” middle class female she initially felt some trepidation and wrote in her field notes, “ (...) It seems that the hip-hop guys are a very interesting group but I have to admit that their ‘get up’, the way they talk and the fact that they come from a street reality scares me, so now I have encountered a very clear prejudice related with the general negative connotations that people have about street young people.” She in turn experienced their derision of her class position. When they found out she was studying in an elite university they looked down, smiled and she could feel a silence rejection. Despite these initial encounters, they soon dealt with each other as peers with a friendly and open way. This could be explained by the fact that they were of the same generation, shared a commitment to social justice issues and an interest in the musical world. The hip-hoppers gave of their time generously, made her comfortable to hang out in their cultural center, and spoke profusely during the life history interviews about their childhoods, political and economic struggles, life on the streets, and pathways to hip-hop.

Youth and Music in the Rebel City

The hillside satellite city of El Alto has famously been called, “the most significant rebel city in Latin America” (Zibechei 2005). At first glance El Alto, which sits on the Altiplano Highlands 13,000 feet above sea level, exhibits typical qualities of an urban slum. It is beset by extreme poverty, informal housing, low levels of education and health provision, has among the highest illiteracy rate in urban Bolivia, and is very likely the youngest and poorest city in Latin America. Some 60% of the approximate 800,000 residents are under 25 years of age and a mere 25% of youth complete secondary education (Zibechei 2005). Yet unlike other urban slums on the continent with similar rates of poverty, social exclusion, joblessness, and youth bulge, El Alto is “a relatively peaceful place” (Gill 2000, p. 30). It does not suffer from nearly the same degree of youth criminality, drug related gang violence and police counter-violence that is endemic in so many urban slums in Latin America.

This city of rural migrants and miners, 75% of whom identify as indigenous Aymara, is unique not so much because of the dearth of formal state institutions—including schools, but for its impressive tradition of civic mobilization

and community organization. *Alteños* (residents of El Alto) organize along highly participatory, though not necessarily democratic lines, and have been called highly active “citizens despite the state” (Lazar 2008). Local associations such as neighborhood committees, labor federations, mother’s clubs, parents’ clubs, youth groups, church groups, cultural groups, and a range of other civic and cultural associations regulate the streets, people, markets and barrios. In addition to overseeing housing, markets, health services, and cultural activities, the local residents are especially vigilant about crime. With the near absence of a formal police force, and known corruption of the small force that is present, the local residents practice vigilantism; they are determined to keep thieves and gang crime out of their barrios. Raúl Zebechi describes the fate of many a hapless thief who dares to attempt a crime in an El Alto Barrio:

“The organisations are all territorial – they control an area, a barrio or a market. Here everything is territorial. For example, if you walk down the streets of El Alto you will see hanging puppets. They are a warning to thieves and they announce that someone was robbed here. When a thief comes, whistles sound and people surround him, throw stones and kill him. Some 900 thieves die this way in El Alto each year. The police don’t exist, or worse still they collaborate with the thieves. So people build their own forms of self-defense which are very troubling from a Western point of view – but that’s how things work here” (quoted in Socialist Workeronline 2006).

This reality means that *Alteño* youth, especially young men who join gangs, do not exert the degree of power, prestige, and control over the streets of El Alto that exist in other urban areas. Because of this they may be more likely to find alternative means to exert themselves in the public sphere and hip-hop has provided one such vehicle.

Hip-hop took its first tentative steps in Bolivia in terms of its own production in the capital city of La Paz in the 1990s, but quickly found its footing in the El Alto.¹ It is no coincidence that hip-hop arrived in the streets of Bolivia at the beginning of the 1990s during the radical second phase of neoliberal reforms that focused principally on the privatization of natural resources and all the major and strategic state-owned enterprises (Webber 2007). The relationship between the richest and the poorest quintile reached 1:90 in the 1990s, making Bolivia one of the most unequal countries in the world and El Alto one of its poorest cities (Rivero 2006). The country, along with Guatemala, is also unique in Latin American and the Caribbean in that more than half the population, 62% in Bolivia, identify with being indigenous.

