STATE REFORM AND RESILIENT POWERS: TEACHERS, SCHOOL CULTURE AND THE NEOLIBERAL EDUCATION REFORM IN PERU

BY

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A thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements of Newcastle University for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.)

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Abstract

State Reform and Resilient Powers: Teachers, School Culture and the Neo-liberal Education Reform in Peru.

This thesis critically examines the Peruvian education system in the context of the neo-liberal State reform, mainly during the regime of Alberto Fujimori (1990-2000). The recent history of the education system is studied in close relationship with the particularities of the geography and politics of Peru. As an interpretive framework the thesis draws on contemporary critical theory on education and the school, and recent theoretical approaches to the study of the state in post colonial societies. The preferred methodological approach is the multi-sited ethnography.

The ethnographic work was organised around three important and controversial aspects of the reformers' discourse: Decentralization, intercultural relations, and gender equity in education. The relationship between the state and teachers has been another dimension consistently considered. Observations concentrated on the exercise of power (and conditions for autonomous decision making processes), gender relations and racial relations in teacher training institutions. A final chapter provides ethnographic accounts of the ways in which those three discourses were "translated" at in-service teacher training programs during the reform to make evident the dissonance between them and local cultures of power.

The reformers did not succeed in solving the problems of Peruvian Education by applying a series of technical improvements -also prescribed to other countries. They failed to consider the post-colonial characteristics of the state in Peru, and did not take into account the ambivalent role of the state funded school system: Large enough to offer school access to the majority of the population, but with results so poor and ineffective, that in some areas it is almost as if it did not exist.

The diverse impulses to expand the state funded education system, have mixed with the traditional forms of domination in the country, characterized by the racialised distribution of power and wealth, that has privileged the more westernized Coast over the highlands and the rainforest, where Indigenous peoples are a large segment of the population.

Acknowledgements

First of all I want to thank the School of Modern Languages in Newcastle for the support of my colleagues during the last stages of my writing.

Next, I need to express my deepest gratitude to several pairs of people who have been crucial to this thesis. First, thanks go to Frank Salomon and Nina Laurie, because they convinced me of the possibilities of transforming my research interests into a PhD thesis. I would not have pursued this endeavour without their enthusiasm. Nina's support has been incredibly solid and generous during these years.

Hortencia Muñoz and Fiona Wilson have provided the best possible intellectual companionship during this process. I feel very privileged to have benefited from their wisdom, intellectual honesty and warmth. Without her knowing, conversations and constant exchange with Fiona have made me completely change some of these chapters, I hope for the better.

Fieldwork for this thesis would not have been possible without Vilma Farfan and Norma Carhuapuma. They took care of my children with so much love and responsibility when I was away, that I could focus on my work, missing my children, but with no worries about them.

In Newcastle, Katy Jenkins and Patricia Ocampo provided friendship and support when it was most needed. Patrick Lawrence and Jane Carnaffan helped me keep my sanity during the writing process, befriending my children, and taking me places to sing, meet people, and have a beer.

Manuela and Vicente have seen a lot less of their mother than they probably wanted while I was doing research, and during my writing. They have been patient, generous, and a permanent source of joy, pride and ultimate sense of purpose. I dedicate this work to them.

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Chapter One

Introduction

This thesis is part of the current stream of critical studies about the state reforms that were common in Latin America during the 1990s, following the Washington Consensus and the application of the Brady Plan[1]. It presents a study of the Peruvian education system in the context of the neo-liberal State reform, which started during the ten-year regime of President Alberto Fujimori (1990-2000).

Peru is in the central Andes in South America, near the equator. The Andean Mountain range, the proximity to the Pacific Rim and the Amazon rainforest make its territory remarkably diverse and divided. This fact still represents an enormous challenge to the control of a centralized state. No region can be self-sufficient, but the conditions for geographic, political and economic integration have always been a problem. In that context, the development of a national system of education has represented and expressed the need for integration fostered from two extremes: The Central state based in Lima, and the local urban and rural communities seeking different forms of integration into national citizenship and development.

As a result of both efforts, the Peruvian education system experienced an unprecedented growth in the second half of the 20th century, so much so, that Peru ranks high in the world (15th among 144 countries) regarding school-age children's access to education (Rivero, 2003, 9). This expansion in turn, advanced the development of the teaching career granting access to higher education to aspiring children of Indigenous peasants and 'uneducated' urban working classes. With the high expectations known by Peruvian scholars as 'the myth of education'[2] the creation of education institutions of diverse levels became an important political currency for the political parties in power. The creation of education institutions,

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[1] The Washington Consensus is the name given to a set of ten economic policies fostered in Latin America in the 1990s that were agreed by Washington-based financial institutions such us the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the Interamerican Development Bank. The Brady plan is the alliance formed between those same institutions and different donor organisations (including the European Union) to foster the Washington Consensus reforms to improve development indicators in Latin America.

[2] Degregori, 1986, Ansión, 1995, Ames, 2000.

however, (universities, teacher training programs and schools), run at a much faster pace than the funding allocated to them, so that the quality of the new services were poorer and poorer. This may be the explanation for another –not so good- place of Peru in the international ranking. When Peruvian school children are tested in simple language and maths skills they rank 118 out of 144 countries (Rivero, 2003, 9).

This reality spurred intense debates and research in the 1990s when the World Bank's interest in social capital as a key factor for development focused its attention on the education system as a site for improvement and intervention. The need to transform the bad quality of the educational system has been a constant topic present in the media and in politicians' discourses in the last decade in Peru. This campaign -also supported by different non government organizations and some intellectuals- started in the early 90s and is still on-going. However the crucial problems persist, as is shown by other wide ranging tests applied not only to students but also teachers with even more appalling results[3].

The World-Bank-led reform started this intervention jointly with the Inter-American Development Bank, committing the Fujimori regime with loans to improve the infrastructure of the system, first building, refurbishing and furnishing schools, to then move into a second phase aiming at modernizing the school system with a more efficient organization, a refreshed curriculum, and the dissemination of new methodologies through in-service training for teachers, all of this oriented to – paraphrasing the Bank's jargon- improve the behaviour of specific indicators as outputs of the system.

Some of the reform goals promoted by the World Bank team were inspired in progressive pro-democratic ideas such as decentralization, gender equity and an intercultural approach. These three particular components of the reform were not necessarily the best funded, or the most important, but they demanded really radical changes in the school system and were at the centre of many of the training sessions with ministry officers, school head teachers and teachers. However, the approach to deal with them was rather simplistic, and formulated in a way that results could be

[3] For three consecutive years tests applied to teachers resulted in more than half getting failing marks, and those who passed, did so mostly with the lowest passing marks.

measured in numbers. Thus, gender equity was translated in a campaign to increase girls registration in schools, and the development of some training sessions to teachers so that they learned to use an inclusive language. Regarding the intercultural approach, results were measured against numbers of teachers participating in in-service training sessions, but not on their performances in class after the training. Generally, due to lack of funding, there were no clear mechanisms to evaluate the impact of the reform.

This thesis research was motivated by my clear understanding that an education reform designed as a 'top down' intervention to guarantee that the system honoured the modern democratic promise of education, could not succeed without being associated at the same time with a political project aiming at other democratic transformations. Profound democratic transformation of a state funded school system would require the transformation of deeply rooted patterns of domination and oppression that are crucial for the reproduction of the political culture and power relations embedded in Peruvian post colonial society. Therefore, I wanted to explore the links between the poor results of state funded schools, the loss of social prestige of the teaching profession, the poor quality of higher education in Peru, and the resilience of 'pre-democratic' aspects of Peruvian culture, expressed also through gender and racial relations.

Research Questions

The guiding questions that I have tried to answer in this thesis are:

- Looking at the different regimes' behaviour regarding the growth of the education system and the development of the teaching career, what was the importance of education for the ruling elites?
- What are the particularities of the Peruvian academic culture in the state funded education system? How is that reflected in the understanding of education and knowledge that is at work in institutions such as under-funded teacher training programs?

- What do education students teach to each other about gender and race ideologies in a socially diverse setting such as a provincial university? How does that affect rural (or indigenous) students?

- How were the ideas of decentralization, gender equity and intercultural education materialized in the in-service teacher training sessions, and in the classrooms?

To ground my analysis I have conducted my research looking at everyday forms of exercising power in the school system, as well as race and gender ideologies as expressed in the culture of teacher training programs. The resilience of oppressive forms of power, embodied in everyday interactions, is made evident through ethnographic accounts of different aspects of the students' lives in teacher training programs and in different in-service teacher training during the reform process.

This study is based on a multi-sited ethnographic research. As an interpretive framework it uses contemporary critical theory on education and the school, and recent theoretical approaches to the study of the state in post colonial societies. This is a study about the characteristics of an educational system that develops following the particularities of the geography and politics of one country in Latin America. It is an attempt to show how different co-existing logics coming from different agents produce a specific culture of the school that needs to be understood in order to be changed.

The thesis structure

Chapter two presents the literature review used to build my cross-disciplinary analytical perspective. It is organized in three different sections, where I first make explicit my understanding of state funded education as part of the process of construction of the post colonial state. Then I present a discussion of the complexities of the role of education in the reproduction of social structures contrasting Peru with other realities, and finally establishing the relationship between public education, social reproduction, gender and race relations, and development in Peru.

Chapter three begins with a presentation of my motivations to pursue this research and a justification of my choice of research methods. It also includes a reflexive account of the research process in my particular circumstances, and a discussion about doing research in my own country, but in regions and spaces where I am considered an outsider.

Chapter four provides the historical context for the development of the education system in Peru, but at the same time, I try to identify the characteristics of the Peruvian system as related to the interests of different actors involved in planning and delivering this service. In other words, I try to make evident the crucial role that national and local politics have played in the development of the particular characteristics of the system, one of them being the apparently irrational growth of teacher training programs and universities during the second half of the 20th century, explained by the electoral appeal that expectations on education had. The sources for this chapter are recent historical accounts of the education system, my own experience, and interviews with ministers of education from the last six regimes.

The following chapter is an exploration of the particularities of the academic culture in two teacher training programs that I do not identify. Given the low prestige of the teaching career and the poor prospects it entails, I present the reasons why young people study education, and their ideas about higher education and their chosen profession. I provide a detailed description of the way these institutions work, and present evidence of how teachers do their work in a way that it is possible to see the so called 'decay' in the quality of higher education in the making. I also present the perceptions that teachers and students had of their place in society. My underlying assumption for this chapter was that ideas about knowledge, education and academia have different meanings in different historic and geographical contexts and what is expected as the outcomes of educational institutions cannot be taken for granted. There are different notions of academic knowledge and studying that are constructed in different spaces, and those notions are strongly linked to notions of individuality and the individual's place in society. This is to say, that the differences in the quality of education are not only a matter of access to resources or money, but also of particular interpretations and practices of what studying and knowledge mean in a specific social order.

Chapter six is also an ethnographic chapter; it is an investigation into the students' culture to learn about issues of gender, class, race in the Peruvian Andes as it is expressed in a university setting. I decided to conduct this specific research at the Universidad Nacional San Cristóbal de Huamanga, in Ayacucho. A survey conducted among rural teachers by survey agency Imasen (1998) showed two revealing facts. First, that contrary to the world-wide tendency that shows larger numbers of female teachers than male teachers in primary schools, there is a slightly greater number of male teachers in the highlands and remote areas in the Amazonia. The same survey also reflects the fact that male teachers are increasingly from rural origin. Another relevant fact to mention is that there is a class difference among students in provincial universities. Women who go to the university are of middle class and urban origin. Women from rural areas hardly finish primary school, and boys are not too far ahead, so the ones who have access to higher education and study to become teachers are male and from better off families. Teaching is an option for women of provincial middle classes, whereas men of the same origin are lawyers or engineers. I wanted to observe male culture because teachers' gender ideologies in schools are very important to the results their students achieve. So this is an exploration of male culture in the world of education.

My last chapter is based on a wider range of sources. In chapter seven I present the characteristics of the Educational reform promoted in Peru by the World Bank and other development agencies and donors between 1994 and 2001, during the second period of President Alberto Fujimori. I provide information about the general context for the reform, the ideas used to design the World Bank intervention in Peru, particularly on decentralisation, gender equity, and intercultural education. I also present some ethnographic material regarding the in-service teacher training programs[4].

I did not include in this thesis my ethnographic material on parents and children in rural schools. That material opened up more questions about the expectations rural populations have set on the school system and education, their perceptions of the

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[4] Even though I do have information about parents and children served by rural schools, it was agreed with my supervisor that such material exceeded the scope of this thesis. It was planned as a possible 8th chapter.

reform, and the history of those expectations and the experience of the school system that are beyond the reach of this thesis.

In my conclusions I explain how issues related to the democratization of schools are not a technical matter. The failure of the democratic promise of school is related to deeply political aspects of social life. The resilience of traditional forms of power relations in a post colonial society will remain, permeating every aspect of life, unless any attempt at innovation in the educational system deals with them directly, acknowledging their embodiment in social relations and the distribution of power in different spaces of the school system. It is crucial then to deal with this basic question: In whose interest is the democratisation of knowledge, and the improvement of the educational system?

Chapter two

The state, education and social difference

The analytical perspective I have adopted for my research is presented in this chapter in three different sections. First, I provide the framework to situate my understanding of public education in Peru (and within it, the development of the teaching career). I conceptualize teaching as a service that has been provided by the Peruvian state since the beginning of the Twentieth century as part of the process of construction of the post colonial state. I present this as a complex and contradictory process, where the role of teachers as state agents needs to be carefully examined. I draw on recent scholarship on the processes of state formation, the particularities of these processes in Latin America, and recent contributions on the ethnography of the state. Next, I present the relevant discussion of the complexities of the role of education in the reproduction of social structures, and the continuities and differences between critical approaches to education elsewhere, and the concerns of critics of the education system in South American countries. Finally in a third section I discuss recent contributions on, and my own understanding of, race and gender studies regarding education and social reproduction in an Andean post-colonial society.

Situating the Peruvian state

Public education in the post-colonial state

For the last three decades scholarship on the formation of national states in post-independence Latin America has produced path-breaking contributions.[5] Researchers have increasingly moved away from the limiting images - widespread in the 1970s- of the subordinate position of Latin American 'imperfect' Nation states in the Western World and the dependant character of their economies. The new knowledge and understanding was concomitant with debates about 'the peripheral situation' of Third

[5] For the specific case of South America and Peru I find the pioneering articles by Oszlak (1981) and Colmenares (1985), and the inspiring ideas present in Balmori et al. (1984) to be important. For Peru the relevant work is by Gilbert (1982), Quiroz (1987) and Gootenberg (1993), as well as Larson (1999). Important case studies about the relationship between local political dynamics and the emerging state are Wilson (2003) and Thurner (1997).

(and Fourth) World countries (Turner 1986), and the development of theorizations about the 'post-colonial situation', notably fostered by the 'Subaltern Studies Group' from India (Guha and Spivak 1988). Briefly, the key issue in the first debate was whether the relatively subordinate, 'peripheral' societies preserve some meaningful level or degree of autonomy in relation to the dominant (capitalist) system, or conversely, whether they should be seen as so thoroughly incorporated into the latter, that they can only be understood as an integral part of a single, essentially homogenous system (the capitalist world system). Turner's provocative article suggested that assuming the latter would mean to be simply bearing witness to local forms of 'dependency,' of the 'penetration by the universally omnipotent, if internally contradictory 'world system' of capitalism' (p. 91).

Instead, his is an invitation to study 'the "articulation" of interacting systems, each of which retains enough resilience and coherence to exert constraining effects upon the other' (p. 92). Complementary to this, the debate about the post colonial situation stirred by the Subaltern Studies group, (particularly Guha, 1988, p. 48), entailed an invitation to critically examine on one hand, the discourses of liberation sustaining the political actions of the anti-colonialist elites, and on the other, the aims and actions of subaltern rebellious movements before, during and after the struggle for independence.

The fact that there is about a century of difference between the anti colonialist triumph in Asian and African countries over European colonial powers, and the independence wars against Iberian powers in Latin America, has raised some debate about the appropriateness of considering Latin American countries as comparable to those in Africa and Asia.[6] In my view, what allows talking about the 'post colonial situation' in all these societies, are questions about the particular versions of sovereignty, democracy and egalitarianism that took place after the end of colonial rule, and the ways in which 'modern' discourses and practices combined in each society with forms of social differentiation and subordination following very diverse principles. Thus, the goals of material progress, social stability, and cultural achievement demanded from Europe after independence from Spain, were sought

[6] Sheinin, (1998), Berger (1995), Fidian (2001) among others.

through politics more akin to the colonial tradition, relying particularly, on family networks. As a result political parties and ideological debates were not that relevant in the play of power until the turn of the century (Balmori et al. 1984, p. 24). Recent historiography on post independence Latin America, and the scholarship about the post colonial situation in other regions of the world, have provided grounds to change the common view about state formation in the postcolonial world as a 'flawed imitation of a mature Western form' (Hansen and Stepputat 2001, p. 6). Instead, we are now approaching a more disaggregated and historicized view of how the idea of the modern state became universalized and how modern forms of governance have proliferated throughout the world although 'translated, interpreted and combined in different ways' (p. 6)[7].

In this vein, Applebaum, Macpherson and Rosemblat (2003) propose inserting the Latin American states as a contributing part (and not a late result) in the world context of elaboration of discourses about the nation. In their introduction to a very opportune collection of studies about these specific processes of conformation of the modern state in Latin America, these historians present Latin American elites as particularly challenged to create their own modern ways of establishing a relationship with social and cultural diversity. This, they argue, occurred precisely when most of the Western world was going through particular processes of state formation. Therefore Latin American states should be understood as the result of a particular set of interrelations and not merely an imperfect reflection of the Western states.

Several authors mark the beginning of the post-colonial period in South America with the massive indigenous rebellions against taxes in the late 18th Century (the most prominent for its scale and scope being that of Tupac Amaru in 1780) and see it lasting until the first half of the 20th Century. This period, roughly comprising a century and a half, was characterised by intense debate among the elites, the emerging middle classes, and urban and rural populations about the relationship between race, culture, territory and nationhood. In this intense period of production of ideas, middle class and elite intellectuals explored and mapped their territories classifying people and natural species.

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[7] The contribution of Bruno Latour's critique of the modern state, and the tensions he finds between the ideals of modernity and the possibilities of their realization (1993) have enthused many recent analyses of the state in Latin America, some of which I have used in this section.

As a result, diverse processes of 'imagining the nation' were established and a wide array of Geography treatises, novels, and diverse publications full of illustrations, circulated to consolidate images of nations that were racially diverse, with different groups separated and inhabiting different regions, each region with its own particularities. But those classificatory efforts also suggested a hierarchical order that was naturalised, associating race and landscape with diverse degrees of (and potential for) modernisation (Poole 1997, p. 18).[8] In a thorough account of the discipline, Benjamin Orlove's study of Geography in Peru (1993) reveals a noteworthy difference between the colonial understanding of the Peruvian territory, and that produced by post-independence academics, orientated by new theories on the influence of the environment on human beings. According to Orlove, colonial geographers understood the whole territory as generally populated by Indians, but after independence, Peruvians re-worked the colonial racial divisions, 'de-indianizing' the indigenous population form the Coast, and representing the large indigenous populations as living only in the Highlands, signifying as big an obstacle for communications and development as the Andean Mountains did.

Making a similar point, Sarah Radcliffe's study about the creation of the Ecuadorian national space (2001) makes evident the spatial forms of rule and ruling in Ecuador throughout its republican life. Radcliffe presents the process of establishing a national territory as 'self evident sovereign and made up of various component elements of regions, cities, and natural resources into an integrated whole' as the result of diverse strategies apart from cartography, that included the establishment of a national currency, and the development of transport and education (pp. 123-124).

In such a context, the study of the expansion and characteristics of services holding a democratic imprint such as compulsory state funded education (*instrucción pública*) becomes a topic brimming with tensions and contradictions, calling for a wide spectrum of empirical research. The key contradiction to explore is how different

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[8] The particularities of those processes have been explored from different angles for specific societies, perhaps with more emphasis on the role of the elites than on the popular responses to post colonial racial ideologies, with the notable exception of the work of Marisol de la Cadena and the 'Indigenous mestizos' from Cusco (2001). The collection of articles edited by Applebaum, Macpherson and Rosemblat (2003) , are a recent contribution, adding to that edited by Richard Graham in 1994, where several authors present different Latin American cases. For Peru, see Oliart, 1995a, 1995b.

political Andean regimes faced the task of educating the Indians to lead them into citizenship, when their naturalised 'inferiority' was the best 'rational' justification for their disenfranchised oppression.

In her passionate and gripping contribution to Salomon and Schwartz's volume on the history of South American Indigenous Peoples, Brooke Larson (1999) clearly states that to study the process of state formation in the Andes, requires researchers to take into account that in Peru and Bolivia the size, as well as the social and cultural density of the indigenous populations, tainted the Eurocentric and capitalist Creole national projects with a 'violent edge' when dealing with 'the Indian problem' (p. 565)[9]. She clearly states that for Peruvian and Bolivian elites in the late nineteenth century, *mestizaje* was not an ideal present in any political group's national project, and 'like its neighbour in the south, Peru carried into the early twentieth century the dead weight of its violent, repressive and exclusivist republican past' (p. 566). Larson attributes this violence to the elite's difficulties and resistance to engage with the complex forms of political action embodied by Indigenous peoples and popular culture, or with the local forms and interpretations of the nation making process that Andean peoples engaged with (p. 567). Hence, it is important to learn about the discourses and practices that nation states used to expand their educational systems, but it is as important to learn about the way in which those discourses materialised and engaged with local dynamics of power.

Even though I will not deal with literacy as a subject in this thesis, I have certainly been inspired by the field of 'New Literacy Studies' (NLS) for my understanding of the school system as historically and geographically bounded. As Brian Street says about NLS, nothing can be taken for granted when talking about literacy, and the social practices and power relations associated with its expansion in any given society. Street is critical of what he calls 'the autonomous model' in the study of literacy, that attributes direct and similar effects to those accessing literacy skills regardless their social, cultural and historical particularities, and the particularities of the dissemination and uses of literacy (Street, 2003, p. 77ss). Likewise, I question the mainstream approach to the study of the school system and cultural and politically

[9] A similar premise is central to the comparison between the Mexican and the Peruvian postcolonial states done by Florencia Mallon (1995).

neutral, and the understanding of the quality of education as a mere technical problem, not associated to the situation of those at both ends of the provision of the service.

Translating state discourses and policies at the margins of the state.

In this vein, I find important the contribution of Everyday Forms of State Formation, by Joseph and Nugent (1995) where they propose a single research agenda to a number of researchers: to study the relationship between rural or small village communities, and different aspects of the state activity after the revolution in different geographic areas of Mexico. The editors wanted every author to explore 'the culturally complex, historically generated processes of state formation' in everyday life (p. 6). Through an emblematic case of state (re)construction such as post-revolutionary Mexico, they make evident that approaching a particular historical moment and a political reality through the reconstruction of the explicit state policies following a political project, will only reflect a very small part of the whole picture. They argue that it will bring little understanding of the final outcomes regarding those policies. Instead, they are in favour of including the cultural dimensions of historical processes and social experience, and pertinently argue for the need to pay attention to the interrelations between the communities, local powers and the shape that the central state takes in each locality.

One of the studies in this collection is Elsie Rockwell's article on rural schools and the state after the revolution. In a very insightful piece Rockwell presents a complex and historically rich analysis of the case of rural schools in Tlaxcala, and the tensions around the differences between what the communities want schools to be and the role the state assigns to them in contemporary Mexico. The communities memory of the ample attributions and active role that schools had played soon after the revolution, contrasted with the limited and subordinate role that the contemporary state demands from schools. Rockwell clearly states that a school -and the reality of an educational system- is the result of social relations: 'In reality, school practices, are extraordinarily diverse and often at odds with official policy of the state' (1995, p. 173). Thus, changes do not happen as they are dictated by the state, schools are the

products of social history, and at any given moment in school history, persistent local practices and beliefs interact with government initiatives to mould school life (p. 174).

Rockwell's sound call to historicize the school system is echoed by Fiona Wilson for the case of Tarma in Peru (2001). In her article about the relations between the Peruvian state and teachers in this provincial Andean city throughout the republican times, Wilson states that 'models that define state power as located in and contained by the apparatus of the central state, overlook the interplay between central state and provincial political-cultural narratives and histories, and dismiss the notion a priori that the state formation is a process that also takes place from below' (p. 315). In particular, Wilson explores the relation between local powers and understandings of the national space, as crucial for defining the characteristics of the 'translation' of the elite's 'national projects' at the margins of the state. Inspired in Bruno Latour's critique of static views about how the power of the modern state is exerted, Wilson explores the notion of how 'the initial impulse' of power is translated, and not transmitted, travelling through time and space in the hands of 'people (who) may act in many different ways, letting the token drop, or modifying it, or deflecting it, or betraying it, or adding to it, or appropriating it' (p. 318), thus producing the continuous transformation of the original impulse, or 'token' as she calls it.

I find Rockwell's and Wilson's ideas very useful for example, to better understand the ways in which decentralisation, or constructivism as pedagogical tokens of teaching modernisation were translated in the provinces during the education reform in the 1990s. In chapter seven, I explain how potentially interesting inclusive policies and progressive ideas were being promoted by government policies in the form of in-service teacher training programs, but without considering local hierarchies and power relations that could consider those policies inadequate for their regions.

The role of teachers as state agents

To Wilson, there are reasons that make the image of the 'travelling token' clearly pertinent for Peru at the beginning of the republican era, because the relationship the Creole elites had with the whole territory was not one of familiarity, and even more so, the scale of their imagination was provincial, limited to the surroundings of Lima,

and with limited awareness of the particularities of the political life in the different regions. In a context like this, Wilson's idea of translation 'builds on the notion of flow in which messages are both propelled and altered as they pass through networks of actors' (p. 318), themselves mobile and changing as is the case of teachers, particularly in rural areas.

Teachers are the ones who capture, channel, and localize new ideas and practices, and they are more than state employees. They are 'local intellectuals, recognized as having the authority and responsibility to defend and promote their community, town, and province. This means teachers may take up political causes that bring them into sharp conflict with the state and its agents' (p. 312). Building on current scholarship on the relationship between teachers and the state in Andean countries, Wilson shows how teachers act between state and local society, linking towns and the country side, and holding ideas not necessarily common to the state's rationality. In Peru there are - and have been- many religious and political institutions actively searching for adepts in the provinces and in Lima, stirring up diverse ways of imagining the national community, and definitely capable of modifying and even reversing the state messages and demands, in the hands of teachers and other public servants. As will be discussed further in this chapter, the role of teachers and their perceptions about their place in society is crucial to define the relationship between school and communities. Even more so, research in rural areas indicate that according to the teachers' behaviour, parents will support the school and contribute to its development, or remain indifferent to the teacher's requests and needs from the community (Montero, et. al 2001, p. 88, Regalsky, 2003, p. 169).

Understanding schools, local politics and the state

The 1980's found several Latin American countries returning to democratic regimes and trying to gain their re-insertion into the international financial system. This was achieved by closely following the International Monetary Fund policies in the midst of a widening gap between rich and poor, and deep social discontent. The set of ten economic guidelines for economic policies and state reforms agreed under what is known as 'the Washington consensus', were rehearsed throughout the region in the 1990s. One of those measures was the redirection of public expenditure, prioritizing

fields offering both high economic returns and the potential to improve income distribution, such as primary health care, primary education, and infrastructure.

As several critics have pointed out, one of the biggest problems with those reforms was their a-historical stance. As Hansen and Stepputat (2001) put it, the representation of the state present in the World Bank recommendations appears as 'a set of functional imperatives of regulations arising from society, but devoid of distinct characters and different historical trajectories' (p.3). In the case of Peru the implementation of the neo-liberal reforms overlapped with the end of almost 12 years of internal war between the Armed Forces and the Shining Path guerrilla movement, and a very corrupt regime. President Alberto Fujimori's regime started in 1990 with the closure of Congress, an illegal constitutional reform, and constant legal changes to implement reforms that on one hand satisfied international organisations, and on the other facilitated the absolute control of state institutions to the group in power, thus becoming a 'state of exception'.

Deborah Poole and Veena Das (2004) have recently edited a collection of studies that explore the social, cultural and political dynamics of the state of exception, which makes their contribution relevant to this thesis. Struggling against the idea that there are 'failed states' that cannot live up to the ideal of a rational, central state, Poole and Das's assertion is that arbitrariness is also part of the experience of the state; as is irrationality, so that generally, the state is the experience people have of it, and that is what should be studied: the ways the state comes across, the nature of its interactions with concrete people, the ways of its power in everyday life. I fully agree with this understanding of the state. It should be studied and understood for the experience of it, and not for the abstract idea about what it should be, and that is the corner stone of this thesis, regarding the education system in Peru.

Deborah Poole's article in the aforementioned book is about the reform of the Peruvian judiciary (funded by the IDB, and simultaneous to the education reform) and how she saw this process in Ayacucho during the Fujimori regime (2004). She found out that in spite of different changes of all sorts, gamonalismo,- a characteristic form of private exercise of state power in Peru associated with the oligarchic regime- was

alive and well in the advent of the 21st century. In an earlier piece of work about the province of Chumbivilcas in Cusco, Poole had defined gamonalismo as a

> [...] highly personalised form of local power whose authority is grounded on nearly equal measure in his control of local economic resources, political access to the state, willingness to use violence, and the symbolic capital provided by his association with such important icons of masculinity as livestock, horses, and a regional bohemian aesthetic (1994, p. 43).

Poole's work in Chumbivilcas was carried out in the 1980s; going back to Peru during the Fujimori era (1990-2000), she learned that although agrarian reform was widely believed to have put an end to gamonalismo, in Ayacucho 'strikingly similar forms of privatized abusive and violent authority remain at the core of public life and political practice' (Poole 2004, p. 52). Indeed, it is common that in many towns and districts in the highlands of Peru, descendants of gamonales have retained their hold on local power through the administrative, political and ideological positions they currently hold within the Peruvian state. Such is the case of regional directors at the Ministry of Education, trafficking posts and resources to grant favours to friends and relatives. This fact puts an ever present smudge in social relations making evident one of the main claims Poole and Das make in their contribution, that the current state and laws can not be seen as signs 'of the sovereignty of the state or as [...] institutions through which disciplinary regimes are put into place' (Das, 2004, p. 226), but rather as power instances related to a logic of 'reproduction of an order of domination where the state is not that central' (p. 228).

The lengthy reference to Poole's work on *gamonalismo* is relevant because the definition she formulated for her work in Cusco proved to be accurate for Ayacucho several years later. It has resonances in the teachers' culture in different places in the highlands and is the basis for male dominance among teachers as I will explain in chapter six. The reference is also relevant because as I will show in chapter seven, local 'translations' of discourses of gender equity, intercultural education and decentralization in the form of teacher training programs, were quickly be adapted to suit the manners that are conducive to the reproduction of power relations that the very training sessions were supposed to help question.

The Fujimori era was an arena for enormous contradictions and spaces of ambiguity, where discourses of democracy, justice and rationality coexisted with the violent and illegal imposition of power for private purposes, where the state represented at the same time in Poole and Das's terms 'a guarantee and a threat' (2004, p. 32). The state reform process funded by international development agencies occurred under the authoritarian and corrupt regime of Alberto Fujimori, which created for itself a state of exception. Thus, for example, the pilot experiments of applied exercises of contemporary pedagogy, designed and monitored by North American experts, occurred simultaneously with the untouched mechanisms of assignment of posts based on personal relations or bribes. Likewise, the production of colourful, wisely designed new pedagogical materials to be distributed free of charge, coincided with the pyramid of privileges and authoritarian relationships existing between ministry official and school teachers. Thus, some schools got more books than they needed (to sell the surplus to unaware parents or smaller and isolated school teachers) and others got none. These are a few examples easy to find without much inquiry, but it was not difficult either to collect stories of traffic of posts in exchange for sexual favours, or money. That experience of the state through the education system is reflected in the school system, and in turn this helps produce and reproduce some characteristic sets of social relations.

Education and social reproduction

Democracy and the school system

Long ago, Pierre Bourdieu and Louis Passeron wrote a path-breaking book about the role of education in the reproduction of social differences in France (1977). They questioned the process of schooling because it imposed a kind of 'symbolic violence' on non-elite students, because arbitrary 'instruments of knowledge' relevant to the elites, are made to appear universal and objective (p. 115). They elaborated further on the demeaning effects of such symbolic violence upon its recipients, because it leads them to develop a sense of their 'social limits', and the relatively degraded value of their own cultural-linguistic resources in given social situations. Thus, in spite of the fact that Bourdieu and Passeron's ideas, methodology and approach have been largely

criticized, their work remains an important reference to discuss this persistent issue. Also, I think that one contribution that remains as a constant challenge is Bourdieu's interest in describing the practical processes involved in the construction of social differences. This is particularly crucial for my work because I wanted to identify certain features of the education system that resisted change in a context of state reform, in which ambiguous pressures for change in education collided with local understandings and practices of education and power.

The particular and complex role that the education system and schools play in social reproduction has been discussed and studied in diverse ways, following several well established 'traditions'. A first critical call into the unfulfilled promise of the school as a tool for democracy came in the early decades of the 20th Century, when compulsory schooling proved not to be enough to integrate working class students into higher education. Several reform movements were then attempted in Europe and in the United States to make education an efficient social leveller for the working classes. Karl Mannheim and Antonio Gramsci were among those who observed the expansion of the educational systems in their own societies (Mannheim, 1957 [1934], Gramsci, 1988 [1916 and 1919]). Both attributed the growth of the educational system mainly to the agency and more salient presence of the working classes in society. Mannheim highlighted the crucial importance of the education system in guaranteeing the effective democratization of knowledge because if that failed, the direct consequence of a growth in the coverage of public schools would be 'democratization in mediocrity' (p. 208). The Hungarian sociologist also warned that schools could not be an effective agent for the dissemination of democratic ideals if European social hierarchies were to be kept unquestioned, or if teachers were going to be among the main practitioners or conveyors of aristocratic or authoritarian values and behaviour (pp. 210-211). These remarks could not be more pertinent to the study of Peruvian education, particularly in the early decades of the 20th Century, when new schools were created, but numerous accounts exist both in monographs and in realist literary stories, on one hand, about the resistance of landowners to the very existence of schools near their properties, and on the other on the abusive behaviour of teachers in schools[10].

Arguedas (1986), Ansión (1989) Contreras, (1996) Encinas (1986 [1932])

Gramsci for his part wrote that the democratization of education would not be effective in Italy if the state efforts focused only on expanding the provision of formal education. What needed to be avoided –said Gramsci- was a dramatic decay in the quality of teaching, and that required generating important changes in the culture of the new groups favoured by educational services (meaning children of peasants and workers). This change was necessary, given that they did not come from a culture in which intellectual work was considered productive work, and would therefore not be valued enough, resulting in a lack of disposition to wait for the slow return on the benefits of studying (Gramsci 1988, p. 55). So Gramsci warned that new students would not easily accept high levels of academic exigencies, meaning that the same persons capable of great physical labour to produce specific goods, would resist long hours of demanding intellectual activity. Gramsci worried that the lack of intellectual traditions among new students could result in the failure of an effective democratisation of education and society, if conditions were not there to grant graduates of the same disciplines having the same access to the integral benefits of education, even if their social origins were different (pp. 301-303).

I found Gramsci's concern very pertinent to the Peruvian history of higher education. In the late 1960s there was an important development in public universities. For example, both the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos (UNMSM) and the Universidad Nacional San Cristobal de Huamanga (UNSCH) had renewed their study plans, improved their libraries, and established agreements with universities in the United States and Germany to improve the quality of teaching by various means. The radicalisation of the students' movement in public universities in the 1970s and 1980s coincided with an important change in the social composition of students, including more and more students from the lower echelons of society. Maoist parties gained the leadership in students' organisations and many of the most violent strikes succeeded, their main purpose being to boycott and sack teachers whom students called 'elitists' if they demanded high standard performances (Lynch 1990; Sandoval 2003). Thus, just as Gramsci had foreseen, the main cause for the failure of that short interesting moment of renewal was the students' resistance to academic demands. More and more, students who could afford it moved to private universities, and an important contingent of public university teachers either moved to private universities as well, or left the teaching career to exercise their careers independently, or left Peru to teach abroad.

There was no political group thinking about how to solve this discrepancy, how to translate academic culture into the particularities of the new students, how to help them make the transition. Indeed in the history of Peruvian education as a whole it is difficult to identify any moment of strong defence of the quality of education by any particular political actor. Thus, the democratisation in mediocrity feared by Gramsci and Mannhein has definitively occurred.

Bourdieu says that those societies in which access to education becomes universal tend to reproduce social differences through education basically because of the efforts of the elites (1984). According to Bourdieu (pp. 130-137), schools do not work as a social leveller because once it becomes massive, credentials from public schools get devaluated, and those with higher incomes and higher cultural capital modify their investment in education so that a significant difference still exists in the market for the qualifications of their children and therefore, in the market for them and the rest of society.

In fact, there is a long tradition of social studies in the UK, the US and different countries in Europe, confirming that there is usually a strong correspondence between social, racial and gender inequalities, and the quality of education students can have access to, so that in the adult life, disadvantages will be reflected in their employment achievements (Morrow and Torres 1994, p. 381). Therefore, it is more difficult for some people to take real economic advantages of having achieved a higher education degree because of their social origins, racial background, or gender. For the case of Peru, specialist Juan Carlos Navarro reported in one of the documents used by the World Bank reform team to work on Peru:

> In socio-economic terms in Peru, like in any other society, the socio-economic background of the student has a strong impact on his academic performance, a fact clearly evidenced in the superior performance of those attending private schools. [...] public schools in Peru do little, if anything at all to reduce the difference in academic performance that originates in the socio-economic background of students (Navarro 1994, p. 27).

The heavy burden of a humble origin and a corresponding low-quality education is

evident at the level of basic education, and casts its shadow up to the higher education level, supporting what Mexican sociologist Carlos Ornelas calls 'credentialist ideology' (1994). According to this ideology low quality public higher education institutions produce academic and professional titles that work as a label for a product in the professional job market, that in the end are simply a guarantee that the beholder has been through 16 years of schooling. Nevertheless, this occurs 'with no guarantee about his/her possession of any knowledge relevant to the degree held' (p. 163). Thus, the issue of the school's failure to honour the democratic promise of equality of opportunities through education is almost universal, and has been addressed in many ways; however, deeper analyses that link the structural context of cultural production and school failure tend to elude policy makers.

In the 1960s and 1970s multicultural societies with large minority ethnic and racial groups (such as the United States, the United Kingdom or Canada) started to use ethnographic research to elucidate the reasons for the disproportionate school failure of ethnic and racial minorities (Levinson et al. 1996, p. 7). That is how what is now known as the 'cultural difference approach' developed. Different from the reproductivist approach developed by Bourdieu, the main line of argument in 'cultural difference' was that ethnic minorities tended to fail insofar as they did not successfully adapt themselves to the schools' dominant (usually considered White, middle-class) cultural styles or, conversely, insofar as the schools could not provide appropriate 'activity settings' to accommodate minorities. While this approach was extremely important in offsetting racist models of genetic inferiority, it downplayed the social and historical forces responsible for the reproduction of 'cultural differences' in schools, tending to essentialise the cultural repertoires of minority groups. This permitted confident reformists to attempt the amelioration of school-based conflicts in cultural styles through remedial programs and 'culturally responsive' pedagogies (Levinson et al, 1996, p. 9).

Both 'reproduction theory' and 'cultural difference' theory have their limits when it comes to studying other societies, yet, they still highlight important and insightful questions. In the 1980s, under the impact of socialist-feminism and critical studies of race, scholars began to explore more fruitfully the intersections of class, race, gender, and age structures. Also, more and more studies of schooling and inequality started to

use some of the reproduction literature previously focused almost exclusively on Euro-American societies, and at the same time developed widening criticism for the sometimes simplistic and rigid application of reproduction and cultural difference theories (Morrow and Torres, 1995, Levinson et al, 1996, Luykx, 1999).

Among the notions that remained consistently in use was Bourdieu's idea of cultural capital, because it 'help us think through the potential role of schools in establishing new forms of symbolic capital while displacing old ones [...], and such a perspective can be helpful for exploring the effects of schooling across historical and cultural contexts.' (Levinson et al, 1996)

The reproductivist approach had a very interesting revision and evidenced further development in the 1990s, when the critical study of schooling –particularly in the US and the UK- built upon an understanding of the educational system as one major site of struggle to define one's position in society. This trend in critical education studies was influenced by the recent developments in the study of cultural identities brought by cultural studies, and also by the so called 'practice theories' in Anthropology, with their accounts of the production of cultural forms. A useful concept forwarded by Levinson, Foley and Holland focuses on a culturally variable 'educated person' (1996, 5) in order to stress the importance of schooling in social reproduction, and to include it as a form of cultural production in different societies. Theirs is one of the first published accounts that include critical cultural analysis of schools 'across cultural and social space'.

The notion of difference, or distinction, in Bourdieu is at the very heart of the notion of space:

> [...] a variety of co-existent and differing positions external to each other, defined each in relation to the other by relations of proximity, vicinity, or the opposite, and also by order relations, such as under, above, in between (Bourdieu, 1984, 99ss).

For Bourdieu social space is constructed in a way that agents or groups are distributed according to cultural capital, and economic capital. Bourdieu also says that

> [...] the position one occupies in the social space (the structure of the distribution of different capitals) directs or leads the representations about that space, and the positioning of the individuals in their struggles to either transform it or preserve it (2000, p.38).

This thesis will explain how the current characteristics of the education system are not the result of a faulty or deficient application of some ideal model, but the very result of concrete historical events that have shaped the characteristics of the education system in Peruvian society. The patterns of relationship with the authority that come from traditional forms of authority, from the interactions of Andean and white/Creole societies, the particular uses of knowledge and information as tools for power and social exclusion, and the situation of diglossia, that makes properly spoken Spanish a privilege and social marker. All of these characteristics shape an education system that instead of facilitating processes of inclusion reinforces people's places in society, defining who they are and how far they can go up in the social ladder.

One's position in society gives individuals a perspective, defined in content and form by that very position. Thus, social space is the first and last reality directing even the representations that social agents have about it. So the exercise Bourdieu proposes is to study the social space and the symbolic space defining the principles for differentiation and distinction, the specific signs that guarantee reproduction of difference. This is crucial to understand the complexities that the school represent as a 'reproductive' social space in Latin America. One of the characteristics of social relations in schools is that in spite of the fact that they are a shared homogenizing space, social differences do not disappear but are re-defined within that space. In Latin America, where social and cultural differences are so intimately associated, the role of teachers in rural and or indigenous areas, becomes a very complex issue.

Teachers and social reproduction in the Andes

In the case of Peru, for example, the allegiance of teachers to the elites from Lima has never been obvious (Wilson, 1999, 2001) therefore, it is not by spreading certain official or dominant thinking that they 'reproduce society', but through their very existence as 'products' of an unjust system, that educates people within a very

limited, sheared version of what school education could stand for. In chapters five and six I show the poor training that future teachers receive in their programmes, defining what they will be (un)able to offer to their students. The existence of a culturally fragmented society where differentiated access to 'Western' 'modern' culture has been 'racialised' (De la Cadena, 2005) makes things even more complicated. Thus, it is through their very practice and social position that teachers reconfirm and reproduce a system of racism and exclusion of the poor, preventing them from access to social mobility and cultural capital by providing an education that will not be conducive to improvement.

The situation described above acquires a more complicated twist when the itinerancy inherent to their job takes teachers to different regions and communities. Thus, in spite of a probable oppositional or at least independent political stance against any given regime, teachers can embody cultural prejudices and racist ideas that legitimize local and regional hierarchies, when they have to work with indigenous communities. This issue has been widely discussed in the scholarship about the expansion of the education system in indigenous areas and clearly illustrates the limitations of a simplistic approach to the understanding of schools and teachers as mere 'instruments of the state' (Wilson, 1999, Regalsky 2003).

Aikman's ethnography on bilingual schools in the South-East Peruvian rainforest (2003) presents the case of both indigenous and non-indigenous teachers working among the Arakmbut, one among the close to 60 different ethnic groups identified in the Peruvian rainforest. The subordinate and marginal position of the non-indigenous teachers regarding the state or the authorities is made evident by Aikman, but, at the same time, she also shows how it was not problematic for teachers to display their deep prejudices against the Arakmbut people they are working with.

On a similar vein, Laura Rival (1996) discusses the complex situation of teachers in schools among the Huaorani in Ecuador, and the cultural problems that emerge when it is assumed that the school is culturally neutral, and the teachers come from a particular subordinated group, in turn different and regarded as socially 'above' the indigenous groups they are working with. In her study on a teachers' college of predominantly Aymara students Luykx (1999) debated against easy assumptions

about indigenous teachers being clear-cut state agents in rural Bolivia, by describing diverse aspects of the students' discourse that where clear expressions of resistance to mainstream assumptions about their social role as teachers. On his part, and in an insightful approach to teachers' ideology in rural Cochabamba in Bolivia, Regalsky (2003) reminds us of the importance of individual processes teachers go through, to position themselves in terms of their own class and ethnic identities, because as Wilson remarks, teachers are exposed to a great variety of discourses and ideas about society and teachers' place within it, that they elaborate in diverse manners, and pass them onto their students (1999).

The particular case of thousands of rural teachers from the Peruvian highlands deserves some discussion. Anywhere else in Latin America, they would be considered indigenous teachers, but not in Peru. This is because the self adscription of an indigenous identity is a very complex and elusive issue in this Andean country. It is loaded with very complex meanings, and has motivated considerable scholarly work throughout the twentieth century, and is still being studied[11]. It has also been an issue for State politics; for example, during the military regime of Juan Velasco Alvarado (1968-1976) the public use of the term Indian was abolished and officially considered offensive, because of its strong association with the hierarchical and caste-like regime of the oligarchic society the progressive military regime wanted to eliminate. Thus, the previously called Indigenous communities were officially called Peasant Communities in the Highlands, and Native Communities in the Amazonia.

On the other hand, the term Indigenous has not been vindicated as proper for those who could use it for self identification; they have preferred to use the names of their ethnic groups to talk about themselves. This is very consistent in the practice of groups in the Amazonia, and among the Aymara people in Puno, Tacna and Moquegua. In the case of the Quechua speakers, they mostly identify themselves in terms of their place of origin and as members of specific communities (Montoya, 1979).

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[11] For an important state of the art and original research an interpretation about the topic see Raul Romero (2001), and Marisol De la Cadena (2000). An insightful exploration of the implications of racial discourses and gender and sexuality is in Weismantel (2001). Maria Elena Garcia (2005) studies the very contemporary issue of different reactions of teachers regarding discourses of intercultural education. Howard (2006) is a detailed comparative study of these issues from a sociolinguistic approach.

