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Multicultural Societies - Intercultural Citizenships: The Peruvian Case

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GRADUATE SCHOOL OF UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS

Multicultural Societies-Intercultural Citizenships: the Peruvian case.

A thesis presented by

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**For 69,280 Peruvian civilians killed by military forces and armed subversive groups
in the internal war on terrorism between 1980 and 2000.**

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Preface and Acknowledgements

The following pages display a preliminary reflection on two matters: on one hand, an analysis of the relationships between Peruvian educational policies and national multiculturalism in the last decades; on the other hand, a recommendation about how to improve Peruvian democracy and human rights through the school system. Both things are closely linked due to democracy and human rights involve political and moral systems that can not be successfully implemented without regarding cultural, historical and educational contexts. The research is based on three assumptions: a) there are not possible democratic societies without democratic cultures; b) democracy is a process to substitute discrimination for equity in political institution as well as at work, home, school, and on streets; c) extreme lack of equity stimulates violent or terrorist vocations. Respect of human rights is the best guarantee for peace and democracy.

Chapter 1 offers a general reflection on tensions between multiculturalism and democracy, and a particular description of Peruvian inter-ethnic conflicts. Moreover, considering centuries of sexual segregation, Peruvian female and male worlds are treated as a culturally different. It is used as theoretical tool the UNESCO (2001) conception of culture: "...set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of ...social groups...it encompasses lifestyles, ways of living together, values system, traditions and belief...". Cultures can be considered as world-views where individuals shape identities, experiences, vocations, and expectations. These world-views are inter-subjective historical productions and, due to their origin, they can be redesigned to promote freedom, peace, and dignity for all human beings. This process of democratization is urgent in Peruvian case where centuries of intolerance make society a weighed down community by cultural conflicts. Peruvian Truth Commission has established (2003) that 69,280 civilians were killed during 1980-2000. This research defends the hypothesis that this genocide was produced for the exacerbation of historical racial, ethnic, and sexual prejudices.

Chapter 2 deals with Peruvian laws and public policy to prevent cultural oppression and segregation at schools in the last 33 years, and the impact of globalization on Peruvian state projects committed to cultural rights. Since 70's Peruvian state has signed all international conventions of elimination of racial, cultural, and gender discrimination. The current Peruvian constitution (1993) states: "All individuals have the right:...19) to their ethnic and cultural identity. The state recognizes and protects the ethnic and cultural diversity of the Nation." The intercultural concept is becoming part of the policy discourse at the governmental level, but there is a gap between the political rhetoric and the management of social issues and educational programs. In addition to this, education reforms promoted by the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the Inter-American Development Bank have undermined national agreements to promote intercultural tolerance through the school system.

Chapter 3 is about, first, the current national curricular design and its disregard for urgent social issues as racism, ethnocentrism, and chauvinism, which were cause of

genocide during internal war on terrorism a few years ago; second, a proposal to promote cultural tolerance through intercultural dialogues, at school level, oriented to build mutual recognition among Peruvian cultural groups. Intercultural dialogues among Indigenous, Hispanic, Afro and Asian groups, with their respective female and male worlds are propose as a way to build intercultural democracy. The dialogue is defined as inter-subjective intellectual activity that characterizes human beings, because it is the basic process through which human awareness and identity are built. Every dialogue is placed in a particular cultural context; without culture there is not dialogue. Therefore, identities are built through dialogues that belong to particular world-views, and they are shaped exchanging images about our-self and other-selves. The dialogue can defuse and erase stereotypes of others, because it permits incorporate the self-portray of the others among speakers. Intercultural dialogues can not be oriented to full consensus because interlocutors have not common underlying beliefs. The end of intercultural dialogues is the full recognition of the others as human beings. Thanks to this kind of dialogue, the humanity of the others is known. The recognition creates conditions for living together with freedom, peace, and dignity. However, intercultural dialogues have to face many difficulties in Perú before to become part of national social practices. It will take some generations to deconstruct fears and power relationships based on racial, ethnic, gender, and class categories until to reach a satisfactory intercultural citizenship.

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Chapter 1. Toward Peruvian Inclusive Democracy through Schools.

Global Challenges for Current Democracies.- There is a majority global consensus about the superiority of democracy over other kinds of systems to avoid social oppression and to achieve social justice interpreted as respect for human rights. However, even with political goodwill, there is not enough agreement about how to implement democracy at the world and local levels.

One of the main reasons for these disagreements is the fact that there are different perceptions and expectations of democracy according to the particular beliefs of each cultural group. Social realities are more multicultural¹ in the era of globalization where all countries are interdependent and are affected by migrating populations from other countries. For that reason, cultural tolerance seems to be a necessity to reach a satisfactory democracy in any country, and cultural tolerance should be fostered as one of the main democratic virtues by educational systems in these times.

This research project focuses on the Peruvian democracy's conflicts. It analyzes the cultural and gender roots of the most serious national issues on human rights violations to argue that it is necessary to democratize the Peruvian democracy making it multicultural and intercultural in everyday life. The school system should play the main role in this process, fostering cultural tolerance and mutual recognition in our social

¹ I am using the word "multicultural" to describe traditional ethnic and gender diversity.

beliefs and practices. Its research focus is how to promote intercultural democracy in Peru through the formal school system among indigenous, Hispanic, Afro and Asian Peruvian groups, with their respective female and male worlds.

Tensions Between Democracy and Culture.- The current general conception of Democracy, as a form of government based on the will of the people, is the result of a long debate oriented, at the same time, to solve the roots of religious and civil wars, and to substitute feudal social structures inside European states. John Locke (1632-1704) was one of the first to figure out this model as a tool to reconcile the modern conception of individuals (as rational, free, and equal) and the political order. According to him, the legitimate political order has to be based on the majority consensus, the social contract, among free and equal men (Locke, 1689). “Lockean Democracy” can guarantee peace by establishing laws recognized as fair for the majority. Tyranny, on the contrary, produces an internal war by the conflict between majority interests and the governing interests. The main majority interest is the protection of private property (the ownership of body and the land). Moreover, this new social order has to separate the civic life and the religious life. The first belongs to the public sphere and the second belongs to the private sphere. Politics depends on the law and coercion to observe it; religious depends on faith and persuasion. He believed that by separating both fields it was possible to avoid religious wars.

After Locke, Rousseau (1712-1778) considered that private interests can be incompatible; therefore, they can not be the rational base of fair social order. He proposed the general will oriented to the common good as the principle to build the social contract and the political order. The fair law has to be compatible with the common good. Inside

this political reality, the individual acquires a rational social identity, which means it changes natural freedom by conventional freedom. Among free and equal individuals, the law only can establish reciprocal obligations (Rousseau, 1762).

Later, Kant (1724-1804) thought that the social contract was just an original rational idea that permits us to judge the fairness of any law. According to him, a law is fair if it reconciles the freedom of each individual with the freedom of all human beings (Kant, 1796). A legitimate state has to be based on this rational principle. The state has to promote peaceful coexistence among individuals. However, he stated that the government's use of the force is legitimate when it is necessary to prevent an injustice. According to Kant, rational principles of law have to be extended to the international sphere to regulate relationships among states (Kant, 1795).

The spread of these and other opinions through intellectual and political discussions and struggles influenced the American and French revolutions as well as the independence of Latin American people. Since the eighteenth century until now, Latin American liberal states have tried to build a citizenship of rational, free, and equal individuals offering the same education to all people. Equal education was seen as an essential element to prepare people to compete under the same conditions in business and political life. However, it was unclear even to radical democratic people during the nineteenth century, whether women and individuals of non-European traditions have the same modern rights. Then, most democratic states have progressively recognized women equality with men before the law but, at the same time, they have pushed non-Western communities to leave their native cultures to enter into liberal citizenship during the

twentieth century. For non-European communities, cultural conversion has been demanded as a requirement to reach democratic rights.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted and proclaimed by the General Assembly of United Nations in 1948 stated that "... recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world ...". After the extreme experiences of genocide and holocaust of the Second World War, Democracy based on human rights becomes the core of the international community agenda: "(1) everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives" (United Nations, 1948). That meant political and civil liberties in the Capitalist World, economic and social egalitarianism in the Socialist World, and self-determination and independence in the Third World. United Nations has established human rights as the theoretical and legal framework that all states are supposed to respect to be recognized as a member of international community. The rejection of human rights, even just partially, can affect the legitimacy of such state. However, the conception of human rights has experienced an expansion in its content in the last decades. In 1966 and 1979 cultural rights and women rights were reaffirmed to avoid exclusion of education and male tyranny, respectively. In 2001, the preservation and promotion of cultural diversity is adopted as part of cultural rights by UNESCO. In its declaration, UNESCO considers culture as:

...the set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of society or a social group, and that it encompasses, in addition to art and literature, lifestyles, ways of living together, value systems, traditions and belief ...

In the first article of this declaration it is stated that "... cultural diversity is as necessary for humankind as biodiversity is for nature ..." (UNESCO, 2001). However, cultural diversity poses the possibility to reevaluate even the legitimacy of current conception of human rights from different cultural perspectives and eventually to demand its reformulation or to affirm cultural relativism. This is especially dangerous for peace ideals considering that some cultures still projecting pejorative images of other groups, which justify their subordination, exploitation and, in extreme cases, their extermination. Due to this, the recognition of cultural diversity can not be done without restrictions. All cultural groups need to co-exist with peace and dignity, more nowadays when globalization has increased interdependence across the world. The current human rights conception provides the common ground where all cultures can obtain the recognition of their right to exist. In this sense, human rights are the restriction to respect diverse cultural values. In other words, cultural diversity just can be celebrated when it is compatible with democracy. The same UNESCO Declaration states that: "No one may invoke cultural diversity to infringe upon human rights guaranteed by international law, nor to limit their scope" (2001). I think that there are enough historical examples to defend human rights for pragmatic, not for metaphysical reasons. Yet, at the same time, it is important acknowledge that human rights are a human creation and they are perfectible.

One of the most serious issues that derive from this position is how to judge those beliefs and social practices that are not compatible with human rights? I think that intense persuasion is the best option whether life, physical integrity, and freedom of movement are not affected. Democracy is a process that has required successive generation to rule

domestic, private, and public spheres, and the task is not finished in any country. The promotion of democratization of cultures is the most important way to improve democratic political systems. Without a democratic culture is not possible to run democratic states. Considering this, it is important to admit that each country has the right to develop its own way implement democracy. What about social practices that make an attempt on life, physical integrity, and freedom of movement? The solution has to be the result of a debate in the international community where the questioned community should be present. However, even in extreme situation, coercion has to be used with persuasion. And under no circumstances, potential sacrifices of innocents have to be avoided through real sacrifices of other innocents (as in the recent military conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq, 2001 and 2003 respectively). To fight terrorism with terrorist methods disqualifies morally the purpose to end terrorism. Moreover, it stimulates new terrorist vocations, bringing as a result a bigger evil.

