A SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION AMONG THE

SHIPIBO OF AMAZONIAN PERU

by

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ABSTRACT

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In the 1950s, the trend worldwide in public education was for classes to be conducted in the national (prestige) language. In Amazonian Peru however, an alternative was being considered: Bilingual Education (BE). Since monolingual education in Spanish in Peru had been unsuccessful, the government was looking for a way to educate indigenous Peruvians. Therefore, the government of Peru, together with the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), implemented a BE program that incorporates vernacular indigenous languages and Spanish. The BE experiment was designed on a transition model: children are introduced to school and new concepts and skills such as reading in their mother tongue, and then Spanish is introduced as a subject and eventually, as the medium of education. It is generally held that such a model has an ideology of assimilation and an objective of limited bilingualism (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1995; Spener 1988).

The response to and application of the BE program and linguistic and cultural factors that influence BE among one ethnolinguistic group of the Peruvian Amazon, the Shipibo, were investigated through the administration of oral survey interviews, observation and interaction with leaders, teachers, and students. Historical, social and political factors pertinent to the situation were also considered. The research is informed by and interpreted in light of a body of sociolinguistic literature which includes the study of language maintenance and language shift as well as a consideration of second language and literacy acquisition.

Quantitative and qualitative analyses suggest that the situation among the Shipibo is in a relatively stable state of diglossia (Fishman 1972). That is, use of Spanish dominates in the written and formal spoken realm and Shipibo is used largely for conversation. Additionally, results show gender disparity in the outcomes of BE. The results indicate that in spite of an ideology and objectives that oppose maintenance of indigenous language and identity, due to their unique history and culture, and the value placed on vernacular languages by SIL, the Shipibo have maintained spoken Shipibo and a strong sense of identity. Suggestions for a model which embraces linguistic human rights by emphasizing language and cultural maintenance are offered.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

> To study BE [Bilingual Education] without insight into ethnicity-nationalism, social mobility and social class differences, language-maintenance and language-shift patterns, and the societal (or the speech-community's) linguistic allocation of functions is to reduce our grasp of the topic almost to the extent of letting its essence slip through our fingers.
>
> Fishman, *Bilingual education: An international sociological perspective*

Worldwide trends in public education have traditionally included using national or prestige languages as the sole language of classroom instruction. Such was the case in the South American nation of Peru from the arrival of the Spanish and their education system in the sixteenth century through independence and until the middle of the twentieth century. However, in 1953 the Peruvian government, with the aid of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) implemented an education program in the Amazon Basin region which incorporated the use of the indigenous languages and the national language (Spanish). Over four decades later, this study investigates from a linguistic, cultural, and historical perspective, factors which may be influencing the Bilingual Education (BE) program among one of the ethnolinguistic groups of the Amazon Basin, the Shipibo.

This chapter describes the purpose of the study, briefly reviewing the theory and assumptions upon which it is based. The issue under investigation, namely, the influence of a transitional bilingual education (TBE) program on language use and attitudes among the Shipibo people of the Peruvian Amazon, is described. Next, the significance of the study is explained in light of worldwide education trends. Following is a description of the research questions and the research design. In addition, usage of terminology is justified.

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The final section of this chapter outlines the organization of the remainder of the dissertation.

1.1 Purpose of the study

1.1.1 The Shipibo case in a wider context

In this last decade of the twentieth century, there has been considerable emphasis on the part of international policy makers and planners on making education, at least at the primary level, universally available. In 1990, Thailand hosted the World Conference on Education for All for which specialists from all over the world gathered to reflect on, discuss and evaluate the status of education worldwide. Although recognizing the efforts of many countries to accomplish the goal of universal education established 40 years before in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, they were likewise compelled to recognize that many problems remain. Among these are the fact that more than 130 million children, 60% of whom are girls, do not have access to primary education. Moreover, of those children who do attend school, more than 100 million drop out before completing primary school, and millions of those who complete primary school leave without basic knowledge and skills in literacy and numeracy (WCEFA 1990:155). These problems of "low completion rates" and "undereducation of primary school completers" were also addressed by the World Bank (Lockheed and Verspoor 1991:10-12). According to their analysis, approximately 30-40% (depending on the economic status of the country) of children who begin primary school do not finish. Furthermore, in the most economically disadvantaged countries this dropout rate has increased slightly since 1980 (Lockheed and Verspoor 1991:11). Educational statistics from individual countries bear out these global trends. Table 1 shows the dropout rates for 1995 in the Trans-Nzoia district of the Rift Valley Province of Kenya where the Sabaot language is spoken, but not officially used as

the language of education. The increase in enrollment for grade six may be seen as an attempt on the part of some to return to take (or retake) the entrance exam for secondary school.

Table 1. Dropout rates for 1995 in the Trans-Nzoia district of the Rift Valley Province of Kenya

grade	female			male			total
	enrolled	finished	dropout rate (%)	enrolled	finished	dropout rate	dropout rate
1	9242	8512	8	9368	8593	8	8
2	8124	7853	3	8214	8081	2	2
3	7552	6208	18	7646	6145	20	19
4	5892	5556	6	6016	5594	7	6
5	5235	5040	4	5126	4852	5	9
6	4824	5322	+10	4601	4971	+7	+ 8
7	5014	2729	46	4769	2960	38	42
8	2446	1106	55	2706	1327	51	53

Adapted from SIL International Literacy Coordinator's files, 1998. Used by permission.

In addition to the problem of dropout, attrition rate (those who never return to school for the next grade), and nonattendance (those who never enter school) are also problematic. The following quote rounds out the picture: "Of 1000 Sabaot children, 850 will begin school; 721 will make it to Grade 2; 507 will finish grade 5; and 117 will finish primary and enter secondary" (SIL 1998:14).

Exploring the reasons children never start school or drop out early is important if alternatives to current education strategies and practices are to be suggested. On a national level, especially for some African countries such as Angola, civil strife is no doubt a factor in declining enrollments. In other countries, increases in population may produce a demand greater than schools can provide or countries can afford (The World Bank 1995:40).

On an individual or family level, it may be that parents do not want or are not able to send their children to school if their help is needed at home, the expense is too great, or the result is not viewed as having economic value (The World Bank 1995:40). This line of reasoning may be especially relevant if the quality of education is poor or the outcome is of no apparent value. As one rural Moroccan mother stated, "nothing comes from schooling but laziness, bad attitudes, and lack of useful skills" (Wagner 1993:236).

In addition to the problems of attrition and lack of initial enrollment, trends in education continue to indicate striking gender disparity. That girls are less likely than boys to attend school is widely documented (UNESCO 1995; The World Bank 1995:44; Jiggins 1994). In the age range of 6 to 11 years, normally considered primary school age, almost 25% of girls are not enrolled in school, compared with 16% of boys. Although worldwide trends indicate that this gap may be closing, in some regions, most notably sub-Saharan Africa, fewer than half of 6 to 11 year old girls are in school. In Southern Asia, less than one-third and in the Arab world less than one-fourth of school-aged girls are enrolled in school (UNESCO 1995). If girls make it to school, they tend to drop out earlier than boys. For example, in Bolivia the rural dropout for girls is 70% and most of them leave during the first year (UNESCO 1995). However, UNESCO reports that "...countries where there is a major problem of girls' survival in school through the first four grades,...there is also ...an equally serious problem for boys" (1995:37). This appears to be the case in the Kenya data presented in table 1.

An examination of the literacy rates in countries where a majority of the population speaks a lesser known language suggests additional educational difficulties for linguistically diverse countries. Indeed, many of the countries already mentioned with declining enrollments and high attrition rates are those where many languages are spoken.

Table 2 shows the five countries with the lowest percentage of speakers of lesser known languages and table 3 shows the five countries with the lowest literacy rates.

Table 2. Linguistic diversity data: countries with the lowest percentage of minority population

country	literacy rate	% minority
Armenia	98	0
North Korea	96	0
South Korea	98	0
Luxembourg	100	0
Uruguay	97	0

Adapted from SIL International Literacy Coordinator's files, 1998. Used by permission.

Table 3. Linguistic diversity data: countries with the lowest literacy rates

country	literacy rate	% minority
Niger	14	65.6
Burkina Faso	19	99.8
Afghanistan	19.5	72.2
Yemen	25	<1.0
Angola	28	96.0

Adapted from SIL International Literacy Coordinator's files, 1998. Used by permission.

While the data in tables 2 and 3 by no means indicate that linguistic diversity is a cause of low literacy rates, they do suggest that countries with a high percentage of the population speaking lesser known languages face additional challenges for education and especially the teaching of reading and writing. Furthermore, as seen in the example of Yemen in table 3, some countries do a poor job at teaching people to read and write even though they do not have the added issue of linguistic diversity.

The current study investigates a model which was employed in a linguistically diverse country. In 1953, the same year as UNESCO's bold claim that "...the best medium for teaching a child is his mother tongue..." (UNESCO 1953:11), an experiment

was beginning in the Peruvian Amazon Basin. At that time, the trend worldwide was for public education at all levels to be offered in the national (prestige) language. An alternative being considered by those who were establishing the program in Peru was the use of the vernacular (indigenous language) at all levels of primary school. Monolingual education in Spanish among indigenous Peruvians had been largely unsuccessful. The Peruvian government was looking for a way to "bring literacy to the many language groups living in the large jungle areas of the country" (Larson 1981:24). However, vernacular education alone would have resulted in the indigenous people living in relative isolation, unable to communicate with the rest of Peru. They would continue to be taken advantage of in trading situations and to be excluded from participation in national life and civic privileges such as voting. Therefore, the government of Peru, together with the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), decided to implement a Bilingual Education (BE) program that incorporates the vernacular indigenous languages and Spanish. The program was designed such that speakers of indigenous languages would be trained to teach their mother tongue (MT) and Spanish. In this way, children would be introduced to school and new concepts and skills such as reading in their MT before having Spanish as a subject and eventually, as the medium of education. "The strength of this program...has been in the fact that it did not choose between the vernacular and the prestige language, but rather set up a program in which each was used for specific roles" (Larson 1981:24).

The BE program implemented by the Peruvian government and SIL is based on a transition model in which students are introduced to the school experience as well as new concepts like reading in their MT. The second language (L2), Spanish, is systematically introduced and eventually replaces the MT for all educational purposes. The ideology supporting such a model is assimilationist (Medina and Escamilla 1992; Rippberger 1995), where assimilation signifies incorporation into the national life at the expense of the

minority culture. This is generally accompanied by a lack of pride in, or shame associated with, home values and customs, including language. The goal and outcome of TBE tends to be monolingualism in the majority language or limited bilingualism where the majority language dominates (Baker 1993). However, the results of this investigation among the Shipibo suggest that in spite of an ideology and objectives that oppose maintenance of language and identity, due to a unique history and culture (see chapter 2), the Shipibo have maintained spoken Shipibo, acquired some biliteracy ability, and preserved much of their Shipibo identity.

It is the purpose of this study to explore reasons for these outcomes and describe linguistic, educational, and cultural factors which may influence BE in a variety of communities among the Shipibo people of the Peruvian Amazon. As Fishman (1976) suggests in the introductory quotation, a thorough study of BE should include a historical and societal understanding of the languages and people in question. This investigation is informed by and interpreted in light of a body of sociolinguistic literature which includes the study of language maintenance and language shift as well as a consideration of second language and literacy acquisition.

1.1.2 Theory and assumptions

Underlying issues of BE are views about language which surface in discussion and debate surrounding applications of BE models. Ruíz (1984) suggests that people hold political views toward language, at times not consciously acknowledged, which take one of three general perspectives: language as a problem, language as a right, or language as a resource. (See also Lee and Wong 1988.) The problem orientation is often accompanied by an ideology of assimilation which assumes that language minorities should be incorporated into mainstream culture and society. As will be shown through quotes from

Peruvian government officials and excerpts from official policies (chapter 2), this is the expressed view of the Peruvian government.

Those who view language as a right hold a pluralistic belief that, like religion, people should be allowed to practice whatever language they like. Those who hold this perspective may support individual rights or language group rights. Linguistic Human Rights (LHRs) proponents support the belief that people have the right to use their language as a means of expression (World Conference on Linguistic Rights 1995), to identify positively with their MT and be respected regardless of the status of the MT (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1995).

The third perspective on language, and the one ascribed to by the current investigator, is that language is a resource. In the realm of economics, both the use of other languages and the people who speak those language are viewed as assets for purposes of international communication. Language is also a cultural resource "build[ing] social bridges ... between cultures (Baker 1993:252). Not only should there be a peaceful coexistence of national unity and linguistic diversity (Baker 1993), but multilingualism at a societal and individual level is also perceived as a benefit (Swain 1983).

Awareness of these three perspectives on language is essential in evaluating BE because they correspond to the underlying ideologies of program models. Chapter 3 explores how these perspectives inform "strong" and "weak" models of BE.

Specific to the assumptions of this research is the conviction that people have the right to be educated in their own MT and to learn the official language or languages of their nation. This includes learning to read and write in the MT and the official language.

1.2 Statement of the problem

There has been great controversy centered around whether to include the MT as a part of the educational setting or begin with the second language (L2) regardless of children's exposure (or lack of exposure) to L2 prior to beginning school. As L2 is often the prestige or national language, some have argued that it is better to teach in the medium of L2 so that students learn a language that has status and supposedly gains them access to the world where the prestige language is spoken. (See Rossell and Baker 1996; Gingrich 1995; Bethell.) Others claim that using the MT first and introducing L2 later is more beneficial to the learner (Snow 1990; Skutnabb-Kangas 1984; UNESCO 1953, 1993).

In an attempt to answer the question of which language is the better choice for primary school students, Dutcher reviewed the literature and concluded that "there is no one best answer...The answers must be found on a case by case basis" (1982:i-ii). According to Dutcher, each situation should be evaluated on such factors as children's aptitude, attitudes towards and status of the languages (1982:i). In an updated version of the 1982 research, Dutcher goes a step further and contends that "[t]he development of the child's first language with its related cognitive development is more important than more exposure to a second language" (1995: vii). Perhaps Dutcher's most startling assertion (because it contradicts the popular "younger is better" notion) as it relates to language choice for BE is that "older children and adolescents are more skilled than younger children in learning a second language" (1995:vii).

Even after choices are made concerning which language to use in BE in the context of ethnolinguistic groups, individual communities may have differing responses to BE. Aikman (1995) stresses the need to understand that some communities may not want their first language (L1) literacy in a formal education program. She gives as an example two Amazon communities in Venezuela, one which responded positively to having

Intercultural Bilingual Education (IBE) and another which rejected it. The group that rejected the use of the MT in school was not rejecting the use of their language in general, rather they did not want to learn it in a formal school setting. Observing Quechua communities in the Highlands of Peru, Hornberger (1988:174-182) found similar results. She explains in great detail and with examples from her extensive interviews and observations that the school is not a part of the community. The school is seen as a place where Spanish is taught, completely separate from the community even though the actual building is located in the community. There is a clear delineation of domains -- Quechua for the home and other intimate, informal settings and Spanish for official, formal uses, including writing.

The matter under consideration is the Shipibo response to TBE. The BE Experiment of Peru was designed at a time of assimilationist legislation, survived through the education reform of the 1970s and currently exists at a time when vernacular education issues worldwide are include discussion of bilingual, intercultural education. The questions that this study addreses, namely the relative success of the BE program and how the Shipibo view and use their own language, will document the progress of the program in the face of over four decades of political and cultural changes. Cummins has suggested that "[t]ransfer is much more likely to occur from minority to majority language because of the greater exposure to literacy in the majority language and the strong social pressure to learn it" (1984: 143). For the Shipibo the pressures to learn Spanish come from inside and outside of school.

Another issue relevant to evaluating BE is how to determine whether a program is successful. The answer depends in part on the objectives. Rossell and Baker give one example maintaining that, "…the goal of BE in the U.S. is to make LEP [limited English proficient] students successful in English and in an English language environment"

(1996:40). For them, success would include high levels of proficiency in L2 measured by their ability to function in a monolingual environment. For Baetens-Beardsmore and others (see Skutnabb-Kangas and García 1995) one of the measures of school success is proficiency in both languages.

> ...[S]uccessful bilingualism appears in contexts where the environment allows for the full and harmonious development of the individual and where tension and conflict are not exacerbated by linguistic oppositions. ...most...successful BE arises in cases where the bilingual element is introduced early in the child's development and continuously promoted in an uninterrupted and coherent programme." (Baetens Beardsmore 1986:116)

Rossell and Baker make the following claim in support of immersion BE, "We believe that the best program to date is structured immersion modeled after the Canadian immersion programs where the entire classroom consists of LEP students, the pace of instruction is structured to their level, and instructors teach completely in [L2] although they know [L1]." (43) In addition to demonstrating their unfamiliarity with the Canadian participants (students were native speakers of English, not LEP), Rossell and Baker failed to see how the features of that program may not transfer to other situations. Baetens Beardsmore (1995) explains why total immersion programs, like the ones in French-English Canada, do not work for people in immigrant and minority settings, like the one in Peru. The following, excerpted from his longer list, are relevant to the Peru situation:

1. Their L1 is not that of the majority (even if others who live around them speak the same L1)

2. They are made aware that their L1 has less value than other languages (i.e., ones with "official" or "national" status.)

3. If children are in a school where the L2 is the only medium of education, parents may not be able to support them (if they do not know L2.)

4. There may be tensions due to cultural differences.

5. Monolingual teachers can not understand child's MT and react appropriately.

6. Teachers tend to focus on the target language as a subject matter rather than using it as a medium to explain content matter. (For an example of this see Hornberger 1988.)

7. Teachers may have unrealistic expectations of the language ability of learners (Baetens Beardsmore 1993:25).

The issue of "success' of BE among the Shipibo is investigated from the point of view of the stated goals as well as the expressed opinions of the people interviewed as part of the current investigation. The objectives at the onset of the BE experiment for the Peruvian Amazon in 1953 as stated by those who established it were as follows (Davis 1981:111):

1. To follow the national course of study, with adaptations in keeping with the jungle environment.

2. To prepare students to enter regular primary schools at the end of second-year level.

3. To prepare textbooks which would serve a dual purpose as teachers' guides and would parallel the methods taught in the teacher-training course.

4. To teach in the vernacular language initially and extend the concepts learned to Spanish.

However, evaluating the program's success based on the goals proposed by the people who established the program is only a partial measure. Barton (1994) states that people are successfully literate when they are "able to operate confidently and effectively in the literate worlds [they] want to belong to" (193-194). In the same way, the Shipibo people have their own ideas about success of the BE program. Therefore, the BE program will be measured for success based on the responses the people who have participated in it.

1.3 Research Questions

The investigation is motivated by the following question:

1. What are the factors that contribute to the relative success or failure of BE in the Shipibo context?

This question investigates the factors that have influenced the present state of BE programs in the Shipibo context and how BE has influenced the Shipibo people and their language. As mentioned in the previous section, the issue of success from varying perspectives is examined.

2. Is there any indication that the BE program among the Shipibo is contributing to the maintenance of Shipibo and/or a shift to Spanish?

Research question 2 investigates to what extent people speak, read and write their MT (Shipibo) and to what extent people speak, read and write Spanish. The Shipibo situation is examined in light of indicators of language maintenance and shift.

3. What historical and social factors affect BE among the Shipibo?

Among the various social factor examined here, is that of gender. Gaps in literacy and education for women and men are widely reported. One in three females in the world is illiterate compared with one in five males (Micklos 1996). A 1961 census in Peru, which did not even include remote rainforest groups, reported 56.9% of women had not completed even one grade compared to 38.5% of the men (Chirif et al. 1977). The BE program among the indigenous peoples of Amazonian Peru made no statement about the target group of the bilingual schools except to say that it was designed for children and not adults. From its inception both girls and boys have participated in the program, if not in equal measure. (See table 17, chapter 6.) Other social factors which are taken into account in the analysis are age of the participants and community of residence. Historical factors

are traced in chapter 2 and incorporated into the interpretation of the results of statistical analyses.

4. What are people's attitudes toward Shipibo?

5. What are people's attitudes toward Spanish?

Speakers' attitudes toward their language may determine if they want to speak it; on a collective level this choice will affect language maintenance. Although there are social factors that affect attitude, one may hypothesize that a community that has had BE for many years will enjoy speaking both languages. Research questions 4 and 5 investigate this hypothesis.

1.4 Research Design

In order to answer the research questions a survey was designed (see appendix B) and administered to 254 Shipibo people living in 13 different Shipibo communities. Designed to include a representative sample based on age and gender, these surveys were administered orally by the author and another researcher, with interpretation (from Spanish to Shipibo) graciously provided by six Shipibo bilingual men. Different surveys, with some overlapping questions, were designed for the teachers and community leaders. (See appendix C and appendix D.)

In addition to the oral surveys/interviews, attendance records were provided by school directors. School attendance and attrition was documented from 1985, 1991, and 1996. This information was cross checked with statistics published by the Ministry of Education. The third major component of the research was to make observations in the community. Use of print in the Shipibo context was documented. Many hours of classroom instruction were observed and notes were made of language use inside and outside of school.

Through the data collection, which has resulted in the written transcription of over 250 orally administered surveys, observation and interactions with leaders, teachers, students, administrators, parents, old and young members of indigenous communities as well as Mestizos (non-indigenous Peruvians), it is possible to identify linguistic and societal factors which contribute to the BE program among individual Shipibo communities and evaluate a transition oriented model of BE in a specific minority context of a linguistically diverse country.

1.5 Terminology

Certain terms and expressions as they are used in this dissertation require some explanation.

The use of the designation Shipibo to describe several merged ethnolinguistic groups. As early as 1928 the Setebo, Conibo, and Shipibo were being grouped together and called collectively by one name (Tessmann 1928). Trudell states that the Shetebo were absorbed into the Shipibo after the eighteenth century when many were victims of disease and battles and that between the Conibo and Shipibo extensive intermarriage has led to much integration (1993:93). Eakin et al. assert that in terms of language "today the distinction is largely a matter of pronunciation and some lexical items" (1986:1). These claims were supported by the current investigation inasmuch as a request to Shipibo people to visit Shipibo communities resulted in a journey that took us to both Shipibo and Conibo groups. Further evidence for linguistic intelligibility between the Shipibo and Conibo lies in the fact that people who called themselves Shipibo interpreted for us in our upriver, down river and lake community visits. Although historically there were clearly two groups, currently the Shipibo include the Conibo when they refer to the Shipibo nation. This study also will include both groups when referring to the Shipibo.

Native Communities/Comunidades Nativas. Use of this term is based on legal recognition which was given in the form of land rights in 1974 (Regan 1995:21). "The stable socio-economic unit, limited to a determined territorial space, with a type of settlement that can be centralized (modern community) or dispersed (traditional community), that is self recognized as a community and that is differentiated from other neighboring socio-economic units, whether they be native or not" (Varese 1972:164 in Regan 1995:21).

Indian/Indigenous/Native. Following the practice of other authors (Mori 1983; Smith 1990; Trudell 1993; Davis 1994) and Shipibo people the current investigator interacted with, the use of the terms 'indigenous people' and 'native people' are employed here with respect. In the section recounting the history of the Amazonian people the term 'Indian' is used to reflect usage of the era.

Mestizo. The use of this term sometimes refers to race and sometimes to culture. Peruvians with mixed Spanish and Indian blood traditionally have been called Mestizos in Peru. Indigenous people use the term to refer also to Indians who attempted to deny their heritage and dress and act a certain way. In the current work it is used to designate race unless otherwise specified.

Professor and *teacher* are used interchangeably to refer to those who instruct in the elementary and secondary schools. Use of the Spanish word *profesor* in the Shipibo context is common, but because in English it has a different connotation, the current author normally opts for teacher.

1.6 Significance of the Study

Countries that are adopting multilingual language policies may be seeking ways to move from policy to implementation. To countries and organizations already considering

implementing a bilingual model of education, this study offers an example which includes a vernacular language and a national prestige language. As education planners and specialists seek solutions to the challenges facing education worldwide, this case study is of potential value because it investigates a model, which with careful examination and appropriate adaptations, may be applied to other situations to afford minority groups participation in the larger society as well as maintenance of some traditional linguistic and cultural practices.

In addition, this investigation is intended to promote further study in which the cooperation of Peruvian researchers (indigenous and nonindigenous) might be enlisted. Young scholars from the *Instituto Pedagógico Superior* in Yarinacocha could participate in future studies which would afford them opportunities to be trained in research procedures.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, when the results of this study are made available to the Shipibo people, they will benefit because they will be able to decide for themselves if the trends and tendencies suggested make for a successful BE program from their perspective.

1.7 Organization of the Study

This chapter introduces the motivation behind and the significance of the study. The problem is stated and research questions listed. Chapter 2 provides background information for the study. A history of the social and educational setting of the Peruvian Amazon and specifically of the Shipibo people is reported. Chapter 3 follows with a review of the literature relating to sociolinguistic approaches to the study of BE. Chapter 4 explains the data gathering procedures and the methods of analysis. Selection of communities to visit and individual participants to interview is explained. The survey

instrument is detailed and data management and statistical procedures are described in the second part of chapter 4. Chapter 5 presents the analysis of the data. Quantitative (statistically analyzed) and qualitative (observed) findings are explored. A discussion of the findings is found in chapter 6. Chapter 7 summarizes the research and suggests implications of the study as well as offering suggestions for further research. Translated consent forms and surveys are provided in the appendices.

CHAPTER 2

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL

SETTING OF THE PERUVIAN AMAZON

History is not relegated to the collection of 'background data,' but rather becomes an integral part of the explanation of the regularities explored in any specifics.

Simon and Dippo, *On critical ethnographic work*

2.0 Introduction

Since positioning this research in its historical context is an important first step in gaining an understanding of the events and decisions which led up to the introduction of BE among the Shipibo, a brief background of the social and educational aspects of Peru's history is presented in this chapter. The history of Peru, like that of every other South American state, can be divided roughly into life before the arrival of the conquerors, life under their rule, and life after independence. In this chapter educational policy and practice during these three periods is explored.

Section 2.1 gives a brief overview of life among the Shipibo prior to the arrival of the Spanish. The language of the Shipibo as placed in the Panoan family is discussed. Interactions between the Shipibo and other Amazon Basin groups is chronicled. Section 2.2 discusses the arrival of outsiders to the Amazon Basin. Section 2.2.1 recounts the arrival of the Spanish, and with them formal education, in 1532 to Peru in general and then to the Shipibo a century later. The oppressive influence of the rubber barons in the Amazon Basin is described in section 2.2.2.

Section 2.3 covers the issue of education. First the introduction of education by Spanish missionaries is presented in section 2.3.1. The next section, 2.3.2, describes education after Peru gained independence in the early nineteenth century. This section addresses issues of geography, race, and politics as they pertain to the Amazon Basin situation. The chapter concludes by tracing the arrival of BE to the Shipibo and other indigenous peoples from its inception in 1953 to the present.

2.1 The Shipibo prior to the arrival of the Spanish

Although most accounts of the history of Peru begin with the arrival of the Spanish in the sixteenth century, people lived in Peru for thousands of years before that time. One author/anthropologist refers to the land rivalries among Peruvian Amazon Basin people "several millennia before Orellana's voyage of discovery down the Amazon in 1542" (Lathrap 1970:19). Until the arrival of the Spanish there is little or no evidence to suggest that the jungle peoples were invaded by outsiders (Lathrap 1970); rather competition was among groups already inhabiting the jungle. Armed conflict resulted, and the defeated groups found themselves forced upland, away from the more fertile flood plains, trying to farm and survive away from major rivers. The Shipibo, who prevailed over the others for prime land near the river, continued through the centuries to fight other indigenous groups for their land forcing many to go even further inland beyond even small rivers. West of the Ucayali River (see figure 1 in chapter 4 for a map) these groups included the Cashibo, and east of the Ucayali the Amahuaca, Remo, and Mayoruna (Lathrap 1970). There is evidence that these groups share a common linguistic ancestor, from the Panoan language family, with that of the Shipibo-Conibo, and Lathrap goes so far as to say that "[i]t is likely that not more than 1000 years ago all these people shared the same language and had a common culture" (1970:187). The Panoan family encompasses the largest number of

languages spoken in the Peruvian Amazon including, in addition to those mentioned: Capanauhua, Cashinahua, and Yaminahua (Mori 1983). Artifacts suggest that individual groups may have specialized in the making of one craft and engaged in trade with other groups, even other linguistic groups, to gain the goods they needed for daily life (Lathrap 1970).

Those who were forced to move away from the rivers and cultivate the interfluvial uplands, certainly encountered hardship cultivating the land, but at least to some extent they were spared the disease, enslavement, and attacks from outsiders met by the others. The riverine groups, among them the Shipibo, were the ones the Spanish explorers met upon arrival into the Amazon Basin in the sixteenth century.

2.2 Outsiders invade the jungle

2.2.1 The arrival of the Spanish

The beginning of the Spanish presence in Peru was in 1532 with the arrival of Francisco Pizarro and his band of soldiers and horses. Although it would be over a century before the conquerors made their way to the rainforest, an understanding of early colonialism is profitable. Paulston (1971) contrasts English and American colonists' perceptions with those of the Spaniards. He maintains that the English and Americans viewed the Indians as obstacles to be bypassed while the Spaniards viewed the Indians as a way to help them gain the wealth they wanted to attain. In short order, the Spanish massacred hundreds of thousands of Incas, eventually (after some 40 years) reducing their number from 6 million to 1.5 million (Paulston 1971). They took over the land, the ruling system, religious practices, and education. Education, largely provided by the Catholic Church, when not focused entirely on well-to-do Spaniards, was characterized by efforts to convert the Indians to Catholicism (Paulston 1971). (See section 2.4 for discussion of

initial education in the Amazon Basin.) The secular interest from Spain in educating the Incas was only so that Inca nobles could learn the task of governing (Paulston 1971). Education in colonial times, as today, reflected and perpetuated a social system characterized by racism and classism.

The European accounts which chronicle the contact with specific indigenous peoples are sketchy from the point of view of the Indians while one readily locates detailed information of the hardships endured by conquistadors, explorers, entrepreneurs, and missionaries. A whole chapter titled "Indians" in one history of Peru at the time of the Spanish occupation only recounts the role of the Indian in the world of the Spanish conqueror as slave and nuisance (Lockhart 1968). Often Indians are discussed, not in terms of their culture or language or their suffering, but under the heading of "the Indian problem." Frequently the term Indian is used to refer to native inhabitants as they were viewed by the outsiders who landed on their shores, that is, a kind of general term for all the people inhabiting Peru before the conquest. Often it is only through mentions of geography that one can determine which indigenous group is being referred to. Biased and imperfect reports notwithstanding, it seems that it was in 1657 that the soldiers, and soon after them the missionaries, dropped anchor on Shipibo lands (Steward 1963). Their experience of constant warring with neighbors must have prepared them well to manage outsiders because the Shipibo promptly murdered the unwelcome company. Subsequent attempts to missionize the Shipibo had the same result, until the late eighteenth century when some missions were established more or less peaceably (Trudell 1993:94).

The Conibo had a somewhat different reception of the Spanish, at least initially. They were busy in warfare with other Indian groups, taking slaves, and making deals with the Cocama Indians down river, but they had a friendly reception for the Spaniards (and their iron tools) who landed on their shores in the seventeenth century (Steward

1963:562). However, when the Jesuits established missions and forced the Conibo into labor and the soldiers forced them into military service, they rebelled, massacred the Spanish, and went back to their way of life prior to contact. Centuries later, the Conibo would still carry their reputation for "treachery and murder" at least in the view of one explorer (Domville-Fife 1925: 240). Around the mid-eighteenth century the Conibo teamed up with the Shipibo and the Shetebo to destroy other missions which had been established, but in the early part of the nineteenth century, contact, including mission activity, and disease, including smallpox, resulted in a great decline in the Conibo population which was reported at only 200 persons in 1872 (Steward 1963). The Shipibo suffered loss as well. Their once large group diminished to only 2,400 in the 1940 census prompting one visitor to the region in 1930 to write: "The past has gone, with its peoples, in Central Amazonia, ... speaking generally, there is little hope for this section of the race as such. These groups are disappearing with such tragic swiftness that they are hardly being merged to any extent with civilized folk" (Grubb 1930: 27). Fortunately, the populations, at least those of the Shipibo-Conibo, would increase again, but not before more outsiders descended on their soil.

2.2.2 In search of rubber

The next invaders of the Peruvian Amazon, in the first decade of the twentieth century, were the rubber barons and their accomplices. They were quick to realize that they would amass their fortunes more swiftly if they availed themselves of the cheap (often free) labor of the native inhabitants, so once again it was the Indians who were exploited and forced to work. Accounts abound of *patrones* who forced Indians to tap trees and collect rubber and in return paid them little or nothing or traded them used clothing or other items of little value. If not "flogged, shot or mutilated" for not meeting

quotas, the Indians found themselves in immeasurable debt and endless service to the *patrones* (Smith 1990:299; see also Werlich 1978: 123). In most historical accounts of the rubber boom, it is the Huitoto Indians living along the Putumayo whose tragedy of exploitation is recounted, but other groups were coerced into the loathsome task of tapping rubber trees. Referring to the Shipibo-Conibo, Lathrap states that, "[a]ll were completely caught up in the rubber boom during the first decade of this century. Individual family groups came under the total domination of particular *patrones* and there was a great displacement of population during this period" (1970:180). Trudell maintains that the Shipibo suffered only a "relatively small degree of trauma...during the rubber boom" which "allowed them to avoid the extreme damage to population and culture experience by other Amazon groups" (1993:95). Whether in great or small measure, the Shipibo experienced distress and breakdown in the two centuries of outside contact. Some other groups suffered to the extent that they never recovered, either scattering into the rainforest or being completely annihilated, but the Shipibo, when the rubber boom ended, "reassembled themselves under various strong Western influences" (Lathrap 1970:181), not the least of which was the school.

2.3 Education

2.3.1 Education before and during Spanish rule

While the Shipibo-Conibo may be skeptical about the details of Christian dogma, they are totally convinced of the virtues of literacy and Western medicine.

Donald W. Lathrap, *The upper Amazon*

While it was the European missionary, particularly the Jesuits and the Franciscans, who introduced the institution of school to Latin America, it would be shortsighted to suggest that there was no system of education prior to that time. Generations of Shipibo

and other native groups taught and learned how to spin cotton, make and paint pottery, construct canoes, fish, farm, manage natural resources and defend themselves. When the Spanish missionaries established schools, however, they were not very accessible to the Indian child. Culturally and linguistically school was foreign to the youngsters who were not only unfamiliar with the setting, but who had no knowledge of Spanish.

2.3.2 Education after Independence

[L]anguage policies in many parts of the world are notorious for remaining statements of intent.

> Zubeida Desai, *The evolution of a post-apartheid language policy in South Africa*

Following Peru's independence from Spain in the nineteenth century, education was an issue of great importance to the new leaders. As Peru was being established as a new republic, the rulers had to consider what has now become known as "the Indian problem." José de San Martín, the first leader of the independent nation, declared in 1821, " Henceforth the aborigines shall not be called Indians; they are children and citizens of Peru , and they shall be known as Peruvians" (Hanke 1967:284).

San Martín's statement, if something other than emotional political rhetoric, did little more than reflect a change in attitude. In fact, the condition of the thousands of people who lived in the rainforest, whether called Indians or Peruvians, remained unchanged. Opposition prevailed from land owners, politicians, the Catholic church (who feared they would lose their hold on education) and other exploiters who would potentially lose control if the Indians were educated. Their resistance, coupled with the fact that to policy makers the languages of the Indians were incomprehensible, made the prospect of Indian education "doomed from the outset" (Davies 1970:19).

Almost every source on the matter of education for the whole of Peru indicates some combination of at least three insurmountable obstacles of geography, race, and politics (Speer 1915:95; Davies 1970:1). First, the rainforest presents a particular challenge in terms of geography. Besides being isolated by mountains and often flooded by rains, the high temperatures, thick vegetation and disease carrying insects deter the average adventure traveler, to say nothing of school teachers, administrators and politicians. Second, the issue of why race is problematic for designing an education system is that of what to do with people who do not speak Spanish. "Efforts to overcome racial divisions in a country with a race-linked socio-cultural hierarchy and economic structure where the European-oriented elite is on top and the *Indígena* masses are on the bottom have had little success..." (Paulston 1971:88). Third, the matter of politics is a hindrance to almost anything that people are trying to accomplish at a national level. Peru is no exception. Upon chronicling almost fifty years of legislation having to do with Indian affairs Davies concludes that "[a]t mid-twentieth century the Indians were still isolated economically, politically, socially, and culturally from the mainstream of Peruvian society" (1970: 155). A few bright spots stand out.

The history of education of indigenous people in Peru following independence is a smattering of savvy politics, good intentions and even some favorable decrees, all of which lacked the necessary power and support to be carried out. A small breakthrough occurred in 1925 when a bill was passed by Congress which led to the establishment of an agricultural school for Indian children in Puno. Then president, Augusto Leguía, created the Indian Bureau in the Ministry of Education to supervise Church-related and other rural schools for Indians. Leguía also recognized the need for special teacher training and materials for Indian school operation, but he has been criticized as falsely favoring the

cause of the Indian as a political move and in the final analysis doing more harm than good (Davies 1970:157).

In the early 1940s, the future for education of Indians in Peru began to improve slightly. Manuel Prado, the president at the time, had as his motto "to govern is to educate," and he moved beyond the lip service that had long prevailed. In addition to improvements in the realm of teacher training, Prado sent out Indian Culturalization Brigades (*Brigadas de Culturalización Indígena*), established by previous president Benavides in 1939, to teach adult Indians Spanish, history, and agricultural methods (Davies 1970:131). Teachers for indigenous primary schools were trained in native languages and the goal was "to use it in conjunction with Spanish in order to encourage bilingualism" (Davies 1970:132). These advancements, quite limited compared to the task, only reached the Quechua and Aymara Indians of the highlands. If all these attempts were tried and failed among groups more geographically approachable, one can imagine that in the Amazon Basin the Indians were further ignored in terms of implementation of policy, which may have meant an increase in their rights to an education. The rainforest situation had long posed problems of greater linguistic diversity, unfamiliarity, and inaccessibility.

A major development which would forever alter the lives of the Amazon Indians occurred during the term of Prado in the early 1940s: a road between Huanuco and the Ucayali River was completed. The city of Pucallpa flourished and suddenly the Shipibo and other riverine Panoan groups found themselves in close and regular contact with mestizos and their culture (Stocks 1984:47). In 1945, the Minister of Education of Peru, Luis E. Valcárcel, together with colleagues from Bolivia, put together a plan of indigenous education. Although it seems to have been designed with Quechua and Aymara Indians in mind, it reflected the Ministry of Education's way of thinking at the time. The plan called for a rural, agricultural education which had as its goals to better the position of the Indian,

teach methods that would allow for better use of the natural environment, instruct on issues of health and hygiene, improve local industries, and teach Spanish (Pozzi-Escot 1991:125-126). Included in the last item, the teaching of Spanish, was a method that incorporated use of the first language to facilitate literacy in Spanish.

2.4 Bilingual education for the Amazon Basin

Concurrently, linguists, educators and support personnel from the Summer Institute of Linguistics arrived in the Amazon rainforest of Peru and were available to assist in the education of the indigenous people. Up until that time, in the highlands as well as the rainforest, monolingual education in Spanish had been largely unsuccessful. The Peruvian government for decades had been looking for a way to educate the large and varied indigenous population of the Amazon Basin (Larson 1981:24). In 1952, when Manuel Prado signed Supreme Resolution Number 909, the first steps were being taken at initiating a BE program that would be specifically designed for the vernacular-speaking Amazon Basin inhabitants.