Using Bourdieu's ideas liberally, I think that in a context of poverty such as that of rural schools in Peru or public universities in the provinces, the importance of economic capital is not as important as cultural capital, and that is probably why so much energy is put in the production and reproduction of racialised cultural differences at a minimal scale.

The wide vocabulary developed in Peru to talk about people of indigenous origin and the complex meanings attributed to them may be seen as an indicator of the conflictive nature of this issue. De la Cadena (2002) explains all these discursive manoeuvres as part of the need educated and urbanised indigenous Peruvians have to 'de-indianise' themselves not to loose their identity, but to generate an identity separate from the ideas about 'Indians' fabricated by Peruvian *criollo* society. This is to say, many Peruvians of indigenous origin, have worked to find a way to talk about them that is not associated with the denigrating category of Indian as used by the provincial elites. This process nevertheless, has an impact on the creation of what anthropologists call a 'marked category' that sometimes may emerge in the classroom, providing school students of indigenous origin with an ambiguous perception of who they are.

I think that studying the way in which social relations are reproduced in the Peruvian Highlands, and the role that teachers play in this realm is crucial to understand the school system. Social relations are deeply related to social identities, and social identities are gendered and racialised, and I decided to explore these dimensions.

Race, gender and education

Gender ideologies are crucial in the politics of education (Stromquist, 1995, p. 12) and the teachers' gender ideologies in schools are an important part of the production of students as 'educated persons' (Levinson et al, 1996). Chapter six is an exploration of masculinity in the world of education, and focuses on masculinities within a subaltern group (Connell, 1997), that of male education students in a public provincial university. Apart form the fact that in rural schools there are large numbers of male teachers of indigenous origin, the world of education is clearly ruled by men, who are

immersed in a socially and racially fragmented order, where different forms of masculine identities are at play.

Assuming that men shape their ideas about maleness according to the 'expectations of masculinity' from their own social milieu (Marquez, 1997) I wanted to understand what demands university life posed for indigenous students. I also wanted to see how strong were the pressures to make male students 'blend in' and become *mestizos*[12]. Contemporary social theory acknowledges that, taking race and class into account, it is possible to talk not about one, but many masculinities or femininities. There are no universal gender conventions, (Connell 1987, 1997, 1998), thus, the 'expectations of masculinity' for those at the top of the social pyramid, demand ever changing patterns of behaviour. A well studied characteristic of Peruvian racism is that racial categories are not fixed, but positional. As mentioned before, the 'racialisation' of cultural capital allows a person to become 'whiter', through the acquisition of higher levels of education (De la Cadena, 2000). However, this flexibility also makes transitional processes very controlled, and an arena for intense and constant negotiations between individuals (Harvey, 1989, Oliart, 1995a, Howard, 2006).

A multicultural and socially fragmented society produces gender identities which reflect diverse notions of masculinity and femininity with some features that are in turn exclusive, because their own definition is part of the process of the construction of social differences. The *gamonal* culture still in force, and part of the state apparatus, comprises a set of different masculinities that can be identified and classified in terms of Robert Connell, (1987, 1997) although I would not use the term hegemonic for any of them, but rather the term dominant for the displays of the *gamonal* masculinity. In different spaces there is an almost immediate acceptance or tolerance of the power that can be displayed and exerted by a man who has a profession, holds authority duties, or is a public officer, who speaks 'proper' Spanish, and who has the personal and social resources to obtain benefits from the very exercise (or abuse) of power.

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[12] Throughout this chapter I use the terms *mestizo* to imply racial and cultural mixture, and 'indigenous *mestizo*' in the sense that Marisol de la Cadena (2000) uses it, to refer not to mixed blood people, but to indigenous individuals who have transformed themselves culturally, basically through education and the experience of urban life.

The stereotype –frequently reinforced by the displayed behaviour of many of these men- also includes the possibility of narrating affairs with more than one woman. The reason why I don't perceive this as a hegemonic masculinity is because it is not prestigious, and does not pretend to be legitimate, it does not recur openly to any values to justify itself, however, it is imposed blatantly as inevitable, therefore, generating accomplices, but not adepts. Following Connell's typology, the 'accomplice masculinity' differs from the dominant one in several aspects. It is instrumental to the latter, but men assuming this type of male identity are in a vulnerable position because of the lack of legitimacy of the dominant one. On everyday situations I can think of users of public offices, merchants, subordinate employees, who 'take the boss for a drink', 'acknowledge' his generosity with presents.[13] Men embodying the dominant and the complicit masculinities share the same culture about women.

Following Connell's classification, the role of the subordinate masculinity would be that of the Indian man, imagined at the bottom, and the point of departure of all the other constructions. It is the 'marked category', the one against which the others are constructed, the one from which associations with need to be avoided. The stereotype of the Indian male as a subordinate masculinity represents Indian men as weak, vulnerable, poorly dressed, unable to speak proper Spanish, disliked by women, lacking urban manners, and poor. In that particular frame, the ability to display an abusive relationship with Indians (or those associated with them in a particular context) can -still in certain situations- be denotative of a position of power.

The cultural codes for building power relationships in the state institutions need to be made evident as part of the experience of the state. There is an increased understanding of the need to link the inclusion of race and gender critical analyses in the study of education institutions, as they are crucial for the reproduction of exclusion and inequality in general.

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13 These examples are based on conversations, interviews, and repeated field observations, particularly in local offices of the MED, the USES (units of educational services) in the small provinces of Peru, between 1997 and 2001.

The revised literature takes me to identify the education system as a site with multiple scenarios for studying the relationship between the state and diverse local societies, and to understand the particular shapes the system takes as a result of the characteristics of that relationship. I also understand the relevance of historicizing the school system, as its changes through time are the result of complex negotiations and diverse interests, not necessarily linked to the explicit aims of the current educational policies and discourses. My readings also illuminate how discourses behind educational policies are translated (and often betrayed) by local state agents, to serve the particular position in the social and political reality they are immersed in. This particular social and political reality is better understood if gender and race relations are included as part of the analysis.

This understanding is useful for making sense of the particular development and outcomes that the World Bank-led educational reform had in Peru while it was also carried out in other Latin American countries in the 1990s. As I explained before, I will be dealing with three specific aspects of the reform that were taken as technical matters when in fact they were dealing with relationships of discrimination and oppression that are at the core of Peruvian society structures.

Chapter three

Methodology

The research work for this thesis started in 1994, and was ongoing until 2005. It has been a long journey linked to my own professional life and interests. Unlike other theses this is not the result of a bounded PhD study program. I started researching these topics as a personal project, and my work took the shape of a Human Geography PhD thesis in the middle of the road. I chose to do a PhD in Human Geography because of the discipline's openness to multidisciplinary work which clearly coincided with my own trajectory, already drawing from Sociology, Anthropology and History. My diverse experience as an activist, researcher, lecturer, and consultant did not find the disciplinary openness, flexibility and range of works that I came across among geographers, particularly in the UK. The critical analysis of development processes and the emphasis on the importance of place and space to social analysis –so pertinent for Andean societies- fuelled my interest and motivation to carry on with my research and helped me decide to pursue a higher degree.

I decided to produce a study that could help understand the complexity of aspects involved in the characteristics of the education system in my country, and I thought that there was a need to develop an approach that could simultaneously address different aspects and dimensions of the problems involved in the characteristics of the education system. The intense debate about the bad quality of education in Peru, and the obvious difficulties that analysts had in linking the situation of education with relationships of power and domination, associated to the particular local academic cultures, constituted the central motivations for my research. In this study I connect these three aspects to demonstrate how the 'failure' of the education system is linked to the articulation of the school culture with the way in which the state displays its power in different geographical regions, articulated in turn with local hierarchies and power relations. It was important to provide an ethnographic approach to education that was not used for this critical purpose until then. And it had to be as well a multi-

sited account, so that the connections between the different layers involved could be seen (Marcus, 1998).

My work attempts to contribute with a methodology that unlike more common uses of ethnography, (geared to find problems and interactions among students to provide for example, important insights to handle intercultural situations), can expand its uses to develop a critique of the integral education system. Like Luykx, I aim at 'linking the small daily dramas of classroom life to the reproduction of larger structures of inequality, making explicit the connections between micro and macro level processes' (1999, pp XXXIII). I also want to contribute to the increasing efforts to examine and question the political, social and cultural aspects of education, breaking with a generalised tendency in Latin America to do research on education as essentially pedagogical (Stromquist, 2006, 27).

My first motivation for critically examining the academic culture of the Peruvian educational system came from my experience as a graduate student and language instructor in a university in the United States. Before that experience I had been an undergraduate student, researcher and undergraduate lecturer in my home university in Lima[14]. Once in the States and particularly through my experience as an undergraduate level Spanish instructor and Spanish tutor for student athletes, I was surprised to find the wide range of institutional provisions that the university had to guarantee quality results and actual learning on the part of its students. There were both discourses, and practices to facilitate the transition to academic life for students who came from non-university families in the United States, or from different academic systems in other parts of the world.

Several strategies aimed at 'levelling' students from different social and cultural backgrounds were consistently put in place. For example, there was the Learning Skills Centre, a very nice venue where students could drop by and be advised by previously trained undergraduate students on how to organize their schedules, or study for exams, how to read and summarize, and how to write essays, at no cost and on a first come first serve basis. The room had an informal atmosphere, posters and

[14] Please see Appendix 1 for a chronology of my academic and professional career to better understand the evolution of my research project.

handouts with useful tips were available on the walls and coffee tables. Salaries for the advisors were paid from the profit money coming from the University's vending machines. Another measure put in place was that for courses taught during the first two years, every school had to nominate at least two courses with a 'writing component' worth 25% of the final mark. Teachers of those courses had teaching assistants hired to revise the academic writing style of each student, to make thorough comments on it, and if necessary, have tutoring sessions with specific individuals. Finally, students with the lowest average marks from secondary school in English or numeracy were offered a tutor to work with on those specific aspects of their performance during the first year.

I was trained as a language instructor, and part of my training focused on being aware of the diversity of social and cultural backgrounds of first year students. Another aspect important during my training was to develop the ability to be consistent on instructing students about the particularities of academic culture, so that it became second nature for them towards the second year. All these efforts took place in a public university, not quite prestigious at an undergraduate level, very affordable for the country in general, and particularly accessible for Texans.

As a Peruvian coming from an elitist university -where study skills and cultural capital were taken for granted-, and with first hand knowledge of the public school system as a researcher, all these provisions were astonishing. The clear efforts to make university education really effective and to assume a remedial role for the ever dropping quality of public primary and secondary schooling in the US impressed me.

I knew of nothing like that being done or even dreamed of in Peru. As a result of this experience I came to understand that there are geographies of academic culture, and that the quality of education was something not to be taken for granted. Rather, it needed a very strong and clear political will to make it occur. The mere existence of educational institutions does not guarantee that universally equivalent formal instruction occurs in them. I had to contribute with an in depth knowledge of academic culture in public institutions in Peru.

The research process

I went back to Peru in 1994, precisely when the World Bank had started to fund an education reform during the Fujimori regime. Because of my previous research experience[15] I could find a grant from the Ford foundation to conduct my research with GRADE (Grupo de Análisis Para el Desarrollo) as a researcher in education. I designed my study about the academic culture in teacher training programs, part of which is presented in chapter five as an ethnographic account of the teachers training process in two academic institutions. The context of the education reform was very appropriate and made my research topic all the more pertinent.

Once my research finished I was invited to join a research team on rural education at the IEP (Institute of Peruvian Studies) for a project on girls' education in rural schools (Oliart, 2004). The same research team I was part of won a bid for a consultancy for the Ministry of Education requested by the European Union and funded by the World Bank, and we produced a comprehensive analysis of the situation of rural schools (Montero et al, 2000). After looking at teachers' performance in rural schools and realizing how it was mostly a male realm, dominated by a *mestizo* culture, I wanted to go back to studying teacher training programs, but this time I wanted to study one important provincial university, focusing on the male culture in it. With the support of IEP I could obtain research funds for the research in chapter six. This is an ethnographic work on male student culture in a third institution, where I try to establish the connections between diverse race and gender ideologies among students, and the ways in which they relate to forms of interaction with institutions representing power and authority, such as the university and the state school system.

Chapter seven summarizes the knowledge about the reform process that I gained while working in different consultancies and through my political activities throughout these years (1990 to 2005). It also includes four field-work reports. One about the system put in place to hire rural teachers, another on an in-service teacher training program, and two on the work of two rural teachers who had been trained by

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[15]. In 1985 and 1986 I was associate researcher at Universidad Católica. The book El Perú desde la Escuela (Portocarrero and Oliart, 1989) was the end result of the project.

the reformers. I include them in order to illustrate the characteristics of the application of the educational reform as a concrete result of its interaction with the existing educational system. My knowledge and understanding was greatly enhanced by the combination of different formats of interviewing (Agar, 1994). I held both informal conversations and formal interviews with officers at the ministry in Lima, technical advisors in Lima and regional offices, school teachers, teachers and students at training programmes, and teachers, parents and children in rural schools to learn about their involvement with and opinions about the reform.

The three main empirical chapters are preceded by chapter four, where I present the development of the teaching career and the state funded education system linked to contemporary Peruvian history. Together with secondary sources, for this chapter I used a series of interviews with former ministers of education that I conducted in 2001, and also interviews with other officers and independent analysts.

I am an educated, *mestizo* middle class woman of provincial origin, but I have lived in Lima most of my life. As most Peruvians, I am perceived differently according to whom I am speaking with. Depending on the situation I can be perceived as white, or 'non-white', as '*pituca*[16]' or '*no-pituca*', as a leftist intellectual, or as an 'agent of neo-liberalism', among other possible characterisations. The fact that I was born and raised in Peru does not make me 'an insider' when it comes to doing research in such a fragmented society. Part of my professional self-training has consisted in finding forms of neutralising prejudices in my interactions with 'research subjects' to ease communication.

When I was working on this long term project I was already in my forties, and I felt that given my circumstances, ('multi-employed' and a divorced mother of two) I should develop a way of working with research assistants to have a closer access to my research subjects. Even though I am a trained social researcher and I trust my interviewing skills, I was aware of the distortions –and discomfort- that my presence was likely to produce among university teachers during classroom observations, or in teacher training programmes in Lima, or in drinking sessions with students in

[16] The Peruvian equivalent of posh.

Ayacucho. There were also time and money concerns that made my presence in the field difficult; at least as much as I considered necessary for the different aspects of this project. I could not afford to stop working as a lecturer and consultant while I conducted my research, and constant presence was needed to observe the two different sites in Lima during one semester. The demand for intensive fieldwork was even greater in Ayacucho, as I wanted to follow various groups of students simultaneously. In both cases I used my research grants to pay field work assistants that I chose with great care and subsequently trained in ethnography. I consider my interactions with them, and discussions of their findings, a crucial aspect of my learning process during this research. I designed their training and the exchange of information and discussions with great care, and the results were a great source of stimulation and gratification.

Working with research assistants

Erika Busse and Doris Palomino were my students in an independent studies course I taught on Gender theory at the Instituto de Estudios Peruanos when I was looking for assistants for the first project in GRADE. I interviewed them for the job, and once we discussed the project I trained them on ethnographic methods and pedagogy methods. They were final year students at Universidad Católica. Doris was in Psychology and Erika in Sociology and I considered this combination very appropriate for the contributions that each discipline could bring to our discussions of the ethnographies and interviews.

I wanted to conduct my research in a public university and in a private TTP. After several visits and discussions we finally chose to work at one of each, and I will keep the institutions names reserved for confidentiality reasons. I trained Erika and Doris in classroom observation techniques during a two week course on teaching methodologies that we attended together. It was a perfect opportunity, as it was a summer course taught to both university students and teachers in service from different schools in the country. The audience was very diverse, both socially and in age, so we could be in a situation in which the three of us were typical students, learning pedagogy, which was very useful to provide us with common criteria to observe teaching methods during our research. I

prepared an observation guide that could allow us to analyse the social dynamics in the classroom as well as the teacher's power strategies, and relationships among groups of students.

During our first weeks of team work we combined the discussion of several texts on ethnography and critical theory of education, with the discussion of our class observations. I was careful to highlight the differences in the things each of us had chosen to report, and then we discussed how the different choices had to do with who we were in terms of age, discipline, and personality. We also worked on my research questions so that they could see how to integrate their own interests while recording their observations.

To grant us access to both sites I introduced Erika and Doris with letters to each institution explaining the research project to the directors of the relevant authorities in each site. They introduced themselves to the teachers and asked permission to observe their classes. According to my design, (Erika at the university and Doris at the Institute), each attended as regular students in two courses (one in stage 2 and the other in stage 4), during one academic semester. They collected information taking notes as students during lectures, and were asked to reflect on their 'learning experiences'. They also observed and took notes about everyday life issues, like things students spent their time doing, interrelations between teachers and students, and among them. They also registered the duration of each teaching session, and used a guide to observe the teaching styles of each teacher. Apart from attending these four courses, Erika and Doris took part in other students' activities. The three of us had periodical meetings to discuss the research progress, and I held individual sessions with each of them to analyse their reports, and to define new emerging issues to work on.[17]

My collaborators also attended two or three sessions from other courses at the institute and at the university. Also, to have an idea of how other institutions worked, I asked permission to observe classrooms in other institutions to which I had easier access. In all, we were able to observe a total of 12 teachers in six institutions devoted to teacher training for primary school teachers, and one thing that became evident is that with only

[17] Appendix 3 is a sample of the reports written by Erika and Doris.

one exception, classes tended to be very simplified, and treatment to students was generally patronizing and authoritarian. These findings really affected us emotionally. We had some sessions discussing how difficult it was for us to accept what we were facing, and how hard it was not to intervene for example, making comments with students about how poor their lessons were, or how bad they were being treated by some of their teachers.

After we chose both research sites, and before we started our fieldwork, I tried to make Erika and Doris very aware of the fact that they came from a different academic experience than the one they were going to observe. The three of us had studied at Universidad Catolica, a prestigious, modern, well organised and well provided private university, so I made very clear that the idea was not to compare the differences based on their own experience as students, but to try to understand what they were looking at for what it was, in its own terms. They had no problem doing that, but precisely because they could compare their own experience as students against those they were observing, we had several discussions about how to deal with their feelings of exasperation and frustration towards the reality they had to describe, and transform it into critical and analytical energy (Devereaux, 1977, Powell 1996).

Information in chapter five was possible thanks to a research grant I obtained from the McArthur Foundation with the support of the *Instituto de Estudios Peruanos* (IEP). Given that my interest was to explore male student culture in Ayacucho, I worked with three young male anthropologists from Ayacucho. They were Mario Maldonado, Freddy Ventura and José Mariano Aronés. They were recent graduates from the Universidad Nacional San Cristóbal de Huamanga, and I contacted each of them after asking colleagues in Lima and Ayacucho about possible assistants for this project. I interviewed several candidates, and finally appointed these three researchers. Once I had a team, I organised a meeting with a group of teachers and students in Anthropology to present and discuss my project. The results of this event were very useful for the design of my research instruments, mostly interview guides and ethnography protocols[18].

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[18] Appendix 5 has my notes on the contributions of each of my assistants in Ayacucho and their pictures.

Studying students' male culture meant to conduct ethnographic work in parties, sports courts, and drinking sessions, therefore it could have been impossible without the assistance of my three collaborators. The participation and production of information of these three anthropologists is then the central material for my analysis of 'men's talk' in chapter five, although I also conducted some individual and collective interviews and shared my observations and comments with my collaborators[19].

An initial knowledge of university life in Huamanga told us that students form groups among equals, and that friendships are built among people of common origin. This is how we decided that Mario would approach rural students in Education. He was born and raised in a peasant community in the province of Victor Fajardo, he was also a native Quechua speaker who became bilingual once he moved to Huamanga. Freddy Ventura, who lived in the outskirts of Huamanga, and was son of parents of rural origin, would take care of those students classified as 'urbanised' meaning children of immigrants, or immigrants themselves. Finally, José Aronés, born monolingual in Spanish and from the city of Huamanga, would work with students from the city or from other capital cities of the region.

Interactions with my team during the research process are also a very important source of material for this study. Each of my collaborators had very distinctive contributions, influenced not only by their particular skills, but by their culturally determined perspectives on gender and class issues in their social environment. As in the previous research in Lima, the training process and the analysis also concentrated on the inclusions and omission in their ethnographic reports as linked to their own biographies. We went together to a few research sites, a *peña folclórica*[20], a civic parade, a football match, one students' assembly, and registration week at the university. We worked in pairs each time, and I tried to observe at least one event with each of them. Then we wrote our reports for the events and compared them, and discussed them. The ongoing training during the whole research process included readings and discussions of theories of gender that had not been part of their university curriculum. The impact of those readings was very different in each of them and this was evident in their field notes.

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19 Appendix 4 is a sample of the reports written by Mario, Freddy and Mariano.
20 A bar and restaurant featuring live folk music.

The research process lasted 30 weeks and I went to Ayacucho at least every five to six weeks during that period. In every visit I set tasks for each of them and received a report every month in Lima. Their main task was to accompany and observe particular groups of students previously informed of the research we were conducting and to send me monthly reports prior to my visit. During each visit, I first met with each of them with comments to their reports, and then we all had a meeting after we had read every report and discussed them. In each visit I gave them texts on gender theories and masculinities to read, to be discussed during my next visit. Those sessions were very important for the research process, my own learning, and that of my collaborators. It was very instructive to be part of their assimilation of new categories, and questioning their own ways of looking at society and the organization of power relations, in a context they never thought as an object of critical inquiry: university life in their home city.

At first they questioned my interest and my research questions. It was a very instructive process to convince them of the relevance of what I wanted to do, and when they finally 'connected' intellectually with my project, it was enormously rewarding to listen to the impact this was having on them, as it was making them see male chauvinism linked to racism and corruption in a light they have not seen before. It had resonances with their own biographies that they shared with great honesty during our discussion sessions (Carter and Delamont, 1996).

Research Methods

Ethnography

I have used mainly qualitative research methods for this thesis, and my approach is fundamentally ethnographic. As was discussed in the previous chapter, the elites, and state policies may play a role in the reproduction of social differences, but each educational institution develops its own culture based on its concrete agents, and this culture produced in the educational institutions plays an important role in the way in which the social order is reproduced. In the late 1970s Paul Willis's ethnography of a working class school in London (Willis, 1978) taught us to look at the students' study habits, and in general, at their attitudes towards the educational institutions as expressions of a social practice --created at schools by their own participants—that as

much as they could produce changes that escaped structural determination, could actively reproduce the low place students have in the social ladder. In spite of the numerous critiques to the ethnographic flaws in his work, Paul Willis's ground breaking contribution helps to make evident that teachers and students are crucial in the definition of the characteristics of each and every educational institution. This contribution has been crucial to guide my work, and I devised a methodology to train the people I have worked with during this research that could allow them to be alert to a number of practices, uses of the body and space, acts of speech, that are important in the creation of meaning and production and reproduction of people's place in society (Marcus, 1998).

One important contribution stemming from feminist scholarly analysis of education that I decided to include in my work is the notion of the hidden curriculum. For some authors the school system finds its accomplices among teachers who are part of a structure that, at the same time that it receives women, discriminates against them through the usage of notions and practices that facilitate the ideological and cultural reproduction of patriarchy (Chodorow, 1978, Clarriocoates, 1986, Grumet, 1986). I stretched this notion to also look at the notions and practices that facilitate the reproduction of racism and discrimination based on class origin in teacher training programs, i.e. an education system that is universal and grants the right to education regardless of gender or race has its ways to reproduce social distances through everyday practices. The analysis of the 'hidden curriculum' in my research aimed at making evident how classroom interactions were determined by a particular institutional culture, that also transmits to students an ideology about themselves and the world in which they live, being 'all the more insidious because it is unacknowledged and unchallenged' (Luykx, 1996, xxxv).

I also took the notion of 'third curriculum' from sociologist Rafaela Best (1989) who defines it as the patterns of gender and race relations among the students, and the knowledge about this that is shared in peer groups. In chapters five and six, I stretched the use of this concept to talk about the shared knowledge about what to study and to be a teacher means to them, and also about what they learn about how to survive and strive within an 'unruly order'.

In the first empirical study conducted for this thesis (presented in chapter five), I wanted to unravel the articulations between academic culture and patterns of power

and domination 'in the making'; this could be done through 'thick and thin descriptions' (Marcus, 1998) of everyday interactions in the classrooms, corridors, libraries and cafeterias, based on observations of two different teacher training programs. I wanted to show the concrete ways in which elementary school teachers were produced. I thought it was crucial to look at the specific processes through which academic contents were communicated, received, and processed by students themselves. It was important for me to understand the relationships between students and teachers, and to know the conditions for studying and doing academic work in these centres. I wanted to be able to look at the everyday practices that shaped attitudes and habits of the future teachers.

With the education reform as background, I wanted to go beyond the evaluation of the pertinence of the curriculum, or the characteristics of the infrastructure of the teacher training programs. Once I realised how dramatically poor the academic culture was, I became even more convinced of how important it was to produce evidence of the way in which the devaluation of the teaching career was taking place, and to understand the links between this process and the particularities of the national political culture, or in other words, how important it was to highlight the resilience of patterns of social relations that could be considered 'pre-modern' and the role they were playing in the 'failure' of the educational system to become an effective 'social leveller'.

Up to the 1990s, the scholarly work done in Peru about education had in general a very optimistic approach, concentrating more on the expectations of the population in the educational system than on its poor results (Ames, 2005). Little was done on the outcomes of the system except for some pioneering research by Nestor Valdivia from GRADE (1994) showing how the educational market was segmented, granting higher salaries and better posts to those graduates from the most prestigious institutions, and unemployment or poorly paid jobs to graduates from provincial or public technical colleges. There was little –or close to nothing- done to learn about the actual characteristics of teaching in any institution. Regarding ideological contents taught at school, apart from a few text book analyses, and research based on interviews to teachers, (Anderson 1989, Portocarrero and Oliart 1989) no one had conducted a critical analysis of the ideologies behind the practices of teaching.

I wanted to provide a close view not only of how classes were taught, or the ways used by teachers to relate to students' knowledge. I also wanted to have an appreciation of the relationships between students and teachers. I thought that critical ethnographic descriptions could help achieve a complex understanding of the academic space as one in which common codes are shared regarding social relationships, and where new codes and meanings are created that replace or solve tensions and differences among participants of those spaces. I wanted to enter into the material dimension of the academic culture and learn about study habits, use of libraries and books, and the understanding of what effectively organised the students' lives.

I was interested in getting a grasp of their values and cultural influences in their interpersonal relationships as students. Thus, the study of the students' class, gender and race ideologies were also crucial, and that demanded the observation of their relationships not only during classes but also outside their academic institutions.

In Ayacucho, and according to the discussions we had about the ethnographic notes, each assistant had to identify one group in the first two years and one in the final years, and spend time with them during the week, participating in different activities –including for example a trip to Apurimac Freddy made with students in stage 4. A very important part of the training was to learn how to write 'the ethnography of speaking'. In a study about the reproduction of gender roles through youth cultures in schools, anthropologist Donna Eder states the crucial role that informal conversations play in the creation of meaning for student's lives. For her, sharing stories, gossip and rumour, are all exercises of free speech through which a sense of belonging is created, criteria for exclusion are made up, gender and racial stereotypes are reinforced, and leadership is either confirmed or displaced (1995, p. 33). If we assume that a world view is shaped by social interaction, group conversations can sometimes be instrumental to shape attitudes, either by highlighting or weakening individuals' sensitivities. I asked my team to place particular emphasis on jokes and nicknames, and the social circumstances for them to occur.

During each of my visits to Ayacucho the school of education and the school of anthropology organised public talks were I presented different issues related to my

previous research projects and expertise. Of particular interest were the students' audience responses to my talks on gender and education, or the quality of rural education. Those were also opportunities that I included for observation in my research.

In chapter six I present a few ethnographic scenes to illustrate the 'reality' of teacher training programs. I had developed a good relation with an organisation called *Movimiento Pedagógico Peruano* with whom I had contributed giving talks and participating in workshops in several occasions; I was also recognised as a critic of the reform because of my participation in a few editions of a nationally broadcasted radio program where I had been interviewed and then answered questions asked by teachers from different parts in the country. Several NGOS giving the in-service teacher training session during the reform were members of this movement, therefore I was granted easy access to some sessions, and it seemed natural that I wanted to observe them and talk to teachers.

Interviews

I have used interviews in different formats and circumstances, according to the characteristics of my informants, and my possibilities to obtain valuable information from them. For chapter four where I present the historical context for my research I interviewed different officers from the ministry of education, mostly in Lima. The purpose was to collect their testimony on the period in which they were ministers, and also to get their perspectives on the relationship between the state and TTP and teachers. I also interviewed three other specialists in education who have played an important role either as critics or as advisors for different regimes.

Very important sources for chapter five were six recorded sessions of collective interviews with a total of 46 students from the university and the Institute. Each session was divided into five different activities. We met in places different than their institutions, and provided transportation and refreshments. First I asked about the educational trajectory of each student, in a quick round about how they decided to study education. I also asked about how satisfied they were with the training they were receiving. During this section I passed around photographs of different sites of their institution, with and without people, to elicit more comments, and to generate

conversations so that individuals did not feel too targeted by the questions. A second activity was to show them a selection of eight numbered pictures of school teachers in action. We wanted each student to rank them from worse to best teachers in a piece of paper, and then each had to disclose their results, explaining their reasons. We then identified the best and the worst according to the number of 'votes' they had, and discussed the results. This activity provided very interesting insights into the students' ideas of what good teaching was. Finally, to have a look at their writing skills and a little glimpse of what they considered relevant topics, I asked them to write a short story about one of the people portrayed, and illustrate their story with a sequence of three pictures if they wanted.

I decided to use this technique to avoid very stereotypical responses, and also to allow for the individual expression of the students. I was very aware that because of the nature of my questions, after one or two responses the rest would just agree and talk no more. The use of photography as a resource for interviews has a tradition in Anthropology (Collier) but I adapted this method from two different readings. Muchachas no more, by Elsa Chaney et al. (1989) about domestic servants in Lima, in which she used pictures of typical situations of a domestic servant's work, and also pictures of the country side in the highlands to elicit talks about their lives without asking directly about them. The other book was Podria ser yo, by Elizabeth Jelin and Pablo Vila (1985) a book about interracial relations in a very populated neighbourhood in Buenos Aires, were pictures were used to explore perceptions and feelings of *tanos* (Argentinians of Italian descent) and *cabezas negras* (Argentinians or Bolivian immigrants of Indigenous descent).

I used about 200 pictures some taken by Erika Busse, and others I borrowed from the archive of TAFOS, and NGO working with social photography. The selection included scenes from a great variety of schools, the surrounding areas of both teaching centres, scenes of university students' life, and a large selection of portraits of people in different occupations. There were also pictures of houses, and people of clearly diverse social origins. The rest of the session was devoted to an open discussion about the situation of the educational system in the country, their expectations as future teachers, and the social role of teachers.

I interviewed the four teachers we observed, and another teacher from one of the 'control' classes. Throughout this project I was very self conscious of the difficulties to establish trust and cooperation in such a fragmented society like Peru where race and class borders are so divisive, and where a very delicate etiquette needs to be played to achieve empathy and trust among researchers and informants. My relationship with the teachers at the university during this project was not easy. My position was in itself aggravating for some of the teachers. Social research is a privileged activity in Peru. In general, funds for research are very scarce. Having access to them is telling of a privileged position of the beholder. It means to be part of a tight circle of contacts and networks that is perceived as non-inclusive: the academia linked to international sources of funding, because there are not Peruvian sources funding social research.

Thus, after I introduced myself as a researcher, the first question was 'who is paying for it?'; revealing the sources immediately took to the next easy assumption: 'Then you earn your salary in dollars', which in Peru is a great divider in the middle classes (*ganar en dólares* being equivalent to have a high standard of consumption). That has also political resonances, as it could inspire immediate suspicion of me working for neo-liberal agencies for example.

I could have also introduced myself as a university teacher, but then, if asked where I taught, I had to say it was the Catholic University, which is considered a high quality private university for which admission is very difficult. So my interviews with teachers at the university were particularly complicated. It was very hard to set appointments to see them for several reasons. Teachers do not have individual offices. They share a common *sala de profesores* (teachers' room) that has no telephone or a computer, so to use a phone call or an e-mail was out of the question. Even though I had plenty of observations to do while I went to the University campus, to get an actual interview with each of the teachers demanded a lot of persistence on my part, because both, individually, failed more than once because they had forgotten our appointment or because they had something else to do. In fact, a first interview attempt with one of them had to be walking, and following him around the university campus and the school of application. During the interviews, on the other hand, I was deliberately lied to by the two teachers I interviewed. Still, the results of both

interviews were very valuable for my research, as I could contrast them and see their consistency with their practice in classes.

Once I had written a report with the valuable contributions of Erika and Doris, we organised a meeting to present our findings with all the students involved, and we also invited the teachers, but only two attended, and in spite of the grim picture we provided, their reactions were very positive, and showed that they had engaged with our perspective.

In Ayacucho we chose to conduct in-depth interviews with ten of the students we were working with. Two were from Huamanga, one of them a first year student, and the other one a finalist. Two 'urbanised' in the same different years, and two rural students. Mario and Freddy also interviewed two other students each. I also interviewed six of these ten students. Mostly, interviews were about their social and academic life at the university, their motivations for being teachers, their observations about the conformation of different groups among students.

Chapter seven also includes material drawn from interviews during my field trips. Given that I usually interviewed teachers in the context of in-service training workshops given by local NGOs, and for reasons explained above, teachers were very open and direct in their responses, either to express criticism or to show proudly what they were learning or doing to improve their teaching.

About the analysis

I have discussed my reports for chapter five with Erika and Doris, and chapter six with Freddy, Mario and Jose Mariano, and included some of their comments. During my writing, I have tried to include what I learned from them during the research process. I have presented chapters 5, 6, and fragments of chapter 7 to different audiences, and the comments I received have also helped me clarify different aspects of them. However, I am the sole responsible person for the organisation of the material and the final analysis for each chapter.

I have worked my material always keeping in mind the research questions (Agar and Hobbs, 1982), and relying on my fieldwork notes and ethnography reports from my collaborators. Throughout these years I have come across an enormous amount of material to work on. During the writing process I have had to leave a lot of information aside, in order to develop my argument, using the evidence that supported what I consider relevant findings. Even though I have been strongly influenced by feminist methodologies, I can not claim that I am 'giving voice' to silenced groups, and like Kohler Riessman, I find that claim problematic in some feminist literature on methodology (1993, 8). I have conducted many interviews and heard numerous voices while doing my research, but I have discriminated some against others because some result more effective than others to present my arguments. I have taken many decisions selecting my material that may not have to do with the expectations of those I interviewed, but favour the argument I want to make. All I can do about that is to take responsibility for those decisions, and to say that my main motivation is to provide evidence that can facilitate a better understanding of a social problem.

That is finally the main motivation behind this thesis. To produce knowledge and understanding about a particular topic in the hope that it can produce some changes. The major intellectual 'allegiance' then is not with a discipline, or a topic, but my country and its fate. My political understanding of the role of education has motivated my questions and research interests. It has stimulated my readings, and the connections I have established between different authors and topics, it has also inspired the methods I have used. This thesis then is the result of what Raul Romero calls a long process of falling in love with the subject of study (Romero, 2001, p. 49).

Chapter four

Public school teachers and the State in Peru

In this chapter I identify the characteristics of the Peruvian education system related to the interests of the different actors involved in planning and delivering this complex service upon which so many important expectations are placed. The research for this chapter is based on primary and secondary sources to reconstruct the history of how the system has grown into its current dimensions and crisis. I combine a review of the historiography of the education system with interviews with important actors in its recent history, namely, ministers of education and officers taking their decisions in Lima to be applied in the rest of the country. I particularly concentrate on the relationship between the State and teachers over time, because even though it is often argued that teachers embody the growth of the State power in the provinces, they do so but in a very complex and contradictory way as was discussed in chapter two.

This chapter has two sections. A first section will provide a brief historical background to better understand the evolution of the Peruvian educational system from the late nineteenth century until the late 1950s. At this time despite some changes, the system grew as part of the initial impulse, and responding to more or less the same type of social and political pressures, that were inherent to what scholars on Peru agree to call 'the Aristocratic Republic' (Basadre, 1961, Burga and Flores Galindo, 1979). Next, I address some specific issues in the recent past such as the politics of financing education, teacher training programs, policies towards the dropping quality of public education over the past four decades, and the relationship between the state and the *Sindicato Unico de Trabajadores de la Educación*[1], or SUTEP, the teachers' union. All of these pressing issues were faced by the regimes in power between 1962 and 2000, when social and political movements from the rural areas and the provinces shook the very basis of the social order, pushing for social reforms and the collapse of the previous political order.

[1] Union of Workers of Peruvian Education.

For this second section, I use mainly my interviews with former ministers of education who served during the past six political regimes,[2] and secondary sources. I consider this background necessary in order to understand the politics involved in the growth of the system, and to contribute to a discussion of the relationship between teachers and the state in an account that has not been written before, presenting the sequence of events and policies that help understand the political relationship between the state and the teachers' union.

How the system grew to its present size and characteristics: A historical account.

About three decades ago there was a common view among those studying the expansion of the educational system in twentieth century Peru. This view held that the system had mostly grown out of the effort of local communities, forcing the state to create more schools and universities. On the one hand, these accounts emphasized the role of the working class political parties and the peasants' mobilization as the main driving forces for the expansion of the educational system from the 1920s onwards. On the other hand, the same accounts showed how public education had been used for political bargaining and corruption, with little planning and few political objectives (Ansion, 1981, 1986, Bernales, 1974, Roncagliolo, 1971, Degregori, 1986). It is likely that those studies were still under the pervasive influence of the theory of dependency that hindered the development of research questions about the specificities of the particular interests and concerns of the national elites, also overlooking the conflictive relations between different groups of interests in each society (Badie, 2000). However, scholarship developments in the 1990s brought much detailed knowledge about the elite's projects and policy making in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Peru (among others, Quiroz, 1987, Gootenberg, 1989, 1993).

For the particular case of education in Peru, historian Carlos Contreras has made evident that there was state concern for the growth of education and that it was important in political planning in at least two specific periods in the twentieth century (Contreras, 1996). His important study places Peruvian elites together with their post

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[2] Please see Appendix 2 for a chronology of Peruvian presidents since 1890, important landmarks in the history of education and the regimes my interviewees served.

colonial pairs in power in other states in Latin America, facing crucial problems concerning their own modernisation, and how to become part of the Western world after independence from Spain in the early nineteenth century. Liberal elites accessed power at different stages in different countries and worked to re-organise social hierarchies in their new states under the influence of contemporary European scientific racism to which they made peculiar local adaptations according to their interests and particularities (Graham, 1994, Gootenberg, 1993, Oliart 1994, Appelbaum et al, 2003).

A crucial issue was what to do with the Indian masses of uneducated people, living on the margins of the state, yet in control of vast territories, which meant that they were often in conflict with 'land potentates, gauchos, bandits, and other barbarous remnants of the colonial past' (Larson, 2003:184). Illiteracy was seen as a burden to a healthy nation, and education was said to be the possibility for transforming the Indian people, advancing their inferior souls. In this fashion, the state could 'eliminate' its Indians by educating them[3].

The civilista project

The *civilista* educational project was clearly oriented by racial politics. It is important to say that in Peru the immigration policies carried out in other Latin American countries were not actively promoted by the State (Hunefeldt, 1987) and the process of 'whitening' so crucial to other countries, occurred only in certain areas of the country. So, Peruvian liberals created their own version of eugenics called *autogenia*, a process intended to help the Peruvian nation to uplift itself 'by rising health and nutritional standards and by improving the educational level of groups deemed inferior' (De la Cadena, 2000:17). In this way education was seen as a social and racial leveller that saved the country from miscegenation, and *autogenia* meant that *mestizaje* could be non biological and re-coded race in terms of education achieved and cultural adaptations (De la Cadena, 2005).

[3] There are also numerous accounts of the Indigenous communities trying to guarantee access to education to their members, either by paying teachers to go to their communities, or by sending their chosen members to access provincial schools.

The 1902 census showed that only 23% of Peruvian children (6 to14 years old) could read and write. Deeply alarmed by those figures, the state began an important initiative that according to Contreras lasted for about four decades. A large number of schools were built in rural areas, primary education was made compulsory and teacher training programs were created and well structured and funded to provide first quality teachers. Between 1900 and 1929 the budget of the ministry in charge (Education, health and justice) grew 16.5 times (see table 1). In his *Historia de la Educación* Emilio Barrantes claims that the 1905 Jose Pardo's regime started the creation of '*Escuelas normales'* (the name for teacher training programs) with European and American teachers to provide 'excellent training'. They were all public, and at first male only. The first graduates were highly regarded, and very well paid, earning more than the local governors or *Prefectos* (Barrantes, 1989, p. 79*)*.

But this did not last long and was also not that effective. The 1925 Educational Statistics showed that only 12% of teachers had studied in a higher education institution. The response was to create more teacher training programs, and in 1928 new institutions were opened in Arequipa, Puno, Cusco and Trujillo without however the same state interest, equipment and quality as the ones created two decades before, giving place to the decline in the quality of teacher training (Tovar, 1988). According to Emilio Barrantes, '*Las normales se convirtieron en simples medios con los que los diputados complacían a los electores*' (1989, p. 82)[4]. Teachers salaries started to drop and the teaching profession began to loose prestige.

There is much evidence indicating however that overall, the expansion of the educational system under the impulse of the *civilistas* was not received with unanimous enthusiasm in the Sierra, in the Andes of Peru. Based on his research Contreras blames the failure of the *civilista* policies on the fact that their project was authoritarian, but also because they encountered fierce resistance from the local powers, mainly, the land owners and particularly the *gamonales*. The monopoly they had over access to public office, their violent relationship with the Indigenous peasants and their conservative attitude towards innovation and anything that could threaten their tight control over 'their territories' has been widely described in

[4] Normal schools became a simple mean for congressmen to please their constituencies.

Peruvian literature (Alegría, 1982, Arguedas, 1963, Scorza, 1983). As a characteristic feature of the Peruvian Andes system of domination, *gamonalismo* has been widely studied by social scientists of different disciplines. *Gamonales* have been described as a conservative force, marginal and opposed to the power of the more modern *limeño* elites. The relationship between *gamonales* and the central state has been described as a 'long standing quid pro quo to maintain order in the interior' (Klaren, 2000 p. 310). Modesto Málaga, provincial intellectual quoted by Contreras wrote in 1911:

> Las autoridades de la sierra raras veces cumplen con las obligaciones que tienen para favorecer la instrucción; y hay muchas que no solo no cumplen, sino que obstaculizan la enseñanza. Igual resistencia hacen muchos párrocos. La razón de esta conducta es clara. A los explotadores no les conviene que los explotados se eduquen e instruyan (Montero, 1990, 32).

In the end, money and discourses alone could not produce the expected changes, and the 1940 census made evident again that the indigenous population have not had access to education. In spite of the changes in the structure of expenses, those *departamentos* with the largest Indian population still ranked lowest in children's inclusion into schools and instruction (see Table 2, particularly figures for Cusco, Puno, Apurímac, Huancavelica).

Table 1

Percentage of the National budget used for the ministers of Education, Health and Justice

1900	10.3	1924	14.5	1949	17.1
1901	9.3	1925	14.9	1950	14.6
1902	11.5	1926	15.3	1951	15.7
1903	10.6	1927	15.9	1952	15.2
1904	9.6	1928	15.7	1953	15.5
1905	10.2	1929	15.5	1954	16.3
1906	15.9	1930	14.8	1955	16.5
1907	17.2	1931	14.9	1956	19.2
1908	16.1	1932	14.9	1957	21.5
1909	15.7	1933	14.5	1958	24.4
1910	16.2	1934	14.1	1959	25.4
1911	16.1	1935	14.4	1960	26
1912	13.03	1936	10.1	1961	25.4
1913	13.7	1937	10.3	1962	27.3
1914	15.0	1938	9.8	1963	19.3
1915	15.1	1939	10.2	1964	22.2
1916	14.4	1940	10.8	1965	28.8
1917	14.2	1941	10.4	1966	30.1
1918	14.2	1942	10.1	1967	28.6
1919	16.2	1943	9.6	1968	24.5
1920	15.9	1944	11.2	1969	23
1921	15.9	1945	12.3	1970	19.8
1922	15.4	1946	16.5		
1923	14.3	1947	15.2		
		1948	14.3		

Taken from Contreras (1996), Table 4.

A close look at Table 1 together with Appendix 2 shows the clear differences in the budget allocated to education according to the political orientation of the regimes, making evident its place and priority in the different political projects at stake.

Table 2

Percentage of children 6-14 attending to school by department, 1902-1940

Department	1902	1940
Amazonas	27.9	41.6
Ancash	27.6	30.0
Apurímac	11.9	15.0
Arequipa	34.2	56.8
Cajamarca	29.2	25.9
Callao	62.7	84.6
Cusco	18.5	18.5
Huancavelica	16.9	13.5
Huánuco	13.9	20.4
Ica	45.7	61.9
Junín	25.4	34.6
La Libertad	37.1	39.4
Lambayeque	40.6	43.2
Lima	48.1	74.4
Loreto	37.9	44.5
Madre de Dios	Unavailable	62.0
Moquegua	24.4	37.0
Piura	21.8	31.5
Puno	14.0	11.8
San Martin	Unavailable	54.3
Tacna	31.2	58.27
Tumbes	46.1	46.7
Republica	29.2	35.0

Taken from Contreras (1996) Table 6

The indigenista project

In 1945 social reformer Jose Luis Bustamente y Rivero won the first free elections in Peru since 1931 (Klaren, 2000, p.289). He was backed by *Alianza Popular Revolucionaria* (APRA)[5], the first large multi-class political alliance and by the emerging urban middle classes, who fuelled strong anti centralist sentiments in the provinces. Under Bustamante's rule (1945-1948), Peru lived a short 'democratic spring-time', and in spite of its fragility, his impulse to transform rural education lasted for about two decades. Facing the failure of the *civilista* project Bustamante gave room to the *indigenistas* to lead the educational reform. They were a group of middle class intellectuals from the Andes whose main objectives were not that distant from those of the *civilistas* regarding the indigenous populations (to provide them

[5] American Revolutionary Popular Alliance

with formal education and to seek their civilized integration to the country), nevertheless their foundations were quite different.

Writer, ethnologist and school teacher Jose Maria Arguedas was made responsible for producing the educational project for the rural areas. He was in favour of improvement in teacher training programs leading to three important changes:

1) Teachers should be fluent in Spanish, and well trained in the subjects they were supposed to teach.
2) Teachers should have a profound knowledge and appreciation of the cultures of their students, in order to obtain *la confianza y el cariño*[6] of the children and the communities.
3) They should be knowledgeable of the most contemporary teaching methods, and should be able to teach in the students' mother tongue in the first years of schooling (Arguedas, 2001)[7].