Peruvian Cultural Diversity.- The dominant culture in Peru is the Hispanic culture. This culture is shared by groups with European, Native, African and Asian roots, and most of them have developed a syncretistic process by appropriating in an original way that which belonged to other cultures (this process includes food as well as religious beliefs). According to the official as well as popular discourse, this syncretism is considered a positive feature of Peruvian culture. The massive mixing is also racial. It is hard to distinguish racial groups at the present because, since the beginning of the XVIth century, interracial reproduction has been practiced in Peru. Moreover, the national census does not register any information about race since 1940. However, different NGOs consider

that 30% of population are indigenous, 40% mixed, 10% black, 10% white, 10% Asian, and 50.41% of the total (27'150,000) are women.

As in many other countries, centuries of male supremacy and sexual segregation have generated different male and female worldviews, identities, virtues, and expectations, all these adapted to their particular social roles. In this way, it has been produced a male culture and female culture. The Hispanic culture, as well as Indigenous, Asian, and African cultures, was patriarchal. Historically, while the urban male place has been outdoors (paid work and political sphere), the female place has been indoors (reproduction and nurture). In rural areas, where the indigenous culture is dominant, males and females share the work on the land, although reproduction and nurture are exclusively female duties. This division has been considered “natural” according to social and religious moral beliefs. However, there is an asymmetry in the cultural evaluation and recognition of males’ and females’ social roles that justify women’s subordination to men. The Catholic Church elite, integrated exclusively by men and one of the main Peruvian moral institutions, has supported this patriarchal structure during millennia around the world and during almost five centuries in Peru.

Multicultural National Background.- The Quechua was the dominant group between 13th and 16th centuries in nowadays territories of Ecuador, Bolivia, and Perú. This group constructed a sexist perception of universe where the Earth was a female divinity: Pachamama (Mother Earth), and the Sun was a male divinity: Inti (Father Sun). This worldview is still kept in South American rural communities in the highlands and in the jungle. A Peruvian peasant explained:

I (myself) am the son of my parents, may they rest in peace, but I am also a son of the Pachamama ... of the potato, the olluco, the corn, ...to open the soil I must ask permission of the Pachamama so that she will allow me to work its soil.²

The Spanish people, who arrived to the Tawantinsuyo (the Inca's Empire) in the XVI century, tried to substitute Indigenous cultures by Catholic, Hispanic and Scholastic culture. However, the result has been a cultural syncretistic process where Virgin Mary and Pachamama, Jesus and Inti sometimes co-exist confused and other times separated inside Peruvian spirituality. For indigenous worldview, women, identified with Pachamama, have reproduction and nurture as natural and social roles and, also, they share the work on land with men, however they are subordinated to men. An important difference with the Hispanic culture is that marriage in most indigenous cultures depends on woman decision after a test of two years living together with the prospective husband.

Spanish culture added to this gender differences the scholastic Aristotelian categories of active and passive rationality. Human beings were naturally divided between those who have rational capacities to elaborate autonomously arguments and those who just have rational capacities to understand arguments. For Aristotle, the distinction between master and slave, men and women, adults and children is based on this natural fact. Even more, for him, men contribute with the rationality and women with the matter during the reproductive act. For Spaniard, women and indigenous have this subordinated rationality, due to what they needed the instruction of European man. The education of indigenous people during the colonial period was never considered as a right, but as an act of charity. Church assumed the mission of evangelization and "civilization" of these populations, even though the Quechua civilization had an

² Julio Valladolid Rivera, "Andean Peasant Agriculture: Nurturing a Diversity of Life in the Chacra". *Interculture*, vol. 28, #1 (Winter 1995), pp. 23-26

organized system of education. Instruction in any native language had only the purpose of making the Indians understand the Western ways. One of the first mixed thinker was Inca Garcilaso de la Vega (1539-1616), who in *Comentarios Reales*, tried to revalue Inca civilization from Spanish categories.

On the other hand, Peru's African legacy is as old as Spanish culture in Peru. However, it has only gained recognition since XX century. The concept of slavery was no-appropriate for human beings, because Christianity states that human beings are created by God according its own image. Nevertheless, African men and women were enslaved based on the false idea that they were no human beings. However, African people brought their spirituality and artistic expressions that now are part of national culture. The first Peruvian saint and the most popular is a mixed male, African and Spaniard, Martin de Porres (1579-1639), Saint Patron of Social Justice.

During the 18th century, colonial ethnic and sexual hierarchies were criticized by small intellectual groups inside dominant class and, also, by illustrated indigenous descendents of Incas royalty. The illegal traffic of books of Enlightenment brought the first wave of modernity to Perú. Moreover, the critique of European feudal order permitted the recognition of Incas world as highly civilized. This wave stimulated the will of liberation of indigenous and black people. In this context, Tupac Amaru II (male) and Micaela Bastidas (female) lead the indigenous rebellion that almost finished with the Spanish colonial power in Perú in 1825. Later, this ideal of emancipation was taken by Hispanic American elites, and they with the support of indigenous and black people expelled Spanish army and authorities and achieved the Peruvian political independence in 1821.

The Eurocentrism of colonial power did not disappear after political independence (19th century) of Latino-American countries. The new states, committed to continue with the expansion of modernity and based mainly on liberal principles of the French Revolution, fluctuated among the extermination (Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay), the marginalization, and the cultural conversion of indigenous people, as a way to develop the modern project in Latin America (Dussel, 1998).

After Peruvian independence, indigenous, “mestizos”, and Black people continued under the same social colonial relationships, even when the indigenous tax and black slavery were abolished three and five decades respectively later. Paradoxically, even though most Peruvian people have multi-ethnic roots, there have been propagated and maintained images about Non-Western cultures and groups as morally and intellectually disabled in the last 470 years. For the same reason, the Peruvian State has followed the model of the culturally homogeneous Hispanic Nation-State since its foundation as a republic in 1821 until the last decades. While only 10% of the Peruvian people spoke Spanish as their native language, the first Peruvian Constitution (1823) declared Spanish as the only official national language. Nevertheless, Quechua, the Inca’s language, was the most popular language at that time. There are more than fifty indigenous languages in Peru today. Most indigenous people were under the domination of landowners who also controlled the Central Peruvian State by family, social, and economic relationships. These landowners had strong relationships with the world economic system by their food and cotton exportations.

Slavery was abolished by the Peruvian State in 1854. Few years before, the first Chinese immigrants arrived to Peru (1849). They were known as “Coolies” and they

worked for the sugar and cotton plantations. One of the most well-known Chinese descendents is the popular poet and musician Felipe Pinglo (1899-1936). Fifty years after, the first Japanese contract workers group reached Peru, also to go to the sugar and cotton plantations. All these migrations enriched racial and cultural Peruvian diversity.

During the independent Republic period, the first public education programs were implemented in urban areas, with them began the construction of a national identity that reflected the values of dominant group; women and non-Western groups were out of Peruvian citizenship. The requirements to have political rights were: to be male, literate and Spanish-speaker. A female, witness, and analyst of the new republic was Flora Tristán (1803-1844), who travel across the country. Her book *Peregrinations of a Pariah* (1838) reflects her experience of this travel. She was an activist socialist and feminist that devoted her last years to organize the international workers union in Europe. Marx and Engel said "... it is in Flora Tristan proposal where we have found this statement for the first time (the necessity of organizing workers)" (Marx, Engels, 1976). Due to restrictions of female freedom at that time, even in the high class, her influence reaches small intellectual groups during and after her life. Simone de Beauvoir affirmed:

Most female heroines are oddities: adventuresses and originals notables less for the importance of their acts than for the singularity of their fates. Thus if we compare Joan de Arc, Mme Roland, Flora Tristan, with Richelieu, Danton, Lenin, we see that their greatness is primarily subjective: they are exemplary figures rather than historical agents (1974).

The voices of Peruvian feminists after Flora Tristan, for almost a hundred forty years, were voices of women of light skin, high class, literary activity, members of small intellectual circles committed to social justice and modernity. In the beginning, they were seen as exceptions. Yet, generation by generation, they were changing the women image

inside urban Hispanic culture. They displayed critiques of Peruvian social system and due to their denunciations some of them were condemned by the Catholic Church or the Peruvian state, other were isolated in psychiatric hospitals or in exile. Some of them were Clorinda Matto de Turner (1852-1909) *Birds without Nest*, Mercedes Cabello de Carbonera (1845-1909) *The Conspirator*, Dora Mayer (1868-1959) *The Development of Progressive Ideas in Perú* and founder of *The Autonomy* newspaper, and Magda Portal (1900-1989) *The New Woman*, *Latin America against the Imperialism*.

The system of landlord's domination was ended by the progressive military regime of General Juan Velasco Alvarado (1968-1975). This administration expropriated from landowners and returned lands to indigenous communities in the first years of its period. Yet, the world demand for traditional Peruvian exports declined immediately (Mauceri, 1995).

Peruvian women appeared in a new role at the end of 70's. They became organizers of poor suburban towns, grassroots leaders, who fight not only for political rights, but also for economical rights. Now, they are indigenous, black, mixed mother women, with not enough formal education, with a powerful practical interest: to fight against poverty. They are committed to democratic and feminist ideals. Some of them were Maria Elena Moyano Delgado and Pascuala Rosado Cornejo. The first of them was President of Women Popular Federation of Villa El Salvador that promoted the Milk Glass Program that served a millions of poor school students per day. She was assassinated by the terrorist movement Shining Path in her 33 years in 1992. Pascuala Rosado Cornejo was founder of Huaycan autonomous community. Under her leadership,

this community expelled terrorists groups and managed successful strategies to fight poverty. She was, also, assassinated by Shining Path in 1996.