The first of what was to become a series of popular struggles took place in the city of Cochabamba in the eight day protest in April 2000 against the privatization of water (Cochabamba was also, not coincidentally, the site of the World People’s Conference on Climate Change and the Rights of Mother Earth, April 2010).² After that public demonstration, a flurry of social demands and protests started to take place, coming especially from the peasants and miners and their

youthful offspring in El Alto. The tax rebellion of 2003 began with the announcement on February 11, 2003 by the then president, Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada, of an increase in income taxes in order to reduce the public deficit. The tax was promoted by a visiting IMF delegation and especially targeted the working poor. The revolts started when rank and file members within the police force who were striking for back pay and demands for future salary increases exchanged gunfire against the military outside the presidential palace. The working poor, students and other youth of El Alto and La Paz rose up alongside the rank and file police and from that point it turned into a popular rebellion.

Just months after the tax rebellions, the citizens of El Alto were involved in the gas war of Black October that lasted nine days and resulted in 67 fatalities and 400 injuries. The people's fight to control their natural resources developed into a national movement that resulted in a massive increase of income from gas taxes. It also led to the downfall of the President and paved the way for the election of the first indigenous president in Bolivia, the leader of the Movement for Socialism (MAS) party, Evo Morales Ayma who in 2010 remained president. The incipient hip-hoppers in El Alto heralded from the "warrior neighborhoods" who led the protests and battles during the tax rebellions and gas war of Black October. These hip-hoppers have been following the steps of their migrant parents, steps of a path full of discrimination and poverty but also, in many cases, of rebellion.

Those youth in their teens to mid-20s who witnessed and directly participated in the street rebellions of 2003-2005 experienced a turning point. For them this was a period of political and social awakening. They learned to view themselves as significant actors in the economic and political struggles taking place in the country, and as makers of history (Prada 2003; Rivero 2006, p. 46, Rodriguez 2004). A 22 year old Alteen and Aymaran named Grafo explains how he emerged from the violent uprisings of Black October with a political consciousness and as a hip-hopper with a mission:

"Hip-hop is protest, and that protest did not exist here until Black October (...) That's when my rebellion was born, when I [felt helpless amidst the violence] but knew that together we could do more. The idea of writing lyrics for protest songs came to my mind (...) Because it really hits you to see people dying next to you, and you ask yourself, 'what can I do to make the unheard voice heard?'"

In keeping with the spirit of the rebellion, hip-hoppers of Alto fervently agitate for redistribution of national wealth and land and revalorization of the indigenous culture. In the words of Bojorquez, a leader of the rap movement in El Alto, "We don't just sing about things like 'I feel bad, my girlfriend left me and now I'm going to go and get drunk', with a lot of *cumbias* [indigenous South American music]. We want to awaken the consciousness of the youth through protest music, but also through proposals" (cited in Stefanoni 2007).

Journeys to the “School of Hip-hop”

The life stories of Abraham and Renzy can help to explain how hip-hop occupies a critical pedagogic and educational place in El Alto. Abraham is 23, Aymara, and a local spokesperson of the local hip-hop movement. For him hip-hop is a weapon and educational tool. Renzy, who is 25, and Aymara views hip-hop as a form of life that mirrors the street reality. Each hip hopper has taken a distinctive trajectory, but in both cases, poverty and social exclusion began the road that led each one to the world of hip-hop.

Renzy is involved in “Street Corner,” the hip-hop Radio Program of the popular Wayna Tambo cultural centre in El Alto. His parents were teachers and he has carried on the educational tradition through hip-hop. They lived in a miner community and had to migrate after the mine relocation policy in the 1980s. Renzy’s paternal grandfather died in the Chaco War³ leaving his grandmother alone with their children. She had to support the family working as a mineral grinder, a job that demanded long hours and hard physical effort in exchange for a miserable income. She died when Renzy’s father was four years old. Renzy’s maternal grandfather used to own his own transportation business. However, after the hyperinflation in the mid-1980s he lost everything and had to start from scratch. During that period his parents queued for bread and a ration of two pails of water which was supposed to last for the entire day.

By the mid-1990s, large swaths of the Bolivian population were suffering from the effects of structural adjustment. These included privatization of public utilities and withdraw of the state from welfare provisioning and subsidies, both of which led to wider inequality, deeper poverty, and high levels of unemployment and informality. Renzy’s family experienced dire economic problems. His parents and older brothers had to work in order to obtain the necessary money to satisfy their basic needs. They did not have time to supervise Renzy. When asked about what it was like being the youngest of five children during the family’s crisis for survival, he answered, “It was ugly...I felt lonely (...) maybe that is why I am a rapper. I was on the streets and there I found my friends. We grew up together like brothers.” In fact, the “brothers” he refers to were members of a gang, and for a period he was himself a gang member, though hip-hop eventually offered him a wider more open community or peers.