Luis Valcárcel, a prominent *indigenista* from Cusco, active promoter of *autogenia*, and strongly critical of biological *mestizaje*, was made minister of education, and promoted the creation of clusters of rural schools that could support each other to maximize their resources[8]. To complete the *indigenista* team in power, there was Jose Antonio Encinas, an intellectual from Puno, very adamant critic of the *civilista* project, an educator strongly influenced by John Dewey's ideas, educated in Cambridge, and founder of alternative schools in Puno and Lima. He was made the director of the Commission in charge of education in parliament.

Among their goals *indigenistas* wanted to increase literacy rates in the Quechua rural areas, improve teachers training programmes and their salaries, and increase coverage for at least the first three years of secondary school. The Bustamante regime brought important changes to the educational system. The budget for education leapt from a modest 10.1% to a 17.1% in 1949. Another important change was the creation of

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[6] The trust and affection
[7] This was quite an avant-garde concept. It was not until 1954 that the United Nations established that literacy campaigns should be done in the native languages for indigenous peoples.
[8] The clusters were called *Nucleos educativos rurales*, this system of networks of rural schools prevailed for about two decades and was also an inspiration for the education reform in 1972.

secondary schools in the Sierra. They increased from 45 in 1940 to 215 in 1948 at the end of the Bustamante regime. (Portocarrero and Oliart, 1999, p. 186).

Changes in access to higher education were also dramatic. The number of universities went from 6 in 1945 to 19 in 1964. Admission exams for teacher colleges were abolished in 1947. This direct access meant that people with very modest academic expectations and previously few possibilities for studying at a university could become teachers, thus widening the range of quality of the teacher training institutions in the country. Numbers of professional teachers soared so that 'a society made of *señores* and peasants (...) found itself questioned by the presence –timid at first, but massive after the 1940s-, of an army of teachers that for the first time in Peruvian history, accounted for more than the total of effectives in the Armed Forces' (Contreras, 1996, p. 5). Hundreds of those new teachers came from indigenous communities, thus becoming living proof that education could bring important changes in people's lives (p. 18), such as a salary and the official credential to be a teacher 'in the name of the nation' even if the quality of their education could not compete with that of private institutions or universities.

The National Education Plan

It is now commonplace to admit that during the second half of the twentieth century, the quality of formal education plummeted as it grew in size and coverage. In many societies in the Western World, the educational offer has grown not only after a process of State expansion, but also in response to widespread social demand for education from a growing urban working class and emerging rural sectors, with expectations of better opportunities for development and an advantaged insertion in society.

Nevertheless the surveillance over the quality of the service imparted was a very political issue. It was necessary to guarantee true access to education to the emerging social groups in rural areas and the poor in urban areas by providing good quality education. That was the only way to honour the democratizing promise of schooling (Schiefelbein, 1997). In the Peruvian case, in spite of all the important changes regarding access to education, and the high expectations placed on the growth of the system, the situation of poverty and exclusion for the majority of people in rural areas did not change significantly in the 1950s.

Education did provide a few with the opportunity for social mobility, and in some cases widened social and economic differences in rural villages between those who had children in schools and those who did not. Indeed, various accounts document how in many cases, teachers of indigenous origin, as well as others who gained access to public service jobs, would adopt the abusive manners of the *señores* (Montero, 1990, Contreras 1996). However, education did have an impact in the new access to information and ability to express concerns that peasant leaders had achieved (Cotler and Alberti, 1972). Also many accounts indicate that migration and higher levels of education led to a renovation of peasant leadership and a transformation in the nature of their demands during the appraisals of the 50s and 60s (Klaren, 2000, p.313).

The importance of those movements signalled that the indigenous communities involved in those peasant appraisals wanted more than just schools. After 1960 progressive political groups understood that to solve the problems of rural Peru there was more to do than 'educating' the Indians. The more modern groups among the elites promoted agrarian reforms, industrialization and even the nationalization of strategic goods in the hands of foreign companies. Carlos Contreras finishes his account of the State education projects in the 1960s, but there are two important issues he leaves unexplained. One is that precisely at the moment in which he stops his account, the narrative that emphasizes the role of the civil society's demand for education, helps to explain the geometrical growth of the educational system. The other striking silence concerns the role of the dictatorship of General Manuel Odria (1948-1956) in the expansion of the educational system. It was at this point that Peru developed the first ever National Education Plan, in 1950, under the direction of General Juan Mendoza, minister of Education. The *Plan Nacional de Educación* represented the first attempt to develop a centralized and coherent educational project designed by the state, and it was the initiative of a military regime. It combined centralized management, with significant autonomy in the regions, creating the regional offices of the ministry. It coincided with the emergence of a new provincial urban middle class who became quickly integrated into the growing state apparatus. Thus a very particular context of economic bonanza (Gonzales de Olarte, 1995, p. 45) urban growth and large migratory movements from the country side to the cities was the scenario for the creation of the '*Grandes Unidades Escolares*' (literally Large

School Units) in the cities. This dramatically increased the amount of people benefiting from secondary schooling (Tovar, 1994:64). In 1948 there were only 215 secondary schools in Peru, and by 1960 the number had almost doubled (Portocarrero and Oliart: 187).

The massive growth in the number of schools and students, led the military regime to create more Normal Schools for teacher training to satisfy the newly created demand for teachers. Subsequently, for the elections planned for 1956 the idea of having at least one Teacher College per province became a steady promise in the platform of any regional politician. As part of the same context of expansion of the educational system, in 1958 elected president Manuel Prado passed a law (12997) that allowed urban and rural communities to invest in the construction of new schools. In recognition of their effort the state would then grant them teachers, and official accreditation. The following regime of Fernando Belaunde (1962-1968), celebrated and continued this policy, also presenting the communities with a bronze plaque with the inscription: '*El pueblo lo hizo*'[9] still visible in many now old school buildings in the provinces. Soon public and private Teachers' Colleges and universities mushroomed in the country without anyone attending to the quality of the new institutions. In 1960 there were only ten universities teaching education to 4787 students. In 1970 there were 23 universities with 23,528 education students (Roncagliolo, 1971, p. 19). The so called 'myth of education' as a secure source for economic progress and social prestige for individuals was also linked to the idea that universities would bring technological innovation into the provinces. Thus local politicians also fostered their creation (Post 1991, p. 104). The huge increase in the number of schools meant that the state had more and more public employees on its payroll, entitled not only to a salary, but to vacations, medical attention, and a pension. This created pressure on the state treasury that has since become a thorny issue for every single regime, and a serious hindrance to the quality of education in the country. If as roughly 90% of the budget is spent in salaries, there is little room left to negotiate an increase in the budget to improve the quality of education.

Concurrently, the increasing number of teachers in the country made the teachers union a very important organization to gain political control over (Ballón et al., 1978).

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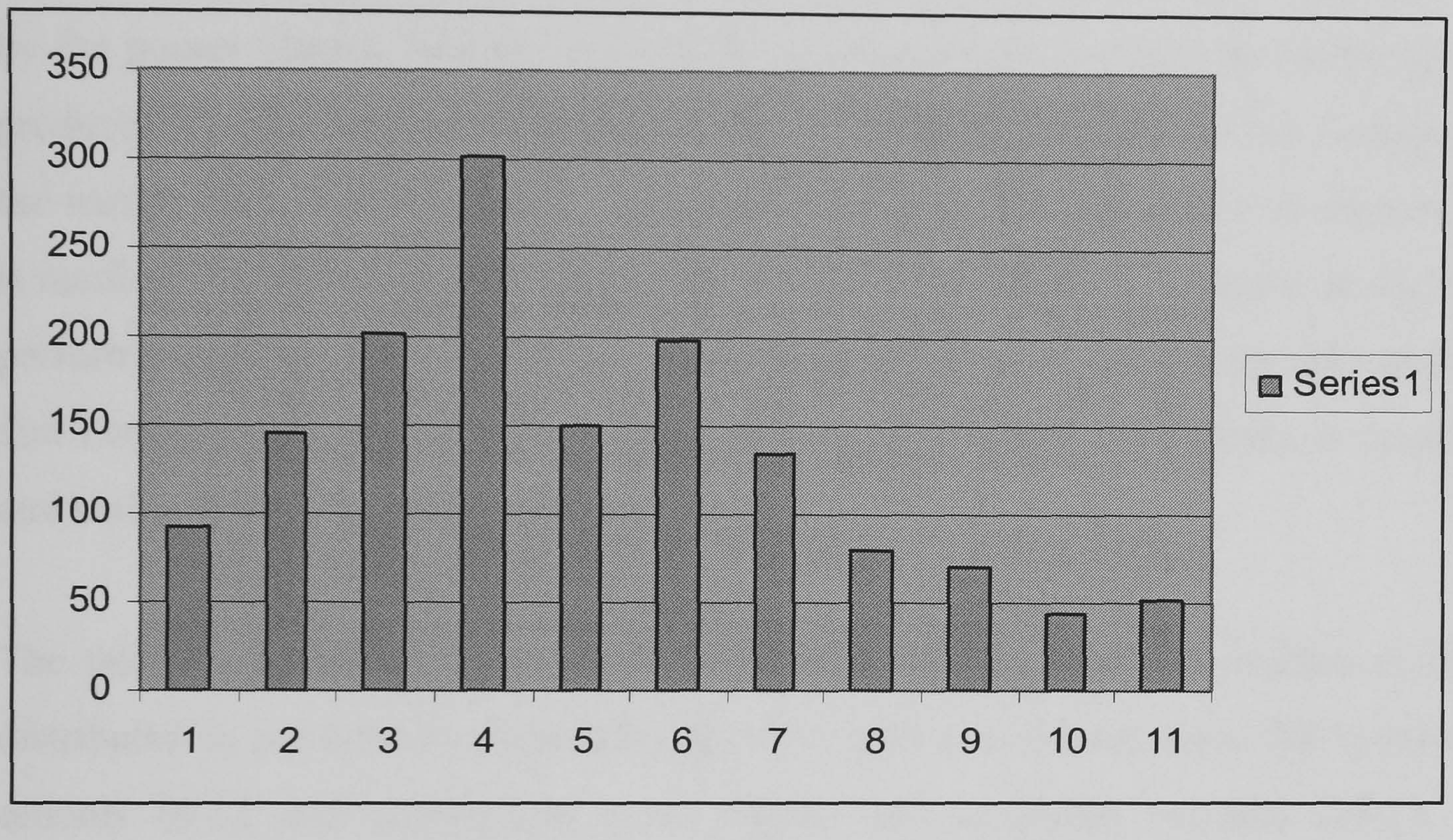
[9] Made by the people

As a large union of professionals with middle class expectations, it has significant influence in the provinces, and attracts people's support; especially as teachers have seen their salaries shrink throughout the decades as illustrated by table 3.

Table 3

Evolution of teachers' salaries 1942-2000

1942 1950 1960 1965 1970 1975 1980 1985 1990 1995 2000



Ellaborated by the Instituto de Pedagogia Popular. Taken from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission Report, 2003. Left hand column represents the teachers' purchasing power of 1942 as 100.

The two World Wars had created a temporary economic bonanza -generated first by the growth of Peruvian mining, and later by agricultural exports during the post World Wars reconstruction- that allowed contemporary regimes to consistently increase social expenditure in education for more than two decades. This positive context started to fade in the late 1960s, making it clear that the growth of the educational system was in danger of becoming unsustainable. This situation has been the source of a set of tensions that are at the core of a number of conflictive episodes that have increasingly eroded the relationship between the state, teachers and teacher training programs in the provinces. As the next section will make evident, considerations taken by different regimes to approach the teachers' demands and investment in education have not always been determined by a shared vision of the needs of the

sector, but on the short term calculations of the risks and benefits of temporary gestures, and dispositions, with little regard for their sustainability.

Managing conflict on a tight budget: The Ministers' voices.

According to analyst Jose Rivero, the main tension in the Peruvian public educational system is the discrepancy between the high expectations and investment placed on it by the poorer classes, and the low public investment and terrible results the system produces. To make his point, Rivero quotes a World Bank study on 144 countries in the world; there Peru ranks 15th regarding 6-18 year olds attendance to schools, but is number 118 regarding state assignation of funds for education. In terms of students' performance, a UNESCO/OREALC study in public schools in Latin America showed that Peruvian students in years 4 and 5 achieved the lowest 30% marks in language and maths in the region (Rivero 2003, 15).

The public educational system in Peru currently serves about 8.4 million students distributed in pre-school centres (for ages 3-5, and compulsory since 2001) primary schools (6-12 and compulsory since 1906), and secondary schools (13-18 and compulsory since 2001). While it is still difficult to estimate, according to different accounts approximately 360,000 teachers work in the public schools system. Public school teachers represent 73% of the teachers in urban areas, and 97% of rural teachers (MINEDU, 2003).

According to some experts the whole school system would need only 336,000 teachers, but because of territorial difficulties, the isolation of certain areas, and large concentrations of people in a few cities, the hypothetical average ratio of 25 students per teacher leaves in reality some schools without permanently assigned teachers, others with more than 60 students per teacher, while some classrooms may even have little as 14 students per teacher (Diaz 1999, Figallo 2002).

This critical situation is not only the result of lack of planning. It mostly responds to a complex set of negotiations and political bargaining that involves several actors with 'created interests' alien to the purpose of providing a service: formal education.

Among them there are the provincial politicians pushing for the creation of teacher training programs and new schools, the teachers' union looking for higher salaries and new permanent posts in urban areas, the local and regional authorities trying to manipulate the central state directives to consolidate their influences, and the particular and circumstantial interests of any given regime, attentive to opinion polls, and not so keen on the accomplishment of strategic goals.

According to analyst and international consultant Hugo Diaz[10] the amount of posts recently created has largely surpassed the growth of registered students in the system, and teaching hours have decreased, making the issue of teachers' low salaries more and more difficult to deal with[11]. According to Diaz and education expert Leon Trahtemberg (interview 22-10-2001) the lack of commitment of all political forces to planning and serious policy making in education, together with fear towards a hard line union with some recent history of power of mobilization and even violent action (Angell, 1999, TCR, 2003) has led different regimes into accumulating a series of unfortunate decisions that produced the current crisis, leaving Peruvian teachers as the worse paid in Latin America[12].

In an attempt to rationalize the assignment of permanent posts, the Ministry of Education introduced public examinations to be held nation wide by those teachers who wanted to apply for them. SUTEP, the teachers' union, offered very strong opposition. Results were very shocking and have not improved significantly since they were first held. The last public exam held in 2002 had only 16.2% applicants approving the exam, 60% of them with the minimal approbatory mark of 11, the remaining were 27% approved with 12 and only 1% with marks higher than 14[13].

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[10] Interview 15-10-2001

[11] 'It will always be difficult to argue in favour of increasing the salaries of someone who is badly trained, who works five hours a day, and 8 months a year' (Interview with Hugo Diaz). To confirm his appreciation, I can mention that a high officer of the PMECER in 1996 told me: 'If it was up to me, I would not add not even one sol to the salaries teachers receive now. They are so bad they don't deserve it'. I am omitting the real deprecatory words he used to refer to teachers.

[12] Peruvian teachers were the worst paid in Latin America until 2004. Now they are comparable to Bolivia and Ecuador.

[13] The Peruvian marking system goes from 0 to 20.

In 2005 there was another set of tests run this time to evaluate secondary schools and teachers´ performance, and the results are again appalling. Only 3% of students in the last year of secondary school approved the maths test, and 10% had adequate levels of reading comprehension. Regarding teachers, the report says that 80% of public secondary school teachers do not master the basic maths and reading skills needed to teach (Revista Caretas, 3/11/2005).

The alarming results place the spotlight on teacher training programmes. There are two main ways of becoming a professional teacher in Peru. One is studying a five year career in one of the 49 universities (public or private) offering education as a career, all of them offering secondary education as a specialty, 38 have programmes to train teachers for primary school, and 35 train preschool teachers. According to the university census taken in 1999, students in education were 40,450. They represented 9.2% of all university students, and 11% of Education students in the country. The remaining 89% will go to one among dozens of *Instituto Superior de Pedagogía* or TTP, the second most popular route to become a teacher. There are 195 private and 130 public teacher colleges in Peru, hosting the large majority of people studying to become a teacher. Private TTP account for 57% of the total of these students, but the public ones have the most students. Half of the TTP are in the Sierra, and these colleges take the largest pressure of applicants in the country; 11% are in the Amazonia, 13% in Lima, and 26% in the Coast. Regarding Schools of education within universities, 37% of them are in the Sierra, 22% in Lima, 34% in the Costa, and 7% are in the Selva.

According to recent estimates, altogether universities and TTP, produce approximately 160,000 graduates in Education every year, while the public school system can only absorb 4000[14]. This indicates that there is a consistent demand for this career in spite of so many indicators of its dim perspectives as a poorly paid occupation.

In the following pages I present my conversations with six former ministers of education around these issues: The critical situation of the low quality of schools and

[14] These figures were kindly provided by researcher Martin Benavides from GRADE, one of the leading institutions doing research on education on Peru.

teacher training centres, the problem of the low budget available for the sector, and the ex-ministers own views about the possibilities of changing anything in the system through the Ministry of Education as it is. I use extensive quotes in this section because I find important to consider the terms in which these crucial protagonists express and seem to have understood their duties. I want to highlight the differences in that understanding, the distance between their similarly limited concerns or perceptions and the enormous impact that their decisions had in the current state of affairs in Peruvian education.

The Belaunde regime (1962-1968)

Andrés Cardó-Franco is now a consultant on educational issues, and collaborates closely with the *Consejo Nacional de Educación*[15]. He worked at the Ministry of Education for a long time, as planning director during the first regime of Belaunde (1962-1968), as Vice-Minister and finally, as Minister during the last year of the second regime of Belaunde (1980-1985), witnessing crucial moments of national budgeting negotiations over education. He has also seen many unsuccessful attempts to solve 'the teachers' issue' in Peru. According to him, failure is not grounded in the complexity of the issue alone, but rather relates to the fact that the political implications are not always addressed. Cardó-Franco reckons that the political willingness to face the teachers' problem in Peru is not always present, although he claims that

> (...) every government I have worked with had someone willing to find an integrated solution to the teachers' complex problematic, but the main hindrance has always been the allocations of funds.

As we saw in table 1, the late 60s were a moment of unusual growth in the allocation of public funds for education, but Cardó-Franco provides a revealing eye-witness explanation for the very unusual 30% achieved in 1966 that came after the approval of the first Teachers law 15215:

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[15] It was created in 2002 and gathers a number of researches and academics known for their dedication to the improvement of the educational system.

This was passed as a project from the Executive Power when Dr. Miro Quesada was Minister of education during the first Belaunde regime. He had an idea about how to fund its execution, and was already asking for a considerable increase in the allocation of funds for education at that moment. When we came to the moment of voting on the project, the coalition APRA-UNO [16]-opposed to the government and with the majority in Parliament at that moment- pushed to increase the funding for education. The debate was more like an auction push where the coalition tried to appear as really interested in education. And that's how we got to a very generous almost 30% that had no technical support... Nobody knew where the money would come from... but the law was passed anyway. Right after that teacher's salaries had an important increase, but now economists analyzing that period blame the excessive expenditure in education for the deep devaluation in 1967.

Thus, what has been evaluated by economic historians and analysts as an over enthusiastic and irresponsible gesture from the Belaúnde regime, was in fact the result of one out of several political manoeuvres to push the regime into a crisis. This law then became a time-bomb because it had created very high expectations among teachers not only for the significant increase in their salaries, but also because the process to create the norms for the application of the law had included a long consultation and negotiation process with the recently re-constructed union, at that moment in the hands of the Communist Party (Ballón et al. 1978). Thus, this unsustainable law has been at the heart of the difficult relationship between the teachers' union and the consecutive regimes, including the military regime that started in 1968.

The education reform of 1972

The military coup that ended the Belaúnde regime in 1968 was led by a group of progressive Generals presided over by Juan Velasco Alvarado (1968-1975). Amidst increasing social tensions, and an inability to satisfy popular demands, the Belaúnde regime was in the middle of a huge scandal regarding unclear negotiations with the

[16] In the 1960s APRA joined the *Unión Nacional Odriista*, (UNO) a party formed by supporters of former military dictator Manuel Odria, who stayed 8 year in power leading a very repressive regime.

International Petroleum Company. Then, 'the officer corps—increasingly confident that they had the will, the civic responsibility, and the expertise to carry out the transformation of the country—intervened to overthrow his regime and institute radical change' (Klaren, 2000, p.337). One of their most salient projects was the reform of the education system, launched in 1972.

In 2002 I interviewed General Ramón Miranda, who served under General Velasco as Minister of Education; he was also a founding member of the commission in charge of the reform law project:

> I was Minister of Education in a very special set of circumstances. There was a reform process going on. A very deep transformation framed by the revolution of the armed forces. Maybe looking from the present you may think there was no such a revolution, but for us it was a deep revolution meant to initiate the profound transformation of the socioeconomic, political and cultural structures of the country. In that context, the educational reform was of great importance.

Thus, Peru had a military dictatorship that put in place a series of reforms that echoed very radical demands long supported by the left wing parties: there was an agrarian reform, the nationalization of oil, a law to promote social property and laws to ensure workers have shares from industrial production. The education reform of the military regime was very peculiar because it sprang out of the work of a special commission comprised of intellectuals, teachers, and military men. They produced a very critical report, [17] signed by Augusto Salazar Bondy, a highly respected left-wing intellectual. The report, published in 1970, emphasised the 'elitist, dependant, and alienating' nature of the educational system, and proposed a specific ideological orientation so that the reform could effectively contribute to national independent development. The 'Blue book' -as the report was called-, as well as the *Ante-proyecto de la nueva ley de Educación*[18] were widely debated among the intellectual community. Nevertheless they also had an ambivalent reception. Welcomed and supported by certain groups of the intelligencia, they were fiercely rejected by the teachers union (for reasons I will explain shortly). The main ideas of the report that inspired the reform were that

[17] Reforma de la Ecuación Peruana, Informe General (1970).
[18] Outline for a new education law.

teaching had to change in order to make education more pertinent to Peruvian society and its problems. Also, there was a deep questioning of the methods being used for teaching. The emphasis on memorizations and tiresome individual work was considered obsolete and inefficient; in turn, critical study skills and more participatory methods were promoted (Matos, 1972). With the motto '*Educacion, tarea de todos*'[19] that I still remember from my high-school years, the reform was widely advertised by the regime's controlled media. The newspaper *Expreso,* was dedicated to education, the state-run Channel 7, and some radio stations, also worked to convince the nation that Education was a national concern. General Miranda remembers:

> We had to make the country realise that society needed to take back the responsibility it had long abandoned, that the whole national community had to take part in the transformation of the educational system. The revaluation of the teachers' role had to come together with the revaluation of the role of the national community to be in charge of the country's fate.

Conspicuous features of the reform were the imposition of one single uniform to be used by all students in the country to erase social differences among schools; also folklore dancing was made a mandatory part of the school curriculum for all levels as means to promote a better knowledge of the diverse geography and respect and appreciation of the cultural diversity in the country. A general change in the orientation of the curriculum was that education had to be relevant to actively upholding social change and development. But, together with these interesting changes, the regime froze the Teachers law 15215, and thereby stopped the plan to gradually increase their salaries that was a central part of it, thus frustrating teachers' very high expectations of social mobility. These events defined a very harsh relationship between the regime and the teachers union. This was particularly significant because precisely in 1972 the leadership from the faction of the communist party that supported the USSR and the Peruvian military reforms had lost the union to the Maoist faction, which supported China and very vocally rejected the military regime. In 1973 after a nation-wide teachers' strike more than 500 teachers went to

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[19] Education is everyone's task

prison. When asked about the difficult relationship with SUTEP, the teachers union, General Miranda replied:

> One very clear idea that emerged out of the Blue Book was that it was crucial to radically change the devaluated image of teachers. Their role in the success of the reform was of the utmost importance. We tried to have teachers represented in this commission. The president of the commission was a teacher, Doctor Emilio Barrantes, of course a personality of national profile, but also a former primary school teacher. It was probably not enough, and not whom the (teachers') Union expected. I will not dispute that, but this was a revolutionary process, it was a dictatorship, and of course we knew that not everybody would agree with the process and the reforms. And the truth is also that the union at that time, and even now, was not quite a plural organization. It was -as it is now- strongly controlled by one political party that presented a very vocal opposition to the reform and the regime. But one thing is clear… No other regime did so much to grant an important protagonist role to teachers in the educational process, they were seen as active agents for social change. For the commission and the regime, it was absolutely clear that without the teachers we had no chance to making a go of the reform. (*'Sin maestros, la reforma no va'*).

In an effort to gain teachers' support, the Ministry of education started teacher training programs even before the promulgation of the law, with 400 teachers from different regions of the country. The idea was that they would train the rest of teachers in order to infuse enthusiasm for the reform. As a young researcher I had a glimpse of the ambiguous teachers' reaction to the reform while interviewing teachers in 1986. One of the questions I asked to 120 high school teachers in 9 different Peruvian cities in the three large geographical regions was: Which learning experience did they value the most? With this question I aimed to elicit a balance between their higher education training, practical experience or in-service training. Many of the older teachers mentioned the training they received during the reform period as their best experience[20]. The main reason for this was that they felt dignified, that they perceived an interest in them as professionals, and that there was a clear understanding of their

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[20] Interviews were for my BA thesis in Sociology: Los maestros como intelectuales: La enseñanza de ciencias sociales en la educación secundaria urbana. PUC, 1986.

importance in the educational process. The training involved two or even three days in which they received the guiding principles of the reform from the authors of the documents, who were very prestigious intellectuals.

These principles concerned mostly the political situation of the country, and the need to assume an anti-imperialist stand as teachers in order to develop nationalist feelings among students[21]. Many teachers who supported the reform in its academic practice were at the same time very supportive of SUTEP, their union, and against the regime's attempts to control the union's activities through the SERP, (*Sindicato de Educadores de la Revolución Peruana*), affiliated to the ill-famed SINAMOS (*Sistema Nacional de Movilización Social*) created by the military regime[22].

The worst confrontations between SUTEP and the military regime though, occurred in 1978 and 1979, two years after General Francisco Morales Bermudez had replaced General Velasco, carrying out 'a more conservative phase of military rule' (Klarén, 2000, p. 359). SUTEP held a 118 day national strike, trying to recover the value of their salaries amidst the harsh effects of the beginning of the economic crisis.

The difficulties of funding public education was another issue I asked General Miranda about. His immediate reply was that it is all a matter of political objectives.

> You can tell how important education is for a regime by looking at who's appointed as Minister of education: It is crucial that the Minister of Education counts on the President's support, and that he is allowed to display his leadership to have access to resources for a usually abandoned social sector. Most of the time, it is the economic sector, the productive sector which gets all the attention. So you need a high quality person in charge of Education, someone who can have a good quality dialogue with the Education community, but who is also capable of gaining the support of the Cabinet, and negotiate the resources needed with the Minister of Economy, the most important interlocutor.

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[21] Nationalism in Latin America as opposed to sell-of or 'entreguista' in the context of a delayed need for an industrialization of the country (Williamson, 1992, p. 328).
[22] SINAMOS was an organisation created to organise civic support for the regime.

Leadership and continuity… Anything that threatens those two things and the relationship of the sector with the rest of the Cabinet, such as the constant change of ministers, is tremendously negative. You need a Minister of Education who is accepted, so he doesn't necessarily have to be related to education, but rather someone who can establish a good relationship with the Treasury, and the President, who can imprint a certain direction to the sector.

It is crucial that we understand that education is as important as the economy.

> You see… there is almost no citizen who is not interested or who does not understand macroeconomic indicators. It is important to instil that curiosity and interest in education. As long as we don't understand that education is as important as the economy, we will not solve the problem of the low quality of our education.

I asked General Miranda about the Reform project for teacher training programs. He began saying that the Reform commission had a specialist team to investigate the situation of teaching and teacher training programmes. They concluded that the growth of teacher training programmes had not been supported by technical or strategic criteria, but mostly by opportunistic political reasons, without appropriate funding and with no institutional provisions to guarantee the quality of the degrees granted by those institutions:

> That kind of growth definitely affects the quality of what you can offer to students. So, purely out of political responsibility, we thought of closing down a number of teacher training schools – mostly those that had been more recently created- and, instead we aimed to develop and improve the quality of teaching in those institutions with a longer and more solid history. It was important to achieve that. Of course, we knew that would not be popular. Every community wanted to have a higher education institution in the region, this gives prestige, and allowed their youngster to stay near home, and take the only option they had for a career: Education. But this very fact was worrisome for us. You see? Vocation, the most important condition for entering the teaching profession, was being threatened. People would be able to get into the profession out of other motivations, such as the need to get out of poverty through education, which is legitimate, but not what we needed.

As a result of the military reform, only thirty '*Escuelas Normales'* were left in 1976 out of the 130 existing in 1968 (Tovar, 1994, p. 69). General Miranda's concern finds support in the results of a recent consultancy report (Alcazar and Balcazar, 2001) that concludes that Education is one of the professions that people migrate less for. According to the University Census taken in 1993, 75% of people studying education came from the region where the institution is based. Only 25% of the education students are migrants.[23] But for all the effort and relevant ideas, the reform did not prevail, because as General Miranda put it:

> You can't have an educational reform in the short term and without involving the whole country in it. This is why we did not succeed. Our reform was the project of a dictatorship, and that fact discredited it from the start.

Back to democracy. The second Belaunde regime (1980-1985)

With the return to democracy, the reformist ideas were totally abandoned. Once the Military Government ended, the new democratic regime that gave power back to Fernando Belaunde Terry in 1980, began its educational policy with the re-opening of all the teacher training programs that had been closed by the Military reformers as part of a more general rhetoric of giving back what had been taken away from the provinces by the dictatorship. The regime also changed the curriculum, banned every single text book produced during the reform, and re-hired 3000 teachers, who had been fired during the 12 years of military rule.

Andres Cardó-Franco worked with both of Belaunde's regimes in many different positions, finally becoming the last education minister during the second regime. His purpose all along was to have a new law to regulate the teachers' salaries and stop SUTEP's protests, which by that point had become very belligerent, leading to extremely difficult negotiations:

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[23] Another revealing figure from the same report is that 83% of Education students come from public schools, and that more than 50% of the students studying in private TTP have repeated at some point one or two years in schools.

In truth, every time we had to knock the door of the Treasury office to negotiate an increase in the teachers' salary, in spite of the tension and time spent on them, the increase always seemed like nothing for the (teachers') union... Any amount approved would always look too high for the Treasury, but if you divided it up between the number of active teachers and those retired, who have the same rights (...).

The war between the Armed Forces and the Shining Path guerrillas was a particularly important background to the second Belaunde regime (1980-1985). According to the Truth Commission Report (2003), those years were characterized by a counter-insurgent strategy that severely affected several unions and grassroots organizations because any protest or sign of opposition was immediately associated with the Shining Path. According to the report, the largest number of detentions and murders that affected teachers throughout the territory, but especially in rural areas, occurred during this period[24] and the union supported the relatives of the dead or missing. On the other hand, the economic crisis of the 1980s severely affected the teachers' income, as table 3 clearly shows. Those were years of a very tense relationship between the regime and the union, but towards the end of the regime, Cardó-Franco finally achieved his goal of having a teachers' law approved very shortly before leaving the task of implementing it to Alan Garcia's regime.

Was he confident that the law would be executed? Are translations from a given law to its concrete application accurate when they have been elaborated by one regime and then passed onto another? Cardó-Franco did not answered my questions directly, but he explained that major changes are always the work of small committees of political advisors, usually newcomers to the ministry, which makes it difficult to build on experience and to benefit from the knowledge and expertise of previous public officers in education:

> I suppose the reason behind this is that bureaucrats are always afraid of changes, they prefer stagnation, they are always afraid of loosing their jobs because,

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[24] The *Partido Comunista del Perú – Sendero Luminoso* had a very important recruitment among education university students in provincial universities, who usually have rural schools as a first post. Young teachers were very important in the initial work of the guerrillas in rural areas.

unfortunately, '*la cosa pública*'[25] has always been highly politicized, so the public employee can't really build up a career in Peru. It's completely bound to our political instability. You can't be completely innovative, or claim authorship of your own initiatives. For instance, the current discussions about a system of evaluation to assign posts will be resisted terribly in the provinces. Traditionally this has been an attribution of local officers. They won't let that power go easily.

I could only conclude that deep inside he knew that his cherished project would not materialise, but he could not admit it. So, while trying to maintain a neutral tone regarding the bureaucracy at the Ministry of Education both in Lima and in the provinces, Cardó-Franco attributed important responsibility to them in the frequently difficult relationship between the state and the teachers, and the difficulties of making teachers perceive positive changes:

> Generally speaking, bureaucrats are not prone to the good treatment of teachers. They have other interests. The typical teacher of all time is an outsider in state offices. They don't get fair treatment. So, dignifying the teaching profession will not only mean increasing their meagre salaries, but also to consider that they need better treatment and the role of the bureaucracy there is crucial.

The educational policies of APRA (1985-1990)

Among other problems with the *Aprista* style of ruling the Ministry of education, the change of regime in 1985 in favour of APRA has become a recurrent reference when people want to use examples of a corrupt use of political affiliations. A former officer (I will keep the name confidential) who served as a Secondary School specialist during the Belaunde regime described how the newly assigned *Aprista* officers behaved when they first took power in the *Ministerio*:

> That was really a shame. They would come office after office asking not what their duties would be, but rather they wanted to know how many cars they would have access to. What budget was assigned to which offices... the

[25] Public office

amounts assigned for the business credit cards, those were their concerns. Then, they sacked every single porter and driver employed and replaced them with people from the party; I will not describe their appearances to you... It was as if the Ministry had been assaulted by a mob. Their manners were frightening... After all my years working at the Ministry, I decided it was better for me to retire (Interview 15 March, 2000).

SUTEP offered very firm opposition towards this behaviour in the regional and provincial offices because –particularly during the first 18 months- the regime skipped all the regular procedures for dismissing employees or granting promotions, both in the Ministry dependencies, and within the schools, in order to accommodate the pressure from the local *Aprista* militants to obtain jobs in public positions.

The economic crisis, the violence of the internal war, and the tensions and difficulties brought by the *Aprista* regime in the sector are probably the reasons why 20,000 teachers (most of them working in rural schools in the Highlands and the Selva Central) retired from teaching between 1980 and 1990 (Truth Commission Report, 2003).

I interviewed Grover Pango, a former school teacher and APRA militant, who was Minister of Education during Alan Garcia's regime. His perception of the period and the characteristics of the teachers' situation could not be more distant to the scenario I just described. Pango interpreted the particular shortage he had to face with a rather candid approach that reveals the improvised nature of his office, and his shallow understanding of the reality he was dealing with:

The shortage of teachers we faced in the provinces and in rural areas was due to the fact that teachers did not see any opportunities for them in the country side. As things were then and still are now, a teacher sent to a rural school is a lost teacher. He goes there to loose contact with the rest of the world and with his own profession. So we provided a compensatory salary for living in adverse conditions, and we also organised summer courses and incentives.

Yet, as things are even now, teachers still hope as a major compensation to go from the rural areas to an urban school. The system grants that expectation, but what might be a good thing for the teacher, can be a punishment for the school receiving him. All of a sudden, if you are the director of a provincial urban school, you may find yourself forced to accept a person in your team who has not updated his knowledge in any way, who has not changed his methods, who is 'behind' in every sense.

I asked him then about the authorisations the Garcia regime had given to create new teacher training programs (TTP) to which he replied with similar apparent unawareness of the implications of the question:

> One of the things that struck me when I just took office was realising how diverse the training teachers received was. So I decided that we should not only improve the quality of the bad [TTPs], but create new ones. Because, at least in rural areas, we can see that people want teachers coming from their own areas. I will be honest with you... sometimes I have doubts and think that maybe that was not the best thing to do, but certainly we received a lot of pressure from the provinces, there was a real demand for the creation of those institutions. So the two big problems I found were, on one hand wide gaps between teacher training institutions, and a shortage of teachers in certain areas of the country. You had the best institutions in Lima, and apart from a very few exceptions, the quality in the provinces was really low. I should probably have searched for other alternatives, probably strengthening the universities. I can see now that the problem is quite different than the perception I had when I was in office. We need to respond differently to the country now. We need less people studying to be teachers, and we need to reassure them that they will find a job once they finish their studies, and that they will be developing a professional career there.

Another *Aprista* minister I interviewed who was also a school teacher is Mercedes Cabanillas. Unlike Pango, she was higher in the party hierarchy, and is a much more experienced 'politician' in the style required to deal with other political adversaries in Peru. She was always ready to express open criticism towards the Belaunde regime, particularly with regards to education. Addressing CADE 1988 (the annual meeting of

the entrepreneurs in Peru), as Minister of education, with a paper called '*Educación para el desarrollo, la democracia y la conciencia histórica*'[26], she said that the *Aprista* regime had to face 'the lack of a previous educational policy, the vagueness of objectives for the sector, the predominance of an abstract and aloof perception of the country, the lack of a cultural policy oriented to target the linguistic and cultural diversity in the country' (Cabanillas, 1988, 2).

Unlike most ministers who hold the post at the most for one year, Mercedes Cabanillas was Minister of Education for two years. She values that experience and takes credit for having improved the teachers' situation and advanced important strategic areas of the Ministry:

> The state has an incredibly high responsibility for the educational system. It is in charge of about 8 million people. That could be the population of a whole small country. That's the population it has to take care of [...]. During the two years I was in office I could touch upon every single aspect of the Ministry's concern. But my main achievement was to press very hard to raise the budget for education up to 24% in 1989. I could then modify the teachers' law, creating nineteen different mechanisms to improve their salaries in a rational way that would not be that difficult for the national treasury to handle.

She identified different criteria that could be calculated in each case over a minimum common wage. Thus, she created 10% compensation for working in remote areas, and another 10% for working in poor areas, and an additional 10% for working on the national borders[27]:

> I know it was not enough, but it was at least an effort to grant recognition for their difficult position. But in the following decade nothing was improved.

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[26] Education for development, democracy and historical conscience

[27] These amounts are currently fixed and not proportional to the teachers' salaries. Each criterion is paid with the equivalent of £7.00 a month. Added up, for example, a teacher working in Amazonas, near the border with Ecuador, or another one near working in a rural school near Bolivia, has a bonus close to £21.00 pounds per month on top of the monthly salary.

Conversely, everything was frozen. That is why now teachers earn exactly half of what they had in 1990. The biggest problem is that most regimes only make economic programs to stabilize the economy and not to reactivate it, so there are no new sources of income, no fresh money, and that ties the state's hands in making any significant changes and setting its priorities right.

But on top of this lack of resources, she adds:

> At the Ministry, there is this terrible tradition: as soon as there's a new regime, a 'cloak of oblivion' is thrown over everything done previously and you begin everything from zero, and there is a permanent nonsensical experimentation that costs the state a lot of money. I developed a program to improve rural education. Fujimori closed it. I re-opened the direction of Bilingual education, created by the military, closed by Belaunde, and Fujimori closed it to again re-create it! There is so much time wasted! So much knowledge and experience! I also re-opened the Office of Teachers Development, created by the military and closed by Belaunde… It was there to promote teachers post graduate studies, granting scholarships and leave according to merits. Fujimori re-opened it… and then shut it down again after a change of Minister[28] I could mention hundreds of examples. I also ordered several studies that diagnosed what World Bank funded consultancies are now 'discovering'… And I did that with our own funds, now we are borrowing money to hear things we have already studied, and should be common knowledge!

Cabanillas avoided mentioning some very conflictive aspects of her office. For example, that during the internal war, APRA's regional and local leaders were often direct targets of Shining Path death squads. To control the growth of Shining Path militants among teachers and secondary students in public schools, she re-introduced military education[29] and granted the Army access into schools. Another issue that both she and Pango were not very keen to touch upon was that SUTEP was a fierce opponent throughout the regime. Many of the changes Cabanillas made regarding teachers' pay were the result of long strikes after which she usually conceded what

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[28] See following interview with Dante Cordova.
[29] Paradoxically, Pre-military Instruction was removed from the curriculum by the 1972 education reform during the Velasco military regime.

was being asked for by the union, sometimes without the adequate technical support and practical feasibility, leaving a wide array of potential conflict for the subsequent regime. In fact, she passed a much expected teachers' law shortly before the end of the Garcia regime, and right after a national strike that lasted about two weeks.

The Fujimori regime and the World Bank reform (1990-2000)

In 1990 agricultural engineer and university professor Alberto Fujimori won the elections in Peru, defeating FREDEMO, the right-wing alliance presided over by writer Mario Vargas Llosa. A newcomer to politics, Fujimori started his regime with a very interesting team of Ministers until then known mostly for their expertise on different areas and their political independence. He invited Gloria Helfer to be the first Minister of Education for his regime. She was a school teacher, member of SUTEP, and also, director of TINKUY, a NGO devoted to informal teacher training programs and innovative school texts. She lasted only five months at the Ministry, and she had very clear ideas about what her priorities were:

Remember that when I started in office many former specialists and employees of long trajectory at the Ministry were oppressed, doomed to very low posts that undermined their expertise during the APRA regime. *Apristas* had placed their own militants in high rank posts, so what I did was to give their posts back to the experts, to those people who really knew the sector. I needed them as allies, but it was also a matter of justice. At that point it wasn't that clear for me that Fujimori would behave like APRA, so I did my best to grant posts according to the employees' expertise. So for a few months there was no merrier Ministry… No more ignorant bossy officers boasting about what had to be done and how to do it. With that in order I could enjoy a fantastic environment, with a lot of spirit and good energy, and willingness to get things done (*ganas de hacer las cosas*). But the downside of this was that I had to endure resistance towards an ad-honorem consulting committee I summoned, with other specialists not coming from the Ministry, they were my colleagues, people coming from NGOs and other groups concerned with education in the country.

Among the well known characteristics of the Fujimori regime was the 'draconian orthodox stabilization package', and his open rejection to negotiating with and giving attention to organised unions (Klaren, 2000 pp. 406-409). Those were the limits that put an end to Helfer's duties as Minister.

Another difficult point was the relationship with the teachers. For me it was clear that nothing could be done unless I started with a new, fresh relationship with them. You could have a lot of money, but without a good relationship with them there was no plan that would work. I had to think about good and effective strategies to deal with them. [Because of my stand] I was accused of being dogmatic, of taking too hard a stand on the teachers' side, but I know the precariousness of the world in which they live, the corruption they have to deal with, paying bribes year after year to unscrupulous officers in order to be transferred, given a permanent job, or promoted [...].

I was being pushed into breaking a good relationship with them. I was being pushed into being authoritarian, and I was being denied basic resources to do what was needed to be done. I had my hands tied, I had to quit. I am a teacher myself. I was torn between the administrative aspects of the Ministry, and my commitment to foster the development of an integral educational project for the country, and a moment came in which reconciling both things was absolutely impossible.

Another unsolved problem she had was how to stop the military presence in schools. She had tried to do this, but was not even allowed to substantiate her proposal. So, Helfer resigned from being minister, but continued working with the Ministry supporting the educational reform funded by international development agencies, as many other NGOs did, becoming in practice the best promoters of the reform (Rivero, 1999, p. 225). Being out of the state, but working along side it, has allowed many Peruvian NGOs to bring important contributions into teaching practice:

My work with EDUCA has taught me that massive in-service teacher training is never enough. You need to set up a system of continuous feedback and nurturing, where you can asses everyday practice and also provide space for

> peer work and reflection over practice. But that's filigree work! Very difficult to orchestrate nationally, but tremendously challenging and rewarding when you work with discrete numbers of teachers in a given educational community [...].

Helfer values her diverse experience, because it has allowed her to have a complex view of the multiple dimensions of the educational system, and to know how to contribute to it from wherever you stand:

> You may want to work on the curriculum and try to improve it nationally... And yes, that is certainly necessary... But as state officer, you also have to give attention to the severe problems that you find in the poorest urban and rural communities. You need to feed the children, you need to deal with issues of poor health, domestic violence, social violence, AIDS, early pregnancies, gangs, real problems that touch the educational system deeply and about which no one speaks a word.

Another minister who was in office for a short time during the Fujimori regime was businessman Dante Cordova. In spite of his short period in office (6/95-4/96), the months he was Minister of Education and Premier (President of the ministers' council), represent a very singular period during the Fujimori regime. Cordova had a very clear political agenda that he wanted to foster. He also had charisma, '*capacidad de convocatoria*', and thought of that moment as 'his opportunity to do something relevant for the country'. His political past links him to a group of upper middle-class liberal professionals, technocrats, and businessmen without a political party, politically ready to try some populist policies, and open to broad political alliances. Several members of his group had been ministers in very diverse regimes in the past 20 years[30].

[30] Javier Silva-Ruete was the Treasury minister for the General Morales Bermudez regime (1979), then for Alan Garcia (1986) , and also served as minister for President Alejandro Toledo (2003). Brothers Jaime and Alvaro Quijandria, also members of this informal group, have also served as ministers for Toledo in the Treasure, Mining and Agriculture Ministries.

Dante Córdova 'set the tone' for the World Bank reform in Peru in a very crucial way, even though he was there for only a short period of time. Córdova made his the World Bank agenda and decided to follow it closely in his double capacity of prime minister and minister of education. He pushed forward the notion of accountability fighting corruption; he also promoted the development of social policies together with the maintenance of the neo-liberal adjustments in the economy and the reform of the state structure. He also committed himself to the Brady Plan goals of reducing extreme poverty, increasing investment in education, reforming the health system, and designing a strategy for development.

> After the first week I was appointed Premier, I invited four of the ministries of the production sectors for lunch. [I invited the] Minister of the Fishing Industry, Minister of Industry and Commerce, Energy and Mining, and Agriculture, and proposed an exercise to them; to give me a collective idea of where they wanted the country to be in 15 years. At first I thought of this as a one hour exercise... Well, they sat there for 7 hours and nothing came up... One of our biggest problems is precisely this. We have no plan, no priorities but to respond the best we can to specific conjunctures... all very fragile and pointless.

As soon as Córdova was appointed minister of Education he started travelling around the country to gather opinions from those he saw as his partners; School headmasters. He used his pragmatic and managerial approach (from being a business man), and considered each school as a little business. Once he thought he had achieved a good grasp of the main problems, he decided to develop a legal instrument that integrated the schools head teachers' concerns and demands. This mechanism has served as the basis for later versions of a decentralising project for the educational system:

> [T]he richness of this legal instrument comes from the fact that I considered the suggestions of thousands of school headmasters; it is the result of having visited the whole country, sharing their experiences, and getting their concerns directly from them. It included a proposal for teacher training programs that for me was evidently absolutely crucial, unavoidable. Peru NEEDS new

> teachers. This implied not only to design a new curriculum, but tailoring a process of dialogue with all the teachers' colleges and schools of education in universities. It also had to be linked to other components, such as improving the quality of life for teachers.