Social Violence Cases.- Centuries of intolerance make Peruvian society a weighed down community by cultural conflicts. Most human rights violations are linked to cultural, racial, and gender prejudices. The lack of cultural tolerance can bring Peruvian society to a state of extreme violence similar to which it had few years ago. On the one hand, the Peruvian Truth Commission has established (2003) that the political violence experienced by Peru between 1980 and 2000 was the most intense, extensive and prolonged episode of conflict in the entire history of the republic. It was also a conflict that revealed deep and painful divides and misunderstandings in Peruvian society. The victims who died in the violence were 69,280 individuals. 75% of the victims were civilians who spoke Quechua or other native languages as their mother tongue. The war against terrorism exacerbates the historical racism.

Shining Path is a terrorist group based on Abimael Guzmán's discourse which is assumed as unquestionably truth by him followers. He used Marx, Polt Pot, and Mao Tse Tung thesis to propose a revolution in Perú. This movement is opposed to any cultural diversity. It has been especially cruel against indigenous and female political leaders, who have not admitted its goals and its methods. Shining Path even has quartered or sexually enslaved thousands of women in the last twenty years. The Peruvian military forces that fight blindly against Shining Path were also systematically violent against indigenous and women.

On the other hand, the 50.41% of Peruvian population are women. However, only 18% of current Peruvian Congress representatives are women. The current Peruvian

government has 14 ministries and only 2 are run by women, one of these is the minister of Women and Social Development. The first time that a woman was appointed as Minister was in 1987.

Illiteracy affects 10.7% of Peruvian population. Yet, while males have the 5.3% of illiteracy, women have the 15.8% (INEI, 2004). One woman per hour is victim of sexual assault. 60% of women are victims of violence in their domestic relationships (Manuela Ramos NGO, 2004). About Peruvian gender issues, it is important to observe that women of middle and poor urban and rural social sector have increased their participation in productive roles in the last decades; nevertheless their domestic responsibilities are still the same. In other words, most Peruvian women have duplicated their labors because men still refuse to take domestic responsibilities, even when they are unemployed. It is necessary to rebuilt fatherhood paradigms.

It is hard to think that a successful national economic program can change intolerant social practices and beliefs. The Peruvian society not only needs financial invest but also a culture of tolerance.

Chapter 2. National and Global Interactions.

Legal and Economical Context.- In 1971, under the military administration, the Peruvian state signed the International Convention of Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination.

Between 1972 and 1975, the Peruvian state declared Quechua (the most popular indigenous language) as an official language as well as Spanish, and undertook the creation of different bilingual programs and initiatives. In 1977, the Peruvian state signed the international Pact on Economic, Social, and Cultural rights. In 1979, it is signed the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. The former (1980) and the current (1993) Peruvian Constitution incorporated the principles of all these documents. However, Peruvian multiculturalism is still conflictive because the derogatory images among these groups have not been erased and moreover, all Peruvian groups have projected ambivalent if not pejorative images of females. Most of these prejudices were stated by the Hispanic community during the colonial period (1532-1821). The Hispanic group believes that it represents Western civilization in Peru. It historically has subordinated other groups by violence for economic and political interests. Indigenous and Afro-descents Peruvian people stated in 2001:

... we still suffering racism, racial discrimination ... we demand bilingual and intercultural education across the whole country and in all levels with direct

participation of discriminated people ...” (Peruvian Inter-Ethnic National Commission).

There is a divorce between constitutional rights and social practices. The Peruvian Constitution states (1993):

“Article 2. ... All individuals have the right: ... 19. to their ethnic and cultural identity. The State recognizes and protects the ethnical and cultural diversity of the Nation.”

Since 1990 until now, the Peruvian State, as other Latin American States, has recognized its multiculturalism and it has expressed its commitment to inter-culturality, which is defined as follows:

... as a process of social negotiation which aims to construct dialogical and more just relation between social actors belonging to different cultural universes on the basis of recognition of diversity ... It is a notion which encompasses the global society and helps to overcome dichotomies, particularly that of indigenous/non-indigenous ... There cannot be inter-culturality without democracy (Cusco, Seminar, 1995).

The intercultural concept is becoming part of the policy discourse at the governmental level, but there is a gap between the political rhetoric and the management of social issues and educational programs. The main causes of this divorce are three: first, the Spanish speaking population, which is the dominant group, continues to believe the other groups should be culturally converted. This dominant group (that is present in all social classes) tends to place high value on foreign language instruction (English, French, German, etc.) while considering bilingual Indigenous education detrimental to education and national unity. Second, some indigenous people perceive their native tongues as an obstacle to their children's economic advance (after centuries of economical marginalization). And finally, market-oriented government policies omit the educational needs of minority or non-dominant cultural groups. The Peruvian State, an economically

and politically fragile state, has opted to follow economic policies and political positions greatly influenced by international donor organizations. The implementation of Structural Adjustment Programs, prescribed by the World Bank, has affected overall the situation of marginalized populations.

Peruvian Education Reforms.- Since the beginning of Peruvian Republic, education system was committed with the promotion of Catholic moral values and the construction of a national identity. The first public programs were implemented in urban areas and they reflected the values of Catholic, male, European, and Spanish-speakers, as I affirmed above. The imposition of this culture increased the abandonment, impoverishment and isolation of the others. Peruvian education has become one of the main systems to perpetuate division and marginalization of non-European communities and women through denying their contribution to national culture.

Peruvian rural area was controlled by powerful landlords since colonial days until the agrarian reform in 1969. These landlords were opposed to offer to indigenous and black people full access to education because illiteracy, marginalization, and poverty of these groups gave to these landlords the opportunity to get a cheap labor force.

When the instruction reached indigenous people that had the purpose of making the Indians understand the Western ways (Valcárcel, 1968). The organic law of education in 1941 defined the goals of the indigenous education as learning of the Spanish language and the habits of civilized life (Gonzales Mantilla, 1999). During the 1960s, in their speeches about education for the rural communities, politicians referred to school as a symbol of social redemption (Navarro Grau, 1966).

The most important positive shift was made in during the 70's when the Revolutionary Military Government of general Velasco proposed an educational reform. This reform aimed to build the country along humanistic, democratic and nationalistic ideals. This reform expressed criticism of traditional education as a tool for alienation of the Indian from the life of the nation. Traditional education used a language of instruction (Spanish) that constituted a denial of their cultural heritage (Comisión de Reforma de la Educación, 1970). This reform introduced the conceptualization of bilingual education as a valid form of educational development and demanded "the most fundamental shift in attitudes on issues of culture and race" (Churchill, 1976). This reform was paralyzed in 1976 when general Velasco was replaced by general Morales Bermudez, who under economic stabilization measures dictated by the IMF, decided to defuse it. In spite of its progressive contents on cultural diversity, this reform did not take note of gender inequalities in its diagnosis of Peruvian social issues. This is not strange considering that this reform was led by military males.

During the 80's the counter-reform of the education system began with the return to democracy. President Belaunde led a civilian administration which was indifferent toward non-Western communities and women issues, like most of Peruvian administrations. Ignoring the multiethnic reality of majority of country, Belaunde government faced a social and economic crisis as well as the first outbreak of terrorist violence of Shining Path. This administration failed trying to manage all these issues. Shining Path put in evidence the fragility of public and social institutions of the state.

In 1985, Garcia assumed the presidency when 42% of Peruvians were living in extreme poverty. At the end of its administration, the national situation was worst. The

40% of population was living in a state of emergency and 54% of Peruvians were poor. However, under Garcia's administration the bilingual-intercultural education policy was created (1989). The new bilingual policy adopted the principles of interculturality, nevertheless with little understanding of the political, cultural, structural and pedagogical implications of its implementation.

After the dissolution of the Soviet Republics Union and the European communist States, the triumph of US liberalism looked to be universal. Latin American States, as most Third World States, tried to adjust to the new and unexpected situation by adopting completely the principles and the organizational structure of the Neo-Liberal States³ during the nineties.

The new international scene, the economic failure of many public companies, development programs managed by the Latin America states in the 1980's, and the reorganization of Latin American States according to the Neo-Liberal Model as requirement to access loans from IMF, WB, and the Inter-American Development Bank, were used by Latin American politicians and scholars as the most important arguments to accelerate political, economical, and legal changes.

Classical theories of Adam Smith and David Ricardo influenced the policy of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, and these agencies demanded that Latin American administrations promote free markets in all fields, including the public school and university systems. The economic crises especially affected the quality of educational public systems (Arnove, 1997). The reorganization of Latin American States, often referred to as "modernization", not only implied the legal and economic changes

³ One of the most important features of the Neo-Liberal doctrine (or radical capitalism) is its market-centric conception of the social life.

following the free market doctrines, but also the reorganization of educational systems.

In the Peruvian case, the Neo-Liberal Educational Reform's idea of the public education system's privatization could not be realized because it received wide opposition from civil society during the presidential election debates in 1990⁴. Nevertheless, the Neo-Liberal Education Policy has influenced the content of the public school curricula since then. It promotes a basic goal: the development of labor skills for the global free market. This goal is seen as more important than the development of citizen skills for democratic societies, and also seen as the most appropriate to pursue in the age of Neo-Liberalism's globalization.

The Peruvian State has withdrawn support for educational programs attending to marginalized populations (Hornberger, 2000). The economic process has benefited a small urban, non-indigenous sector of the population, and the gap between rich and poor has become even greater.

Horneberger (2000) and Freeland (1996) observe the case of the bilingual intercultural education project in the community of Puno, Perú. This project was severely limited when the government withdrew economic support for bilingual teacher training and teaching material development, both essential components of the intercultural program. The intercultural and bilingual programs that have managed to survive are those that have the full commitment of the local communities:

It was missionaries who ... introduced the Harakmbut Indigenous community in the South East Amazon ... to freireian pedagogy ..., as it was the Peruvian government's national system for the support of social mobilization in the early 1970s, which encouraged the Napuruna peoples from the Northern Amazon to organize in defense of their economic and cultural rights In both cases, indigenous peoples became fully involved in educational projects for their

⁴ The main competitors were the writer Mario Vargas Llosa and the professor Alberto Fujimori. The first, held the privatization's idea. The second, descendant of a Japanese family, won the election.

communities, the use of 'interculturality' became an essential value to promote local participation in decision making, ... (Laura Valdiviezo, 2002).

The struggle against cultural oppression includes the realization of bilingual and intercultural educational curricula as tools to build multicultural citizenship in Peru. However, the World Bank's priorities for education do not recognize this need. The last structural and curricular reform of Peruvian education in 1999, promoted by the World Bank, highlighted the world-work orientation and it did not include anything about Peruvian multiculturalism.