As already mentioned, Spanish as the language of instruction was not a viable option for monolingual indigenous children. It was also clear that vernacular education alone would leave the indigenous people unable to communicate with the rest of Peru. If they did not learn Spanish, they would continue to be exploited by Mestizos and excluded from participating in national life. Therefore, the government of Peru, together with SIL, decided to implement a BE program that would incorporate the vernacular indigenous languages and Spanish. This program would differ from others which began with monolingual (in the national language) instructors and attempted to teach them the languages of the people they were going to work with. Instead, the program was designed such that speakers of indigenous languages would be trained to teach their MT and

Spanish. In this way, children would be introduced to the school experience as well as new concepts and skills, such as reading, in their MT before having Spanish as a subject and eventually, as the medium of education.

The first teacher training course was to be held in Yarinacocha during national school vacation, January through March, 1953. The first step was to train teachers. "The recruitment of appropriate teacher candidates is unquestionably one of the most crucial steps in mounting a bilingual education program" (Troike and Saville-Troike 1982:213). The major problem was finding bilingual, literate (at least in Spanish) candidates to come to the training. Finally fifteen people from six language groups were selected and sent by their communities. Two of the first teacher-trainees were Shipibo. Although some of the candidates had gone to Spanish speaking schools and learned to read a little, most were unschooled and several needed extra literacy help in order to qualify. The idea was for the graduates to go back to their communities and teach during the year and come back every summer for three months to continue training until completing the eleven year cycle. The following year, eleven of the fifteen candidates were approved to go back to their communities and start schools where, for the first time, 270 Indian children were taught by someone they knew, in a language they could understand (Trudell 1993:20).

The idea that the teachers in those first years were just one step ahead of the students was rather unconventional, thus the project was designated "an experiment in BE." However, the Ministry of Education upheld its decision to train native teachers, even if they were largely uneducated, rather than send in Spanish speakers and try to teach them the indigenous languages. Describing characteristics of qualified bilingual teachers, Troike and Saville-Troike (1982) contend that the most essential requirement is language proficiency: "The teacher must be able to use the language [of the students] to teach content material" (1982:204). Although now teachers have come up through the bilingual

schools and have to meet certain requirements, the teacher training course continues to operate on the eleven year summer cycle system to this day. However, currently the teachers in training have had the option to study year round for five years.

For the first course in 1953 a classroom was constructed to be as insect proof as possible and included the necessary blackboard and desks for professor and teachers-in-training. Housing was also built for students and staff. The Ministry of Education paid for housing, food, and travel and was responsible for selecting a director who, that year, was an educator from Lima. The subdirector was an SIL member (Shell 1981).

In addition to the classroom courses of reading, writing, social studies, arithmetic and hygiene, the would-be teachers also learned how to make classrooms in their villages using the one they were learning in as a model. They learned how to construct the buildings in such a way as to avoid a glare on the board or sunlight shining in the students' eyes. They also learned carpentry so they could make the necessary classroom furniture (Shell 1981).

Teacher trainees not familiar with an academic environment were taught the basics of pedagogy from how to divide the day into class periods and how to group the students according to ability, to logistics like taking roll. At night there was a study hall time during which students could work with linguists who knew their native language so they could clarify anything that remained a question from the day's lessons (Shell 1981).

The goal as far as learning the national language, Spanish, was concerned, was to first have the students read in their own language, learn oral Spanish, and then proceed to reading in Spanish (Larson 1981). Resolving the issue of whether a program will first teach reading in L1 or L2 is of utmost importance. There continues to be controversy surrounding the subject, but the program in Peru has stood by its decision to teach students to read first in their mother tongue. The progression has been for students to

begin school with the vernacular as the medium of instruction, move to some combination of the vernacular and Spanish, and by the end of primary having most, if not all, of their instruction in Spanish. In this way the BE experiment in Peru is patterned after a classic transition model. (See chapter 3 for an explanation of models of BE.)

In later years the professors who taught the teacher training course were school teachers from Peru's school system who were able to participate because the course was held during the school vacation time. As the number of participants increased and the representation from different language groups became more varied, an orientation period became essential. Before the arrival of the students, the professors were given orientation about the philosophy and methodology of BE and about cultural differences and sensitivity to the needs of the student teachers.

In 1963, ten years after the teacher training course began, one of the trained bilingual teachers became part of the teacher trainer staff. In 1964, the teacher trainer program began to offer high school level classes (Shell 1981).

Almost twenty years into the BE experiment, in 1972, the Peruvian government established an educational reform. The reform was to change policies in which education had been "an instrument to Hispanicize and assimilate the Indian population" and consider education as "a tool for permanent bilingual, bicultural development beyond the narrow barriers of the school" (Hamel 1995:276). Although General Education Law 19326 does include a clause for the "preservation and development" of the diverse languages of Peru (Trapnell 1984), a careful look at the language of the law reveals the true objectives. The following quote serves to emphasize that the law in fact does not differ from previous legislation. "[B]ilingual literacy teaching [is] a preliminary process to easier, and more sure and permanent hipanicization..." (Hornberger 1988:24). As Hornberger points out "the dominant theme is the recognition of the rights of the indigenous peoples to participate

in the nation" not their rights to develop their own language (1988:24-25). The reform on the surface had the good intention of including community participation and planning for education that included indigenous views and ideas, but "in practice carried with it the deterioration of bilingual education" (Trapnell 1984:129).

In the Amazon Basin this deterioration was seen when nonindigenous teachers who did not speak the language of the students were sent in to teach. Because part of the reform included a new teaching method and new books, teachers often found themselves abandoning the old materials, and waiting for new ones to reach them. The benefit was that in some instances indigenous teachers were given more responsibility, but they often lacked the support and infrastructure to implement changes, since the reform included decentralization.

In May 1982, Law Number 23384, another version of the "General Law of Education" was passed. It continues the assimilationist ideology of previous laws: "In the communities whose language is not Spanish, education is initiated in the autoctonous languages with a tendency toward progressive *castellanización* [assimilation to Spanish language and culture] with the goal of consolidating in the student her/his socio-cultural characteristics with those which belong to modern society" (Ballón A. 1982:23).

In 1983, the teacher training course was formalized and the *Instituto Superior Pedagógico*, a post-secondary teacher-training institute, was established (Trudell 1993) Not only have many of the graduates of this program been Shipibos, but several of them have gone on to take administrative positions in the BE system and in the *Instituto* itself. During the three month stay of the current investigator in Peru in 1996, a change in the leadership of the training institute took place, and it was a Shipibo man who was appointed to direct the *Instituto Superior Pedagógico*. The program is now completely

administered by indigenous and nonindigenous Peruvians, SIL personnel having been relegated to the role of advisors.

The recent history of Peru's changing educational policies has included an attempt to move away from assimilationist policies toward true maintenance of language and culture of indigenous peoples. In 1988 an advancement was made to that end. The National Directorate of Bilingual Education (DIGEBIL: Dirección General de Educación Bilingüe) was formed. Their policy, which is one of bilingual, intercultural education, goes beyond the goal of bilingual communicative competence to include encouraging students to understand and take pride in their culture so that they can approach other cultures, including the national culture of Peru, with confidence (DIGEBIL 1989 and Aikman 1996). Intercultural Bilingual Education, decidedly anti-assimilationist in the traditional sense, includes native peoples' participation, "with their own voice and with the abundance of their specific attributes in the world scene" (Mosonyi and Rengifo 1983:211). In recent years the distinction has been made between bicultural, which implies that one individual can hold two world views at the same time, and intercultural, which recognizes that a person belongs to one culture, but can relate to and operate in other cultures (Mosonyi and Rengifo 1983; Aikman 1995). It includes intercultural education for all Peruvians, including those of the majority culture, where intercultural "allows for understanding of cultural codes different from one's own" (Pozzi-Escot 1991:143). However, the BE program in the rainforest has changed little since the implementation of these policies.

2.5 Conclusion

The BE Experiment of Peru was designed at a time of assimilationist legislation, survived through the education reform of the 1970s and currently exists at a time when

vernacular education issues worldwide are moving toward bilingual, intercultural education. The questions that this study addresses, namely how the Shipibo perceive the success of the BE program and how they view and use their own language, indicate how the transition model has fared in the face of over four decades of political and cultural changes. These questions and their answers are informed by and interpreted in light of a body of sociolinguistic literature which includes the study of language maintenance, language shift and language rights as well as an understanding of second language and literacy acquisition. These issues as they relate to the Shipibo BE experience will be discussed in chapter 3.

CHAPTER 3

A REVIEW OF THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC LITERATURE AS IT PERTAINS TO THE STUDY OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE MINORITY CONTEXT

3.0 Introduction

This chapter reviews the sociolinguistic literature that informs the BE program under investigation. Models of BE and the ideologies behind them are described in section 3.1. Section 3.2 discusses matters that bear on language maintenance and shift, namely identity and the transfer of values through education. Factors which favor ethnic language maintenance are also addressed. Politics and power as they relate to language use in education are explored in section 3.3. Section 3.4 reviews studies which investigate the issue of which language to use in education. The literature which attempts to define successful BE and literacy programs is examined in section 3.5. Finally the place of the Shipibo situation as it pertains to these issues is related.

3.1 Models of Bilingual Education

Classifications of models of BE tend to be of two main types generally based on their outcomes or aims. Baker (1993) distinguishes them as to transitional or maintenance types. Skutnabb-Kangas and García (1995:225-229) refer to weak and strong models of bi- or multilingual education. Strong models tend to be undergirded by ideologies of equality, empowerment and cultural pluralism, while weak models are supported by assimilationist ideology (See section 3.1.1.)

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Weak or transitional models have monolingualism or limited bilingualism as the goal and include the following:

1. Submersion model (Baker 1993). Without regard for their L1, minority children are placed in classrooms where the teacher and the other students are monolingual speakers of the majority language. The goal is exclusive ability in the majority language. In some expressions of this model, minority students may be given a special L2 class, but generally there is no regard for or use of their L1. Sometimes called "structured immersion" (Baker 1993:154), this is the most common model of BE in the United States. Interestingly, when critics argue against BE it is often this model that they claim results in minority people who do not measure up to their peers in literacy and other skills. The reason is often because children were not allowed to first learn in the L1.

The Shipibo and other indigenous people of the Amazon Basin of Peru who attended school before 1954 (or before the arrival of a school to their community), by necessity, would have experienced submersion. As implied by the water metaphor, submersion students generally sink or swim. Few Shipibo people swam or even tested the water prior to the bilingual option.

2. Segregationist model (Skutnabb-Kangas 1981). The only medium of instruction in this model is the minority language. This is an intentional decision on the part of majority policy makers to undereducate the minority groups so that they remain powerless without linguistic participation in national life. The only possible outcome of this model is to be limited to an ability in the L1. Fortunately for the Shipibo, the government and other decision makers did not seriously contemplate this option when considering education for indigenous Peruvians.

3. Mainstream model with foreign language teaching (Skutnabb-Kangas and García 1995 and Baker 1993). For many students in the United States, Europe and a few

other parts of the world, the language of the school is the language of their home. In such a case a foreign language, usually a major Indo-European language, may be offered a few hours a week. In some areas such instruction is offered at the elementary level; in others, it is not available until secondary. Often only one or two years are mandatory. Normally very few, if any, students attain a level of proficiency that would allow them to communicate with a native speaker or read a native author with understanding. If the Shipibo only had a few hours a week of Spanish instruction, they would no doubt suffer similar consequences.

4. Transition model (Skutnabb-Kangas and García 1995 and Baker 1993). The aim of TBE is monolingualism in the majority language, but teachers are required to be bilingual. L1 is the principal medium of instruction for two to six years. It differs from the maintenance model (number 4 in the section which discusses strong models) in that when students' skills in L2 are sufficient, L1 is omitted completely. In this model, development of the MT is not viewed as a right, but as a necessary means to the L2.

TBE is the model upon which the BE experiment in the Peruvian rainforest is based. Bilingual teachers use mostly Shipibo for classroom instruction in the first two years or so. Gradually they switch to more Spanish than Shipibo and by secondary (the seventh year), there are only Spanish-speaking teachers. As will be shown in the chapters that follow, although the design of the BE program among the Shipibo is classic TBE, the outcome is not as precise as the textbook descriptions might lead one to believe.

Strong or maintenance models, those which have multilingualism and multiliteracy as their goal, include:

1. Plural multilingual model (Skutnabb-Kangas and García 1995) or Mainstream BE (Baker 1993). In this model, students of different nationalities and languages are together for all instruction and all languages have majority status. The European School

Model (Baetens Beardsmore 1993) is an example of this type. The L2 is introduced as a subject before being used as a medium of instruction and students are consciously taught to regard the importance of others' L1. Because this model includes students from a variety of majority language backgrounds, its application is not relevant to the Shipibo situation.

2. Immersion model (Skutnabb-Kangas and García 1995 and Baker 1993). Likely the most widely studied of all, the immersion model usually includes majority language children, two languages are used as media of instruction, first L2 and later L1. The classic example of this model is the English-French bilingual program in Canada (Lambert 1962). Baker (1993) further distinguishes early, middle and late immersion BE depending on the age of the child when beginning the program.

The fact that this model includes two (or more) majority languages, and, in the case of the Canadian program, was initiated by parents who wanted their children to be bilingual, cannot be overemphasized. The status of a language and its speakers is crucial in determining the role of L1 and L2 in education (Dutcher 1982; Baetens Beardsmore 1995). As was mentioned in chapter 1, immersion models cannot be transferred to a situation like the one being investigated in the current study among the Shipibo. Due to the status of Spanish as an "official" language as well as a long history of oppressive practices on the part of Spanish-speakers, the Shipibo are aware of the lesser status of their MT. Thus, an immersion model in the Shipibo context, where L2 is introduced before L1, would only serve to confuse and alienate Shipibo children from the school experience, in essence denying them access to education.

3. Two-way model (Skutnabb-Kangas and García 1995). Also called "dual language education" (Baker 1993:164), this model brings majority and minority students together for instruction. The goal is enrichment for both. Strict separation of the two

languages is enforced, the minority being used as medium for at least half the time (which may be divided by hours or days). The benefit of this type of BE is that native speaker models are always available and that majority students are given the opportunity "to escape monolingual[ism]" (Skutnabb-Kangas and García 1995:8), thus potentially protecting the linguistic human rights (LHRs) of the minority group. (See discussion in section 3.3.)

Because some Shipibo communities are in very close contact with Spanish speaking communities or urban centers, a two-way model would not be an impossibility for them. Careful consideration of the teachers and the curriculum would have to be given to ensure that the use of Spanish would not dominate.

4. Maintenance model (Skutnabb-Kangas and García 1995) or Heritage model (Baker 1993). Motivated by the social pressures which threaten minority language maintenance in a majority culture (Cummins 1984), a minority community usually initiates maintencance bilingual education (MBE). L1 is used as the medium of instruction for the first few years while L2 is taught as a subject. Later, the majority language (L2) becomes the medium and the minority language continues to be taught. This model is seen in places like Lithuania where formerly powerful groups can no longer insist that everyone learn their L1 (e.g., Russian), but can organize themselves to be sure their own children learn it . In the United States, Arab, Jewish and Navajo communities have started such schools.

The maintenance model of BE is a strong model which could be adopted by the Shipibo. There is a system already in place which provides for the initial medium of instruction to be in Shipibo: bilingual teachers are available and some resources are available in Shipibo. See chapter 7 for suggestions for changes which include the possibility of adopting a maintenance model of education.

3.1.1. The ideological perspectives behind
the models of BE

Paulston (1976) distinguishes two paradigms (in the Kuhnian (1971) sense of scientific perspectives on a given field of study by differing communities of scholars) in the area of education research: the functional or equilibrium paradigm and the conflict paradigm. Rippberger (1993:50) speaks of three "sociological frameworks": structural functionalism, critical, and phenomenological or interpretive.

Rippberger's structural functionalist framework roughly corresponds to Paulston's equilibrium paradigm. Systems and institutions (i.e., education) work together for the benefit of the whole society. When something goes wrong, it is not the fault of the whole system, but rather with one or more of the components. Groups which do not know the majority language are problematized by labels, such as "disadvantaged" or "ethnic" (Rippberger 1993:51), implying that other groups are advantaged and do not have ethnicity. In this view, the school works together with other institutions. When improvement is needed, gradual, steady change is introduced to make a more efficient educational program. In this approach, which was particularly prevalent in the first half of the twentieth century, the purpose of BE was said to be for the good of the nation. This generally meant the assimilation of minority groups into the linguistic and cultural mainstream. The once popular melting-pot idea in the United States is an example of a notion that came out of a structural functionalist framework. The ideology underlying this framework is assimilationist. As a result, education models which promoted monolingualism, such as the submersion and transition models were adopted in the middle of this century (and many of them, together with the underlying ideology, remain.) As was shown in chapter 2, the Peruvian government believed that assimilation through education would solve "the Indian problem." This perspective of "language as problem"

(Ruíz 1984) led them to adopt a TBE model for the Amazon indigenous population in the early 1950s.

During the 1960s and 1970s, conflict theory, which is categorized under Rippberger's (1993) "critical" framework and Paulston's (1976) "conflict" paradigm, began to influence educational (and other) perspectives. In this view, the focus is on the inequality of social systems rather than upon the inequality of individuals or groups. Proponents of the critical approach claimed that structural functionalism was supported by an ideology of cultural imperialism and perpetuated existing inequalities. They called for a system which provided for better access to education and other social systems. Although the end result was a decline in the quality of BE, the education reform of the 1970s in Peru, which decentralized education and attempted to incorporate indigenous views, was informed by conflict theory.

Rippberger's (1993) phenomenological or interpretive approach conveys an ideology of empowerment. The previous two approaches are criticized because change is proposed by majority group specialists, or elites. In the phenomenological view, minority groups are encouraged to "construct their own social history" and particularly for "Indian teachers [to create] an education that reflects Indian identity" (Rippberger 1993:56-57). In this way, only a model of education which preserves the language and culture (two-way or maintenance) of the participants will lead to a change in their marginalized status. The Intercultural Bilingual Education referred to in chapter 2 (section 2.4) is a move toward the consciousness-raising promoted by an interpretive framework.

3.2 Language maintenance and shift

3.2.1 Identity

This issue of identity in the field of sociolinguistics has long been seen as important for evaluating maintenance and shift. In his widely used sociolinguistics text Fasold states, "Language shift will occur only if, and to the extent that, a community desires to give up its identity as an identifiable sociocultural group in favor of an identity as a part of some other community" (1984:240). An example of this is reported by Dorian (1981) in her study of an East Sutherland (Scotland) fishing community. The people's identity was marked, by others and themselves, in terms of their occupation, fishing, and their language, Gaelic. When they abandoned fishing in search of more economically stable work, they abandoned Gaelic (Fasold 1984: 224).

Contemporary examples of language associated with group identity can be seen among the French-speaking people of Quebec and the Catalan-speakers in Catalunia. There is a strong separatist movement in both groups, and language is the foremost marker which distinguishes them from Canadians and Spaniards, respectively.

Often language is associated, not only with the basic daily interactions of life, but also with the essence of being part of a particular group. Rodríguez et al. call language the referential matrix ("*la matriz referencial*") for each ethnic group (1983:xxiii). They contend that indigenous languages are the ones through which people tell stories of origin, pass on values, relate with nature and humans, and classify systems of nature and society (1983:xxiii).

Pattanayak expresses a similar view,

> A mother tongue is the expression of the primary identity of a human being. It is the language through which initial concept formation takes place. The child is acclimatized to its environment through naming each object, phenomenon, and mood of changing nature... the medium through which the child also establishes kinship with other children and adults.... (Pattanayak 1986:7)

Smolicz addresses the issue of language as a core value, that is, one which is at the center of an ethnolinguistic group's cultural identity such that "their existence as distinct cultural and social entit[y] depends on the maintenance and development of their ethno-specific tongues" (1995:158).

In a language attitude study in sub-Saharan Africa, Adegbija (1994) asked people their opinion concerning maintaining English as the official language or replacing it with a language indigenous to the region. Summarizing the answers of those who favored replacing English, he cited the following as one of the factors, "Our traditions and cultures can only be expressed in our own languages" (Adegbija 1994:68).

In some cases, members of the group themselves may not have consensus concerning the link between language spoken and group identity. When Hornberger asked members of two Quechua communities (*ayllu*) if Quechuas would continue to be Quechua without the Quechua language she found that just over half (22/40) said no and just under half (18/40) said yes (1988:73).

Shnukal (1995) challenges the notion that indigenous identity can only be passed on through traditional languages. She shows how in the island communities of Australia's Torres Strait, people have chosen against their MT and for other language varieties to express their changing social identities. She argues that even in spite of those choices, linguistic diversity has not been compromised citing as proof the fact that there are more languages spoken on Torres Strait island communities now than before they had contact with outsiders at which time they were largely monolingual.

The assertion that identity might be maintained without use of the MT is also supported by the results of an attitude questionnaire administered by Trudgill and Tzavaras (1977). They asked Arvanites people in Greece whether it was necessary to speak Arvanitika to be an Arvanites. Interestingly, they found that in all age groups but the

youngest (ages 10-14), a majority answered that no it was not necessary. The researchers interpreted these results in light of the fact that Arvanitika is dying out. The older people, in the hope that their ethnic identity will not die out with the language, appear to be making concessions for the younger generation who does not speak Arvanitika. The youth, however, seem to be identifying themselves with Greek speakers by saying that it is necessary to speak Arvanitika, which they neither speak nor seem to want to. Edwards observes that "a decline in the existence and attraction of traditional life styles also inexorably entails a decline in languages associated with them" (1985:85).

3.2.2 Transfer of values through education

The idea that a language carries with it a value system and a set of precepts that affect, among other things, the education system, is important for teachers and planners to recognize. Dutcher (1995:5) cautions educators in Pacific Island countries to consider that "Western style education and learning a world language ... may be based on values and norms different from the homes and villages of the children" when making educational decisions. In Brunei Darussalam, "English [the language of education] is seen as the avenue by which alien culture can enter a very traditional culture and social environment. This is a problem that has not been resolved..." (Jones et al. 1993:47). Formal schooling in Latin America has been a move toward Spanish through writing. Rodríguez et al. ascribe culpability to the written word as a "paradigma castellanizador" (hispanicising paradigm). The paradigm as outlined by them is "school/writing/Spanish" (1983:xxiii). This is in part due to a general misconception concerning the ability of indigenous peoples to write in their own languages.

Indiscriminately introducing foreign educational systems into developing world contexts can have deleterious effects. Pattanayak warns that educated people may leave

their homeland to find appropriate employment: "When [First and Second World] educational systems are transplanted to the Third World, they not only serve to perpetuate the generation, sustenance and socialization of the life styles for which they were originally intended, but also lead to skill migration to developed countries" (1986:5-6). Accompanying the transplanting of Western schools and their philosophies to dissimilar societies and world views are logistics such as attendance policies, testing, and standardization. According to Santiago Santiago, "These trends can only stymie the development and experimentation needed in Third World contexts and increase social polarization" (1982:132).

Rigidly imposing school standards which neglect their appropriateness in the setting is far too common. In Latin America in general, schools for indigenous people (sometimes bilingual schools) and national schools are not very different, especially in terms of curriculum and methodology:

> The school cycle is similar, the schedules, and the organization of learning activities are the same. The lack of relationship between the organization of the school and the geographic and sociocultural reality where the school operates is also notable. The participation of the children in the family economy, migration, and...incorporating appropriate activities of each culture are regarded by the school [as elements] to be eradicated in order to meet the defined objectives, rigid as they are: regular attendance, punctuality, discipline. (Rodríguez et al. 1983: xix)

In Brunei Darussalam, Jones et al. cite "an increase in educational opportunities" as one of the motivations for people to shift completely away from using their MT (1993:44). Rodríguez et al. (1983:xxiii) report that in Latin America Spanish is presented as the only possibility for social and economic advancement. However, some contend that the possibility for shift is not as likely when instrumental (i.e., to advance economically and socially) as opposed to integrative (i.e., to learn more about or become like another linguistic group), motivation prevails. "In communities where a second language is learnt for instrumental purposes there is less likelihood of assimilation and language shift to the

second language than if an integrative attitudinal pattern lies behind the motivation" (Baetens Beardsmore 1986 :103).

3.2.3 Factors which favor ethnic language maintenance

Smolicz suggests that MT speakers may tend toward maintenance with the "presence of other values that reinforce the language" (1995:158). These may include family, church, and self defense. As an example of the last, Smolicz cites a history of self defense during the Ottoman reign as a possible factor contributing to the continued maintenance of MT among the Greeks in Australia.

Paulston (1978:184) suggests three other factors which may influence language maintenance/shift: (1) how contact occurred initially; (2) how isolated groups are from each other; and (3) the "degree of control over access to scarce resources," (i.e., land, education, goods).

Hornberger has suggested that the school can be a factor favoring language maintenance, but with certain specifications. "If a BE program is to make any contribution to language maintenance, it...should be an enrichment [two-way] BE program" (236). In addition,

> ...what is needed for successful language maintenance planning and effective use of schools as agents for language maintenance is: autonomy of the speech community in deciding about uses of languages in their schools and a societal context in which primary incentives exist for the use of one, two, or multiple languages in that and every other domain. (Hornberger 1988:237)

3.3 Politics/power and language of education

Education is basically a matter of first political and only thereafter pedagogical choices, regardless of how much we would like it to be the other way around.

Skutnabb-Kangas, *Linguistic human rights*

Access to education, information, and freedom of speech are widely considered to be inalienable rights. Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UNESCO World Education Report 1991) states that "everyone has the right to (free) education." Yet access to education does not simply mean access to a school. Children attending school where the language of education is not their MT or even one that they understand are not receiving their "right to education." In many multilingual contexts, decision-makers justify implementation of international languages or languages of wider communication as media of instruction by claiming that by using no one's MT, the foreign language is impartial. The reality is that these decisions and actions perpetuate racism and classism. "The so-called neutral mediation of colonial languages in Third World education as a substitution for many mother tongues has created a chasm between the elite and the masses" (Pattanayak 1986:5).

By restricting, prohibiting or prescribing language or linguistic variety, LHRs are violated. Ferreiro reports on reading instruction in Latin America. When during reading instruction, teachers demand students read aloud with a certain pronunciation (usually some standard, prestige variety) the result is that some students are reading (pronouncing) a language or variety they are familiar with and others are forced to adopt an unfamiliar variety. In so doing, "the school implicitly introduces mechanisms of rejection and discrimination" (Ferreiro 1992:147). When government planners choose a monolingual school policy, or one which does not include adequate development of the children's first language they are exercising their power in a discriminatory way and jeopardizing

opportunities for minority students' learning. Skutnabb-Kangas (1995:12-13), in arguing

that all students should have a "fair chance of success in school achievement and positive

intercultural attitudes" insists that all teachers be bi- or multilingual.

Perhaps one of the best known proponents of politically charged education is

Paolo Freire. Freire observed that although education is mandatory in many parts of the

world, it is not the same for everyone.

> To claim that education or some types of education are ideologically neutral is to
> at best express one's naiveté and at worst embrace and endorse the status quo. There
> is no such thing as a neutral educational process. Education either functions as an
> instrument which is used to facilitate the integration of the younger generation into
> the logic of the present system and bring about conformity to it, or it becomes, "the
> practice of freedom," the means by which men and women deal critically and
> creatively with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their
> world. (Shuall in the introduction to *Pedagogy of the oppressed*, Freire 1971:1)

The divisive possibility of education is described by Heller (1995) in her

observation of French classes in a Franco-Ontarian high school in Canada. The advanced

group, Toronto born middle class students, largely complied with the French-only

requirement. The general group, composed of Somali immigrants and working-class

Franco-Ontarians, sometimes resisted the French-only requirement and through their

behavior challenged the teacher's rules for turn taking and floor holding. In so doing, the

general level students perpetuated their marginalized status assuring that they would never

pass to the advanced level. Linguistics codes and social practices have contributed to what

Heller calls "symbolic domination" where one group dominates not only because they

have established their practices as highly valued, but also because they have set them up as

the incontestable norm.

In a parallel case in Sri Lanka student opinions concerning motivation were elicited

and compared to observations in an ESOL class (Canagarajah 1993). In the Canadian case

cited, French is a minority, but "official" language. In Sri Lanka, English is the language

of a former colonial government. Although there is social and economic pressure to display a proficiency in English, and in spite of students' strong claims to be motivated to learn English, their main interest seems to be in a grammar-only, product orientation English class. Canagarajah concludes that this allows students to be detached from cultural alienation found in the foreign (U.S.) textbooks, but still pass the exam that will afford them the move to the next level and eventually the socioeconomic advancement they seek. Much like the Franco-Ontarian students in the general class, these Tamil-speaking students participate in their own domination through accommodation (they want the traditional grammar testing) and opposition. Canagarajah contrasts 'opposition', a passive ambivalence, with 'resistance' which includes a group commitment to effect change. Canagarajah challenges educators to implement pedagogies of resistance: ones which encourage students to challenge the power relations between students and teachers, content and form of classroom education.

Some language policy makers are ingenious in their planning. Describing the situation following the Second World War in the former Soviet Union, Haarmann demonstrates how the government subtly, and with a great deal of insight to factors which influence language shift, made policies. The goal, never stated, was for non-Russians, not only to learn Russian, but to eventually have it become their first language. Bilingual education, the MT serving as the "spring-board," was the means to accomplish the shift. "Soviet ideologists never spoke of assimilation but of the shift toward the 'second mother tongue'" (Haarmann 1995:15).

Policies have to go beyond making MT education available for minority and marginalized people who speak languages other than those with official standing. Recently, advocates of LHRs have begun to call for policies that include opportunities for majority groups "to escape monolingual stupidity/naiveté/reductionism" (Skutnabb-

Kangas 1995:8). Adegbija (1994), referring to the sub-Saharan African context contends that "...unless something is done to increase the level of literacy in the indigenous languages, especially of the élite, who dictate policy and control the media, the low level of demand for [print media in indigenous languages] may not change much for a long time to come." Put another way, "the linguistic rights of minorities are best guaranteed when members of the majority group, too, are given an opportunity to build linguistic bridges" (Smolicz 1995:156). While in Peru, the current researcher sat in on a meeting of the student body of the ISPBY (teacher training institute) with a German organization who had come to evaluate education in Peru. During the meeting a Shipibo student stood and said that the Spanish-speaking students who are studying to be bilingual teachers should also have to learn a second language (one of the native languages of Peru); otherwise it is discrimination -- only the indigenous language speakers have to learn a second language.

If not for the noble reasons urged by Skutnabb-Kangas and Smolicz, the elite of at least one region in Peru appear to be learning Quechua. Painter (1983:25) found in the Moho region of the Puno district, where both Aymara and Spanish are spoken, that monolingualism is viewed negatively. Monolinguals are even the brunt of jokes. In the past, both dress and language were prescribed by Spanish speakers: the indigenous women had to wear *polleras* (traditional skirts) to show that they were Quechua. Native Quechua speakers were not permitted to speak Spanish (Painter 1983:32) either. This ensured that the elite townspeople would continue to hold a legal and economic advantage. However, when the Quechua-speakers fought for and attained their right to learn Spanish, it was perceived as a threat by the elite. Now most people are bilingual. Even the elite, Spanish speaking townspeople can be seen wearing traditional indigenous garb and heard speaking Aymara.

The fact remains that all education is political, although normally the status quo (that which has traditionally been dominated by a particular group) is perceived as nonpolitical. For example, bilingual education which includes minority languages, has been marked as political, but availability of bilingual education for the upper class in majority languages is rarely challenged and its value is not under the constant scrutiny that has defined minority bilingual education (Troike and Saville-Troike 1982).

3.4 Language use in education

The long debated question of whether students learn to read better (or at all) in L1 or L2 was tested by Wagner (1993) and his colleagues in Morocco. He concludes that in learning to read Standard Arabic, Moroccan Arabic speaking children performed better than Berber speakers in the early years, but that the gap was closed after five years of public education in an Arabic only environment. He attributes this to the high prestige of Arabic for the Muslim Berbers. In other words, they had no reason not to want to learn the sacred religious language. In addition, there is no "competing literacy in the Berber language," so there is virtually no other choice for success in primary school except to learn Arabic (Wagner 1993:181). He also claims that in this exclusively Arabic school the Berber speaking children "made consistent progress toward Arabic-Berber bilingualism" (1993:180). Of course many students fail to pass to the next grade level or drop out all together (by the third year of Wagner's study only 64 of the original 166 had advanced to the third grade) (1993:178). It is plausible to think that the students who are not meeting with success in reading Standard Arabic are dropping out and not advancing to the next level. Wagner gives many reasons for drop out including family and home issues, but if students quit in the first few years before they achieve much skill in reading, and perhaps

even if they do learn to read, it is easy to understand why some rural Moroccans might come to the conclusion that nothing of value comes from school (1993:236).

3.5 Defining a successful bilingual education
program

From the paucity of literature on the subject, it appears that most scholars are reluctant to make statements about "success" of education or literacy programs, or at least to use that terminology. Some have dared. Skutnabb-Kangas and García (1995: 239) contend that one of the measures of school success should be proficiency in the MT. Swain (1983) proposes three ("there are surely others") principles for successful BE. First, she places herself squarely in the maintenance camp by including in her description of a successful program one which "leads to the development and maintenance of bilingual skills, high levels of academic achievement, and personal social-psychological enrichment" (36). The principles are summarized below:

1. "First things first." L1 is maintained psychologically, linguistically and cognitively before focusing on L2. To do otherwise is to "negate [one's] sense of self" (39).

2. "Bilingualism through monolingualism." Teachers use both languages in the classroom, but not both at the same time (concurrent translation).

3. "Bilingualism as a bonus." Being bilingual is an advantage and an asset to individuals and communities, politically, economically, culturally, psychologically, linguistically and cognitively. Educators and researchers should promote the value of bilingualism. (44).

In Andhra Pradesh, India, the success of an adult literacy (in the local language of Adivasi Oriya and the language of wider communication [LWC], Telegu) and education

program is recorded by Gustafsson (1991). He defined success by whether or not they met their goals of:

1. bringing as many as possible people to "full literacy" in L1 and L2

2. encouraging reading for pleasure, personal growth and development

3. generation and distribution of literature in topics like health and agriculture (Gustafsson 1991:75).

At the end of the year in 1983, the program had seen 240 total "new literates" (124 in L1 and 116 in L2). Gustafsson reports, "The staff members of the project were quite satisfied with the results" (1993:76).

Chapter 10 of Gustafsson's book is devoted to outlining factors which were felt to contribute to the success of the program. The following external factors were posited:

1. "national and regional development" programs (i.e., government support);

2. "political and sociolinguistic" factors such as high motivation on the part of individuals to read and write Telegu because of better likelihood of government assistance The following internal factors contributed:

1. immediate and visible results

2. success breeds success

3. literacy in Telegu (LWC)

4. the awarding of certificates (allows new readers to become candidates in some government agencies' training centers or enter formal school and continue education)

5. culturally adapted staff (local personnel)

6. attention to the learners-support and individual encouragement

7. attention to the organizers-support and individual encouragement

8. newsletter with contributions by new literates

Haynes (1981:153) describes the ideal bilingual/bicultural classroom as one in which not only are there two languages of instruction, but also where the "values and norms" of the groups who speak the two languages are accurately represented. Haynes warns against measuring success as students' ability in the bilingual classroom. "...[T]he success of bilingual/bicultural education is not measured by the ability of students to use two languages in language classes; rather, ... by the ability of students to perform in all situations of social interaction by means of two languages" (Haynes 1981:158).

Baetens-Beardsmore emphasizes the environment as a factor for success:

> ...[S]uccessful bilingualism appears in contexts where the environment allows for the full and harmonious development of the individual and where tension and conflict are not exacerbated by linguistic oppositions. ...most...successful BE arises in cases where the bilingual element is introduced early in the child's development and continuously promoted in an uninterrupted and coherent programme." (1986:116)

Cummins (1986) concludes that students who can relate positively to their language and culture, that is who do not see themselves as inferior and who are not alienated from their own cultural values, do not experience the lack of success so often cited in minority students in BE programs. An example of this is found among low status Finnish students in Sweden who do poorly in school; but high status Finnish students in Australia do well (Troike 1978).

3.6 The Shipibo situation as it relates to these issues

From its inception until the Education Reform of 1972, the experimental BE program enjoyed regular support from the Ministry of Education. In a 1967 speech presented at the Ministerio de Educación Pública, Carlos Salazar Romero summed up the sentiment of not only the government of the time (Belaúnde was president) but of so many before and after, "...government is deeply committed to integration. In very crude terms,

this means the incorporation of some five million indigenous inhabitants to our national life. Only through education can this be accomplished..." (Paulston 1971:122). A Ministry of Education publication from the same year describes its two main objectives to be attained through education of the indigenous people of the Amazon Basin as integration into national life and social and economic improvement (Ministerio de Educación Pública, Sistema de educación bilingüe en la selva 1967). It seems that Peru's concern for vernacular speaking peoples is largely a concern of integration. On one hand, inclusion of indigenous Peruvians into the rights and privileges of national life was long overdue, but policies of assimilation mean continued neglect for the rights of indigenous people, including the right to fully develop and enjoy their own language.

Paulston (1978) places great importance in the matter of language maintenance/shift on the concurrence of objectives of between the majority and minority groups concerning the minority groups' move toward or away from use of their own language. There is no evidence to support the idea that indigenous Peruvians wanted to abandon their native tongues; but it is clear that the government had integration, and integration through education at that, in mind. Fifteen years ago, Mori had this to say about the situation in Peru: "In countries such as ours where national oppression is practiced, the dominant reactionary classes not only oppress and exploit indigenous peoples politically and economically, but they restrict and discriminate against the languages that they use" (1983:15).

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.0 Introduction

This chapter is divided into three major sections. The first describes the in-country planning stages of the study. The second section details the methods used to gather the data. In the final section, methods of data analysis are explained.

Section 4.1 relates the initial arrival of the research team to Peru. The criteria used to determine which communities to visit, namely population, outside contact, duration of BE program, distance from urban area and reputation, are considered. Issues of feasibility and demographic data of the Shipibo are presented. The final component of section 4.1 is descriptions of individual communities and justification for their inclusion in the study.

Section 4.2 describes the data collection. Surveys, carried out by oral interview, were administered to community members, teachers and leaders. School attendance records as provided by teachers were copied. Formal (in school) and informal (around the community) observations were made.

Section 4.3 begins with a brief justification for removal of one of the communities from the study. It continues with a description of the computer database used for electronic storage of the data. An explanation of the division of study participants into cohorts follows. In the next section, the qualitative (statistical) methods used to evaluate the effect of Years of School on literacy, the variation of literacy by Cohort, Gender and Community, and the responses to language attitudes questions are outlined. Before concluding, the chapter identifies procedures used to examine school attendance patterns.

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4.1 The study site

In order to address the issue of differing responses to and application of the BE programs, the present researcher, together with Patricia Davis, a researcher from SIL and Paul Klawinski, research assistant, visited several communities in Peruvian Amazonia where BE has been present for many years. The base of operations was in Yarinacocha, Peru, about ten kilometers from the modern city of Pucallpa (an hour by air from Lima, the capital of Peru) where the Peru branch of SIL provided housing.

4.1.1 Feasibility and ethnolinguistic matters

Although possible groups to interview had been investigated before leaving the United States, the first task in Peru was to determine feasibility of travel to the areas the researchers hoped to visit. Some of the areas have a reputation of being unwelcoming to outsiders, and the team did not want to visit anyone who did not want visitors. Furthermore, through colleagues with many years experience and knowledge of the rain forest, it was learned that some areas were unsafe due to drug activity. To visit any of the ethnolinguistic groups of the Peruvian Amazon Basin would require air and boat transportation, so pilots and boat operators whose schedules corresponded to ours had to be found. SIL, through their Jungle Aviation and Radio Services (JAARS) staff, graciously coordinated flights in their extremely safe Helio-courier planes and provided pilots. Other people known either to Davis or introduced to the team aided in finding boats, boat operators and interpreters.