He believed that teachers needed to be part of the dialogue about education in the country, but in a relationship not mediated by SUTEP:

> Negotiating with SUTEP is very difficult. It is difficult to get to sustainable agreements with them. On the one hand, if they agree to something and the teachers don't like it, they say they loose control over their bases, and take no responsibility for the strikes or rallies. But, if you try to reach the teachers without the union, they claim their right to be considered in the conversations. In the end, the difficult thing is to get the teachers' opinion. The relationship between the state and the teachers is too mediated. You never get to listen to their voices. Our unions' culture has not evolved in Peru. It is very different in Mexico, or Colombia where the teachers' unions are a very trustworthy negotiating party.

Cordova was not an easy or compliant Minister for the Fujimori regime. In less than a year he proved to be a very intelligent leader and strategist, which precisely cost him the post, as Fujimori would not accept anybody around him with such qualities and initiative (Jochamowitz, 1994). His skills, rate of success and good relationship with the press made him too visible and dangerous and he was asked to resign.

> Thank God I resigned. But my period as minister of Education is certainly something I do remember as an invaluable experience. I think I had a chance to 'open' the Ministry. I found it closed and archaic. But I understood clearly that in order to really change things around I was going to need the participation of knowledgeable people, and very committed to the development of education. I realised I had to work at two different levels. On one hand I needed a different structure, you see, I am not an academic. I am a business man, an executive, and I found the structure of the ministry simply paralysing. I had to work quick and fast. So I changed the structure of the ministry to the one it has now. My

> analysis was that the current crisis of the state and its apparatus is based on the lack of management, of planning. I wanted to emphasise the need for management. You can have the best of plans and ideas, but if you don't know how to organize and manage your resources, you go nowhere.

Taking advantage of the 'flexibility' that the Fujimori dictatorship allowed as it revised the constitution, Cordova devised an ad-hoc law in order to change the structure of the ministry, which he found very limiting. He compared it with the improbable case of having to rewrite the founding documents for constituting a new business every time you needed to change its structure. He says he was also amazed to realise that the teachers were not considered anywhere except for their salaries, but that there was no office that dealt with their concerns as employees of the state.

> All the talk was about the curriculum… and what about the people? Why not have two or three people think about this as their everyday job? I re-opened '*La oficina del maestro*'[31], but it was shut down as soon as I left[32].

Having had the rare opportunity of being Premier and Minister of Education I asked him about the tensions between the Treasury and the needs of the Educational system:

> That experience (...) taught me a very important lesson. That it is all a matter of priorities and serious thinking. The easiest apparent way to get out of poverty is austerity. You just don't spend the little money you have, right? But that does not change anything. Taxes are the most important way for a state to obtain fresh money to spend internally, but that affects many interests and if you are not politically solid you can't do that. I wonder what would happen if we considered teachers as another institution that we owe money to... The way they are treated now is so disrespectful!
>
> That was a very difficult fight to win. Their priorities [at the Council of Ministers] had nothing to do with my understanding of things. If you want to transform this country you need good quality health and education services,

[31] The teachers' office.
[32] Mercedes Cabanillas referred to this office as well.

> well-fed children, not children dying out of decease and hunger. You would not believe the discussions in the ministers' council... the absurdity of their priorities!

Just before his resignation he had started the reorganization of the intermediate branches of the ministry all over the country; this unfinished process left a very unclear layout of attributions for each organism within the ministry. As a consequence, afterwards this unfinished business created even more problems, because nobody took on the task of finishing it according to plan due to its effect on many different interests. Instead, a different rationale for the assignation of posts was introduced. To guarantee the continuity of trained personnel and the institutional memory in order to avoid the loss of human resources, Cordova also envisioned the creation of an internal system of training, so that every single officer could learn about the changes being carried out, however he could not secure funding to implement this idea, as the World Bank preferred to work with external consultants almost appointed directly by them, through suggestions from 'experts' external to the ministry and through restricted invitations to apply for a position. Under such a scheme, each consultant worked on three month contracts, renewable according to the performance of the consultant, and the nature of the project. I asked Cordova if he thought about the consequences of this form of hiring people, and he replied that he had no choice but to do things that way because he did not have the funds to do things the way he wanted *('O aceptaba eso, o no hacía nada')* [33]. He also claimed to have acted in good faith and that the important thing for the future was to demonstrate that things could be done from within the Ministry. In the end, the Ministry was left with no mechanisms to guarantee that every officer would understand the logic of the reforms, nor were there channels to explain the logic of the changes in the different administrative areas of the ministry. From the outside it appears that posts are assigned following very arbitrary criteria, not related to technical or managerial requirements, but rather, most of the time, according to the need to honour personal relations and commitments.

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[33] More on this topic in chapter 7.

Regarding teacher training policies, the study by Balcázar and Alcázar (2001), shows that the Fujimori regime was responsible for the creation of many of the Teacher Training Programmes that will probably be shut down in the near future.

Table 4

Percentages of TTP according to time of creation

	Public	Private	Total
1995 and after	20	72	50
1990-1994	33	23	27
1985-1989	20	3	10
Before 1984	27	2	13
Total	100	100	100
Base	138	180	318

Source: Alcázar and Balcázar (2001 p. 79)

I asked Cordova about these figures and this was his opinion:

> The state needs to re-evaluate its responsibility on the creation of TTP over the past three decades. I'd shut all of them down. The have been created to bring status to the province, I was just in Huari, do you hear me? HUARI, a poor lost corner in Ayacucho, well, they don't have one, but TWO TTPs; a public one and a private one. And they know that they are putting their students in a blocked tunnel... but still, both are full to the top. And there are no jobs for them! And the quality of what they get is bad, and they know it!
>
> [...] We have to shut those places down, they are a trap the state has fallen into, a trap set by local politicians in order to get more votes for them: 'here Minister, sign this please' and there you go, a new institute or university is created. I remember my personal experience, when I just started... I found a two-meter high pile of folders with applications for the creation of new educational institutes. I signed none…

So I reminded him of a legal provision signed by Fujimori by which an applicant could consider the project approved if the government did not object to it within six

months. Instead of not signing them, his task would have been to look at the applications and object them instead of ignoring them. He remained silent for a while and then replied:

> [...] This is something that requires a lot of effort. I'll tell you the case of the School of Law in Iquitos. The two universities in the region were over-registered in Law, so they decided to cancel admissions to the School of Law for several years, and just like that, out of the blue, a recently created private university, where they had never taught Law improvised a Law School, called for admissions and had 600 applicants... and ALL were admitted!!!

All interviewed ministers considered that the wide scope of issues concerning the ministry's field of competence cannot be fully covered in one year, and yet, as the system works, there are no signs that this way of proceeding is going to change. One widespread idea about the characteristics of the educational crisis in Peru suggests that there is no foreseeable solution to it because it would cost too much money.

One common topic is that it will be impossible to improve the quality of education with teachers earning such low salaries[34]. The identified problem is that the education sector does not own its budget, which is administered by the National Treasury. But my interviewees reveal something more intricate than that. Some of my interviewees demonstrated a complex, informed and elaborated view of the situation and strategic possibilities of education in Peru, while others had their enthusiasm, and a short term view of their duties. But despite their quite different understandings of their duties as ministers, for all of them 'the teachers' problem' became almost a personal matter, and in some cases it was because of the difficulties they found to come to a possible improvement regarding this issue, that they resigned from office.

Indeed, apart from the two *Aprista* ministers, the rest considered that if a regime sets education as a priority and has the political willingness to solve the problem, we could see changes happen. But there was a clear consensus regarding the issue of salaries: it is seen by education ministers as only one aspect of the problem and one that could be solved if the political determination to tackle the problem is part of the regime's

[34] Less that £150.00 per month.

priorities. The six ex-ministers considered this a political issue more than a purely economic one. While this issue definitely has to do with changes in the national budget, my interviews prove that the issue of changing it in favour of the education sector is avoided until the end of a regime, and mostly as a decision taken to divert the explosion of an imminent crisis. The repeating cycle seems to be that tensions with SUTEP build up until there is a national strike and agreements are made to ease the tension, but official changes to honour the agreements reached after the strike are approved only shortly before the end of a regime, to have the problem pass on to the next incumbent, which in turn does not honour the inherited commitment until it's time to go. The story repeats itself again, carrying on, and building up a muddied relationship with teachers, marked by disrespect and deceit.

In this chapter I wanted to show how the system came to its current dimensions and characteristics, and the role that each regime and particular ministers played in their chaotic development. The excessive number of TTP and their role in the production of ill prepared teachers is something that needed to be looked at.

The poor quality of the teachers training programmes is the main topic of the next chapter. It offers an in depth look at the heavily mediated relationship teachers have with academic knowledge. I will try to depict and analyse the academic culture in which future teachers are trained, and provide close scrutiny of the inside of two of the numerous institutions dedicated to teacher training that sprung in the late twentieth century.

Chapter five

Poor education for the poor.

In 1994-1995 the rhetoric of the educational reform in Peru was shifting from the need to invest in infrastructure to the need to improve the quality of education. The poor quality of graduates from teacher training programmes (TTP) and teaching schools in universities were quickly identified by analysts and the media as the culprit for poor teaching in public schools (Tovar, 1994, Burgos 1994). The Ministry of education began a series of interventions to reverse this situation. They started a nation wide in-service teacher training programme, and the Commission for the reform of teacher training institutions was created (*Programa de formación magisterial*- PROFORMA), to produce a new curriculum. Talks about closing down the bad TTPs, and creating a system of accreditation for them were started, but at that point, I thought that a different understanding of the situation was needed. The paradox in this entire situation for me was the permanent demand for these institutions, and the numbers of students willing to go through their dubious quality, and a future of very low salaries knowingly.

The main source of material for this chapter are the findings of one academic semester of research at one public university on the outskirts of Lima, and one private TTP in downtown Lima. Given the low prestige of the teaching career and the poor prospects it entails (as explained in chapter 4) I wanted to identify and understand the reasons why so many young people study education, and what their understanding of higher education was. I also wanted to learn about the characteristics and nature of the so called 'decay' in the quality of higher education. What was the students and teachers' participation in those processes, how was it lived, understood, resisted or actively reproduced by those participating in it? Therefore I decided to interrogate the academic culture of teacher training institutions; the common knowledge and understandings of institutional life, shared by students and teachers; the understandings and practices of lecturing and studying, and the organization and purposes of institutional activities.

I also explored the perceptions that teachers and students had of their place in society, including their social relationships (between students and teachers, among men and women, and among themselves). I saw all of these as important aspects that would shape

the education students' ways of relating to their own students in the future, as well as their openness to thinking about doing something different once they themselves were professionals. While I confirmed the poor quality of the training received[35], I also found that teachers and students participated in this academic life in a very complex fashion, feeding into its culture. They were complicit with many of its features in order to obtain good marks, and receive a teaching degree whilst having to work as little as possible.

Other questions fuelling my research concerned the notions they had about knowledge, how did it circulate, what were the familiar notions of studying for teachers and students? I wanted to study the classroom as the space where they are produced. I took the classroom as social spaces where lecturers had built their authority and settled their legitimacy in front of the students. I wanted to learn the principles on which they had established that authority and investigate how legitimate it was.

My underlying assumption was that ideas about knowledge, education and academia have different meanings in different historic and geographical contexts and what is expected as the outcomes of educational institutions cannot be taken for granted. There are different notions of academic knowledge and studying constructed in different spaces, and those notions are strongly linked to ideas of individuality and the individual's place in society. This is to say, that the differences in the quality of education are not only a matter of access to resources or money, but of particular interpretations and practices of what studying and knowledge mean in a specific social order.

In the following pages I explore the social perceptions of the teaching career among education students. From there and other different sources I also attempt to present a profile of the education students in the country. Finally I present a description of the academic culture in two of these institutions: an Education School in a public university and the other one a private TTP.

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[35] Indicators could be a generalized as lax sense of time management, minimal contact with students, classes devoid of meaningful content, unclear pedagogical objectives in the lessons, minimal use of books or other academic readings to support lectures.

Perceptions of the teaching profession

In 1995 the poor quality of TTP graduates was perceived as extremely critical, as I learnt from several interviews I held with head teachers at private schools. In an interview I held with the director of Fe y Alegria, Jesuit priest Jesus Herrero[36], he expressed how difficult it was to select new teachers for their schools in Lima and in the provinces, because of the poor training that applicants displayed in their interviews searching for new posts. That took him to broaden his search among university students from other careers. Even further, Fe y Alegría had also devised a particular program for their incoming teachers, in order to provide remedial training to maintain the highly regarded quality of their schools. This programme lasts three years in total, but in practice their investment does not always return to them as these 'refurbished' teachers easily find better paid jobs in private schools looking for better trained teachers[37].

Not surprisingly, this perception of recent graduates from education not being good enough for teaching was also present in the most prestigious private schools in Lima. I conducted a quick survey with Madeleine Zuñiga, director of the Spanish section of Colegio San Silvestre, an elite private bilingual school (English/Spanish) for girls in Lima, León Trahtemberg, Headmaster of Colegio León Pinelo, a private school for the Jewish community in Lima, and Marisol Bello and Marco Vassino, directors of the Spanish sections for the Primary and Secondary school sections from Clements Markham British private School. When I asked each of them how they recruited their staff the unanimous response was that in recent years they had been hiring private university undergraduate students in their last year, majoring in specific professions such as History, Literature, Maths or any other profession related to school courses. They then provided pedagogical training for them, instead of hiring new staff among graduates from teacher training programmes, because they said, training in the profession had become very poor, even in private and formerly prestigious institutions.

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[36] Fe y Alegria is a Catholic organization working in Venezuela and Peru in agreement with the Public school system. They work in very deprived areas of these countries, build the schools with charity money, and are allowed to hire their own teachers, and have their own curriculum, but the teachers they hire are paid by the State.

[37] When I taught on the Masters program in Education at the Catholic University one of the students -a teacher very committed to Fe y Alegria- was trying to develop a program that could make trained teachers stay longer in their schools.

As a career, education attracts students that otherwise could not pursue a higher education degree. According to a yearly survey that an independent poll agency conducts among 15 to 17 year olds, education tops as the easiest, cheapest and least prestigious prospective career. It ranks second as a profession 'out of fashion' for youngsters from all four socio-economic sectors that APOYO has divided the Peruvian population into[38]. Education ranks first and second as the profession with largest unemployment, and fourth and third as the shortest career for sectors A/B and C/D respectively.

In spite of this, Schools of education in Peruvian Universities and TTPs -both in cities and smaller towns- receive thousands of applicants every year. Leaving vocational reasons apart, the fact that education is perceived as a cheap and easy career is probably a strong argument to pursue it. Even elite universities -such as the Catholic University in Lima- saw the existence of their school of education threatened if they did not lower their academic requirements. In an interview in 2000, Professor Elsa Tueros explained that until 1976 applicants to study Education had a common admission test taken with all students going into the Humanities, however, in 1977 the Catholic University had allowed Education applicants to take an admission test that was only for them, because admissions through the Humanities were increasingly dropping due to its difficulty for those willing to study Education. After this change, the School of Education saw the number of applicants rise significantly, thus securing the finances the School required.

Public universities assign lower scores for the Education admission test than the ones needed for other schools. For a while many applicants used this road to enter public universities, stayed two years in Education and then attempted an internal transfer to the career they wanted; this procedure became so common that it had to be ruled out. In the case of the TTP, there is practically no selection process. There is an exam, but there is no lower limit for admissions. They only rank students so that if the number of applicants is larger than the vacancies those with the lowest marks are left out.

I asked 46 students about the reasons for their choice to study education. Half of them replied that it was their vocation. The other half had different combinations of

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[38] The classification criteria combine income and education, and divide the population from sectors A to E, from highest to lowest.

reasons: eight had tried first to study other careers in more prestigious institutions, but failed, and then they chose education.

> Well, I have to tell you, I don't like this career. I wanted to study Drama, or Communications, I applied to a university, but I did not get enough points, so... What was left for me to do? I registered here to study Education. (female, TTP).[39]

I also found that five students had not even applied to a university for other careers thinking that they would not make it, so they decided to study education because they knew beforehand that it was easy to get in, and finally, three were induced or even forced by relatives to go into education.

> When I finished high school my mum said to me: 'You have to study education. Once you finish and find a job for yourself, then you can study anything you want'. So I guess I have to like this now that I am here, don't I? (female, University)

In ten cases students had left other careers because they found them expensive, demanding, or simply they had realized that it was not what they wanted.

> I was studying psychology in San Marcos[40], but I was really in trouble; I could not keep studying there… You really had to dedicate time to do research, read lots of books, and I had nor the time or the money for that, I was working, so I saw my cousin studying here, and reckoned it was easy, so here I am. (man, TTP)

In seven cases the students had the experience of teaching and then decided to study education, and only 16 out of the 46 had education as their first choice because they liked the idea. (For some it was a first choice but for other practical reasons). Teachers' trainers know that they need to reinforce vocation among their students. What is interesting is that there seems to be a

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[39]. From now on quotes of students will indicate the interviewee's sex and the academic isntitution.

[40] A public university in Lima.

consensus about how to achieve this. When I asked students about why they liked the idea of being teachers, I was surprised by the fact that all their answers were centred on the goal of obtaining the children's and their parents' appreciation, and in the social prestige that can emerge from that. A teachers' major achievement is what his/her students achieve in life.

> Teachers become part of their students' families. When children go home and comment with their parents 'my teacher this, my teacher that', as a teacher you are already part of that family [...]. My father has been a teacher. He gave 35 years of his life to the teaching career. It is really nice to see his students stopping him in the street, and greet him with affection. (female, University).

In Ayacucho, in Arequipa, anywhere you go a graduate from this university is treated as a king. I have seen people leaving their teachers lots of presents, such as hens, food, worrying about them, going to check how they feel in the community. It is really moving. (female, University)

> [A] major source of pleasure for me is to meet with former students who have been teachers, and now work for the Ministry of Education as directors or important officers in their provinces. (Man, teacher from the TTP).

Another source of gratification identified by education students is the emotional bonds a teacher can create with children. This was particularly strong among those students who already had some contact with children as teachers or doing volunteer work as catechists for the church:

> When you are teaching you realise that you have found your purpose in life, and that is beautiful. It is beautiful when children call you 'teacher' even if you are not one yet! You feel important and appreciated. They run to you, and hug you, kiss you, you're also a playmate for them. Nothing compares to that. (male, University).

[W]orking with children is not that hard. But you need to be able and know your psychology and other stuff [...] I worked in a summer camp last year and it was an amazing experience. I really came to love my career. I think I felt I had a call to be a teacher inside me. Maybe that was there all the time, but that experience awakened it. (male, TTP).

French researcher Dominique Motte working among teachers in Cusco named 'the high ideal' the common notion teachers in Cusco had about their profession (Motte, 1995). He found three different ways in which they spoke about their profession. The 'natural' one, ('I always wanted to be a teacher') the 'acquired' ('I never thought of being a teacher, but I liked it once I started') and the 'implicit', (that according to Motte corresponds with those who, not having a permanent commitment with the profession, try to do well in their job. In spite of these differences, Motte says that these ideas become the main support for the teachers' professional exercise because there are no other stimuli. The students we talked to seem to hold the same 'high ideal' about their profession. However, it is worth noting that nobody talked about self-development in a profession, the joy of learning, or a personal intellectual commitment with pedagogy. None of those factors form part of the discourse around them, as will be evident in the sections to come.

The curriculum: Methodologies and contents.

In a recently published collection of recorded talks given in 1965 by inspiring teacher, writer, and ethnologist José María Arguedas (2001) we can listen to him advocating for the need of knowledgeable teachers[41]. According to his perception, teacher training programmes gave little attention to knowledge (of the teaching subjects) and of the pupils' culture, while excessive emphasis was placed on teaching methodologies. That was also my perception when I looked into their academic plans, and after observing 12 teachers working in TTPs and Universities.

[41] El conocimiento de la materia que uno enseña es importante, pero el modo de ser de los alumnos también. Conocer el modo de ser de las personas a quienes les vamos a enseñar y en tercer lugar el cómo les vamos a enseñar. Desgraciadamente en los centros de formación de maestros se da importancia excesiva a los métodos, y mucha menos importancia a esas otras dos cosas. (José María Arguedas, 1965)

Primary school in Peru comprises teaching children between 6 and 11 years old. I examined the curriculum and study plans from the Education University, two institutes, and two other private universities. With just one exception the study plans were listings of courses without explanation of the rationale for them, their titles were very general, and there was a large number of optional courses worth very little credits. Universities have autonomy to design their study plans, but the Teachers Colleges must all follow one single plan ordered by the Ministry of Education. I was particularly interested in learning if pedagogy courses were in any way oriented to address the diversity of age groups among school children, gender differences or cultural diversity in the country. What I found were general references to 'children' as a genderless homogenous abstraction, and only in one private university they did have an elective course on the anthropology of education.

Starting in 1993 the European Union, UNDP (United Nations Development Program) and the GTZ (German cooperation agency) funded a series of studies to provide the baseline for the Peruvian reform process. The one dedicated to teacher training programmes, together with articles by other observers of the education system, coincided on the ever dropping quality of these institutions, identifying the need to design decisive interventions to transform them. Following those recommendations, the MED (Ministry of Education) created an office (PROFORMA) hiring a group of consultants to produce a project for the reform of the state-run teacher training colleges, emphasizing the need to change the curriculum. The coordinator of this project was Shona Garcia, a nun and former director of the most prestigious and modern teaching institution in Peru, The *Instituto Pedagógico de Monterrico*. At the moment of her appointment to coordinate the research project for PROFORMA, *Madre* Shona García was again being very successful at leading a teacher training program in Cajamarca, working with rural students. Her research team produced a very realistic profile of an average student at any TTP in the provinces[42], and suggested two years of remedial education, assuming that most of them had accumulated a poor basis in primary and secondary schools. In those two years students should learn how to read and write to a higher education level,

[42] While conducting my research in GRADE I was invited as a specialist to make comments in a public presentation of this document organized by the Ministry of Education.

acquire basic research skills, and independent thinking. The second half of their education should be devoted to learning pedagogy and their particular areas of interest[43].

The project also targeted the need to face one serious problem: Most of the TTPs produce teachers who will be working in rural areas (IMASEN, 1999); however those institutions seemed to be in profound denial of that reality. No course existed to learn how to teach a multigrade classroom[44]. Less than ten – out of the 318 TTPs existing in the country- offered students the opportunity to learn a vernacular language. In spite of the relevance and pertinence of these recommendations, none of the issues addressed then are really being targeted now[45]. PROFORMA was able to commit the Fujimori regime to the application of the reform in twenty TTPs in the country, but this program was subsequently cancelled. Therefore, nothing was done, except for one change in the curriculum that now integrates constructive pedagogy and methodology as compulsory.

The more familiar I became with the reform rhetoric, the more convinced I was that crucial questions were not being addressed, and when they were, they were not taken seriously. Basically, no effort was being made to build a bridge between the World Bank guidelines and the discussions among intellectuals on the one hand, and everyday life in the educational system on the other. A very elemental pedagogical principle is that people do things in a certain way because that makes sense to them. In order to transform that behaviour in any direction it is crucial to connect with that particular common sense. The reformers were definitely far away from that principle.

The main investment directed at improving the quality of education at that moment (1995) was the *Plan Nacional de Capacitación Docente,* PLANCAD[46]. I wanted to know the state and content of the training programmes at the moment of the reform. I wanted to see if the new pedagogy had found its way into teacher training programmes,

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[43] In January 2004 I interviewed my former colleague Patricia Ames, who is working with the IEP in a new research about public teacher training colleges. I asked her if she knew about the way in which this project was being carried out, and she said that nothing had been done about it.

[44] In an interview I held with Rosario Valdeavellano, director of a well renown TTP in Tinta about this, she said that students would not take a class on multigrade teaching because that would mean being trained to do something nobody wanted to do.

[45] Personal communication with my former colleague Patricia Ames, while she was conducting research on TTPs at the ministry of education in 2005.

11 National In-service teacher training plan. Chapter 7 includes a description of this programme.

if any effort was being made to promote better teacher training, particularly in higher education institutions producing elementary school teachers. I wanted to asses how alien and distant, or how synchronic the ideas of the reform could be in relation to the culture of teaching training programmes. I also wanted to gain understanding of how constructivism and the 'student centred approach' were circulating in these places.

I found courses very feeble in content. Methodology or pedagogy classes were also not very vibrant either; nevertheless a lot of time was spent in them. In stark contrast with my findings -mostly based on ethnographic observation in classrooms and the examination of different documents produced in these institutions- are two studies based only on interviews and surveys (Alcazar and Balcazar, 2001, Arregui, Diaz and Hunt, 1996). Both conclude that poor teaching in Peru is the result of the lack of proper modern methods of teaching , and that there were too many courses devoted to teaching contents. The same understanding was part of PLANCAD, the nation-wide programme to train in-service teachers for the reform. All the emphasis in those sessions was on the renovation of teaching methods[47], and little was devoted to provide teachers with new academic contents, or research skills to enrich or broaden their classroom work.

According to the accounts of my collaborators Erika Busse and Doris Palomino (see Chapter 3), subject courses were taught not to provide students with resources to access knowledge on the subjects, or to develop research skills, but to give them examples on how to teach about specific topics of the school curriculum. Each lesson then was a simulated class for children of different grades in school, instead of criteria and methods to build up independent knowledge to prepare their own classes.

In one of my visits to the University I observed one teacher preparing her class in the teachers' staff room. She was basically collecting fragments from different books to read out loud during her lecture. Most of Erika and Doris notes on the classes they observed depict a series of performances disconnected one from the other without any continuity on the topics being taught.

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[47] I provide an example of those sessions in chapter 7.

Understanding Academic Culture

As I was doing my research for this chapter I questioned the very notion of 'higher education', because in the same country this could mean completely different things and be associated with very different expectations. The main conclusion is that the necessary skills for the exercise of a particular profession and the initiative and inventive to develop it after graduating are not delivered by all the institutions that are supposed to do it. Probably the most dramatic case of this is the training programmes for primary school teachers. What I found time and time again is that according to the teachers' discourse the main requirements for being a good teacher are to have common sense, a good heart, and to be capable of dealing sensibly with young children. The rest would come with practice.

This idea came to be the main justification for the shallowness of the lectures, the lack of preparation, and the neglect of innovation.

The study environment

Alarming signs are for instance the governing chaos and improvisation at the beginning of each academic year.[48] For the first two weeks there were no regular classes. Some lecturers did not have yet a clear idea of their teaching loads, there were sudden changes of the lecturers in charge of a course, and more than two courses started a month after the beginning of the semester. It was very disorienting. At the institute, the venues as well as the names of the courses were confusing, and schedules very imprecise. For example, a class session that should have started at 1 p.m. and finish at 4 p.m. would start at 1:45 and finish at 3 p.m. It used to take a long time for students to be ready for class.

One explanation I heard about this mess was that classes could not start because students were not attending. Out of 1000 registered students, only 300 had started attending. So, with this explanation students were blamed for the bad organization and

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[48]. This occurred in clear contrast with the second semester in both places, where classes started closer to the set time, and in a much orderly manner.

improvisation of the institute. In one of the courses I chose to observe, the first day the teacher attended he came half an hour late. Because Mother's Day was already near, students had started the raffle of a basket of goodies that all students had contributed to fill. The teacher waited until students finished, improvised a 15 minute lecture and then students had the rest of the hour to conclude the raffle. When the next teacher came for his class he did not interrupt the event and sat to see how students had finally composed three baskets, embellished with ribbons and colour paper. The winners were congratulated, and the class delegate improvised a talk about the importance of Mothers in students' lives. Then the teacher also gave a speech highlighting the strong bonds that were evident among the students, and how important their unity was for their studies and their professional future. One of the baskets had some fizzy wine and the owner was asked to take it out of the basket and share it with the class for a toast. All of this happened with a lot of seriousness attached and formality.

The chaos and looseness around the academic activities was no different in the university. None of the formal information published on boards was useful, and students knew of alternative times and venues for almost everything. The fact that each cohort has one classroom and can be found there for the entire day, completely removes any pressure to start classes on time. 'Students are always there'.

Schedules are prepared according to the times of the lecturers, usually employed in other places, so classes are planned in 4 hour sessions. In practice, each session lasts a lot less than that, starting late, with extra long breaks, and early endings. We observed 98 hours assigned for classes. Only 28 of them were actually used for teaching. For 30 hours lecturers were absent, and to the rest of them lecturers assigned class time for workshops, presentations, without really involving themselves with the students.

Students got distracted easily, but their lecturers did not make much effort to involve them either. Attention levels rose when there was going to be an assignment, or if the lecturer was sharing a personal anecdote. In both the university and the TTP students spent considerable amounts of the time in one class working for the assignments of another class, particularly for the class on teaching materials, talking among each other and dealing different goods in the classrooms. Two female students used to sell

beauty products from a catalogue, another one sold candy bars, and at the University, one of the students used to take cakes and sandwiches for sale in the classroom.

Teaching styles

In each site I asked my collaborators to observe some lecturers regularly and some occasionally. It was evident that in general teachers improvised their sessions. Only one out of four had a course outline at the beginning of the semester, and it was very vague and incoherent. Only one teacher, Esther, followed the sequence of lectures offered in her plan. Contents offered in the course outlines were not covered in the majority of cases. As a norm, students never knew what the next class would be about. Erika attended Jorge and Mercedes classes regularly at the university, and observed Javier for some hours. Doris attended Rogelio and Pedro's classes, and attended some sessions with Irene, Angel and Tomas. I interviewed Jorge, Mercedes, Rogelio and Irene about their workplace, ideas about teaching and their students[49].

A common trait was that they hardly had any materials to share with their students. Poverty is the word that best describes the academic milieu we observed. And it was not rare that handouts or the scarce materials occasionally distributed, had little to do with the contents of the lecture given that same day. There were no clear clues for acquiring any skills, nor were enough resources given to students to be familiar with useful reading materials for their training. Usually they were told what to do, but hardly ever told how to do it. In a course aimed at developing verbal skills for which Pedro was in charge, his indications for the group presentations were: 'Presentations must be of about an hour. Everybody ask questions. You should ask good questions, know how to ask. If you don't… I'll give you a 05'.

In that same class Pedro asked the oldest student to read a paragraph out loud. It looked as if he wanted to provide some entertainment for the class. This student was from Puno, of Aymara origin, with a very distinctive accent which people from Lima or the coast regard as amusing. He was very nervous. He had learned how to read and write when he was already an adult and had difficulties both with reading fluently and

[49] All names are changed.

with pronunciation in Spanish. As he read Pedro would smile and have the rest of the class smile with scorn.

This chart shows a few characteristics of their teaching.

Characteristic	Pedro	Rogelio	Mercedes	Jorge
Relationship with students				
Knows their names	Of some	Does not use them	Of some	Does not know
Asks questions	Rarely	No	No	Sometimes
Gives feedback	No	No	Negative only	No
Talks to them	No	Sometimes	Sometimes	No
Class Organization				
Follows a term plan	No	No	Yes	No
Prepares lesson	No	Not always	Not always	No
There's sequence between classes	No	No	No	No
Mostly used style	Student's presentations	Dictates	Student's presentations	Dictates
Supporting material	Blackboard	Experiments	Blackboard and handouts	Blackboard and anecdotes
Clear assignments	No	Not usually	No	No

In an environment like the one I am describing one bold assertion to make could be that knowledge is not a common good, or something that is there to be shared, but rather a possession that should be managed wretchedly. Instead of supplying recent information, or bibliography for their classes, students are told that the best school is experience. In my interview with Mercedes she stated that clearly. For her a good trait

in students was that they could appreciate their teachers' experience and define the characteristics of their work based on that. For Jorge, the one key aspect of teaching was to communicate the importance of experience.

Jorge taught the only course in the curriculum in which students would have a chance to learn some pedagogy. However, he was very dismissive of the importance of theory, and he would refer to learning theories as mere theoretical 'blah blah blah'. In one of his lectures he mentioned Piaget, and all he said was: 'We could talk hours about him'. He did not give any bibliography, nor did he summarize any of his arguments. Usually his classes were lengthy accounts of his own experience as a teacher in the university's own elementary school.

In this fashion, he and other lecturers presented themselves as carriers of something over which students would never have any advantage. Academic knowledge, that is to say, expertise over a topic in a solid manner, was not as important as to gaining legitimacy over students using other means. If I had to summarize Jorge's stance over pedagogy it would be like this: Theory is complicated and not that necessary, and besides, you would not understand it anyway. I know all about it, and in spite of some apparent changes, I can tell you it is all the same thing and I can explain it to you, because my teaching experience allows me to understand it.

Students regarded Jorge differently. For some he was good, for others he was dull. 'They never teach us anything' said a few of the critical students to Erika during a session in which Jorge was repeating the same things he had said some other time. That feeling of failed classes, empty of any manageable contents, was the same we were left with after each class we were able to observe. The usual ritual was that for every incomplete lecture, or interrupted class, teachers offered to further develop the topic in a following lecture, but that never happened. One of the lecturers observed for comparison was Irene, a retired school teacher who applied for a teaching position at the TTP when she stopped being a secondary teacher at an old and prestigious public school. She was clearly different from the rest, as she took her duties professionally. Her efforts against the very low level of her students were evident, and thoughtful. Apart from that, she was the only one who called students by their names, and who

made individualized comments on their work. She was also very patient explaining everything on the blackboard.[50]

Perhaps she was the only one who had earned some legitimacy before her students because of her knowledge and her teaching attitude. She was very receptive, would give them advice if they asked for it, took books of her own for them to borrow, assigned homework that she later reviewed individually giving appropriate feedback. All these might read as the usual thing to do, but she was the only one who did it.

A common trait of the teaching style was to avoid eye contact, use a very formal register of speaking; it was also not sensitive to the number of female students present in the classes. *'El maestro', 'los maestros'* were the typical reference for giving examples. I got no reports where lecturers tried to explain anything to the students and students never asked questions either. Mostly they would raise their hands to ask for clarifications about formal details of their assignments. And given the fact that few of the assignments were really related to the classes, nobody ever questioned the pedagogical pertinence of any given exercise or assignment. One dramatic example comes from one of Mercedes's classes at the university. She had planned to give her students an assignment and then leave. So she brought three bad quality photocopies for a group of 42. She gave the three copies away and told the students to 'work in groups'. One of the groups had about 20 people. She left the classroom without giving clear instructions. Erika asked students what the assignment was about and she collected four different interpretations of it. She also asked about the pertinence of the assignment, and nobody answered the question. Once they handed this in, they never got any feedback about it. Nobody ever knew what this was about.

My next line of inquiry was to learn about the strategies these teachers used to gain some legitimacy over their students given the bad quality of their teaching. One of the main resources was to make students feel at fault, and they used several tactics to achieve this: asking them for unannounced homework, making fun of students' attitudes or use of language, making them feel lazy and incompetent.

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[50]. Irene is radically different from all the teachers we observed. She is an active researcher and member of a collective of teachers involved in pedagogical innovation.

During the interviews with students from both institutions, they complained about the lack of feedback. 'They don't even take care of our spelling errors' said one. 'They simply care if it is typed and presented in a fancy folder' said another one. In fact, apart from the exceptions I mentioned before, we never registered an interaction in which there were personal comments on students' work, or an intervention by a student aiming at improving his or her work. Generally, comments on oral presentations were very vague and also not encouraging, and praise was never present. After a presentation by a group of only women, Mercedes said: 'Your voices are too low, you used posters, but you don't know how to use them. They are lifeless, who would listen to you with any interest?'

Students seem to appreciate with certain ambiguity what they call demanding teachers '*profesores exigentes'*. But they seemed to refer more to an attitude than to academic demands. They said Pedro was '*exigente*', but the whole semester he had only lectured twice, gave three very simple assignments, and one exam (one of them was to watch a TV program and then talk about in class. The other assignment was to make group presentations about tourist information about different regions in Peru, and present a written paper of six pages about it).[51] But, Pedro acts in class as if he cares about discipline, he has several gestures that make him seem strict and intolerant, but he only displayed them fully with certain male students.[52] Every now and then he mentions 'important people' he knows, or that he has access to, he always dresses very formally, and keeps a cold distance towards students. It would seem that all those features, together with a proper, fluent use of Spanish can intimidate some of the students.

An opposite case of image managing and authority construction is Rogelio. He used to work for a public university in the provinces until he retired. He then moved to

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[51]. By the end of the term three of Pedro's students gave us their marked assignments. They had not a word of written feedback. Instead, there were many scattered short horizontal lines, like horizontal check marks. All three essays were plagued with misspelled words that had not been corrected or even underlined, and the texts were not structured, they seemed to be a collage of transcriptions from paragraphs coming from different sources.

[52]. At a certain moment the level of noise in one of Pedro's lectures was very high. The teacher's comment was: 'There's some clown I'm about to sack', and indeed he firmly asked one student to leave the classroom. In a different occasion, he addressed a chatty student saying: 'You better watch out. I've got contact lenses, and I'm looking at you very closely'.

Lima, and had been teaching at the institute for two years when I interviewed him. His provincial accent distanced him from his students, who sometimes corrected his inaccuracies with gender and number agreement, typical of some varieties of Andean Spanish. Unlike Pedro, Rogelio has more contents to communicate to his students, and is a lot more articulate than Jorge or Mercedes, he shows a lot of practice teaching the same things, and even though his classes are not challenging, and are very simple, they could be of some use for his students. However, he has no course outline, nor is there continuity between his lectures. His students do not seem to value what he teaches, and in general, they display total indifference to his lectures. Each lesson is like a representation of what could be a science class for nine or ten year old children. So it feels awkward when he asks questions and tries to elicit students' participation.

My interview with him revealed a very tired person, with no expectations about his students. He thought they would never learn anything, so he never challenged them to do anything. He had a very soft attitude towards them. Gentle and tolerant, he would say nothing if students were late or did not do what he had assigned. During an exam, he sat in the back corner of the classroom and dozed as students were left on their own to look at their notebooks or even talk among each other about their replies. He would give marks between 14 to 16 to assignments and 13 and 15 for exams.

Once he had asked students to bring recyclable materials and less than half of the students had brought something to work with, neither had he brought the tools he said he would. So he stretched the beginning of the class time as much as he could. For about 20 minutes he just wondered round the tables looking at what students were doing for other classes. Finally he decided to start the class. As he wondered around the class he spotted two students who had a few of the tools he had not brought with him. Only then he started to dictate the procedures for the work he wanted to do, for those who had no materials to work with.

Mercedes was 35 and the youngest of the teachers we observed. She studied in the same university where she teaches. She had also been a school teacher for ten years. Like Jorge and Javier she usually made clear for her students what her experience was, and how this was what made of her a legitimate teacher. Her sessions had no relationship among each other, and she was the one who lectured the least time of all

of our teachers. She was always late, and left the classroom many times. She never showed much interest in what happened in the classroom, although she could for instance forbid students' entrance after she had started the class, which was never at the expected time. She could get very cross at the students, raising her voice to get their attention, as if they were little children.

These different cases show different strategies at play where the basic assumption about the subordinate position of students allows them to abuse them rather than teaching them properly.

The circle of poverty

One striking common feature was the lack of contents communicated in each class. Even though the lack of money for books or materials was the main reason they used to justify it, I would dare to say that behind the abandonment and lack of dedication lies a very dangerous conception about what it means to work with deprived groups, as if they were deemed to be poor not only materially, but also deprived of any benefit that could help them improve their lives or growth beyond their circumstances. There seemed to be a common belief that the poor deserve less. There was a very serious difficulty among teachers, especially at the university, concerning presenting students with a better or different horizon regarding their profession. The constant message was complete condemnation of poverty, as if it is the ditch they are in with no possible escape. Every time that something new was mentioned regarding advances in pedagogy, technology or science, the final remark was 'but that's in other places, here we could not do it'.

In a revealing interview with Mercedes she described the following scenario:

> At this university we work to educate *gente del pueblo*[53], not the middle classes. Most of our students come from there, and we, the teachers, are also from *el pueblo*. We do not come from the upper classes, this is why when we try to work with didactic materials we think of what the communities might have among them, recycling materials. We are aware of different advances, and resources, but this is not what our students are going to find in their milieu,

[53] Meaning people of low income.

> so we try to be practical and help them to learn to work with what they are going to find.

There are many layers to be read into this discourse. First, I read this as a way of justifying the bad class she was giving, the lack of preparation, and the lack of resources used in it. Second, I can see her attempt to distance herself from me, and to establish her authority over me based on her assumptions about my social origin (*el pueblo* as opposed to the middle classes). Teachers at the university would know better than others what to teach to their students because they have a common origin, and they know what they can afford and they know the world in which they will work. But there was a clear contrast between her need to say that they were just demanding from students what they could afford, with what students were complaining about all the time, which was the money they had to invest in buying materials for the classes, supposedly disposable, but not really. In fact, they used to spend a lot more time and money buying cardboard paper, glue, straw, papers of different textures and colours, and other materials than what they spent ever on books or photocopying.

Both the institute and the university could have resources to make their classes more resourceful, less deprived, but those resources were clearly not geared towards the students, or towards the improvement of the quality of education.

The relationship with books was also worth special attention. They were not considered as normal support for the acquisition of knowledge or a route for getting information. Teachers seldom suggested bibliography to students, and information about places to get books was usually absent. They did not stimulate the use of libraries, assigning for instance, readings that they could find there. On rare occasions, teachers presented photocopies of fragmented texts to their students, rarely with adequate quotations making it impossible to find the books those fragments came from. Sometimes, not even the author of the text was given, but the lack of reference to the title was the most common omission, not to talk about a complete reference.

Of all the teachers observed, only Irene assigned specific readings properly identified. She even used to take the actual books to the class, showed them to her students, talked to them about them, instructed them on where to buy them, or how to get hold

of them. On the rare occasions in which we saw a student holding a book they were usually second hand books or borrowed for a semester, and the use students made of them was very instrumental and pragmatic. This is to say, they were considered useful not as sources of information and knowledge in general, but as a concrete source of material for an assignment or an exam. [54]

At the institute, I was able to observe in detail how books were used by students. I followed a group of Pedro's students as they prepared for a class presentation[55]. They searched books for the topic. Once the books were found they quickly browsed the index of each book and chose the sections with titles they could use for the assignment. Once identified the parts, each of them chose the parts they would transcribe, cutting more or less arbitrarily the parts they did not want in their work. In the final version of their 'group assignment' each student contributed a fragment that they then used individually in the oral presentations. One of the groups did not finish this procedure, so, for the presentation they took the books they had chosen, and passed it around to read the parts that each of them had to present. This group received a mark of 14 out of 20.

We also observed the research practices of one group at the university. In this case, one of the girls in the group was the intermediary for her brother who made a living out of typing assignments. So, for the group assignments each member of the group gave her a photocopy or the fragments of texts they wanted in their sections, she took all the parts to her brother who was the only person, apart from the teacher, who got to see a complete version of the report. None of the members of the group bothered to read the report to see if there were any mistakes (not to mention to have an idea of what the paper was about).

As a rule, we did not see any interest on learning how to write their ideas with their own words among the students. In the end, assignments ended up being a collage of

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[54]. Apart from the beauty shop catalogues from Avon and Yambal we constantly saw in corridors and classrooms, we saw almost no books circulating among students.

[55] Doris and I had arranged to have a snack with a group of them. I was earlier that our appointment and the group of students had agreed to have a coordination meeting to prepare for the presentation. I followed them.

unconnected fragments about one topic. We only identified two students, one in each place, with a different attitude, but the rest of them, even those with the highest marks, had this distant relationship with reading and writing.

We did not see students reading a novel or poetry, except for once, when one student took a selection of poems that was eagerly passed around the class while they were waiting for another lesson. The few enthusiastic references to novels we heard of were from students who during the interview told us about the summaries they had from their literature teachers in secondary school. One of the students referred to her literature teacher as excellent because she knew how to tell them the stories of the books she had read. (*'Bien bonito sabía contar de los libros')*

So, teachers did not use readings as supporting materials, they usually read fragments to their students during lectures, usually with no references, or a context for the fragments they were reading, almost reproducing the sort of collage their students handed in as essays. The lack of structured reading, and the lack of guidelines and feedback for their written assignments do not contribute to their already poor school background. In the collective sessions I organised with students from both sites, I asked them to produce short stories and their writing was very poor. Not only in structure or vocabulary, but their spelling and punctuation were strikingly far from what could be expected at an early secondary level in any private urban school.

Language as teaching material

In this way, the teacher's language is the main vessel for new knowledge and understanding, leading me to a crucial point in this chapter, which is how language command acts as a powerful social divider in Peru. I think that the acquisition of Spanish in Peruvian society is a very important channel for the circulation, distribution, and assimilation of certain kind of knowledge that separates radically some professionals from others. In our observations we have registered certain forms of speech that do not require many words or complex grammatical constructions. This language is mainly based on the emotional impact it can produce in listeners, and relies not only on words, but also –and strongly- on body language and facial expressions. Long sentences are scarce. Gestures and voice changes to create the

emotional effects to communicate contents of speech are crucial for the teachers' performances. A lot of words are suppressed from the discourse, and it is expected that the audience can fill the gaps and interpret the intention of the incomplete sentence.

Jorge, a migrant from Junin, was probably the most striking user of this style. Just a reading of a literal transcription may not make any sense, because of the incomplete sentences, abrupt changes of topic, and misused words. However, he made students laugh, follow his gestures, become involved with him. Some of them even said that he was the one who made them feel committed to their profession, and appreciation for their university and its tradition. He used his voice and facial expressions a lot, changed tones, and volume, and his lectures were full of illustrative anecdotes taken from his practice to make his point. Mercedes –from Canta, in the highlands of Lima- also practiced this style, but she was less histrionic and more authoritarian, so the general effect was not as engaging of the students' attention as the one achieved by Jorge.

Pedro used a different style. He was from Huacho, a coastal town near Lima, and apparently from a more educated background than other teachers. In fact he always found his way to mention his connections with powerful people. He displayed more linguistic resources than the rest of teachers. He could fill a full hour talking, and recycling the very little information and contents he had for his lectures. He combined his linguistic skills with open displays of his image as a worldly person, mentioning his travels to neighbouring countries, or people he had known, together with his performances as a strict and demanding teacher, although in reality he did not ask much more than silence from his students.

Judging from my perspective, in terms of contents, the four full courses we observed in these two centres during one semester, would be of little professional value for the students in both academic institutions, but this does not mean that they were 'empty' of contents. Jorge's main point was that theory is useless, that the only real learning is the one you get from practice, and that a teacher must be involved in every aspect of school life. His main teaching was that years of classroom experience together with a good involvement in the school life and in the community, grant teachers with

prestige and respect. All that would cover well for what cannot be given by a public university, which is 'real, scientific knowledge', because that costs money. Another clear message from Jorge's lectures was that marks are the most important thing during a student's life, but they are also the main source of teachers' power over students. Students learned that marks are not a reflection of their achieved learning, but an important –although sometimes 'illegible'[56]- formal requisite. His evaluation criteria were never clear. He published a list of marks, but nobody knew clearly where they came from. Both Jorge and Mercedes were consistently repeating this message in their lectures: They were studying in an under-funded but prestigious public university, and their mission was to be good teachers in the poorest communities in the country.