Liberal education reform as part of the Neo-liberal policies promoted by the WB, the IMF and the Inter-American Development Bank has undermined the Peruvian internal political agreements regarding the necessity to develop bilingual and intercultural educational programs, which are considered essential political and cultural projects in building the new Peruvian Democracy.

The neo-liberal orientation reflects the World Bank's point of view of education and development:

The World Bank is strongly motivated by the fact that education, alongside health, food security, water and sanitation, is fundamental to a society's economic development. Countries which invest sufficiently in education, in turn, gain a large pool of workers who can be trained for skilled trades and professions, people able to generate goods and services, set up businesses, pay taxes, increase consumer spending and thus contribute to economic growth.

Investment, development projects and reforms in areas such as administration, infrastructure and the environment will take root more easily if the people affected understand the benefits of these schemes and are able to maintain and improve on them over time (World Bank, 2002).

This perspective does not pay attention to the moral and ethical end that education may have and it centers human life in the material process of production and consumption. This economic point of view does not realize that the promotion of social

justice is as profitable as the promotion of competition. The last civil war caused a loss of 35 billions of dollars while the Peruvian external debt is 28 billions of dollars. From the 1990's until the present, Neo-Liberal discourse on education received objections in Latin America. I want to endorse some of these objections. I hold a skeptical position about the promises of neo-liberal reform: these policies cannot guarantee improvement in the quality of Peruvian education.

The Western Model of Tolerance.- The globalization of international context usually is described as a process of Westernization. It includes new communication technology, international free trade, massive migrations among countries, preponderance of English, promotion of urban USA life style, and the promotion of democracy through liberal and neo-liberal thoughts. Is liberal state the appropriate ground to promote cultural tolerance in Peru? To respond, I will analyze and question this Western contribution to the development of global democracy: the liberal discourses.

According to Rawls (1921 -2002), the liberal democratic State is believed to have a culturally neutral position. Therefore, all cultural groups have to receive uniform treatment. All cultures have to be respected by other cultures, and all cultures are to honor human rights. Principles: all individuals are essentially rational, independent, and equal. From these principles are deduced rights that allow all individuals to be in a symmetrical position to acquire goods. Some of the primary goods are: freedom of association, integrity of the person, political liberties, income, wealth, and culture. That situation brings as result an individualist social system. Culture has been recognized as a human right in liberal systems in the last three decades. Since then, many projects has been undertaken to give an adequate treatment to national cultural diversity.

However, the essential description of the individual as rational, independent, and equal is not culturally neutral or universal. Western philosophers have disseminated this image since XVIIth century (Descartes, Locke, and Kant, before Rawls). Culture is the horizon where individuals perceive reality, build their identities, and project their lives. Culture is crucial to develop and to keep rational skills. If individuals cannot give up their culture to take rational decisions, how can a State take decisions about education without cultural preferences? Who can run this kind of State? However, it is important to mention that the multicultural liberalism is successful in some countries such as Switzerland, Holland, Belgium, Sweden, and Canada. But one important clue of this success is the fact that the main cultural conflicts inside these societies are conflicts among Western Christian groups; in other words, among groups that share underlying common beliefs.

Yet, what happens when cultural conflicts are among Western and Non-Western groups or groups that do not share underlying common beliefs? Precisely, the Peruvian cultural conflicts involve Western and Non-Western groups. I analyze the case of the underlying beliefs of Peruvian indigenous communities.

According to indigenous culture, individuals are not intrinsically independent but are interdependent upon one another, and overall they are always dependent on the land. This consideration brings them to another basic political principle as the principle of Reciprocity which rules interaction among individuals and between them and the land. This is the base of their collective social system. Indigenous cultures have an alternative world view. Indigenous identities are built into this relationship between the community and the natural environment. In this way, the land is not seen as belonging to the community, but that the community belongs to the land. The right to access to the land is

for indigenous people an essential human right. Given this, the idea of land as private property does not make full sense for indigenous communities, neither does the idea to sell the land.

This underlying belief helps to explain the Tambogrande vs. Manhattan case. Since 1980 the rural community of Tambogrande with indigenous roots (Tallan culture) has refused to sell its lands where it was found an estimated 42'300,000 tons of gold, zinc, copper, and silver. The Peruvian State and different transnational corporations have made very attractive economic proposals to this people. However, the peasants have preferred to keep their life style, and they are decided to fight for the future of it. The Manhattan is the current transnational failing in this project.

On the other hand, some indigenous communities have believed for centuries that political responsibilities have to be taken by the virtuous elders, because they are supposed to have long experience and enough prudence to take the right decisions. Despite the almost five centuries of colonization indigenous communities still maintain expectations, skills, and images of political power that differ clearly from those of Western culture. Yet, in this long process, many indigenous, as well as, African and Asian individuals, have lost, denied or hidden part of their identities by adopting the culture of the dominant group. This lack of recognition and self-recognition has produced moral suffering and it has brought discrimination policies.

Tension Between Liberalism and Neo-Liberalism.- In my view there is an internal tension in the Neo-Liberal discourse on education related to democracy and free market doctrines. According to this, the democratic ideal of equality may be undermined by the principles of the free market. In other words, there is a potential contradiction between

political liberalism (John Locke) and economic liberalism (Adam Smith). Neo-Liberalism is closer to Economic Liberalism than Political Liberalism.

On the one hand, the liberal discourse on education, inspired by political liberalism, states that schools have to prepare all young people to take on the duties of citizenship in a competent manner. According to this end, all students should be treated equally. Historically, equality in education has been interpreted in two ways: a) a priori (universal), the students have to receive the same education regardless of race, ethnicity, social condition, place, and sex, instilling in them a common political culture. This conception corresponds to the model of the mono-cultural liberal Nation-State; b) a posteriori (particular), students should have the same opportunity to education according to their historical, economic, ethnic-cultural context, and sex. This conception corresponds to the model of the multicultural liberal Nation-State. After the debate of the last decades, the Peruvian State adopted the second position:

... it is necessary to make a cultural and linguistic politics according to the nature of our country. It has to start from the premise that 'to bigger diversity, bigger wealth'. It needs to be done that the State and the society recognized and assumed positively to Peru as a multicultural Country and that they opted for strengthening and spreading the principles for a peaceful living together, the development of equality, and the respect for the cultural differences (Ministerio de Educación, 2002).

In this sense, the Peruvian State is committed to multicultural liberalism, in other words, it has to respect other moral, political, and economic conceptions inside of constitutional restrictions.

On the other hand, the discourse of equality inspired by economic liberalism proposes that schools prepare students to satisfy their material interests in the free global market (which is a Western construction), or at least to ensure their economic futures.

This has meant to develop labor skills, knowledge, and vocations. In this sense, the educational system is subordinate to the economic system. The premise that is operating here is that democracy requires previous economic development.

Both democratic and capitalist goals are not essentially opposed, but neither are they essentially complementary. Democracy is not a consequence of the free-market nor is the free-market a consequence of democracy. In fact, the capitalist market is oriented to produce socio-economic inequalities through competition; this always produces winners and losers. However, the political restrictions of private interests prevent arbitrary expropriation, slavery, extermination, or servitude of individuals or groups inside the free market. Political restrictions can secure fair conditions for competition in the market. However, if the political goals are subordinated to capitalist interests, the society may lose cohesion, and that could facilitate the exploitation of individuals or groups. Social disintegration could bring extreme conflict and violence. The recent Peruvian civil war serves as an argument to support this idea. For this reason, I find problematic the presentation of free market “laws” as the main context of the educational process.

Faced with increasing globalization, the rapid spread of democracy, technological innovation, the emergence of new market economies, and changing public/private roles, countries need more highly educated and skilled populations, and individuals need more skills and information to compete and thrive (World Bank, 1999).

In some way, the World Bank’s picture of globalization shows democracy expansion as inevitable, as an independent process of social inter-subjectivity, and for this reason, as an issue that has no priority in the Neo-Liberal education’s agenda.

George Soros holds that the main global capitalist system’s deficiencies are “... the instability of financial markets, the asymmetry between center and periphery, and the

difficulty in taxing capital” (1998). He states that these are due to the “... laissez-faire ideology, which contends that free markets are self-sustaining and market excesses will correct themselves, provided that government or regulators don’t interfere with the self-correcting mechanism”(1998). He asserts that global monopolies and oligopolies must be constrained by regulations because their goal is to dominate, not to protect or to promote competition.

Before the global era, the European and North American States played an important role in maintaining a system of political and economic equilibrium providing equality of opportunity, protecting employment and social safety net. Yet, the globalization program has reduced the state’s role in the economy (Soros uses the Thatcher and Reagan administrations as examples). This reduction of State regulation could be a cause of social conflict. By abdicating State power in controlling markets, many social and labor rights have been abolished to favor the economic interests of corporations.

Soros holds that market values are not enough to provide social cohesion:

Markets reduce everything, including human beings (labor) and nature (land), to commodities. We can have a market economy but we cannot have a market society. In addition to markets, society needs institutions to serve such social goals as political freedom and social justice. There are such institutions in individual countries, but not in the global society. (1998)

Soros bets on a global multicultural liberalism that he calls “open society”:

Any variety of Asian, or other, values would fit into a global open society, provided that some universal values reflecting our fallibility and our concern for others – such as the freedom of expression and the right to a fair trial – were also respected. Western democracy is not the only form that an open society could take. (1998)

One of the most internationally well-known Peruvian writer is Mario Vargas Llosa, who also represents the neo-liberal wave in the Peruvian political sphere. He confessed in 1990: “ I visited many heads of States in the last two years ... However, I only followed to one of them an admiration without restrictions ... Mrs. Thatcher.” (1994).

Vargas Llosa put forward the position that economic freedom and political freedom work together, and that when there is a conflict, it is due always to political ambitions:

The true enemy of the freedom culture in the end of this millennium brings together to all extremism, barbarian and eccentric dogmatic, and if it is not stopped on time, it could grow up, metabolize them and give them a kind of terrifying honor: the nationalism (2001).

He recognizes that there is a tension between the values of freedom and equality.

Vargas Llosa sees that the threat inside this relationship comes only from the political monopolies, not from economic monopolies. Therefore, the powers of the States should be reduced towards the private companies:

The essential thing is that ... the economical rights being respected as well as the civil and political rights, that all citizens have guaranteed their access to the market ... as it happens in the USA ... (where) the system subsists strong and anybody thinks in replace it, just in reform it. (2001).