In addition to feasibility, a top concern was to interview a representative sample. The goal was to visit communities where outside contact and proximity to cities varied and where bilingual education had reportedly met with varying degrees of acceptance and

success. Also considered were the languages of the area. Although there is good evidence to support the idea that the prestige of a language does affect achievement (success) of its speakers in school (Cummins 1986; Skutnabb-Kangas 1984), in the current study language itself was not expected to be a factor. In Peru, as in many countries where indigenous languages are spoken, all languages other than the national or official language are of low prestige. "[T]he hegemony of Spanish as a prestige language is undeniable..." (Cerrón-Palomino 1989). For example, even Quechua, an indigenous language of the Highlands, which at one time had official language status and according to the 1980 Constitution Article 83 is "in official use" (Ballón A. 1983: 18; Hornberger 1988:30), is not regarded with the same esteem as Spanish. Because all of the twenty-eight languages spoken in the Amazon Basin are in the low prestige, minority category (the Constitution does not even mention the Amazon languages as a group or individually when making language policy), which language group or groups to visit were not considered as a variable expected to affect the outcome of bilingual education. After careful consideration of the mentioned criteria, it was decided that the study would concern itself with the Shipibo BE experience.

4.1.2 Demographics of the Shipibo

The Shipibo are a large (population estimated at 20,000, Lucy Eakin, 1996, personal communication) and widely scattered group who live along the Ucayali River and its tributaries. (See figure 1, Map of Shipibo area visited.) Since the arrival of the Spanish in 1657, the Shipibo have had varying degrees of contact with people from outside their group (Trudell 1993:93) including non-indigenous Peruvians. The closest Shipibo community to an urban center is only a 15 minute walk from Pucallpa, a city of about 150,000 people, while the furthest is several days away by boat. The BE program among
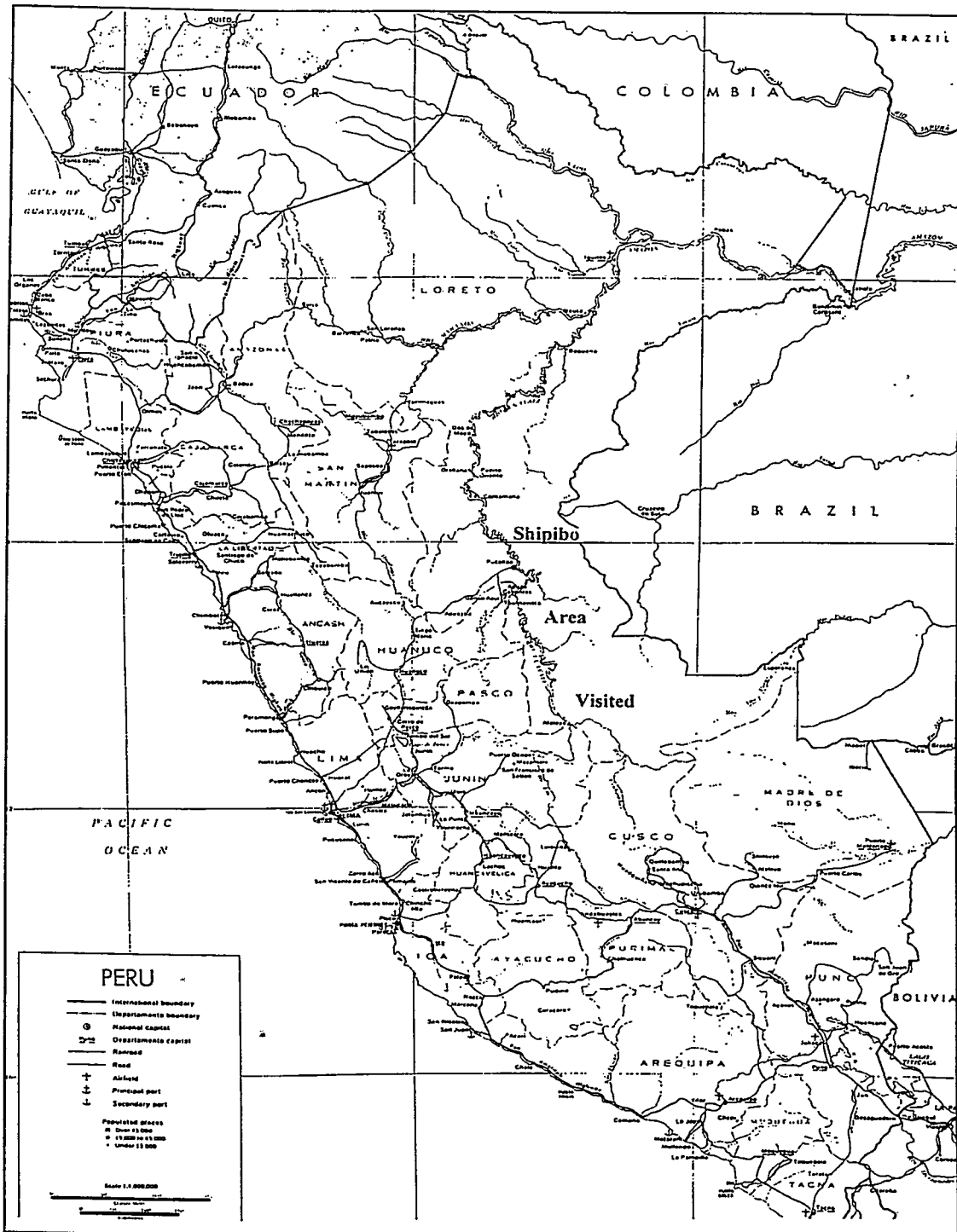
Figure 1. Map of Peru marked for Shipibo area visited.

the Shipibo has been documented as having enjoyed "...enthusiastic participation ... for many years" and the people "...seem to avail themselves of every educational opportunity" (Trudell 1993:101). The reputation of the Shipibo as educated go-getters is apparently widespread. When the team was pilot testing the survey instrument among the Yaminahua people near the Brazilian border hundreds of miles from the area where the Shipibo live, the current researcher asked a man in what way education had helped the Yaminahua children. He replied that with education Yaminahua children could become health promoters and professors, like the Shipibo. It is to two such Shipibo professors that the team turned for assistance in the planning stages of the trip.

4.1.3 Criteria for community inclusion in the study

Artemio Pacaya and Fernando Muñoz, both trained and experienced Shipibo bilingual teachers, expressed a willingness to act as consultants concerning the project. At the time of the study, Pacaya was the director of the Bilingual Print Shop which stands at the edge of the Yarinacocha property inhabited by SIL and next to the *Instituto Pedagógico Superior* where he is now the interim director. Muñoz works in the print shop as well. Pacaya and Muñoz indicated that a study about BE is not only something they would have a personal interest in, but also that it would be of great help to them as educators and decision makers in the print shop. They themselves were involved in an ongoing project of collecting stories from the elders in Shipibo communities to later publish as bilingual books. They volunteered to serve the research team as interpreters if they could have an opportunity in the evening to tape record stories by the elders and community founders. (The project grant also covered all expenses.) They also made recommendations concerning which communities to visit based on the criteria of a representative sample. They aided in the selection of communities which represented variety in the following

areas: years the BE program has existed in the community; population size, outside

(Spanish-speaking) contact; reputation of the success of the BE program; length of time

the community has had primary and secondary school; and distance from an urban area

(see table 4.)

Table 4. Shipibo communities visited

community	pop-ulation	contact	reputation/comments	years of primary	years of sec-ondary	hours from city
Amaquiría	252	daily	rejected BE for many years	22	9	24
Caco	846	regular	embrace education. has a technical school	22	18	20
Caco Macaya	645	sporadic (+profs & nuns)	Spanish and Limenian nuns encourage cultural preservation	20	14	24
Callería	503	regular	wedding (Shipiba + Brazilian)	30	8	8
Curiaca	272	sporadic (+profs& priests)	"traditional"; Colombian priests	24	1	24
Fátima	142	daily (Mestizo and Campa residents)	teaching mostly in Span; very few young people living there; "people don't like to go to school"	17	n/a	37
Nuevo Loreto	161	sporadic		27	n/a	11
Paoyhan	718	daily		15	13	18
Pueblo Nuevo	383	weekly	suspicion high; poor reception; Mestizo "madereros" around (drugs?)	21	n/a	24
Roaboya	338	daily	2 bilingual teachers in secondary	25	3	18
San Francisco	1,200	daily		41	15	<1
Santa Martha	73	daily		8	n/a	<.5
Sempaya	584	sporadic (+profs)	"has a discotheque"; lots of outside influence	21	7	35

4.1.3.1 Population

At the decision making stage information sources in Yarinacocha provided general estimates of population (i.e., large, small.). Later, specific figures were elicited from community Health Promoters, teachers, and presidents. It is customary for Health Promoters to carry out a census every few years. Very often exact counts of people residing in the communities grouped according to sex and age were given. Occasionally the community did not have a Health Promoter present. In that case, the number given by the leader and teacher, often estimated, was recorded. It was unusual to have a great disparity among numbers, however in the case of a discrepancy, the Health Promoter's census was considered to be most accurate. If the numbers varied widely, an attempt was made to determine the reason. In the case of Paoyhan, where the teacher reported a population of 718 and the president reported 1,231, the president may have been including Paococha, a sort of "suburb" of Paoyhan, while the teacher may have excluded it in his count because Paococha has its own school.

4.1.2.2 Outside contact

Determining "outside contact" was adapted from Daggett (1990:38-39): (a) Constant contact (daily) with Spanish; (b) Regular contact (Daggett says at least ten times per month, in the current research, approximately ten times per month); (c) Sporadic contact. Daggett interchanges "sporadic" with "isolated." In the current study, sporadic refers to approximately one outside visit or fewer per month . It is safe to say that almost no Shipibo communities live "isolated" from the Spanish-speaking world. It was quite surprising to hear the way some Shipibo community members traveled to Pucallpa on a regular basis (once a month or more) in spite of the fact that it is a 24 hour trip on a *colectivo* or river taxi. Extensive travel by some notwithstanding, community members

who do not travel may have only occasional contact with Mestizo vendors visiting their community. Other outside visitors may include lumber workers, drug runners, oil company workers, government officials, missionaries and researchers. In the survey, the community leaders were asked to describe the community's contact in terms of how often the average community member may have contact with Spanish-speakers. If the response was more specific (e.g., weekly) that was noted. Often they responded "daily" because Mestizo teachers live in the community. If that was the case, they were asked about contact with visitors to the community. That information was noted as different from professors living there. Some Shipibo communities visited (e.g., Fátima and Amaquiría) have Mestizo families living in their midst. Because of the likelihood that having Mestizo families present in large proportion (one-fifth of the families in the case of Fátima) would be of consequence in sociolinguistic practices and BE, this factor was considered as quite distinct from having a few invited professionals living in the community. One community, Caco Macaya, had a strict policy against allowing Mestizo families to live among them; teachers were an exception. In his study to determine level of bilingualism in indigenous Peruvian communities (none were Shipibo) Daggett found, as expected, that there was a direct relationship between use of Spanish in the community and contact with Spanish-speakers (1990:62).

4.1.3.3 Duration of BE program

The length of time a program has been in operation in a particular community was expected to contribute to how well a program is doing first, because it may take time for a community to adjust to something new and second, because longevity may be an indicator of something about the success of a program. In general, among the Shipibo, BE has had a long standing presence, most programs having been established over twenty years ago,

and some as long as forty years ago. The community of Santa Martha, whose school was only founded in 1988, was included as a newer program. San Francisco was one of the first communities to participate in the government sponsored BE program in 1955. Following the initial estimates of duration of programs from Pacaya, Muñoz and other sources around Yarinacocha, the data for this category were obtained from two sources. First the teachers and community leaders were asked in the interview. Very often the teachers knew without consulting any records because every year when they write out reports for the Ministry of Education they have to write the exact date the school was established. These dates were confirmed by consulting the annual publication from the Ministry of Education which contains statistics about each educational center in the region. (Ministerio de Educación Dirección Regional de Educación de Ucayali 1996).

4.1.3.4 Distance from urban area

Calculating river time from Pucallpa in the planning stages of the project was based on the information provided by Pacaya, Muñoz and others. In table 4 it is based on personal travel experience at the end of dry season and the onset of rainy season (September through November.) Although the research team was flown to the first site, Sempaya, the segment from Sempaya to Caco was traveled in a dugout canoe with a small motor (ten horsepower Briggs and Stratton®) known as a peke-peke due to the sound of the motor. According to Bergman (1990:24) , a peke-peke loaded with six adults and their gear travels an average of 13 kilometers per hour. Based on these travel times as well as time taken to travel from and to Pucallpa to the down river sites (Callería, Nuevo Loreto, Roaboya and Paoyhan), the time in table 4 was determined. It is pointless to measure distance on a map or even along the river because in the rainforest the prevailing mode of transportation is peke-peke. Water level, boat reliability, and other unforeseen factors

affect how long travel will take. The point of including time/distance from a city is that one would expect influence of wider culture seen in the community to be related to proximity to an urban center populated by Mestizos.

4.1.3.5 Program reputation

Program reputation was based on information provided around Yarinacocha about the reported success or lack thereof of the BE program. This was more than just hearsay; rather, it was bilingual teachers and linguists who had long worked in the area and who had personally visited the communities or spoken with people who had. This turned out to be a useful category for determining which communities to visit. For comparison purposes, the team wanted to visit a community that did not have BE. Chirif et al.(1977) reports that almost 40% of the schools in Shipibo-Conibo communities were monolingual 20 years ago. Much investigation in 1996 led to the conclusion that there are no longer any Shipibo communities with Spanish-only schools. However, some communities' BE programs were reportedly "not doing well." Because the purpose of the current investigation is to determine factors which contribute to a program's success, and because one of the ways of determining success is according to the perception of people involved with the program such as students, parents and administrators, this seemed an appropriate element to consider when determining which communities to visit. Naturally, several communities were included which did not have a reputation for doing exceptionally well or poorly. In the case of no particular outstanding notoriety of the program, communities were selected based on variation of the other factors.

4.1.4 The upriver communities

In spite of its distance from a city, one large community, Sempaya (population 580), was reported to have been so heavily influenced by popular culture that it was said to have established a discotheque. (A visit to that area later confirmed that the report was somewhat exaggerated, although they did blare loud music over the community public address system very early in the morning.) Also recommended was Fátima where "people did not go to school" and that "there were no advances" being made in BE. Of the fifty or so families living there ten were Mestizo and ten were Campa, a neighboring ethnolinguistic group. When asked if there was a community or area that did not have BE, all information sources suggested a visit to Amaquiría. For a long time BE was rejected there in favor of all-Spanish schooling, and only recently have community members allowed a bilingual teacher. It was also decided that the team would visit the large community of Caco and its three offspring communities: Caco Macaya, Curiaca and Pueblo Nuevo. Caco, a well established community with over 800 residents, has a primary, a secondary and a technical school. Caco is the only native Shipibo community with such an advanced educational institution. Of the three daughter communities, Curiaca and Caco Macaya had two distinguishing features: (1) there were foreign religious workers established there (two Colombian priests in Curiaca and three nuns from Lima and Spain in Caco Macaya) and (2) both communities had a reputation for displaying evidence of wanting to maintain Shipibo traditions. The teachers in Curiaca sent the children home one day to put on their *pampanillas* and *cushmas*, traditional Shipibo garments, and insisted a picture be taken of them, so that everyone would know that they were proud to be known as Shipibos. Whether or not these two features are causal, that is, if it is because of the foreign religious workers that traditions are being maintained, is not

certain, but both the nuns in Caco Macaya and the priests in Curiaca expressed a desire to help the communities preserve their Shipibo ways, including language.

Thus it was decided that the first leg of the journey would be upriver to seven Shipibo communities starting at Sempaya (a plane left the team there with arrangements to be met there by a boat and boatman) and traveling with the river current to Fátima, Curiaca, Caco Macaya, Pueblo Nuevo, Amaquiría, and ending up in Caco. Communicating by radio, the team would make arrangements for return by plane.

4.1.5 The downriver communities

Pacaya, Muñoz and others reported that if the researchers wanted to get a well rounded sample of the Shipibo nation, a trip down river and one that included at least one or two communities from the Lake Yarinacocha area ought to be included. The team was also reminded of the importance of traveling with knowledgeable Shipibo guides and interpreters. During the three short months the researchers for this study were in the Shipibo area, there were at least two murders. Although these were neither random killings nor attacks on outsiders, every attempt was made to be as cautious as possible. Through a connection of the director of the Yarinacocha SIL center director, the team was able to get interpreters for the down river trip, one of whom, Laureano Silvano, would be picked up in his community of Callería, five hours in a speed boat (eight or ten in a peke-peke) from Pucallpa. The other interpreter, Marcial Pérez, could accompany the researchers from the beginning of the trip because he was in Pucallpa. He would also serve as boat operator. The second trip then would begin in Callería, a medium-sized community of about 500 people, which reported regular contact with outsiders and which had a primary and a secondary school. From there the team would travel to Nuevo Loreto which would be representative of a smaller community, having only 160 people (about 70

adults) with only sporadic contact with outsiders The next stop, Roaboya, is further down river, almost a day's travel from Pucallpa, but only five hours or so from the smaller urban center of Contamana. Roaboya has about 370 residents and is notable because it has two bilingual teachers in the secondary school. (In other communities only primary schools had bilingual teachers, an indicator of the transitional nature of the BE program among the Shipibo.) Paoyhan, the final stop, was reported to have a population of over 1,000 and a primary, secondary and high school. It took nine hours in a speed boat to return to Pucallpa from Paoyhan, so it would be a considerable journey in a peke-peke (two days at least).

4.1.6 The lake communities

The final communities to be included in the study would be San Francisco and Santa Martha. San Francisco is a forty-five minute peke ride on Lake Yarinacocha from the SIL dock. There are boat taxis which take commuters to and from Pucallpa all day. San Francisco is large, 1,200 community members, and receives much in the way of national and international aid. Recommendations to visit San Francisco are found on tourist brochures for those who want to experience a "native community." As a result, many women sell Shipibo hand crafts. Contact with dominant Peruvian culture and even foreigners is constant. Santa Martha, in spite of its proximity (across the river and a 15 minute walk is Pucallpa), does not enjoy the same benefits as San Francisco. Rather, the community as a native community seems to have suffered as community members have chosen to live elsewhere. There are only 70 residents, but the primary school is maintained. Overall, it was expected that the Shipibo BE experience would vary considerably from community to community and therefore would provide an opportunity for profitable comparison. For a map of all Shipibo communities visited see figure 2.
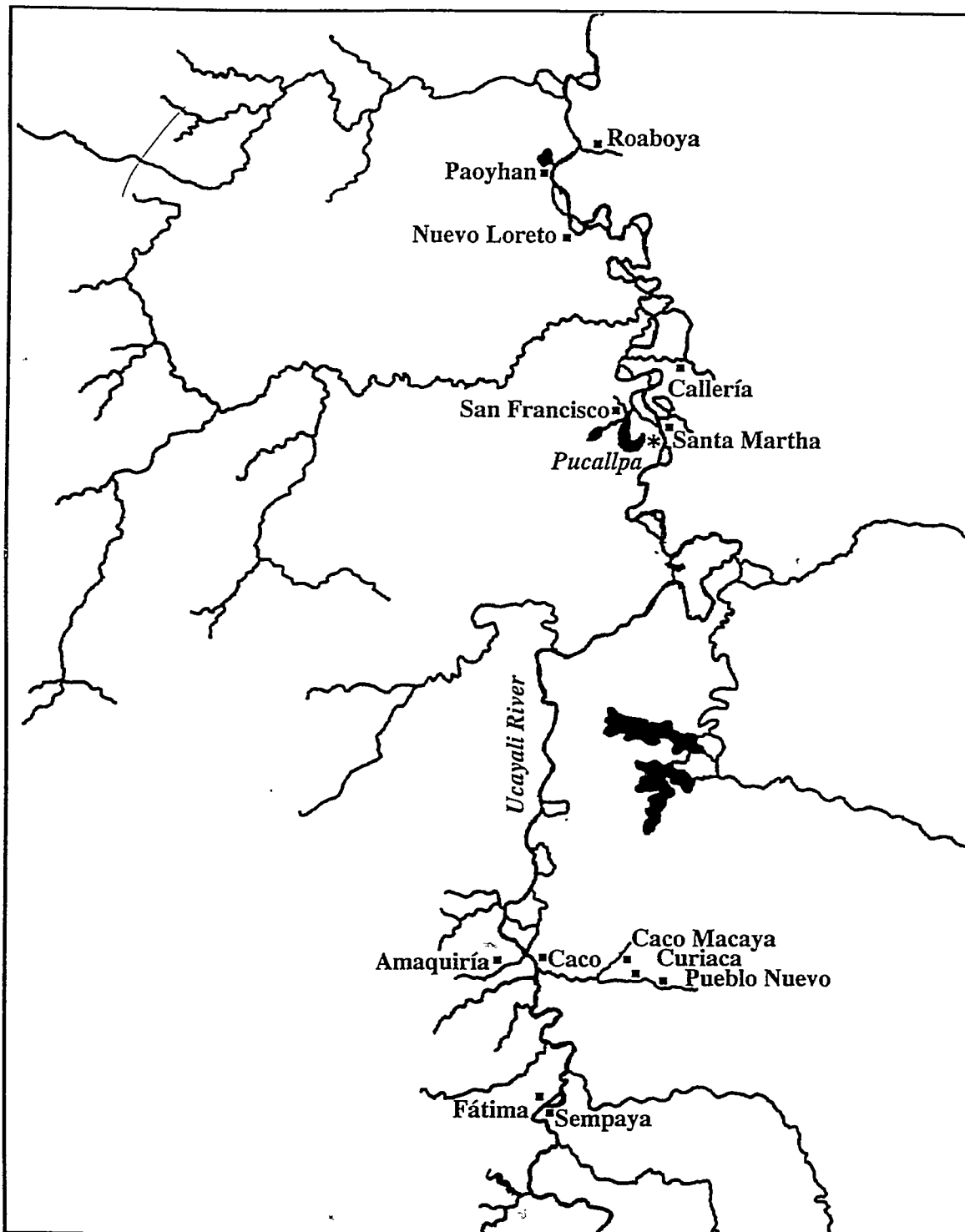
Figure 2. Map of all Shipibo communities visited.

4.2 Data Collection

4.2.1 Introduction to instruments used

The principal instruments for investigating the varied response to BE were orally administered surveys, school records and personal observations. Appendices B, C, and D, contain the surveys in their entirety. (The English translation of the questions is provided in parentheses.)   It should be pointed out however, that what appears in the survey goes beyond the scope of the sociolinguistic and educational aspects of BE being investigated here. As part of a larger study for SIL, the broad goal is general documentation of what has happened in the ethnolinguistic groups of the Amazon Basin as a result of the Peruvian Bilingual Education program. Parts of the survey that directly pertain to the research questions described in chapter 1 are discussed in detail below.

4.2.2 Oral interviews/surveys

Four survey forms were designed: one for community leaders (appendix D), one for community members (appendix B), one for teachers (appendix C), and one for health promoters (appendix E). The instruments were pilot tested by surveying some Piro and Machiguenga teachers and leaders residing in the area of Yarinacocha. They were a tremendous help both in giving advice and allowing an opportunity to practice interviewing. After revising the survey, it was decided that the team would visit two communities of the Yaminahua, a rather remote ethnolinguistic group living near the Brazil border. Initial intentions in interviewing community members there were to possibly compare results of those surveys with the Shipibo data, however, so many changes were made to the survey following the Yaminahua trip that ultimately it was considered it to be a pilot test for the survey and researchers.

Before setting out to the Shipibo communities, letters were sent to the community leaders (appendix A) telling them about the study and asking permission for the team to stay in their community for a few days. Shipibo contacts in and around Yarinacocha were a wonderful help in getting these letters to the communities the team hoped to visit. Invariably they knew someone going the way of the letter and who would hand deliver it. Some communities were contacted by radio.

Upon arrival in each community, permission was sought from the community president to meet with people from the community in an assembly in order to explain the study and ask their permission (see appendix A for a copy of the consent form) to be in their community and interview some of them. Shipibo leadership is determined by election in a general assembly of all members of the community. The vote may be by ballot, a showing of hands or voice, but there must be consensus. In addition to the President there may be a Lieutenant Governor, a Municipal Agent, a Civil Registrar, and police. In the past there was a curaca, or chief, who was usually self-appointed. Because in the new system decisions are made by assembly and protocol is very important, the research team had to be careful to follow the advice of the Shipibo guides, and in most cases allow them to handle the initial arrangements. With one exception, the communities gave permission for the team to stay and do the research and generously offered lodging and in some cases food. Apparently provoked by a fear of white people on the part of some, the people of Fátima stipulated that all the interviewing be done in the house they provided rather than going from house to house as had been requested. They also gave the team permission to stay only one day. In spite of that, many people agreed to be interviewed, and by the end of the day the people in large part had warmed up to the researchers, even some who had originally expressed apprehension.

The goal in each community, in addition to interviewing the president, the health promoter and at least one teacher, was to conduct oral interviews with twenty community members: ten young people (five female and five male) and ten old people (five female and five male). The team deferred to the leadership to determine who fell into which category of *jóvenes* (young people) and *adultos* (adults). The minimum age was specified at approximately fourteen years. The pilot test and previous experience suggested that individuals younger than fourteen would be unfamiliar with talking to adults they did not know. Answering questions about their perceptions would have been uncomfortable for them and unbeneficial to the study.

As mentioned, people's language preference was accommodated by Shipibo-Spanish bilingual individuals who served as interpreters during the oral interviews. In order to get a random sample, the help of community members was elicited in sketching a map of the community (see figure 3), assigning numbers to the houses, then drawing numbers like a lottery and asking those whose house number was drawn if they would be willing to participate. This procedure was successful for getting a random sample in a study of literacy among the Machiguenga (see Davis 1994: 157), and it worked well the current study. Often if people said they did not wish to participate they gave a reason such as they were traveling or very busy. Sometimes they just did not want to, but overall there was good participation. Following the interview, those who participated were given a picture or greeting card as a small token of appreciation.

4.2.2.1 Community member surveys

The community member surveys (appendix B) were divided up into thirteen sections: personal data, language use, economic matters, gender matters, participation in local, regional and national civil processes, governing systems, medical matters, literacy,
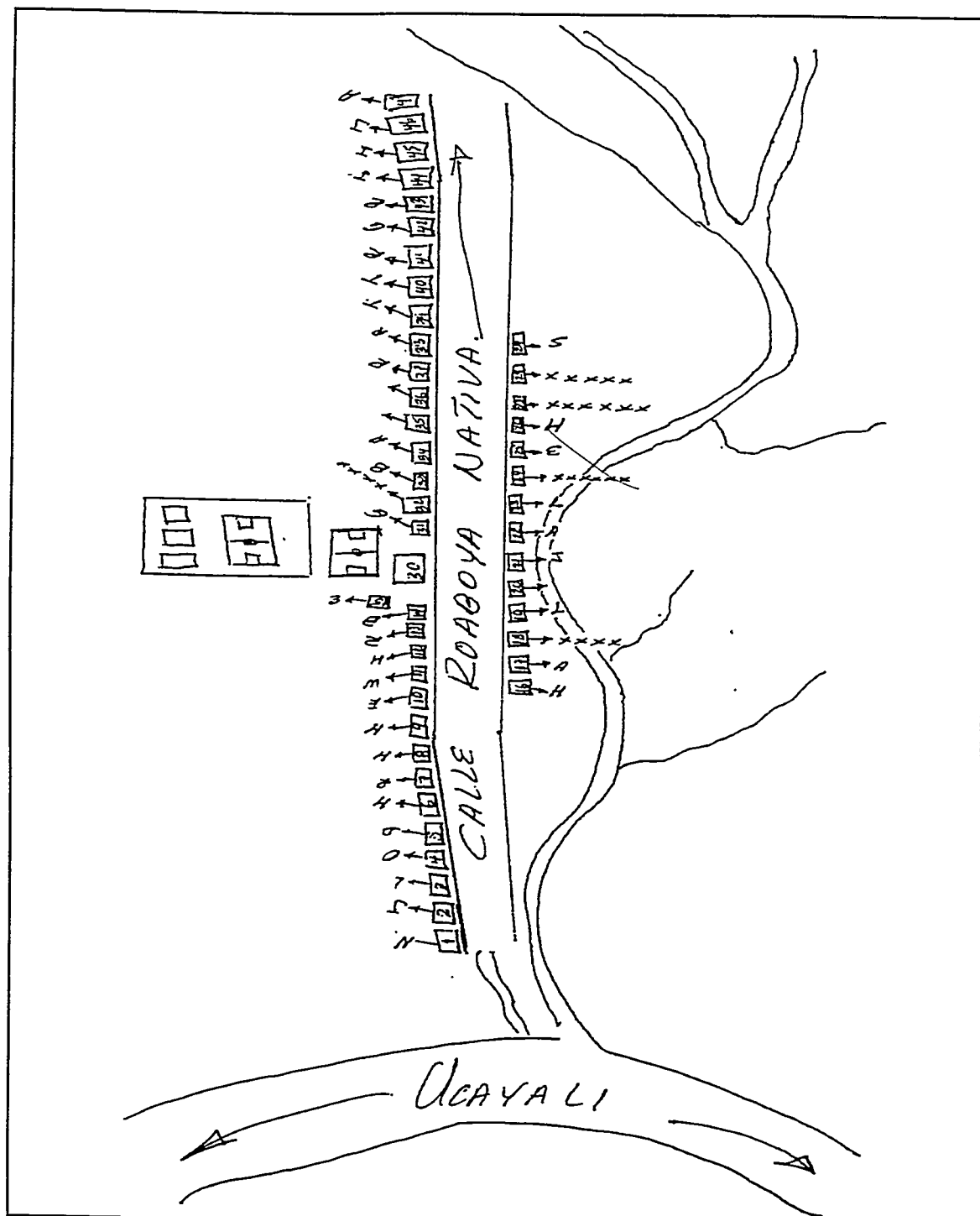
Figure 3. Example of sketched map of native community used for random drawing.

use of print, education, church and religious matters, and cultural identity/customs/values. Each topic was included because in some way or another it was expected to be related to education, specifically BE. Certain questions are of particular interest to the current study.

Research questions 4 and 5 outlined in chapter 1 concerning attitudes toward Shipibo and Spanish are addressed in the language use section of the interview instrument (community member survey section 2). The answers to questions dd and ee, "Do you like to speak Shipibo?," and "Do you like to speak Spanish?," were included to shed light on attitudes towards the MT and Spanish. Participants were also asked if speaking Shipibo and speaking Spanish was easy (community member survey section 2, questions bb and cc). Often a speaker's attitude toward her language will determine if she wants to speak it; on a collective level this choice will affect language maintenance. Although there are social factors that affect attitude, one may hypothesize that a community that has had bilingual education for many years will express positive attitudes toward both languages.

According to Trudell, the Peruvian government has expressed expectations that "...the program should be producing truly bilingual students whose skills in Spanish are on a par with their language skills in the vernacular" (1993:4) In the community member survey, people were asked to report how well they are able to speak, read and write Shipibo and Spanish. Although self-report of skills may not appear to be the most accurate method for determining literacy, testing people posed considerable dilemmas. Because at the outset of the study the research team did not know for what purposes Shipibo people use literacy, if a test had been designed based on reading a text, a letter or instructions of some type, it would have been testing people on their ability to do something they may never do, thereby decontextualizing the exercise. The researchers could have obtained or administered tests in school, but that would have included the preconception that literacy is a school activity and excluded people not currently attending school. By asking people to

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report on their own abilities it was up to them to think about the purposes for which they use the skill learned in school and report on their success. An article in the Journal of Epidemiology about Bolivian women's self-report of literacy skills suggests that indigenous people's ideas about literacy ability and researchers' are not far apart. Researchers who work with women's health issues from the School of Public Health at the University of North Carolina found that, "[w]hen women's self-reports [of literacy] were compared to the investigator's evaluation of reading ability, the results were highly consistent (p<0.001)" (Bender and McCann 1993:748).

The survey questions about language use (community member survey section 2, questions a-x) and use of print and literacy sections (community member survey sections 9 and 10) pertain to speaking, reading, and writing Spanish and the vernacular by adults and children. Are the government's expectations to produce "true bilinguals" being met? What might this mean for an indigenous community? By comparing generations, one can interpret the answers to the survey questions in terms of maintenance of the MT and/or shift to Spanish. For example, if children are reported to speak Spanish, but not the vernacular, there might be some evidence of language shift. If adults are reading in both vernacular and Spanish, that may indicate maintenance. Cummins has suggested that "[t]ransfer is much more likely to occur from minority to majority language because of the greater exposure to literacy in the majority language and the strong social pressure to learn it" (1984:143).

As mentioned in the introduction, the issue of success of BE among the Shipibo was investigated from the perspective of the people who established the program and, perhaps more importantly, from the perspective of the Shipibo people interviewed. The SIL and government established ideas of success (as defined by achieved objectives) can

be measured using the results of the language use section, the school records and teacher surveys and observations.

The Shipibo perspective is addressed, albeit indirectly, in two sections of the community member survey - section 12 and section 4 l-w. Section 12 asks what the positive and negative aspects of having a school in the community are. In the pilot study it was found that many people answered that the benefit of school had to do with reading and writing (in general) and with speaking Spanish. In other words, people see school as a place where students learn to read and write in two languages and that is a good thing. Therefore, Section 4 l-w, which asks participants whether it is necessary for men and women of the community to be able to speak, read and write in Spanish and Shipibo, was added. In this way an attempt was made to test whether the good that the school is supposed to have brought is really necessary from the Shipibo point of view. In addition, people were asked to give reasons for why people should be able to speak, read and write in Shipibo and Spanish (i.e., what use they have for literacy in Shipibo and literacy in Spanish).

Once the uses of literacy as defined by the Shipibo themselves have been established, it is possible to investigate if they are using literacy the way they say they want to. Sections 9 and 10 of the community member survey elicited information about use of the printed word, that is, how often and what people read and write. The questions concerning literacy and use of print are crucial in creating a picture of what it means to be a reader to indigenous Peruvians. Barton (1994) states that people are successfully literate when they are "able to operate confidently and effectively in the literate worlds [they] want to belong to" (193-194). The answers to these questions will indicate whether the Shipibo think of themselves as readers and whether (and in which language) they consider reading to be part of the goal of the BE program. Davis (1994) found that when the Machiguenga

were asked what reading is, some of the responses had to do with mastery of a skill learned at school.

4.2.2.2 Teacher surveys

The interviews designed especially for the teacher in each community (appendix C) include questions that reveal the teacher's view about the place of L1 and L2 in the school. (Question 2b asks whether it is better for education to begin in Shipibo or Spanish, and 2n asks if there is a separate class for learning Spanish as a second language.) In addition, parental and community support is investigated in 2c-f where the teacher is asked where students get books (not provided by the government) and about the goals of the parent organization. Issues concerning teacher training are also investigated in the teacher survey.

4.2.2.3 Community leader survey

The community leader survey (appendix D) results help round out the social and historical picture of the community. Section 4 investigates economic issues from what people in the community own and buy to what kind of interactions community members have with outside vendors (4h-q.) Community leaders were also asked to give popuation figures.

4.2.2.4 Health promoter survey

The Health Promoter survey (appendix E) in addition to providing information about the health and well being of the community, gives census information. These figures provided important information about the population size of each community.

4.2.3 Observations

In each community the present researcher made formal school observations. Because the lowest levels of primary school were the most likely to have Shipibo (or bilingual) lessons going on, every effort was made to sit in on a first or second grade class. Moreover, according to the curriculum, the first year of primary school is when youngsters are taught the essentials of reading. Of interest to the study was establishing in which language early reading instruction was taking place. Observations were made concerning the conditions, availability and use of materials and teaching aids, teaching styles and treatment of students.

The reality that most people rest after lunch in the heat of the day and preferred not to be interviewed afforded the researcher the opportunity to make informal observations about how people spend their leisure time. Special attention was paid to assessing reading as a leisure activity and other uses of print in the environment.

4.2.4 School records

In addition to the oral surveys/interviews, attendance records were provided by school directors. School attendance and attrition for 1985, 1990, and 1996 was documented. These years were selected because those students who started primary school in 1985 would be finishing primary school in 1990 and secondary school in 1996. (Primary school is scheduled to last six years and secondary, five years.) With these data, it is possible to determine how many students finish primary and secondary school and together with the information given by the teacher, draw conclusions about why some students drop out and others remain.

These school records from thirteen communities, the written transcription of 253 oral interviews and researcher observations comprise the data of this study. By observing

and interacting with leaders, teachers, students, administrators, parents, old and young members of Shipibo communities, it is possible to suggest linguistic, educational and societal factors which may influence the BE program among Shipibo communities.

4.3 Methods Of Analysis

4.3.1 Removal of subgroups from the study

Before undertaking the explanation of the methods used to analyze the data, it is important to mention that one of the communities, Fátima, was removed from the study. Upon arrival in Fátima the researchers were greeted cordially, but the meeting requesting permission to interview there lasted an exceptionally long time. Much of the discussion was in Shipibo and the interpreters later reported that the people were very fearful. Stories, probably rooted in centuries of exploitation and mistreatment from outsiders, have long circulated in the Amazon Basin about white people who use the fat of Indians to run their airplanes and who peel the skin off their faces. Thanks to the careful negotiation of the Shipibo interpreters, the community agreed to permit the interviewing, with certain restrictions: a) the team was required to remain in the place they had provided as lodging; b)the team could only interview those people who volunteered -- no lottery; c) the team could stay only one day. In spite of these stipulations, seventeen people were interviewed: eleven women and six men. Due to a lack of randomization and sample generalizability, the seventeen people interviewed in Fátima were omitted from the analysis.

Another subgroup from the sample was removed for certain portions of the data analysis. This study concerns itself with bilingual education in Shipibo communities which, with one exception, is limited to primary and secondary schools. Therefore, people who attended school beyond secondary were excluded when evaluating influence of Years

of School on Shipibo and Spanish ability and when calculating means of school attendance. In all, this totaled only thirteen individuals.

4.3.2 Electronic data storage

After the data were culled, it was necessary to store them in a way that facilitated quantitative and qualitative analysis. The computer database FileMaker Pro® provided a way to design a computer version of the survey and enter the responses. Each record in the database represents a Shipibo respondent. In this way, records were easily sorted and counted by gender, years of school, community or any other field on the original survey or added later. (An example of fields added that were not on the survey is cohort which was assigned post hoc.) The flexibility of FileMaker Pro® allows for easy entry of qualitative data as well such as notes taken in the margins which may enhance the understanding of answers to the survey questions. For example, marginal notes were made about the extenuating circumstances under which the one respondent who spoke little Shipibo had been living away from his family until very recently.

Further, to conduct statistical tests the program Statistica® was used. For these purposes the data were exported from FileMaker Pro® and converted to an Excel® spreadsheet.

4.3.3. Division of cohorts

As previously indicated, community leaders aided in randomly selecting young (*jóvenes*) and adult (*adultos*) participants as the lottery drawing was carried out. This somewhat artificial division resulted in people, ranging in age from twelve to seventy-eight, participating in the study where young and old were largely decided based on marital status. This resulted in some people of the same age in two different "age"

categories. The sixty-six year age span of participants is more readily understood as three generations rather than two. Therefore, for purposes of analysis, the participants were statistically divided into three groups based on age variation in the data resulting in three cohorts (generations). This was done using, a K means clustering analysis, a clustering algorithm in which the user specifies the number of groups and the program creates the groups based on maximizing the amount of variance between groups while minimizing the amount of variance within groups (Dillon and Goldstein 1984). This post-hoc clustering resulted in a division that is conceptually pertinent in the Shipibo education context. Because most of the communities did not have schools at all until about 25 years ago, Cohort 1, representing the oldest generation, would not have had an opportunity to attend school. Cohort 2 includes people who most likely witnessed the building of the school in their community as children, but they or their parents may have considered their own attendance optional. Cohort 3, adolescents and young adults, represents the generation for whom school attendance is the norm.