These experiences of being on the streets led Renzy to the world of hip-hop. At the age of 14 he took part in break dance competitions. By 18 he found in the lyrics of hip-hop a source of identification. He then took part in an underground radio program that introduced hip-hop to El Alto. In January 2002 he participated in a hip-hop workshop organized by Wayna Tambo and became a regular visitor of the cultural centre because it offered him the possibility to reach more people and to find others with common interests and lifestyles. He explains, “For many hip-hoppers in El Alto hip-hop is more than a culture. It is a way of being, it is an essence. You do rap, but you are hip-hop.”

Renzy graduated from high school but considered his schooling experience alienating. Even though he was the son of teachers, he argued that school reinforces the inequitable social order and teaches “that you should be a gringo.” He believes that through formal schooling and state institutions people from ethnic minorities internalize messages about their own inferiority (this recalls the arguments of Ivan Illich, 1971). But he does not entirely reject formal learning. He believes he can play a role in redressing injustices through the two avenues of hip-hop and the law. He has enrolled in law school to gain expertise about legal rights and responsibilities so that he can spread information via music, radio and other means, about “what is forbidden and what is allowed so that when someone like the police—who are the most corrupt—want to exploit you, you will know what to do.”

The second hip-hopper, Abraham, is a member of the music group, Ukamau y Ke. Like Renzy he is involved in the radio program, “Street Corner,” and also has a part time job in the Wayna Tambo cultural center working in the musical production section. He is the youngest of four children. His father, a truck driver, was born in La Paz and decided to move to El Alto because of the more affordable land and house prices. He met his mother, a merchant who had migrated to El Alto from a rural area. His family situation was shaken by economic problems which led Abraham to run away and fend for himself at an early age. He recalls his feelings of rejection when his parents, unable to support and provide for him, would get angry at their situation and ask, “Why did we have this child?” They would sometimes treat him badly and beat him. At 12 he decided to “escape from home” and experienced life on the streets. He says that at that time, “the streets were the solution. You make friends. It’s hard to find rich friends, but the street is the street and there are a lot of people surviving in the cement jungle.”

After a year living on the streets in the notorious crime ridden area of la Ceja on the margins of El Alto, outside the areas protected by the barrio crime watch described above, he stole and pan handled to get money to buy alcohol. He heard from some friends that a couple of Bolivians arrived from Brazil looking for young people interested in working abroad. Desiring a change, Abraham decided to join a group of labor migrants to Brazil. After two and a half years living essentially as an indentured laborer, he escaped from the home of the “employer” who had taken him to Brazil. He found another job sewing in the textile industry where he earned a better salary which allowed him to rent his own room. But he sometimes worked up to 18 hours a day and his salary just barely covered his daily needs.

His neighbors introduced him to the hip-hop scene which had taken off in 1988. He recounts: “From the first time I heard it I’ve identified with it [...] because hip-hop speaks many truths. It seemed that it knew my life [...]. It talked about poverty, the streets, discrimination.” Brazilian hip-hop has been especially effective as a vehicle for progressive politics and social activism around race relations (Fernandes and Stanyek 2006, p. 206). The *Movimento Hip Hop Organizado*

(1990), for instance, formed by the hip-hop community in São Paulo connected the local black movement and political parties with schools, nongovernmental organizations, and neighborhoods.

Although it seemed his life was improving, Abraham had to return to Bolivia because of “street hang ups.” He got involved in the street wars when he defended fellow Bolivians in a street fight against a Brazilian drug dealer who was “racist and had issues with Bolivian immigrants.” Abraham started to carry a gun because he was afraid he would be shot during the night. He sometimes wonders how he handled those tough days in São Paulo. But he does not regret his time in Brazil since that journey allowed him to understand the conditions of his life more clearly.