This description is naïve. Obviously Vargas Llosa does not know that there are dozens of millions of poor people in USA and several movements against industrialization, capitalism, imperialism, etc. Poor US people seem to be “invisible” to those who do not like to see them. Yet, even in first class hotels, where Vargas Llosa likes to stay when he is traveling, there are poor people doing the hard work.

Once again, I will refer the Tambogrande’s case to show how the Neo-Liberal agenda can undermine the multicultural liberal agenda for a global democracy. This

community of mixed peasants has incorporated the democratic discourse and the legal tools to struggle for its land rights after three decades of its broad access to public education and two decades after recovering all its political rights. As Teivo Teivainen states, “democracy has become a widely accept norm in our world today” (2002). The Tambogrande’s peasants appealed to a public consultation, Referendum, to protect their rural lifestyle against the Peruvian State allied to a foreign capitalist corporation. The principles of Democracy, which are the constitutional base of the Peruvian State, are used to illegitimate the aims of the State itself. The civic and rational position of Tambogrande’s community left the Peruvian State without legal arguments. However, the State opted for a fallacy as response, calling the Tambogrande’s Referendum illegal. Manhattan admitted the Peruvian State statement quickly and moreover it went further on; it described as terrorist an international NGO that supports the Tambogrande rights. The world picture offered by the Western global media is put upside down in this case: poor peasants from south region argue using Western democratic principles while a corporation from north region responds with a war’s rhetoric. In addition to this, the Tambogrande’s peasants have built a network with national and international NGOs using new communication technology as Internet. The globalization is also incorporated as an opportunity to demand democracy in a cosmopolitan scene and to obtain solidarity with Tambogrande’s claim, even in rich countries, included Canada. The cyber space is used by these peasants to access to a new kind of national and international public sphere, while the Peruvian State denies them access to their real national public sphere. As part of this strategy, the peasants published by Internet a letter sent to Peruvian authorities that can be endorsed by any person around the world. The letter is put in three languages

Spanish, English, and German. The website is

<http://www.tambogrande.org.pe/cartatambo.php>>.⁵

The economic interest to not recognize the Tambogrande land rights is obvious. Mining exportation is the main source of revenue of the Peruvian State since its foundation, following in this way a colonial pattern. The recognition of the land right as a citizen's right would limit the Peruvian State economic right and it would put restrictions to the national and international corporations' economic freedom for future cases; and it sounds like a heresy in a Neo-liberal period. Moreover, Tambogrande's case shows how the discourses of global politic liberalism and economic liberalism can be in conflict, how they are not co-extensive, how Democracy can be an obstacle for free-market, and how

⁵ The letter says: "Dr. Alejandro Toledo, Presidente de la República del Perú.

Señor Presidente: Me dirijo a usted con suma preocupación por la situación que vive la población del distrito de Tambogrande (Piura), primer productor de mangos y limones del Perú. Según la información recibida, la población de Tambogrande a través de una Consulta Vecinal convocada por el gobierno local, expresó su opinión sobre la posible explotación minera en su distrito. El resultado mostró la disconformidad del pueblo de Tambogrande que mayoritariamente, un 98.6% de los votos válidos, manifestaron NO estar de acuerdo con la realización de la actividad minera en el distrito. De acuerdo a estudios técnicos (INRENA, y consultores independientes) este proyecto resulta absolutamente inviable en los campos ambiental, jurídico, económico y social por las siguientes consideraciones: El proyecto está ubicado en el epicentro del Fenómeno de El Niño, en donde las lluvias son torrenciales, haciendo de las canchas de relave y el tajo abierto una amenaza constante de contaminación. El proyecto minero competiría con la agricultura por el recurso del agua, que de por sí ya es escaso en la zona. Además la geología del área permitiría una rápida y peligrosa formación de ácidos que afectaría la calidad del agua superficial y subterránea. En estos dos casos la agricultura resultaría perjudicada. Se afectaría la zona urbana del distrito, teniendo que desalojarse aproximadamente a 1,500 familias violándose su derecho a la vivienda e incumpléndose la normatividad nacional vigente. La contaminación afectaría la agroexportación de frutos que anualmente representa un ingreso de 20 millones de dólares para los agricultores locales, lo que significaría pérdida de los puestos de trabajo que brinda la agricultura en el Valle que son alrededor de 15,000. La población no ha otorgado la licencia social para la realización del proyecto puesto que nunca fue consultada sobre el mismo y más bien haciendo uso de los canales institucionales y democráticos manifestó su opción por el modelo agroindustrial y la no pertinencia en la zona de la actividad minera. El deficiente Estudio de Impacto Ambiental presentado por la empresa Manhattan, no hace más que reflejar la falta de argumentos para evitar el daño ambiental en la zona que se produciría afectando los derechos humanos de la población consagrados en la Constitución Política del Estado y en los Instrumentos Internacionales de Derechos Humanos como la Convención Interamericana de DDHH, el Pacto Internacional de Derechos Civiles y Políticos y el Pacto Internacional de Derechos Económicos Sociales y Culturales. Consideramos que las inversiones extranjeras son necesarias para el Perú, pero no pueden darse a costa de la vida de todo un pueblo, sino que deben servir al mismo. No se debe imponer una decisión, no se debe olvidar que el agro significa mucho para el desarrollo de todo el país. Por lo expuesto anteriormente solicitamos que no se apruebe el Estudio de Impacto Ambiental presentado por la Empresa Minera Manhattan Minerals Corporation por tratarse de un proyecto que pone en peligro el modelo de desarrollo agroindustrial elegido por los tambograndinos así como el goce de sus derechos humanos."

free-market can undermine Democracy. This tension can be found not only in peripheral but also in core places of the world-system.

Yet, the Tambogrande's struggle is not an ideological challenge to the world political and economic system. It is only a demand of performance of laws based on the principles established by the international and national legal system.

Tambogrande's population is massively mixed, mainly from Indigenous and Hispanic races. In fact, its name is an union of one Quechua and one Spanish word: "Tambo"(Quechua) means "hotel on the road" and "grande" means "big". The Indigenous roots are linked to Tallan people who inhabited this area before the expansion of Inkas Empire. After 1532, they were conquered by the Spanish empire. The standout characteristic of Tallan political organization was the women's control of power. The Tambogrande's culture is basically syncretistic now. This shows a fusion between Catholic, indigenous, modern and capitalist values. Almost 100% of Tambogrande's people are practicing member of Catholic Church; moreover, as part of their indigenous heritage, their love to their land and their collective sense of the life are an essential element of their identity. However, they are linked to modernity through their practice of democracy and to capitalist system through their food trade. Their political identity is not based on their ethnic identity, nor is there any mention of racial issues in their appeals.

It is important to indicate that there has been among Peruvian politician and intellectuals a prevailed rhetoric that has glorified the Inka past while spurning the Indian present through the whole Peruvian Republic history (Mendez, 1996)

Chapter 3: The non-Reaching Democracy.

Peruvian Curricula Makes Discrimination and Violence Invisible.- Peruvian Education Ministry published the Basic Curricular Design (BCD from now on) for 2004 Middle and High School Levels inside the Curricular Development National Strategy Program. This document reflects the state policies in “The State of Right and of Democratic Governmental Year” and “The Inclusive Education Decade”. It was elaborated in the last two years with the participation of universities, professional unions, NGOs, international advisors and workshops across the whole country. It is supposed that this document “... translates the great national aspirations” in the education field. According to the BCD “...the great aspiration is to develop skills, knowledge, values, and attitudes in the students that allow them an integral education to reach their self-fulfillment ... (it promotes) the full practice of their duties and rights inside a mutually binding and democratic society ... their integral training is based on a moral education and on the full development of essential skills: creative thinking, critical thinking, solutions of problems, and taking of decisions”.

The BDC 2004 is divided by 10 areas: language and communication, foreign language, mathematics, science-technology-environment, social science, work education, individual- family- human relationship, physical education, art, and religion. The BCD suggests as transverse themes: peace and citizenship education; human rights education; intercultural education; love, sexuality, and family education; environment education; and gender equity education. Considering Peruvian conflicts in the last decades, there are

many reasons to agree with this transverse themes list. Even more, this list is important because it reflects the Peruvian state and academic dominant discourse point of view about national themes where there is necessary more social consideration to build a satisfactory national agreement. However, this document affirms that each regional or local educational institution has to choose and define its transverse themes considering its own socio-cultural reality. Moreover, the BCD suggests the promotion of following moral values: peace, respect, solidarity, responsibility, honesty, freedom, laboriousness, and tolerance. Also, it proposes to stimulate the following attitudes: respect rules for living together; perseverance at work; proactive learning; cooperative and democratic position; organizational orientation.

In spite of principles that inspire this document, the curricula show a notorious lack of affirmation of cultural diversity and tolerance. As example, the language-communication area does not mention the Peruvian linguistic diversity, which includes around fifty indigenous languages, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Italian, and other languages preserved by smaller groups at home and school. This implicit negation offers a false image of Perú as a mono-linguistic country among the students, perpetuates the politics of ignorance against non-Hispanic communities, and satisfies the promotion of dominant group as exclusive representative of civilization in the country.

The negation of Peruvian linguistic legacy reduces possibilities to reflect on human communication in the context of linguistic diversity, which will be the more frequent social context in the future, due to process of globalization. The only area where the second language acquisition is promoted is “foreign language” (which means

European languages) which permits to infer that “inclusive education” just includes European diversity, and excludes all other national and foreign cultures.

The same Eurocentric perspective is present in science-technology-environment area. This only promotes the European reason achievements. There is not a sentence about indigenous, African, and Asian science-technology-ecology despite their wonderful expressions.

Obviously, the appropriate area to work on Peruvian cultural conflicts is social science: “This area has as a purpose the construction of the social and cultural identity and the citizenship training of teenager and young females and males”.

However, there is not any mention of real social issues such as racism and violence against women, both them exacerbated during the last civil war until they become causes of genocide. In some way, political violence was possible due to the pre-existent culture of violence. Even worse, the BDC does not recognize the contribution of Non-Western groups and women to the national legacy. Moreover, there is not an explicit description of Peruvian culture. The official discourse about participatory citizenship, tolerance, solidarity and cooperation is so general that it is appropriate to any national context. In other words, the Peruvian government is promoting a social science which is blind to national social reality.

The individual-family-human relationship area has as a goal “... the development of capabilities for self-knowledge, strengthen of self-esteem and autonomy, and the development of social skills for positive interaction”. The sexuality and gender are mentioned as important elements in the identity construction, however, ethnicity and

color are omitted while in Peruvian social practices these features are decisive in the friendship relationships, and even more, in the marriage customs.