4.3.4. Literacy indices

To investigate the matter of language use and ability among the Shipibo, participants were asked if they spoke, read and wrote Shipibo and Spanish a lot (*mucho*), some (*regular*), a little (*poco*), or not at all (*nada*). For purposes of quantitative analysis these responses were given numerical ranking of 3,2,1 and 0 accordingly. (Figure 4 includes a table of all possible responses and index values as well as a histogram which shows the theoretical normal distribution of the model.) As each question has an individual response, they could be treated individually. However, by combining the responses concerning reading and writing of Shipibo (questions b and c in section 2 of the community member survey) one can construct a measure of Shipibo literacy (where

Mucho	Regular	Poco	Nada	Index
2	0	0	0	6
1	1	0	0	5
0	2	0	0	4
1	0	1	0	4
1	0	0	1	3
0	1	1	0	3
0	0	2	0	2
0	1	0	1	2
0	0	1	1	1
0	0	0	2	0
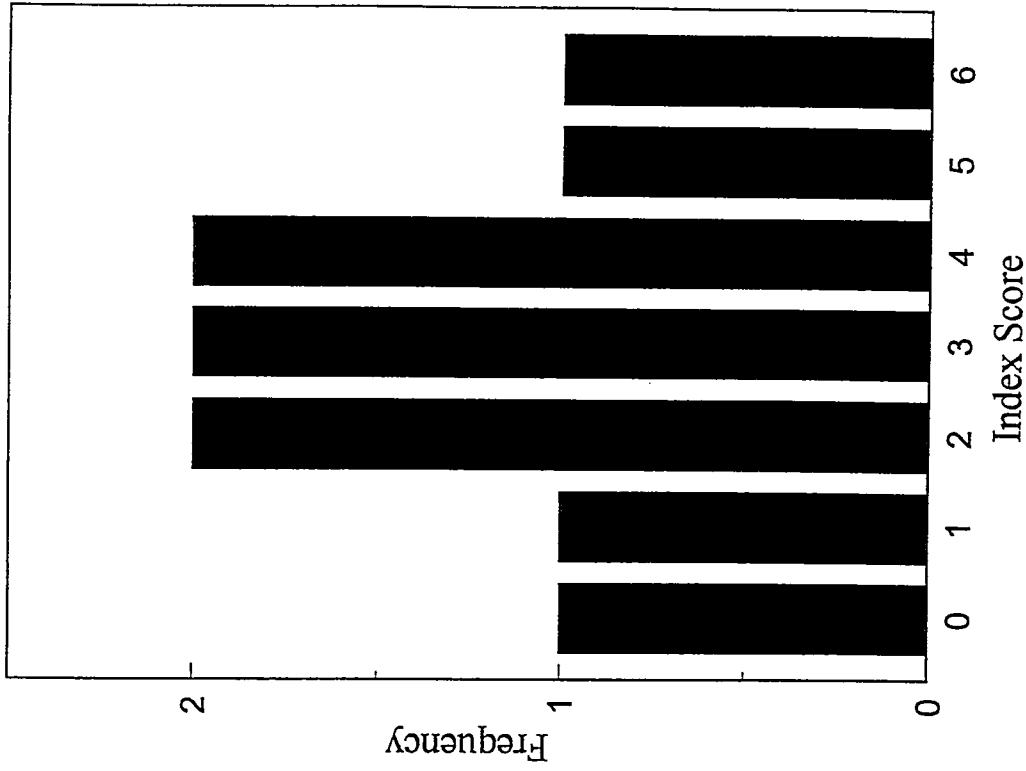
Figure 4. Theoretical Index scores and histogram.

literacy is defined by the respondents' own assessment of their ability to read and write).
Likewise, combining the responses concerning reading and writing of Spanish (questions
e and f in section 2 of the community member survey) may provide further insights into
Spanish literacy among the Shipibo. Therefore, a Shipibo Index was generated yielding a
range of zero (if the response to both reading and writing in Shipibo were "not at all") to
six (if the response to both reading and writing in Shipibo were "a lot"). A Spanish Index
was created in a similar fashion with the same high and low values of 0 through 6. For
example if a person answered "regular" (value = 2) for read Shipibo and "poco" (value =
1) for write Shipibo, they would have a Shipibo Index score of 3.

4.3.5 Effect of years of school on Shipibo and Spanish Literacy

It may be hypothesized that the more years of school a person attends, the more
ability they will have in reading and writing Spanish. Once the indices were created, a
linear, least squares (LLS) regression of Shipibo Index and Spanish Index (y) on Years of
School (x) was used to determine the effect of school on Shipibo and Spanish literacy.
The appropriateness of a linear model fitted to the data was evaluated by examining plots
of the predicted (y') value versus the residuals (Tabachnick and Fidell 1989). This plot
revealed that Spanish Index is not linear although the regression was significant. It may be
suspected that after a certain number of years of school attendance there was a leveling off
of ability. A non-linear model (Index = constant + β_1 (years of school) + β_2 (years of
school)^2) was fitted to the same data to determine if the nonlinear model accounted for a
larger proportion of the variation in the data (r^2).

4.3.6 Shipibo and Spanish literacy as it varies by Cohort, Gender and Community

Since the study was interested in the effect of Years of School on Shipibo and Spanish Literacy, an attempt was made to test for differences in Index scores as they vary with Community, Gender, and Cohort. As described, communities were purposefully selected for inclusion in the study in order to compare and contrast communities which have had BE for varying lengths of time. Obviously, an individual who lives in a community which has only had a bilingual school for eight years would have little or no opportunity to attend school for longer than that. It was also suspected that there would be a gender effect. The fact that girls go to school fewer years than boys in the Shipibo context, as in many parts of the world, had to be accounted for in the analysis. Through the analysis of age described, it was determined that three generations existed in the sample, and it was supposed that older generations, who had less of an opportunity for school attendance, would have lower Index scores. On average, the communities visited have had schools for about 22 years, thus most members of Cohort 1 (average age 50.7 years) were adults by the time school was first appearing in their communities.

The appropriate statistical test for analyzing the effect of Community, Gender and Cohort on Shipibo Index and Spanish Index is the analysis of variance (ANOVA). This test compares variation within and among different groups and determines whether they are different enough to lend support to the idea that the differences are due to the influence of the independent variable(s) or are simply due to random variation in the samples. A one-way ANOVA allows for the comparison of means of one dependent variable and one independent variable with more than two levels, and a two-way ANOVA is used when there is more than one independent variable. In order to use an ANOVA, at least two important assumptions must be met:

(1) The data must be normally distributed.

(2) Variances among groups can not be different. (There must be homogeneity of variances.)

These are discussed below in relation to the data under consideration.

The optimal method for analyzing the data presented here is with a three way ANOVA treating Cohort, Gender, and Community as independent variables. However, the combination of three Cohorts, two Genders, and twelve Communities produces seventy-two cells across which the responses of the 237 individuals interviewed were spread, resulting in an incomplete design with low statistical power (for example, no Cohort 1 females in Amaquiría.) Therefore, several two way ANOVAs were performed analyzing the effect of Gender and Community and Gender and Cohort on Shipibo Index and Spanish Index and Years of School.

In all ANOVAs, assumptions of homogeneity of variances were tested using Levene's test (StatSoft 1993). No attempts to transform variables stabilized the variances. Therefore, levels of the independent variable with exceptionally high variances were deleted until the assumption of homogeneity of variances was met, the test was run again, and the new result compared with qualitative results of analysis in which all levels of independent variables were present. In no case were these two types of analysis qualitatively different, thus results from the full analysis will be included.

The LLS regression revealed that Years of School was significantly correlated with both Shipibo Index and Spanish Index. When a dependent variable is correlated with another variable (the covariate), ANOVA results can be misleading. Therefore, it becomes desirable to employ an analyses of covariance (ANCOVA), a statistical procedure which removes or controls for the influence of a variable (the covariate) which is affecting the distribution of the dependent variable. There are two primary advantages of employing

ANCOVA when the dependent variable is correlated with a covariate. The first advantage to using ANCOVA is to prevent the false conclusion that there is a not a difference among treatments in the dependent variable when, in fact, there is. Covariation can lead to increases in the variance of the dependent variable which might obscure real differences which become apparent after removing the effects of the covariate. The second benefit of ANCOVA is that it prevents the researcher from concluding that a difference among treatments in the dependent variable exists when, in fact, there is no difference. Differences among groups which are detected by ANOVA may simply be due to differences among groups in the covariate which, because of the correlation between the covariate and the dependent variable, lead to the observed differences in the dependent variable.

In order to avoid the flawed interpretations mentioned, in the current research the effect of the independent variables Gender, Community, and Cohort on Shipibo Index and Spanish Index was re-examined after statistically removing the influence of the number of Years of School that individuals attended. ANCOVA assumptions, namely that regression lines are parallel and that variances are equal among cells, were tested for all comparisons.

4.3.7 Language attitude

Because attitude towards one's language is expected to affect the overall acceptance of a BE program as well as one's language use, participants were asked if they liked to speak Shipibo and if they liked to speak Spanish. While this hardly constitutes a language attitude study, the results will provide some insight into how Shipibo people's attitudes toward their language change among generations and with changing social forces, not the least of which is school attendance.

Responses to the yes/no attitude questions (Do you like to speak Shipibo/Spanish? Is Shipibo/Spanish easy?) were analyzed using a chi-square analysis (Hatch and Lazaraton 1991). In order to test for differences within each cohort of attitude toward Shipibo compared with attitude toward Spanish, the responses were divided into the three cohorts as described. Each of the questions was tallied for number and percentage of yes responses and no responses to the question that asked if they liked each language and then for the question concerning how easy each language is. A series of chi-square tests were then performed on each cohort. In addition, chi-square tests were performed to determine differences among cohorts concerning attitudes toward Shipibo and Spanish. To do this, each yes/no question was analyzed individually for the three cohorts together.

4.3.8 School attendance trends

School attendance and attrition rates may be indicators of a program's acceptance. For example, overall lack of or decline in attendance may indicate that a program does not meet a community's needs. Moreover, attendance patterns as distributed along gender lines may signal other social factors to consider in evaluation and future planning. In order to examine trends in school attendance, number of female and male students in attendance at the end of 1985, 1990, and 1996 were elicited from primary and secondary school directors. These years were chosen in an effort to reveal retention rates. Children who entered primary school in 1985 should have been finishing secondary in 1996. Likewise, children who entered primary in 1990 would be finishing in 1996. These figures were also used to calculate proportions of females to males and overall attendance patterns.

CHAPTER 5

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION PERTAINING TO THE SUCCESS OF

THE BE PROGRAM AND MATTERS OF LANGUAGE

MAINTENANCE AND SHIFT

5.0 Introduction

As documented in chapter 2, the history of indigenous education in Peru prior to
the mid-twentieth century is essentially a story of inappropriate practices and
unimplemented policies. Logistical and linguistic choices made by those who did attempt
to make education available to indigenous Peruvians resulted in a system that reflected and
perpetuated a system that was both classist and racist. Most indigenous children, rather
than risk the corporal and psychological punishment which resulted from their inability to
speak and understand Spanish, opted not to attend national schools even if they were
accessible. If for no other reason than lack of participation, it is safe to say that prior to the
implementation of the BE experiment to the Amazon Basin in 1953, education as it
pertained to indigenous Peruvians was largely unsuccessful.

Yet more is included in the definition of a successful education program than
regular attendance. The issue of success is the basis of the first part of this chapter.
Research question 1 of this study asks, What are the factors that contribute to the relative
success or failure of BE in the Shipibo context? This chapter begins by proposing a
definition of success which includes the goals of the founders (section 5.2) and the
Shipibo perspective (section 5.3) and evaluates the program based on these. In section 5.4
other factors relevant to the success of the BE program are discussed. The second part of

this chapter beginning with section 5.5 takes up the issue of language maintenance and shift.

5.1 Defining success

Success normally implies meeting or approximating a standard or achieving objectives, often preestablished ones. In the current study, determining the success of the original BE experiment is gauged in light of the preset goals established by its founders and the responses of the Shipibo people who have participated, directly (by attending) or indirectly (by witnessing others attend), in BE in their communities.

5.2 The original goals

At the start of the BE program in the Peruvian Amazon, the Peruvian government and SIL set the following general goals:

1. To follow the national course of study, with adaptations in keeping with the jungle environment

2. To prepare students to enter regular primary schools at the end of second-year level

3. To prepare textbooks which would serve a dual purpose as teachers' guides and would parallel the methods taught in the teacher-training course

4. To teach in the vernacular language initially and extend the concepts learned to Spanish (Davis 1981:111).

The first goal, to follow the national course of study, has been met inasmuch as the schools are fully government sponsored, now offering the same material being covered in other schools throughout the country. The second objective, to prepare students to enter regular primary schools has been achieved and exceeded. The BE experiment was

originally intended to be a two or three year transition to regular primary schools. According to Davis, "The bilingual school program was designed to serve as a bridge between the indigenous culture and the national life. This involved teaching Spanish as a second language until students were equipped to enter the national school system and study unaided in the national school system" (1981:11). Among the Shipibo (and other groups) the program has expanded to the point where most communities have a complete primary school offering up to grade six and several have secondary schools. In most cases, the last two years of primary school are taught mostly, if not exclusively, in Spanish. In only one community of those visited are there Shipibo speaking teachers in the secondary school. The teachers of the primary schools expressed a keen awareness that part of their job was to prepare students for all-Spanish instruction as evidenced by this comment from a primary school teacher, "In the secondary schools the professors are Spanish speakers and we have to prepare the students for using Spanish with their professors."

Objective number 3, preparation of textbooks which also serve as teachers' guides, has been accomplished inasmuch as books in Shipibo and Spanish have been designed and published and are available. However, although these books are clearly designed for in-class use (they have large, lined areas for writing practice), they never reach the hands of the students. In every school observed during the current study, the students were without books. In some of the Shipibo schools or school offices there were piles of books that were not being used because they were greatly inappropriate to the Shipibo context. The most striking example of this was in Sempaya where there was a stack of materials rotting in a closet -- science books in English!

The teachers have adjusted to this lack of books by reading from the only available copy. In that sense, the use of the Spanish expression for teaching *"dictar clases"* (to

dictate classes) is very appropriate. The teachers read each word slowly and call out each punctuation mark while the students spend laborious hours copying into their notebooks. Hornberger (1988:200) calls this sort of copying "a major pedagogical technique" in the Peruvian Quechua schools she observed. In one fifth and sixth grade class observed in the current study, the lesson of the day was letter writing. The teacher dictated in Spanish how to write a letter while the students wrote down every word. Then the teacher gave an explanation in Shipibo and assigned them to write a letter in Spanish[1]. In the 15 or so minutes allotted for the exercise the students within view of the current researcher wrote the place, the date and "Sir:." They had no idea what the content of the letter should be. It seems that education among the Shipibo, like in so many other schools in the world, has become the methodical distribution of facts. Apparently this was not always the case. Explaining how over the years, as teachers gain experience, suggestions for classroom exercises in the textbooks are less necessary, Davis observes,"...[A]s teachers become more expert, they tend to depend less upon these aids and to branch out with their own creative ideas. This is also encouraged" (1981:117). In his book about education in general in Peru, Paulston had the following to say: "...despite a steadily growing allocation to education, there has been a general decline in ...quality. The schools continue to stress the encyclopedic, humanistic curriculum taught in a verbalistic memoristic manner..." (Paulston, R 1971:130). Although twenty-five years had passed since Paulston's account, what was observed in 1996 concurred. Perhaps in this way the BE program among the Shipibo has mimicked the national course of study more than anyone ever imagined.

The final objective of the founders of the BE program, that education begin in the vernacular and move to Spanish, was attained from the first days of the program and is

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[1]It is little wonder most Shipibos who write letters do so in Spanish even to other Shipibo speakers. The message given in a lesson like this one is that Spanish is the appropriate language for letter writing.

maintained today. Among the Shipibo, initial schooling is introduced in L1 and gradually (or not so gradually depending on the individual school and instructor) the language of instruction becomes primarily, and then exclusively, L2. This decision concerning which languages to use for which roles was perhaps the most influential one made by the organizers. It should be recognized that at that time, 1953, the suggestion to have formal education of any type in a nonnational language was a rather radical idea considering that the unchallenged practice of the day was monolingual education in the prestige language. Furthermore, the details of the decision to use two languages in school, namely to work toward a full L2 (Spanish) curriculum after a few years, established the Peru BE experiment on a transition model. In that regard, it is accomplishing what transition programs tend to do:

1. Children who are monolingual in a language other than the national or prestige language have an introduction to education in a safe, friendly environment.

2. Children learn to read because they are first taught in a language they can already speak.

3. Children learn to speak and eventually read and write in L2.

4. L2 eventually replaces L1 as the medium of instruction (in the upper grades) and therefore, as the dominant language of the students as the vehicle for acquiring new knowledge.

In the wake of a long history of failed education attempts among Peru's indigenous people, the BE experiment has accomplished more in the way of formal education than any prior efforts. However, a transition model, whether explicitly stated or not, has monolingualism or limited bilingualism as the goal. Support for this was found by Medina and Escamilla (1992). They compared groups of students in a TBE program and a MBE program in the United States and found that at the end of three years all the groups

had "acquired comparable levels of L2 oral proficiency" (1992:283). Two of the three groups in the TBE program "evidenced a loss of L1" and all three groups in the MBE program maintained [L1]" (283). Medina and Escamilla concluded that "...for positive effects [of bilingualism] to present themselves, students must be in the process of developing high levels of bilingual skills associated with MBE programs" (1992:266). Their study lends credence to the claims that instruction in L1 leads to increased proficiency in L2 and that TBE does not encourage proficiency in L1.

In sum, the general goals of the BE program among the Shipibo, following the national course of study, preparation of students for monolingual Spanish schools, preparation of textbooks and teaching first in Shipibo and then in Spanish, have been met. Further, Davis reports that in 1972 the Peruvian Ministry of Education wanted to "speed up the process of Spanish learning" (1981:115). Spener argues that "the ideology supporting transition BE is assimilationist" (Spener 1988). According to Skutnabb-Kangas and García (1995), use of the MT as a medium for education in a transition model is not viewed as a right of the learners, but as a necessary way to get to the L2. Although not referring specifically to the Shipibo program, Pozzi-Escot summarized the role of the MT in BE in Peru since its inception, by stating, "The MT only serves as a bridge between...the initial period of schooling and the moment when there is a certain competence in Spanish. It is a transfer from monolingualism in the MT to monolingualism in the L2" (1991:131).

5.3 Success from the Shipibo perspective

The issue of success was also investigated from the perspective of the Shipibo people. As described in chapter 4 section 4.2.2.1, the Shipibo view of success of the BE program was arrived at in a indirect way. It would not have been very beneficial to ask

people, "Is the BE program successful?" Instead, people were asked what benefits/aids and problems/disadvantages there were in having a school in their community (section 12 of the community survey found in appendix B). To the former (benefits), many answered that people had learned to read and write and that people had learned to speak Spanish. In another section of the survey (4 l-w) people were asked if these were necessary skills. A majority of people in the interviews responded that they thought it necessary for people in their community to be able to speak, read and write both Shipibo and Spanish. Because these skills are taught in school, it is fair to say that if people are learning these skills, then the school, at least to some degree, has been successful from the Shipibo perspective. The next several sections explore the issue of language ability and use among the Shipibo.

5.3.1 Literacy ability as a factor of success

In order to investigate the question of whether and in which language(s) people are learning to read and write in the Shipibo context, participants were asked (in section 2 of the community member survey) about their ability in speaking, reading and writing the two languages and where they learned them. Virtually all (99%) respondents speak Shipibo "a lot" and they all learned to speak it as their MT in their homes as children. Speaking ability in Spanish varied widely and often had to do with influences other than school attendance. More than half (52%) of the 21 respondents (13 women and 8 men) who had never attended school, reported having some or a little Spanish speaking ability. They learned from contact with Spanish speakers either buying from, selling to or working for them. In order not to exaggerate the influence of school, an index restricted to reading and writing ability was created for the statistical analysis. (See section 5.3.1.2.) However, speaking is of considerable importance in the matter of BE and is included in other aspects of the analysis.

5.3.1.1 Division of participants by generation

Before undertaking an explanation of how people's reading and writing abilities were evaluated in the statistical analysis, it is necessary to explain how the generational factor was dealt with in the analysis. Question 1e on the community member survey (appendix B) asks participants to give their age. This important piece of information goes beyond mere demographics. Knowledge of a person's age and the date that the school was established in the community is useful in determining what potential there was for school attendance. In order to aid analysis and more accurately reflect these school attendance possibilities, participants were divided by age into three cohorts using an algorithmic clustering analysis.

Figure 5 is a histogram which presents the results of the clustering analysis: the age ranges of the three Cohorts. Cohort 1 (n=63) has a maximum age of 78 years and a minimum age of 40 years with a mean age of 50.7 (s.d. 9.49) years. Cohort 2 (n=65) has a maximum age of 39 years and a minimum age of 23 years with a mean age of 30.1 (s.d. 4.97) years. Cohort 3 (n=109) has a maximum age of 22 years and a minimum age of 12 years with a mean age of 16.6 (s.d. 2.40) years. These results reflect the removal of one community, Fátima, for the reasons outlined. (See chapter 4 section 4.3.1.) Most Shipibo communities did not have schools until about 25 years ago; therefore, Cohort 1, representing the oldest generation, would not have had an opportunity to attend school. Cohort 2 includes people who may have witnessed the building of the school in their community as children, but they or their parents may have considered their own attendance optional. Cohort 3, adolescents and young adults, represents the generation for whom some school attendance is the norm.
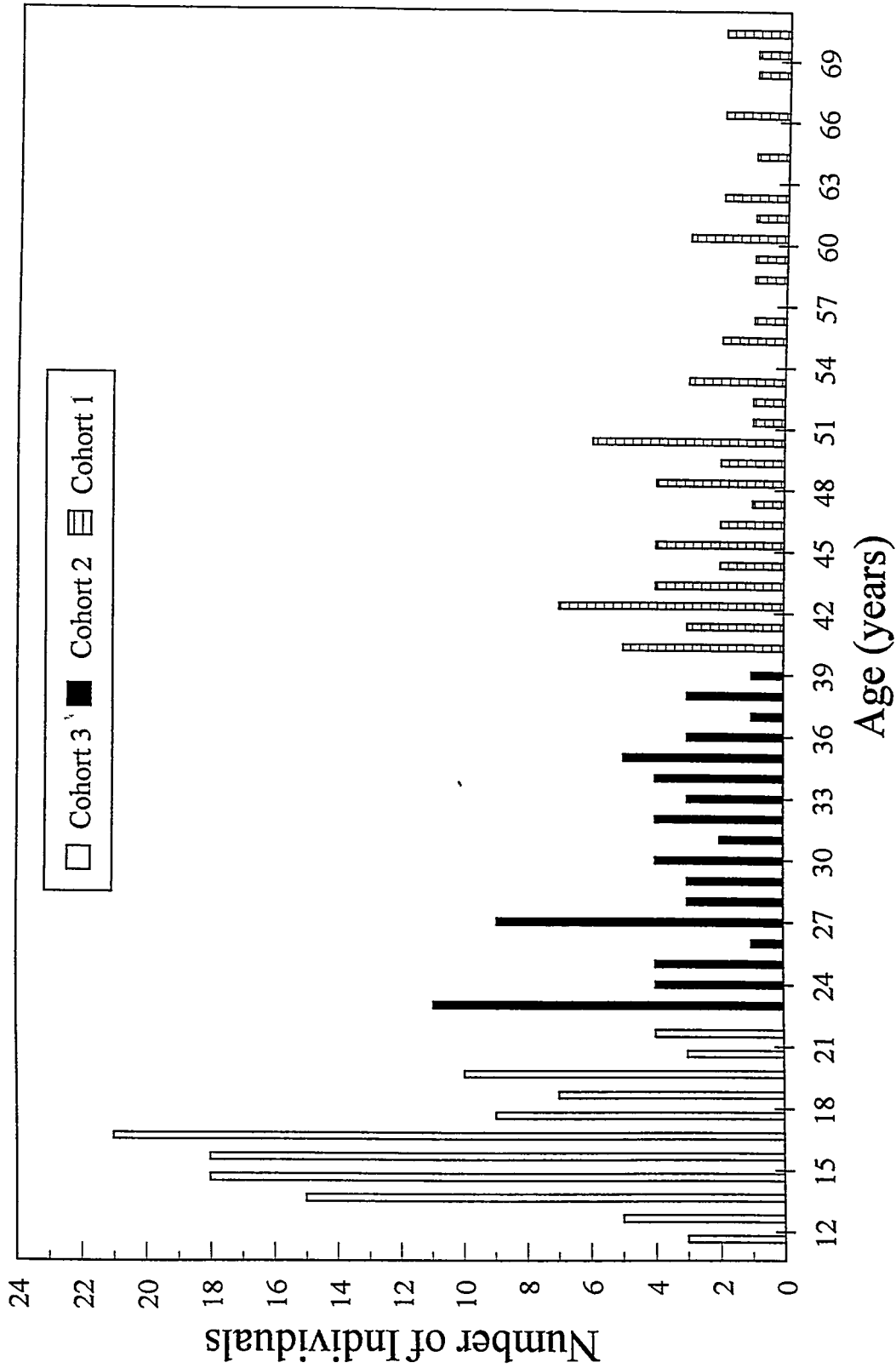
Figure 5. Cohorts by Age histogram.

5.3.1.2 Literacy indices

With few exceptions, literate Shipibo people have learned to read and write both Shipibo and Spanish in the bilingual schools. (Rare exceptions include self instruction or instruction while serving in the military.) Therefore, as detailed in chapter 4 section 4.3.4, the responses for reading and writing were combined to create numerical indices for Shipibo and Spanish literacy. Use of literacy indices rather than individual answers to questions aided the analysis because Shipibo Index scores and Spanish Index scores could be used as dependent variables in analyses of variance and regressions. Figure 6 shows Shipibo and Spanish Index scores for all individuals surveyed. As seen in the figure, even number Index scores are more prevalent than odd number Index scores indicating that respondents tended to report similar abilities for reading and writing.

Figure 7 shows two histograms indicating the distribution of literacy index scores by Cohort based on responses to language ability questions, that is, how well one reads and writes in Shipibo and Spanish. Comparing Shipibo and Spanish literacy among the Cohorts indicates that Cohort 1 largely has little or no ability in both languages. Both Cohort 2 and Cohort 3 have more people with regular or a lot of ability in Spanish than in Shipibo. Not surprisingly, Cohort 3 has the largest number of people with literacy abilities in both languages, but many more in Spanish than in Shipibo. As will be seen when Cohort as a variable is analyzed in more detail (see table 10, chapter 6), Cohort differences are statistically significant.

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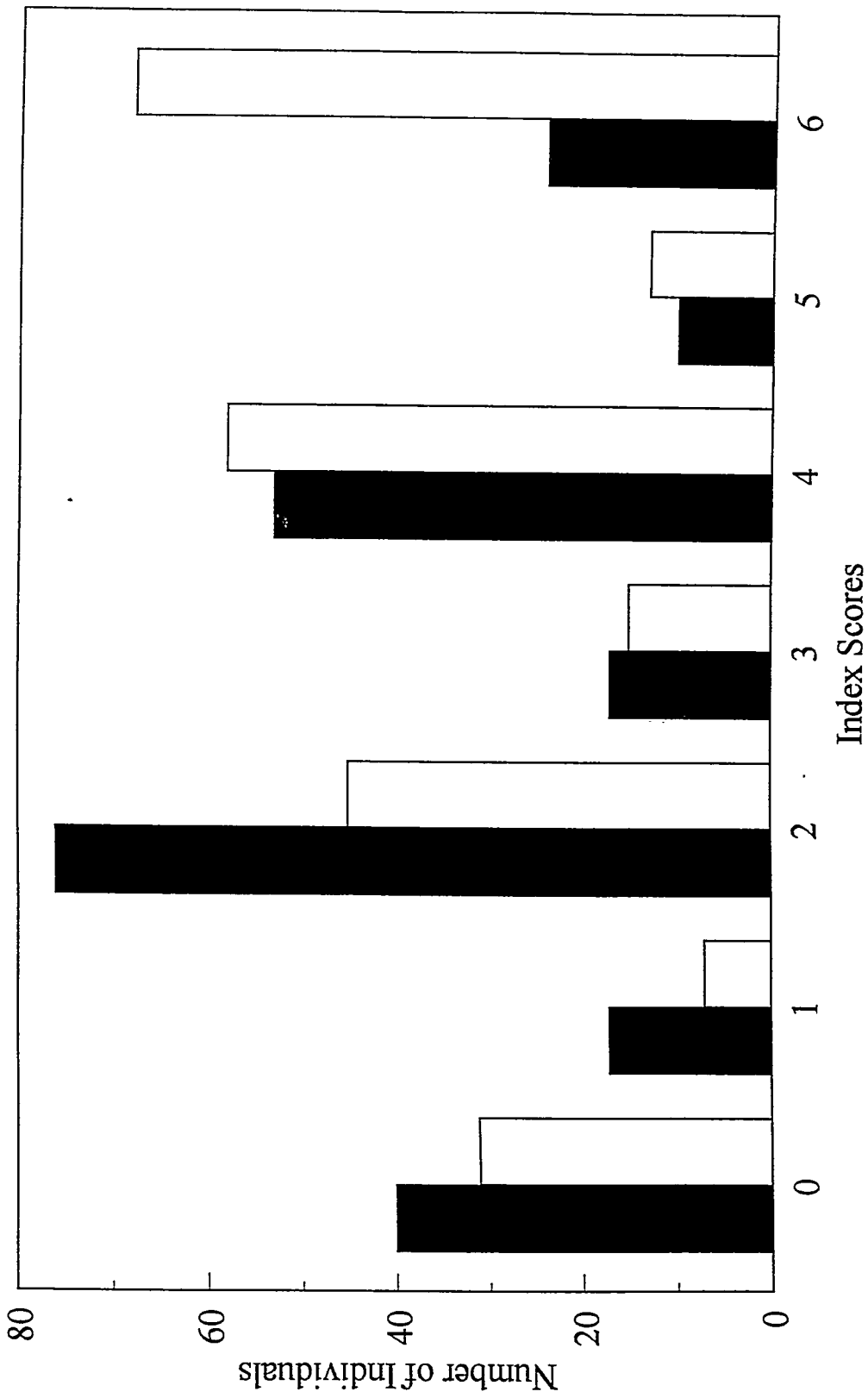
Figure 6. Histogram of Shipibo and Spanish Index scores summed across all individuals. Black bars represent Shipibo Index; white bars represent Spanish Index.
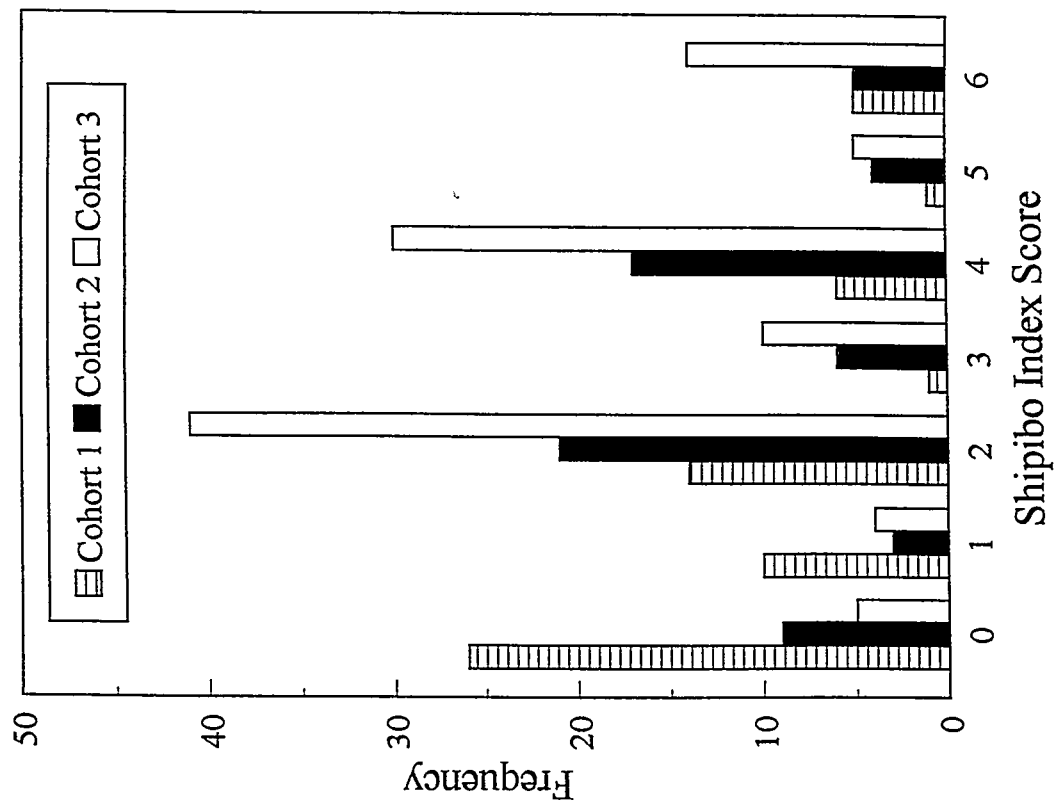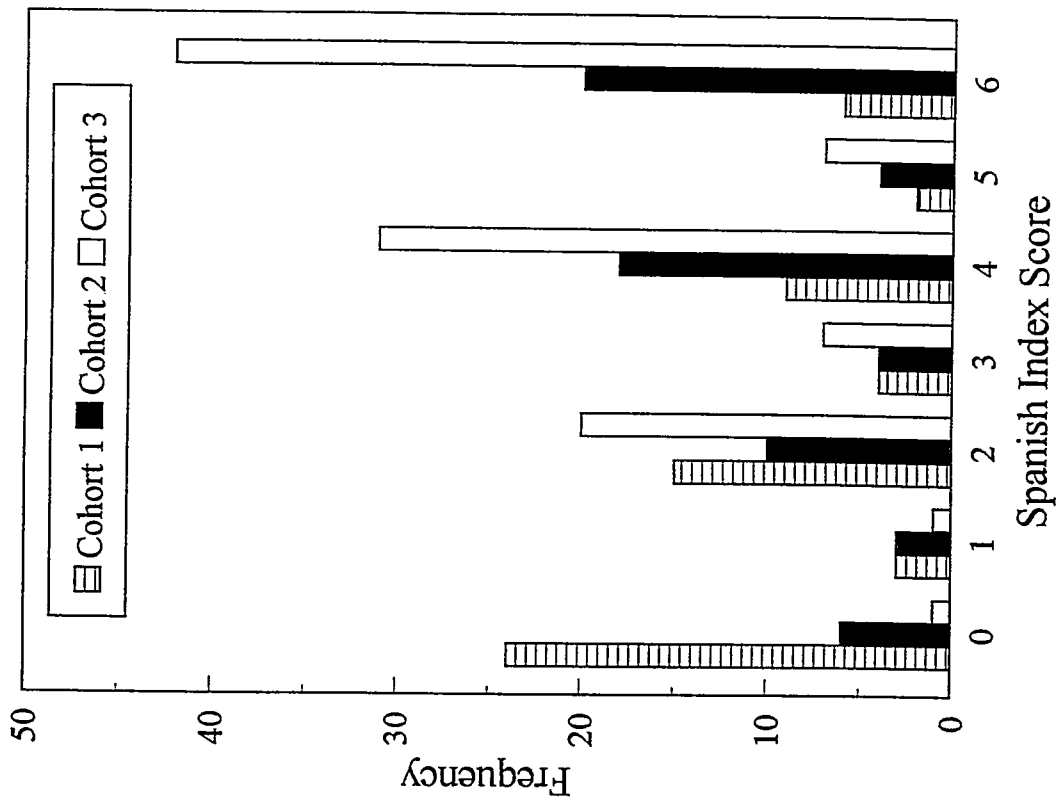
Figure 7. Histograms of Shipibo and Spanish Index Scores by Cohort.

5.3.1.3 School attendance and Shipibo literacy

To continue to probe the issue of success from the Shipibo perspective (are people learning the language skills deemed necessary?), the question of how school may influence language ability was investigated. A linear least squares regression was performed between Years of School attendance as the independent variable and Shipibo Index as the dependent variable. The r^2 value (.353) is significant at the level $p < 0.0001$ which indicates that 35% of the variance in Shipibo Index is explained by number of Years of School a person attends. However, an examination of residuals indicated nonlinearity. Therefore, a second order model was applied to the data (Shipibo Index = constant + β (years of school) + γ (years of school)^2 + ε (error); Shipibo Index = 0.78771 + 0.720402 yrs - 0.036096 yrs^2 + ε.) Figure 8 shows the scatterplots, linear and nonlinear models, of Years of School versus Shipibo Index for all Cohorts. The dotted lines are 95% confidence bands which indicate a 95% chance that the true regression line for the population lies within the bands. The amount of variation accounted for by the inclusion of the second order variable ($r^2 = 0.4018$) was higher than the simple linear model. This analysis reveals that there is a relationship between school attendance and Shipibo literacy and that after a certain number of Years of School attendance (about 6), ability to read and write Shipibo does not improve for most people. This is not surprising given that education after grade six is conducted in Spanish and almost all uses of literacy outside of school employ Spanish.