Once back in Bolivia he found a job in a jewelry store and got involved with local youth who were immersed in the world of hip-hop. The sudden availability of pirated hip-hop CDs from Mexico and North America further allowed him to become familiar with different renditions of hip-hop. In his experience the world of hip-hop offer youth effective tools for learning and self-reform. He goes so far as to say, “If you are in a gang or into drugs, hip-hop is a therapy [to overcome crime and addiction].” When he reflects on his education and political formation he believes that hip-hop has played a larger and more influential role in his life than school. He does not regret dropping out of school because, as he tells it, “school was the most superficial thing I ever did. It could never offer me the wisdom I gained at the school of hip-hop.”

In the longer term Renzy intends to apply the pedagogy and spirit of hip-hop for social and economic justice to the legal realm by becoming a lawyer. Abraham plans to get more involved in the running the local cultural center and radio station, and to strengthen virtual networks. He is especially ardent about forging transnational alliances with other hip-hoppers and activists using new media. These and other hip-hoppers will invariably continue on their life paths equipped with the tools, knowledge, consciousness and networks they gained from the school of hip-hop.

The stories of Renzy and Abraham testify that the streets can be places of immense risk, venality, violence, and exploitation, but they can also provide refuge, solidarities, and creative energy. Their stories are in part a testament to the life worlds of youth from marginalized communities who are on the “wrong side” of neoliberal development. They could have very well taken other paths and joined the burgeoning ranks of youth in gangs or headed north with the scores of undocumented workers in search of work opportunities. But a combination of factors, including their contact with global youth culture, their consciousness of being part of a rebel generation of a rebel city, and their inclination towards the arts and social justice led them to a path of hip-hop pedagogy which they fashioned into a kind of youth-driven school of the streets.

Hip-hop as Political Pedagogy

Of paramount priority to Renzy and Abraham is that their politics, formed from the reality of their lives, are disseminated in the public sphere through their songs. The four main channels they use to disseminate their music and messages are radio, concerts, the streets, on-line social networking sites, YouTube, and individual web pages.⁴ They create local and international networks that generate a multidirectional, nonhierarchical means to disseminate their ideas and build alliances. As Renzy explains, “We use the Internet to make Bolivian hip-hop known. (...) I’ve created my web page to make contact with other rappers that might have the same thoughts and to make songs with them” (Renzy).

Their lyrics intertwine the personal with national and global politics. The excerpt below comes from the song, “Devastation” written by Renzy about the cruelty and discrimination faced by those on the streets.

<p>Put a realidad, pura crueldad, vivo con maldad, ajetreo en la <u>calle</u>, discriminación, corrupción en mi nación, continuo esa vida tan dividida, niños en la calle sin destino ni futuro mirando pura basura sin censura, niños sin ternura, la elección es puro fraude, pura mamada, pura cagada. Por culpa de la discriminación, contaminación, pobreza, mucha <u>corrupción</u>, ignorantes que hablan sin razón, no tienen corazón, aquí devastación, firma con acción, niños pequeños adictos, por la forma de vestir, por la forma <u>que hablo</u>. (Cancion: Dura Realidad, Interprete: Devastación, Cd: Klanes del Alto (2007)</p>	<p>Fucking reality, pure cruelty, I live with evil, noise in the streets, discrimination, corruption in my nation, I continue with this life so divided, kids on the streets without destiny or future watching garbage without censorship, kids without tenderness, the election is just a fraud, just a shit. Because of discrimination, contamination, poverty, much corruption, ignorant who talk without reason, they do not have heart, here devastation, sign with action, addicted kids, because of the way I dress, the way I speak</p> <p>(Song: Hard reality, Performer: Devastation, Cd: Klanes del Alto (2007)</p>
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In the song, “America Latina” by Abraham, he puts forward a very clear message that neoliberalism and globalization are serving elites locally and in North America to the detriment of the people of Bolivia and calls for action to confront and overturn an unjust economic and political order.

Abraham explains the often abrasive and tough language of hip-hop lyrics. “We cannot sing that commercial music that has nothing to do with our reality, that is just fantasy (...). We need to shoot the bad people, the bad government,

with lyrics. For what? To make people aware of what is going on because people quickly forget. A clear example is October right? In my lyrics I tell what I have lived. I saw the killing of my people, so I write about it. Reality is rough, but what can you do? You cannot hide from it.” In the track, “*Estamos con la Raza*” (We are with the Race), Abraham sings about the complex mixture of anger, pain and hope born from the black October events.