Students observed at the TTP had classes with Pedro, Tomas and Angel. I have referred mostly to Pedro, because even though his lectures were clearly improvised, the other two were not even present most of the time, and a few times they just came into the classroom to make students sign the register, had a chat with them and then left. This means that second year students that year had a first semester with no contents, and fully improvised. The second group of students in year four was probably luckier, because they had four out of their six classes taught by Irene, and Rogelio, whom at least were more used to the tasks of teaching, but could do little at that point, in the last year to work on their students' deficiencies, bad spelling, and poor disposition for studying.

What did teachers appreciate in their students? It would seem that they valued their students' emotional response to their teaching. They wanted neat well presented assignments, a submissive attitude, compliance with deadlines, but not necessarily learning. A student's success was considered for the things they turned in, but they gained little feedback, or evaluation, received dodgy marking, with no quality control. Thus the type of encouragement teachers provided, reinforced formalities over content and quality. A well dedicated student is not necessarily a skilful one. Skills or intellectual capacity were mentioned as desirable only by one of the teachers I interviewed. The rest emphasized handing work on time, and a submissive attitude.

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[56] In terms of Das and Poole, as explained in chapter 2.

This was clearly understood by final year students who in a collective interview said that their teachers were usually more concerned with formal presentation than with the quality and nature of the contents.

Ideas about good practice in teaching

One unavoidable topic given that students were knowingly studying in a low quality institution to study a non prestigious career, was to ask them about the places where they could work. Following the methods described in chapter 3 I elicited their ideas about good and bad teaching practices. One consistent finding was that for them quality teaching was linked to teaching moral values and establishing a good rapport with children. Ability to produce knowledge or manage information was not present. Nor were there many references to teaching methodologies. I also noticed that there are differences between the pedagogical qualities they mention taken from their experience as students, and those they projected for themselves as teachers. When evaluating their own teachers they valued the ability to 'reach' students emotionally. A good teacher then is not only one who uses clear language, but also someone who mobilizes feelings, through the recreation of situations students could relate to.

Proper, error-free speech was important only for a few students, but for most of them fluency, easiness, and the confident use of other resources such as humour, eloquent gestures, and knowledge of juvenile jargon were generally highly valued if they were to succeed in producing an emotional impact among students.

> I had this female teacher on Peruvian History at school... Her classes were so pretty, so pretty, she would tell you episodes as if she had been there living the moment. And she made us feel as if we hade been there as well. (female, TTP)

During the observations we could see that students engaged in teachers classes mostly when they shared anecdotes or fragments of their lives, and those teachers they appreciated the most were the ones who talked about 'real life' during their classes. Another frequent quality mentioned by students was the teachers' disposition towards helping students.

> The teacher I liked the most was the PE one. She was cool. We always could get advise from her, she cared about how we did in other subjects, she organised days out for us, she was a good teacher. (female, university)

But there is a twist in this appreciation when they associate it with the flexibility or complicity of the teacher when students fail to present their assignments. They use the adjective 'understanding', which could also be substituted by lenient. What is interesting is that this quality appears as desirable for students, but when they talk about themselves as teachers, it is not there. To be organized, to have a good teaching methodology and to fulfil responsibilities were mentioned qualities. But knowledge about the subject was never present as ability, as if it was taken for granted. Or as if the category of a teacher without knowledge did not exist. Only three students mentioned this; two women at the University and one man at the institute. And only two women at the university mentioned having a demanding teacher as something desirable. They can appreciate a knowledgeable teacher, but he or she will not be the most popular, whereas a nice and kind person, with an easy language will be much more appreciated and even rated as excellent.

In summary, a good teacher for students, was able to engage students emotionally and be lenient with their faults, being jolly was plus. If he or she was also capable of establishing a relationship of trust and dialogue, and giving feedback, then would be rated as an excellent teacher.

As I mentioned in chapter three, I used eight photographs of different teachers in classroom situations and asked students to rank them from the best to the worst and then explain their selection. The one that was chosen almost unanimously as the best teacher was a young woman sitting in a small chair, near a group of children around a table. She was looking at their work. Comments were that she was capable of putting herself at the same level of her students, that she looked patient, and concerned about being understood.

On the other extreme, the one considered to be the worst teacher, was a woman with a hand on her waist, legs separated, and pointing at a little girl. Most said that she looked authoritarian, and that an attitude such as the one she had was harmful. Two pictures were controversial. One had a teacher showing a book to her students. A few children are smiling and others look at the camera, away from the teacher. Those who thought she was a good teacher said that the class seemed relaxed and nice, that children looked happy and that the teacher's face seemed to reflect patience and a good spirit. Those who thought she was not that good said that it was obvious that she had no control over the class. That she looked indifferent towards the class, and that she could not get the children's attention.

Another picture that elicited contradictory opinions has at the centre both the teacher's and a child's index fingers. Both characters are in movement and seem to be speaking at the same time. The rest of the classroom looks at the scene attentively. One of the interviewees said this was a very good picture that showed democracy inside the classroom, as the teacher allowed and stimulated students to speak with freedom, that this was an active and dynamic class. A female student criticised the picture saying that the teacher was being repressive not allowing the child to express himself, and interpreted that as a violent act to silence a student. But both were in the end expressing concern for the wellbeing and free expression and trust on the part of the children.

Finally there was a picture where a teacher is rehearsing a dance with a group of children in a sports field. First the person was considered to be a good teacher because she could teach folkloric dance, and the picture elicited several comments about the importance of folk dancing in education. At the university, those who chose her as a good teacher praised her concentration and seriousness to conduct her class. One person at the TTP thought she was a PE teacher and considered that she was setting a bad example for not wearing appropriate clothing to do exercises. It impressed me that the students at the university saw this particular picture with much more interest than the ones at the TTP, and I learned that folk dance was not only part of the curriculum, but that there were informal groups practicing dances from different regions in the country.

Most of the students I interviewed considered a good teacher to be patient, understanding, compassionate, and altruistic. Pedagogical skills are related to the ability to keep the children's attention, without imposing discipline in an authoritative fashion. About the children they imagined to have as students, 45 out of 46 thought of their students as rural children, or students living in deprived urban areas, or in provincial cities. Some already had some teaching experience, and were moved about certain aspects of that experience:

> If you sit with your students during recess time, you learn a lot about them. You'll hear stories about how sometimes they come to school without eating anything at home, or that their father got home drunk and hit the mother the night before, or that the father had just lost his job… So you hear many problems, real, serious problems, and most of the time they have a strong emotional impact on them. (male, university).

And those who have not, are ready for them:

> I love the idea of teaching and giving a lot of love to the child (*al niño)*, but would like to work particularly in those places where there are no desks, water, so I believe I would have to teach myself to endure [those circumstances] I am not planning to teach in well to do schools. [I] want to be where education is needed. I want to work with the poor, the marginalised. I know it will be difficult, and I also know that teaching will not solve the problems they live, but I want to feel that I am needed, and that the affection I put in my job can make a little difference. (female, university).

Life in the classroom

Students play a very important role in the academic character of their institutions, and their attitudes towards the poor quality of their classes and teachers needs to be examined further. Their critiques of the system, when they express them, are mainly formal. Very few of them allow themselves to express concern or dissatisfaction.

Although in practice there were many evidences of their lack of interest and regard for what they received during their classes.

During their lectures many times teachers said really incoherent things, things that were false, misleading, superficial, and students would not say anything, but they would not engage either. Their attention level was very low, and they focused on pending homework for other classes, or dozed, or looked at the beauty catalogues. When I conducted the collective interviews with the students, with whom Erika and Doris had been participating in the classes for at least two months, I tried to get their opinions about what they were receiving, but it was not easy. Whenever any of them said something critical, they were quickly silenced by the rest of students.

At the university in a group of nine, one of the students spoke about his progressive disenchantment as a student when he saw the relaxed schedules, the low quality of the classes, and the teachers' indifference. He generated a quick and collective response from several female students who replied that the quality of the university depended on its students, and that it was up to them to recover the name and prestige for their university. Thus they did not express major criticisms in a collective setting, but they did so in writing and in individual conversations or in smaller groups.

Therefore, I would not go as far as to say that students were compliant or conformists. Occasionally they displayed some gestures of resistance or critique to the mediocrity and neglect of their teachers. For example, at the institute a group of students was sitting in a classroom for more than 30 minutes waiting for a class that should have started three weeks previously. When the teacher entered the classroom he asked the students what level they were in, and asked as well for the schedule of the course. It was supposed to last from 2 to 5, but students told him it was from 2 to 4. So he finished the class at 4 until the end of the semester. In the chaotic realm of the TTP, students managed to have one free hour, and the teacher was probably paid for one extra hour he did not teach.

At the university we learned of a course for which students did not take the last exam because the course had been so bad, and the teacher had been absent so many times, that they preferred to loose the course as a group and take it again with another teacher than risking getting an arbitrary mark for an exam the contents of which they

knew nothing about. What was surprising was that no university authority made any comments about this act of protest. The solution for this problem was left to the students and the secretaries, and all within the 'proper' bureaucratic procedures.

The classroom as a social space is a useful construction for understanding and analyzing the ways in which teachers and students interact in the classroom, and learning about ways in which they influence each other, even if their relationships are exclusive. One way of looking at it is that there is a script proposed by the teachers and a counter script proposed by the students. Both are elaborated and re-elaborated in the official spaces of the school (classrooms and formal celebrations) and in the unofficial spaces (corridors, outside encounters, moments before classes, parties) of the academic institution (Gutierrez et al. 1995). I would summarize the teachers' script we studied as having the main idea that teaching is a poor career because both the students and the teachers are poor, and they deserve nothing more. I could also say that the students we studied had a silent counter script; instead of questioning, they kept silent, and in those classes which did not call for their interest, or expectations, they did something else. Their vulnerability and very subordinate position did not allow for more than that. So, during the 'bad' classes, they slept, bought and sold things, did homework for other classes, lived their own lives, as lectures went on. According to several studies on pedagogy, this is so because in the teachers' script, there is no room for any exchange, for the creation of the 'third space' that according to Gutierrez, Rymes and Larson (1995), is the one created when there's effective communication between teachers and students. Something similar to a third space seems to occur when there's is an emotional exchange in the class. When a teacher is capable of communicating emotions to his or her students, that dignifies them, and makes them feel that they are getting useful information, that carries some value for them.

We did not witness students making comments about a lecture after class. They were interested in organizing their work only for those classes that required presentations to be prepared out of class, but in a very cursory manner. In everyday practice, what took most of their time was the preparation of hand made teaching materials, which took a lot of their effort, and money. Those courses were the most demanding and in the end the ones they valued the most, as they could see their utility clearly.

In the university, the distance between students and teachers is defined by different aspects. There are political tensions among the faculty, and constant tension between students and teachers because of the lack of formality in the way the university is run. The students demands were in turn 'de-legitimised' by teachers who asked from students a more politically committed attitude[57]. In the school of primary education relationships were tense and it was very rare to see teachers and students involved in informal conversations but, in contrast, students expressed a very strong sense of belonging to the university and pride of being students there. Their sense of identity was quite complex. On one hand, it was full of references to a prestigious past won by the quality of former students who made its name shine nationally. But on the other hand, they had a very realistic appreciation of the present, characterised by chaos and lack of resources, and a poor dedication from the faculty. Some students thought that it was up to them to recover a good name for their university. And they also had very high expectations on the knowledge and experience they would gain once they started to teach. For them practice, teaching experience, was the ultimate and true training needed for their profession.

The TTP did not infuse the same sense of identification with the institution as the university did among students. We did not identify any teacher trying to promote those feelings either. Interactions among students and teachers at the TTP were a lot more relaxed than at the university. Female students openly and jokingly flirted with male teachers, sending kisses, or even calling *'papi'* or '*papacito'* to a few of them. They greeted each other shaking hands as they did with their classmates, and even though they do not use the informal *tú*, they called all their teachers *profe*, a short and informal way for teacher. It is as if students and teachers were in the same subordinate and alien position regarding the owners of the Instituto. Both were supervised, mistreated, and so they ended up being on the same side.

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[57] The context for this tension was the predominance of one political tendency among teachers at the university, which is the same group controlling SUTEP, the national teachers' union. At the moment of our research the university was still 'intervened' by the Armed Forces. In its recent past, the university had been subject of a violent intervention from a paramilitary group who had kidnapped teachers and students suspect of involvement with the Shining Path guerrilla. Many of the teachers had a radical stance against the government, and students were accused by them of being indifferent and compliant with the dictatorship.

The months spent conducting these research were very difficult. It was not easy to witness the making of poor teaching, together with the process of learning all about informality, mediocrity, cynicism, and at the same time, seeing the usefulness and liveliness of other values among students, such as solidarity, trust, and hope for the future. Both university and the TTP students were very homogeneous socially and culturally speaking. Building on this experience I wanted to see how the situation was where urban and rural students shared the same space, and how the social dynamics worked in a provincial setting. Therefore in the next chapter I examine the kind of culture that is produced in a context in which social and cultural diversity are more noticeable, and where social, racial and cultural borders are more evident.

Chapter six

Learning how the system works: Students' social life in a provincial university.

The previous chapter presented a reconstruction of the hidden curriculum in teacher training programmes, summarising discourses about teachers' identity, ideas about their mission in life, and the role of education in the country. This chapter is a study of relationships among students and how they treat each other according to their respective social and cultural differences. It also examines how students of rural origin, deal with university bureaucracy, how they relate to other students of both sexes, and what challenges they face regarding their cultural identity and social position. In this chapter I will concentrate my analysis on what Raphaela Best calls the third curriculum, that is, what students teach each other about gender at educational institutions (Best, 1989, p. 21)

Research for this chapter was conducted at the Universidad Nacional San Cristobal de Huamanga in Ayacucho (UNSCH) in the highlands of Peru. One important assumption for this research was that because of the presence of urban and rural students in a provincial setting, UNSCH is perceived as a much more heterogeneous space than the two other sites studied in Lima,

A survey conducted among rural teachers by IMASEN (1998) showed two revealing facts. First, that a slight superiority of male teachers exists in the highlands and remote areas in the Amazonia, and also that these teachers are increasingly from rural origins. Another important fact is the clear difference of class and gender among education students education in provincial universities. Female university students are mostly urban and middle class. This is because girls from rural areas rarely finish primary school, but boys are usually not much farther ahead. Those able to access higher education come from the more affluent families in rural communities, are usually male, and study to become teachers. Teaching is also an option for women of the provincial middle classes, whereas men of their same origin and social standing usually aim at becoming lawyers or engineers, the more prestigious and better-paid careers.

My aim was to understand the effects that higher education and the social environment could have on rural male students. How would achieving a professional degree drive them away or towards a cultural identification with rural communities? Did that change affect the characteristics of their masculinity, and if so how? What is the link between racial and social identity, and what does it mean to become a *mestizo?*. These are all crucial questions for building a picture of the particularities of socially diverse masculine identities. Private behaviour, the one displayed within the family, as a father and a lover, and public behaviour as a public officer, will be very different if a man behaves as a traditional member of a peasant community, or as a mestizo de pueblo. My analysis suggests that the masculinities produced comprise a very complex set of possibilities. Indigenous men do not always follow a predetermined path that takes them from being an Indian to becoming a mestizo willing to erase his previous identity. The *indigenous mestizo* identity found by De la Cadena in Cusco, is also an option in Ayacucho. In fact, indigenous students take alternative ways in order to preserve the sense of belonging to a particular culture, adopting at the same time selective aspects of the dominant culture (Romero, 2001).

Other groups of indigenous students decide to encapsulate themselves, keeping their relationship with the university environment to a minimum, and preserving their indigenous identities by reproducing the community ethos, getting together with people from the same town or communities of their same region, even when they attend other schools. They naturally mingle with students from different places, who come from rural areas, and with whom they can communicate in Quechua. A third group of students who feel the pressure to mimic the behaviour of their urbanite fellow students, and consequently, work hard in order to hide their rural/indigenous origin. They consciously try to erase the linguistic interference of quechua in their Spanish, and imitate urban dress codes. Each of these three options is associated with specific ways of relating to women, power, public offices, and indigenous peoples.

In the introduction of History and the Politics of Gender (1988), a very lucid and highly influential text, Joan Scott states that it is frequently easy to establish clear analogies between the characteristics of gender identities present in the interactions between men and women in a given society (and among them) and the characteristics of the exercise of power in that same society. In this research I was able to identify

some very distinctive features of the Peruvian political drama represented in the everyday interactions among students in Huamanga. As if their everyday ethical dilemmas, and the contradictory discourses they confronted, were permeated by the values embedded in the political life of the country marked by the situation of exception created by the Fujimori regime. In such a context –where as Poole indicates, state institutions represent both a guarantee and a threat - people want to be to be less vulnerable, and adapt to the circumstances in order to have better chances of survival.

The research questions for this chapter were triggered by my classroom observations and interviews with teachers when I was working as a consultant doing research about rural schools in the *Sierra* and *Selva* in Peru[58], where it was frequent to find teachers of rural indigenous origin, whose mother tongue was Quechua. Frequently I listened to their complaints about the irrelevance of the curriculum. The teachers claimed that because it did not relate to their students' world, children could not understand nor relate to what they were being taught. At the same time, teachers used to position themselves very critically regarding the communities where they were working. They were particularly annoyed by the supposed indifference of parents towards the school. According to many teachers, 'peasant parents did not care about their children's education'. In many of my interviews with teachers they made frequent insinuations about the peasants' 'ignorance' as a kind of explanation of their own frustrations.

Male teachers' sexuality is a frequent reason for concern in some communities. Cases of rape against school children or women from the communities are frequent topics of parental fears concerning sending daughters to school and there is always some story that teachers can tell about a former colleague involved in one of those cases. On the other hand, in my classroom observations I was able to perceive a very complex gender ideology. This comprised a bicultural understanding of femininity and masculinity, a conflictive perception and double set of values that operated simultaneously in the way teachers treated children in the classroom.

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[58] I was part of two research projects at the Instituto de Estudios Peruanos about rural schools. The first one, funded by the Netherlands Embassy was aimed at understanding how the gender gap among children in rural schools was produced. The other one was a study requested by the ministry of Education that was conducted in 16 schools from the three main regions of the country.

I chose to conduct my research for this chapter in San Cristobal de Huamanga because of its characteristics as a university in the middle of the Sierra, with a long history of having incorporated rural students. It was striking to find that a progressive –and even radical- setting such as the university (with a recent history of being a centre for the dissemination and recruitment of Shining path militants in the 1980s) was also a scenario for the reproduction of old social structures, embodied by the young men and women studying there, and by the university and its apparatus, through practices that at the same time clearly depicted a very fragile state. The construction of a racially inferior other is central to urban life in Ayacucho, and I identified a permanent tension produced by the need to avoid mestizos' emergence, and to perpetuate the existence of Indians, even though the term is not used anymore.

Another of the assumptions in carrying out this part of my research was that even though the traditional patriarchal masculinity is thought to be under crisis, some traces of it are still part of everyday life and define patterns of relationships. And that even though other 'more modern' models of masculinity have gained currency, in the Peruvian Andes the Indian man is still a symbol for a marginal masculinity, central for the construction of the supremacy of a modern *mestizo* masculinity, and a very clear social space is there to be occupied by the contemporary version of the *señores*.

According to my experience in rural schools, this would mean that for some of the Ayacucho students, to become a teacher has meant to stop being an Indian. What I learned during my research is that this process does not have or carry the same implications for all. In this chapter I will describe the discourses and practices associated with the way in which students of education in Ayacucho classify themselves within a modern version of the three main social categories of a traditional highlands society (*señores, mestizos* and *indios)*, how this structure is reinforced in everyday situations, and how it is negotiated. One shared understanding in Peruvian society is that borders between these categories are flexible, so that it is possible to move along them, and indeed, it is assumed that the 'universal' aspiration is to move up in this structure. In this context, for some students of rural origin this would mean

that they should learn how to take cultural distance from men and women of their same origin, and to learn to affirm a sense of superiority based on the acquisition of formal education. But there are other alternative options and combinations that surfaced during my research.

The scenario

Located in the Quechua-speaking Highlands of Ayacucho, one of Peru's poorest departments, 2,577 metres above sea level and 543 kilometres South East of Lima, is San Cristóbal de Huamanga University, in Huamanga, name given to the city centre of the capital of Ayacucho. Its main source of income is agriculture (23%) followed by public services (19%). One of those is education, which characterizes it as a students' city. Apart from the university, Huamanga houses 3 of the 16 technological institutes in the department, 2 TTP and 2 centres for the arts .

The university absorbs most of the high school graduates from the capital of Ayacucho, 82% of them go there, but it also attracts migrants from rural areas and other smaller cities of the region, particularly, the departments of Huancavelica, Junín and Apurímac. The university at Huamanga has 10 programmes, offering 23 different degrees, and houses a student population of about 9,000. Looking at the census of higher education published in 1996 a significant 53% of male students come from families with one of their parents with primary school or less years of schooling, and 32.5% has an illiterate parent. This differs importantly from the female students. Only 23% of them have one illiterate parent. Another interesting difference between female and male students is that 23.1% of the male students declare having Quechua as their mother tongue, whereas only 10% of the female students declare this (INEI, 1997). The census does not provide this information for separate programmes, but it is possible that figures of illiteracy and Quechua origin are higher for students of Education. Even though the tendency toward the feminization of the teaching profession is universal, in the Peruvian Andes particularly, education is a career attractive to rural men but not accessible to rural women.

Having only 14% to 16% of the total student population (some figure near 8,000 to 9000 in total), the School of Education in Huamanga is one the largest at the university. It offers teaching degrees for pre-school, primary school, secondary school, artistic education and physical education, and has its own pavilion outside of the main campus, very close to the city centre. Right across the street is the Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala Practicing School where graduating students do their practice teaching. Along side of the school are the two small students' residency pavilions where there is a big dinning room for all students, offering subsidised meals. Most students using the residency are men coming from rural areas of Ayacucho and the neighbouring regions of Huancavelica, Apurimac and Junin.

During the war between the Shining Path and the Army, the School of Education, the Guamán Poma School, and the students' residency were politically controlled by the guerrilla group. Precisely because of that, all three were severely repressed and constantly checked by the Army and the National Intelligence Service, particularly during Fujimori's regime. During my research students mentioned that they felt they were being 'blackmailed' by the recent violent past. They felt doomed to apathy and passivity and lived in fear of retaliation from the authorities. In a news board I read a text signed by '*La generación del desastre*[59]' where the authors referred to the recent past with certain ambiguity. On the one hand, they referred to past students' movements as courageous, with high moral values, as opposed to a present full of cowardliness, and apathy. On the other hand, they wrote about the war as a long gone nightmare, as if they rejected the violent memories of the war, but felt that the officially-named 'pacification process' was taking a high toll on them by limiting their actions and self expression.[60] While I was doing my research, and even now, people in Ayacucho are still coming to grips with their memories about the war. I did not include those memories in my research because they did not emerge naturally, but I registered them if they did emerge. [61]

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[59] Literally The Disaster's Generation.

[60] Apart from the evident surveillance, the Fujimori regime devised the '*ley de arrepentimiento*' that was the cause for several unfair and abusive imprisonments. By this law, anybody who was suspect of being a terrorist, and prosecuted for that, could make deals to have charges released if they informed the police of other suspects.

[61] For example, Aldo wrote a story out of his indignation because a dead man's body was left to rot until the river dragged it down, making him reflect on how indifferent to death and violence people in Huamanga had become. Another reference to the war came from Pelayo, a rural student who told me

Apart from this, in conversations with students I was able to perceive a deep feeling of being mistreated and short-changed by the poor quality of training they were receiving at the university[62].

A well known fact to everybody at Huamanga is that students from education and agricultural engineering come largely from rural areas. Every October the UNSCH celebrates another anniversary, and each school has a delegation in a colourful parade. The one from the school of education is usually hailed by the audience as 'Idocashón, idocashón!' mimicking the possible pronunciation of the word Educación by a Quechua speaker, usually assumed to come from the rural areas. In the same fashion, once I was watching a volleyball game where female students from Education were playing against Social Work students, the later one's audience was hailing the rival team yelling 'A Bi Ci Chi!, A Bi Ci Chi!', again pronouncing imaginary rural teachers saying the alphabet with their Quechua accent[63].

Finding out who were urbanites, urbanised and rural students.

Pierre Bourdieu (1987) has taught us that the classificatory criteria that a given community establishes for their members are not all evident for the outsiders, because the way in which people perceive others is shaped by the particular characteristics of each community, by its own ways of establishing social, ethnic or racial categories among people and according to their gender identities. Thus, community members can read the embodied imprints of habits in details sometimes unperceivable to the foreigner, but which are clearly delimited and bold signals for the locals. But, on the other hand, collective efforts to classify people through the construction of stereotypes can sometimes prove to be far more rigid that create borders that are not that 'respected' by concrete people. Individuals who are supposed to be on a certain side of the borders may trespass with more fluidity and briskness than others are ready to

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that he could feel no fear of teaching a full classroom, because 'during the years of *"la violencia"* I have felt all the fear one can feel in a lifetime. I have no fear left'.

[62] In fact, that discontent was channeled in 2002 in a very effective protest that demanded changes in the curriculum to the university, and a curricular reform took place.

[63] There is an ongoing discussion about how many vowels can be recognised in Quechua phonology, but in fact, for Quechua speakers the acquisition of the Spanish sounds for e and o takes a long time, and they are frequently used as the Spanish sounds for I and u, thus revealing their quechua origin. Likewise, Quechua speakers would probably change the 'ción' ending of Educación for something closer to 'shon'.

accept, most probably use an alternative system of classification. Talking to university students in Huamanga, I learned that they classified themselves in three categories: Urbanites, urbanised, and rural. Even though these were based and notated in geographical terms, they were heavily loaded with racial and social implications. The borders between these three categories were not as clear cut for me as they were for the students.

On top of this 'social taxonomy' are the urbanites, (*citadinos*), students born and raised in Huamanga, or in other provincial cities (*limeños* are out of the taxonomy, seen as the same as outsiders) and they are considered or constructed as mostly middle class. The group in the middle are the 'urbanized' or 'integrated'. Students said this group are poor, mostly children of rural immigrants, or immigrants themselves, but with no links with rural areas. They are probably the first generation gone into higher education, displaying diverse degrees of bilingualism. They are described as being very keen to imitate the ways of the urbanites, by dressing like them, visiting the same bars, and in order to be accepted, adopting a subordinate behaviour in front of them.

At the bottom of the pile are the rural students; presumably recent migrants from the country side from Ayacucho or the neighbouring departments of Huancavelica, Junin and Apurimac. It is relevant to mention that the University San Cristóbal at Huamanga receives rural students from its re-foundation in the 1960s, however, they are talked about as 'the newcomers', as if they were the result of a recent trend.

In order to create categories that still resemble the old ones, but without mentioning race or class, the university culture in Ayacucho relies on the imprints that culture and territory leave on individuals' bodies and faces and have hidden references to race for talking about social structures. When comparing the university classifications to the compilation of José María Arguedas' essays titled *Indios, mestizos y señores* (1985), they reveal very important changes in Peruvian society. In contemporary Peru the association between phenotype and class is not immediate anymore; it is difficult to find white *señores* in the Highlands. The assumption is that Peru is a *mestizo* country, on one hand, and on the other, it is not politically correct to consider that Indians still exist (De la Cadena, 2005, Allen, 2002, Wislon, 2000).

Thus, it could be said that in Ayacucho they have cancelled racial terms, but that the frequent associations between indigenous and rural, on one hand, and urban and white or mestizo on the other are still there. Fiona Wilson (2000) and Mary Weissmantel (2001) highlight the enormous energy that has been put into shaping hybrid identities in the Andes, in order to escape or re-invent the Indian - mestizo binary. It would seem that students in Ayacucho have managed to escape the dichotomy with the help of geographical classifications that are in turn expressed or imprinted on the body.

Two such classifications comprise the main indicators that place each student in a specific category: physical appearance, excluding complexion, but including dressing codes and body language, and the characteristics of their spoken Spanish. These criteria are useful for an initial categorisation, which is progressively refined by the minute observation of social behaviour, including the chosen social group, and the places they choose for their leisure time[64]. When I tried to have my collaborators, or other students tell me how they knew that someone was 'a rural' student, they would mention 'the typical sunburn you get in the highlands', the hair that looked like it had been washed with soap instead of shampoo, or the lack of conditioner, and even the haircut, but mainly, it would be a person's use of Spanish and their body language.

During my research I found evidence not only of the classificatory discourse, but also the practices that produce it and reinforce it, as well as the practices that transgress this order, or resist it and attack it, so that I concluded that they are not that solid as I shall explain below. The subtle detail of the ethnographic accounts of Mariano, Freddy and Mario were crucial to these findings.

The relationship between this classificatory exercise and the formation of masculine identities is deep and has multiple implications for all aspects of life involving gender relations, most evidently heterosexual relationships, because race is used as a limit for the social universe from which men and women choose potential partners. Peer relationships are also influenced, because the 'expectations of masculinity' are different for each social group. These classificatory processes greatly affect power

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[64] This also occurred during collective and individual interviews as I asked about this topic.

relationships, because the way in which one positions oneself regarding Indians defines one's position regarding power, and concretely implies the obligation of distancing him/herself as clearly as possible from the possibility of being considered the subject of abuse or humiliation.

The comments of 'an outsider'

While in Huamanga I would sit in the patio in the School of Education sometimes trying to hone my own skill at establishing differences between the male students at the school of education. With a very few of them was it relatively easy, but I could never be sure, even if I combined looking at their clothing, body language and general appearance. Mine was definitely the gaze of an outsider, so I decided to explore the differences taking into account other forms of evidence. For example, the biographies of the students we interviewed provided rich information about the diverse individual and family strategies that helped them to study Education. Their replies to the question about social origin and gender provided very distinctive answers, making evident the diversity of reasons for entering the teaching career and how they were linked to class and place. For two of the urbanite students we interviewed, studying education was a clear indication of a bad personal and economic situation. Both would have liked to study something else, and away from Ayacucho, but they could not do so. In the case of the 'urbanized' or children of rural immigrants in Ayacucho, they studied education as they would be studying any other cheap and easy career. Their main goal was to become professionals, to have a university degree as the main and only possible route to changing their social position. But for the students coming from rural areas it meant a modest but constant income and a relatively prestigious situation in rural areas.

Another clear difference that emerged is that even though most of the students we interviewed were in the same age range, they came from very different circumstances. Students form urban areas are usually dependent on their families, and have no significant economic responsibilities. As students they are living an extended adolescence, and even though they do not expect to be rich, they consider the lack of money as a temporary situation in their lives. That is not the case for the rural students. In the Peruvian Andes men start making decisions and leading an almost

independent life when they are 10 years old.[65] As university students they depend on their families, but they are considered adults and very likely their time at the university is part of a family decision in which they played an important part.

In contrast with the clarity that Mario, Freddy and José had to describe urbanites and rural students, I was puzzled by the undefined, blurring characteristics ascribed to the intermediate group of students, probably because this is the category that can be constructed in many ways in order to accommodate the idea of a stage in a continuum to becoming an urbanite. This is then a very instrumental category, with very variable contents, a handy instrument for the dominant discourse that supports discrimination. To become a urbanite demands going through a deep process of self-reconstruction. The existence of this intermediate category allows for a lot of flexibility and manipulation of possibilities for the separation between the extreme categories, making the transition either smooth or extremely difficult.

But Mario and Freddy's fieldwork reports indicate that this transformation is not sought by everyone. Not every student of rural origin wants to become a urbanite, giving up their indigenous or regional identities. There are groups of rural students who make clear efforts to maintain and reproduce their indigenous and rural identity, with no desire to assimilate into urban life or *mestizo* culture. These students are ready to use the city as a resource to develop their own strategies dictated by their communal identities. This is a lengthy fragment of one of Mario's reports among students from his own community of origin:

> Every Sunday afternoon they meet for a match and bet S/. 1.00. The losing team pays that amount to the organisation funds. After the game they have a short assembly to coordinate social activities like a hike they call '*Hatun purikuy*' (great trek); from the city centre towards the airport where a resident of Hualla has donated a plot for the construction of a venue for the huallinos in Huamanga. After the walk they would start building the building in minka. (Mario, 2nd report)

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[65] This does not mean that they leave their homes, but that they are contributing members of the economic unit, and that gives them a voice in the family (Ortiz Rescaniere and Yamamoto, 1996, Oliart 1997).

The planning of the *Hatun Purikuy* included a collective decision about what they would have for lunch: Mondongada and chicha de Jora, just the same meal they have on those occasions in their community. They also decided as a group how much each member had to contribute both in money and goods. Some offered to donate corn for mote, and also corn for the *chicha*[66].

The huallinos have an organisation of university students from the community. They refer to their ways of action as 'kuki quiñana' (ant-like). In their meetings they usually discuss how can they contribute to the development of their communities, just as so many studies on migrants associations have described, replicating patterns of communal cooperation at the university and in their urban life[67]. Not only for huallinos, but for rural students in general the university dorms create an environment that facilitates conviviality and the conditions to replicate central aspects of a rural identity. They are a resource for their life in the city.

Some of these rural students are older than average, and are already married with children and do not participate in the described social networks as intensely; studying is one among other occupations they have. All the while, other rural students, eager to become urbanites and learn the habits of the mestizos, avoid the networks and prefer to erase any links with their rural origins, like the ones José Mariano found.

A final note of clarification is that those who go to the university are not the typical young rural men. It is crucial to remember that the national average of years of schooling for rural boys is only five years. These men come from 'privileged' families or from those who have made a very special effort to send their children to school.

Clothing

According to a collective interview I had at the university with students from different schools when I first introduced my project, the minute observation of clothing is the

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[66] Corn beer.
[67] There is an extensive bibliography about the reproduction of communal forms of organisation and cultural values among Andean rural immigrants in urban contexts (Altamirano, 1985, Osterling, 1980, Turino, 1999).

starting point for the classification when students first meet.[68] The first indicator for males is the fabric of their trousers. The dividing line between rural and urbanised is between those who use polyester and those who use denim. Polyester is a clear indicator of poverty and belonging to the rural world, while demin is read as a sign of a higher income and urban habits, or the willingness to have them. The second exercise is to analyse the quality of the jeans. More recent models or good quality fabrics are attributed to the urbanised and urbanites. A renowned brand indicates not only more money than what peasants can afford, but also accounts for a fluid relationship within the urban milieu because they are sold only in certain shops. Other visible indicators are shoes. Plain black leather shoes and laces suggest a rural owner. Sporty shoes made of different colours and materials such as suede are considered to belong to an urban dweller. Details such as quality and country of origin, all contribute to imagine family income and familiarity with or belonging to urban culture.

Following the order suggested by my collaborators, a final indicator of these racialised geographical categories are shirts. Again, plaid or solid colours in polyester indicate mostly low income, and difficulties of accepting or adapting to urban youth fashion. Apparently there is a high awareness of fashion trends among the urbanite men, because it is a clear way to create a statement about themselves, and to establish a pattern for those who want to emulate them. Mario, one of my collaborators added accessories to these exercise. According to him, students form rural areas hardly use a back pack and carry their folders and notebooks, but rarely books, in plastic bags.

When I asked if girls would be subject of such scrutiny I was told that girls from rural areas or poor neighbourhoods manage to change her appearance as soon as possible, carefully observing how others dressed and on that ground deciding what to wear. This means that the way of dressing associated with rural young women is simply not seen at the University. The female equivalent of the polyester trousers, black shoes with shoelaces, and plaid shirts some rural male students wear, would be a pleated polyester skirt, a blouse, and a very colourful cardigan. This attire can be seen among market vendors, for example, but would bring marginalization for those women who

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[68]Collective interview at La Higuera, October, 1999.

dare to use them at the university. Therefore they substitute this clothing with low cost more urban clothing. Some girls from other schools I interviewed at the beginning of my research said that in the end 'you can always tell by the quality of their clothing, but at least they look more like the rest of us'[69].

Roland Barthes and his followers have taught us how clothing gives access to read an individual language. Writing about Punk fashion Dick Hebdige, for instance says that particular ways of dressing respond to clear options of what Punks wanted to say about themselves through their bodies (Hebdige, 1979:100). But in societies with a Spanish Colonial past, like the Andes, this reading of intentionality in clothing has to travel through several mediations, as clothing has been a disputed terrain for centuries. The Spanish rulers used to determine the exact appearance that men and women from every Indian village should don in order to control their spatial use of the territory, and as markers of their tributary status (Szeminsky, 1987, Harvey, 1989). They also had rigid rules to restrict the use of Spanish clothing or even fabrics by Indians living in the city. Therefore a homogeneous dress was established for those Indians who did not live or who did not belong to specific communities (Glave, 1989). Therefore, the use of certain types of clothing as an identity marker that is controlled or determined by those who hold political and economic power, is part of the history of Andean towns and cities. It comprises options and languages that are very well defined by gender, because historically conventions were different for men and women, as varied and diverse were the responses of urban and rural Indians to those conventions (Salomon, 1988).

The meaning attributed to the *polleras*[70] for Aymara women has been studied and documented, (Barragán, 1992, Meentzen 2000), but apart from some references about changes in men's ways of dressing in rural communities (Harvey, 1989), it is mostly assumed that they started donning western clothing earlier than women, without examining the fact that there are different 'degrees' of westernization or urbanization, as this study has shown. The minute observation of men's clothing also leads to racial

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[69] Notes from fieldwork in Huamanga, Oct. 1999.
[70] Ample, hand woven, woollen skirts in rural areas, and made of fine Italian felt in larger Andean cities.

classification, so this is not only a self statement, but also something used as a wider classificatory tool.

According to this literature, we learn that the specific choice of clothing in an individual should be read as a way to express what this person means to be, or wants to be, but we also learn that these are not completely individual decisions, but that they are shaped and controlled by society. The celebration of Carnaval or the Fiestas Patronales in the Andes are circumstances in which a way of ridiculing certain characters is directly linked to the critique of those who don clothes that are not appropriate to them. At the same time, the dancers' costumes reinforce certain characteristics attributed to characters representing different social classes, by capturing aspects of their appearance that symbolise and reaffirm their high status.[71] What is striking is that even though dress codes for young students are very homogeneous, and hand made clothing or fabrics are simply 'forbiden' at the university, students at UNSCH have translated the same classificatory criteria that separates the Indian from the *mestizo*, and the *mestizo* from the western, using a skill developed in a cultural context highly specialised in 'reading' dress codes.

Diglosia

At the early stages of my research in Ayacucho I was trying to decide how to find the rural students I was looking for to work with. My collaborators found this problem very easy to solve. Apart from dress codes, the second characteristic that would make rural students easy to find was their use of Spanish. In one of his fieldwork diaries Mario writes about two students that him and Freddy wanted to talk to:

> [T]hen we saw two students that looked very urban for the way they dressed, but the Quechua interference in their Spanish was very strong. Thus we realised they were rural, and from Vischongos. (Mario 1st report)..

The colonial situation of ethnic and cultural domination of the indigenous peoples of Peru created a situation of diglosia between Spanish and Quechua, so that becoming

[71] Cf. Vásquez y Vergara, 1988, Mendoza 1993, Meentzen, 2001, Oliart 1991.

bilingual in Peru is usually a process that goes from Quechua to Spanish and rarely in the other direction (Escobar, 1990). Learning Spanish is a very complex process and is usually asymmetric. The efforts done by Quechua speakers to learn Spanish are not recognized as such by society, but instead discouraged and even used as a marker of a condition of inferiority.

Some sociolinguistic studies about the Andes point at evidence of the deep relationship between masculinity and linguistic competence in Spanish in the region, both in rural and urban spaces. Penélope Harvey (1989), Aurolyn Luykx (1989, 1996 and 1998) and Alison Spedding, among others have shown how linguistic competence in Spanish, and particularly in registers adequate for certain public spaces that demand certain degree of formality, becomes a highly valued and sought-after skill among men.

During my research I saw how different linguistic registers are actively used by students to establish differences among themselves. The student population is highly sensitive in perceiving and identifying the different phases of the process to bilingualism that monolingual Quechua rural students go through. According to Ana María Escobar (1990), in Peru there are the native bilingual, and the non-native bilingual, those who were born monolingual of a vernacular language and have acquired Spanish in a context different than home. Escobar identifies several levels of command of Spanish among non-native bilinguals, so that the characteristics of the Quechua interference in the Spanish spoken by rural students, becomes crucial for the definition of the conduct towards them. A very distinctive behaviour develops towards these students from administrative personnel through to teachers and classmates, and particularly, urban female students.

Indeed, girls assign a very high importance to the quality of Spanish that men they go out with speak. Whether it is for fun or to establish some long term relationship, girls will chose a man who has a solid command of Spanish, in order to be respected among their peers. Very few will probably be ready to be criticised for having a boyfriend 'who does not even speak proper Castilian'[72].

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[72] Conversation with girls, fieldwork notes Oct. 1999.

In contrast, some students of bilingual origin, predominantly male, would use Quechua as a social divider in a reverse fashion. They feel very comfortable when they know that they can switch codes without having to provide any explanations. Sometimes they deliberately use Quechua to exclude some people from their circles, by joking and laughing so that the non Quechua speaker feels excluded. This is particularly hard on the 'urbanized' students, as their families are Quechua speakers but because they grew up in the city they did not learn to speak the vernacular language, but the context in which they learned Spanish has been a transitional one, and therefore linguistically deprived, so the command these students have of either of the two languages is very limited.

There are other bilingual students who have a good command of both languages, and who can also handle more than one register in both languages. These linguistic skills grant them important leadership among the 'urbanised' and rural students alike. Even though it is clear that in practice classificatory discourses allow room for a lot of accommodation and flexibility. I would say that the classification exercise that students use to place themselves is very active, and that in everyday life at the university there are different practices aimed at the reproduction and reinforcement of these practices and discourse.

For example, to guarantee that there are submissive indigenous men, it is important that abuse and humiliation can be exerted with impunity. The quotidian abusive exercise of power, as well as the possibility to publicly humiliate somebody on the grounds of his or her social or geographical origin still represent a very effective and perverse devise that 'non-Indians' can use whenever they want or when Indians want to trespass racial and social boundaries. During my research I learnt how important spaces for conviviality such as university life, sports events, and parties, are actually used to create and refresh mechanisms that mark social differences through the policing of the bodies, patterns of social drinking, relationships with women, and ideas about the future. Mario and Freddy were particularly perceptive and subtle registering such classificatory practices. Through the detailed descriptions of greeting rituals in the patio or the corridors, Mario showed how provenance really expressed itself clearly through the students' manners. As a rural person himself Mario devoted

himself to following and observing rural students and their relationships with the rest of the university. He took particular pleasure in observing the urbanites and how they behaved towards rural students. He wrote that male students from Huamanga did not establish close relationships with rural students, and that exchanges among them were not at all fluid. Together we interviewed a group of urbanite students, and when talking about the little integration that could be observed they replied that it was the rural students who would not mingle with them. We were told that rural students are self-marginalized, as they only get together among themselves, and rarely attend collective events. When confronted with this idea by Mario, a group of rural students said that they did not feel comfortable socializing in an atmosphere they felt to be alien to them.

My analysis is that rural students have very strong motives for feeling vulnerable, because what fuels these classificatory exercises is the assumption that what Indian men really want is to walk away as far as they possibly can from their 'Indianess'. If this is the case, there is always a permanent threat of being stopped by whoever wants to remind the transgressor of his origins, and use the occasion to humiliate him publicly. This is a game in which to pass as urban, decent, civilized, and adapted is a constant challenge. The rules of the game are that those who want to trespass are to be stopped violently. To obtain the licence to cross over from those on the other side of the fence requires an enormous amount of energy and effort. It implies a large number of everyday decisions about the limits to which one can go in order to achieve the acceptance of the transformation. Indians are the marked category, and there is a close surveillance over them to avoid the transgression of the permissible limits to be considered *mestizos*. If they want to break the borders of these segregated spaces they have to do so positioning themselves in a subordinated, dominated position. This includes for instance to tolerate offensive humorous remarks about their appearance, usually expressed by very aggressive nicknames that have to be tolerated with barely masked discomfort. '*Cara de huaco*' or Huaco face is a very popular one. Huaco is the generic name for the pre-Hispanic pottery vases, some of which had anthropomorphic representations alluded in this name. '*Pelo de ichu*' or Ichu hair is another way of calling somebody an Indian. Ichu is a very hard, almost thorny wild variety of grass, which grows in the highest plains in the Andes. Among football players to be called 'cintura de huevo' or egg-shaped-waist is to receive a critique for

lack of flexibility in the waist in playing the game. 'Guanaco' is probably the oldest of the Andean camels, and is used to tell that someone is aboriginal 'species'. Finally I'll mention 'club de madres'. To use this name to talk about groups of girls at the university is aimed at stressing their lack of money, and their indigenous features. Club de madres are the female organisations running kitchen soups in deprived areas of the country.

These names are used in informal settings, but there are other expressions of this need to produce and reproduce social differences in more formal settings at the university. Discriminatory practices are very evident from secretaries at the university offices, and even from teachers, some of whom are very corrupt. The quick attention that urban students will receive against the disrespectful way of addressing rural students is something very visible in any given day. Queues are not always respected, and rural students know that sometimes somebody will be taken care of, passing in front of them, simply because they are 'gente conocida'. This is an extract from José Mariano's fieldwork diary:

This is a case of discrimination not only among students, but from teachers towards rural students. This is a story about a Literature teacher who was supervising an extended registration period and giving academic advice to students during the process. For registering during this period students have to pay an extra fee. A group of rural students noticed that this teacher had registered two female students who were clearly *'citadinas'* and acquaintances of the teacher, without asking the extra cost, so they thought they could get the same privilege simply by asking the teacher directly if that would be possible.

Jose Mariano, 3rd report.

The answer was a fuming no. One of the rural students passed from the supplicant attitude to a more irritated tone, to which the teacher replied that he could forget about finishing his career while the teacher taught at the university. The student truly believed this threat and quit the university to study education in a TTP because he thought this was very plausible.

In their first year of studies students try to make friends with the ones they feel most similar to. Interactions with other students are not very fluid, but throughout the years each cohort learns to accept everybody for what they are. As explained earlier, my research took students from different years, and we observed situations where the three groups interacted. The corridors and the patio as well as sports events and the university celebrations are spaces and circumstances where they all face each other. But it was also important to observe segregated situations, with homogenous groupings. In this way we were able to produce close registers of their interactions and the way in which the 'masculinity requirements' (Marquez, 1996) were expressed. These circumstances clearly show how masculinity is deeply linked to racial ethnic and social identities, even if disguised as they are in Ayacucho.

Experiencing the university for the first time might be difficult for many, but the change from rural schools to university life seems to be particularly traumatic. This is predominantly a male experience as few women finish secondary school in rural areas and go from there to the university. Pelayo, a student coming from a rural village told me that his experience throughout his school life had been to take dictation from his teachers. He was used to a class structure where teachers give a brief explanation of the topic, and then dictate to notebooks what students are supposed to remember about the topic. When he started attending classes at the university, he always wondered when the teacher would start dictating the lesson, and they never did. And he had no idea about how to take notes. Pelayo said: 'Most of us coming from the countryside go through the same. We are lost when we come here; we feel like stray little lambs' (*'como ovejita sin dueño'*).