5.3.1.4 School attendance and Spanish literacy

A linear least squares regression was also used to analyze the relationship between Years of School and Spanish Index. Although the regression was significant (r^2=.601,
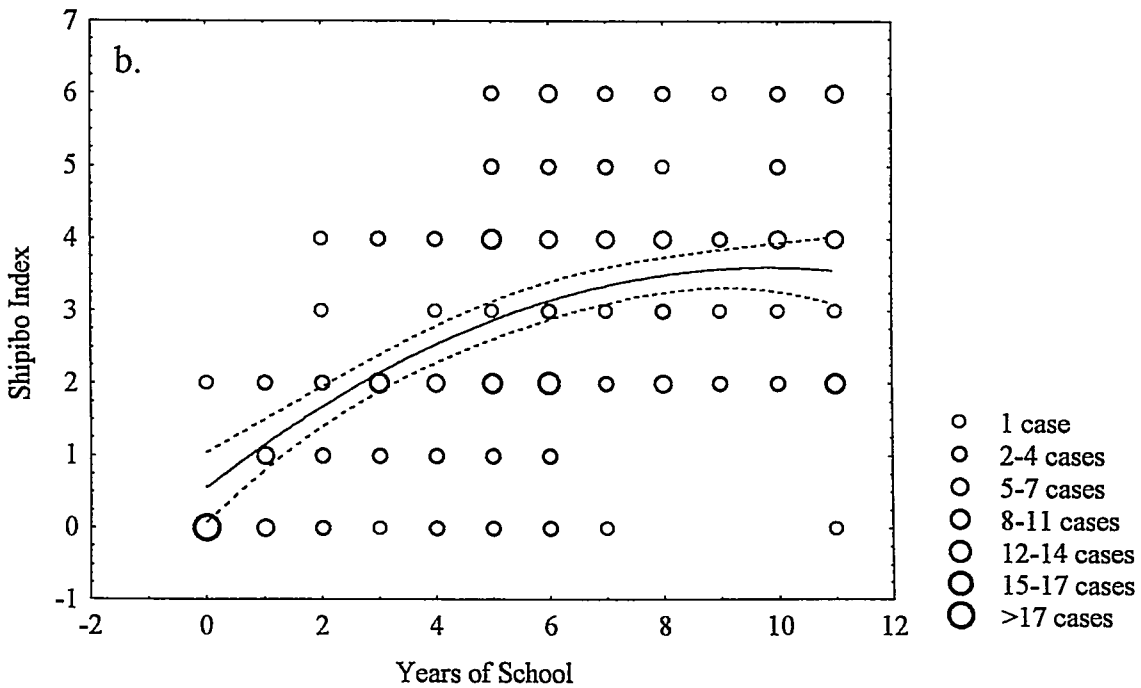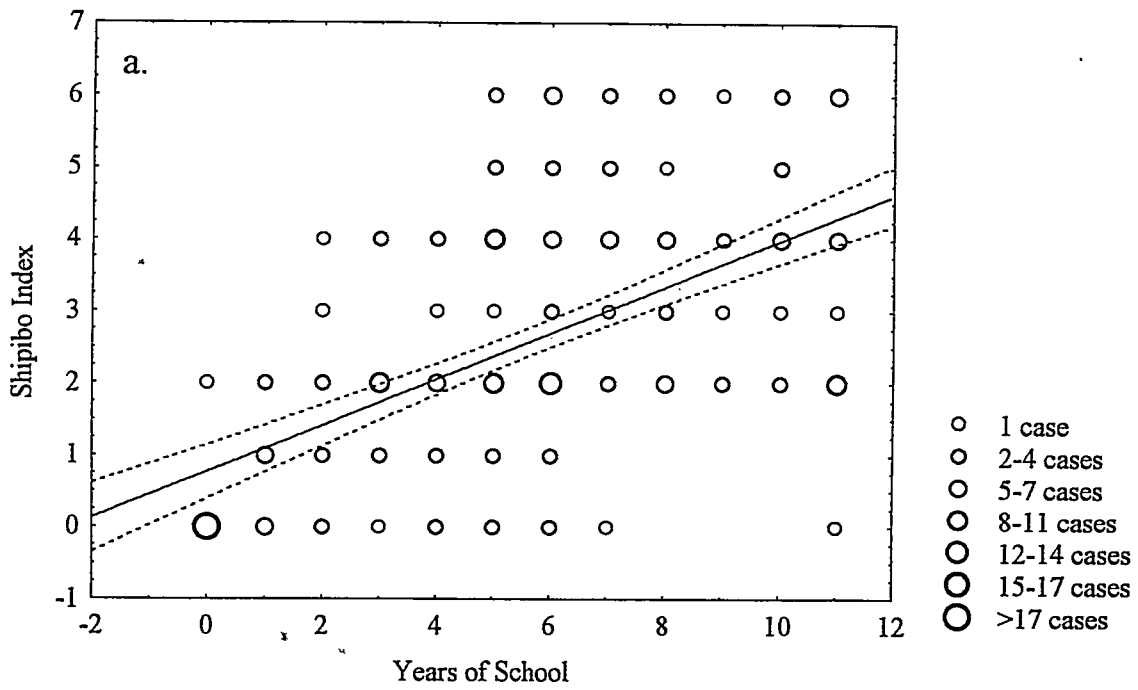
Figure 8. Scatterplot of Years of School versus Shipibo Index - (*a*) Linear and (*b*) Nonlinear Models. Dotted lines indicate 95% confidence intervals.

p<0.0001), an examination of residuals indicated nonlinearity . A second order model (Spanish Index = constant + β (years of school) + γ (years of school)^2 + ε (error); Spanish Index = 0.113577 + 0.879889 – 0.036977 yrs^2 + ε) was applied to the data. The amount of variation accounted for by the inclusion of the second order variable was higher (r^2= .657) than the simple linear model (r^2=.601). Figure 9 shows both the linear and nonlinear models. The dotted lines are 95% confidence bands indicating that there is a 95% chance that the true regression line for the entire population lies within the bands. As can be seen from the bottom scatterplot in figure 9, after about 11 years of school (completed secondary), Spanish Index tapers off indicating that attending more years of school beyond that number, does not necessarily improve literacy in Spanish. Of course, by the time a person is in the upper grades of secondary school, there is less emphasis on language instruction and more on content, so this result is to be expected. In addition, the possible responses on the survey were not fine tuned enough to make detailed distinctions of high level language ability.

5.3.2 Language use as a factor of success

Having established that there is a relationship between bilingual school attendance and language ability, the study turns to the matter of language use. Shipibo people were asked whether it was necessary for men and women to be able to speak, read and write in Shipibo and Spanish. Over three-quarters (76%) of respondents answered yes to all the questions pertaining to necessity of speaking, reading and writing (shown in table 5) indicating that, in their opinion, everyone should be literate in and able to speak both languages. On the Shipibo (right) side of table 5 the numbers of people who maintain that both men and women should read and write Shipibo (200 for men and 192 for women) is smaller than the number of respondents who maintain that reading and
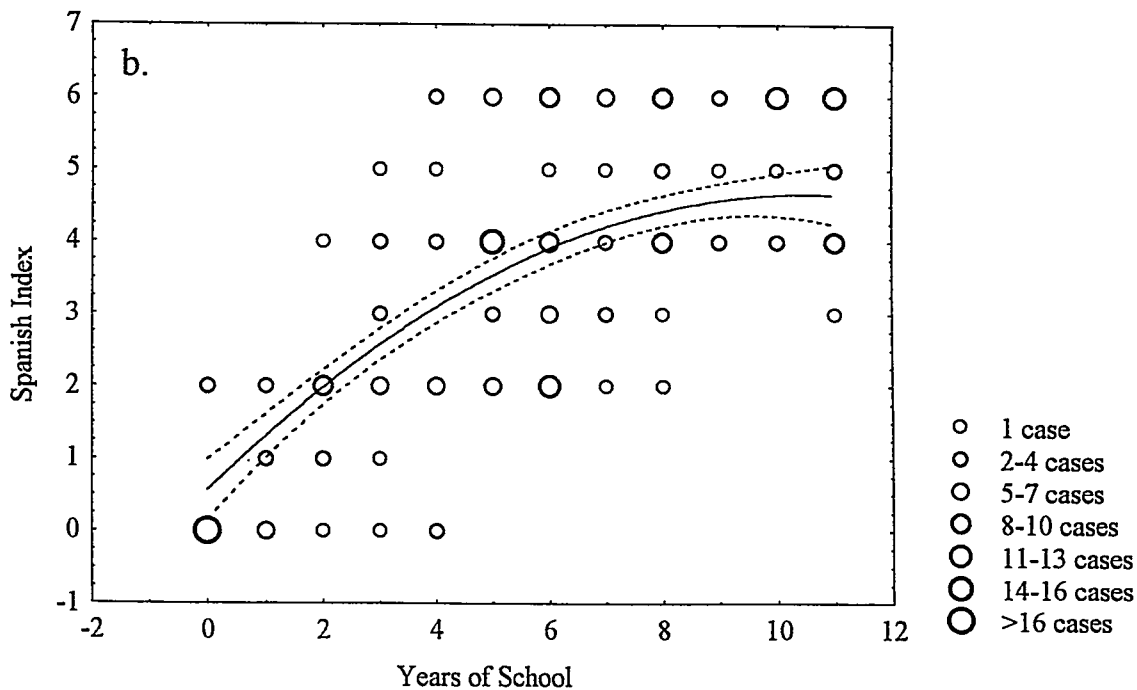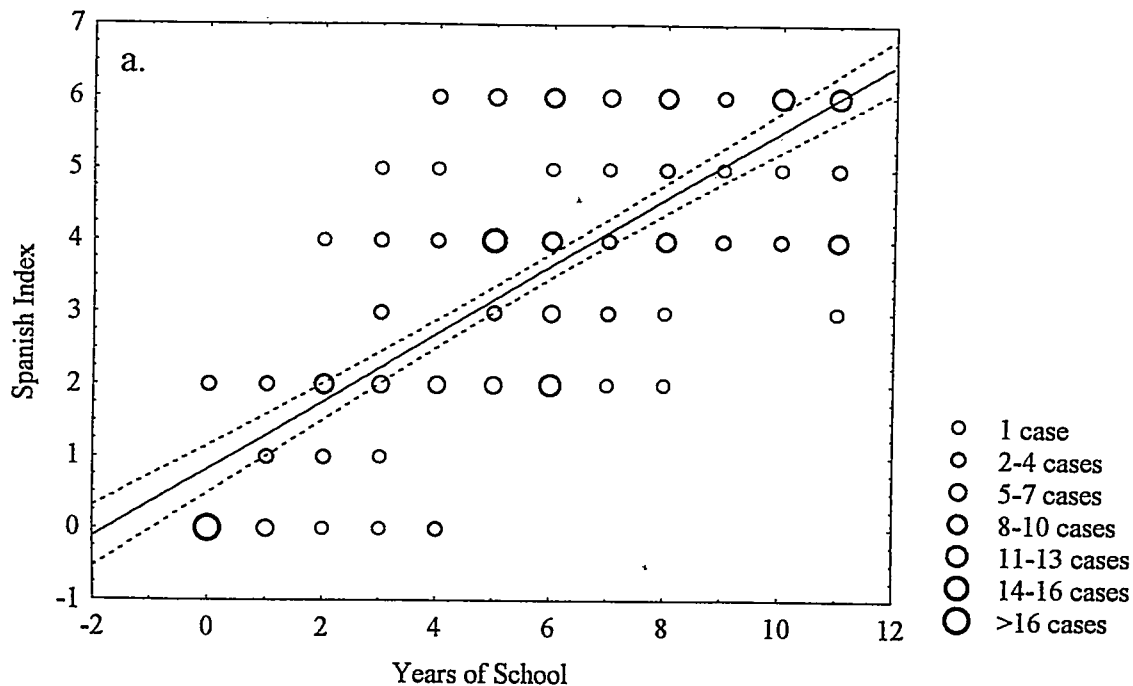
Figure 9. Scatterplot of Years of School versus Spanish Index - (*a*) Linear and (*b*) Nonlinear Models. Dotted lines indicate 95% confidence intervals.

writing Spanish is necessary (227 for men and 221 for women). How these responses pertain to the issues of language maintenance and shift will be developed in section 5.5. The reasons given for why people should possess literacy and speaking skills is discussed in the next section.

Table 5. Number of yes answers to questions concerning need for people to have speaking, reading and writing ability in Shipibo and Spanish (N=237)

| | speak | read | write | speak | read | write |
		S p a n i s h ?			S h i p i b o ?	
Is it necessary for men to	227	228	227	234	200	200
Is it necessary for women to	221	222	222	233	192	192

5.3.2.1 Why should people be bilingual and biliterate?

In a study of functional literacy among school children in Morocco, Spratt and her colleagues found that literacy skills acquired in school may not be transferred to activities outside of school. "Learning to seek information through literacy -- a key dimension of functional literacy -- is not an inevitable outcome of school learning; rather, it may require explicit instruction" (Spratt et al. 1991:192). When the Shipibo people were asked why they thought it was necessary for people to read and write they gave both sentimental and instrumental reasons. Reasons for reading and writing Spanish were mostly instrumental and ranged from reading and writing letters to being a prerequisite for occupying positions of leadership. Reasons for reading and writing Shipibo were more difficult for people to articulate, but included reading the Bible, reading and writing letters (even though these are most often done in Spanish as shown in table 6) and language maintenance. A more complete list is given in tables 6 and 7. (As already mentioned, the speaking skill was not included in the quantitative analysis because many people learned to speak in places other

than school. However, because attitudes toward the languages are expressed in the reasons for speaking it, they are included here.)

Table 6. Reasons given for why reading, writing and speaking Spanish are necessary

- to speak with visitors to the community
- to speak with Mestizos
- to write letters
- to be able to buy and sell
- to defend ourselves against the problems Mestizos try to get us into
- to be equal with *hispanohablantes*
- to teach the children
- My father said when he was in the army and did not know how to speak Spanish they beat him with a stick, so he really wanted his children to learn.
- Women should learn to read and write too so that they can occupy a position in the community.
- It's especially important for young women to learn to speak Spanish so they can be equal to men and be able to talk to outsiders.
- If we don't speak Spanish, it's like being mute.

Table 7. Reasons given for why reading, writing and speaking Shipibo are necessary

- We should speak our language. (We're not Mestizos.)

- to preserve the language

- It's our language.

- Learning to read and write helps us to speak our own language better.

- so we don't forget our customs

- What good would it be if we only knew Spanish and not Shipibo? None.

- We need to read and write to maintain our language.

- There are books in Shipibo too.

- There aren't any books, but we should translate some.

- There are no books in Shipibo, nevertheless we should learn to read because we are Shipibo.

- to read the New Testament/Bible

- There are some people who speak Spanish in their house and the children, from the time they are small, learn Spanish. The important thing is that the child first learn to speak Shipibo well and then Spanish.

- If we don't keep practicing Shipibo the new generation will forget. We have to read and write Shipibo -- it's our mother tongue, our heart language

The reflective reasons given belie the fact that the question of why it would be necessary for people to speak, read and write in Spanish and or Shipibo was a difficult one for people to answer. Especially troublesome was giving reasons for why people should read and write Shipibo. It is interesting to note that no overtly sentimental reasons were given for using Spanish (speaking with Mestizos could be interpreted as sentimental

or integrative, but more likely it has to do with dealing with the variety of Mestizos who come to the community to sell and trade and operate in official capacities.) For example, no one said, "We live in Peru, we should speak Spanish," but many gave answers like, "We are Shipibo; we should speak Shipibo." The issues of motivation and domains of use will be taken up when language maintenance and shift are discussed in section 5.5.

5.3.2.2 Use of literacy among the Shipibo

As was seen in the previous section, Shipibo people are largely of the opinion that everyone ought to be able to speak, read and write in both Shipibo and Spanish. They give both sentimental and instrumental reasons for thinking as they do. Ability to read, likely learned in school, was investigated in section 2 of the survey (appendix B) and the results are reported earlier in this chapter (in section 5.3.1.2.) The current section explores whether or not people are using the skills they have learned for the reasons they gave. The results will indicate whether "people are actively participating in the literate worlds they want to belong to" (Barton 1994: 193-194). Sections 9 and 10 of the community member survey (appendix B) elicited information about use of the printed word, that is, how often and what people read and write. Over 20% (49/237) of the people interviewed (Fátima excluded, highly educated people included) "never" or "almost never" read. Of those, 41% report to be able to read at least a little. Not surprisingly, most of the people (29/49), who never or almost never read are in Cohort 1. Forty-three of the people interviewed (17%) have never read a book and 55 (23%) have never read a newspaper. Almost half (48%) of those interviewed do not write letters and about the same number do not receive them.

Over 20% (52/237) of the people surveyed responded that they read everyday. That leaves the majority (57%) reading sometimes. Forty-one percent of all the people interviewed buy books of some kind. (Sometimes someone who does not read buys

books as in the case of a parent who purchases texts for a child.) Of those who buy books, almost three-quarters (74.5%) only buy books written in Spanish, and only one person reported to purchase exclusively books written in Shipibo. The remaining quarter of book buyers purchase books in both languages. In many cases the books purchased are textbooks. Over half of the people interviewed write (52%) and receive (53%) letters. Nearly a quarter write in Shipibo at least sometimes (only 4 people write only letters in Shipibo) while 95% write in Spanish sometimes. Over 75% of those who write in Spanish write exclusively in Spanish. Of those who write in Spanish, 22% mentioned (it was not a specific question in the interview) that they write in Spanish to Shipibo family members.

Table 8 lists some of the reasons respondents gave for why it was necessary for people to speak read and write Shipibo and Spanish and the number of people who gave those as answers to the question "What do you read (and write)?" The answers by language used are also given in table 8. For example, 123 people reported that they write letters. Four do so only in Shipibo; 93 write only letters in Spanish; 26 write sometimes in Shipibo, sometimes in Spanish. One hundred and fourteen people do not write letters. Only the reasons given which had corresponding usage questions on the survey are given. That is, although "to teach the children" was given as a reason why people should read and write Spanish, since there was no question that asked people if they teach their children Spanish, it is not presented in the table. Likewise, unmeasurable, sentimental reasons such as "it is our heart language" are not included. As stated before, only 29 people (12%) reported no reading ability at all. These are included in the "none" column.

Table 8. Uses of literacy (N=237. Percentages of total given in parentheses.)

	only Shipibo	only Spanish	both Spanish and Shipibo	total		none
write letters	4	93	26	123	(52%)	114
receive (read) letters	2	104	16	125	(53%)	112
read books				61	(26%)	
buy books	1	73	24	98	(41%)	140
speak to Mestizos		202[2] 85%				35

The information in table 8 reveals that, at least to some degree, Shipibo people are using the skills they learned in school for the reasons they think they are valuable. They said reading and writing letters is one of the necessary activities that people need reading and writing for and more than half of all people interviewed (which means that almost 60% of the literate people interviewed) do engage in letter writing. Forty one percent of everyone interviewed said they buy books. This is somewhat surprising for several reasons. The first is that books are not easily acquired. One must travel quite a distance (see table 1 in chapter 4 where number of hours boat travel to the nearest city is given.) The second curious result revealed in the chart is that although 41% of the respondents buy books, only 26% said they read books. The discrepancy may be explained by the fact that not all book buyers are book readers. Many parents purchase books for their secondary school children. This begs a question about book buying. If so many people are making book purchases, why do the elementary school children have no books? Secondary students have books. Many secondary aged children were seen studying from textbooks. Books are available. At the bilingual printshop in Yarinacocha Shipibo primers are for sale at very reasonable prices. Teachers reported that parents do not care or do not have the economic resources to buy books. That does not appear to be the case. A possible

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[2]The assumption is that Shipibo people speak to Mestizos in Spanish since it is highly unlikely that Mestizos would speak Shipibo. Only 10 Shipibo people interviewed reported no Spanish ability.

of the research team was told by the pastor of the church that the community planted a field the yield of which was to be sold and the profit go toward buying books for the school children. He claims that the teacher was in charge of the money and he misused it.

Table 8 exhibits a greater use of Spanish than of Shipibo in the domains of reading and writing. Very few people use Shipibo exclusively, but even when Shipibo is an option, as with people who have the ability to correspond to other Shipibo speaking people, many opt to use Spanish exclusively. It appears that the sentimental value placed on the Shipibo language by its speakers, even when they believe it will contribute to its preservation, is not enough for people to use it in certain domains. Though not exclusively, Spanish has established itself as the language of choice for literacy activities. Street contends that more than just language is involved in such a choice. "Taking on/participating in a new set of literacy practices is to take on identities associated with those practices" (1994:98). With the Spanish language system may come a Mestizo identity which includes values and norms foreign to Shipibos. One of the men who interpreted the interviews confided one day that Mestizos and some of their practices still seemed odd to him even after many years of living among them. He related that seeing young men talk directly to their mothers-in-law was strange for him because in Shipibo culture a man must talk to his mother-in-law through his wife, and if his wife is not there, he must pretend that she is. This is just one example of a world of new ideas and practices that will confront the Shipibo people in even greater measure as more people choose Spanish literacy practices.

When asked what else they read and write besides books, newspapers and other items on the survey a few people mentioned such things as dictionaries, hymnals, church lessons, information from AMETRA (Association of Traditional Medicine) and one man mentioned he was reading a book about raising birds. People were not asked specifically

in what situations they read, but some volunteered: in the evening to relax, under mosquito netting at night with a flashlight, when it rains. In addition to reported uses of literacy, observations were made in order to investigate whether people were making other use of print in their communities.

5.3.2.3 Observations of print use in the environment

In each community the current researcher walked around and observed, mostly in the heat of the day when people took a break from working, to see if there was any evidence of literacy in the community. Occasionally a person was seen reading in a hammock or working on what appeared to be homework. Often during interviews printed material was visible, mostly notebooks tucked safely in the rafters or out on tables or on the floor. Several of the communities had small store-like operations stocked with provisions like rice, soap and batteries. Often they posted a list of what was available and the price. This was hand printed on cardboard and always in Spanish. In the Health Clinics there were often posters attesting to the importance of washing hands, boiling water and even of using birth control -- again, always in Spanish. (They were sent from the Ministry of Health.) In some of the communities, there were cemeteries. If there was writing on the grave markers (usually crosses) it was in Spanish. It was not uncommon to see words etched in tree trunks which appeared to be declarations of love. As best as could be determined these were initials or names and not clear whether they were in Shipibo or Spanish. Also see was carving in tables and walls of houses. Although the meaning was often not intelligible, it was clearly the printed word. (Occasionally carvings were seen that were drawings, but they were much less common than words and letters.) In one community (Pueblo Nuevo) the grass was cleverly cut into the shape of two letters: AL. The meaning could not be determined. In another community (Callería) there was writing,

albeit incomprehensible, in the sand. Based on these observations it can be concluded that at least some Shipibo use the printed word for self expression, to gain information and as a leisure activity. Interestingly, none of these activities was given in the surveys as reasons why people need to read and write and none was taught in school. "Individuals in a newly literate society, far from being passively transformed by literacy, are actively and creatively applying literacy skills to suit their own purposes/needs" (Street 1995:102). Although the Shipibo may be falling victim to the hegemony of Spanish, possibly to the peril of their own MT, they are adapting skills learned in school to perceived needs in their environment.

The above mentioned observations were few compared to the literacy activities observed having to do with school. Of course, in the school itself students were reading and writing. Out of school they were engaged in homework and school related literacy activities. In an article about literacy in Latin America, Ferreiro points out that children whose home environment does not include many or any literacy events, that is, "those social events in which literate people use [written] marks for a given purpose," are at a disadvantage in school (1992:145). For such children, according to Ferreiro, the only purposes for reading and writing, as demonstrated by the teacher, are school purposes, namely to pass to the next grade. This idea was evident among some Shipibo. When asked if attending school helped the girls and boys in any way (see community member survey 4 g-j), many answered that they too can now become teachers. Additionally when asked if there were any changes in the community as a result of having a school many answers were like this one from a 19-year-old man from Curiaca: "If there were no school there would be no place to study, no secondary school, medical center or well; there would be no authorities and no professors." Although somewhat simplified, this is saying that if there were no school, there would be no school. In light of the teaching style that Ferreiro

refers to and confirmed by observations among the Shipibo, the prevalence of this circular idea, that school exists for school's sake, is not surprising.

The conclusion drawn concerning the Shipibo perspective of success of the BE program (school) is that although people largely say that it is necessary read and write Shipibo and Spanish, abilities in reading and writing Spanish dominate. Furthermore, when engaging in literacy practices, the Shipibo opt to use Spanish for both formal and informal activities much more than they opt for Shipibo.

5.4 Other factors which may contribute to success

The previous two sections, 5.2 and 5.3, have explored the goals of the founders of the Amazon BE program and the perspective of the Shipibo people interviewed to evaluate the success of the program. This section considers other issues which may influence the success of BE. These include the use of language in school, teacher training, classroom environment and supplies, and parental involvement.

5.4.1 Language Use in School

Based on the answers to the survey questions detailed in section 5.4, it has been concluded that the Shipibo people interviewed are strongly of the opinion that people need to read and write in both Shipibo and Spanish. They reported that learning such literacy skills is one of the benefits of school. This has also been a clearly stated goal on the part of the organizers from the early days -- to teach in L1 early on and introduce L2 gradually. As attested to in the review of the literature (chapter 3), which language to use in school and to what extent is of fundamental importance to BE. According to Davis (1981:114), the Peru BE experiment was designed such that in the first year of school (then called 1a or Transition One because two years of school in the BE program roughly corresponded to

one year of the national school program) the vernacular was to be used for 80% of classroom time, including all subject matter. The remaining 20% was used to introduce oral Spanish. By Grade 4 (then the fifth year of instruction) the percentages were reversed with only 20% of class time dedicated to the vernacular (composition skills) and 80% Spanish (reading and writing skills and all content.)

These guidelines were designed in 1954 and taught to the teachers in training. In an effort to determine if current practices and convictions were in accordance, the directors of the primary schools in every community visited were interviewed; all but one are still classroom teachers. All agreed that Shipibo is the language that the children of their community should first encounter when they get to school. However, there is inconsistency of opinion about how much Shipibo to use in the first few years of schooling. Five of the teachers interviewed teach first and second grade. Of these, two reported to use more Shipibo than Spanish as the language of instruction; two said they used about half and half; and one uses more Spanish than Shipibo. These self reports of language use from teachers must be interpreted with caution. Legarreta (1978) found that in the United States when teachers and aides who were employing "Concurrent Translation" were asked how much L1 and L2 they used, they were sure they were using L1 and L2 about equally. However, observations by the researchers revealed that they were speaking English over 70% of the time, thus favoring the dominant language without realizing it. During the interviews with the Shipibo teachers, some expressed their sentiments about which language they may favor. One teacher said "I would like the children to learn more Spanish." Another reported that in all of primary school Shipibo was the language of instruction, but as early as first and second grade the students are taught to write in Shipibo and translate into Spanish. Another said, "In the secondary schools the professors are Spanish speakers and we have to prepare the students for using

Spanish with their professors." Table 9 is a summary of answers from primary teachers/directors interviewed.

Table 9. Summary of responses from teacher survey

	start school in what language?	books for students?	special Spanish class? (grade?)	satisfied with preparation?	what training would you like?
Amaquiría	Shipibo	no	yes	yes	pedagogy; another *articulación*[3]
Caco Macaya	Shipibo	no	yes	yes	how to make the students understand
Callería	a little Shipibo; more Spanish	no*	no	no	how to make the students understand
Colonia del Caco**	Shipibo (through 2nd)	yes; at school only	no	no	how to make the classes clear for the Shipibo child
Curiaca	Shipibo	no	yes (6th)	yes	We need to stay current each year so children can learn modern things
Nuevo Loreto	Shipibo	no	no	yes	Educational Administration (documentation etc.)
Paoyhan	Shipibo	no	no	yes	methodology
Pueblo Nuevo	Shipibo	no	no	yes	document preparation/administration
Roaboya	Shipibo	no	yes (from 1st)	yes	administration
San Francisco	Shipibo	no	yes	yes	administration pedagogy
Santa Martha	Shipibo	no	yes	no	pedagogy
Sempaya	Shipibo		yes (4th)	yes	First Aid

*A girl had a book from the Ministry of Education/ISP Loreto which, according to her mother, most 1st graders in Callería have.
**Mestizo; in charge while the director is away

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[3]*Articulación* is an addition to the curriculum of kindergarten through second grade in an attempt to recognize and accept differences in people (such as race, language etc.)

5.4.2 Teacher training

Being a teacher has never been simple. Being a bilingual teacher is at least twice as complex.

Troike and Saville-Troike, *Teacher training for bilingual education*

No evaluation of an education program would be complete without considering the preparation and quality of teachers. Appropriate and adequate teacher training is essential for the good of the teachers and the students. For this reason teachers were asked how they perceive their own preparation. (See table 9.) With one exception, all of the teachers interviewed had finished their coursework for teacher training. All had attended the *Instituto Superior Pedagógico Bilingüe* in Yarinacocha. Several, although no longer attending classes, still had to complete their "thesis." In the past this requirement included carrying out a research project under the supervision of a professor. Apparently over the years the standards have become relaxed because the current generation of teachers is filling the thesis requirement with gifts to the library, the building of a wall, donation of furniture, and other nonresearch projects. The unfortunate part of all this, besides that students are not participating in real research as in the past, is that most of these "projects" are being held up for lack of economic resource on the part of the student. That means that their graduation is likewise delayed.

Interestingly, when asked about their teacher training most said they thought their preparation was adequate. (Question 2p on the teacher survey reads "Are you satisfied with the preparation you have received?") However, when asked what kind of additional training they would like to receive, seven out of twelve said something to do with pedagogy or methodology ("how to make the students understand"). See table 9. Although the teachers are satisfied with their preparation, they are eager to receive more training in order to facilitate the learning experience for students. These responses may

also reflect frustration at the fact that the teacher training program does not offer a course in pedagogy until very late in the course.

All of the schools visited had Shipibo teachers in first and second grade, which appears to be the minimum for qualifying as a bilingual school. In one case, Amaquiría, the person who taught first and second grade was the only Shipibo teacher in the school. Some schools had Shipibo bilinguals as teachers all the way through primary; several had Spanish-speakers in the last two years of primary (fifth and sixth grade). Seven of the twelve primary schools visited have a special course for Spanish as a subject; the rest apparently just use it as a medium of instruction at some point.

5.4.3 Classrooms and supplies

It is the rule rather than the exception that teachers find themselves teaching more than one grade at a time; and in at least one school visited (Curiaca) two teachers were in the same room, each one teaching two grades. According to the records received, the number of students per teacher ranges from 19 to 38, the average being 29 students per teacher.

In a 1977 account of education among the Shipibo, Chirif et al. reported that the schools were lacking in the areas of furnishings and didactic materials (91). Nearly twenty years later, the situation does not appear to have improved. Parents are responsible for buying notebooks and pencils for their children, and in most cases they do so; but invariably there were a handful of students in each community who came to school with no supplies. In most of the schools students were crammed onto benches, sitting on desks, or standing due to lack of sufficient seating. Often the chalkboards were in such poor condition that the writing could barely be interpreted and in at least one case the school had no chalk.

Perhaps the most startling finding of the school visits was that in no community were the students using books in class. The explanation offered by the teachers was largely that the government does not provide them free of charge and the parents do not purchase the books. In one community, Colonia del Caco, the teacher reported that the students have books available to them in the library, but they can not take them home. In Callería a first grade girl had a book that was provided by the Ministry of Education /ISP Loreto. (Loreto is the department north of Ucayali. All of the communities visited in the down river trip pertain to the Department of Loreto. They have an Instituto Pedagógico Superior where teacher training, and apparently textbook production, occurs.) The mother of the girl with the textbook reported that all the first graders have a copy. The book contained only pictures (no writing) of typical indigenous life scenes.

5.4.4 Parental involvement

Parental and community involvement has been identified as an important factor in the success of a BE project (Dutcher 1982; Sneddon 1993). If parents are not included in decisions from early stages of a program, especially one which is very foreign to them, they will likely be suspicious, unsupportive or even antagonistic. Perhaps this is why from the early days of the BE experiment in Peru Parent Associations have been established. Every community has a Parents' Association, the purpose of which is to support the school, observe the teachers and hold them accountable. Four of the twelve teachers interviewed indicated that the parents were of little or no support to them or the school. Four teachers indicated that they have good community and parental support. The parents in these communities work on the school plot (farm/garden) to raise money for supplies and help with general upkeep of the school building, such as cleaning. The other teachers did not comment on parental and community support. In at least one school

visited, parents (mothers) were leaning in the windows encouraging their children to participate. In several communities parents confided that they were unhappy with some of the teachers and their behavior. Among other things, they reported inappropriate use of alcohol and unseemly sexual conduct. Judging from the conversations and interviews with community members, most parents are in favor of education and are concerned that the teachers be held accountable.

5.5 Language Maintenance and Shift

In this section, the issue of how BE might be contributing to the maintenance of Shipibo and/or a shift to Spanish is addressed. Some have argued that formal schooling has resulted in a shift away from the MT (Rodríguez et al. 1983; Jones et al. 1993). Others have suggested that although school is a place where the majority language is taught, through a clear delineation of domains, the MT is maintained (Hornberger 1988; Aikman 1995).

5.5.1 Language shift

Language shift occurs when speakers of a language abandon their language and take up another. Because "school language" is among the frequently sited causes of language shift (Fasold 1984), it is appropriate to ask, "Is there any indication that the BE program among the Shipibo is contributing to the maintenance of Shipibo and/or a shift to Spanish?" (Research Question 2) Rather than make predictions, this study examines factors which have been found to accompany shift in other speech communities and makes observations about tendencies. The most basic precondition associated with language shift is societal bilingualism (Fasold 1984:240). It is not the purpose of this study to define societal bilingualism, but given that only ten people in the sample of 237 said they spoke

no Spanish at all and everyone spoke Shipibo, at least some level of bilingualism among the Shipibo is presumed. In addition, Fasold (1984) suggests some indicators of whether a community is shifting away from the MT or not. These are enumerated here, and for each one trends among the Shipibo are considered. The surveys and observations indicate some general patterns for all the communities visited, but where individual communities stand out from the norm, they are mentioned.

1. An ingroup/outgroup distinction. Fasold contends that " a prevalent tendency to maintain a distinction between 'us' and 'them' is a sign that shift is not in progress" (1984:240). It was found that Shipibo people talk about Mestizos and *hispanohablantes* as "other." In Caco Macaya there was a strict policy not to allow Mestizos to live in the community. This was not because they did not like Mestizos, but rather they knew that in order for their community to maintain its identity as Shipibo, only Shipibo should live there. Even in communities like Amaquiría, where there is a mix of Shipibo and Mestizo inhabitants, everyone knows who the Shipibo are and who the Mestizos are. In the reasons given for why Shipibo should be spoken, read and written, many people said "we are Shipibo" and some were defensive, "we are not Mestizos" implying that Mestizos speak only Spanish.

2. Use of the new language in domains formerly reserved for the old one. About the same time Shipibo was becoming a written language, BE was introduced; so it is impossible to say that written Shipibo had a domain that written Spanish took over. However, as shown in the previous sections of this chapter, Spanish now dominates the realm of reading and writing. Very few written texts are available in Shipibo. Those that are, or opportunities to create them like letter writing or announcements in the community, are neglected in favor of Spanish. In all of the communities visited in this study, the Spanish Index scores were higher than those of Shipibo. (See chapter 6.)

As noted, the community member survey asked people if they thought it was necessary for people to speak, read and write both Shipibo and Spanish. Both yes and no answers are of interest here. More than three-quarters said yes, indicating that from the Shipibo perspective maintaining their MT and acquiring Spanish are equally necessary. It may come as a surprise to them to know that ability and use of Shipibo for reading and writing is less than that of Spanish. The interesting aspect of the no answers is that the highest percentages had to do with reading and writing Shipibo. Only fifteen percent of all people surveyed did not think it necessary for men and 19% did not think it necessary for women to read and write Shipibo. The fact that over half of those who thought this were in the youngest cohort may signal an age difference in terms of perceived need to be literate in L1. (Under 7% of the total thought reading and writing Spanish was not necessary.)

In the realm of spoken language, Shipibo use is dominant and does not appear to be threatened by Spanish. People's reports indicate that Shipibo is the unchallenged language of the home. If Spanish is spoken at home at all, it is only a little. In community meetings both Shipibo and Spanish were reportedly used, but often people said that the reason for using Spanish was to interpret for the teachers and visitors who did not speak Shipibo. With the exception of Amaquiría, every meeting attended by the researchers was conducted largely in Shipibo. Often no one interpreted until after the meeting when the interpreters related what had been said. (However, as best as could be determined, the minutes were written in Spanish.)

3. Considerable borrowing from the new language into the old. Data about borrowing were not gathered as part of this study.

4. Socioeconomic conditions such as location, small number of speakers, transportation to and communication with areas where new language is spoken, influx of new language speakers into the area. Although the Shipibo are a large group compared to other ethnolinguistic groups in the region (a factor which may favor maintenance),they are the indigenous rainforest group living closest to an urban center where Spanish is widely spoken. Moreover, there is a considerable influx of Mestizos to Shipibo communities, if not to live then to sell, log, run drugs, or visit for official purposes. Likewise, many Shipibo people travel to Pucallpa on a regular basis, each time carrying back to their communities more of the Mestizos' language and culture. Generally speaking the socioeconomic conditions may be interpreted as a situation that may lead to shift.

5.5.1.1. What do the Shipibo think about the future of their language?

In order to probe Shipibo people's opinions concerning a shift away from using the Shipibo language, they were asked if they thought Shipibo would continue to be spoken in the future. Nearly 93% of all respondents (218 out of 237) thought that it would. The 17 no answers were divided equally by Gender and fairly equally among the Cohorts (Cohort 1, 6; Cohort 2, 5; Cohort 3, 6), but the highest percentage was in Cohort 1, the oldest group (9.7% of Cohort 1, n=63).

This optimism expressed by the respondents about the future of their language, can not necessarily be interpreted as an indicator of language maintenance. Fishman (1991:91) cautions against such reasoning, "The road to societal language death is paved with the good intentions called 'positive attitudes'." Fishman is warning about language death for languages which are much more threatened than Shipibo, but the point holds: positive attitudes must be coupled with actions which will lead to continued use of the language, especially by young people. According to the Shipibo people questioned, the future of

their language is secure. Ninety-three percent think that Shipibo will continue to be spoken in the future. Hornberger found similar results when she sought Quechua speakers' expectations about their language, but she advocates a closer examination of the support of such thinking. "Quechua speakers are resoundingly of the opinion that their language is not threatened and is in no danger of disappearing" (Hornberger 1988:75). They support their convictions largely by claiming that Quechua is the language of the past, present and future community. However, a closer look at their reasons for thinking this way reveals that they realize that if large numbers of young people leave the communities and do not return and if children do not learn Quechua it could be lost. Hornberger reports that "nearly every family has at least on member who fits [the former] category" (1988:77).

5.5.2 Language maintenance

The alternative to language shift is language maintenance. The results of the surveys with the Shipibo indicate that part of being Shipibo is speaking Shipibo. Fishman (1982) has suggested that there are certain factors which favor "maintenance of marked languages in modern (urban and industrial), mobile (geographically and socio-economically) societies" (1982:21). Although much of the Shipibo population still live in rural settings removed from urban, industrial life, they are close enough to urban centers to visit for purposes of commerce, extended work stays, and advanced education. For this reason Fishman's maintenance factors may be appropriate to their situation:

1. size (large speech communities)
2. concentration of the population
3. rural setting
4. in urban context- use MT in mass communication and social organization

In some ways the Shipibo have potential advantages in all four areas mentioned by Fishman. They are a large (20-25,000) concentrated group who, although in some cases are close to urban centers, are largely found in rural settings. They are close enough to cities to take advantage at least in one small way of mass communication. There is a daily radio program in Shipibo and Eakin et al. report "an indigenous newspaper" (1986:4) though the current researcher did not see or hear about one. Another factor which can play an important role in ethnic language maintenance, and the one which is the focus of this study, is the school.

5.5.2.1. The school's role in language maintenance

There is little doubt that formal education is a change agent in any society. Some have argued that school in Latin America has been the major factor in advancing the cause of Spanish (Rodríguez et al. 1983) The idea that Spanish is the only way of achieving economic advantages perpetuates its high standing. However, Baetens-Beardsmore has noted that when people are choosing L2 for instrumental purposes, such as economic gain, there is less likelihood of shift away from MT than if they have integrative motivation such as wanting to identify with the group which speaks L2 (1986). This notion of identity is essential to the concept of intercultural education (See Aikman 1995, 1996; Mosonyi and Rengifo 1983). Intercultural is distinguished from bicultural in that the former recognizes that individuals have their identity and world view grounded in one culture even when they learn other languages and relate to other cultures. "Maintenance BE programs ideologically embrace cultural pluralism [and have as their goal] fluency and literacy in L1 and L2" (Medina and Escamilla 1992:268).

5.6 Conclusion

The trend among the Shipibo as far as language use is concerned appears to be domain related. Spanish is used for reading and writing of every kind including personal letters and posted information around the community. Shipibo is sometimes used for literacy related activities, but it does not enjoy the widespread usage that Spanish obviously has in the written domain. However, Shipibo dominates the spoken realm in home and community interactions including community meetings. Except that Shipibo and Spanish are not related languages, the situation of language use among the Shipibo approximates the description of diglossia as defined by Ferguson (1959):

> Diglossia is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language....there is a very divergent, highly codified ...superposed variety,. the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation.

Although at the moment the Shipibo situation appears "relatively stable," one of the possible outcomes of diglossia is language shift. Among the factors which Ferguson suggests may influence a move in that direction are higher literacy rates and expanded communication on a national level (Ferguson 1959). With both of these on the rise in Peru, the Shipibo and other indigenous Amazonian groups would do well to consider their options if they want to keep their language thriving.

CHAPTER 6

HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL FACTORS AND LANGUAGE ATTITUDES AS THEY PERTAIN TO THE BE PROGRAM

6.0 Introduction

This chapter explores the social and historical factors which influence BE. How the gender of people, their community of residence and their age may influence their BE experience are specifically investigated. In addition, the matter of attitudes toward language is explored.