He reinterprets the national history in a way that places the indigenous people and their leaders in a heroic light as evidenced in an excerpt later in the song: “We are the incarnation of the immortal Pachamama (Mother land). Here the calm for the traitors is over (...) Here, Tupak Katakí⁷ comes back as millions of immortal native people. [...]”

Breaking the scheme of this monstrous system there have appeared more Bartolina⁸

women, firm women peasants with pure anger. Here we are and we are not leaving.”

Even though these hip-hoppers say they are not interested in formal politics and disregard all sorts of formal institutions, they view themselves as intensely political and hip-hop as “an instrument of struggle” and a means of popular education. As Grover, a 25 years old Aymara rapper explains, “politics emerges more from young people, with youth movements that do not belong to any party. Young people ‘move’ because they see that it is necessary to build things [regardless of what the political parties are doing].”

The debates occurring in hip-hop communities around commercialization are similar to those in education circles about privatization and commercialization (through business alliances and advertising in schools, for instance). There is the feeling among some rappers that any deals with the corporate and business sector will taint the message and reputation of the artists. Abraham has said that he “prefers to stay poor but in the battle.” He rejected an offer to appear for three seconds in a credit card commercial from which he would have earned six times his monthly income. But it cannot be overlooked that hip-hop is also a multimillionaire industry. There is a constant tension between making a livelihood out of hip-hop and disseminating it using commercial strategies, and maintaining its integrity as a source of change and component in liberatory struggles.

Schools of the Streets

Rappers who came of age on the streets during the popular mobilizations of the 1990s and early 2000s experienced a kind of peer socialization and political pedagogy of protest. In El Alto where formal state institutions are weak to nonexistent and *Alteños* have a tradition of self-organization and protest, hip-hop can be viewed as not only a youth cultural art form but a means of youth driven popular education. The youthful hip-hoppers have taken on roles of public educators in their own rights and use whatever means at their disposal—radio, street

corners, cultural centers, social networking sites, to engage in public education about issues of justice and action.

Youth on the margins of the economy and political system engage in self-directed educational pursuits outside of formal institutional confines of schooling. Hip-hop in El Alto plays a pedagogic role for youth in the public arena of the streets. If the mainstream media and schooling transmits “otherness constructions” about the poor and indigenous populations, then hip-hop in many instances functions as an alternative media and educational space. Alteño hip-hop urges young people to search for their own cultural roots and to be active in constructing the kind of society, relationship with the earth, with the economy, that is desirable to them and their communities. Hip-hoppers find within the codes of this music and lifestyles not only a source of identification, but also a space to narrate their stories, rewrite history, engage their generational counterparts in critical pedagogy, and act politically.

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(Endnotes)

- 1 Similar to the trajectory of hip-hop in Cuba, Brazil, and Venezuela, hip-hop in El Alto has been “an important vehicle for the expression of political demands, the constructions of new social identities, and the creation of alternative modes of leisure, survival, and transformation” (Fernandes & Stanyek 2006, p. 200).
- 2 This eight day popular protest, headed by a population tired of high rates and unfulfilled water-related promises led to the cease of the privatization of SEMAPA by the foreign enterprise, Aguas del Tunari.
- 3 The Chaco war took place from 1932 to 1935 between Bolivia and Paraguay for the control of the Chaco Boreal region with its assumed large quantities of oil and access to the sea. After many deaths the government reached an agreement in 1938 that was very unsatisfactory for Bolivia since it only kept 1/3 of the disputed territory.

- 4 For the links to some of their work see: (<http://www.myspace.com/rensigkr> (Renzy's web page in myspace), <http://profile.myspace.com/index.cfm?fuseaction=user.viewprofile&friendid=65661579>, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BpYfFDmQMMA>
- 5 Tratado de Libre Comercio – Free Trade Agreement.
- 6 Area de Libre Comercio de las Américas- Free Trade Area of the Americas.
- 7 Tupak Katari was an Aymara leader that fought against the colonial forces at the end of the 1770s. He was captured, executed, and cut into pieces. But before dying he pronounced the very famous phrase, “You can kill me now but tomorrow I will come back and I will be millions.”
- 8 Bartolina Sisa was Tupac Katari's wife who fought against the colonial forces and was murdered after her capture. Nowadays, when someone wants to refer to a brave woman, they refer to a “Bartolina.”