Those students who are in a blurred position regarding their identity cannot risk being identified as rural in these settings, so they are quick to use urban markers. The most powerful or effective seems to be the language and general style of the contemporary version of what Anibal Quijano called *cultura chola* (1982). Juan Carlos Callirgos (1996), a limeño anthropologist studied a secondary school in Lima where most students are from the highlands or children of provincial immigrants. Many of the students in Huamanga have studied secondary school in Lima. Mario and Jose did. Families send their children to study in Lima and then they go back to their hometown for university. That is for example the story of Mario and Jose. Callirgos' description

of the students' culture in the school he studied resemblances in more than one way that of the urbanised students in UNSCH. Callirgos says that male counterculture in public schools recognizes leadership from those who know how to have a good time, are aggressive, strong, cunning, and know how to impose their ways. Assigning nicknames, getting a laugh, and flirting with women are highly appreciated virtues. An important difference between secondary school and university life is that even though transgression of the norm is a form of gaining leadership and popularity, the centre of the conflict is not around discipline in the classroom. Transgressive behaviour is expressed through drug and alcohol consumption and political struggle, or the open critique of the teaching practices.[73].

Sports and Parties

Apart from observations in the patio my collaborators also took ethnographic records during sports events, parties, discos, and bars. Education students mostly use three different courts. One is at the students residency and is frequently used by those students who would be considered rural and some of their friends from outside the university or from other schools. Another court is at the *Escuela de aplicación Guaman Poma de Ayala*, mostly used by students in the final year, already having their professional practices in the school. Finally, the other most frequented court is the stadium at the Andrés Avelino Cáceres School, from which many students are alumni. Apart from those, every weekend there are about six sports courts in Huamanga usually filled by university students, along with some other few places outside the city where they also go.

There is usually some kind of bet or challenge set for each of the games. Urban male students usually play and then binge drink. We found that sports events are socially dense. Lots of activities go on along with the games. Some students take advantage of the agglomeration to sell food, fruit drinks, or *chicha de jora*, a traditional homemade corn beer, while others display very aggressive manners, approach new people, or simply have a good time.

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[73] Something I learned during my research is that the use of recreational drugs is also a cultural marker among students. Marihuana and crack are common and almost of exclusive use of either students coming from the coast, or those from Ayacucho who had lived in Ica or Lima. Rural students have a very wary attitude towards these drugs.

The football and volleyball matches were always interesting to observe as hierarchical relationships among students emerged easily, and verbal exchanges were freer and louder. The use of nicknames, and cheering were usually referred to physical or cultural characteristics of the players. These were also occasions to hear homophobic expressions used to either cheer or criticize the players.

Deprecatory nicknames are mostly used by the urbanite students in these public occasions. It does not mean at all that Quechua students do not have them, on the contrary, they do and can be very demeaning, but they do not make them public, nor do they use them in these public occasions. The purpose of the public use of these names is usually to produce a collective laugh, as they recall funny situations. Some common topics that fuel these name calling are for example, that rural students are bad football players, that they are clumsy and that they lack flexibility and freedom to cover the field. Bad players are also feminized, they run slow (like a woman), they kick the ball delicately, 'give in' like a lover would, etc.

With regard to homophobic expressions the acute accounts by Freddy prompted me to think that some men –in Freddy's accounts were always the urbanized-, are always vigilant of demonstrations of affection among men. They quickly repress them, and if it is evident that there is affection among two or three men they become target to open remarks and suggestions that they might be lovers. These jokes do not seem to offend anybody, even quite the contrary, those referred by them follow the game and mock passion among them.

Another source of images that nurtures verbal exchanges among students during football matches is sexual intercourse, presented as a prize for the players. It is not rare to hear things like: 'Play fair and you'll get my sister!' And others will offer their girlfriends. Fredy and Mario noticed that there are important differences between the nicknames that the rural students call each other and the ones used by the urban students. Sex is present, but not omnipresent among rural students, and homophobia is not absent, but when it is expressed is not that aggressive, although it is deprecatory.

Regarding other places for leisure times, the three groups use different venues. The urbanites go to video-pubs, or discos, whereas the urbanized go to cantinas or small

bars preferably located in their own neighbourhoods or not very visible places in the city centre. They also like to attend free parties. Rural students prefer to go out on the weekends, or find open air activities while they are studying. Individually they may go to bars but never as an organized collective activity.

Alcohol and drinking sessions

The role of alcohol is very important in the social life of men from the three groups (their gatherings for drinking can also include women, but is not the norm). The use of alcohol guarantees, and even conditions the presence of men in social gatherings; however, the peer group pressure is different for each group. When they get together for drinking, the well established habit for the urbanites is that each man brings two bottles of beer (750ml each). Once they have drunk all that was donated, the one who drinks the last bit of a bottle has to buy another bottle. This means that if a student has little money he cannot be part of this reunion. The demand from the group to have money for drinking is very strong. If someone can pay for others he will be highly regarded. Apart from having money, another very praised and valued characteristic is to tolerate large amounts of alcohol without getting drunk. They call this '*tener cabeza'*, but there is some ambiguity surrounds this trait, because even though it is not praised in the same way, there is ample recognition and appreciation for those who drink until they loose consciousness, as that is taken as a sign of trust and allegiance to the group. Appreciation for these two attributes is used to exert pressure to binge drink. Generally, they associate the good disposition and willingness to drink together with sincere friendship and affection, so that the opposite also holds true: unwillingness to give into binge drinking is associated with lack of affection or friendship.

As intense as these sessions are, they tend to occur among those who consider themselves equals, so they are instrumental in the reconfirmation of social divisions. Social worker Carmen Choquewanka (1998) studied drinking habits among middle class men in Puno, where there are high levels of alcoholism. She found that in Puno, university students as well as professionals, considered it improper to drink with men of lower social classes in the city cantinas. When asked about why they did not go to a drinking session by Mario, three rural students said that they did not trust urban

students enough as to give into drinking with a mixed group. The cost of doing it can be very high, not only in terms of money, but because this can create a situation in which they are exposed to the free exercise of humiliation and insult, based in racial prejudices. During drinking sessions humorous aggression can be very intense, and can be occasion to mark vulnerable students in a certain unwanted way. One of the students Freddy interviewed had Chachaima as a nickname, he said to Freddy that for a while he never wanted to give away his place of origin, and whenever he was asked he said he did not know. He went once to a university celebration, and students had been drinking. There, somebody who knew him from when he was little told him: 'So, when are you going to dance a Chachaima for us?'. This is the name of a regional dance, and that is how he got his nickname, which he does not like at all. Felipe, a Quechua student said once during a party where he was drunk: '*yo quiero bailar Ticno'*, [74] and from then on he kept that nickname heavily marking his Quechua origin.

Several readings on drinking habits in the Andes suggest that there are important cultural differences in the understanding of a *borrachera*[75]. Preference for drinking among social equals appears in several studies (Choquewanka 1998, Harvey 1989, Castillo 1996, Spedding, 1998). Harvey and Spedding explain –one for Cusco in Peru and the later one for the Chapare in Bolivia- that drunkenness is a space for the reconfirmation of relationships among equals. According to Spedding, the underlying assumption for community life in the Andes is the equality of all members, where hierarchies are mostly set and acknowledged by age and experience. Drinking sessions in this context have a homogenizing meaning, levelling everybody; they are a very dense ceremony where each individual drinks 'with somebody' and at the same time with everybody by circulating the same glass or cup among everybody.

The university is supposed to be a homogeneous space, where all students belong to the same generation, but this assumption is constantly challenged by every cohort of students when they recreate differences among themselves. Students from rural areas feel vulnerable because they never know when their perceived social differences might emerge through aggressive and scornful behaviour on the part of urban students.

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[74] He meant 'I want to dance Tecno cumbia'
[75] A drinking session, usually shared with several people.

Beer and soft drinks with rum, vodka or pisco are the most accepted drinks in *mestizo* public spaces, or in clearly urban places such as discos or pubs. Students seem to prefer beer, but this is also the most expensive drink, as it takes longer to get drunk with it. This is why many students prefer to start drinking before a party 'tuning up' with Hydromiel, a very cheap drink (about £1.00 a 750 ml bottle) that is a mixture of sugar cane alcohol with honey, herbs and spices. It is not uncommon to spot large groups of students in parks or street corners on Friday or Saturday evenings. They buy one or two bottles of Hydromiel to share and then go to the party.[76]

Men also look at what they drink to classify other men. In men's talking sessions it is frequent to play with the idea that a man is an Indian if he only drinks '*trago*' (sugar cane alcohol). But there is also some ambiguity to this, because they also point at the lack of manliness if someone doesn't know how to '*tomar trago'* (drink trago) or '*emborracharse con trago.*'[77] In a field trip that Freddy was part of, students of education in Maths went to Apurimac by bus. During the trip the older students set the challenge to drink *trago* to the younger ones. Remarks to those who got sick were 'Why bother doing this if you don't know how to drink!' .

Penélope Harvey observed that in Ocongate, Cuzco, drinking sessions go through two phases (1993). There is no precise moment in which they shift from one to the other, but there is a qualitative change in the purpose of drinking and in the pace of it. The first phase is said to be *kausachicunanpaq* (to drink for encouragement), to have an internal reinforcement of the willingness to be part of an extra-ordinary communal effort, such as building the roof for a house, the celebration of a birthday, or the preparation for a big social event in the city. Drinking in these contexts is meant to provide energy and power for each individual and for the group. The next phase, *manchananpaq* –continues Harvey- is to get drunk once the collective task has ended, to celebrate the collective achievement. Then the pace of drinking is faster. Aiming to establish a deeper contact with supernatural forces by associating drunkenness and death people drink until they are unconscious drunks, so that unconscious drunk are a

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[76] The Quechua name for Hydromiel used by students means 'leg-loosener' that has a double connotation: The relaxation that alcohol brings to the body, and in the sexual slang, it alludes to the physical disposition to engage in sexual intercourse.
[77] Get drunk with a stiff drink.

metaphor of a communal sacrifice that increases a positive relationship with the supernatural world (Harvey:1993).

This pattern described by Harvey can also be found among rural students. Something that became clear for Mario is that Huallinos used to drink 'for a reason', in the context of a collective activity beyond the drinking. Thus, for him and his fellow rural students, to get together with urban students simply to get drunk did not make sense, besides, for them it was clearly seen as threatening situation. According to Harvey if the *borrachera* does not lead to the regeneration of communal links it is interpreted as unacceptable behaviour. The appropriate things to do are: first, to drink only if there is a collective reason for it, and second, to learn to discern, and drink at the appropriate pace according to the circumstances, whether it is for encouragement, or to celebrate something. To drink for the sake of it or to accelerate the pace of drinking for no reason is a behaviour attributed to antisocial, vicious individuals.

Attitudes towards these norms are important in order to observe the relationship students establish with the values of their culture and the way in which they deal with differences between an indigenous/rural male identity and an urban one. Some of them will keep themselves away from situations that do not conform to these norms, and engage in drinking only in situations that they feel comfortable with, where an egalitarian atmosphere of mutual respect can be expected. Others will get rid of some aspects of the rituality of drinking, and will try to adapt certain rules to the urban circumstances, for example, trying to create appropriate circumstances for celebration: good marks on a exam, the weekend of a difficult week, sorting out somebody's problems, etc. And there are those who will blatantly defy traditional behaviour towards drinking, and display clearly transgressive attitudes towards traditional ways of drinking. But, it is precisely this rough and aggressive behaviour what protects them and make them less vulnerable to abusive or humiliating situations, because it is a demonstration of having learned the manners of rough urban men.

Peer pressure to get drunk in bars is really strong among male students. To resist this pressure means to be exposed to be accused of being a pansy, (*ay qué delicado, solamente toma gaseosita)* or to be excluded for being poor or for being a peasant.

Once observing a drinking session it is possible to analyse the different manly impersonations students rehearse under the influence of alcohol. Harvey says that during drinking sessions men and women 'experiment subjective identities that normally they would not adopt, in fear of being ridiculous, offend someone, or simple for not being able to embody particular positions' (pg 128). This perfectly describes what Jose and Freddy registered during our research. These are also important circumstances in which men boast about their ability to seduce women.

Women

It is important to point out that among university students the idea that men and women are equal is pretty accepted, except for two things. Men claim that they are stronger than women, and that women should not have the same sexual freedom than men have. Apart from this common idea, relationships with women are another area where differences are very stark between rural and urban students. This is an area where many cultural changes have affected the lives of young people, and particularly women, so different masculinities adapt or relate differently to these changes. During my research I gave several talks about issues on gender and education at the university and invited the participants to have discussions that were usually very animated. The sole mention of gender issues prompted several questions and concerns among students. Frequently questions about changes in women sexuality propitiated very vibrant discussions between men and women in the audience. It was surprising to realise that regardless of the topic I decided to talk about the question always seemed to be: What's wrong with women now? This interrogation came together with complaints such as '*Las mujeres ahora quieren ser iguales a los hombres*¨ or *'¡Pero ellas usan a los hombres*!'[78]. Some students already doing their practices in secondary school would express totally bewilderment at how they were harassed by school girls, that girls had control over their classrooms and that many times they felt completely challenged by them, as girls were used to break discipline inside the classrooms.

[78] Women want to be like men nowadays, or But they use men!

As part of the contemporary world, Peruvian society is also witnessing deep changes in the youth. Young women are very different to what they were 30 years ago in Ayacucho. It is also important to remember that apart from the influences of the global culture, between 1980 and 1992 hundreds of families from Ayacucho fled to Lima taking their children with them. They then grew up in the slums of Lima and went back to Ayacucho[79]. Thus the roughness of the shanty towns' youth from Lima in the late 90s travelled to Ayacucho to stay in her houses, streets and schools. Among the main traits of this new urban culture is the generalization of new patterns of relationship among peers. Research among middle class university students in Lima (Ponce and La Rosa, 1995), and secondary school students in poor neighbourhoods in Lima (Tovar, 1996), show that young women have dramatically changed their ideas about gender roles, sex and relationships when compared to men of their generation. Girls have more knowledge about contraceptive methods than women on the previous generation, and men of their own generation. They can also foresee future scenarios for women where marriage and children are not the priority, and they think of jobs that that were not previously associated with women. Finally, they are ready to postpone marriage until well into adulthood, without discarding the possibility of several romances or relationships that do include sexual relations.

In a brief study I did in Cuzco among secondary school children in a small town in the province of Quispicanchis in 2003 I learnt that sexual intercourse was considered a normal part of any romantic relationship among teenagers, and something similar could be happening in Ayacucho. Ayacucho is a University town, with students with very little money, and where many students, male and female, live on their own. There is also an increasingly popular nightlife, where the whole range of global youth subcultures effervesces (Huber 2002). These facts can help understand men's bewilderment regarding such changes.

What I could see in the boys reaction to my talks is what US Black feminist bell hooks (2000, p. 181) identifies as a source of deep disorientation and fear to men, the inclusion of recreational sex in women's lives. Hooks says that the dissociation of sex

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[79] The Shining Path actions started in 1980. Since then entire families fled to Lima and other places in the country. Many young adults now living in Ayacucho finished school in Lima. That solid fact has changed youth sexuality and culture in Huamanga. As has occurred in other places, defferences are more evident in girls than in boys.

and love among men has not been uncommon, their fantasy being that if a woman engages in sex it is because she is in love and that gives men power over them. The fact that this might not always be the case affects not only men's relationships with women, but also alters some of the criteria used by men to establish hierarchies among themselves. In an account written by Michael Apple on several studies about gender relations in the school culture, mostly in the US, he identifies several studies that make evident a paradox created by male culture in more or less closed contexts, like neighbourhoods or schools. Those studies show that on the one hand men need to boast about their sexual deeds, which makes it important that there exists readiness on the part of women to have a formal relationship with a 'respectable' girl, somebody who is not that easy to get involved with. Thus, the very behaviour that allows them to boast and build a reputation is the same that in the end reduces the universe of eligible partners, which is important to have prestige and an important place in the male hierarchy. At the same time it becomes harder to be acknowledged simply for having a partner, because of the collective effort in making any girl's reputation something to have doubts about.

Students' interventions during my talks, and mostly, their expressions during interviews and drinking sessions with Freddy and Jose, reveal that this 'economy of women' is also present in the university context in Ayacucho. It is common practice in sports events that men talk about how many of the girls watching the games they had an adventure with. The purpose is twofold: brag about their skills with women, and ruin the girl's reputation. But in this exercise it is also clear that there is something that is very disturbing, particularly for the urbanised students: how virginity does not seem to be that important for girls as it was 'before'. This brings deep insecurity and distrust, but is also loaded with ambiguity. On one hand, the girls' freedom allows them to fantasize about easy '*conquistas*', but on the other hand, they are wary of committing themselves with any one, fearing infidelity. They also seem to be filled with jealousy about their partners' previous sexual experiences. In this context it is easy for most girls to have a 'bad reputation' based or not on truthful accounts of their behaviour, but in a situation in which girls values are more likely to have changed, while men's have not. The 'bad reputation' of girls in turn, becomes instrumental in justifying abusive and deprecating treatment by men. In a conversation between Jose, Aldo and Lucho in which they were drinking, Lucho said:

Women are shit man, that's why you have to change them as often as you do with your underwear'.

I did not collect evidence about how important virginity is for girls in Ayacucho, but I do have evidence that men think that it is not important anymore, and that girls resent men's reactions who consider this to be part of a new reality. Mario had an interview with a female student in Education. She was born in a rural community in Ayacucho, but her family migrated to Lima, where she finished high school. Then she went back to Ayacucho to enter the university and become a teacher:

> (...) I don't believe in men anymore. I had three boyfriends and all of them betrayed me, they lied to me. (...) men just want to take advantage of women, have a good time, get what they want and leave. That's how men are. They just want sex, and once they get it, they become cynical and go away. My first boyfriend was married, imagine! I did not know, and he had a wife and children! I was so surprised when I found out... The second one just wanted to take advantage of me, and as soon as he realised that I was not ready for that he said 'I don't like you anymore, I should not be wasting time with you, I have a girlfriend a lot better than you!' So that's how men are… (Mario, 2nd report).

She goes on and tells Mario that she has now a boyfriend but that she will not allow herself to fall in love, because of her previous experiences. 'I am changing', she said. 'I was not like this before'.

Money (and women)

A huayno from Ayacucho says in its coda: *Si tú me quieres mándame una carta, en esa carta mándame tu sueldo (...)así sabré que de verdad me quieres*[80].

The image of the man supported by his lover, so alien to that of the dominant masculinity is present in the lyrics of several songs not only from Ayacucho. This could be seen as a critical reaction to the insertion of women in the job market, but it

[80] If you love me send me a letter, and with the letter send me your salary, thus I'll know that you truly love me

definitely presents a masculine image different from the man as provider, considered hegemonic by many. Two of the students we interviewed have had relationships with women older than them. One of the students even received a monthly allowance from his girlfriend. Both students were very proud of those stories and used to enjoy talking about them. I could even say that they were admired by their fellow students for that. There is another huayno from Huancavelica, that says:

Maldito oro, maldita plata, malditas mujeres
Tan sólo se enamoran de los hombres ricos,
Tan sólo se enamoran de los cachaquitos...[81]

Precisely one of the aspects that students complained most about was the fact that girls seemed to be interested in going out only with boyfriends with enough money to take them out. So in this context, a man will be praised and admired by male friends if he can get a girlfriend who is wealthier than him, or not as poor. We also collected evidence that some men would openly 'use' female acquaintances as resources to get things they wanted and could not get without money. On one occasion Lucho and Botija wanted to get drunk and had no money, they thought that Lucho could flirt with her neighbour for a while and convince her to invite them some drinks at her little shop where she sold beer. The same logic was used by Marcial, a student from a rural village, who used to make very evident efforts to adopt the urban ways. Once he was going to his village with Jose, Marcial told him that it had been a while since he had 'had' a *cholita*, and if he could seduce the young shopkeeper in his village, they could have some drinks at her shop. Interestingly enough, on none of these occasions were they able to achieve what they wanted, but they put a lot of energy into fantasizing about the possibility.

They all trusted their verbal skills, which they name as '*floro*', as a prop for a successful seduction. '*El floro*', is the skill of soft-talking to get things from others. He who knows how to '*meter floro*' or '*florear*' knows how to lie. A good *floro* presupposes a good command of Spanish, which plays a very important role when trying to seduce urban girls and get things from them. A common practice among

[81] Dammed money, dammed women, they just fall in love with rich men, just fall in love with soldiers.

groups of men is also to try ways of flattering girls, or to rehearse affectionate expressions. But it will be only on very rare occasions that a man will be allowed to express real affection or admiration for a woman in a group of only men. They treat *floro* as a verbal skill that is good to have to get things out of people, not necessarily as something to express true feelings. If a man expresses love or admiration for his partner or loved one, defends monogamy, or refuses to fool around if he is already in a relationship, he will be mocked, and considered dominated by his partner. There are two adjectives or names a man can be called in these occasions. The first one is saco largo, or long coat, usually applied to married men. The other one is '*pisado*' for single men. The first one literally refers to a man that dons a long jacket, like a woman's coat. The second is an allusion to the way in which birds copulate, with the male on top of the female, which is commonly referred to as '*pisar*' or step on, so a *pisado* is someone who is stepped on. Both are then aimed at feminising a man capable of expressing firm feelings for his loved one.

Peer pressure among men openly militates against monogamy, which makes them boast about being involved with more than one woman. They ask each other about their prowess, and if one member of the group does not have much to tell he is mocked, or 'accused' of being gay, and if he is faithful he is treated as *pisado*. So when with their friends, students in a stable relationship will pretend they have no interest in their partners, or are ready to invent stories about other women.

Men's talks about women allowed me to identify an important issue regarding the role of race and class of women when it comes to seducing them. Among students from the city of Huamanga, those considered urbanites and urbanised, there seems to be a hierarchy among the women they seduce that defines who is entitled to protest or claim if they feel cheated and who is not. According to this hierarchy, the women at the bottom of the hierarchical ladder should know that they can be cheated because that is the only thing they can expect from men. In Freddy's fieldwork notes one night Lucho and Botija were looking for a place to drink. As they wandered around through Huamanga's streets Lucho told them that he had once seduced a girl who worked as clerk in a corner store, who had believed in him. He thought she had been silly thinking that he could have taken her seriously. Through his and other comments it seems that just as it is necessary that there are vulnerable men who can be abused with

impunity, there are women who 'should know' that they cannot be taken seriously, because of their bad reputation, or because of their social and cultural position associated with a particular perception of their race.

Rural men and women

A few of the rural students we were working with also attended my talks at the university. Their bewilderment regarding changes in women's sexuality was different to that of the urban students. In the Andean rural world virginity before marriage is not really a serious concern, but flirting openly, or publicly displaying interest in men or sex is not tolerated. Several accounts of courtship rituals in the Andes indicate that they are led by men, who go after the girls who in turn are supposed to reject them with insults and even physical aggression. They are not supposed to express their attraction, on the contrary the proper thing to do for a woman who likes a man is to pretend disgust for him (Harvey, 1994, Harris, 1994, Allen, 2003, Weismantel 2001). Thus, marriage is the result of an almost physical contest between a man and a woman[82]. Thus, I could corroborate that in spite of the fact that Western women's sexuality allows them to express their desire freely, as well as make evident their interest for men, it is still disturbing for rural men, who seem to be ambiguously attracted towards women from the city, but with a lot of distrust and fear about the type of partner they are likely to be.

The ideal girlfriend

In our interview protocol, among other things, there was a question about love relationships and expectations about that. Responses to this topic made evident deep differences among our three groups of students. Even if they appear to be stereotypical answers, the response gave me an idea about what they considered an appropriate response to a question like this, and it became evident that there was no one single 'right answer'.

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[82] Literature about this particular issue is very controversial, because it could be read as a justification for violence against women, and even rape. The opportune collection of articles edited by Harvey and Gow (1994) deals precisely with the difficult issues involved when feminism and anthropology have to face culturally diverse forms of relationships between men and women.

There was however one point of commonality. The three groups considered it inadequate to have a girlfriend among women in education. Rural students distrusted their morals, urbanites considered them too poor for them, and referred to them as 'Club de madres', indicating besides that they did not like them.

When asked how he would like a girlfriend to be, Aldo answered: *Inteligente, alegre, bien parecida y que en cierta forma prometa una estabilidad económica*[83]. Clearly for him women studying education were not an alternative. Nor are they for the urbanised. For Lucho girls in Education were too easy: '*sueltas el floro y al toque atracan'*. So he preferred girls from other schools, and would chose one who: '… knows how to be respected, in higher education, someone who reciprocates love, I would not like to have a street girlfriend who drinks and stuff.'

Nicanor, a rural student seemed to have given a lot of thinking to this topic:

> I suppose that like every man do, I want a girl who knows how to live and someone ready to share many common interests. I would like her to be lively, creative, with interesting initiatives to do things for the community.

Nicanor made me think about something anthropologist Jeanine Anderson said to me once about how the existing gap between men and women's access to education in rural Peru had changed men's expectations about the type of women they wanted as a wife, alienating them from the women of their communities. When talking about how having a girlfriend in the university was difficult for a student coming from the country side, Nicanor responded:

> It's easy to get a girlfriend if that's what you want. I mean, this can be done quickly, but for me that's not the issue. To find a partner involves commitment, and responsibility. If you assume both, you mature, and then you realise you have to stop fooling around.

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[83] Intelligent, jolly, good-looking, and offering some economic stability.

Both the observations and interviews seem to illuminate some sort of common sense ideas about gender relations at the university. On one hand, urbanites think that they can have access to any type of girls, but only few of these women would be entitled to expect some kind of commitment from them. Who has that 'right' depends on the women's attributed class, race, and cultural capital.

This logic does not apply for the 'urbanised'. They cannot approach all kinds of women. They are afraid of approaching urbanite students, mainly fearing that they will not be able to afford the expenses that would come along with going out with them. They also feel insecure about their spoken Spanish as this would inform about their poor social origin. These same fears make them consider the girls they can approach as inferior, which translates in a very disrespectful and distant attitudes towards them. The language they use when talking about women is very harsh. However, they spend a considerable amount of time fantasizing about seducing girls to whom they have no access. It would seem in the end that their failure and frustrations are then used to justify their abusive behaviour towards the women to whom they do have access, as if they were worthless.

I had no access to the same kind of 'men's talk' among rural students, probably because of the relationship of 'older brother' that Mario established with them, or perhaps because it is indeed different. Important contributions from the field of 'Andeanist' anthropology have explored domestic violence (Harris, 1994, Harvey, 1994) and provided description and analyses of what Harris calls the 'ambiguities' of masculinity, in the lives of indigenous communities. In courtship, it seems to be important that men feel themselves as 'predators', and that becomes difficult for them in an urban context. I think it is very important to pursue this topic because apart from Eros Andino (Chirinos, 1999) there are no other accounts of male sexuality in the Andes based on 'men's talk' but mostly on ethnography as mentioned before.

My material shows that post-war Ayacucho is a deeply fragmented society. University students are still investing energy in the reproduction of the traditional order adapting it to obvious cultural changes and new circumstances, but reproducing a social pyramide that they are re-editing to into new versions of the traditional *señores, mestizos* and *indios*.

In the education system this pyramid translates into the hierarchical positions of the public officer, the urban clients of the state, and the subordinate Indians and *mestizos* subordinated to the authority of the former two. Gendered and new racialised stereotypes attached to this traditional order, are produced and reproduced in the different institutions that are part to the education system, playing a crucial role in its resilience and stability.

The education reformers had generally identified the importance of social, geographical and racial segmentation in Peru, and designed training sessions and materials that targeted these problems. However, they transformed these deeply political and cultural issues, into technical problems that prevented equal access to education thus missing the chance for transformation as I will explain in the following chapter.

The relationships between men and women, the gender ideologies operating in the educational system have not been taken into account when designing gender equity strategies. Mostly, the emphasis has been placed on increasing the rates of girls' attendance to school, but not on questioning the gender ideologies of teachers that are part of the culture operating in the education system.

Chapter seven

The Discourses, technologies, and practice of an imported reform.

In the previous chapters I have attempted to describe different aspects of the life in teacher training programmes to make evident some particularities of the culture in the educational system and the web of meanings that support hierarchies and power structures. This last chapter also includes ethnography, but it is based on a wider range of sources. Here I present the characteristics of the Educational reform promoted in Peru by the World Bank and other development agencies and donors between 1994 and 2001, during the second period of President Alberto Fujimori. Given the context of the previous two chapters, here I mostly focus on one of the privileged areas of the reform, the in-service teacher training programs.

What I intend is to illuminate the type of culture against which the reform was being implemented, whilst using a language and a methodology wrapped in technical arguments that avoided the politics involved in the reform process. Because of the characteristics of the World Bank education reform I will describe below, its application created a very contradictory scenario, where discursively important issues affecting the quality of education were being addressed, but in a political context of corruption and authoritarianism that was not conducive to change.

As an observer of the application of the reform projects I would argue that it mobilized different reactions and gave place to particular 'translations' of the reformers' ideas. The different projects that were part of the reform were carried out by a wide array of actors involved in the process, each of them free to interpret the reform guidelines according to their circumstances and interests.

In this chapter I use as examples discourses about decentralization, gender equity, intercultural relationships and pedagogical innovation that came with the reform, and the ways in which they were adapted and performed in different regions and instances of the

school system, according to locally determined understandings of the way in which the doctrinaire approach of the Bank was to be executed. These three aspects of the reform directly targeted problematic aspects of the culture of the system and the ways in which power is distributed in it. The rationale behind these discourses puts the students' interest at the centre, and presupposes that schools are stable, solid institutions governed by their own interests and goals. That was very far from reality, particularly in the case of rural schools where communities are vulnerable to the characteristics and interests of local authorities who have total control over the personnel and resources of the schools. Thus, different regional offices managed to modify or adapt the reforms to better suit their interests.

The diversity of adaptations was also facilitated by the lack of ideological coherence in the political regime at the time, combining a populist presidential style, a widely corrupted middle class bureaucracy, and neo-liberal policies. All of this incongruence was enhanced by the intervention of a professional transnational bureaucracy disengaged from local dynamics of power, and with an eclectic academic and political background.

The data I use in this chapter come from diverse policy documents from the Ministry of Education, the World Bank, non-government organisations and different institutions involved in the reform. I also use interviews with a wide array of actors involved in the process, as well as concrete ethnographic observation to illustrate and study how ideas of radical change (in the context of a neo-liberal reform of the state) were neutralized by local dynamics of power. In turn those dynamics were shaped by regional hierarchies, and the class, gender and racial relationships between the different actors. My own experience as a researcher and consultant working in Peru during those years is also a source of information for this chapter, as it has influenced my view of these issues and has granted me a privileged position as almost an 'insider' in this process (see chapter 3).

The reform project

The analytical literature about neo-liberal interventions led by the World Bank across the globe is usually geared towards highlighting the incongruence between discourses and results, mostly regarding the Bank's rhetoric about the need to consider each country's particularities, and the practice of the 'one size fits all' approach to social problems and economic adjustment. However, this very incongruence has allowed a wide variety of outcomes in different countries that are worth studying. Of particular importance is the creation of spaces for the discussions and interactions that allowed the identification and examination of the particularities of each country, and promoted the formulation of alternatives from a wide variety of perspectives. In some countries, and even in some areas within a single national process, these spaces have yielded very positive political outcomes, due to the local political actors' involvement in the agendas being discussed, and their intelligent use of the Bank's directives to negotiate their interests (Hale, 2002, 2005, Hornberger, 2000, Torres and Puigross, 1997).

Given this diversity it is necessary to provide a quick account of the context internal to the World Bank to better understand the nature of the reform promoted by its officer Livia Benavides in Lima, and the differences and turns it took with respect to the 'general template' used in other Latin American countries. After outlining this context, I briefly describe the political context for the Education reform in Peru. Next, I present the ideas that national and international experts tried to promote (regarding decentralization, gender equity, intercultural education and pedagogical innovation), and the ways in which they were disseminated and implemented in Peru. Finally I present four different ethnographic scenarios to illustrate how local power structures shaped the form and the contents of the reform to 'change very little so that nothing would change', in spite of the elaborate and some times sophisticated work embedded in the expert's proposals.

Human Capital and Education in the World Bank

The Peruvian educational reform started in 1994 as one of many agreements between the Fujimori regime and the World Bank to comply with policy oriented loans imposed as 'conditionalities' for the reinsertion of Peru in the world finance system. While in Colombia, Chile, Brazil, Bolivia or Argentina, the educational reform was part of the political agenda of newly elected democratic regimes (Schiefelbein, 1997, Lopez, 2006) in Peru it was clearly an issue imposed from the outside, that found little support from the government, but met with wide interest among NGOs and universities, as well as some social organizations interested in pedagogical innovation (Rivero, 1999). This might explain the way in which the reform was presented in February 1994 by Education minister Jorge Trelles, who announced a 'big educational project' conformed by 'several autonomous projects' (Expreso, 27/02/94, A8), a very lumbering phrasing preparing for the apparently improvised educational reform about to be funded by the World Bank.

In a very thorough account of the World Bank internal changes over the last 20 years in Washington, Karen Mundy (2002) frames the educational reform project of the 1990's as a follow-up of the 1980 World Development report where investment in Human Capital was presented as key to promote poverty alleviation. With several influential changes in the presidency of the Bank, promotion of human capital led to the opening of an important space for intellectual and research capacities and with the aim of becoming a centre for knowledge on development. In 1989 the Plan Brady set the Bank as coordinator of other donors' efforts, integrating an agenda for governmental reform and national development, promoting adjustments to the world economy, and applying the rather rigid 'package' of the International Monetary fund (Mundy, p. 488). In the 1990's the Bank proposed (imposed?) a three pronged strategy for development and economic growth, consisting of a) export-led, labour intensive growth, b) investment in the poor (mainly through health and education programs) and c) development of safety nets and targeted programs.

From then on, loans to improve health and education systems became a distinctive mandate of the Bank, entering into a contradictory terrain in which economic efficiency was not the main criteria to disburse money. Thus, the percentage of Bank lending to primary education went from 4.2% for the period 1963-1969, to 37.8% in 1995-1999 (p.486). This was the result of a process that went on throughout the late 1980's where a greater heterodoxy was evident within the organization, stimulated after the hiring of a new generation of so called 'softer social scientists' who where prompt to establish that the World Bank politics had had negative social consequences (p. 492), generating a series of very tense discrepancies between 'the bankers' and 'the professionals', as Claudio de Moura clearly describes (De Moura, 2002)[1]. Thus, the bank became an intellectual actor within the wider international educational development community, becoming a provider of what some considered 'high quality' development knowledge, offering national assistance strategies that integrated social, structural, economic, and environmental and governance issues, and promoted local consultations with stake holders, as a conduit to grant them 'ownership' over the development projects.

In the case of the education unit, the Bank hired not economists, but educators to work on guidelines for pedagogical innovation, and improvement in the quality of education. The paradox was that with all this growth in the research area, the Bank did not expand the budget for research or economic and sector work, and they did not budget how to assess the effective return of the policy oriented loans (Mundy, 2002, De Moura, 2002). In this very particular context special units were created in the bank to deal with education, gender and development, indigenous issues, and to develop an expansive and doctrinaire approach to each theme[2]. Their discussions and formulation of plans and directives to the Bank were in many cases a follow up to an ongoing project, or inspired by the coordination between different development agencies, so that there were uncharacteristic opportunities for dialogue about, and receptivity to, proposals and ideas produced in very different contexts. Studies and reports at the time, led experts to use cross national rates

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[1] Claudio De Moura was an officer of the Brazilian government, an NGO consultant and a World bank professional and wrote an insider's version of these complex situation.

[2] The development of policies oriented to promote indigenous rights has deserved particular attention regarding this process (Laurie, Andolina and Radcliffe, 2005, Laurie and Bonnett, 2002, Bebbington, et al, 2005, Calla, 2004, Hale, 2002, Sieder, 2005).

of returns of the investment in education to argue in favour of more investment on education, gender equity, and indigenous rights and governance. This context created a very specific pressure for the subsequent regimes of Paniagua and Toledo, where the allocation of state funds to education was put on the public eye by the media and different sectors of the public opinion.

One of De Moura's most striking affirmations about this period is that the Bank was more and more conscious that lending to very poor countries and to very poor areas would not be useful because bureaucracies in those countries do not really work, and will never work, and the Bank will not really be able to produce any significant changes in the bureaucracy before the money arrived (p. 390), thus, many of the professionals working in the bank during the 1990's pushed to have more flexible criteria to approve loans without so many restrictions. What is striking is the dissonance between these seemingly sympathetic officers, and their lack of commitment with the final results of the funded projects, because there was no money assigned to serious evaluations of their results, but in the end, the allocated amounts did count as loans for the countries who received them.

Following Mundy's narrative, in a twenty year span the World Bank shifted from its aim to invest in higher education, to the promotion of private education[3]. The recovery of the costs of the investment in higher education through user fees would be reallocated into the primary level. Following these guidelines in the late 1980's the Bank tried to develop a credit market in higher education, to decentralize schools management and to encourage private and community schools in order to increase competition and generate a demand-side push for better quality and efficiency. Except perhaps for the case of Chile, this project was strongly resisted in every country as it was seen as a move to free the state from its responsibility to provide education as a service (CTERA, et al, 2005, Rivero, 1999). Such resistance took the Bank to a different emphasis on its search to

[3] This was one of the main arguments teachers unions presented to resist the reform all over Latin America, and is the core critic of all the contributors to a book that compiles critical documents written by teachers' unions in the Southern Cone (CTERA et al, 2005). Regalsky (2003) also illustrates this same resistance among Bolivian teachers.

transform the educational systems in the region, this time, with a clear emphasis on improving the quality of public basic education.

The reform in Peru.

Hale, (2005), Hornberger (2000) as well as Mundy (2002) and De Moura (2002) highlight the important political role played by country officers in shaping up the characteristics of the Bank's programmes in each country. In the case of Peru, Livia Benavides, the Bank officer in charge of Education had a good knowledge of the NGO world (as she was part of the network prior to her appointment), and found ways to create a web of interested agencies in the reform beyond the Ministry. For example, in 1994 I was invited to a series of meetings in which people from the GTZ, the German office of international cooperation [4] together with one of the professionals appointed by the World Bank in Peru, presented their aims regarding educational reform in Peru to academics and NGO professionals. They clearly stated that they needed a critical mass to discuss their objectives, and that they had hardly found any suitable partners to talk to within the ministry of education.

Through time, patience, fine networking and lobbying work, Livia Benavides was able to insert a parallel structure inside the Ministry of Education with the so called 'Project Offices' adopting a different system of recruitment and payment to the professionals appointed, than those normally used in the public sector. She managed to grant continuity in the basic reform team in spite of the constant changes of minister so common in Peru[5]. The 'project offices' channelled all the donations and loans granted by donors and foreign cooperation agencies, particularly the GTZ and later DIFID[6] among others. The typical professional hired by these offices were experts most of them graduates from private universities, urban, middle class families, high cultural capital, bilingual most of them (Spanish-English), some with post graduate degrees from outside

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[4] Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit – GTZ.

[5] The unspoken norm in Peru is that the president appoints ministers as a way of paying off political favours. There are two yearly occasions when the president meets all his ministers, and after considering their reports, confirms them in charge or replaces them with a new minister. During the ten-year Fujimori regime there were 13 ministers of education.

[6] UK´s Department for Internacional Development.

of Peru. The majority were professionals in the social sciences, and very attuned with the development discourses of the Bank, and in a few cases with a previous past of militancy in the Peruvian left, and work experience in NGOs and grassroots organizations.

One problematic aspect of hiring these 'outsiders' in order to have qualified and well trained counterparts, is that they faced stern resistance to collaboration from the ministry's old personnel, making interactions really difficult. The way in which these offices were engineered (employing professionals outside of the regular bureaucratic procedures), and the cultural and even obvious differences in phenotype between these officers and the rest of the ministry's staff, undermined their effectiveness. Discussions about who earned their salaries in dollars and who earned them in soles were a part of the everyday gossip among secretaries and administrative staff, and marked a style of relationships that became a real obstacle to implement changes.

Thus, even though the Bank and other donors created the conditions to have working partners in the ministry, (so that they could have who to write documents with, and were even able to get government officers to agree with their objectives), it remained difficult to mainstream their ideas in every official instance. 'Project officers' were ostracized by the traditional officers. An IDB [7]project manager told me that some secretaries would even hide documents from her, and that it was really difficult to get accurate statistics from the bureaucrats in charge of the data system when some of the 'project specialists' asked for information.[8] Many of the Bank projects required field work, real involvement with school teachers, communities, and good training. So the 'project specialists' usually hired students from private universities, or with a grass root activist profile, common among some middle class urban intellectuals. Most of the time these young 'outsiders'

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[7] Interamerican Development Bank

[8] In several interviews with Laura Acosta, sociologist and National Director of Highschool education (16 October, 1998), Cesar Guadalupe, sociologist with a PhD in Mexico (22 October 1999), coordinator of Statistics, and José Rodriguez economist, with a PhD in Penn state University, (April 2001) (all graduated at the Catholic University, and with null history of public service) they all complained about secretaries hiding information from them, officers lying about sources of information, whole archives taken away from the computers from one day to the other so that information could not be found).

earned more than a regular employee who had been there for more than ten years[9]. In a context of corruption, lack of transparency and generalized mistrust that characterised the Fujimori regime, these well paid outsiders were not well received, nor was their presence explained by anybody, thus becoming a very serious threat at any attempt of reform.

For every loan funding a special project, new specialists were appointed from a network that was not the conventional one from which public employees came from[10]. In October 2001 my colleague Tania Vasquez interviewed Oswaldo Rocha, an officer in charge of the training unit for headmasters, so that they could take charge of their decentralized schools[11]. For him one of the biggest problems of the Fujimori regime was that the Peruvian State had closed down every single institution that could have helped training public servants into their functions, so that current public employees had hardly any sense of purpose regarding their positions, beyond their need to keep their jobs. In fact, during the Fujimori regime, both the National Institute of Planning, and the School of Public Administration were closed because they were considered unnecessary bureaucracy by Sandro Fuentes (a lawyer and APRA militant in charge of the reform of the state offices' organisational chart in the early Fujimori years, and later on, ministry of labour).

Rocha bitterly criticized the erratic interventions of each ministry, their uncoordinated policies, and the diversity of styles that produced no synergy. According to Rocha the absence of a centralized planning instance had left the state with two kinds of employees. On one hand, high ranked officers hired as consultants for short periods of time, who could not imprint any continuity to their actions, and on the other, old frustrated officers, and public managers, who were prevented from accessing higher positions now taken up by the consultants, but with the required knowledge of how the system works.

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[9] A full time employee at the ministry with an average of ten years of employment earns approximately £400 a month. A project assistant with little experience could easily make £350 a month.
[10] Helfer provided an example of this in chapter four, and even though her friends were working ad-honorem with her, their presence created distrust and critics in the ministry.
[11] Tania and I were working together in a project on decentralisation in education. The final report can be found in http://cies.org.pe/files/active/0/pm0015.pdf

Talking about the Ministry of Education, Rocha said that those older employees knew the history of the norms and dispositions, and the way in which new regulations could overlap or contradict each other. Given that they had been left without any power, or capacity to define the success of the reform, would not contribute to it, but rather tried to make it slower or a complete failure. As I already described in Chapter four, the politicization of the public function was identified as a serious problem by Gloria Helfer, a former school teacher from the Christian left and the first minister of education named by Fujimori. She faced a lot of pressure from the regime to reduce staff at the Ministry until she had to resign the post. Something similar occurred to Andrés Cardo Franco, who was Minister of Education in the second regime of Fernando Belaunde in 1980. For both of them it was important to preserve the knowledge and institutional memory of old employees, but they were not allowed to do so. However, this was not the only problem those offices faced. They also had to confront particular requests from the regime that were not always easy to respond to because they were highly unethical. For example, when Fujimori started the reform process, the first fresh money came from the IDB to build and improve schools infrastructure. Two geographers, members of the strategic planning team[12] produced a GPS – GIS map of the schools in the country, showing the students per school ratio by districts and provinces to better inform the decisions to establish investment priorities. During my interview with them, they said that they had the idea of overlapping the 'map of poverty'[13] with the map of rural schools they had just produced, to have better criteria about where to start the school breakfast program. They went to a planning meeting where one advisor of Fujimori was present, and he was very impressed by the technology and the methodology employed by this team. He took the idea on board, but asked them to overlap the schools map with the electoral figures of the 1990 elections. His plan was to reassure voters in areas where Fujimori had been strong before, by favouring those areas with both the new schools and the nutritional program. At the first sign of discomfort by one of the members of the team, the advisor's response

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[12] I was asked to keep my informant's name confidential.
[13] A geo-referenced instrument created during the Fujimori regime to target specific groups with poverty reduction policies.

was: '*No te hagas problemas hijo, pobres hay en todas partes, y estas decisiones hay que tomarlas con criterios politicos*'.[14]

As an observer, one striking fact for me was that, even though the main role played by the Bank was absolutely crucial in determining the contents of the reform, Peruvian political observers hardly mentioned it. From inside the ministry, the Bank (through its officers) was an ever present actor, but from the media and the political observers' perspective, the Bank appeared only when a loan was signed. Even well-informed analysts would not mention the Bank or any of the agencies involved when reporting about changes in education policy.

A clear example is the book Educación: Retos y Esperanzas. This is an edited version of a meeting held in 1996 between Ricardo Morales (first president of the National Education Council), Leon Trahtemberg (an influential journalist and school teacher from the Jewish community), Hugo Díaz (a former UN consultant on Education in Central America, now researcher and consultant on education in Peru) and Teresa Tovar (a sociologist specialized in Education, who was in charge of President Toledo's regime program to improve the quality of education). All of them are among the most salient experts on education in Peru. This short book presents their analysis of the Fujimori regime regarding the educational reform and it is talked about as a set of actions that should be done, because other countries are also going through the same process, but no protagonists are identified or authors of these ideas are identified. There seems to be also a general agreement with the aims of the reform.

All this is in' stark contrast with what happened in other countries where the same reform was promoted, but where the project itself was coherent with the political agendas set by the different regimes, and where the World Bank was a clearly identified actor. At first the Escuela Nueva in Colombia, the reformed schools in North East Brazil, the 120 primary schools program in Chile, and the reform in Bolivia were all linked to different

[14] 'Don't you worry son, there are poor people all over the place, and these decisions need to be taken with political criteria'.

social actors summoned by the State and with very open possibilities to negotiate their interests with the Bank during the reform. In Peru the project was not discussed or even presented to the nation. Different aspects of it were implemented and the information given about them to the media presented them as disconnected from each other, unlike the reform plans when it was first imagined. The main changes included in the reform project for the period analyzed here were decentralization, production and distribution of renewed educational materials, and in-service teacher training. Standardized tests, improvement of the data collection for statistics and quality assessment procedures were also promoted.