6.1 Historical and social factors affecting BE
-- Gender, Community and Cohort effects

Research question 3 investigates historical and social factors affecting BE. The communities selected for participation in the study vary widely in terms of outside contact, years of bilingual school presence and other factors outlined in chapter 4. (See table 4.) Therefore, it is hypothesized that Community as a variable would affect literacy abilities and most certainly affect Years of School. In addition, for reasons described in chapter 5, namely the possibility of school attendance based on a person's age, Cohort is expected to influence Shipibo and Spanish literacy abilities and Years of School. The issue of Gender is also treated here as a social factor. There is reason to believe that, as with school experiences in many parts of the world, girls do not receive the same opportunities as boys.

In order to investigate how these factors influence BE and its outcomes, analyses of variance (ANOVAs) were used. The results of the two-way ANOVAs for examining

the effects of Gender and Community and Gender and Cohort on Shipibo Index, Spanish Index (an explanation of how indices were created is found in chapter 5, section 5.3.1.2), and Years of School are presented in tables 10 and 11. Table 10 presents the results for Gender and Community and their interaction. Table 11 shows the results for Gender and Cohort and their interaction. Each of these variables and their effects are discussed in the sections that follow table 10. A detailed analysis of the Gender variable is discussed in section 6.1.1. Differences of Shipibo and Spanish literacy abilities by Gender are explored in section 6.1.1.1 followed by school attendance (6.1.1.2), attrition, and dropout rate (6.1.1.3). Community and Cohort variance are discussed in sections 6.1.2 and 6.1.3 respectively. Although the ANOVA results in tables 10 and 11 do not indicate significant interaction effects for Gender and Community or Gender and Cohort, these interactions are explored further using ANCOVAs the results of which are discussed in sections 6.1.3 (Gender and Community) and 6.1.4 (Gender and Cohort).

Table 10. Two-way ANOVAs of Gender and Community on Shipibo Index, Spanish Index, and Years of School (N=237)

Test	Variable	MS	df	F	p
Shipibo Index					
	Gender	32.07	1	9.66	.002
	Community	2.80	11	0.84	0.60
	G x Comm.	1.66	11	0.50	0.90
	Error	3.32	199		
Spanish Index					
	Gender	57.59	1	15.10	.0001
	Community	8.61	11	2.26	.013
	G x Comm.	2.23	11	0.58	0.84
	Error	3.82	199		
Years of School					
	Gender	87.62	1	8.03	.005
	Community	19.55	11	1.79	.06
	G x Comm.	7.70	11	0.71	0.73
	Error	10.92	199		

Table 11. Two-way ANOVAs of Gender and Cohort on Shipibo Index, Spanish Index,
and Years of School (N=237)

Test	Variable	MS	df	F	p
Shipibo Index					
	Gender	65.58	1	25.22	.0001
	Cohort	62.01	2	23.84	.0001
	G x Cohort	8.02	2	3.08	.048
	Error	2.60	217		
Spanish Index					
	Gender	116.19	1	41.79	.0001
	Cohort	128.64	2	46.26	.0001
	G x Cohort	4.16	2	1.50	0.23
	Error		217		
Years of School					
	Gender	245.10	1	42.16	.0001
	Cohort	534.80	2	91.99	.0001
	G x Cohort	25.01	2	4.30	.015
	Error	5.18	217		

6.1.1 Gender

Gender gaps in literacy and education are widely reported. One in three women in
the world is illiterate compared with one in five men (Micklos 1996). In the developing
world, 45% of women are illiterate. Statistics for 1990 show that two-thirds of the 130
million school aged children who were not attending school were girls. The severity of the
situation was recognized by the World Conference on Education for All held in 1990 in
Thailand. There, 155 countries agreed that education for girls and women is "the most
urgent priority" for this decade (Micklos 1990:41).

The BE program among the jungle peoples of Peru made no statement about the
target group of the bilingual schools except to say that it was geared toward children.
(Adults were not excluded, but the curriculum was designed with children in mind.) From
its inception both girls and boys have participated in the program. But from attendance to
outcome, the experience has not been one of equality. Again we turn to history to gain an
understanding. Gerardo Wipio, an Aguaruna educator, has given a first hand account of

BE in his community. He reports of the founding of the first bilingual school among the Aguaruna and how "people were anxious to send their children" (Wipio 1981:73). Without any explanation at all he continues, "Generally they enrolled the young men and boys; I was one of those who attended..." (1981:73). Perhaps an explanation is not needed. Some women interviewed had schools in their communities as children and did not attend. It is a familiar story. Women can not go to school (or remain in school) because they must meet the obligations within the society to fulfill their traditional "domestic and agricultural" roles (Chirif et al. 1977:97). Gustafsson (1991) has no hesitation in declaring an adult literacy and education program in Andhra Pradesh, India "successful" even though less than 2% of the 5,000 people who learned to read were women. Gustafsson explains that the reasons for lack of women is due to the culture of the region. No man would marry a literate woman if he were illiterate. (Families usually choose mates for their daughters, so they did not want them to learn to read.) The goal for the next phase (1991-1993) was to think of new ways to reach women with literacy, such as separate centers for females and males. One wonders if a program where for every one hundred people learning to read only two of them were men would have continued for seven years before addressing the issue of why men were not learning to read.

Haq (1995) offers some suggestions for improving attendance rates and achievement of girls at the primary and secondary levels:

- consider proximity of facility

- hire female teachers

- make it affordable (eliminate fees and uniforms)

- implement a gender sensitive curriculum

- accommodate the needs of rural girls (have flexible schedules)

- involve community in planning

- decentralize administration

- set quantitative targets and monitor them

- raise awareness through research, data collection and advocacy

Just as bilingual education must differ in some fundamental ways from national education if indigenous children are going to succeed, so must there be changes in the male oriented system in order to accommodate girls. At least one of the above mentioned was addressed in the early days of the Peru BE experiment. Regarding the issue of teacher selection, the possibility that a women might be chosen was addressed. Compelled by "family pressures and social resentments" certain guidelines were given in order to avoid violation of "cultural norms" (Davis 1981:211). These included the age of the woman - if she was too young she might be suspected of having affairs with male students. Interestingly nothing was said about young men being suspected of having affairs with the girls, yet this was a real problem identified during the interviews. Another recommendation was that a woman serve as an assistant to her husband. In addition, the guidelines state that a female teacher would do well if she taught all-girl classes, but apparently that was never attempted. Women were also admonished not to assume what is normally considered a man's role (Davis 1981:211). Since formal education was just beginning, how could classroom instruction be considered a man's role? Even today a woman is only occasionally seen in the position of teacher with the exception of kindergarten teachers, who were all women. In the current investigation gender gaps were also observed.

6.1.1.1 Shipibo and Spanish literacy by Gender

The ANOVA results in table 10 show an F ratio of $F = 9.66$, df 1,11, $p < 0.01$ for Gender on Shipibo Index indicating significant differences between females and males

with respect to Shipibo Index scores. Likewise, significant differences between females and males with respect to Spanish Index scores are shown with an F ratio of $F = 15.10$, df 1,11, $p < 0.001$. On average, males have higher index scores in both languages than females. The average Shipibo Index for the females interviewed is 2.2; for males it is 3.0. Spanish Index scores for females averaged 3.0, compared with males' 4.0 average. Males report greater ability to read and write Spanish than females, and both males and females report better literacy skills in Spanish than Shipibo. Reasons for this discrepancy relate in part to disparities in school attendance and dropout which are discussed in the next two sections. Table 12 shows average Shipibo and Spanish Index scores for females and males.

Table 12. Average Shipibo and Spanish Index scores for females and males

	average Shipibo Index	average Spanish Index
females	2.2	3.0
males	3.0	4.0
average	2.6	3.5

6.1.1.2 School attendance by Gender

There were significant differences between the number of Years of School attended by females and males. The F ratio in table 10 for Gender on Years of School is $F = 8.03$, df 1,11, $p < 0.01$. On average, males interviewed attended school over a year longer (1.2 years) than females. Average school attendance for females is 5.0 years while the average for males is 6.2 years. Micklos reports that "the average 6 year old girl in low and middle income countries can expect to attend school just 7.7 years" (1996:42). Although some of the Shipibo women in the survey are older, the average school attendance of the studied

population is just 5 years which means the average woman in the study did not complete primary school. On average, the males who participated in the survey went to school over a year longer (1.2 years) than girls.

The combined female and male average Years of School attendance is under 6 years (5.6). Of the people interviewed who never went to school, more than 60% (13 out of 21) were females. The eight males who did not attend school were all above age 45, which means that the only opportunity they would have had to attend school as children was outside of their Shipibo community. The ages for females who did not go to school were lower, the youngest being only 34 years old. This suggests that some females who had schools in their communities as children did not attend. This may be because parents saw a need for educating their sons, to interact with government officials and others outside the community, whereas such was not necessary for girls.

6.1.1.3 School attrition and dropout by Gender

There is some indication that the trend for attrition rate, especially among females, is changing. Figure 10 shows the proportion of males and females that finished the school year in 1985, 1990 and 1996. The number of students in attendance was taken from the school records provided by the directors of primary and secondary schools in the communities visited. These figures were used to calculate the proportion of females to males. (Only the 5 communities which had complete data for primary and secondary school attendance were included.) Figure 10 reveals that in 1985 and 1990 the proportion of girls to boys in each grade for the first 5 or 6 grades fluctuates around 1:1. From year seven (the first year of secondary school) and up, the percentage of girls decreases to as low as 20% (year 10 in 1985.) In 1996, there are still more boys than girls in school after grade 6, but the ratio is closer to 60:40. As more communities are offering secondary
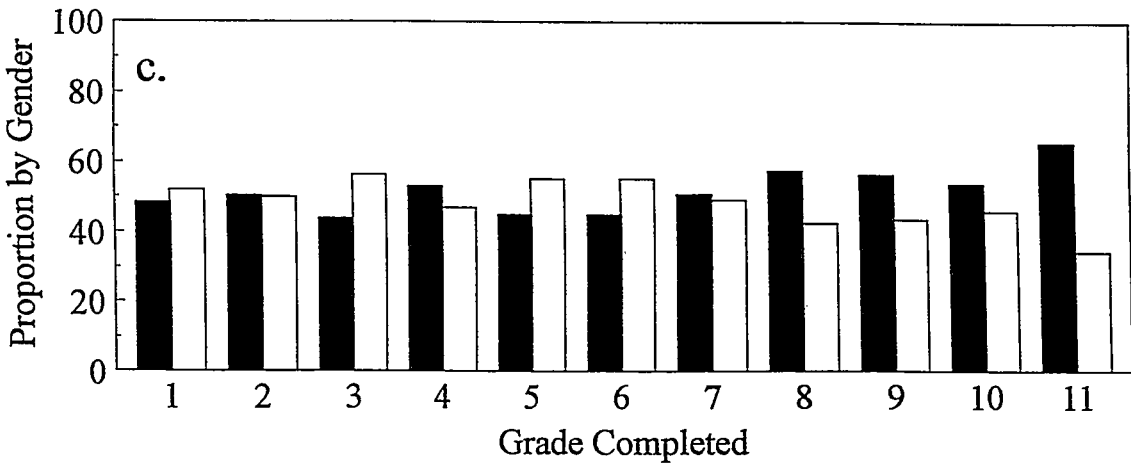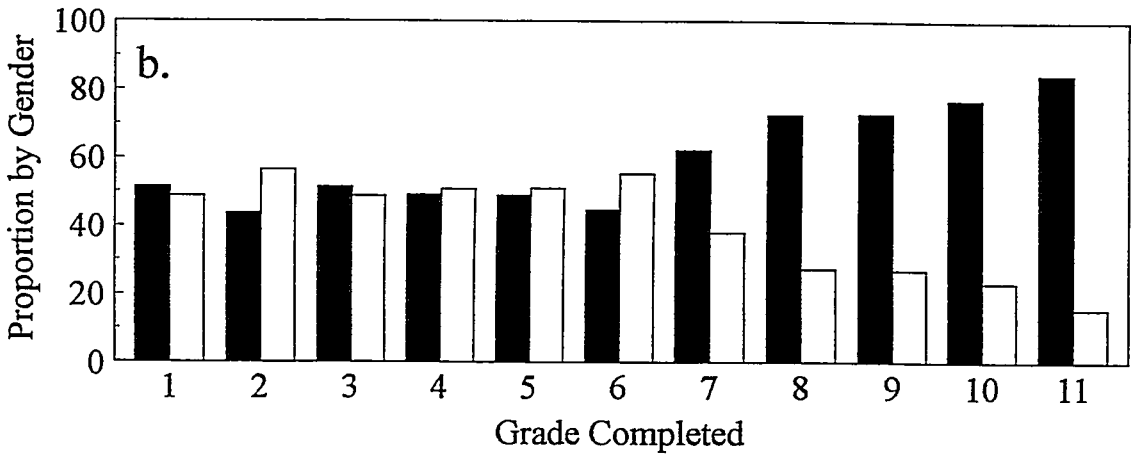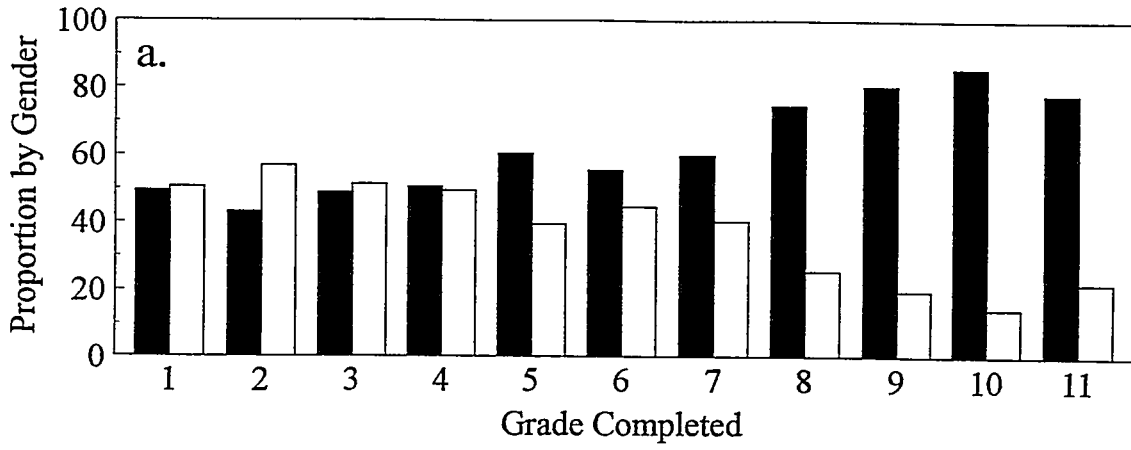
Figure 10. Proportion of girls (white bars) and boys (black bars) completing each grade in (*a*) 1985 (*b*) 1990 and (*c*) 1996.

education, this could be the beginning of a new trend in which Shipibo girls are staying in school longer. However, unless classroom practices and curriculum and social structures change to encourage girls to continue to use the skills they acquire, more years of attendance will not be of benefit to them.

Table 13 shows the dropout data for primary school for 1990 for each Community. Of the 12 communities visited, dropout data were available for ten. Of those 10, one (Caco Macaya) reported no dropouts and six communities had dropout rates of 6-8%. The other three communities had considerably higher dropout rates (over 20%) thereby increasing the percentage of overall dropouts to 11%. Reasons for the high dropout rates in three communities can be speculated. The high dropout rate of 24% for Santa Martha is due in part to the low number of students in attendance overall. In fact, the number of dropouts was just 10 students. Santa Martha is literally across the river from Pucallpa; other opportunities for schooling are readily available. Furthermore, the community is small and transient. Exact reasons for individual dropouts were not elicited; however, it should be noted that in some cases the students may have transferred to another school because their parents moved. In Pueblo Nuevo the students may drop out to join the many lumber workers who were prevalent in the area when the research team was there. The case of Amaquiría's high dropout rate is interesting from the stand point of BE. Because there has been a history of lack of support for BE in Amaquiría, the high dropout rate could be in response to parents not wanting their children to attend school where Shipibo is taught. Another possibility is that due to the high Spanish ability, families may move to areas where more Spanish is spoken.

Table 13. Primary school dropout rates by Gender for each Community

Community	female dropouts		males dropouts		total dropouts	
	number	% of females	number	% of males attending	number	% of total attending
Amaquiría	9	20	7	23	16	22
Caco Macaya	0	0	0	0	0	0
Callería	6	10	1	2	7	7
Colonia del Caco	4	5	7	8	11	6
Curiaca	data not available					
Nuevo Loreto	data not available					
Paoyhan	5	4	11	8	16	6
Pueblo Nuevo	14	26	14	18	28	22
Roaboya	3	10	3	7	6	8
San Francisco	4	4	10	11	14	8
Santa Martha	6	30	4	20	10	24
Sempaya	5	8	4	7	9	8
totals	56	12%	61	10%	117	11%

6.1.2 Community

As seen in the ANOVA results (table 10), there are significant differences among communities with respect to average Spanish Index ($F = 2.26$, df 1,11, $p < 0.05$). The highest value for Spanish Index was 4.6, in Amaquiría. The community with the lowest average Spanish Index was Caco Macaya with a Spanish Index average of 2.6. Interestingly, although perhaps not surprisingly, the community with the highest average Spanish Index, Amaquiría, had the lowest average Shipibo Index, 1.9. Roaboya had the highest average Shipibo Index, 3.2. However, there were no significant differences among communities (revealed by the ANOVA results $F = 0.84$, df 1,11, $p = 0.60$) with respect to Shipibo Index (but see ANCOVA results and discussion in section 6.1.3.1).

The community with the highest number of Years of School is Colonia del Caco with an average of 7.5 years. The community with the lowest average number of Years of

School is Santa Martha where the average is 4.5 years. However, there were no significant differences among communities with respect to Years of School. (An F ratio of $F = 1.79$, df 1,11, $p = 0.06$ was found for Community with respect to Years of School. See table 10.)

6.1.3. Cohort

Table 11 shows that Gender and Cohort differences were significant with respect to Shipibo and Spanish Index scores as well as on Years of School. Range of index scores and average number of Years of School by Gender were given in table 12. For Cohort on Shipibo Index an F ratio of $F = 23.84$, df 1,2, $p < 0.001$ was found. For Cohort on Spanish Index an F ratio of $F = 46.26$, df 1,2, $p < 0.001$ was found. Index scores were highest in both Shipibo and Spanish for the youngest group (Cohort 3). Average Shipibo Index for Cohort 1 is 1.5, for Cohort 2 it is 2.6 and for Cohort 3 it is 3.2. Average Spanish Index for Cohort 1 is 2.0, for Cohort 2 it is 3.4 and for Cohort 3 it is 4.3. Likewise, Cohort 3 stayed in school the longest with an average attendance of 7.2 years compared with 6.2 for Cohort 2 and 2.3 for Cohort 1.

Literacy ability (Index scores) were highest in both Shipibo and Spanish for the youngest group (Cohort 3.) The Shipibo Index differences observed among cohorts in the ANOVAs (table 11) are due to differences in the number of Years of School attended by people of different ages, as one might expect. Likewise, the Spanish Index differences observed among Cohorts (table 11) are due to differences in the number of years of school attended by people of different ages. The people in Cohort 1, average age around 50, had very little opportunity to attend school. The average person in Cohort 1 was born in 1946. The very first bilingual schools were established in 1954, 40 years ago, but most of the communities in this study did not have bilingual schools until about 25 years ago The

average person in Cohort 1 would have been 25 years old by the school became an option. That is why nineteen people in Cohort 1 did not attend school at all. (In Cohort 2 there were three people who did not attend school at all, and in Cohort 1, no one.) Those who had more than a year or two of school tended to be people in their early forties and younger. The average number of years of school attendance for Cohort 1 was 2.3 Cohort 2, average age 30, represents a mixed opportunity to attend school. Many of their parents had not attended and perhaps the idea was still new in the community. The average number of years that people attended school, 6.2, is much higher than Cohort 1. This number reflects a huge jump for the males who attended an average of 8.2 years. Females in Cohort 2 attended an average of 4.4 years. Cohort 3, average age 16.6, represents the group for whom school attendance is the norm. The average attendance for this group is 7.2 years, but since many of the people interviewed in this age range are still in school there is reason to think that this average will be higher. The trend is moving toward more schooling for Shipibo young people.

6.1.3 Interaction effects of Gender and Community

6.1.3.1 Gender and Community effects on Shipibo literacy

Table 14 presents the results of the ANCOVAs examining the effects of Gender and Community on Shipibo Index and Spanish Index, treating Years of School as the covariate. Results of evaluation of the assumptions of equal variances and parallelism of regression lines were met except in the case of unequal variances in the ANCOVA testing the effects of Gender and Community on Shipibo Index. As mentioned, this was due to the low variance in the responses in Amaquiría.

Table 14. Two-way ANCOVAs of Gender and Community on Shipibo Index and Spanish Index with Years of School as the covariate N=237

Test	Variable	MS	df	F	p
Shipibo Index					
	Gender	6.03	1	2.89	0.09
	Community	3.84	11	1.84	0.05
	G x C	1.70	11	.81	0.63
	Error	2.09	198		
Spanish Index					
	Gender	10.58	1	6.80	.009
	Community	2.05	11	1.29	0.23
	G x C	1.96	11	1.23	0.27
	Error	1.59	198		

6.1.3.1.2 Discussion of Gender as a factor affecting literacy ability

At first glance, the non-significant ANCOVA for the effect of Gender on Shipibo Index when compared to the significant effect observed between Genders in the ANOVAs, may lead one to conclude that the differences are merely due to differences in the number of Years of School attended by females versus males (average for females = 5.0; average for males = 6.2). However, a closer analysis reveals that the 2.89 F-value for the ANCOVA in table 14 approaches significance (p = 0.09). Furthermore, the ANCOVA for Gender and Cohort on Shipibo Index (table 18) shows Gender as a significant. Therefore, one can conclude that although some of the variance is reduced by accounting for Years of School, even if school attendance for females and males were equal, Shipibo scores would not be.

There are several possible reason for the discrepancy of ability between genders. One is that when reporting, boys for some reason overestimate their abilities and/or girls underestimate theirs. This is not very plausible given reports from around the world that support the idea that males do have higher rates of literacy than females. The other possibility is that the educational environment itself, coupled with social conditions outside of school, favor boys' learning. That girls and boys do not have the same experience

when they attend school has been widely documented recently (Sadker 1994; AAUW 1995). Jiggins notes, "The timing, the location of the classes, the sex of the instructor, the content and relevance of the course, the methods of teaching, the materials used and the language used to give instruction all serve to alienate women" (1994:111). General observations of primary school among the Shipibo were not systematic enough to say that teachers favored boys in the classroom, but girls have at least two obvious things going against them. One is the report heard from several parents and community members that male teachers are placing sexual demands on female students. The veracity of this claim has not been proved, but even if it is only rumor it is enough to keep some girls from attending school as they do not want to attend and their parents do not want to send them. The second obstacle for girls is that some communities do not have secondary school, so the students have to travel to another area each day or each week to attend. The research team was in Nuevo Loreto on a Sunday and several young men were heading off in a canoe to attend secondary school in a neighboring community. They would stay with relatives during the school week and return on Friday. There were no young women joining them. Parents are reluctant to send their daughters away for the week. Girls tend to be the ones on whom the burden of housework and childcare fall. The message to girls may be that education is acceptable until other more pressing matters require their attention.

Furthermore, the use of literacy skills after leaving school is likely different for men and women. Because the survey queried people who had been out of school for many years as well as some currently in school, these results may be indicating loss of literacy. Lack of practice (not engaging in literacy practices) may be more prevalent among females than males. With few exceptions, men constitute the entire governing body of the Shipibo communities so that all activities having to do with official correspondence, meeting

minutes, and record keeping are the responsibility of men. Some women are involved in a government sponsored program called "A glass of milk" (*Vaso de leche*), but their responsibilities were largely the physical act of receiving and distributing the milk provided by the government. If a girl goes to school for five years, learns minimal literacy skills and then drops out, it is likely that she will find little desire, need or time to read. (This may not be the case for numeracy skills as the ability to add and subtract, count money and make change is a skill continuously needed by women who engage in buying and selling.)

A society pays a price for uneducated or undereducated women. Studies have shown links between women's education/literacy and health. Because of better hygiene and overall improved health, infant mortality declines. Birth rate also decreases because better educated women tend to marry later and have fewer children. In addition, educating women is a sound practice for the good of the environment. Women tend to be assigned the duties of gathering water and wood and also have agricultural responsibilities. Through education they learn about managing natural resources (Jiggins 1994).

6.1.3.1.3 Discussion of Community as a factor affecting literacy ability

Variation among communities in Shipibo Index was also revealed in the ANCOVA (the F ratio of $F = 1.84$, df 1,11, $p = 0.05$ is shown in table 14) and not in the ANOVA (table 10) because much of the variation in Shipibo Index is explained by the covariate, Years of School. Since members of each community attend school for similar amounts of time, and this is correlated with Shipibo Index, not only do the distributions of school attendance overlap, but Shipibo Index scores also overlap. By statistically removing the influence of Years of School, differences among communities were revealed, primarily due to low Shipibo Index scores among individuals in Amaquiría. (Compare Amaquiría to

other communities in Figure 11, which shows the regression of Shipibo Index on Years of School for all twelve communities.) Table 15 gives mean Shipibo Index scores -- both unadjusted and adjusted for Years of School. When Amaquiría was removed from the analysis, no significant Community differences were revealed indicating that the experience of Shipibo use in school is relatively homogeneous. This finding was confirmed by observations which revealed that Shipibo is used as the medium of instruction mostly in the first two grades with a regulated move toward Spanish from third grade and following. In Amaquiría this switch to Spanish was abrupt in the third grade because the only Shipibo-speaking teacher taught first and second grades.

Without exception in the communities visited in this study, the Spanish Index scores were higher than those of Shipibo. Of note is that the community with the highest Spanish Index, Amaquiría, has the lowest Shipibo Index. It is important to note that Amaquiría was the Shipibo community visited which had the largest number of Mestizo inhabitants (12 of 51 households), some of the community elected leaders were Mestizo and that there is only one bilingual teacher in Amaquiría. (He teaches first and second grade.) In contrast, the community with the highest Shipibo Index, Roaboya, also had a very high Spanish score (second only to Amaquiría), thus supporting the idea that one does not have to sacrifice proficiency in one language to attain it in another. Factors other than education may be at work in Roaboya. A woman said that she attends a Bible study once a week taught by women at the church, *consejeras*, in which they read and speak only Shipibo. So even though she only had three years of primary school and does not write in either language, she reads Shipibo rather well. Furthermore, Roaboya is the oldest Shipibo community visited, founded 102 years ago. Many years before the arrival of BE, the South American Mission had established private monolingual education in Spanish.
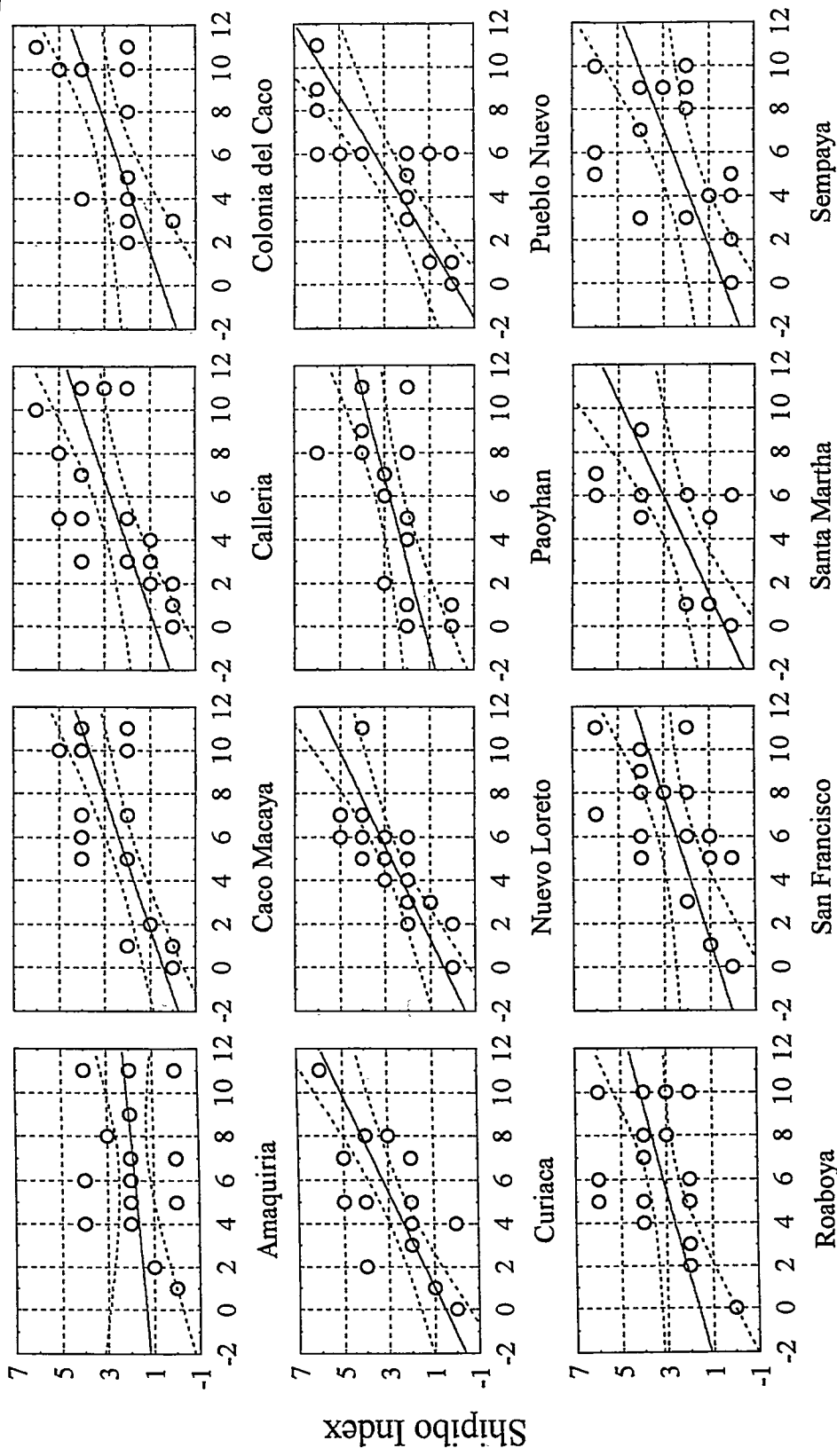
Figure 11. Regression of Shipibo Index on Years of School for all twelve Communities. Dotted lines indicate 95% confidence intervals.

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At first glance, the fact that Caco Macaya has the lowest Spanish score may seem to indicate that their efforts at Shipibo maintenance (no Mestizos living in the community, expressed desire to carry on Shipibo traditions) are costing them in the area of Spanish. However, a look at the Shipibo scores reveals that they are not acquiring Shipibo literacy well either compared to other communities (second lowest). This suggests that overall quality of education may be a factor.

Tables 15 and 16 show the unadjusted and adjusted means of Shipibo and Spanish Index scores respectively. As can be seen, when adjusted for Years of School, the range of scores widens revealing a significant difference. This is primarily due to low Shipibo Index scores among individuals in Amaquiría demonstrating that Amaquiría's reputed lack of interest in BE has resulted in a community with little ability in Shipibo reading and writing. When Amaquiría was removed from the analysis there was no difference among communities in Shipibo Index.

Table 15. Shipibo Index by Community - means adjusted and unadjusted for Years of School

Shipibo Index

Community	unadjusted mean			adjusted mean		
	females	males	average	females	males	average
Amaquiría	1.9	1.9	1.9	1.2	1.7	1.4
Caco Macaya	1.8	2.2	2.0	2.6	2.0	2.3
Callería	2.6	2.7	2.7	2.8	2.5	2.6
Colonia del Caco	2.4	3.6	3.0	2.1	2.7	2.4
Curiaca	2.1	3.3	2.7	2.4	3.6	3.0
Nuevo Loreto	2.6	2.8	2.7	2.8	3.0	2.9
Paoyhan	2.5	3.1	2.8	2.6	2.8	2.7
Pueblo Nuevo	2.3	3.1	2.7	2.9	3.1	3.0
Roaboya	2.3	4.1	3.2	2.6	3.4	3.0
San Francisco	2.6	2.8	2.7	2.5	2.0	2.3
Santa Martha	1.9	3.0	2.4	2.4	3.3	2.8
Sempaya	1.5	3.0	2.2	2.0	3.0	2.5

6.1.3.2 Gender and Community effects on Spanish Literacy

The significant ANCOVA for Gender on Spanish Index shown in table 14 (F = 6.80, df 1,11, p < 0.01) suggests that even if girls and boys attended school for the same number of years, girls would still not be attaining the high Spanish Index scores boys report. As mentioned, this may be attributed to educational and social conditions which favor boys' learning. Recent studies from the United States have shown that teachers tend to favor boys in the classroom thus enhancing their learning experience (Sadker 1994; AAUW 1995). Consequently, girls may be inhibited to participate in class thus hindering their learning. This may also be true in the Shipibo situation where most teachers are male. In addition, leadership roles, which require literacy ability, are almost always given to men. Girls and young women may perceive their need for learning to read and write as less than that of boys and in fact, following their departure from school, girls may not be engaged in activities that require reading and writing.

The non-significant ANCOVA for the effect of Community on Spanish Index shown in table 14 (F = 1.29, df 1,11, p = 0.23) reveals that the Spanish Index differences observed among communities in the ANOVAs are merely due to differences in the number of Years of School attended in each community which covaries with the Spanish Index. (Figure 12 shows the regressions for Spanish Index on Years of School for all 12 communities studied.) In other words, if each community had the same opportunity for education (i.e., school availability and attendance were similar in each community), one would expect literacy abilities in Spanish to be similar from community to community. In reality, Amaquiría once again stands out from the other communities in having more Years of School attendance than most other communities (mean = 6.9) and, thus, a higher Spanish Index score (unadjusted mean = 4.6), but when the amount of education is taken into account, this difference disappears (adjusted mean = 3.8). See table 16.

Table 16. Spanish Index by Community - means adjusted and unadjusted for Years of School

Community	Spanish Index					
	unadjusted mean			adjusted mean		
	females	males	average	females	males	average
Amaquiría	4.0	5.0	4.6	3.0	4.7	3.8
Caco Macaya	1.6	3.4	2.6	2.8	3.1	3.0
Callería	3.2	3.8	3.5	3.4	3.5	3.5
Colonia del Caco	3.4	5.2	4.2	3.0	4.0	3.5
Curiaca	2.8	2.9	2.8	3.2	3.3	3.3
Nuevo Loreto	3.0	4.3	3.7	3.4	4.6	4.0
Paoyhan	3.5	3.6	3.5	3.7	3.1	3.4
Pueblo Nuevo	2.0	3.2	2.6	2.8	3.2	3.0
Roaboya	3.0	5.3	4.2	3.4	4.4	4.0
San Francisco	3.7	4.1	3.9	3.6	3.2	3.4
Santa Martha	2.3	3.1	2.6	3.0	3.5	3.2
Sempaya	2.8	3.7	3.2	3.5	3.6	3.5

The conclusion to be drawn about the Community effect is that the education experience among the Shipibo, regardless of community of residence, is rather uniform. However, if a community consciously makes changes and choices for or against BE the results are seen in ability. In other words, there is nothing magical about simply implementing the MT into classroom use. The factors discussed in chapter 5 concerning good teaching, adequate supplies and parental support also play important roles. It should also be mentioned that literacy use beyond school has influenced individual community's perceptions and abilities concerning reading and writing. For example, as mentioned, the women of Roaboya place a lot of emphasis on reading the Bible in Shipibo, a factor that may explain the higher literacy skills in that community.
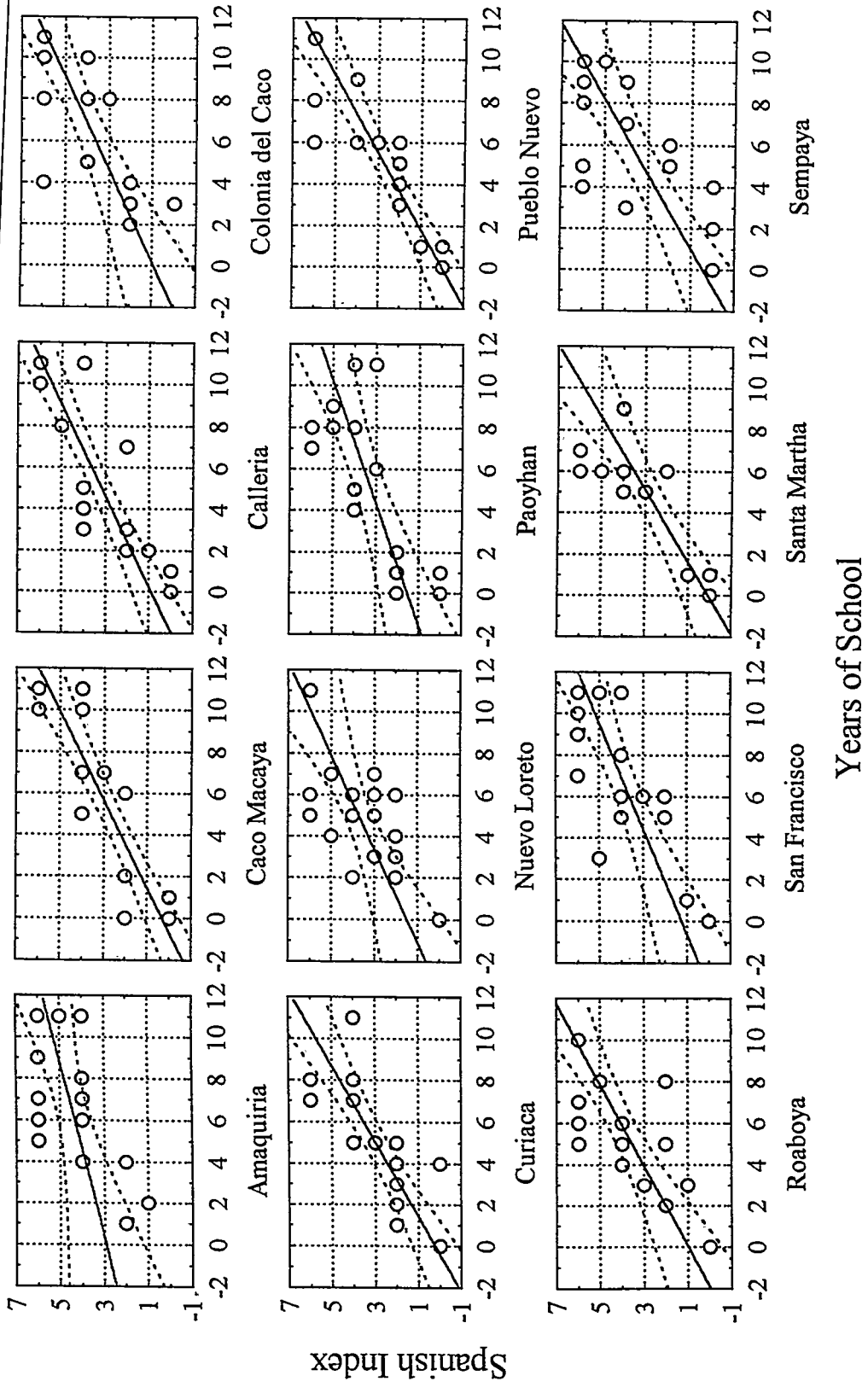
Figure 12. Regression of Spanish Index on Years of School for all twelve Communities. Dotted lines indicate 95% confidence intervals.