The religious education area ignores directly the existence of indigenous, or non-Catholic, or non-Christian religious in Perú. Even more, non-Catholic people are called “non-believers” practicing in this way an obvious exclusion against non-Catholic in the “inclusive education decade”.

This self-censorship about cultural, racial, and sexual intolerance has been the usual position of national institutions run by the Hispanic group during our life as an independent republic. There are no effective actions to banish beliefs and social practices that offend the dignity of all human beings and produce a painful everyday experience in most Peruvian people. In few words, the BCD shows a big gap between its principle and the contents chosen. This gap on the paper is significant to understand how hard is to reach a culture of tolerance in the everyday life in Perú.

Building a Tolerance through Intercultural Dialogues.- Finally, I want to propose some ideas to build a more open society, a intercultural democratic citizenship based on the practice of dialogue oriented to building mutual recognition among interdependent cultural groups.

The dialogue is an inter-subjective intellectual and emotional activity that characterizes us as human beings. It is the basic process through which human awareness and identity are built (Taylor, 1994; Habermas, 1999). The game of questions and answers permit us to improve the understanding of our discoveries in the internal and external reality since the early childhood. This understanding will be richer if the answers

extend our imagination and curiosity, and let us inter-act efficiently with our whole reality.

We can not learn to talk if we are isolated from other human beings since the beginning. None can grow up as a human being in the absolute social isolation. The case of wolf-children demonstrates this statement. Everybody is growing up as a human being thanks to the verbal communication with, at least, other human being. The verbal communication permits us to assimilate cultural traditions. Humanization implies to acquire a culture. Every dialogue is placed in a particular cultural context; without culture there is not dialogue. Therefore, our identity is built through dialogues that belong to particular world-views. Identity is shaped exchanging images about our-self and other selves through inter-actions. These images can be rewarding or painful. In the last case, these images will prevent our self acceptance and, of course, our self-esteem (Taylor, 1994). This is cause of moral suffering, which, in extreme situations, can lead to suicide.

For the previous arguments, it is very unhealthy to produce and to keep pejorative images of individuals and groups. One advantage of an open dialogue is that it can defuse and erase these prejudices and it can permit righter images of others, because through dialogue, we can incorporate the self-portray of the others in our descriptions.

A human being, already educated as a talkative being, can keep its basic characteristics even isolated, because this individual is capable of continuing making dialogues with voices of the learned culture (Taylor, 1994).

The dialogue implies the capability of articulating at least two perspectives about the same topic. Dialogue permits consensus, mutual understanding, or mutual recognition, which are the basis of all social organization. Thanks to dialogue agreement

can be satisfactory and individuals can voluntarily commit to work collectively. In this sense, dialogue has a capability to link individuals ethically and politically.

However, dialogue, as all human activity, can fail by many reasons. Main threads against the dialogue are the dogmatism and the greed. The dogmatism is by definition opposed to any diversity. An individual is dogmatic when uses its reason mono-logically to impose its opinion like the only valid. When the dogmatism prevails in one community, it reduces the spiritual richness of such society. The dictatorship of one point of view is too insufficient to comprise the whole human experience of one community. The dogmatic discourse is incapable of self-assessment and, due to this lack of self-control, it can bring distorted judgments on reality and other people. Delirious judgment can generate xenophobia, collective paranoia, blind hates, and, finally, genocides.

Dialogue is, also, threatened when some speakers try to use it as a tool to deceive other interlocutors with the intension to favor their particular material interests over the common interests. This intension undermines the end of dialogue: the agreement. Nevertheless, a strong culture of dialogue in the community is the best defense against the false interlocutor.

The dialogue can open a common space where participants' worldviews, historical narratives, identities, and expectations are shown. This inter-subjective process permits to redefine images of each member and community. The new individual and collective self-knowledge permit a better position to reformulate, or to strengthen, or to defuse, beliefs and social practices that prevent a rational satisfactory living together for everybody, and of course, the dialogue can lead to a new agreement about principles and tools that have to be supported to guarantee peace and dignity for all community

members. Thanks to the dialogue, cultural differences can become a great opportunity for mutual enrichment thanks to mutual recognition. Specifically in this research, this dialogue is proposed as a way to build formal educational curricula committed to inter-cultural democracy at community school level. The intercultural recognition is proposed as an ideal principle to build inter-cultural democracy. The intercultural recognition does not mean that all groups have to subscribe the same values in all cases to reach the agreement. In many cases, it is enough to recognize different and particular values in each group that are compatible with human rights. That is the case, for example, of different religious belief. Catholic, Protestant, Buddhist, Muslim, indigenous religious, Jewish, etc., and non-religious people can live together with peace and dignity without sharing common underlying beliefs on religion. A great achievement in the intercultural dialogue is the discovery of differences, to know that our worldview is one among other possible perspectives. This is already a great contribution to collective imagination and intelligence.

Among individuals that belong to the same cultural tradition, the dialogue takes place on common underlying beliefs, and usually is useful to clarify and to strengthen the world-view that they already know. Disagreement among members of the same culture can be solve analyzing each opinion according to their common underlying beliefs, to assess which opinion is more compatible with them. For example, different opinions about dignity of races at Christian community can be examined since the theological principle that states that God created humankind according to its image and similarity. Although, politic and economic conditions can be an obstacle to reach the consensus in

such community at particular time, at least everybody knows how this disagreement can be solved.

Conditions for making intercultural dialogues are different, because there are not common underlying beliefs before to begin to talk and maybe there will no be those after to talk. The end of the intercultural dialogue can not be the consensus but the recognition of the “others”. Thanks to this kind of dialogue the humanity of the others is known.

Nevertheless, to state that “all cultures are valuable” and to try to recognize them just from this simple sentence, is to offer an empty recognition. Without making intercultural dialogues, we will not know what is valuable of the others (Tubino, 2002). And this position does not promote a worthy and peaceful living together. This false recognition, moreover, can be easily destroyed by paranoid voices, which manipulating the fear of unknown, describe the “others” as enemies. The past and the present are plenty of wars and explosions of violence caused by ignorance against national or foreign “others”.

However, the recognition of the “others” can not be indiscriminate. It must not recognize positions pro intolerance, pro marginalization, or pro extermination. The recognition has to have some restrictions to secure that it reaches most number of individuals and groups and, at the same time, it permits conditions for living together with peace and dignity.

As I said in the beginning of this research, I think for pragmatic reason that the criteria to determine what is acceptable and what is not acceptable of different cultures is the United Nations conception of Human Rights. In spite of, it reflects a bigger influence of Western thought, it is a good enough starting-point to implement politics of cultural

tolerance and to extend our current conception of human rights; which is perfectible, but the best way to correct and to enrich it is through intercultural dialogues around the world. Moreover, this conception has been incorporate to the international law and, in some way, to each national law of United Nations members.

I think that, in the Peruvian context, this intercultural dialogue can take place at different levels at school as well as the Ministry of Education, in different ways. It is responsibility of all institutions committed to democracy and human rights to promote these dialogues as part of their politics of democratization. It is important to consider that hardly a series of dialogues during a few years will deconstruct stereotypes and power relationships based on racial, ethnic, gender, and class stereotypes in the last centuries in Perú. These prejudices are the main weakness to implement these dialogues, however the hope for a better life is the main strength to promote its practice. Due to this, I think that participants have to elect a facilitator to impede inequalities and distortions in the conversation. I suggest that the dialogue at community school level goes through the following steps:

- 1) participants introduce themselves expressing their expectations on peace, democracy, cultural tolerance, and education. The participants have to be aware of the need to achieve ways of living together without subordination, or oppression, or aggression from some of the other groups; for living with dignity and peace.

- 2) participants identify cultural diversity of community they are representative. A multicultural democratic citizenship has to offer space for different voices and, for that reason, each group should be consulted about its local, regional, and global educational

needs and desires. Intercultural consensus could be the ideal principle to build formal educational curricula committed to cultural rights.

3) participants recognize different cultural contributions of each group to the community. There are Peruvian traditions that can support cultural tolerance, such as the indigenous principle of reciprocity and their practice of solidarity; the Christian principle of universal love and the dignity of all human beings; the Asian sense of loyalty and harmony; the African sense of freedom and happiness; and the women sense of social justice. All community cultural resources can enrich the community legacy and they can expose everybody to cross-cultural experiences, which not only permit to know other world-views, but also to study in depth its own perspective.

4) participants describe discrimination and violence issues in the community. This reflection has to help to identify the main threads against social justice and peace in the community. The intercultural consensus should include the acceptance that there are still beliefs and social practices that have been the cause of extremely painful experiences and genocides in the recent past.

5) participants commit to banish discrimination at domestic and public levels, and to design strategies to prevent and to banish racial, cultural, and sexual aggressions in both levels. Groups, like individuals, want to exist, and it is important to respect this desire to attain a satisfactory co-existence of all cultures. One of the most important human needs is that of positive identity, which is built by practicing the dialogue and attitudes of mutual recognition that allow a fruitful interaction leading to satisfactory images of the individuals and collective selves.

6) participants choose cultural contents that have to be included in the curricula to reach and improve peace, democracy, cultural tolerance, and education. A more appropriate model of tolerance could be that of intercultural dialogue (without rigid categories) to build local or national consensus. Intercultural consensus could be the base to determine the appropriate educational policy for each cultural group.

7) participants design a model to shape the physical environment according to these ideals. Materials symbols can help to keep and strengthen intercultural democratic values. The design can include posters, slogans, plastic arts, music, etc.

8) participants propose festivals, contests, extra-curricular activities to celebrate cultural diversity. The recognition of cultural diversity richness can instill proud of this legacy among Peruvian citizens.

9) participants define protection measures against implicit and explicit sexual, racial, or cultural intolerance, whether for verbal or physical violence. It can be added to this, legal and police tools. Intercultural dialogue should put limitations and parameters on what we can accept of our own culture and another culture. This means, in other words, to democratize national Peruvian culture. Without a democratic culture it is not possible to run a democratic political system. I think that the democratization of Peruvian culture does not mean its substitution, on the contrary, it will mean its self-recognition.

However, the intercultural dialogue has to face many difficulties. Some of the most frequent will be the lack of dialogue tradition in Peruvian society and the existence of intolerant voices that will prevent to reach the mutual recognition among all groups. However, a precursor of intercultural dialogues in Perú was the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega. Four centuries ago, he began the dialogue between Spanish and Inca cultures.