The parallel structure created in the ministry included the following offices:
Oficina para el mejoramiento de la calidad de la educacion primaria (MECEP), which was the office for the Quality Improvement of Basic Education. The *Programa para el mejoramiento de la calidad de las escuelas rurales* (PMCER) Programme for the quality improvement of rural education, which in turn had a specialized team in the *Secretaría Técnica de Educación rural* (STER) Technical secretariat for rural education. They together promoted the creation of the *Dirección Nacional de Educación Bilingue Intercultural* (DINEBI), National directorate for intercultural bilingual education, which was previously UNEBI, just a unit under the direction of the National Elementary School directorate. Those were the offices that created links with different NGOs and who hired national and international experts form different areas to advice on the characteristics that the reform should have in Peru. They also organized workshops and meetings with the participation of different actors from the reform processes in Latin America. Most of those meetings were funded by UNESCO, UNICEF, GTZ and the World Bank indirectly. Gradually, national awareness about the reform increased, particularly among those directly involved with schools and education.

The 'subversive' discourses[15]

1. Decentralization

Decentralization (as a topic linked to planning, management training, technical assistance, and the elimination of corruption) has been present in the multilateral organizations plans since the 1980's, but was only in the first years of the 1990's that the World Bank, the IDB as well as the CEPAL and UNESCO made it one of the central issues for reflection and recommendations for each government.

Initial references to decentralization in the World Bank alluded to the efficient management of the State oriented towards development[16]. It was defined as a process of transferring, planning, production, management, and resource allocation from the state and all its agencies to a) local state agents, b) subordinate official agencies, c) regional and local authorities, and d) NGOs, private or voluntary (Rondinelli et al. 1984, p. 9). The association between decentralization processes and the well known debate about the balance in the relationship between State and market was a constant. Most authors say that technocrats and intellectuals in the developing world tend to prefer a strongly centralized government to control the negative effects of the market imperfections. These ideas are associated to political interests as the public sector and a large state are always a source of influence and control. By the assignation of official duties, there is always a group of civil servants and state institutions where political loyalists can be found.

The main ideas regarding the need for decentralization were to improve efficiency increasing the ability of the State through the formulation of norms and control systems to fight corruption and abuse, and arbitrary use of state resources. The recommended rules were to develop capacity building, changing systems of hiring according to merit, and allowing more public agencies to provide different services. Popular participation and consultation regimes for decision-making processes were also recommended.

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[15] The documents I refer to in this section are all written by request of the Washington research section of the World Bank. The authors are specialists either in certain regions of the world or in the technical issues the documents refer to. These documents have informed the policies and orientations of the World Bank template for education reform.

[16] Pierre -Landell-Mills. 'Descentralization in Developing Countries. A review of Recent Experience' Dennis A. Rondinelli, John R. Nellis , G. Shabbir Cheema., World Bank, 1983

In 1997 in a document aimed at promoting better relations between the state and civil society (World Bank 1997: 126-136) the Bank specialists explore the possibilities of increasing society's participation in decision making processes through elections, new systems of representation, particularly of indigenous groups, and the notion of common good as the base for participation. Within this framework, decentralization would bring a more attentive and responsible governance system. At the same time, very direct associations between decentralization and market reforms in the form of liberalization and privatization are suggested, arguing that both types of reform are based on the same premise: 'to lower control over production and provision of goods to a minimum only needed to take on costs and profit'. (Banco Mundial 1997: 136).

By 1999 the notion of accountability had become a main topic of concern for the Bank to evaluate reform processes in the world. In *Más allá del centro: La Descentralización del Estado* (1999), a study conducted for the Latin American division of the Bank by Burki, Perry and Dillinger, it is said that decentralization was not happening, or that it was not bringing the expected outcomes. Even though these authors suggest that local political cultures might provide some explanations for this failure, not only do they fail to pursue this assertion any further, but the final recommendations end up being administrative procedures, or public policy planning, going back to the 'one size fits all' model which the Bank is often criticized for. This is a constant fact in many other Bank documents, where even though there is an explicit recognition of the need to consider specific characteristics of every society for the success of particular political reforms, (i.e. historical particularities of the political systems, political culture, political motivations of each country to adopt the reforms) the experts recommendations go back to the main guidelines of the general model proposed by the Bank.

Entering the 21st Century for 1999/ 2000 and *Attacking Poverty* for 2000/2001 both emphasize decentralization and basic education as privileged sectors for public and private investment. In *Education and Decentralization in Latin America: The Effects on the Quality of School*, Wrinkler and Gershberg, evaluate the impact of decentralization

on education in Latin America. In this document they spell out the economic rationale for decentralizing education: it is to improve the technical and social efficiency of the service provided. According to them decentralized decision making processes allow consumer-voters to express their voices at the local level to determine the characteristics of the service they want to get (Wrinkler and Gershberg, p. 204). It is assumed that if both the budget and the provision of services are determined locally, improvements will be noticed by the tax payers, and they will be willing to keep paying for the service. But together with the model, these authors present some reserve about its applicability, as they are aware that democracy should be well established for this model to work. And they are certainly right about this caution. In Peru, for instance, it took a long time and negotiations to start even talking about decentralization of education. Next, I will show how the sole idea found serious resistance within the regime.

The reform began in 1994 and the Bank model had decentralization as the starting point of the process, but the proposed model implied distribution of attributions to local agencies and to the schools, including a governing structure encompassing the state, civil society and teachers organizations. This model was used in Colombia and Brazil using a previous social consensus aiming in that direction. In Bolivia it also enjoyed important political consensus among the different political forces, except for the Teachers Union stern opposition. In Peru, the highly centralized State, and the difficulties the regime had to trust civil society organizations stopped this particular aspect of the reform. The explicit objective was to transfer school management to local instances of government with the underlying idea of improving the quality of local services. By granting autonomy, local resources could be better used, and the organization of the local systems would better reflect local and regional needs, both at the managerial and educational levels. But President Fujimori was not willing to accept a governing structure that integrated several local actors in the school system. One of the strongest characteristics of his regime was the open refusal for any kind of interaction with social organizations.
So a decision about this aspect experienced lengthy delays. In one year (1994) there were 8 different formulas proposed to Fujimori, and none of them was accepted, because they all involved teacher's representation, which was an element the Bank included in

their model[17]. Finally, in 1996, Dante Córdova Blanco, an entrepreneur summoned by Fujimori to be his Prime Minster and Minister of Education, found his way to start the decentralization process through a path-breaking legal instrument: the *Resolución Ministerial* 016-96-ED which fostered some concrete steps towards management and curriculum decentralization, although clearly avoiding the issue of civil participation.

This R.M. 016-96-ED, also opened path towards mainstreaming new pedagogical trends promoted by the Bank, with more funds for in-service teacher and headmasters' training programmes, for which local and foreign specialists were appointed. In year 2000 my colleague Tania Vasquez and I won a bid for a research project to investigate how the R.M. 016-96-ED –created by Dante Cordova-, and the DS 007 -created by Marcial Rubio- were being used in three areas of the country. We found that given the weakness of the Ministry to promote any coherent changes in a consistent way, their application was chiefly determined by the political interpretations and specific correlations among the actors involved. We saw how a technical decision became a space for the struggle for power at a very local level.

2. Gender equity

Gender equity was another concern of the Bank that was addressed through the investment return approach. Specialists were asked to analyze the return that women's education brought to the family income as well as to the community income. In a nut shell results indicated that the more years of education women achieved, the fewer children died because of controllable diseases. Education was also associated with lower number of children per family and higher incomes for the family and the overall community (King and Hill, 1993).

Thus, one of the main arguments for investing in education has been the need to guarantee access of rural and urban women to education. In the case of Peru, where

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[17] Personal communication with Daniella Gandolfo, GRADE consultant, 1995. At the beginning of the process GRADE (Grupo de Análisis para el desarrollo) played an important role as the Ministry had not yet hired the professionals capable of negotiating with the Bank, so the Grade team of professionals acted as an intermediary between the Ministry and the Bank.

coverage was large already, the issue became the quality of education and conditions for ensuing that girls stayed in school and completed their education. So with this approach, and within the plans for innovation of pedagogy and improvement of the quality of education, important contributions have been made on different aspects throughout the reform years. From assessing the curriculum contents and its impact on the reproduction of traditional gender roles, to different methodologies designed to make teachers gender sensitive. What most donors were concerned about was the permanence of girls in schools, and the Bank developed several programs to alleviate that situation in different parts of the world. In the case of Peru, there were several initiatives and interventions to improve the characteristics of girls' access to schools[18]. During the Toledo regime, there was even a law passed (27558) to foster girls' education, which is based on the recognition that access is not the main problem, but the characteristics of girls' school life, in terms of permanence, and regularity in attendance

The main ideas regarding the need for decentralization were to improve efficiency increasing the ability of the State through the formulation of norms and control systems to fight corruption and abuse, and arbitrary use of state resources. The recommended rules were to develop capacity building, changing systems of hiring according to merit, and allowing more public agencies to provide different services. Popular participation and consultation regimes for decision-making processes were also recommended

3. Intercultural education

Intercultural education was the third important discourse expected to have an impact in the educational system. It is probably the only one with some 'native' history in the Peruvian educational system prior to the reform, and with some antecedents of having been discussed and elaborated and even practiced in Peru[19]. Its inclusion in the Bank's agenda clearly shows the circulation of ideas among the institutions coordinating efforts regarding rural education and the situation of indigenous peoples. The World Bank

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[18] Ames (2006) recently edited a book that includes relevant research-based information and evaluations of several of those initiatives.

[19] A very thorough account of 30 years of experience in intercultural education in Peru can be found in Ames (1998).

reform Project has integrated the results of a number of congresses and events funded by UNESCO and GTZ with supplementary funds from AID and other local and international agencies. Those events provided space and time for elaboration and discussions among Latin American specialists, together with indigenous leaders and government officers during the 1990s.

Since the 1940's some Latin American intellectuals had identified that the states' homogenizing approach to education reproduced and reinforced exclusion, instead of playing an integrating role regarding indigenous students. Later, in the 1950s the United Nations defined the need to develop literacy campaigns in the mother tongue as an efficient way of lowering illiteracy rates. But it was only in the mid seventies when some bilingual education programmes were revised and moved away from the emphasis on linguistics and literacy, to begin to take cultural differences into account. The concept of intercultural education was developed to present the ideal of an educational system aware of the diverse contributions that multicultural contact brought into the school system. These could be achieved by acknowledging the diverse cultural contributions brought into the school learning environment by the members of different cultures. The idea originally formulated in Venezuela became rapidly popular in the rest of Latin America, where educators, some indigenous intellectuals and anthropologists then criticized the limits of the bilingual education approach to schooling, and proposing the integration of diverse cultural aspects of education, through the incorporation of indigenous knowledge in the curriculum. The new notion was that school and indigenous education could complement each other, and it was developed and put into practice in some independent experiences in the low lands of the Amazonia in Peru, first, and then in Ecuador and Bolivia as part of national state led literacy campaigns (Lopez, 1998, Ansión and Zúñiga, 1997, Trapnell, 1996).

By the late 80's most programs on bilingual education had attached the intercultural adjective to their denomination implying that the focus on language learning had been broadened to include questions and reflections about culture and the situation of contact with the Western world, conflict between hegemonic national society and the indigenous

cultures. This seems to be simultaneous with the influence of the transnational indigenous movement who has an influence or resonance in the United Nations.

The debate to better define this approach was mainly academic, but some general ideas filtered the formulation of educational politics and became part of the Educational reform "package" in the early 1990's. The interesting paradox regarding Peru is that Peruvian intellectuals are among the main theoretical contributors to the debate of intercultural education and policy making in Latin America. Another paradox is that some pioneering experiences on intercultural education led by indigenous peoples took place in Peru and that the truncated reform initiated by the Velasco Regime in 1972, was the first in the region to integrate important linguistic and cultural issues for urban and rural areas (Howard, 2004).

Unlike the cases of Bolivia, Brazil or Ecuador, the 1994 reform did not plan to include the participation of indigenous peoples or their leaders, so much so that Nancy Hornberger (2001) fears for the total failure of this project in Peru because of that. In fact, large communities have rallied against bilingual education or EBI (*Educación Bilingue Intercultural)*, as specialist Vilma Unda from the *Direccion regional de educacion* showed to me in Cusco (1998). She had a cabinet full of petitions signed by different communities asking to be removed from the EBI areas. The main argument was that they did not want the state to teach Quechua to their children (Garcia, 2005). They wanted the school to teach how to read and write in Spanish. I could corroborate that a clear problem in the teachers' training sessions for EBI is the lack of arguments that can help teachers fight their own prejudices against indigenous languages, as was evident during my interviews to teachers in the province of Quispicanchis in year 2000. For teachers who had already been through two years of training in bilingual education, Quechua was the 'children's obstacle' to learning. Even in pedagogical terms it was not seen as a condition from which their work departed, but rather as a problem. In a more defensive fashion, I also had responses stating that Quechua was 'the ancestral language' that they had to rescue by including it in their classrooms, in areas where the language is alive and well, so much so, that children do not use Spanish outside of school. So it seems that a training

programme that omits important aspects from its contents and methodology, together with resistance from teachers towards changing their views about their students, do not produce the expected results. Thus, parents' protest against a monolingual Quechua school that they most certainly do not need, can be clearly understood. According to the EBI programme, Quechua should only be used up to the second year, with the gradual introduction of Spanish as a second language, which does not occur. So when children get to the third grade, in some cases, they do not try to use Spanish anymore, and this produces the parents' uneasiness with the project.

Behind Europe and North America, Latin America ranks next in the world in its reach and educational coverage of most of the population. According to a combination of statistical sources, approximately 92% of Peruvian children in school age register in school at least once in their lives. What is still problematic is the gap between quality standards in private and public schools, and years of schooling in urban and rural areas. Thus, the average number of school years for boys in urban areas was 9.2 years according to the last national census, against 5.1 years for rural boys. Urban girls attended an average of 8.3 years, and rural girls 3.7 years.

Regarding the quality of Peruvian schools, a study by UNESCO on a performance test run to third and fourth grade students from 13 countries in Latin America, indicates that Peru ranks among the last three in the region, together with the Dominican Republic and Honduras (OREALC, 2001). The test was taken in public and private schools in Lima and several provinces, and in urban and rural areas. The results made evident what is already publicly acknowledged: that the quality of education is dramatically fragmented. If only the results of private schools are taken (close to 100% in urban areas), Peru ranks 6th among the 13 Latin American countries, it ranks lower when all schools are considered , and close to last when only public rural schools are taken into account.

Thus, the main goal stated for this reform was to improve the quality of public education. Before 1994 the regime accepted incurring in external debts for education only through more investment in infrastructure (funded by loans from the Interamerican Development

Bank), as this best fitted with the re-election campaign for 1995. On one hand, new schools can always be seen and counted as '*obras*'[20] whereas an investment in the quality of education takes longer to show evident results. On the other hand, the building of schools implies concrete expenditures and services provided by builder companies with whom Fujimori had several direct connections. After the compulsive school building and the selective distribution of school clothes and furniture, the next step was to start renewing the pedagogic side of things. Once re-elected, the regime was more open to the reform rhetoric. During the first five years Peru had 8 Ministers of education. Dante Cordova was the one who personally embraced the reform project and using his double appointment as Premier promoted the acceptance of the pending loans for the rest of the package: production and distribution of new and up to date pedagogical materials (with loans from the World Bank and donations from Catholic NGOs, and European donors), and the introduction of pedagogical innovations through in-service teacher training programmes.

Constructivism was the pedagogical approach chosen by the World Bank. Briefly summarized this is a child centred approach, were students are considered as knowledgeable before they come to the classroom. Teachers do not provide knowledge, but facilitate the acquisition of new knowledge that in the end is produced by the student. The teachers' role then, is to stimulate verbal, intellectual, and physical activities carried out by the students to produce knowledge (Leon, 1997). Constructive pedagogy is built on a clear notion of respect for the student, his or her own learning and creative pace, and based on his/her previous knowledge that needs to be recognized and made evident by the teacher, in order to establish a productive relationship that can yield new knowledge. Under this model, the role of the teacher is to help place this new knowledge in context, to help the student establish connexions with other areas of interest, and to be ready to promote new interests and activities departing from games, conversations and questions raised by the students. In sum, the ideal teacher for this approach is a knowledgeable and resourceful person, with the ability to treat students as individuals. The personal and professional skills assumed under this model were no part of any teacher training school

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[20] This word literally means works, usually alluding infrastructure investment on the part of the authorities.

in the country. Therefore, a special plan had to be created to introduce these ideas among in service teachers.

After many negotiations and conversations the Ministry of Education finally launched the *Plan Nacional de Capacitacion Docente (*PLANCAD)[21], in 1995. It was meant to train 170,000 elementary school teachers, and 21,500 headmasters. The website announcing the plan establishes as its objectives 'to improve technical and pedagogic skills among teachers, (...) to supplement initial training, to learn how to diversify and adapt the national curriculum to local reality'[22]. It also promises to teach strategies for active methodologies, training to improve the use time, and student's participation in class time and learning time. The program also offers the application of strategies framed as training on human values, training on strategies to apply differential evaluation, that would allow teachers to take into account different learning paces among their students, to be aware of the different needs of female and male students, to be aware of learning conditions in different contexts; and the structuring of educational materials using local resources. All the above would be done through workshops and visits to reinforce and follow up teacher's learning as it is applied in their in classrooms. The training program amounted to 168 hours per year.

During this time it was expected to have teachers modify attitudes during teaching time, and act as mediators of learning and not as transmitters of knowledge. Finally, this text states that the plan will propitiate collaborative learning based on activities that will lead to the production significant knowledge. Expectations were that after the training, teachers would learn to innovate, create, and recycle learning materials.

One salient feature of PLANCAD was that it invited universities, teaching schools, and NGOs to provide the training, because the ministry did not have the capacity to cover the new created demand for training. PLANCAD provided the general guidelines, processed and local branches of the Ministry would process applications from NGOs and

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[21] National Plan for In-service Teacher Training.

[22] Taken from the PLANCAD – MINEDU website.

universities to then select the appropriate suitor. The local branches also selected those teachers from their areas eligible for training: mostly graduated or in service for more than three years, and with a permanent or temporal position in the region. Trainers were also due to provide the necessary follow up and monitoring of the trainees in their classrooms.

In 1996 I interviewed Barbara Hunt in GRADE where she was hosted for a few months. She is a retired school teacher from the U.S., and holds a PhD in pedagogy. She was a consultant on constructivism for Carmen Trelles, head of PLANCAD at the Ministry. During the months she worked in Lima, she carefully designed exercises through which constructivism could be 'learned by doing'. But the training did not include a philosophical or theoretical discussion about the pedagogy behind constructivism. According to Hunt it was not necessary, nor was it possible or feasible in a massive context. So teachers learned exercises where they could act constructivism without knowing. So for example, in the process of teaching constructivism the chosen approach was to teach constructivism without explaining conceptually the differences between this approach and the conventional one, or even without inviting to a comparison of the practices. It was disseminated as new techniques to teach different things, so that model classes were enacted before the teachers in each session, and towards the end they were asked to replicate something similar.

In my visits to close to 30 rural schools in those years it was possible to perceive the results of these training programs. Most teachers learned to separate children in groups in their classrooms, they also learned to name each group with the names of local fauna or flora, to decorate the classrooms with colourful posters and plants, and were instructed to write down names of the objects in the classroom both in the local language and Spanish. Notions that needed to be changed were not challenged or explained, so constructivism was formalized, gestured, transformed in the 'new' way of doing things simply because the Ministry said so. A few NOGs like Tarea and Tinkuy -on their own initiative- did include a few readings and discussions about constructivism during their trainings, but this was not the norm.

The reform in practice

The assignation of posts in rural schools: An ethnographic account

The image of the State offices in the provinces is not a pleasant one, and as Deborah Poole clearly describes it for the case of justice administration in the Peruvian highlands, (2004, 61), it both represents a 'threat and a guarantee' for the people living 'at the margins of the state'. The groups in power (either linked to traditional ones, or belonging to new economic elites), and their ability to monopolize political power and impose their interests through their control of the State offices in their territories, coexist with a legal framework and a democratic discourse that is partially embraced by the population to claim for services and rights. The ways in which teaching posts in rural schools are handled in Peru clearly illustrate the tension in this grey area of State control.

The rural population in Peru (27% of the total) is distributed in 75,000 small villages. Only 875 have 500 to 1999 dwellers. The rest of them have less than 500 people and tend to be in very remote areas of the highlands and the Amazonia (Montero and Tovar, 1999:13); to provide at least one teacher in all of them is not easy task. On one hand, the system produces more secondary school teachers than elementary school teachers and - unlike Bolivia for example, where recent graduates from rural teacher colleges are automatically allocated to teach in rural schools for at least two years (Luykx, 1999:51) - in Peru graduates have no obligation towards the state to teach anywhere. On the other hand, while coverage in rural areas is high, most schools only offer the six grades of primary education.

Working conditions for teachers in those remote areas are truly harsh. In 1997 while visiting a rural school in Santa Eulalia, in the highlands of Lima, a female teacher told me she had been there for 9 years, and it was about time for her to 'go down' (to the Coast): 'Si pues señorita, todos tenemos derecho a bajar' she said. Another teacher I met in a rural school in Calca said that when she was first appointed to work in a rural school she

cried every night for the first three months. Her living conditions were harsh, she felt lonely and she spoke very little Quechua, so she could not communicate fluently with her students. But most striking were the words of the Student's Union president at the Instituto Pedagogico de Tinta, -a very special rural TTP in the province of Sicuani in Cusco, run by a group of nuns inspired by the Liberation Theology, characterized by their openness to pedagogical innovation and quality, and one of the very few in which Quechua is taught to students-. Most students there are of rural origin, or from the nearby towns. I was asked to give a talk about 'gender and the hidden curriculum in rural areas' and had a moment to chat with the students afterwards. Basically, the Student's Union president did not find my talk pertinent for him, because he was not interested in teaching in rural schools:

> I have learned to sleep in a sheeted bed here. I eat at a four legs table, with decent plates and cutlery; I can read, listen to the radio, or watch TV until late hours because I have electricity. I am a different person now, and that is why I came here in the first place. I don't want to go back to where I came from.

For him, studying in a rural teachers college did not mean that he was bound to teach in rural areas[23]. This lack of motivation to work in rural areas creates a very tense situation in the local branches of the ministry, granting local officers an opportunity to make high personal profit while exercising their attributions to assign teaching posts in their regions. Every year, during the six or seven previous weeks to the beginning of the school year in late March or April, the corridors or patios of the local and regional branches of the Ministry of Education[24] are packed with teachers queuing, waiting for a reply to their applications for 'asignaciones' (the decision to assign a post for a new teacher), 're-asignaciones' (change of school, usually from rural to urban areas, or from a one-teacher school to a bigger one), or promotions. Teachers under temporary contract also need to

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[23] This is consonant with the position of the Mexican teacher's union who refuse to teach in rural areas, and have forced the Mexican government to solve the demand for rural teachers with high school students and university volunteer workers.

[24] Most regimes like to change the names of these State offices, but basically they have the same attributions, distributing human and material resources in their regions, and implementing the Ministry's commands regarding the school calendar and the curriculum.

go to find out if they have been 'racionalizados' (transferred to other schools even if they did not ask for it).

In a very casual way, as if they were talking about the price of books or shoes, comments about a US$300.00 or $250.00 bribe to be admitted in the system or to be transferred to another school are common in the queues. Less openly told, but also frequent in my years of experience working with teachers, are the stories of female teachers of all ages being asked sexual favors from local officers to grant what they are asking for[25]. Conversely, those practices generate questions among teachers, asking for common advice and strategies to learn how to develop the skills to present themselves as being ready to be part of this way of reaching what they need *(¿Cómo se hace? ¿Y cómo le digo?).* [26]So this becomes an 'illegible'[27] and very slippery terrain because some can be violently rejected for suggesting a bribe, while women can be abused if they offer company or sex if they have not been asked for that[28].

In 2000 I was asked to perform an external evaluation of the first five years of the Rural Schools Project run by Fe y Alegria[29] in Quispicanchis, in Cusco. The project at that moment had 29 primary schools, and 110 teachers, serving 4,500 students. Some of the results of this consultancy show the consequences of all the abandonment and corruption in a very concrete way.

I learned about two most arresting facts during my evaluation: the high mobility of teachers and the waste of human and economic resources this meant not just for the

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[25] I have heard stories that range from an invitation for lunch, to direct physical advances during the interviews.

[26] How do you do this? How do I tell him/her?

[27] The term comes from Deborah Poole when she writes about the state…. 2005.

[28] I have personally collected several of these stories in Cusco, Cajamarca, Lima and Ayacucho by women who were directly concerned in them.

[29] Fe y Alegria is a Catholic institution working in Latin America since 1956. In Peru they have been there since 1966, and it is run by the Jesuit Order. They have their own pedagogical approach developed by the Misioneras de Santa Teresa de Jesus (known as the Teresianas) that they use to train the teachers they select to work with in their projects. They build their own schools, and have control over the organization of their schools, but depend on State funds to finally approve the assignation of teachers and to pay for their salaries.

project, but for the healthy life any school and for the state itself as provider of a public service. The project started in February 1995 with 29 schools and 110 teachers[30] that were dully re-trained in Fe y Alegria's teaching methods in multigrade schools and in bilingual education. In August 2000 there were only 7 teachers left out of the original group. The rest have been moved by the Ministry office to other areas. Those movements occured at an incredibly fast pace. In 1999 alone, 56 out of the 110 teachers were moved from their schools **during** the school year and, according to the project director, those figures were similar every year. Alarmingly, those school transfers occurred at any moment during the school year. When I did my evaluation, 85 out of the 110 teachers have been working with the project for less than one year. All this traffic would pose a serious threat to the pace of work anywhere, at any school, making it even worse for the schools with only one teacher for all grades.

In 1999 the project organised another set of training sessions for their new teachers and opened it to teachers in other areas of the province, this time concentrating in bilingual education methods for 1st and 2nd grade students. They trained 105 teachers, but the local office of the Ministry only allowed 25 of them to teach those age groups that same year, rendering the training useless.

Two facts grounded in extra-technical reasons help explain the logic behind these chaotic situations. The first one is that 69% of rural teachers apply every single year for a transfer of school to go 'further down' to the cities, or closer to their own towns (IMASEN, 1998). The second reason responds to a legal loop that public officers systematically take advantage of. There is regulation (RS-020) created during the Alan Garcia regime in 1986, which has conveniently remained untouched since then. According to this regulation, the directors of the local offices of the Ministry of Education are allowed to have discretional use of their unused budget by the end of the fiscal year 'to improve their working conditions'. In Peru public employees on duty in the same post during 12 months are granted a total of 13 months of salary getting paid one half of the 13th salary

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[30] Currently they have one more school and have been granted 32 more posts by the State.

in July and the other one in December. The more employees (teachers in this case) working for less than 12 months in a post, the more remaining money there will be to distribute between the director and the supervisors in office during that year. Thus, for every teacher transfer, officers could probably profit from the bribe charged to the applicant teacher, and the money coming from his or her saved salary. But the loss for the families and their children with all the chaos and instability created in each affected school are hard to account for.

This example shows clearly how the predominance of private interests on the part of teachers and State officers, together with the absolute disregard for the users of a State service, boycott the investment done on training in bilingual education, rendering it useless.

In-service Teacher training programs

The following material was collected between 1998 and 2000 in different locations in the Andes and the Selva Central during sessions of the in-service teacher training programs called PLANCAD and PLANCAD-EBI (the plan for training teachers in bilingual education). I will describe three different situations as examples of the problematic aspects I identified in this process and that are hardly discussed in Peru. First I will describe fragments of one of these training sessions in Satipo, Junin, in the Central Amazonia, with a group of Ashaninka teachers. Then I refer to the work circumstances of a rural school teacher in Cusco, and finally, I describe the way in which one school teacher used what he learned in his training. I will try to show how the discourses and rationalities I've described above were acted and embodied in these different experiences, and provide a sample of the possible interpretations.

1. Satipo

Satipo, is a frontier town between the Andes of Junin and the Central 'jungle', the Peruvian rainforest. Satipo unites this region with Lima. Very near is Mazamari, a modern base of the anti drugs police, fighting the alliance between remnants of the Shining Path and the coca dealers. The Asháninka, the largest indigenous group in Peruvian Amazonia with close to 40,000 people, live in the surrounding communities.

I wanted to go to this particular version of PLANCAD EBI because I had only seen it in the Andes, with Quechua or Aymara teachers, and also because of the good reputation of the institution in charge of the training. I was also looking for contacts with school teachers for the research I was involved in at that moment[31]. I was first surprised when I met the trainers Monday morning for breakfast. For a moment I truly believed I was in the wrong place as they were revising the list of participants and referred to the teachers they were about to train as 'the little girl' (la chiquita) or 'the little boy' (el chiquito) from this or that community when they recognized their names as former students of FORMABIAP (acronym for the *Programa de formación de maestros bilingües de la Amazonia Peruana)* where the three of them used to work. FORMABIAP is a bilingual teacher training school run by the Insituto Pedagogico de Iquitos and *Asociacion interetnica para el desarrollo de la selva peruana, (*AIDESEP), the largest federation of Indigenous organizations in the Peruvian Rainforest. During breakfast it was also evident that the three trainers were just meeting to organize the week they were about to start one hour ahead. They work in different areas of the Amazonia, and a previous meeting for them was not in the budget.

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[31] In 1998 the European Union offered the Peruvian government a 120 million dollar loan to invest on the improvement of rural education, but it was conditioned to the presentation of a clear plan and priorities to be discussed. The World Bank offered to fund the research needed to produce such plan and organized a bid for the study. This included a nationwide survey of rural teachers, ethnographic research in schools from the Coast, the highlands and the Amazonia, and a series of meetings with national and international experts. My research team won the bid, and I was in charge of the fieldwork research design, and fieldwork coordination. I also participated directly in the design of the consultancies with experts and the nationwide questionnaire for which we hired IMASEN, a prestigious survey agency. This document has served as a basis for the state intervention in rural schools and has been deeply appreciated by several donors interested in rural education in Peru (including DIFID) as well as the wider national community. The Ministry of education has published it and also is available online as a request of the World Bank team.

Once in the venue, there were rumours among participant teachers about how they had not received any money from the ministry for their per-diem expenses, so some of them were sleeping on the floor with relatives and others in very cheap lodges. All they had been given was the equivalent of 20 pence per day, enough for the cheapest breakfast consisting of a glass of cocoa and oats and a piece of bread. On the other hand, the Ministry had not either given the money to buy the trainee's lunches, so they would have to pack the training programme just a few hours, from 8 to 1, non stop, in what was supposed to be a 40 hour week of training, until the money arrived. It never did[32]. So teachers would have to manage on their own, and find where to eat and how to pay for that. It is important to say that those training sessions were compulsory, and that teachers would have money taken away from their meagre salaries if they missed the sessions. It is also relevant to notice that nobody would really investigate what happened with the money and why it did not arrive. The trainers took a quick, practical decision, but one that laid the solution on the teacher's pockets, or personal networks, or physical endurance.

The training took place in the best location possible in Satipo, an Instituto Superior Tecnologico, but with the little I know about architecture, and being a teacher myself, I would say that the building was neither adequate for the region, nor for learning. It was a one story cement building, with corrugated iron ceilings, and little ventilation, in an area where the temperature can get as high as 38 C degrees, and where it rains frequently, causing a deafening din with the water pouring over the tin roofs. There was just a narrow stripe of windows on top of two of the four walls of the 600m2 rectangle. Six classrooms were at the centre of the rectangle, with only double plywood separations dividing them. The plywood walls did not reach the ceiling, so there were no sound barriers between rooms. The four corners of the building were destined to two bathrooms, one kiosk, and a small office. The air was humid and thick inside the building, and the level of noise coming from every space inside was really high.

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[32] Observing a similar problem in Puno, at the PLANCAD EBI implemented by the University, I learned that it was almost impossible to get money form the Ministry in advance. The team of trainers there had convinced the university to lend the money for the trainees' lunches and then claim a reimbursement from Lima, which could take more than a month, but eventually would happen, instead of jeopardizing the training program. In Satipo the trainers had no one to ask for the money from.

The training was planned for 140 teachers from indigenous schools, serving mostly Asháninka and Yanesha or Amuehsa communities, many of them multiethnic, including Quechua speaking children of the '*colonos*' migrants from the highlands of Apurimac, Junin, and Ayacucho, and communities where both Yaneshas and Asháninkas live together. However the language training was only done in Ashaninka. More than half of the participants were Asháninkas themselves, mostly men. Women were among the few mestizas, although there were some among the men as well.

The range of ages was large, from 24 or 25 to over 50 years old. There were no childcare facilities, so that teachers with children had to attend classes with them. A couple of young *mestizo* teachers took both their children. One was only 15 days old, and the other was 18 months. During classes several teachers spent considerable time in the corridors entertaining their children, breastfeeding them anywhere they could, and those who kept them in their classrooms did not pay much attention either.

The trainers had separated the participants into three groups to match the three instructors, for Maths, language and sciences. The voices of the three trainers talking at the same time made each session very confusing and extremely demanding. Two trainers had prepared songs for their training sessions, so the singing and the sound of children roaming around, or crying, seriously affected the effectiveness of the training. Only students from the first and second rows could hear the teachers, and the rest hardly heard anything, only activities like singing or jumping could summon everybody's attention. I observed two days of the one week training programme, and interviewed two groups of participants and two individual teachers.

According to the PLANCAD routine designed at the Ministry, the training week should have started with a self produced agenda for the week, useful to identify the participant's concerns, and needs, and at the same time to make evident what their 'prior knowledge' and skills were. None of the three teachers did this and directly started the activities planned by them.

The language class started with a song in Ashaninka, and the teacher was probably the one who generated most involvement from students. She worked regularly as teacher at FORMABIAP and her experience in Ashaninka was pretty evident. She also relied on the student's knowledge of Ahsninka for the sessions, which was well received by the teachers. Indigenous peoples from the Amazonia have the acknowledged right to have teachers who speak their languages. This is not always honoured but at least communities have a legal instrument to back their claims when this does not happen. Most teachers in the country come from the Sierra[33], and in the area many of them have had to learn Ashaninka in order to be accepted by the communities. I perceived certain tension around this issue during the language class, as participants had to produce speeches in Ashaninka and some of the Asháninka teachers laughed at one of the mestizo teachers who seemed to be having problems while making his presentation in Asháninka.

The three instructors treated participants very warmly but in a fashion that I found rather patronizing, like the common attitude Peruvians have towards children, in a clearly vertical and protective language and physical attitude. One common trait in the three instructors is that they used very little explanation or discussion, so Barbara Hunt's model ended up being a series of performances in which trainers recreated a classroom situation in which they played the role of the teacher and the students the role of children. Therefore the main task was to get the trainees closely involved in the observation so that they could repeat the same class with their students.

The Maths class was about introducing the use of a set of plastic coloured bars to teach mathematic reasoning to first and second grade children. The instructor's purpose was to teach participants how to use them because they would receive a plastic box with a Maths kit in the months to come from the Ministry of education, and she was there to train them on how to use these new materials. But an important part of the speech also was about how to proceed in case they did not get the little bucket with the kit, and this was the working assumption during the class. Eventually, they would have to produce coloured

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[33] 67% of teachers working in rural areas in the three regions come from the Highlands.

bars of different sizes representing numbers. She showed them the bucket so that they would recognize it if they ever got it, and then distributed the coloured bars saying: 'Please do not eat them, they are plastic, not sweets'. If that was meant as a joke, nobody laughed.

Then she started the presentation of the kit. 'If we use these little bars, we will have the best resource to teach children how to think in a concrete way. Children have this bad habit of counting with their fingers, but if they use these bars they will not have to use their fingers to count any more.' And she went on with the same kind of statements, without providing any reflection whatsoever, and casually dismissing any previous knowledge or techniques teachers might have used to teach Maths. She did not present the 'new' methods as an improvement, or a suggestion, nor did she provide an explanation as to why this could be better. She acted as if she was bringing the correct way of teaching, establishing first that the previous teaching methods were wrong and obsolete. So she would take this as far as to say: 'do not use groups of objects anymore. This method with the bars is better'.

'Let's have an example so that you learn how to duplicate. Please set the bars in ascending order. Or… maybe you do not know what ascending is? Most of the class replied: 'De menor a mayor' . And they kept manipulating the bars for more than an hour, and practicing ways to add and subtract. My impression was that many of the teachers were very bored. And I also found the instructor's approach to be very aggressive. In general, the whole organization and set up of this training was clearly distant and indifferent of the concrete situation of the teachers. And in my view, useless as a way of promoting any learning or desirable change in the work they were doing. There was no dialogue, no space for communication. Their concrete material situation was ignored, not only the one they had experienced during that week, but the circumstances under which the teachers worked in the Ashaninka communities. There was a stark contrast between the quiet, indifferent and distant attitude they had during the classes, and the intensity of their emotions in the afternoon when we sat to talk and I asked them about their working conditions.

According to the Truth Commission Report, the Asháninka are the people with more victims and atrocities done to them by both Sendero Luminoso and the army even after the capture of Abimael Guzman, in 1992. The region in which they live is very poor, with serious erosion in the rain forest, now near being dessertificated. During the collective interview that took the form of a very intense conversation, even without me asking, they were eager to communicate their working conditions, the remoteness of the areas in which they work, the lack of food for the children they teach, the fear among the families. We contacted one teacher to visit his school later in the month. We saw him writing on the blackboard using his wet finger, as he had no chalk to write.

2. Andamayo

I met Eufrasia in Andamayo, a community in Cusco about 4,200 meters above the sea level. The school in Andamayo had 76 students and two teachers in 1999. Only Ester, the headmaster and teacher for first and second grades is permanent and had been there for more than 12 years. Every year the *Unidad de Servicios Educatiovos* (USE), the regional branch of the Ministry, send a temporary teacher from May or June through November. The school year starts in March, and ends in December. I visited the school in June, and Eufrasia had just arrived two weeks before my visit to be in charge of the classroom with students for third to sixth grade. I learned that Eufrasia had been trained for PLANCAD EBI for first and second grades, however, she was assigned to a school where she was needed to teach from third to sixth grade, and she had never received any training in teaching in a multigrade classroom, except for a two hour session when she learned she would be going to teach to Andamayo. The training was supposed to last two full days; instead, they finished in two hours, because the Ministry did not have money for accommodations or food for the teachers.

3. Calca

Laureano is the head teacher in his school in a small community in the heights of Calca. There were less than 40 children in his school, and it only goes to third grade. Those who want to go any further in their schooling must go to a school in the district capital, distant at a 2 to 3 hour walk. Laureano has been trained by PLANCAD-EBI, but as I could see with many of his colleagues, he had not grasped the main point of the training. He was rather critical about the methodologies; he found them useless, ineffective, and confusing. He decided not to use them first of all because although he can speak Quechua, he has never learnt how to write it, so he feels humiliated when his students correct his spelling in the blackboard. He also feels the pressure of the parents in the community, who want their children to learn Spanish. So far they are not content with Laureano's results. The children about to leave school cannot speak any Spanish in third grade, and Laureano blames it all to PLANCAD-EBI.

In one of my observations at Laureano's classes I saw him using a workbook I had seen at the Ministry. There, they had explained to me how this should work, and Laureano made a completely different use of it. He opened it (I would dare to say randomly) on a page that had 8 drawings with no text at all. The workbook, I had been taught at the Ministry, allowed flexibility and freedom so that teachers could assign different tasks to children according to their age group, using the same page on the book. They explained to me that if the teacher asks individually or to pairs of children, this gives an opportunity for them to produce, discuss, and rehearse writing in both languages. The drawings were just plain but detailed sketches of everyday life scenes, so that children could colour them, and under every drawing there were some blank lines so that they could write descriptions of the pictures, or sentences, or simply new words. So the workbook is designed to promote individual verbal and written production in both languages, in the classrooms and with children form several levels. With a clear understanding of the material and some preparation, this could have been a useful class.

This is how Laureano used the page. First of all, he distributed one workbook for every two children, and asked them not to write or paint on them. Then, he addressed the children in a combination of Quechua and Spanish:

'You will tell me what you see in the drawings. First in Quechua, then in Spanish'. So he started pointing at each picture asking 'What is this?' in Quechua. He addressed the whole class and waited for a collective answer. Then he translated the answer he considered best into Spanish. He did not allow the children to produce in Spanish or in quechua. He would not comment on the only answer he allowed the class to produce, nor did he elicit other possible answers, looking for example at the detailed drawings that could yield for a wide exploration of vocabulary. He modelled the answer in quechua, and then translated it into Spanish, asking the children to repeat what he said, so he did not allow them to produce in Spanish either.

First and second year children were very bored during this exercise. They were lost, and Laureano was physically away from them, addressing only third year students most of the time, even though he had given workbooks to the whole classroom.

He then repeated the exercise, this time talking to the children in Spanish with the same question: What is this? Then he demanded a quick collective response in Spanish, and if he did not get it, he would give it to the children in a rather impatient tone.
Once he finished this exercise, he collected the workbooks.

The World Bank reform rests on certain inadequate assumptions about Peruvian society. For instance, one of the main arguments for decentralizing functions in the schools system is the belief in the importance of citizens as consumers and voters, because their votes would express their approval or disapproval of certain social policies over others. At no level of power do Peruvian authorities think of the rural and indigenous populations as having any power to influence the characteristics of the services provided by the state. The existence of consumers-voters implies the existence of a generalized and extended citizenship, and a very solid exercise of horizontal relationships among different

people. It also presumes the existence of a market that has developed at local and regional levels, generalizing patterns of consumers' behaviour.

In the Peruvian Sierra and in the Amazonia, where rural areas are populated by indigenous communities there are certainly strongly ingrained obstacles to enjoy such a fluent relationship between local markets and educational systems. There is also a very persistent and active resistance to break or alter the economic, social and racialized cultural distances between the actors involved.

But at the same time the idea change and development are prestigious ideas, so that in the educational system for instance, the actors involved have a very sharp ability to simulate the circulation of knowledge and innovation, ritualizing it, and mimicking progressive discourses and practices, watering down any transforming drive at every level possible.
For example, if I take the case of constructivism as a new pedagogical trend, during the years I did my research I did not registered any signs of it being 'translated' to the Peruvian teachers. Nobody was doing efforts in that direction, assuming it would not be understood. In countries like Chile, Colombia or Argentina, the teacher training programs included a high component of self reflection techniques and exercises so that teachers could become self conscious of their everyday practices, and their own thoughts about students, their prejudices, their authoritarian ideas, their own 'hidden curriculum' (Bonder,1992) through peer observation, and diaries among other approaches.

In Barbara Hunt's attempt to disseminate constructivism in this context, she realized that given the poor initial training teachers have had, and the little budget allocated to PLANCAD, the best thing to do would be to have the trainers performing model classes, so that teachers could learn from them. But this did not work. There were certain aspects easier to replicate than others, for instance, the class time allocated for oral production among students, which are the best opportunities to acknowledge their 'previous knowledge'. On the other hand, this dissemination of constructivism was attempted without a serious assessment and understanding of the current teaching methods used by teachers, and the philosophy behind them. Those methods are generally little oriented

towards producing an active assimilation of knowledge, and are based on a firm belief in students inferiority, so, regardless the expertise of those who designed the teaching materials, the mediation of poorly trained teachers and unconvinced constructivist trainers, worked against any significant change. Further more, many of the training sessions might have worked against the already fragile self confidence of the teachers, learning something they did not understand clearly, and being criticized for what they are used to do.

In spite of my critical approach to the reform it is important to say that new things did happen and they may have left a positive impact that is important to asses. Between 1994 and 2002 large networks of teachers were created to facilitate the assimilation of the new methodologies. Several spaces for the exchange of knowledge and professional work were experienced by teachers from different regions as very positive opportunities for their own development. Hundreds of well trained teachers traveled as specialists around the country to share their knowledge and experience with teachers from different backgrounds and personal experiences. One very valuable outcome of these networks' development has been the emergence of the 'Movimiento Pedagógico'[34] an association comprising university teachers, teachers from TTPs, school teachers, NGO workers and students of education. They have held several meetings to share their experiences and carry on important discussions about innovation, either in workshops, or through very low cost publications. Another relevant outcome of the encounters facilitated by the networks has been the emergence of a grassroots movement (Movimiento de Base) within SUTEP, the teachers' union, to vindicate the teaching profession and to promote autonomous in-service training sessions that satisfy the teachers' need for training but as it is identified by them.

A second important outcome is that because of the lack of funds and the pressure to carry out the in-service teacher training, the state relied on NGOs to conduct local versions of PLANCAD. That fact has facilitated the development of knowledge networks and access to sources of information that teachers usually do not have access to. Also, in order to

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[34] Pedagogy movement

serve PLANCAD, many of these NGOs have produced innovative and pertinent materials that some teachers are using in their classes.

Finally, the interventions of institutions like UNICEF advocating for children's rights and against domestic violence, or the influence of feminist organizations or indigenous activists in the NGOs working with teachers during the reform, have facilitated the circulation of ideas that might have made an impact in the professional practice of certain teachers. The impact of all those different factors should be studied, and even though it is not all evident that they have transformed much, the fact that this contact between teachers and different ideas has occurred cannot be simply obliterated.

A very provocative and pertinent agenda to study processes of pedagogical change in the context of globalization and educational reform comes from the questions posed by Harvey Graff (1982) to study literacy programs. I consider this agenda useful to analyse the impact of any pretended neutral technology, as their effects must be studied taking into account the contexts for their dissemination, identifying the agents who carry them on, their motivations, and the concrete spaces in which these dissemination occurred; studying the meaning that was assigned to the new knowledge, their usages, the progressive changes it produced or not, the access to the service, and the real and symbolic differences that emerged from their acquisition .

Graff belongs to the New Literacy Studies group. They have criticized previous orientations on literacy studies because of their exclusive attention to the technical aspects of it and for developing a myth about the effects that literacy is supposed to bring to those who achieve command of the written word. Instead, the New literacy studies emphasize the need to study the contexts in which the technical skills to read and write are disseminated, as well as the ideological implications of that process. For many decades it was thought that writing and reading could bring about changes to the peoples who adopted them. But authors like Street, Graff (1982) and Olsen warn us about those myths. Their arguments are useful because just like it happened with literacy programs since the 1950´s, the need for change in education and formal education itself is being

hoped to produce miraculous solutions for very pervasive and serious problems, and particularly with the idea that innovation in education will bring integration to the market.

The invitation to look at the context and at the very agents in charge of the dissemination of the ideas is very important particularly where their small power is sustained on a very close control over possibilities for information, acquisition of new knowledge, and independent and autonomous forms of expression for the subaltern. Anything that can help the development of new resources for thinking and learning render the logic and resources of traditional forms of power arbitrary, highly questionable, and therefore, illegitimate. It is important to look at inequality as actively produced and reproduced linked to everyday practices that become very evident in the educational system, particularly in a context of change like the reform I have analyzed.