6.1.4 Interaction effects of Gender and Cohort

6.1.4.1 Gender and Cohort effects on Years of School

As shown in table 11, there was a significant interaction effect of Gender and Cohort on Years of School. (F = 4.30, df 1,2, p < 0.05.) This was due to the large difference of number of Years of School attendance between females and males in Cohort 2. Table 17 shows that males in all Cohorts go to school longer than females; however, the Cohort 2 males attend school an average of 3.8 years longer than females. Cohort 1 males attended school only 1.4 years longer than females and Cohort 3 males attend school only 1.6 years longer than females. Table 17 shows that for Cohort 1 both females and males go to school for a short time; in Cohort 2 the attendance of males is an average of 3.8 years longer than females, and in Cohort 3 females show longer average school attendance, 6.6 years, while the males level off at 8.2. Thus, the gap appears to be closing.

Table 17. Average Years of School by Gender and Cohort

	females	males	difference
Cohort 1	1.4	2.8	1.4
Cohort 2	4.4	8.2	3.8
Cohort 3	6.6	8.2	1.6

It should be noted that the data for the ANOVA for the effect of Gender and Cohort on Spanish Index and Years of School (the second and third row of table 11) did not have equal variances among cells. Although this is to be expected given the nature of the data (people in Cohort 1 had little school attendance, thus their possibilities for learning to read and write were minimal, while people in Cohorts 2 and 3 have more Years of School and higher index scores), these results should be interpreted with caution. Likewise, the homogeneity of variance requirement was not met in the ANOVA for effect of Gender and

Community on Shipibo Index. This was due to the low variance in the responses in Amaquiría where 8 out of 9 females had Shipibo Index scores of 2. All of the other ANOVA analyses presented in tables 10 and 11 satisfied the homogeneity assumptions as described in the Methods of Analysis (chapter 4); therefore, data can be interpreted with confidence.

6.1.4.2 Gender and Cohort effects on Shipibo and Spanish Literacy

Table 18 presents the results of the ANCOVAs examining the effects of Gender and Cohort on Shipibo Index and Spanish Index, treating Years of School as the covariate. Results of evaluation of the assumptions of equal variances were met. Parallelism assumptions were not met due to flat regression lines in Cohort 2 for Shipibo Index. (See the Regression of Shipibo Index on Years of School in figure 13.)

Table 18. Two-way ANCOVAs of Gender and Cohort on Shipibo Index and Spanish Index with Years of School as the covariate (N=237)

Test	Variable	MS	df	F	p
Shipibo Index					
	Gender	11.55	1	5.36	0.02
	Cohort	1.80	2	0.84	0.44
	G x Cohort	2.56	2	1.19	0.31
	Error	2.15	216		
Spanish Index					
	Gender	11.83	1	7.31	0.007
	Cohort	4.50	2	2.78	0.06
	G x Cohort	1.57	2	97	0.38
	Error	1.62	216		
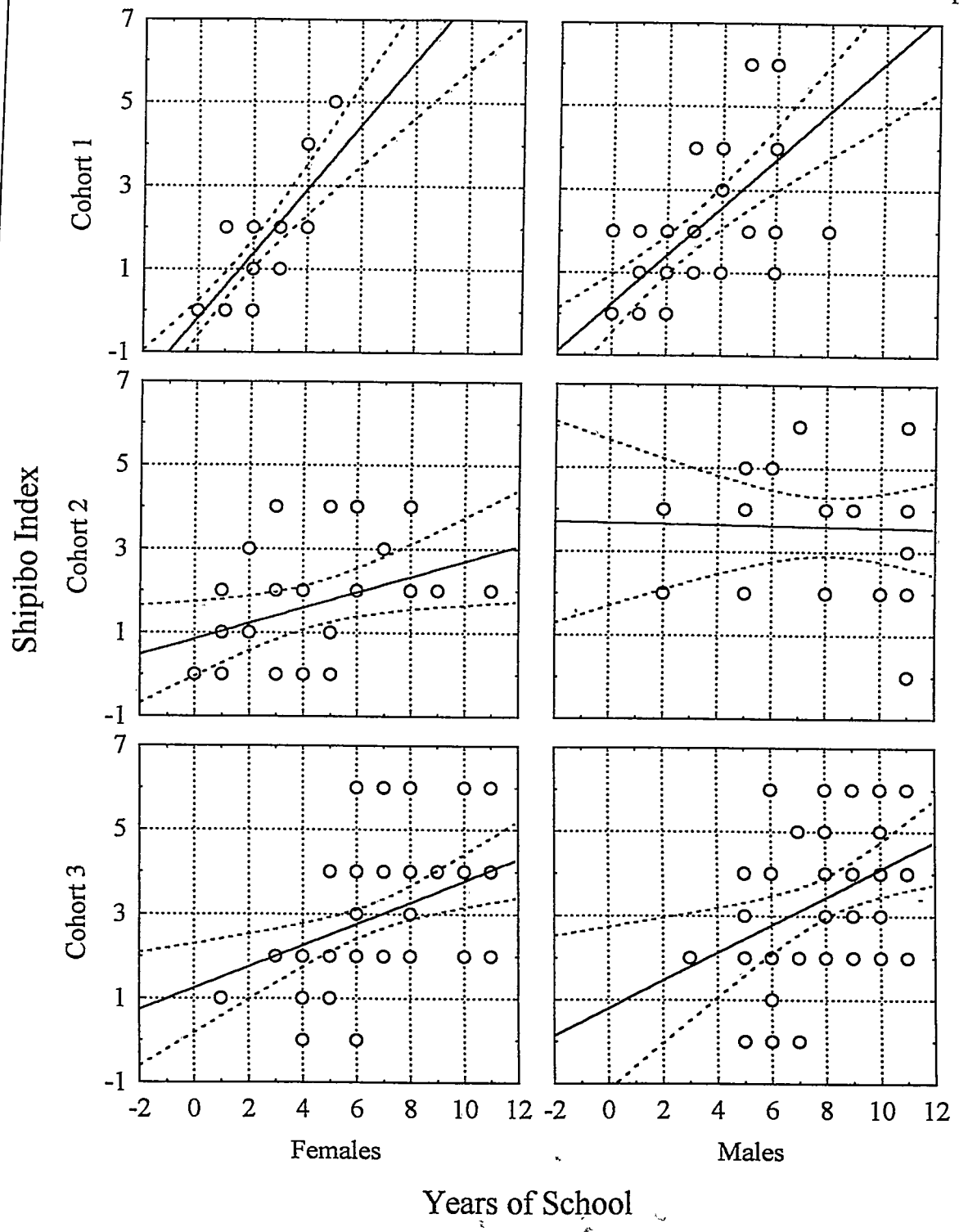
Figure 13. Regression of Shipibo Index on Years of School by Gender for all three Cohorts. Dotted lines indicate 95% confidence intervals.

The effect of Gender on Shipibo Index was significant in the ANCOVA shown in table 18 (F = 5.36, df 1,2, p < 0.05) and the ANOVA (see table 10) indicating that even when Years of School are accounted for girls', Shipibo scores are not as high as boys'. The nonsignificant ANCOVA for the effect of Cohort on Shipibo Index shown in table 18 (F = 0.84, df 1,2, p = 0.44) reveals that the Shipibo Index differences observed among Cohorts in the ANOVAs (see table 10) are due to differences in the number of Years of School attended by people of different ages, as one might expect. Table 19 shows the unadjusted and adjusted means for females and males for each Cohort.

Table 19. Shipibo Index by Cohort - means adjusted and unadjusted for Years of School

Cohort	Shipibo Index			
	unadjusted mean		adjusted mean	
	females	males	females	males
Cohort 1	0.9	1.9	2.0	2.6
Cohort 2	1.7	3.6	1.9	2.8
Cohort 3	2.9	3.5	2.5	2.7

As mentioned (see tables 14 and 18), the significant ANCOVA for Gender on Spanish Index reveals that even if girls and boys attended school for the same number of years, girls would still not be attaining the high Spanish Index scores boys report. The nonsignificant ANCOVA for the effect of Cohort on Spanish Index (F = 2.78, df 1,2, p = 0.06) reveals that the Spanish Index differences observed among Cohorts in the ANOVAs (see table 11) are due to differences in the number of Years of School attended by people of different ages, as one might expect. Table 20 shows the unadjusted and adjusted means for females and males for each Cohort. Figure 14 shows the regressions of Spanish Index on Years of School for all three Cohorts.

Table 20. Spanish Index by Cohort - means adjusted and unadjusted for Years of School

	Spanish Index			
	unadjusted mean		adjusted mean	
	females	males	females	males
Cohort 1	1.0	2.6	2.8	3.7
Cohort 2	2.4	4.4	2.8	3.1
Cohort 3	3.9	5.0	3.3	3.7

6.2 Language attitudes

Although the few questions in section 2 bb-hh of the community survey do not constitute a thorough language attitude study, responses elicited provide insight into language attitudes as related to language education in the Shipibo context. The issue of attitude is important because attitudes influence action. "Social forces shape language attitudes which in turn determine language behavior" (Walker 1988:21). The attitude of a speaker toward a language, whether it is a native language or nonnative, will likely affect if and in what contexts she or he wants to use it. In the current study, the questions about attitude toward Shipibo and Spanish were included in order to investigate the impact BE may have had on attitudes or the impact attitudes may have on BE. Research suggests that attitudes toward a language and its speakers may influence second language learning (Lambert et al. 1968).

It can be hypothesized that a community that has experienced many years of BE will be comprised of individuals who have positive attitudes toward both languages. As stated in chapter 1, research questions 4 and 5 address this issue of language attitudes. The survey administered to the Shipibo asked them if they thought Shipibo was easy and if they liked to speak Shipibo. Virtually all participants answered yes to both questions (99% and 98%, respectively). Respondents liked Shipibo (99%) significantly more than Spanish
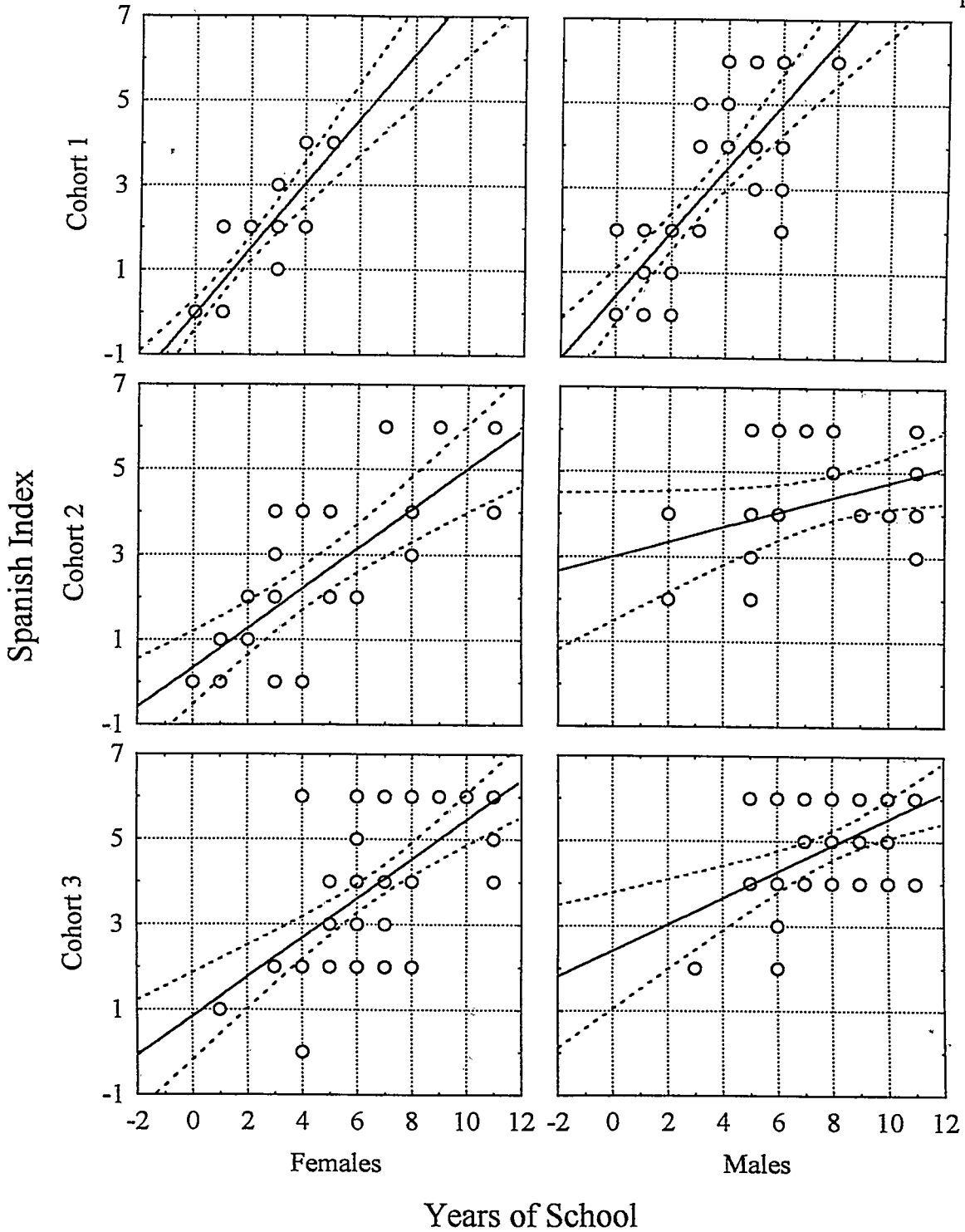
Figure 14. Regression of Spanish Index on Years of School by Gender for all three Cohorts. Dotted lines indicate 95% confidence intervals.

(75%) (χ^2 = 56.54; p << 0.001). Similarly, people found Shipibo to be significantly easier (98%) than Spanish (41%)(χ^2 = 189.46; p << 0.001).

The same questions were asked concerning Spanish. As has been said, in Peru, Shipibo and all other indigenous languages are of low status. Even the speakers of Quechua, which at one time held national language status, are reported to suffer from negative attitudes toward their language. The attitude a person or group holds toward the speakers of a language may influence their attitude toward the language. Spanish is the language of the conquerors, the rubber barons and other uninvited guests to the jungle, so one might expect negative attitudes toward Spanish. On the other hand, Spanish is the language of power, prestige and the literate world. So positive attitudes might be held toward Spanish. In fact, two-thirds of respondents said they liked to speak Spanish, even though only 41% said it was easy.

6.2.1 Language attitudes by Gender

When divided by Gender, all the women and almost all of the men (98%) interviewed replied that Shipibo was easy. Ninety-eight percent of women and men like Shipibo. Not surprisingly only a quarter of the women (30/119) think that Spanish is easy compared to over half (54%) of the men. Men are likely to get more practice, and therefore may conclude that Spanish is easy. When asked if they liked to speak Spanish, 79 (66%) of the women and 95 (80%) of the men replied that they did. Even though they may not find it easy, a majority of both women and men reported to enjoy speaking Spanish.

6.2.2 Language attitudes by Cohort

Because variation of language attitude by generation may be a factor which affects shift, language attitude responses were statistically analyzed by Cohort. In Cohort 1, 30%

said Spanish was easy, compared to 41% and 44% in Cohorts 2 and 3. However, these differences were not found to be significant. When asked whether they liked speaking Spanish, 75% of the total respondents answered yes. The responses by Cohort were not significant, but surprisingly the highest percentage of people who like speaking Spanish were in Cohort 1 (78%.) It may be that the older people are glad to be able to speak communicate with Spanish speakers after not having been able to for many years. Both Cohorts 2 and 3 had almost 74% yes answers.

6.2.3 Language attitudes by Community

Although some differences can be seen when responses to language attitude questions were divided by Community, none were found to be significant.

6.2.4 Conclusions concerning language attitudes

As was mentioned, one of the reasons to investigate language attitude is because of the influence it can have on behavior. Eighty-five percent of all the people surveyed say they talk to Mestizos and almost 60% have occasion to invite Mestizos into their homes. It is impossible to place causality on BE for positive attitudes toward Shipibo or Spanish, but one may suppose that without BE a majority of Shipibo people would have remained monolingual and the pattern of mistreatment by Spanish speakers that was part of their history of contact would have continued. Although the transition model of education has led to dominance in certain skills in Spanish, the Shipibo appear to have a strong sense of themselves and their language. An explanation for this might be found in their history of survival. Lathrap contends that the "fight for the limited supply of effective farm land has been the most important single force in the cultural history of the Amazon Basin" (1970:20) As was seen in chapter 2 , before the arrival of the Spanish, the Shipibo were

accustomed to not only fighting for the best land, but getting it. Throughout their history of warring, the Shipibo perceived themselves as culturally "civilized" compared to the inferior "backwoods Panoan groups" (Lathrap 1970:182). Later, when the Spanish did attempt to move into Shipibo territory, the Shipibo promptly murdered them. Although the Spanish eventually did come in and subdue the Shipibo, their history of confrontation to attain what they wanted, combined with the superior self-image described by Lathrap, likely had a critical influence on how they dealt with foreign visitors and innovations, not the least of which is education.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS

7.0 Introduction

This chapter provides a summary of the dissertation and its major findings. Suggestions for an alternative model are proposed and implications of the findings for educators, language planners, the Peruvian government and the Shipibo people are explored. The chapter concludes with suggestions for future research which have emerged from the present investigation.

7.1 Summary

This study has investigated the response to and application of BE and described linguistic and cultural factors which may influence BE in a variety of communities among the Shipibo people of the Peruvian Amazon. The data were gathered in Peru during September, October and November of 1996. Oral surveys were administered in order to obtain the views and experiences of a random sample of Shipibo people concerning BE and other issues expected to bear on BE. After necessary exclusions were made from the study due to lack of randomization and sample generalizability, the resulting data for analysis were the written transcriptions of 237 orally administered surveys as well as school attendance records and school and community observations. The data concerning language use and ability, and language attitudes were analyzed statistically using the social factors of gender, cohort and community as variables. The results were then discussed based on a working definition of success that included the preset goals of those who

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established the program and the perspective of the Shipibo people and that took into consideration pertinent historical and social factors. The findings were discussed in light of the sociolinguistic phenomena of language maintenance and shift.

An overview of the historical situation as it pertains to education among the Shipibo revealed many attempts and few accomplishments. The introduction by SIL linguists and the government of Peru of an education program that would begin in Shipibo and eventually move to Spanish was a novel plan in 1953. Currently, vernacular education issues worldwide are centered around bilingual, intercultural education which embraces an ideology of cultural pluralism. At the same time, transition programs are dismissed as producing monolinguals or assimilating minority groups into mainstream national life without regard for their culture. The Shipibo situation suggests otherwise. The Shipibo have lost some of their traditions and have embraced some Mestizo ways, for better or worse (that is up to them to decide.) Yet, their spoken language and their sense of identity remains intact. Two possible explanations for the Shipibo response are offered.

The first, that the Shipibo people have a history marked by their ability to attain prime land and to maintain a strong self-image has been explored in chapter 6. The second possible explanation for the Shipibo response to BE has to do with the differing ideological perspectives of the two institutions which collaborated in establishing the BE program in the Amazon Basin, the Peruvian government and SIL. The two share a common commitment to the education of all Peruvians; however, the government is committed to the assimilation of the country's indigenous peoples and SIL is committed to "encouraging maintenance of the ethnic identity..." (Larson 1981:31). The model on which SIL and the government established the program is itself is a classic transition model which includes a complete transfer to Spanish by the end of primary school. Yet the program was implemented by individual members of SIL who undoubtedly conveyed their

convictions that vernacular languages and the people who speak them are valuable. This, coupled with the Shipibos' prior perception of themselves and their language, have resulted in a stable diglossia in which Spanish is strong in domains pertaining to literacy and Shipibo is strong in the spoken, especially informal, domains.

It appears that the previously mentioned expected outcomes of TBE are oversimplified. Although transition programs fall short in terms of their goals as they pertain to the rights of nonprestige language speakers and the potential enrichment of prestige speakers, this evaluation suggests that transition programs may provide a base on which a more inclusive, maintenance/ enrichment program could be built. (See suggestions for improvement in section 7.2.)

An evaluation of this BE experiment led to the conclusion that it has accomplished more in the way of formal education than any prior efforts. However, the BE experiment was designed on a transition model, and it is generally held that the best possible outcome of such a model is limited bilingualism. Initial schooling is introduced in L1 and progressively the language of instruction becomes primarily and then exclusively L2. Evaluation and analysis have led to several substantial conclusions:

First, BE among the Shipibo has resulted in large numbers of Shipibo children attending school. Because monolingual children encounter a nonthreatening environment when they enter school, attendance is now the rule rather than the exception. As a result, children learn to read because they are first taught in a language they can already speak. Later they learn to read Spanish such that most people leave school with some ability in reading and writing in both Shipibo and Spanish. However, BE among the Shipibo has been more successful at advancing literacy in Spanish than in Shipibo. It appears that once Spanish literacy skills are acquired, reading and writing in Spanish are emphasized to the

neglect of Shipibo. In addition, many Shipibo people have learned to speak Spanish in the bilingual schools.

Second, some Shipibo people are using the skills they learned in school for the reasons they think they are necessary. Although a majority of Shipibo people claim that it is necessary to be bilingual and biliterate for the purposes of reading books, writing letters as well as for purposes of identity and language maintenance, Spanish is in dominant usage in the domains of reading and writing and Shipibo is in dominant usage in the domain of speaking among the Shipibo.

Third, the assimilationist goal of the Peruvian government has been only partly successful. The Shipibo have managed to accept certain practices, linguistic and cultural, from the Mestizo population around them and at the same time retain a positive sense of identity of themselves as Shipibo. This is displayed in the finding that a majority of Shipibo people maintain positive attitudes toward both Shipibo and Spanish.

Fourth, the language situation among the Shipibo appears to be one of stable diglossia though indicators of both shift and of maintenance are present. There are some socioeconomic conditions, such as location and transportation to and communication with areas where Spanish is spoken, which indicate a situation that may lead to shift. However, the size of the group and the fact that they have been in contact with the nonindigenous world for over three centuries and retained strong spoken use of their MT is a good indicator of maintenance.

Fifth, girls and boys do not have the same experience in the Shipibo BE context. Females drop out of school at a younger age and do not appear to have the same literacy ability as males. One reason for this may be due to a loss of skills after leaving school since their daily life may not require reading or writing. Another explanation may be that girls are not encouraged in the school learning environment. A third possibility is that due

to the gender and language use of the interviewers (female Spanish-speakers) and ·
interpreters (male Shipibo-speakers), female and male respondents may have reported their abilities differently. One way to test this possible interviewer influence in future studies would be to evaluate whether responses were different for females and males when the interview was conducted largely by the North American researchers or largely by the Shipibo interpreters (men); in other words, to make note of the language in which the interviewee chose to respond.[4]

7.2 Suggestions for an alternative model

The success of bringing two or three generations of people into school and teaching them to read, write and communicate to any extent in two languages should not be underemphasized. A study done in 1974 reported that 75% of Shipibo people over age 5 were illiterate (Chirif 1976). The current study only dealt with people over age 12, but only 29 people (12%) were found who did not read or write at all. Yet, the results of this study suggest that the respondents' need for and interest in speaking, reading, and writing both Shipibo and Spanish may not be being met in the current education system. Therefore, the following are suggestions for changes to improve education for the Shipibo people which are based on the results of this study as informed by the Shipibo people interviewed.

1. The current transition model could be built upon and adapted in order to include the full development of the Shipibo language and culture as well as the acquisition of Spanish. This could include the introduction of Spanish only after literacy in Shipibo is attained. Shipibo as a medium and as content would be promoted at least through

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[4] In the current research it was not possible to recover the information necessary to determine which language dominated the interview. It was also unclear if the interviewee really had a choice of whether to answer in Spanish or Shipibo given that people whose skills in Spanish were limited answered in Shipibo by necessity.

secondary school. That this would require bilingual teachers through secondary school is apparently not a problem. Recent reports indicate that there is currently a surplus of bilingual teachers (Davis, personal communication, 1998).

2. Educational policy makers would do well to consider BE for Spanish speakers. For decades the onus has fallen on the minority groups to build the bridge to the majority culture. The majority group could be encouraged from an early age through the education system to embrace the rich cultural and linguistic treasure of Peru by studying at least one indigenous language from elementary school. Policies which support or allow for people who speak languages other than those with official standing are a step in the right direction, but they are lacking. Recently, advocates of LHRs have begun to call for policies that include opportunities for majority groups "to escape monolingual stupidity/naiveté/reductionism" (Skutnabb-Kangas 1995:8).When a group or individual acquires another language it has the possibility of not just affording them communication, but, to use Smolicz's word, "communion" with that language's speakers (1995:158).

3. Decisions about content and pedagogy for the Shipibo schools could be made by consulting interested Shipibo community members. Hornberger argues that "...what is needed for successful language maintenance planning and effective use of schools as agents for language maintenance is autonomy of the speech community in deciding about uses of languages in their schools and a societal context in which primary incentives exist for the use of one, two, or multiple languages in that and every other domain" (1988:237). The Shipibo have had education long enough to know what they want and do not want. People took the occasion of the interview with the current researcher to express their concerns about everything from questionable teacher practices to fears about loss of customs. One man had great ideas about incorporating traditional Shipibo art into the school day. One visionary teacher wanted to talk about his ideas for a Shipibo university.

One community that the research team was not scheduled to visit heard that we were in a neighboring community and asked us to come give a mini-workshop with tips on how to be better teachers. Leaders and teachers in another community urged the research team to stay after dark so they could share their concerns for providing good education that prepares the children for the modern world and at the same time helps them maintain their Shipibo identity.

4. Issues concerning teacher training merit attention. In the current study, teachers requested more training in pedagogy. The observations of the present researcher support the need for such. When visiting a school in one community, the researcher was joined by the lieutenant governor in the back of a first and second grade classroom where he delightedly said, "See, our children are learning Shipibo in school." Unfortunately, what was seen was a teacher trained to teach agriculture at the technical school who was substituting for the regular teacher who was suspended due to excessive absence. The substitute was trying to teach basic Shipibo words for sun, moon, oar and pottery (curious in and of itself given that the school year was one month from being over), words for which he himself was unsure of the Shipibo spelling. Later he was seen walking around the community at least an hour before school was to have let out for the day. Several of the teachers seemed to have no particular plan for the lesson. One teacher left every few minutes to get something from the office. Another left for a time to talk on the radio. In her detailed observations of Peruvian Quechua schools, Hornberger found that about 40% of the school day is spent in "class time" and 32% in recess. The rest is taken up in waiting while adults use the building for meetings, teacher absence and line-up (188:121). Classtime is divided as follows: pupils on own (45%); board work (copying from board) and housecleaning (20% each); teacher teaching (15%) (1988:122).

In 1974, The Center for Applied Linguistics (CAL) developed guidelines for describing characteristics of qualified bilingual teachers. Although these were the basis for developing teacher training programs and certification criteria in the United States, they could be adapted to other bilingual settings. They can be divided into four major areas: Language Proficiency, Linguistics, Culture, and Instructional Methods or Pedagogy (Troike and Saville-Troike 1982). Teachers should be proficient in both languages of the program and a method of testing proficiency should be incorporated into teacher training. In the Shipibo setting the problem of domain for minority language teachers may have to be addressed and teachers may need to be trained to use their language when teaching subject matter that they might have learned in Spanish. The purpose of giving students training in linguistics is so that they will know about the language structure of the national language and that of students' L1. In addition, the linguistic training could address questions which will bring out commonalties and contrasts of L1 and L2. In addition, teachers could be encouraged to see language as a "powerful affective symbol (of identity, affiliation, attitude, rejection, control, etc.) and as an instrument for learning" (Troike and Saville-Troike 1982: 210). The culture component of teacher training endorsed by the CAL may not be necessary if the teachers come from same the culture as the students. Cazden and Leggett (1978) suggest that because an understanding of culture comes from sustained contact in the society, it is not possible for teachers to take classes in culture and be able to teach it in their bilingual classrooms. In this way, Shipibo teachers have an advantage over teachers in other contexts. As the teachers themselves reported on the surveys, there is a need for instruction in appropriate methodology early on in the teacher training course. One of the problems with the current situation is that pedagogy is not offered until very late in the training when many of the teachers have already been classroom instructors for years.

5. The government of Peru has supported the BE program in the Amazon Basin with legislation which allows for its continued existence. Teachers interviewed report that additional needs include allocation of resources for supplies necessary for education in the jungle (not the least of which are books), recognizing that jungle heat and humidity take a toll on paper and other equipment faster than in other parts of the country.

7.3 Implications

The findings of this study are of potential value to educators, language planners, Peruvian government and the Shipibo people.

7.3.1. Implications for educators and planners

This study is of potential aid to educators and planners who are considering implementation of a bilingual program. It provides yet another piece of evidence in favor of BE that begins in the MT. In the past, when only monolingual Spanish was offered in school, Shipibo children did not attend or dropped out early. When the students' home language is also the school language, both students and their parents are more comfortable with the school setting. However, this study is unique because it documents a long standing BE program that has endured over 40 years of political and social change in Peru. Unfortunately many BE programs are evaluated after only a few years. This investigation suggests that increased school attendance, and perhaps changes in attitude and use of languages, may not be evident until several generations have experienced BE.

In addition, the outcome of this study of BE among the Shipibo supports the notion (suggested by Fishman in the opening quote on page 1) that each program should be evaluated based on historical, social and political factors pertinent to that situation. This study has offered a model for evaluating BE education from the perspective of administrators and planners as well as that of the people involved. By conducting surveys,

the researcher was able to hear the opinions and ideas of Shipibo community members and teachers about BE and literacy activities and their relevance to their lives. The importance of investigating the history leading up to the BE program under consideration has been highlighted. Researching Shipibo interactions with outsiders, both before and after the conquest by the Spaniards, has led to an understanding of the character of the Shipibo and contributes to an explanation their response to BE.

7.3.2 Implications for the Peruvian government

The Peruvian government, although assimilationist in its ideology, has, at least in the letter of the law, supported BE in the rainforest since the mid-1950s. However, further support in the way of infrastructure and materials is necessary if the BE program is to move beyond its current state, which appears to be drifting on momentum from earlier years, and truly enrich the nation of Peru. The following are of particular urgency:

1. Renewed commitment and action for better teacher training. Good teachers are essential to good education. Generally speaking, the teachers interviewed have good intentions, but lack the know-how and support to carry them out. Even the best teachers need encouragement and supervision. Reinstatement of traveling supervisors which were once a part of the program is urgent.

2. Allocation of resources for materials. Reading skills are advanced by reading. For Shipibo children to be able to practice reading, they must have books. According to The World Education Encyclopedia, the Peruvian government provides materials for school districts which can not afford them. "Public education at all levels is free and for poor children supplemented by subsidies for health care, food and school materials. Preferential attention is given to the marginal sectors, including ... places where there are high concentrations of aboriginal languages" (Epstein 1985:982). The Shipibo seem to fall

into this category, yet they reportedly receive no government aid for books, though they are printed and available in Yarinacocha.

7.3.3. Implications for the citizens of Peru

This study suggests some implications for the nonindigenous population of Peru. The Shipibo are a large indigenous ethnolinguistic group with enough contact and Spanish ability to be able to make a contribution to the enrichment of Peru's national life. They could serve as ambassadors to monolingual Spanish schools and offer courses in their language and culture. The time has long passed for mainstream history classes to ignore the rich treasure of Peru's indigenous people and refer to them as a problem. The Shipibo can help reduce the "monolingual naiveté" (Skutnabb-Kangas 1995:8) that has long plagued most Spanish-speaking Peruvians.

In addition to contributing to the nonindigenous Peruvian, the Shipibo could influence other indigenous groups. The Shipibo already have a reputation among other rainforest ethnolinguistic groups for the advances they have made educationally. They could also serve as an example and encouragement in language and cultural maintenance while adopting what they deem necessary from the wider Peruvian culture. However, they will only be able to serve this function in as much as they recognize how their own culture is changing as a result of contact with Spanish-speaking Peru and decide for themselves to what extent they wish for these trends to continue.

7.3.4 Implications for the Shipibo

The voices heard in this study are those of an exemplary and unique people in the rainforest of Peru. Intense opposition -- attacks from other indigenous groups, invasion by the Spanish, oppression by rubber barons, and appearances from visitors of every

kind, welcome and unwelcome -- has posed a potential threat to the livelihood of the Shipibo. Yet in the face of it all, they not only have survived but have gained a sense of determination and pride in their heritage. However, they also recognize that some of their traditional practices are changing. In many cases, individual Shipibo expressed satisfaction in leaving behind their wandering lifestyle and forming communities and in their new systems of self-governance at the community level. At the same time, many recognize that some practices which are valuable for living in their environment, such as building canoes and houses, are not being passed on to the younger generation. Some also realize that their traditional stories, songs and practices are being lost. Although support from the government and the national culture may promote maintenance of certain cultural practices, it is largely up to the Shipibo to choose what changes they will allow and foster.

In matters of language, many people expressed the importance of learning to read and write in both Shipibo and Spanish. Yet, this study has demonstrated that by their own reports they have neither the skills nor the usage of Shipibo they indicate they might like. With the foundations of BE already in place, the potential for the Shipibo to make changes for the better is great. Community leaders and parent organizations can hold teachers responsible for teaching the students to read and write Shipibo. In addition to visiting and observing classrooms, they need to make appeals to the government for supervisors and better teacher training. According to their replies, the Shipibo are book-buyers and have expressed many reasons for reading. Some Shipibo are no doubt talented in writing. They should be encouraged to write in Shipibo and Spanish. Artemio Pacaya and Fernando Muñoz were taping stories to turn into a book when they traveled with the research team. When these are published, Shipibo school teachers could incorporate them into Peruvian history lessons, because the history of the Shipibo is part of the history of Peru. In addition to these suggestions, the Shipibo, who have long demonstrated their creativity in

dealing with conflicts and outside pressures, will undoubtedly have ideas of their own about how to deal with their changing situation. The hope is that the results of this study will illustrate for them the changes they have undergone and help them as a people decide where they want to go from here.

7.4 Further research

As was previously mentioned, the study of the BE program among the Shipibo was designed as the first part of a larger study, the broad goal of which is general documentation of what has happened in the ethnolinguistic groups of the Amazon Basin as a result of the Peruvian Bilingual Education program. Needless to say, a more inclusive study which incorporates the varied and numerous ethnolinguistic groups of the region is vital to an understanding of the outcome of the entire BE experiment. In this way it would be possible to investigate varied responses to a TBE program and make comparisons to substantiate or refute the claims made about TBE and its possible outcomes.

A potential enhancement for the current study would be one which investigated, through some sort of examination, the literacy abilities of the respondents. Although other research has supported the accuracy of self reports of literacy abilities (Bender and McCann 1993), further inquiry into the question among the Shipibo would be beneficial. As mentioned in section 7.1, the matter of interviewer bias merits further consideration.

It is the hope of the author that further research would include Shipibo and other indigenous Peruvian investigators. Teachers-in-training are required to complete a "thesis" in order to graduate as certified teachers. These research projects lamentably have become donations to the training institute in the form of materials and supplies, such as providing chairs for the library and building walls around the facility. If in the future a team of researchers were amassed to carry out the suggested studies, indigenous teachers-in-

training would be ideal candidates for participation for several reasons. First, they would not have to cross any cultural barriers if they returned to their own people to work. Second, they would gain valuable experience in educational research which could lead to their own understanding of important issues in education which may improve their teaching. For example, if they could see how, without books, children's reading is stifled, they might make it a priority to concern themselves with seeking creative solutions to the paucity of books in the community schools. The interpreters that accompanied the research team were stunned and provoked by the lack of supplies and poor pedagogy they observed. Finally, young researchers would know that they could make a contribution to the betterment of education among their own people.

For those who would attempt to replicate or build upon the current work, the study of BE in minority contexts offers rich potential. This kind of study requires researchers to make difficult decisions concerning methodology. The current work represents the option to interview more people in fewer communities rather than visit more communities and interview fewer people in each one. The logistics of carrying out research in a country where one is an outsider require patience and tact. There is a constant battle between the desire to be flexible and respect cultural norms, and the necessity of adhering to sound research design. However, the field of sociolinguistics, and more importantly people for whom education is culturally and linguistically inaccessible, has much to gain if research in this area is continued.

APPENDIX A

LETTER OF CONSENT

Research Study
The results of bilingual education in the Peruvian Amazon
University of Texas at Arlington, USA and the Summer Institute of Linguistics

Researchers: Ms. Kathleen Tacelosky Dr. Patricia Davis
Assistant: Dr. Paul Klawinski

Sirs
Leaders of the Community of _____

Dear Sirs,

We are writing first to send our greetings and also to inform you that in these months an academic, scientific study concerning the results of bilingual education in the Peruvian Amazon will take place. This research is part of a study under the auspices of the University of Texas at Arlington, USA, and the Summer Institute of Linguistics in Perú. The objective is to inform not only the Peruvian government, but also authorities in other countries, of the benefits and problems perceived after forty years of experience. This project is not for financial gain. Rather, it is an attempt to serve educators with concrete data so that other bilingual education programs might have the benefit of the Peruvian experience.

The current project is being carried out with a very little budget, but with very many good intentions. We consider you to be the ones who are best able to make complaints and recommendations. We are coming to your village with the hope of interviewing the president, the health promoter, the teacher (or teachers), and various members of the community. Depending on the size of your community, we would like to stay over two or three nights, do the interviews and then continue our journey to another community.

We would like to work in the following fashion:

1. First, we would like to present the project to all of you and ask for permission from the members of the community.

2. If the villagers approve, we will speak with several of them -- adults and young people, men and women -- asking questions about many things concerning education, economy, and health. We would like to speak with each person, but as there will not be sufficient time, we hope to select a certain number of villagers by means of a lottery. When a person is chosen, we will ask if that person is willing to talk to us. We will not be upset if someone does not want to be interviewed; cooperation is completely voluntary.

3. Once the selected people have accepted to talk with us, we would like to make appointments and go one by one to their houses. We will do everything possible so that people do not have to wait a long time for us in vain.

4. The interviews in the houses will take between one and two hours. We hope that you will explain to us your opinions in reference to the bilingual schools. Are there good results? Are there negative results?

5. One member of our team will go to the school to ask for school records/statistics.

6. If the teachers give us permission, we would like to observe school for a while.

7. When we compile the results, we will use a coding system instead of names in order not to divulge the identity of the participants.

8. After compiling the data, our intent is to make them available to educational authorities, but -- as the task is huge -- it could be three years until the Spanish translation is finished and the copy gets into your hands.

9. Again, we want to remind you that there is no obligation on anyone's part. Even in the middle, one may terminate the interview. This is only for voluntary participants.

10. If later there are any questions, you may write to the following address
        Kathleen Tacelosky
        306 Tampico Circle
        Duncanville, TX 75116   Telephone: 001-972-583-5927
     You may also get reports from:
        International Literacy Coordinator
        Summer Institute of Linguistics
        7500 Camp Wisdom Road
        Dallas, TX 75236   Telephone: 001-972-283-5927

11. In order to assure the University of Texas at Arlington that this study has been carried out respecting the rights of the participants, we would be most grateful if you would sign this letter authorizing us to conduct the interviews in your community.