Mixed, as most Peruvian people now, and expert in both traditions, he affirmed the compatibility of both cultures. At the same time, thanks to this dialogue, he built his own identity with a high sense of his dignity.

There are many other positive conditions to develop successful dialogues across the country. Some of the most important are the facts that Peruvian people unanimously wish to live with peace and dignity, most of the Peruvian people have, in fact, a syncretistic culture that articulate values of different cultural traditions, and most of Peruvian families are multiethnic and they can see this diversity in their own family history. All tradition has a beginning; and we need to begin to make intercultural dialogues now if we want to make the dialogue part of our national traditions.

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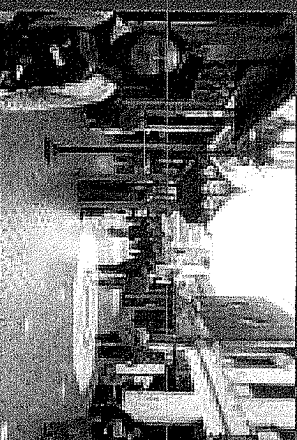
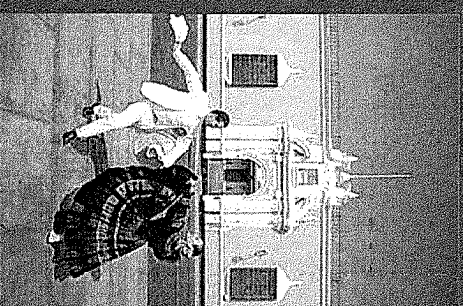
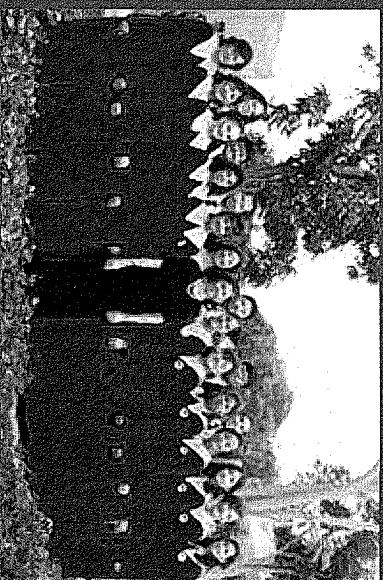
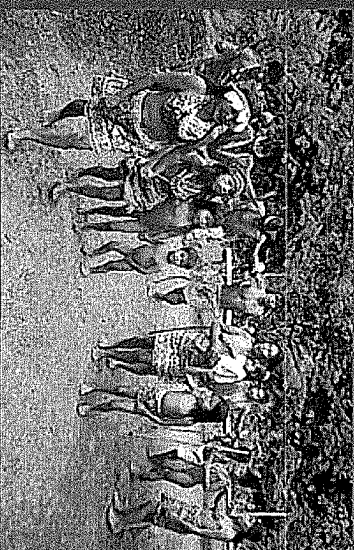
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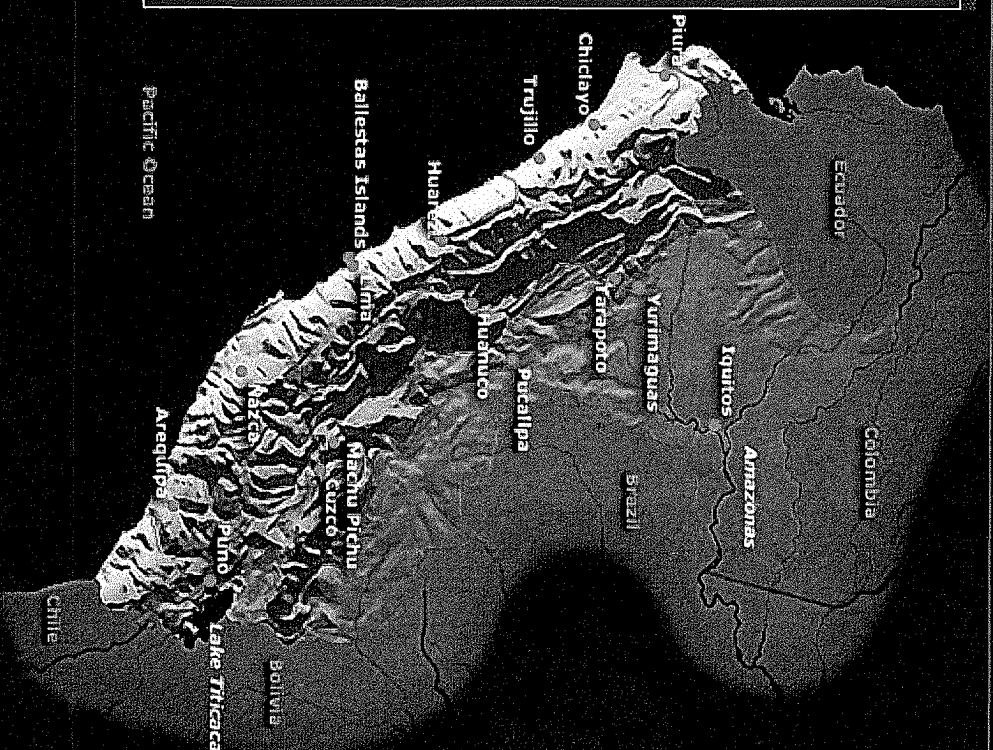
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Peruvian Racial/Cultural Diversity



PERÚ

- > Población: 27'150,000
Mujeres/Hombres:
50.41/49.59 (%)
- > Área: 1'285,215 km²
- > Producción:
Cobre, Oro, Zinc, Plata,
Hierro, gas natural,
Sardina, harina de
pescado
- > Educación: 12 % de
analfabetismo
- > Inflación: 0.68%



Theoretical Tools

Culture

- ...set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of ...social groups ... it encompasses lifestyles, ways of living together, values system, traditions and beliefs ... (UNESCO, 2001)

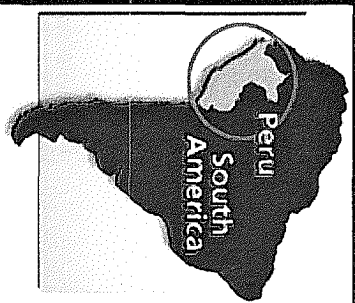
Multiculturalism

- ... cultural diversity is as necessary for humankind as biodiversity is for nature ...
- (UNESCO, 2001)

Assumptions of this research:

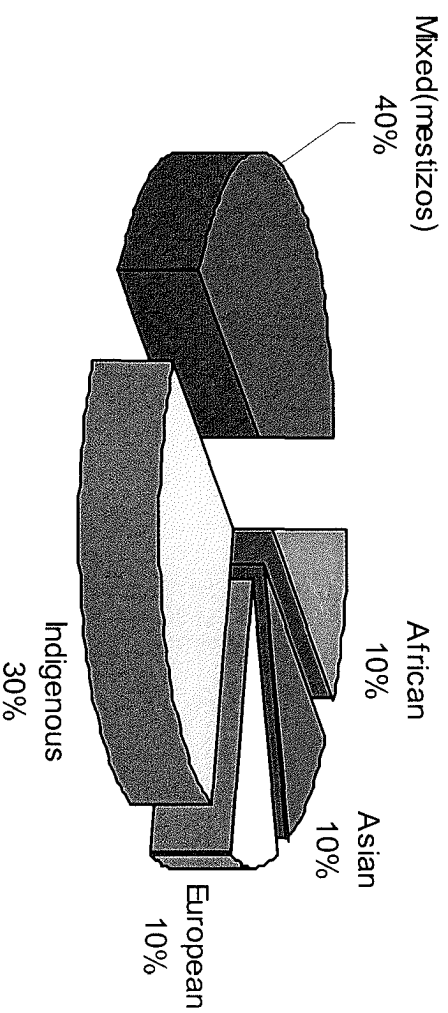
1. **There is not democratic societies without democratic cultures**
2. **Democracy is a process to substitute discrimination for equity in all human relationships**
3. **Extreme lack of equity stimulates terrorist vocations**





Peruvian Population

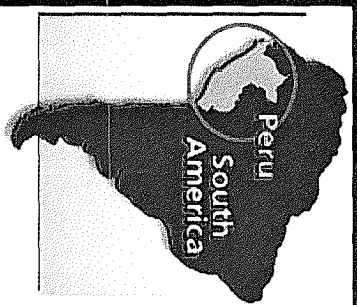
- Total: 27'150,000
- Women: 50.41%



Cultural Education Policy in Context



- 16th-19th Century Colonial Policies: Evangelization
- 1821-1968 Education in Independent Peru
“Spanishation” for Progress, Social Redemption
- 1970s Education Reform: Quechua Official Language, “Spanishation” for Development
- 1980s BIE in Educational Law
- 1997-onwards: Inter-culturality Guiding Principle – Education for All



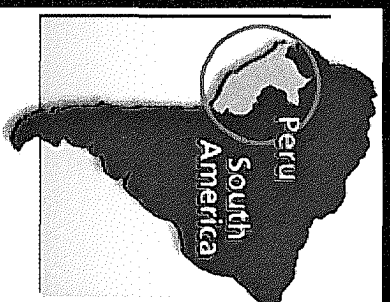
Cultural Diversity Legal Context

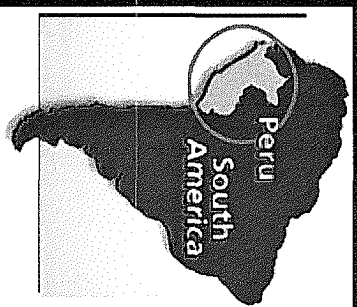
Peruvian State signed

- 1971 International Convention of Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination.
- 1977 International Pact on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights.
- 1979 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women.

Interculturality... assumes the richness of cultural, ethnic and linguistic diversity and finds in the acknowledgment and respect for differences as well as in the mutual knowledge and learning attitude of the other, support for harmonious coexistence and exchange among diverse cultures in the world.

Article 8, Principles of Education, Peruvian Education Law





Peruvian Social Conflicts

National issues in Human Rights reflect racial/cultural/gender violence.

Political Violence

War on terrorism (1980-2000)

69,280 civilians were killed, 75% were Indigenous.

Domestic Violence

Aggressions against Women

60% of women suffer verbal or physical violence.