The *Consejo Nacional de Educación* (CNE, National Council of Education) –a group of notable members of the civil society belonging to diverse education institutions– recently produced a very important document to debate the main problems the system has, presenting relevant advise and concrete measures to solve them (CNE, 2005). In describing the grim situation of the education system ion Peru, there is no clear mention to the reform started in 1994, even though many of the authors involved have been part of it in one way or another. It is as if it had never occurred.

One important contribution of this document is that, unlike previous critical approaches to the education system -in which difficulties were usually explained by the high poverty levels of the population, followed by a grim judgment about the responsibilities of previous regimes for having abandoned public universities and schools-, the diagnosis presented in this document is based on a large number of studies produced during the context of the reform, that allow a much clearer picture of the dimensions of the problem of the low quality of Peruvian education. But, in spite of all the studies done, the document has the underlying assumption that the school system is culturally neutral and unrelated to the rest of society, as if things could be solved just by channelling more funds, and following a

universal prescription to become a good education system. Corruption is targeted as a difficult obstacle for any changes, but it appears unrelated to social relations of domination and the shared culture that runs across the education system.

Conclusions

Under the guidelines of the Washington Consensus, the World Bank devised a set of state reforms that presumed too many conditions inexistent in most Latin American societies. Some analysts even imply –perhaps with a dose of cynicism- that the prevalent motive behind those reforms was to make Latin American nations the preferred clients for a new generation of loans (De Moura, 2002). Such a position would explain why only basic assumptions about the conditions for implementation of the reform were enough, which can also explain the lack of money assigned to evaluate the reforms, because there was no real need to learn if the reforms would work or not once the loans for them had been approved and spent.

Whatever the case, the results of the state reform process fostered by the Brady Plan in the 1990s have been very diverse in Latin America. In most countries in the region, the first set of reforms aimed to modernise the state apparatus to make it 'more efficient'. The different 'missions' of advisors to the teams of reformers created in each country, expected to achieve this goal by reducing the number of state offices to a manageable minimum, and by generally reducing the interference of the state in the private sector of the economy. The 'second generation' of reforms, as they were known, had more political aims, as they were geared towards issues that could in theory, make Latin American societies 'more democratic' (Mundy, 2002). Results have been very different in the ten different policy areas that the Washington consensus aimed at, depending on the way in which diverse 'stake holders' and political forces worked with these reforms (Hale, 2002).

Reforms regarding governance, indigenous rights, or justice administration, for example, have been supported by different international organisations, and a new corpus of laws has been produced as a result of complex negotiations between different social actors. These circumstances generated new conditions for negotiation regarding access to certain legal, political and material resources. But it seems evident that the set of measures leading to an education reform in South America have failed in most countries, not only

because the expected results did not come to fruition, but also because –except perhaps with the exceptions of specific phases of the reform in Colombia, or Brazil- the reform did not achieve consensual approval from the diversity of social actors involved in education (Rivero, 2001, SEDA, 2005). In the case of Peru, it was not even promoted as a national reform, but as 'a series of projects' to improve the quality of education, as explained in chapter seven.

The failed reform

One of the main conclusions of this thesis is that the education system is utterly embedded in national and local forms of power relations that shape its particular characteristics, and permeate the academic and social cultures that in turn develop within each education institution. Thus, the reform of an education system would require being in consonance with a larger political project seeking at least awareness, (if not the transformation) of 'non-democratic', 'pre-modern', power relations, and the particular local and regional political cultures that support them, as they will define in the end, the outcomes of educational processes.

As is discussed in chapter two, the diverse recent contributions to the understanding of the post-colonial state (and the ways in which 'modern' discourses and practices combined in each society with forms of social differentiation and subordination following very diverse principles), are important tools to understand how the education system works –and is perceived- as an integrated and very visible part of the state. Given the complexities and overlapping layers of power present in the web of institutions that constitute an education system, education reforms in post colonial societies cannot be treated as a set of general technical guidelines that just need some training to be applied in any given society. The simplified and pragmatic approach to the development of 'social capital' -funded by loans- and linked to public funded education, is proving to be not only highly costly but also inefficient.

In the majority of cases, the reformers were working under assumptions about the characteristics of Peruvian society that were not real. The introduction of constructivism,

presumed the existence of well trained professionals, with many intellectual and material resources to establish connections between different subjects. The decentralisation process assumes the existence of consumer voters who can voice their opinions about how to use local resources, it also assumes the possibility that school directors will have the power to decide on the personnel they hire for their schools, which would hardly occur as this is one of the main sources of power for local officers of the ministry of education. Intercultural bilingual education started without consultation with the main stakeholders, and their interest in schools. Not every community speaking a vernacular language wants it taught at school, not every teacher working in those communities wants to become a specialist in bilingual education. Not all linguistic communities are in agreement about a common alphabet to write in their own language.

My study illustrates how the well established scholarly work on critical studies of education has been ignored by policy makers, who have privileged a technocratic approach to serve the goal of providing measurable results for very specific indicators, instead of assuming a politically engaged approach to the education reform. In spite of the fact that the World Bank commissioned specific studies that sometimes include a more complex perception of particular realities, the tendency of the specialists in charge of the reforms implementation was to ignore those studies, and simplify programmes so that they were 'applicable', regardless of their effectiveness (like the case of the cheap, short, and superficial in-service teacher training sessions designed by PLANCAD to disseminate constructivism in Peru) as is discussed in chapter seven.

In practice, that simplicity left some of the programmes devoid of meaning, or as a series of experimental pilot projects with no evaluation or replicas. Frequently, issues like the size of the system in Peru, the time and costs required to develop each campaign throughout the territory, were some of the arguments used to represent some aspects of the reform as 'too complicated'. In other cases, it was the diversity of spaces a proposed transformation had to travel through, together with the lack of interest and commitment of some regional or local officers that rendered the effort and investment useless beyond an initial and potentially productive impulse.

As seen by the indicators of success set by the reformers, the World-Bank-led education reform has certainly failed in Peru. It produced promising outcomes in terms of coverage for a short period[35], but has consistently failed to produce the expected outcomes in every single standardised test put in place for both students and teachers over the last few years. Plans for Intercultural Bilingual Education did not reach all the areas where indigenous languages are spoken, and training for bilingual teachers has simply stopped.

But if serious evaluations are to be carried out, and if there is a political interest in making the most of the investment already made, there are some positive results that should be taken into account, but given that they may not give immediate identifiable political revenues to anybody, they are most likely to be ignored. The goals of the World Bank reformers for the education system in Peru were tackled with an approach that could hardly produce the expected results. In order to promote constructivism, gender equity, intercultural education and decentralism, the ministry of education created a series of projects that included diverse activities. Each was dealt with separately, with different sources of funding and with different approaches. Therefore, the depth, quality and impact of those projects was closely tied to the personal characteristics of the officers involved, and the partnership they could establish with other actors involved.

One particular characteristic of the realm of education is that in the multiplicity of spaces in which it occurs, it is possible to create some autonomy and produce specific events or even a specific culture that can in turn be the origin of a different school culture. In some of those cases some of the innovations promoted by the reform resulted in good examples that were showcased as successful experiences. The conditions created for the development of teachers' networks have even sparked a critical movement within the union, which is now struggling for democracy and transparency in their internal elections,

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[35] This included highly publicised successful figures in terms of girls' registration in schools that went up to a variable figure above 90% of girls in school age registering in the system. However, a recent UNICEF mission in Peru determined that the bad quality of schools is jeopardizing those achievements, given that in the Peruvian context, registration is not synonymous with receiving school instruction (El Comercio, 19 of October, 2006, p.1).

and to recover their professional dignity through the improvement of their teaching practices.

The newly elected government of Alan Garcia started his office with total disregard for the reform, and with a very aggressive discourse against NGOs. The Ministry of Education –as was common practice- has lost most of the specialists in charge of different programmes in a matter of weeks. They have been replaced by new and inexperienced people, who have quickly improvised new policies that are causing great concern among analysts of the education system. In the presidential message on the 28th of July, 2006, the day Alan Garcia started his presidential period, no mention was made of bilingual education, or of the development of systems of accreditation for teacher training programmes, both topics that were important achievements of the reform, still in progress.

The pedagogy of an uncaring state

Departing from my scepticism towards the reform, because of the detached, a-historical approach to the problems of education in Peru, I wanted to explore the importance that the development of a national education system had for the ruling elites. My research confirms that the particular characteristics of the education system in Peru are the result of the elites' irregular, inconsistent, and ambivalent interest in education. Historical evidence seems to indicate that the intellectual involvement of the elites in planning and imagining the education system was present while the state had 'ownership' over the growth of the education system and service provision. Once education grew as a strong demand from politically empowered social movements in the second half of the twentieth century, it became a politicized arena left to electoral manipulation, and in the realm of particular interests. Chapter four presents some examples of the many occasions in which important decisions were defined by private interests, and in some cases, even as the result of ill intentioned political manoeuvres. Such is the case of how national and local dynamics of power and negotiations determined the exaggerated number of teacher training programmes in Peru, and the reluctance to introduce more responsible regulations for

their accreditation. The relationship with teachers and their union as one of distrust and deceit is another clear illustration of the political dimensions involved in the state decisions to allocate a budget to the growing education system.

I can also conclude that the arbitrariness in the system as it is perceived at the extreme ends of the state power (by teachers, parents, and students) has a pedagogy in itself that teaches people about their place in society, not through the efficient imposition of formal rules or technical authority, but through the constant confirmation of their vulnerability in the face of the state offices' ambivalence, that makes them at the same time 'a guarantee and a threat'. This is to say, local state education officers are the providers of a most needed service, but because of their marginal position in the state structure, they can interpret and manipulate regulations to their convenience, for example, granting or denying access to the accreditations that students need to certify the formal education they have achieved. They can also determine the allocation of teaching posts according to their own particular criteria, most times influenced by particular interests.

The experience of an unreceptive and disdainful state occurs in open confrontation with the high expectations that many communities still have in accessing education as a means to improving their place in society, if not for their generation, for that of their children. The shared experience of being 'short-changed' defines the relationship that millions of Peruvians have with the education system and the state. They experience the state as a space that on one hand can impose rigid norms upon them, and determine if their actions and demands are legal or illegal, but at the same time, as a space in which there is ample room for informality, arbitrariness, abuse, and the combination of diverse cultural forms of power exercise and domination.

Teachers are part of the culture that creates a generalised experience of abandonment of the schools system by the state, and their complicit (or forced) involvement with the predominance of corruption in every aspect of the educational system, is the main way by which the work teachers do in schools helps reproduce exclusion and the confirmation of a second class citizenship for the poor of Peru. Although this thesis is part of the stream

of studies that contribute to the understanding of the role of teachers as very complex and contradictory 'state agents', as discussed in chapter two, I want to highlight this inescapable feature of the Peruvian system.

Any attempt to transform the system needs to deal with these and other characteristics that rule the life of education institutions. The study of the world of students in the socially diverse space of a provincial university in chapter six leads me to conclude that any attempt to reform the school system to make it more democratic, needs to deal with the cultural understandings of the social and political order that are in play in each society. The school system is part of a larger social and political system where individuals produce and reproduce social and cultural divisions. Race and gender ideologies are instrumental to those divisions, and traditional patterns of domination can be actively reproduced by the new generations in their own terms. In spite of the exposure they have to radical ideas, and to different media and global youth culture, some students can be very conservative in the way they treat indigenous students, or women they consider from a different social class.

The experience of informality at the university, as well as contact with corrupt teachers and state officers, generates ideas about particular social hierarchies that consider the abuse and humiliation of certain kinds of people as normal. The idea of an 'order of things' in which some people have no rights is also present in the school system. Therefore, the understanding that there are people who can not only be neglected, but also abused, is part of the pedagogy of the state education institutions.

Thus, teacher training programmes in Peru are not exactly 'citizen factories'. Oppression and the practices of the state seem to have a very different face in Peru if we compare it to the Bolivian institutions described by Luykx (1999), and the type of social reproduction that occurs in the education system has clear particularities that have more to do with the experience of the unruliness and arbitrariness related to *gamonal* order and culture, where one single person can be a representative of the state and the principal forms of private, extrajudicial, and even criminal power.

Academic culture and social reproduction

This thesis shows that an important area deserving research attention is that of the particularities of the academic cultures that are part of the state funded education system. In a society as fragmented as Peru, the practice and outcomes of private and public education are enormously different. Therefore, the characteristics of the Peruvian 'educated person' are determined by the spaces where he or she was educated. In chapter five I have explored the practices of studying and the uses of reading and academic writing in two schools of educations, where future teachers were preparing for their profession. In chapter six in a third institution, I explored other aspects of their life.

Teacher training programs are social spaces where particular notions of knowledge, science, and professional life are created and communicated among teachers and students, and among students themselves. I would contend that each social group has created their own 'diluted' understandings of academic knowledge, to make coherent for themselves the difficulties they will encounter to have access to other resources that will be challenging for them not only in terms of means to get them, but also in terms of the intellectual difficulty they can pose for them.

While describing different aspects of the life in teacher training programs I wanted to make evident some particularities of the culture in the educational system, and the web of meanings that support hierarchies and power structures in those institutions. My work leads me to conclude that there is a deeply ingrained idea that poverty goes together with a poor education. On one hand, most students say that they will work for the poor, on the other, many of them repeat what their teachers constantly tell them: how different things are in other places, how they will never be able to experience for example, research, or how easy it is to teach where there is money.

This discourse creates a very distant relationship with the conventional ways of acquiring academic knowledge and information, particularly with books. They are not seen as tools

for learning or improving understanding, but as expensive items beyond their reach. Books and articles were not used as tools for teachers at the TTP or the university. Very occasionally they used fragments of books, blurred photocopies, without proper references, and for very specific purposes.

The characteristic inconsistency in teachers' lectures, the omnipresent informality during teaching and studying activities, and the rigidity of the ceremonies and certain bureaucratic procedures displayed in both institutions tells future teachers that professional knowledge may not be relevant, but that it is crucial to learn the language and gestures of obedience and submission in front of the authorities. Thus, the rules and their logic are not important. What is important is to learn how to avoid the threatening aspects of power by being an accomplice and part of the unruliness. This 'culture of academic poverty' plays a crucial role in the reproduction of the faulty quality of public education.

The need for more complex approaches

The role of education in the reproduction of social injustice and differential access to resources is a well known and established fact. However, I find that in spite of important developments in the critical study of education, and even the recognition that schools are institutions entrenched in contradictions, there is still a very common tendency to study the state school system and the school in general, as an ideologically monolithic unit, controlled by one over-powerful political or ideological will. And that is not the case.

The use of ethnography helps to present and analyse the little everyday 'betrayals' to the purposes of school and the educational reform through classroom practices, use of textbooks, translations of methodologies, and official dispositions, as they become part of a school culture transacted by contradictory interests, in the context of particular class and race relations among teachers, students and state personnel. At the same time, the use of ethnography can also help to identify practices and discourses that demonstrate that the promise of education can still have believers who in the midst of this

environment can, at the same time, craft a place for themselves that defies the order of things, developing new discourses and ideas that may begin to produce different and promising attitudes towards education and their own instruction as future teachers.

The open contradiction between the democratic promise of education and the prevalence of 'pre-democratic' relations in a post-colonial racist society needs to be further explored. That tension transects the policies and practices of education at every level and space of the system, from the Minister's office to the classroom in a remote area; from the desktop of a policy maker in Washington, to an in-service training session with indigenous teachers. This is why a multi-sited ethnography combined with historical research and critical theories of the state and education can contribute significantly to the understanding of the geographies of the post-colonial education system, and this thesis is a contribution in that direction.

I have tried to develop a framework that can allow us to better understand the complex and contested characteristics of the education system in a post-colonial situation. The presentation of four chapters dealing with the multiplicity of spaces where state education occurs, allows a better perception of the web of cultural meanings embedded in oppressive social relationships and the ways in which innovative state policies and ideas 'travel' and are translated through that web with a final outcome that tends to adapt to the resilient forms of local powers. I have adopted a multidisciplinary approach to articulate diverse sources of knowledge to serve the analysis of the culture of the educational system, and its embodiment in gendered and racialised individuals, who at the same time embrace the democratic promise of social mobility brought by education (for themselves), and engage with the reproduction of traditional patterns of domination that can make that promise fail for others. I hope to have made clear how politically important it is to identify these patterns in the school culture, if any changes are expected to occur in the poor results the system is producing.

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Appendix 1

Chronology of my research in Peru

Year	Teaching	Research	Consultancy	Institution
1994	PUCP ULIMA IEP	Feminization of teaching career	Commission for Teacher training programs. GTZ	GRADE
1995	PUCP	Academic culture in teacher training programmes.		GRADE
1996	PUCP	Girls in rural schools	Project evaluations for Several NGOs	GRADE/IEP
1997	PUCP	Girls in rural schools		IEP
1998	PUCP	Rural schools	Ministry of Education	IEP
1999	UNMSM	Masculinity in Ayacucho		IEP
2000	UNMSM	Decentralization in the education system	IDB on Indigenous women	IEP/ Oxfam America
2001	UNMSM		IDB on the teaching career (interviews with ministers of education)	OXFAM America (Project director)
2002	UNMSM		Fe y Alegria	Oxfam America

Apendix 2

Presidents of Peru in chronological order

1895-1899	Nicolás de Piérola	
1899-1903	Eduardo López de Romaña	
1903-1904	Manuel Candamo	
1904	Serapio Calderón	
1904-1908	José Pardo y Barreda	Eductional law that makes school compulsory
1908-1912	Agusto B. Leguía	Recognition of Indigenous ommunities
1912-1914	Guillermo Billinghurst	
1914-1915	Gral. Oscar Benavides	
1915-1919	José Pardo y arreda	
1919 1930	Augusto B. Leguía	
1930-1933	Luis Miguel Sanchez Cerro	
1933-1939	Oscar R. Benavides	
1939-1945	Manuel Prado Ugarteche	
1945-1948	José Luis Bustamante y Rivero	
1948-1956	General Manuel A. Odría	Expansion of Secondary education and Teaching training programmes.
1956-1962	Manuel Prado Ugarteche	
1962-1963	Military Government.	
1963-1968	Fernando Belaúnde	AndrésCardó Franco is Chief of Planning in Education
1968-1975	Gral. Juan Velasco Alvarado	Educational Reform Law, Ramón Miranda is Minister
1975-1980	Gral. Francisco Morales	
1980-1985	Fernando Belaúnde	Cardó Franco is minister
1985-1990	Alan García.	Grover Pango and Mercedes Cabanillas
1990-2000	Alberto Fujimori	Gloria Helfer and Dante Cordoba
2001	Valentín Paniagua	
2001-2006	Alejandro Toledo	

Appendix 3

Fragments from the report I wrote for GRADE on my research.

The narrative is mine, and quotes come from lectures by Jorge and Mercedes taken by Erika

En otra clase en la que Jorge intentaba -con mucha confusión- explicar a los alumnos que el buen maestro puede aprovechar cualquier circunstancia para incorporarla a su clase les pone el siguiente ejemplo:

> *(Si hoy día durante el simulacro de temblor) llega un helicóptero a la escuela, el profesor tiene que tener control y no salir corriendo, entonces con lo del helicóptero hay que adecuar la clase para aprovechar la situación. Lo que es la Aprensión sensorial externa.*
>
> *¿Qué nos podría servir el helicóptero en el sismo?*

(Señala a una chica, que está sentada adelante, cerca a él, para que responda la pregunta. No la llama por su nombre y tampoco se lo pregunta).

> *Alumna: Para llevar a los alumnos*
>
> *Prof: Para las matemáticas también lo podríamos utilizar. Si falta gasolina, se podría preguntar cuál es la capacidad para llevar heridos, y ahí estaríamos utilizando la percepción de los alumnos.*

En otra clase de resumen, luego de varias semanas de irregularidades en el dictado, y de encuentros fallidos debido a una confusa organización para asistir a sesiones de práctica, Jorge intentó el siguiente resumen:

> *Quiero tener una ligera idea de cómo va el curso. Yo debo tener bastante interés que el curso sea clase teórica. Darles el marco conceptual en una*

clase y la siguiente tiene que ser práctica. Hoy vamos a empezar a ver el tipo de procedimiento: concepto/práctica

Se forma un triunvirato: Método ----->lenguaje---> acción educativa...

Lenguaje adecuado a alumnos...[si] no entienden... en su cuaderno tienen que poner, colocar el vocabulario.

A través de la enseñanza se envía mensajes, contenidos al proceso de aprendizaje.

Hay una acción recíproca.

general----->Asignatural----->Propuesta----->Plan

Como lo de hoy y lo de la próxima clase: veremos metodología. Quiero hacer un paralelo con el 'bla, bla, bla', teórico. Por ejemplo: Aprehensión Sensorial: se producen cambios en el alumno, 'bla, bla, bla' eso ya está escrito. Entonces, a Acción Educativa debe completar con lenguaje y material educativo. Hay que llegar a ese objetivo. Así ya los alumnus no llegan ciegos.

Las notas de la pizarra eran copiadas de un cuaderno, pero el discurso hablado no necesariamente correspondía con lo que Jorge escribía. Finalmente les hizo copiar lo que había escrito en la pizarra.

The following passage comes from a transcribed version of a recorded lecture by Pedro. Doris recorded it and transcribed it.

Hace 2 años estuve en Chile y no había un solo pucho en el suelo. Porque si uno lo arroja al suelo, el carabinero da un pitazo indicando que uno lo debe recoger y qué vergüenza recoger el pucho porque te han visto. Igual el cine, cuando estás viendo una película aparece el cartel que dice que esta prohibido fumar. Entonces la gente que lo desea pasa al hall, ahí hay sillas , hay ceniceros. Acá, aparece el cartel que señala que indica su

prohibición por disposición municipal, pero igual la gente fuma.

Santiago es una ciudad limpia, los ambulantes están fuera de la ciudad. No es como acá.

Chile se jacta de comprar cacao, melaza de caña y azúcar a Perú y luego vendernos el chocolate. Sólo tienen sus frutas secas y galletas. Aquí tenemos la idea de "compro lo importado", está presente eso que dice que lo importado es lo mejor; cuando nosotros tenemos cosas muy buenas, por ejemplo, la mejor alpaca...

Porqué se va la gente de acá? Nosotros no tenemos salario ni incentivos, ¿por qué no? porque aun estamos pagando lo que hizo nuestro presidente aprista, aún nos tiene pagando la deuda externa. Yo soy profesor y abogado, tengo que pagar mis impuestos... y con mis impuestos cada vez más altos, estoy pagando la deuda externa.

En lo social-político, la comunicación de Chile con el Perú ha sido muy incómoda. En Chile dicen de nosotros que somos "tontos porque se matan entre sí". Chile podría ganarle ahorita una segunda guerra al Perú.

En Chile, el estado le paga la educación a los 10 mejores alumnos. En Perú, el primer lugar no da examen de ingreso. Eso es todo lo que se gana con ser buen estudiante. No hay apoyo.

Por eso la gente se va. Por ejemplo, Julio Ramón Ribeyro, cuando Velasco estaba en el poder, se presentó ante él y le ofreció su material. Velasco dijo que para qué, y lo dejó ir. Ribeyro se fue a Alemania, ahí fue bien tratado. Los alumnos de la primera promoción de Literatura de esta institución fueron los primeros que le hicieron su misa en la Iglesia La Merced. Me dijeron que querían que su promoción se llamara Julio Ramón y que querían hacer una misa, y que le dijera a la viuda de Ribeyro para que asista y sea su madrina. Ella, vive en el extranjero, me dijo que sí aceptaría y que sólo le pasara la voz con un mes de anticipación.

Mario Vargas Llosa tiene una casa en Barranco pero por problemas

políticos vive fuera: tiene 3 casas en Europa: en Italia, Francia y España. Mientras que Martín Adán murió en un cuartucho de Jr. Huallaga...
No hay cultura, y tenemos presidentes que no se preparan para ser presidentes.... Este que hay ahora es ingeniero, el otro! un abogado vivo y el otro, influido por sus ministros[1]*. El únicoque pensó en el Perú fue Velasco, que botó a los millonarios y dio tierras a los campesinos. El problema fue que los campesinos no sabían cómo manejar la tierra, chupaban. Con la plata, Velasco compró armamento pues quería hacerle la guerra a Chile. Y se olvidó de la cultura, el agro se vino abajo. Y en lo militar... también nos hemos quedado... El desfile de 28 de julio sigue mostrando los armamentos que se compraron en la época de Velasco.*
Chile tuvo a su Pinochet que agarró a los terroristas, los metió al Covadonga y los fondeó en el mar. Allí hubo toque de queda de verdad, la gente no salía de sus casas; aquí, la gente se asoma con cuidado y va a comprar tocando la puerta de las tiendas que siguen atendiendo con la puerta cerrada.... Acá no creemos en nada.

> *En Chile, un profesor rural gana $600.00, un profesor de secundaria gana $900.00 y un catedrático gana $1,200. En Perú gana entre $150-200. El alumno peruano no puede comunicarse ni actualizarse. Las computadoras están acá hace 2 años, allá hace 15 años. Ahí uno ve en una clase que cada alumno, o cada dos, tiene una computadora para trabajar y ahí escriben, luego imprimen y se llevan su clase. El profesor está delante con su computadora y un ecran donde proyecta y explica su clase.*

And he kept talking with the same type of disjointed discourse for the rest of the lecture, skipping from one topic to the other, always with critical but very contradictory comments on Peru.

---

[1] He is referring to Fujimori (1990-2000), Alan Garcia (1985-2000) and Fernando Belaúnde (1980-1985).

Appendix 4

Fragments from fieldwork reports from Mario, Freddy and Mariano

Report fragment from Mario. This is one of the first reports during the training process. I have respected the original grammar, spelling and punctuation).

05 de noviembre de 1999

Facultad de Educación

En esta ocasión, había un grupo de amigos, parece que eran egresados que calurosamente conversaban con gestos muy alegres. En la mayoría de estos jóvenes eran de apariencia citadina y también la presencia de los jóvenes urbanizados con vestimenta normal, pero lo que me llamo la atención fue que hablaban palabras groseras, toda la conversación giraba en torno al sexo Cada chico contaba alegremente sobre sus experiencias sexuales, algunos de una juerga con las chicas y otros sobre como desean tener relaciones con las chicas. en forma de broma decían "a las mujeres hay que hacerle asi o asa, ilustraban con sus gestos y todo era una carcajada.

A la vez bromeaban entre ellos con palabras toscas con tal que ellos se rían y todos estaban conformes. Esta conversación era la más burda; porque casi todos decían las palabras, concha tu(...), hijo de p..., etc. También miraban a las chicas desde la azotea y mencionaban "hoy, esa flaca me gusta", otros decían "hoy, tú no tiene hembra, tú debes ir a la fila de las mujeres". El otro decía "hoy no jodas concha(...) así disfrutaba a pura carcajada que pasaban tiempo, pero todos estaba esperando las respuestas de los documentos que habían presentado a la facultad. En este grupo un pata, su apelativo era "loco", él dinamizaba la conversación con sus intervenciones picarescas y burlas.

En unos momentos trataban de comentar sobre los profesores, pero en forma de broma

decían "sí ese profesor es tu jurado, pasámelo a mí yo le hablo y hago chupar y listo"(risa). Esto causaba más bromas "sí el jurado es una profesora también le hago chupar y todo se arregla"(ja-ja-ja), así decía el pata "loco". Todos carcajeaban sueltamente contándose como tomaban entre patas y cada uno contaba sus experiencias personales. En eso un chico de cabellos largo contaba que en una huasca, unos tombos les había detenido porque le han dicho pantaleón, por eso les metió palo y los llevó al carro policial. Mientras el otro le había dicho al policia déjenos ir maestrito; todo era risa.

Report fragment from Freddy

+ 22 de Octubre 1999

Al promediar las cuatro de la tarde me dirigí nuevamente a las aulas universitarias, está vez a exponer tal como lo prometido "El Mito de la escuela". Cuando llegué estaban muchos de mis amigos conocidos. Mientras llegaba la hora de nuestra exposición subí al segundo piso, allí me encontré con Wilber, Chalco y Curo. Estaban en plena conversación les salude y pregunté a quien esperaban "estamos esperando a alguien que nos invite una cerveza", me respondió Wilder. Aun costado sobre el apoyo se encontraban conversando un caballero y dos damas con vista hacía la avenida. "Habrá que matricularse pe...no", dijo Wilder y sus compañeros comenzaron a poner mayor atención en ellas. "Son pendejas" sostenía Curo. Luego de este hecho todos nos dirigimos por el pasadizo a la azotea y a mitad de camino nos detuvimos. Allí Curo mostró mi libro de física y la hoja en el cual estaba resolviendo algunos ejercicios, sin embargo Chachas que en trayecto se acercó a nosotros demostrando también que sí la podía mostró su mochila indicando que "yo también he sacado libros... una tengo lleno de la mochila".

Cabe recalcar que la revisión de estos libros lo hacían por propia cuenta e incluso les veía regularmente malhumorados razón por el que Chacas o dijo en tono casi molesto "ningún maricón nos ha enseñado el semestre pasado". En ese momento nuevamente insistí esta vez contra sus amigos "dice anoche han chupado no" a lo que Wilber se negaba. "Sí dice con él más "refiriéndose a Chalcos. Nuevamente Wilber responde "no chupo con niños". Pero Chachas insistía ahora contra Chalcos: "dice para no secar la botella viendo que ya no había, se había ido al baño"(risas).

Se acordaron luego sobre un supuesto viaje, un coloquio de matemáticas en la ciudad de Abancay. Chachas inmediatamente comienza hablar "nosotros nos vamos a la aventura", dijo. Es decir con días de anticipación para conocer mejor la ciudad en donde de por medio se realizaría turismo y diversión(tertulias).

De hecho entre bromas dije que sí podía acompañarle a ese evento y Chachas inmediatamente puso en conocimiento de sus amigos y dijo "... pero es de matemática tú eres de letras" para diferenciarse de la carrera que había concluido. Me propuse también que en ese viaje llevaría una guitarra para alegrarnos musicalmente y nuevamente Chachas me responde "hay muchos inspirados" se refería a los cantores que previo trago comenzaban a soltarse más y más y terminar cantando "le invitas un poco de pisco y va cantar arpaschay" agregaba Curo. Mientras conversábamos de ese viaje y sus posibles consecuencias pasó delante nuestro una dama muy conocida por Curo y el grupo con el cual conversábamos al cual llamaban Marou. "En el cerro estaba regalao no... "indicaba Chachas(se refería al cerro Acuchimay lugar que al concluir las festividades de la Semana Santa se realiza la última feria incluido las fiestas). Chachas nuevamente insiste "... te pedía no... te lo hubieras llevado al hotel pe" a lo que Curo replica mirándome fijamente demostrando imaginariamente que sí era capaz: " no tenía plata, todo eso influye pe no... me lo llevaría a un hotel cinco estrellas para dormir caliente no como en Cerro de Pasco" respondía, no al quien se esmeraba en averiguar el hecho sino a mí que estaba atento a la conversación.

En ese momento me llamaron del patio central porque había llegado la hora de nuestra exposición. Me despedí de ellos, pero desde el primer piso noté que Curo y todo el grupo habían subido a la azotea a conversar con Muro. Nosotros nos dirigimos al salón consistorial, la asistencia fue masiva. Veíamos a muchos estudiantes y profesionales interesados ubicados en los asientos. Tratamos de hacerlo mejor posible hasta concluir con la exposición.

Terminado con nuestro compromiso el presidente del Centro Federado tomó la palabra para indicar a todos los presentes sobre la necesidad de proseguir la conversación sólo con aquellos interesados en mesa redonda con grupos más pequeños. En fin, quédamos diez personas de las cuales puedo confirmar que tentativamente habían seis personas de apariencia rural mientras que los restantes con características urbanas. En ese momento tomó la palabra Cuadros un estudiante de los últimos ciclos, proveniente del área rural, un exdirigente del Centro Federado expulsado, según sus compañeros "por traidor" por haber apoyado la candidatura de un docente que propugnaba el rectorado de la UNSCH candidato con el cual los estudiantes no estaban de acuerdo. Indicaba que "los estudiantes en el campo ya nada querían saber" refiriéndose a cómo los jóvenes de hoy tendían a alienarse sistemáticamente a patrones culturales ajenos a su realidad. Culpaba en demasía al Estado y las categorías que utilizaba contra las mismas era "tirano" y "explotador".

Al aparecer Cuadros tenía muy en cuenta los Siete ensayos de Mariategui pero no lo suficientemente como para polemizarlo. Otro de sus compañeros también de la especialidad de Ciencias Sociales afloró todo su rollo de sus propias experiencias en el que lo más relevante es que "con el Plancad los profesores están mal capacitados ... con esto peor que los españoles vamos a ser"(se refería a la imposición del castellano a la llegada de los españoles). En ese trajín "El Mito de la escuela "comenzó a tomar otros rumbos en el que nosostros eramos a la vez oyentes y participantes ante las inquietudes de los estudiantes. Así llegamos a tocar el tema de identidades –lo superior y lo inferior-, hablamos sobre el inconciente colectivo. Uno de ellos argumentaba "si viene un gringo acá nadie se atreve a hablar" y concluía "es un complejo de inferioridad ... debemos esperar una nueva generación para cambiar".

La conversación llegaba a su final y la amistad se hacía más íntima: conversábamos muy directamente, nos tuteabamos y hacíamos bromas como si nos hubiéramos conocido desde hace buen tiempo. El último en tomar la palabra se propuso animosamente formar un círculo de estudios en el que nosotros estaríamos incluidos. Era Nicanor un muchacho provinciano del distrito de Chincheros, provincia de Andahuaylas. Mientras tanto, el modelador de este encuentro, Hugo, planteó discutir otros temas sobre todo los días domingos porque en esos días se " la pasa durmiendo ", argumentos al que Tito, presidente del Centro Federado complementa " porque los sábados te la pasas chupando"(risas). "A veces conversamos con mis compañeros pero no de estos problemas... sino de otras cosas" sostenía uno de ellos de apariencia rural. Al promediar las ocho de la noche concluimos con la conversación. Al salir del salón consistorial nos despedimos de todos. Hugo, quien quedó entusiasmado por el trabajo que desplegamos quizo conocernos más y preguntó por nuestros nombres, nosotros complacidos les respondimos "Mario, Fredy y Mariano" y nos dijo entre bromas "parecen los magnificos"(risas).

Luego nos dirigimos por la avenida principal que lleva a la Plaza de Armas, nos fuimos conversando con Jesús, natural de Churcampa (Huancavelica), Mario y Mariano más dos amigos nuestros. En el trayecto Mario se propuso invitarnos una gaseosa con la finalidad de profundizar nuestra amistad y la conversación en el que había quedado algunos vacíos. Como siempre nosotros acogiéndonos a nuestro quehacer comenzábamos a establecer nexos a partir de nuestras inquietudes. Mario preguntaba sobre como realizaban los trámites administrativos los estudiantes, pregunta que inmediatamente fue contestada por Jesús quien por su edad (treinta a treinta y cinco) daba la impresión de un estudiante muy curtido "los que protestan ya son muy conocidos... pagan en los trámites"; se refería a como los estudiantes rebeldes muchas veces no eran bien vistos ni por los docentes ni por los encargados de agilizar los trámites documentarios razón por la que trataban de poner trabas cuando el estudiante requería de su bachillerato. En ese momento se me vino a la memoria el caso de la "Gringa Inga" que particularmente me preocupaba, pues desde que lo vi en una oportunidad en los pasillos de la facultad volvió a desaparecer. Esta

preocupación pusé a consideración de los estudiantes. Allí me enteré que la Gringa Inga era natural de Tambo, provincia de San Miguel, personaje que fue expulsado de la dirigencia del Centro Federado por haber malgastado en promedio de mil quinientos soles. De esta manera quedó truncado en sus estudios, se quedó en la serie trescientos y el juicio que le hubieran hecho sus propios compañeros sigue en proceso. Jesús contaba que en una oportunidad la Gringa Inga de poco pierde la razón por este problema, sin embargo "el caso carzona" prosigue su derrotero.

Con posterioridad pregunté especialmente a los estudiantes del plan ochenta y seis sobre el poco interés de investigar temas educativos y Jesús me respondió: " sí podemos hacerlo, pero el sistema no te permite". En ese momento noté en Jesús que se sentía impotente de realizar un trabajo de investigación sometiendo su justificación a los bajos sueldos. Lo mismo sucedía con un estudiante de apariencia rural de la apariencia de Ciencias Sociales. Indicaba que "no hemos llevado cursos de investigación como ustedes". Su justificación se basaba en apreciaciones de índole económico y prefería realizar una clase modelo a sustentar una tesis "porque era fácil" y por lo mismo "todo el mundo hace eso".

Report fragment from Mariano

+INFORME No. 002-99/MAP

MARIANO ARONES PALOMINO
SEGUNDO INFORME DEL TRABAJO REALIZADO
COMO PARTE DEL REFERIDO PROYECTO
FECHA : 20 DE OCTUBRE DE 1999.

Es grato dirigirme a usted para saludarlo y al mismo tiempo informarle acerca de la segunda etapa del trabajo, efectuado como parte del proyecto "Masculinidad y formacion de maestros despu,s de la guerra", el cual detallare de la siguiente manera.

En primer termino debo reconocer las dificultades con las cuales se enfrento mi persona dada mi poca experiencia en trabajos de tipo etnografico, el cual como sabe influyo en la calidad del primer informe, sin embargo, sus valiosas sugerencias y obsesiones como también las de mis compañeros de equipo, puedo manifestarle sin temor a equivocarme, que ellas me han servido para poder superarlas y que seguramente usted la podrá comprobar en este segundo informe.

Comencé, mi trabajo de la segunda etapa asistiendo a la asamblea general de estudiantes convocada por el Centro Federado de Estudiantes de la Facultad de Educación con fines a tratar temas relacionados a las distintas actividades a ser realizadas como parte de la Semana Cultural de la Facultad. Dicha reunión se llevó acabo en el auditorio de la facultad, la asamblea fue convocada para las 08 de la mañana, a esa hora me hice presente en el local de la facultad observo que algunos miembros de Centro federado estan afanado en instalar el equipo fónico, otros acomodando las sillas, algunos pocos estudiantes se vienen constituyéndose en el lugar pero no hacia en el auditorio, uno de los miembros los invita "compañeros pasen a la asamblea ya va a empezar, pasen, pasen..." y los estudiantes ni caso, por ah¡ escucho: hoy vas a entrar? - Nada huon... (huevón) tengo chamba; huevón van a cobrar multa, increpa el otro; que chu.... pe, primero es mi chamba, la gente ni va venir... y se fue. Mientras tanto ya son las 9:30 en el auditorio hay poquísimos estudiantes, los del Centro Federado se impacientan... "as¡ son estos huevones , para quejarse son los primeros ,para colaborar ni mierda , dan cólera. Otro le grita del tercer piso a otro que esta en la primera planta: hoy ya (indicándole con el dedo al auditorio);nada, le responde. Y el que pregunto se vuelve a la silla donde estaba sentado y vuelve a revisar sus cuadernos. Mientras tanto el presidente de Centro federado les dice a sus miembros: Hoy ya, hay que empezar, aunque sea con dos gatos, que mierda nos importa al final hemos convocado ya ser problema de cada uno, y los demás contestan: sí hay que empezar tanta vaina. y entraron al auditorio se sentaron en sus asientos y a los pocos presentes , el presidente los increpó: "bueno compañeros ante todo buenos días, vamos a dar inicio a nuestra asamblea, no podemos

esperar más... y continuo hablando entre otras cosas: Así son compañeros ,se les ha convocado a una asamblea, y fíjense, cuantos somos, aquí no hay ni 200 estudiantes y eso es mucho, cuántos somos m s de mil alumnos y sin embargo cuando algo va haber para criticar somos los primeros , da mucho que desear esta actitud de los estudiantes ...,creo que ser estudiante no solo significa venir a la universidad entrar a clase y eso es todo, no, sino el estudiante debe estar para criticar y resolver los problemas antes de quejarnos..., por ejemplo hemos instalado un buzón de sugerencias, y en lugar de sugerir o cuestionar ponen basura , donde estamos compañeros, parece que hay muchos que todavía no han madurado, creen que todavía están en la secundaria...,Después de haber vertido estas ideas el presidente de CCFF, paso a explicar los puntos que se van a tratar en esta asamblea. Bueno compañeros los puntos que vamos a tratar en esta asamblea son los siguientes: rendición de cuentas del dinero que se ha recogido en el momento de la matrícula, entrega del dinero a la junta directiva del equipo de fútbol de nuestra facultad ,..... las actividades de la semana de la facultad,... y la realización de la fiesta de confraternidad . cuando mencionó esta ultima agenda el auditorio reventó en risas, silvidos y comentarios entre los asistentes... hayta, que rico, hoy ¨d¢nde ser , habr que chupar, yo no quería pero... (mueve la cabeza). Después también el presidente se refirió a la oportunidad que tenían los estudiantes para hacer realidad sus sueños de hacer realidad de tener un local propio ya que el local donde actualmente esta la facultad pertenece a l Centro universitario..."compañeros tenemos que aprovechar la presencia del profesor Azpur con quien nos hemos reunido y nos prometido ayudarnos en la construcción de nuestro local en de la ciudad universitaria recuerden este local pertenece al Centro pre-universitario, hasta cuando vamos estar as¡, nosotros hacemos clases en todo sitio... si ya se ha puesto la primera piedra solo falta dar inicio para su construcción, para eso un día vamos a convocar para hacer minka , creo que la piedra que han puesto se ha perdido... (risas de los asistentes).

Mientras tanto yo me había ubicado en la parte final del auditorio con la finalidad de tener un mejor panorama de la asamblea, al mismo tiempo escuchar los comentarios de los jóvenes y escuchar sus conversaciones, en eso un joven que recién llegaba se acerca a

sus compañeros cantando la canción de Ricardo Arjona... Que es lo que hace un taxista seduciendo a su señora... y saludo dándole la mano a sus compañeros. Mientras tanto la asamblea seguía su curso, intervino Hugo, joven estudiante de la especialidad de Historia y Geografía. No participó desde su asiento se acerco a la mesa donde estaban los miembros del CCFF tomo el micro y los asistentes se dieron algunos y otro decían, puta ese huevón mira la facha con que se presenta y risas... y otro del fondo le grita: que se vista. Pues estaba con vivirí, short y zapatillas, mientras tanto Hugo: Compañeros ante todo mil disculpas por la forma como me presento, pues estaba haciendo deporte y no tuve tiempo como para ir a casa a cambiarme, bueno compañeros yo quiero partir por felicitar a los compañeros del CCFF por esta preocupación, se nos ha pedido ideas y sugerencias, si bien los compañeros han intervenido solicitando se incorpore al programa de la semana de la facultad, pero me he dado cuenta que sus pedidos están relacionados solamente a la diversión, fiestas, etc. Pero no solamente es, debemos también tener actividades de reflexión, de criticas de repente, de actividades académicas que nos permitan conversar acerca de nuestra formación Académica, de temas actuales como el bachillerato, no se, sobre la política educativa y no solamente eso, de repente un día en el que cada escuela exhiba lo que tiene, no se pero seria que cada escuela internamente se las injenie, nosotros por ejemplo podemos exhibir como cada año lo hacemos, los diferentes tipos de rocas que existen o mapas actuales que mucha gente no los conoce o de repente maquetas de los tipos de suelos que existen, no sería cuestión de ponernos de acuerdo esta opinión fue acogida por el CCFF y le solicitaron sugerir el tipo de actividad académica que había propuesto , entonces Hugo respondió: se puede hacer un conversatorio entre todos los estudiantes de educación, no solamente de la Universidad si no también invitando a los demás estudiantes de los institutos pedag¢gicos que hay en nuestra ciudad, donde se traten acerca de la formación profesional que estamos recibiendo y si se puede hacer una comparación entre ellas. Esta idea fue acogida por el CCFF y solicitaron los concurrentes a vertír sus ideas o sugerencias al respecto. Intervino un joven y dijo: estoy de acuerdo con la propuesta del compañero porque es importante saber el nivel en que nos encontramos con respecto a los demás estudiantes de los institutos pedagógicos, mucha gente dice que ellos estén mejor capacitados para ejercer la

docencia porque les inculcan mayor práctica que teoría mientras que a nosotros es al revés, sería bueno esta actividad para conocer el nivel en el que estamos... intervino también otro joven que estuvo en desacuerdo con la propuesta puesto que argumentaba: como es posible pretender esta actividad si sabemos bien el nivel en que nos encontramos vamos a invitar a que vengan a nuestra casa y que nos humillen yo estoy de acuerdo con esa actividad pero tendría que ser internamente primero para conocernos bien y después polemizar con otros compa¤eros. Otro joven se levanta y dice . justamente se trata de eso de compararnos y saber cuales son nuestras debilidades con respecto a los estudiantes de los institutos porque si no hacemos esto nos estamos cerrando a nosotros mismos son buenas las comparaciones para que sepamos realmente nuestras debilidades . otro joven interviene y dice compañeros estamos discutiendo por gusto, nunca vamos a entrar en acuerdo mejor de una vez decidamos mediante una votación.

Y se escuchó murmullos de aceptación: si, si, de una vez... Entonces intervino el presidente del CCFF y de una forma pesimista o realista frente a la propuesta dijo: compañeros, muy bien la idea, pero seamos consientes y preguntémonos si realmente estamos dispuestos a organizar este tipo de actividades porque ya tenemos experiencia se comprometen a participar en las comisiones pero después lo abandonan sus responsabilidades y quienes quedan mal somos los del CCFF. Esta afirmación no le gusto a una señorita por lo que de una forma muy airada protestó frente a la actitud de los del CCFF y dijo: otra vez lo mismo nos piden sugerencias y cuando las damos se oponen compañeros simplemente acepten la propuesta y vemos la forma de cómo nos organizado y listo de que se preocupan tanto. Y los asistentes reaccionaron aplaudiendo tras la intervención de la señorita. Entonces se sujetó la propuesta a votación, efectuada la votación se aprobó la realización del evento, el presidente del CCFF solo se limito a acatar la decisión de la mayoría y solo atino a decir: solo espero que lo que ustedes han propuesto sea asumida con responsabilidad. Aprobada la idea se comenzó a discutir la modalidad del evento como también el día y la hora de la realización del evento porque según el presidente del CCFF no había espacio dentro del programa general efectuado para la semana de la facultad. Una cosa curiosa fue de que dentro de el programa estaba

previsto realizar un pequeño conversatorio que días antes se había acordado, se trataba de conversar acerca del tema "El Mito de la Escuela" en la cual debíamos participar nosotros, esta actividad fue cuestionada por algunos de los estudiantes , quienes Argumentaban: no es posible conversar de este tema con estudiantes de otra especialidad en este caso con estudiantes de Antropología.