1. Peru in Numbers

**Total Population: 27'150,000 50.41%
Women**

Urban: 72.2% Fertility: 2.4

Rural: 27.8% Fertility 4.6

Illiteracy: Women 17.9% Men 6.1

School Enrollment: 2'257,4000

High School Enrollment:

Women 64.9 Men 66.3

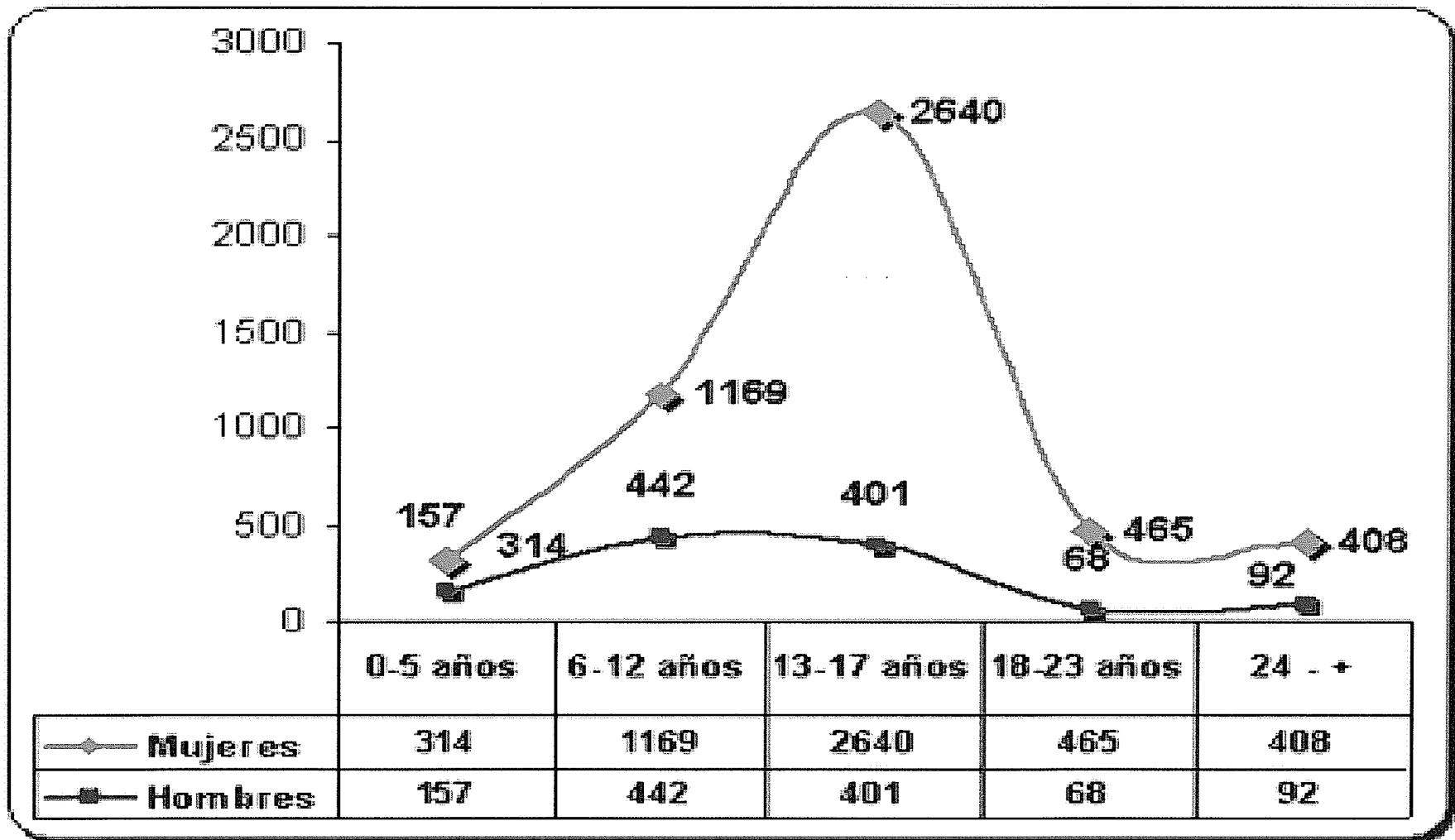


2. Peru in Numbers

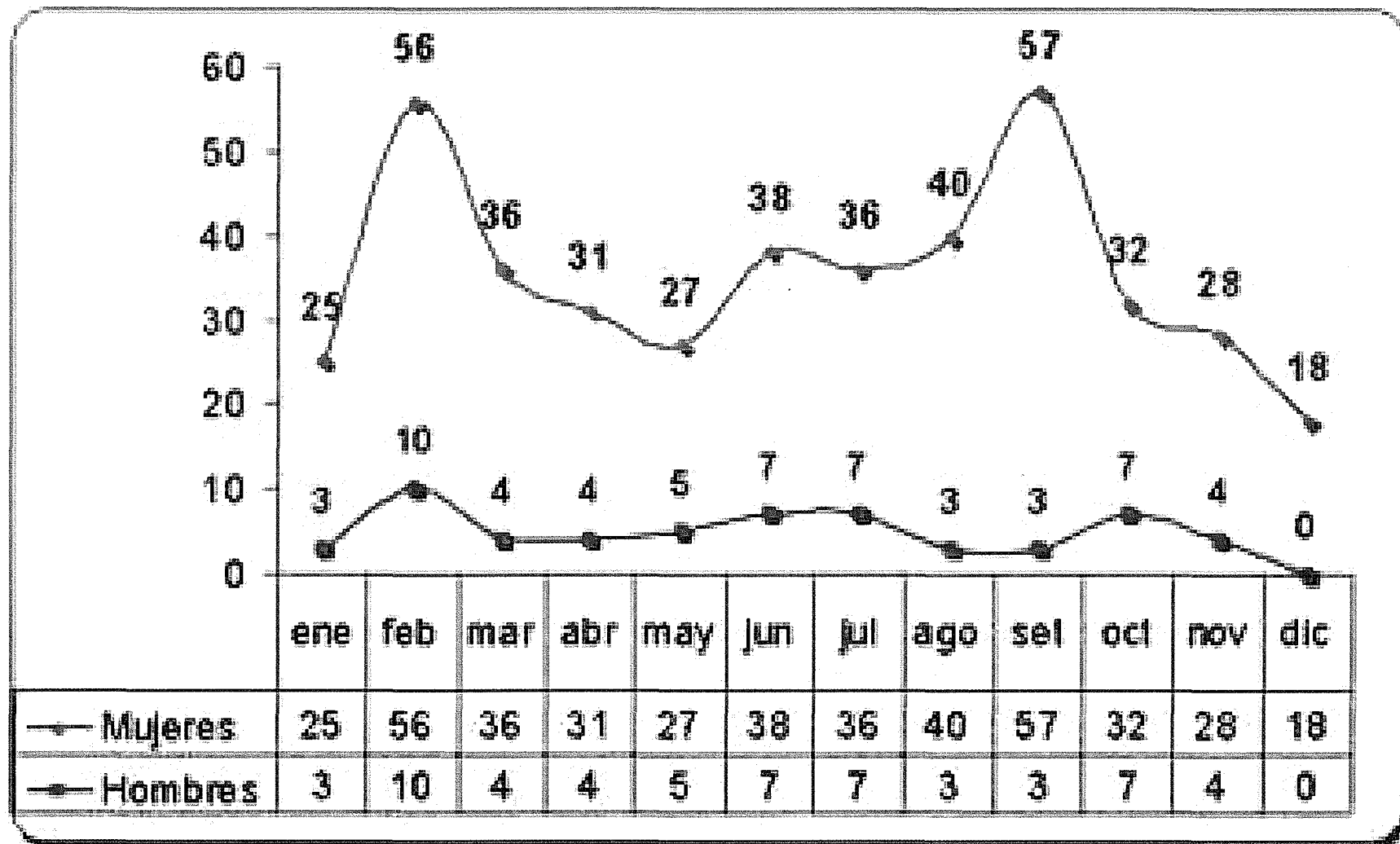
- **Women with couple use contraceptive 50.4%**
- **Teenager Mothers 13%**
- **Life Expectancy: Women 71.6 Men 66.6**
- **Town Authorities:**
 - Women 3.3% Men 96.7%**
- **Peruvian Congress Women Representatives 18%**
- **Peruvian Women Ministers 14%**

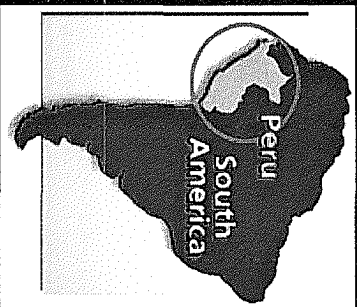
3. Sexual Violence

30 victims of rape by day



4. Domestic Violence





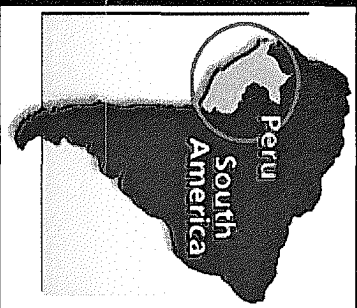
Management of Peruvian Social Diversity

Diagnosis:

Constitution and Law protect and promote cultural diversity and inter-culturality

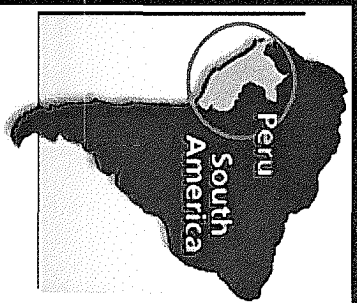
Social Development and Education Programs ignore cultural diversity

Social Practices perpetuate racial/cultural/gender discrimination



Intercultural Dialogue

- Dialogue: inter-subjective activity produces human awareness and designs identities. It permits agreements which are the basis of social organization.
- Intercultural Dialogues: Participants, without common underlying beliefs, reach the recognition of humanity of “the others” and establish principles for living together with peace and dignity.



Intercultural Education

Curricula Based on Intercultural Dialogues:

1. Presents different national world-views.
2. Recognizes the contributions of each group to national culture.
3. Promotes cultural tolerance.
4. Facilitates critical thinking on all forms of discrimination.
5. Limits recognition to what is compatible with human rights

Intercultural Education Benefits

1. Deconstructs prejudices about race/culture/gender.
2. Facilitates social integration.
3. Promotes co-existence with freedom, peace and dignity.
4. Stimulates healthy pride of national legacy.
5. Expands intelligence and imagination.
6. Establishes culture of dialogue and peace.