      Respectfully,

Kathleen Tacelosky   Patricia Davis

Date: _____

WE AUTHORIZE THAT THIS STUDY BE REALIZED IN OUR COMMUNITY

Names of the leaders	Signature	Official position
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

APPENDIX B

COMMUNITY MEMBER SURVEY

Survey -villager

Name of interviewer:_____

Name of interviewee:_____

Name of interpreter: _____

Entrevista (Comunero)
Interview (Community Member)

1. Datos personales (Personal Data)

a. Identidad (identity):	b. Mujer (woman)		Hombre (man)	
c. Comunidad (community):	d. Estado Civil (civil status): S (s) C (m) V (w)			e. Edad (age):
f. Años de estudios (years of study):			g. Año que salió (year finished)	
Años de estudios (years of study):			Año que salió (year finished)	
h. Cargos que ocupa (ó) (positions)			Año (year)	

2. Uso del idioma (Language Use)

	Shipibo				Castellano (Spanish)				Otro (other)
	mucho (a lot)	regular (moderate)	poco (little)	nada (none)	mucho (a lot)	regular (moderate)	poco (little)	nada (none)	
a. Ud. habla (you speak)									
b. Ud. lee (you read)									
c. Ud. escribe (you write)									
d. ¿Dónde aprendió el Shipibo? (Where did you learn Shipibo?)					e. ¿Dónde aprendió el Castellano? (Where did you learn Spanish?)				
f. Esposo/a habla (spouse speaks)									
g. Esposo/a lee (spouse reads)									
h. Esposa/o escribe (spouse writes)									
i. ¿Dónde aprendió el Shipibo? (Where did spouse learn Shipibo?)					j. ¿Dónde aprendió el Castellano? (Where did spouse learn Spanish?)				
k. Sus hijos hablan (your children speak)									

Name of interviewer:_____

Name of interviewee:_____

Name of interpreter: _____

l. Sus hijos leen (your children read)										

	Shipibo				Castellano (Spanish)				Otro (other)
	mucho (a lot)	regular (moderate)	poco (little)	nada (none)	mucho (a lot)	regular (moderate)	poco (little)	nada (none)	
m. Sus hijos escriben (your children write)									
n. ¿Dónde aprendieron el Shipibo? (Where did they learn Shipibo?)					o. ¿Dónde aprendieron el Castellano? (Where did they learn Spanish?)				
p. Su madre habla (your mother speaks)									
q. Su madre lee (your mother reads)									
r. Su madre escribe (your mother writes)									
s. ¿Dónde aprendió el Shipibo? (Where did she learn Shipibo?)					t. ¿Dónde aprendió el Castellano? (Where did she learn Spanish?)				
u. Su padre habla (your father speaks)									
v. Su padre lee (your father reads)									
w. Su padre escribe (your father writes)									
x. ¿Dónde aprendió el Shipibo? (Where did he learn Shipibo?)					y. ¿Dónde aprendió el Castellano? (Where did he learn Spanish?)				
z. Asamblea General (general assembly)									
aa. en su casa (at home)									
bb. ¿Es fácil para Ud. hablar Shipibo? (Is it easy for you to speak Shipibo?)								Sí (yes)	No
cc. ¿Es fácil para Ud. hablar Castellano? (Is it easy for you to speak Spanish?)								Sí (yes)	No

Name of interviewer:_____

Name of interviewee:_____

Name of interpreter: _____

dd. ¿Le gusta hablar Shipibo? (Do you like to speak Shipibo?)	Sí (yes)	No
ee. ¿Le gusta hablar Castellano? (Do you like to speak Spanish?)	Sí (yes)	No
ff. ¿Cree Ud. que continuará a hablar su idioma? (Do you think that your language will continue to be spoken?)	Sí (yes)	No
gg. Cuando viene gente hispanohablante a la comunidad, ¿Habla Ud.con ellos? (When Spanish-speaking people come to your community do you speak with them?)	Sí (yes)	No
hh. (If appropriate:) ¿Invita Ud. a gente hispanohablante a su casa? (Do you invite Spanish-speaking people to your home?)	Sí (yes)	No

3. Asuntos económicos (Economic matters)

a. ¿Qué compra Ud.? (What do you buy?)

radio (música) (radio (for music))? _____	peque (peke motor)? _____	motor (outboard motor)?_____	generadora (generator)? _____
televisión (television)? _____	bicicleta (bicycle)? _____	grabadora (tape player/recorder)? _____	calculadora (calculator)? _____
maquina de escribir (type writer)? _____	aserradero (saw mill)?_____	piladora de arroz (rice huller)?__	

b. ¿Dónde compra?			
c. ¿Hay tienda en la comunidad? (Is there a store in the community?)	Sí? (yes)	No	
d. ¿Todos compran allí? (Does everybody buy there?)	Sí (yes)	No	No sé (don't know)
e. ¿Cómo se fijan los precios en la tienda? (How are the prices set at the store?)			No sé (don't know)
f. ¿El dueño gana algo? (Does the owner earn anything?)	Sí (yes)	No	No sé (don't know)

Survey -villager

Name of interviewer:_____

Name of interviewee:_____

Name of interpreter: _____

g. ¿Cómo? (How?)			No sé (don't know)
h. ¿Ud. va a la ciudad para comprar? (Do you go to the city to buy?)	Sí (yes)	No	
i. ¿Ud. va a la ciudad para vender? (Do you go to the city to sell?)	Sí (yes)	No	
j. ¿Hace trueque? (Do you barter?)	Sí (yes)	No	
k. ¿Vende por dinero? (Do you sell for money?)	Sí (yes)	No	
l. ¿Cuándo Ud. compra y vende en la ciudad, se queda contento/¿pagan bien? (When you buy and sell in the city are you content with the interaction/do the people pay well?)	Sí (yes)	No	
m. ¿Ud. compra de gente que viene a la comunidad? (Do you buy from people who come to the community to sell?)	Sí (yes)	No	
n. ¿Ud. vende a gente que viene a la comunidad? (Do you sell to people who come to the community?)	Sí (yes)	No	
o. ¿Hace trueque? (Do you barter?)	Sí (yes)	No	
p. ¿Vende por dinero? (Do you sell for money?)	Sí (yes)	No	
q. Cuando Ud. compra y vende de la gente que viene de fuera, ¿se queda contento/¿pagan bien? (When you buy and sell from the people who come from the outside are you content with the interaction/do they pay well?)	Sí (yes)	No	
r. ¿Hay compra y venta entre los comuneros? (Is there buying and selling among villagers?)			
s. ¿Sabe contar dinero? (Do you know how to count money?)	hom (men) ____	muj (wom) ____	total ____
t. ¿Puede calcular precios/dar cambio? (Can you calculate prices/give change?)	hom (men)____	muj (wom) ____	total ____

Name of interviewer:_____

Name of interviewee:_____

Name of interpreter: _____

s. ¿Cómo gana Ud. dinero?

productos agrícolas (agriculture) _____	madera (logging)_____	jornalero (day laborer) _____
otro (other) _____	artesania (handcrafts) _____	

t. ¿Ud. tiene…? (Do you have…?)

radio (música) (radio (for music))? _____	peque (peke motor)? _____	motor (outboard motor)?_____	generadora (generator)? _____
televisión (television)? _____	bicicleta (bicycle)? _____	grabadora (tape player/recorder)? _____	calculadora (calculator)? _____
maquina de escribir (type writer)? _____	aserradero (saw mill)?_____	piladora de arroz (rice huller)?__	

u. ¿Qué hace Ud. cuando se malogran los aparatos? (What do you do when your equipment breaks down?)			
v ¿Los comuneros pueden conseguir? (Can villagers get	medicina (medicine)?	machetes?	anzuelos (fish hooks)?

4. Asuntos de género (Gender Issues)

a. ¿Cuáles son los trabajos que hacen las mujeres? (What jobs do women do?) otro (other):	chacra / agricult (farming/agricul)	casa (home)	artesania (handcrafts)	limpieza de la com. (community cleanup)	
b. ¿Cuáles son los trabajos que hacen los hombres? (What jobs do men do?) otro (other):	chacra / agricult. (farm-ing/agricul)	ganaderia (cattle)	madera (logging)	limpieza de la com. (community cleanup)	pesca (fishing)
c. Las mujeres, ¿trabajan en las ciudades/los pueblos? (Do women go to the city/town to work?)				Sí (yes)	No
d. ¿Qué tipos de trabajo hacen? (What type of work do they do?)					

Name of interviewer:_____

Name of interviewee:_____

Name of interpreter: _____

e. Los hombres, ¿trabajan en las ciudades/los pueblos? (Do men go to the city/town to work?)	Sí? (yes)	No
f. ¿Qué tipos de trabajo hacen? (What type of work do they do?)		
g. ¿Es bueno que las niñas asistan a la escuela? (Is it good for girls to go to school?)	Sí (yes)	No
h. ¿En qué les ha servido? (How has it helped them?)		
i. ¿Es bueno que los niños asistan a la escuela? (Is it good for boys to go to school?)	Sí (yes)	No
j. ¿En qué les ha servido? (How has it helped them?)		
k. Desde que la gente empezó a estudiar, ¿ha cambiado algo? (Since people started studying has anything changed?)		
l. ¿Es necesario que los hombres de esta comunidad sepan hablar Castellano? (Is it necessary for the men of this community to know how to speak Spanish?)	Sí (yes)	No
m. ¿Es necesario que los hombres de esta comunidad sepan leer Castellano? (Is it necessary for the men of this community to know how to read Spanish?)	Sí (yes)	No
n. ¿Es necesario que los hombres de esta comunidad sepan escribir Castellano? (Is it necessary for the men of this community to know how to write Spanish?)	Sí (yes)	No
o ¿Es necesario que las mujeres de esta comunidad sepan hablar Castellano? (Is it necessary for the women of this community to know how to speak Spanish?)	Sí (yes)	No
p. ¿Es necesario que las mujeres de esta comunidad sepan leer Castellano? (Is it necessary for the women of this community to know how to read Spanish?)	Sí (yes)	No
q. ¿Es necesario que las mujeres de esta comunidad sepan escribir Castellano? (Is it necessary for the women of this community to know how to write Spanish?)	Sí (yes)	No
r. ¿Es necesario que los hombres de esta comunidad sepan hablar Shipibo? (Is it necessary for the men of this community to know how to speak Shipibo?)	Sí (yes)	No
s. ¿Es necesario que los hombres de esta comunidad sepan leer Shipibo? (Is it necessary for the men of this community to know how to read Shipibo?)	Sí (yes)	No

Name of interviewer:_____

Name of interviewee:_____

Name of interpreter: _____

	Sí (yes)	No
t. ¿Es necesario que los hombres de esta comunidad sepan escribir Shipibo? (Is it necessary for the men of this community to know how to write Shipibo?)	Sí (yes)	No
u. ¿Es necesario que las mujeres de esta comunidad sepan hablar Shipibo? (Is it necessary for the women of this community to know how to speak Shipibo?)	Sí (yes)	No
v. ¿Es necesario que las mujeres de esta comunidad sepan leer Shipibo? (Is it necessary for the women of this community to know how to read Shipibo?)	Sí (yes)	No
w. ¿Es necesario que las mujeres de esta comunidad sepan escribir Shipibo? (Is it necessary for the women of this community to know how to write Shipibo?)	Sí (yes)	No

5. Participación en el proceso cívico local, regional, nacional (Political participation in the local, regional and national political processes)

a. ¿Tiene Ud. partida de nacimiento? (Do you have a birth certificate?)	
b. ¿Tiene Ud. libreta militar? (Do you have military registration?)	
c. ¿Ha hecho Ud. servicio militar? (Have you done military service?)	
d. ¿Votó Ud. en la última elección? (Did you vote in the last election?)	
e. ¿Trabajó Ud. en las mesas de sufragio? (Did you work at the polls?)	
f. ¿Hasta dónde viaja Ud. para votar? (Where did you go to vote?)	

6. Sistemas de gobernación (Governate systems)

a. ¿Cómo se escogen los líderes? (How are leaders chosen?)		
b. ¿Cómo se escogían antes? (How did they used to be chosen?)		
c. ¿Es esto un cambio bueno? (Is this a good change?)	Sí (yes)	No

7. Instituciones (Institutions)

a. ¿A cuál(es) organizacion(es) pertenece Ud? (What organizations do you belong to?)
b. ¿Cuáles son los objetivos de la organización? (What are the goals of the organizations?)
c. ¿Cuáles oficinas del gobierno visita Ud.? (What government offices do you visit?)

Name of interviewer:_____

Name of interviewee:_____

Name of interpreter: _____

d. ¿Recibe lo que necesita de las oficinas del gobierno? (Do you get what you need from the government offices?)
e. ¿Conoce Ud. alguien que tiene cuenta bancaria? (Do you know anyone who has a bank account?)

8. Asuntos médicos (Medical matters)

a. En su casa ¿Hierven el agua para tomar? (In your house do you boil drinking water?)	Sí (yes)	No
b. ¿Qué hace Ud. si tiene diarrea? (What do you do for diarrhea?)		
c. ¿Cuántos hijos tiene Ud? (How many children do you have?)	hijos _____	hijas _____
d. ¿Cuántos han muerto? (How many have died?)	hijos _____	hijas _____
e. Su papá, ¿cuantos hijos tuvo? (How many children did your father have?)	hijos _____	hijas _____
f. ¿Cuántos han muerto? (How many died?	hijos _____	hijas _____
f. ¿Tiene letrina? (Do you have a latrine?)	Sí	No

9. La alfabetización (Literacy)

a. ¿Qué lee Ud? (What do you read?)

libros (books)	cartas (letters)	folletos (brochures)
la Bíblia (the Bible)	Libros de texto (text books) _____ nivel (level) _____	
periódico (newpapers)	Otro (other):	

b. ¿Con qué frecuencia? (How often?)

varias veces al día (several times a day)	todos los días (every day)	nunca (never)
de vez en cuando (sometimes)	casi nunca (almost never)	

Name of interviewer:_____

Name of interviewee:_____

Name of interpreter: _____

c. ¿Cuándo es la última vez que Ud. leyó? (When is the last time you read)...

	hoy mismo (today)	ayer (yesterday)	hace_días (_days ago)	hace_ semanas (_weeks ago)	hace _ meses (_ months ago)	
un libro (a book)?						
el periódico (newspaper)?						
_____						

d. Para Ud., ¿qué es leer? (In your own words, what is reading?)

10. Uso de la escritura (Use of writing)

	En Shipibo	En Castellano (Spanish)
a. ¿Cuántos libros compra Ud.? (Do you buy books, how many?)		
b. ¿Escribe cartas? (Do you write letters?)		
c. ¿Recibe cartas? (Do you receive letters?)		
d. ¿Lee revistas? (Do you read magazines?)		
e. ¿Lee periódicos? (Do you read newspapers?)		
f. ¿Ud. ha estudiado por correo? (Have you taken a correspondence course?)	Sí (yes)	No

11. La educación (Education)

a. ¿Ha habido cambios a causa de tener una escuela en la comunidad? (Have there been changes due to having a school in the community?)

beneficios/ayudas (benefits):	problemas/desventajas (disadvantages):

Name of interviewer:_____

Name of interviewee:_____

Name of interpreter: _____

12. Identidad cultural/Costumbres/Valores (Cultural Identity/Customs/ Values

a. ¿Mantienen Uds. las costumbres tradicionales? (Do you(plural) maintain traditional customs?)	Sí (yes)	No
cuando están en la comunidad? (When you are in the community?)	Sí (yes)	No
cuando están en la ciudad? (When you are in the city?)	Sí (yes)	No
b. ¿Los jóvenes aprenden historias tradicionales? (Do the young people learn traditional stories?)	Sí (yes)	No
c. ¿Los jóvenes aprenden costumbres tradicionales? (Do the young people learn traditional customs?)	Sí (yes)	No
d. ¿Cuáles son las tradiciones que no aprenden? (What are the traditions that they are not learning?)		
e. ¿Ud. está feliz con los cambios que se han hecho? (Are you happy about the changes that have been made?)	Sí (yes)	No

APPENDIX C

TEACHER SURVEY

Today's date:_____

Name of interviewer:_____

Entrevista (Maestro)
Interview (Teacher)

1. Datos personales (Personal Data)

a. Identidad (identity):	b. Mujer (woman)		Hombre (man)	
c. Comunidad (community):	d. Estado Civil (civil status): S (s) C (m) V (w)			e. Edad (age):
f. Años de estudios (years of study):			g. Año que salió (year finished)	
Años de estudios (years of study):			Año que salió (year finished)	
h. Cargos que ocupa (ó) (positions)			Año (year)	
j. ¿Qúe nivel (grado) enseña Ud.?				
i. ¿Cuántas personas viven en esta comunidad? (How many people live in this community)	hom (men)	muj (wom)	total	
k. ¿Cúantas personas saben hablar (bien o regular) el Castellano? (How many people know how to speak Spanish well or moderately?)	hombres (men)		mujers (women)	

2. La educación (Education)

a. ¿En qué año se estableció la escuela? (What year was the school established?)	19_____		
b. ¿Es mejor que los niños empiecen en Shipibo o Castellano? (Is it better for children to start their education in Shipibo or Spanish?)	Shipibo	Castellano (Spanish)	
c. Los niños ¿cómo consiguen los libros? (How do children get books?)			
d. ¿Cuántos padres de familia compran libros y útiles de escuela para sus hijos? (How many parents buy school books and supplies for their children?)	muchos (many)	algunos (some)	pocos (few)
e. ¿Hay una asociación de padres para la esuela? (Is there a parents' association?)	Sí	No	
f. ¿Cuáles son los objectivos de la asociación de padres? (What are the goals of the parents' association?)			
g. ¿Cuántos de los adultos de esta comunidad han asistido a la escuela? (How many adults in the community have attended school?)			

Survey -teacher
Today's date:_____
Name of interviewer:_____

h. ¿Aprendieron leer? (Did they learn to read?)	Shipibo	Castellano (Spanish)
i. ¿Todavía leen? (Do they still read?)	Shipibo	Castellano (Spanish)
j. ¿Cuántos permanecieron en la comunidad? (How many remain in the community?)		
k. ¿Ayudan en asuntos de la comunidad? (Do they help the community?)	Sí	No
l. ¿Con qué frecuencia tiene que ir Ud. al pueblo? (la ciudad? (How often do you have to go to town? to the city?)	1x/mes (1x/mo)	1x/sem (1x/wk)
m. ¿Qué sucede cuando Ud. no puede dar la clase? (What happens when you can not teach your class?)		
n. ¿Hay una clase especial para el aprendizaje del Castellano? (Is there a special class for learning Spanish?)	Sí	No

o ¿Cuáles son las necesidades que Ud. tiene para hacer su trabajo? (What needs do you have as a teacher?

administrativas (administrative)?	en la aula (in the classroom)?
En la comunidad (in the community)?	Otra (other)?

p. ¿Ud se queda satisfecho con la preparación (en la escuela) que ha recibido? (Are you satisfied with the preparation you received (in school)?	Sí	No
q. Actualmente sigue Ud. recibiendo cursos de capacitación? (Are you currently receiving in-service training?	Sí	No
r. ¿Qúe tipo de capacitación (entrenamiento) le gustaría a Ud. recibir? (What type of in service (training) would you like to receive?		

Survey -teacher
Today's date:_____
Name of interviewer:_____

3. Asuntos de género (Gender Issues)

a. ¿Cuáles son los trabajos que hacen las mujeres? (What jobs do women do?) otro (other):	chacra / agricultura (farming/ agriculture)	casa (home)	artesania (handcrafts)	limpieza de comunidad (cleaning community)	
b. ¿Cuáles son los trabajos que hacen los hombres? (What jobs do men do?) otro (other):	chacra / agricultura (farming/ agriculture)	ganaderí a (cattle)	madera (logging)	limpieza de comunidad (community cleaning)	pesca (fish-ing)
c. Las mujeres, ¿trabajan en las ciudades/los pueblos? (Do women go to the city/town to work?)			Sí (yes)		No
d. ¿Qué tipos de trabajo hacen? (What type of work do they do?)					
e. Los hombres, ¿trabajan en las ciudades/los pueblos? (Do men go to the city/town to work?)			Sí? (yes)		No
f. ¿Qué tipos de trabajo hacen? (What type of work do they do?)					
g. ¿Es bueno que las niñas asistan a la escuela? (Is it good for girls to go to school?)			Sí (yes)		No
h. ¿En qué les ha servido? (How has it helped them?)					
i. ¿Es bueno que los niños asistan a la escuela? (Is it good for boys to go to school?)			Sí (yes)		No
j. ¿En qué les ha servido? (How has it helped them?)					
k. Desde que la gente empezó a estudiar, ¿ha cambiado algo? (Since people started studying has anything changed?)					
l. ¿Es necesario que los hombres de esta comunidad sepan hablar Castellano? (Is it necessary for the men of this community to know how to speak Spanish?)				Sí (yes)	No
m. ¿Es necesario que los hombres de esta comunidad sepan leer Castellano? (Is it necessary for the men of this community to know how to read Spanish?)				Sí (yes)	No
n. ¿Es necesario que los hombres de esta comunidad sepan escribir Castellano? (Is it necessary for the men of this community to know how to write Spanish?)				Sí (yes)	No
o ¿Es necesario que las mujeres de esta comunidad sepan hablar Castellano? (Is it necessary for the women of this community to know how to speak Spanish?)				Sí (yes)	No
p. ¿Es necesario que las mujeres de esta comunidad sepan leer Castellano? (Is it necessary for the women of this community to know how to read Spanish?)				Sí (yes)	No

Survey -teacher
Today's date:_____
Name of interviewer:_____

q. ¿Es necesario que las mujeres de esta comunidad sepan escribir Castellano? (Is it necessary for the women of this community to know how to write Spanish?)	Sí (yes)	No
r. ¿Es necesario que los hombres de esta comunidad sepan hablar Shipibo? (Is it necessary for the men of this community to know how to speak Shipibo?)	Sí (yes)	No
s. ¿Es necesario que los hombres de esta comunidad sepan leer Shipibo? (Is it necessary for the men of this community to know how to read Shipibo?)	Sí (yes)	No
t. ¿Es necesario que los hombres de esta comunidad sepan escribir Shipibo? (Is it necessary for the men of this community to know how to write Shipibo?)	Sí (yes)	No
u. ¿Es necesario que las mujeres de esta comunidad sepan hablar Shipibo? (Is it necessary for the women of this community to know how to speak Shipibo?)	Sí (yes)	No
v. ¿Es necesario que las mujeres de esta comunidad sepan leer Shipibo? (Is it necessary for the women of this community to know how to read Shipibo?)	Sí (yes)	No
w. ¿Es necesario que las mujeres de esta comunidad sepan escribir Shipibo? (Is it necessary for the women of this community to know how to write Shipibo?)	Sí (yes)	No

4. Uso del idioma (Language Use)

	Shipibo				Castellano (Spanish)				Otro (other)
	mucho (a lot)	regular (moderate)	poco (little)	nada (none)	mucho (a lot)	regular (moderate)	poco (little)	nada (none)	
a. Ud. habla (you speak)									
b. Ud. lee (you read)									
c. Ud. escribe (you write)									
d. ¿Dónde aprendió el Shipibo? (Where did you learn Shipibo?)					e. ¿Dónde aprendió el Castellano? (Where did you learn Spanish?)				

Today's date:_____

Name of interviewer:_____

f. Esposo/a habla (spouse speaks)										
g. Esposo/a lee (spouse reads)										
h. Esposa/o escribe (spouse writes)										

i. ¿Dónde aprendió el Shipibo? (Where did spouse learn Shipibo?)					j. ¿Dónde aprendió el Castellano? (Where did spouse learn Spanish?)					
	Shipibo				Castellano (Spanish)				Otro (other)	
	mucho (a lot)	regular (moderate)	poco (little)	nada (none)	mucho (a lot)	regular (moderate)	poco (little)	nada (none)		
k. Sus hijos hablan (your children speak)										
l. Sus hijos leen (your children read)										
m. Sus hijos escriben (your children write)										
n. ¿Dónde aprendieron el Shipibo? (Where did they learn Shipibo?)					o. ¿Dónde aprendieron el Castellano? (Where did they learn Spanish?)					
p. Su madre habla (your mother speaks)										
q. Su madre lee (your mother reads)										
r. Su madre escribe (your mother writes)										
s. ¿Dónde aprendió el Shipibo? (Where did she learn Shipibo?)					t. ¿Dónde aprendió el Castellano? (Where did she learn Spanish?)					
u. Su padre habla (your father speaks)										

Survey -teacher
Today's date:_____
Name of interviewer:_____

v. Su padre lee (your father reads)										
w. Su padre escribe (your father writes)										
x. ¿Dónde aprendió el Shipibo? (Where did he learn Shipibo?)						y. ¿Dónde aprendió el Castellano? (Where did he learn Spanish?)				
z. Asamblea General (general assembly)										
aa. en su casa (at home)										

bb. ¿Es fácil para Ud.hablar Shipibo? (Is it easy for you to speak Shipibo?)	Sí (yes)	No
cc. ¿Es fácil para Ud. hablar Castellano? (Is it easy for you to speak Spanish?)	Sí (yes)	No
dd. ¿Le gusta hablar Shipibo? (Do you like to speak Shipibo?)	Sí (yes)	No
ee. ¿Le gusta hablar Castellano? (Do you like to speak Spanish?)	Sí (yes)	No
ff. ¿Cree Ud. que continuará a hablar su idioma? (Do you think that your language will continue to be spoken?)	Sí (yes)	No
gg. Cuando viene gente hispanohablante a la comunidad, ¿Habla Ud.con ellos? (When Spanish-speaking people come to your community do you speak with them?)	Sí (yes)	No
hh. (If appropriate:) ¿Invita Ud. a gente hispanohablante a su casa? (Do you invite Spanish-speaking people to your home?)	Sí (yes)	No

Survey -teacher
Today's date:_____
Name of interviewer:_____

gg. Cuando viene gente hispanohablante a la comunidad, ¿Habla Ud.con ellos? (When Spanish-speaking people come to your community do you speak with them?)	Sí (yes)	No
hh. (If appropriate:) ¿Invita Ud. a gente hispanohablante a su casa? (Do you invite Spanish-speaking people to your home?)	Sí (yes)	No

5. Uso de la escritura (Use of writing)

	En Shipibo	En Castellano (Spanish)
a. ¿Cuántos libros compra Ud.? (Do you buy books, how many?)		
b. ¿Escribe cartas? (Do you write letters?)		
c. ¿Recibe cartas? (Do you recieve letters?)		
d. ¿Lee revistas? (Do you read magazines?)		
e. ¿Lee periódicos? (Do you read newspapers?)		
f. ¿Ud. ha estudiado por correo? (Have you taken a correspondence course?)	Sí (yes)	No
g. ¿Ud. (u otra persona) ha hecho oficina en su casa? (Have you (or anyone) made an office in your (their) home?)	Sí (yes)	No
h. ¿Hay alguien que escribe lib)ros? (Does anyone here write books?	Sí (yes)	No
i. ¿En cuál idioma? (In which language?)	Shipibo	Castellano (Spanish)

6. La alfabetización (Literacy)

a. ¿Qué lee Ud? (What do yo read?)

libros (books)	cartas (letters)	folletos (brochures)
la Bíblia (the Bible)	Libros de texto (text books) _____ nivel (level) _____	
periódico (newpapers)	Otro (other):	

b. ¿Con qué frecuencia? (How often?)

varias veces al día (several times a day)	todos los días (every day)	nunca (never)
de vez en cuando (sometimes)	casi nunca (almost never)	

Today's date:_____

Name of interviewer:_____

c. ¿Cuándo es la última vez que Ud. leyó? (When is the last time you read)...

	hoy mismo (today)	ayer (yesterday)	hace_días (_days ago)	hace_ semanas (_weeks ago)	hace _ meses (_ months ago)	
un libro (a book)?						
el periódico (newspaper) ?						
_____						

d. Para Ud., ¿qué es leer? (In your own words, what is reading?)

APPENDIX D

LEADER SURVEY

Name of interviewer:_____

Name of interviewee:_____

Name of interpreter: _____

Entrevista (Líder)
Interview (Leader)

1. Datos personales (Personal Data)

a. Identidad (identity):	b. Mujer (woman)	Hombre (man)		
c. Comunidad (community):	d. Estado Civil (civil status): S (s) C (m) V (w)			e. Edad (age):
f. Años de estudios (years of study):			g. Año que salió (year finished)	
Años de estudios (years of study):			Año que salió (year finished)	
h. Cargos que ocupa (ó) (positions)			Año (year)	
			Año (year)	
i. ¿Cuántas personas viven en esta comunidad? (How many people live in this community)		hom (men)	muj (wom)	total
j. Tipo de contacto (type of contact)	CC (daily)	CR (min. 10x mo)		CA (sporadic)
k. ¿Cúantas personas saben hablar (bien o regular) el Castellano? (How many people know how to speak Spanish well or moderately?)		hombres (men)		mujers (women)

2. Instituciones (Institutions)

a. ¿La comunidad tiene? (Does the community have):

Asamblea General (general assembly)? ____	tienda (store)? ____	comité deportivo (sports committee)? ____
Comité Ejecutivo (executive committee)?____	puesto de salud (health clinic)?____	asociación de padres (parents' association)?____
cooperativa agrícola (agricultural cooperative)?____	iglesia (church)? ____	club de madres (mother's club)? ____

Otro

(other)?_____

Name of interviewer:_____
Name of interviewee:_____
Name of interpreter: _____

b. La comunidad, ¿tiene proyectos comunales? (Does the community have community projects?)	Sí (yes)	No
c. La comunidad, ¿tiene cuenta bancaria? (Does the community have a bank account?)	Sí (yes)	No
d. Los individuos de la comunidad, ¿tienen cuentas bancarias? (Do individuals in the community have bank accounts?)	hom (men)	muj (wom)
e. La comunidad, ¿tiene título de propiedad? (Does the community have a land title?)	Sí (yes)	No
f. La comunidad, ¿tiene derechos de extracción de madera? (Does the community have logging rights?)	Sí (yes)	No
g. ¿Hay individuos que tienen título de propiedad? (Are there individuals who have land titles?)	Sí (yes)	No
h. ¿Hay individuos que tienen derechos de extracción de madera? (Are there individuals who have logging rights?)	Sí (yes)	No

3. Uso del idioma (Language Use)

	Shipibo				Castellano (Spanish)				Otro (other)
	mucho (a lot)	regular (moderate)	poco (little)	nada (none)	mucho (a lot)	regular (moderate)	poco (little)	nada (none)	
a. Ud. habla (you speak)	ʔ								
b. Ud. lee (you read)									
c. Ud. escribe (you write)									
d. ¿Dónde aprendió el Shipibo? (Where did you learn Shipibo?)					e. ¿Dónde aprendió el Castellano? (Where did you learn Spanish?)				
f. Esposo/a habla (spouse speaks)									
g. Esposo/a lee (spouse reads)									

Name of interviewer:_____
Name of interviewee:_____
Name of interpreter: _____

h. Esposa/o escribe (spouse writes)										
i. ¿Dónde aprendió el Shipibo? (Where did spouse learn Shipibo?)						j. ¿Dónde aprendió el Castellano? (Where did spouse learn Spanish?)				
k. Sus hijos hablan (your children speak)										

	Shipibo				Castellano (Spanish)				Otro (other)
	mucho (a lot)	regular (moderate)	poco (little)	nada (none)	mucho (a lot)	regular (moderate)	poco (little)	nada (none)	
l. Sus hijos leen (your children read)									
m. Sus hijos escriben (your children write)									
n. ¿Dónde aprendieron el Shipibo? (Where did they learn Shipibo?)					o. ¿Dónde aprendieron el Castellano? (Where did they learn Spanish?)				
p. Su madre habla (your mother speaks)									
q. Su madre lee (your mother reads)									
r. Su madre escribe (your mother writes)									
s. ¿Dónde aprendió el Shipibo? (Where did she learn Shipibo?)					t. ¿Dónde aprendió el Castellano? (Where did she learn Spanish?)				
u. Su padre habla (your father speaks)									
v. Su padre lee (your father reads)									
w. Su padre escribe (your father writes)									

Name of interviewer:_____

Name of interviewee:_____

Name of interpreter: _____

x. ¿Dónde aprendió el Shipibo? (Where did he learn Shipibo?)						y. ¿Dónde aprendió el Castellano? (Where did he learn Spanish?)					
z. Asamblea General (general assembly)											
aa. en su casa (at home)											
bb. ¿Es fácil para Ud.hablar Shipibo? (Is it easy for you to speak Shipibo?)					Sí (yes)					No	
cc. ¿Es fácil para Ud. hablar Castellano? (Is it easy for you to speak Spanish?)					Sí (yes)					No	
dd. ¿Le gusta hablar Shipibo? (Do you like to speak Shipibo?)					Sí (yes)					No	
ee. ¿Le gusta hablar Castellano? (Do you like to speak Spanish?)					Sí (yes)					No	
ff. ¿Cree Ud. que continuará a hablar su idioma? (Do you think that your language will continue to be spoken?)					Sí (yes)					No	
gg. Cuando viene gente hispanohablante a la comunidad, ¿Habla Ud.con ellos? (When Spanish-speaking people come to your community do you speak with them?)					Sí (yes)					No	
hh. (If appropriate:) ¿Invita Ud. a gente hispanohablante a su casa? (Do you invite Spanish-speaking people to your home?)					Sí (yes)					No	

4. Asuntos económicos (Economic matters)

a. ¿Cómo se consigue dinero para la comunidad? (How is money for the community acquired?)

Ganado (cattle)	Productos agrícolas (agricultural products)
Artesania (handcrafts)	Donaciones del gobierno (government donations)
Individuos (individuals)	Donaciones internacionales (international donations)
Extración de madera (logging)	Otro (other) _____

Name of interviewer:_____
Name of interviewee:_____
Name of interpreter: _____

b. ¿Hay trabajos comunales? (Are there community projects?)	Sí (yes)	No	
c. ¿Cuáles son? (What are they?)			
d. ¿Hay tienda en la comunidad? (Is there a store in the community?)	Sí? (yes)	No	
e. ¿Todos compran allí? (Does everybody buy there?)	Sí (yes)	No	No sé (don't know)
f. ¿Cómo se fijan los precios en la tienda? (How are the prices set at the store?)			No sé (don't know)
g. ¿El dueño gana algo? (Does the owner earn anything?)	Sí (yes)	No	No sé (don't know)
h. ¿Cómo? (How?)			No sé (don't know)
i. ¿Los comuneros van a la ciudad para comprar? (Do villagers go to the city to buy?)	Sí (yes)	No	
j. ¿Los comuneros van a la ciudad para vender? (Do villagers go to the city to sell?)	Sí (yes)	No	
k. ¿Hacen trueque? (Do they barter?)	Sí (yes)	No	
l. ¿Venden por dinero? (Do they sell for money?)	Sí (yes)	No	
m. ¿Cuándo los comuneros compran y venden en la ciudad, se quedan contentos/¿pagan bien? (When the villagers buy and sell in the city are they content with the interaction/do the people pay them well?)	Sí (yes)	No	
n. ¿Los comuneros compran de gente que viene a la comunidad? (Do the villagers buy from people who come to the community to sell?)	Sí (yes)	No	
o. ¿Los comuneros venden a gente que viene a la comunidad? (Do the villagers buy from people who come to the community to sell?)	Sí (yes)	No	
p. ¿Hacen trueque? (Do they barter?)	Sí (yes)	No	
q. ¿Venden por dinero? (Do they sell for money?)	Sí (yes)	No	

Survey -leader

Name of interviewer:_____

Name of interviewee:_____

Name of interpreter: _____

	Sí (yes)	No	
r. Cuando los comuneros compran y venden de la gente que viene de fuera, ¿se quedan contentos/¿pagan bien? (When the villagers buy and sell from the people who come from the outside are they content with the interaction/do they pay well?)			
s. ¿Hay compra y venta entre los comuneros? (Is there buying and selling among villagers?)			

	hom (men)	muj (wom)	total
t. ¿Cuántos de los comuneros saben contar dinero? (How many of the villagers know how to count money?)	____	____	____
u. ¿Cuántos de los comuneros pueden calcular precios? (How many of the villagers can calculate prices?)	____	____	____

v. ¿Cuántas personas de la comunidad tienen? (How many people in the community have):

radio (música) (radio (for music))?	peque (peke motor)? ____	motor (outboard motor)?____	generadora (generator)? ____
televisión (television)? ____	bicicleta (bicycle)? ____	grabadora (tape player/recorder)? ____	calculadora (calculator)? ____
maquina de escribir (type writer)? ____	aserradero (saw mill)?____	piladora de arroz (rice huller)?__	

w. ¿Qué hace Ud. cuando se malogran los aparatos? (What do you do when your equipment breaks down?)			
x ¿Los comuneros pueden conseguir? (Can villagers get	medicina (medicine)?	machetes?	anzuelos (fish hooks)?

y. ¿Hay sistemas para la venta de productos? (Are there systems in place for the selling of products?):

contratos con duenos de tienda (contracts with store owners)? _____	asociaciones de artesanía (artisians associations)? ____	almacenes (warehouses)? ____	contactos particulares (personal contacts)?_ ____

Name of interviewer:_____

Name of interviewee:_____

Name of interpreter: _____

venta turistica (sales to tourists)? _____	otro (other)? _____		

5. Asuntos de género (Gender Issues)

a. ¿Cuáles son los trabajos que hacen las mujeres? (What jobs do women do?) otro (other):	chacra / agricult (farming/agricul)	casa (home)	artesania (handcrafts)	limpieza de la com. (community cleanup)	
b. ¿Cuáles son los trabajos que hacen los hombres? (What jobs do men do?) otro (other):	chacra / agricult. (farming/agricul)	ganaderia (cattle)	madera (logging)	limpieza de la com. (community cleanup)	pesca (fishing)
c. Las mujeres, ¿trabajan en las ciudades/los pueblos? (Do women go to the city/town to work?)		Sí (yes)		No	
d. ¿Qué tipos de trabajo hacen? (What type of work do they do?)					
e. Los hombres, ¿trabajan en las ciudades/los pueblos? (Do men go to the city/town to work?)		Sí? (yes)		No	
f. ¿Qué tipos de trabajo hacen? (What type of work do they do?)					
g. ¿Es bueno que las niñas asistan a la escuela? (Is it good for girls to go to school?)		Sí (yes)		No	
h. ¿En qué les ha servido? (How has it helped them?)					
i. ¿Es bueno que los niños asistan a la escuela? (Is it good for boys to go to school?)		Sí (yes)		No	
j. ¿En qué les ha servido? (How has it helped them?)					
k. Desde que la gente empezó a estudiar, ¿ha cambiado algo? (Since people started studying has anything changed?)					
l. ¿Es necesario que los hombres de esta comunidad sepan hablar Castellano? (Is it necessary for the men of this community to know how to speak Spanish?)				Sí (yes)	No
m. ¿Es necesario que los hombres de esta comunidad sepan leer Castellano? (Is it necessary for the men of this community to know how to read Spanish?)				Sí (yes)	No
n. ¿Es necesario que los hombres de esta comunidad sepan escribir Castellano? (Is it necessary for the men of this community to know how to write Spanish?)				Sí (yes)	No
o ¿Es necesario que las mujeres de esta comunidad sepan hablar Castellano? (Is it necessary for the women of this community to know how to speak Spanish?)				Sí (yes)	No

Name of interviewer:_____
Name of interviewee:_____
Name of interpreter: _____

	Sí (yes)	No
p. ¿Es necesario que las mujeres de esta comunidad sepan leer Castellano? (Is it necessary for the women of this community to know how to read Spanish?)	Sí (yes)	No
q. ¿Es necesario que las mujeres de esta comunidad sepan escribir Castellano? (Is it necessary for the women of this community to know how to write Spanish?)	Sí (yes)	No
r. ¿Es necesario que los hombres de esta comunidad sepan hablar Shipibo? (Is it necessary for the men of this community to know how to speak Shipibo?)	Sí (yes)	No
s. ¿Es necesario que los hombres de esta comunidad sepan leer Shipibo? (Is it necessary for the men of this community to know how to read Shipibo?)	Sí (yes)	No
t. ¿Es necesario que los hombres de esta comunidad sepan escribir Shipibo? (Is it necessary for the men of this community to know how to write Shipibo?)	Sí (yes)	No
u. ¿Es necesario que las mujeres de esta comunidad sepan hablar Shipibo? (Is it necessary for the women of this community to know how to speak Shipibo?)	Sí (yes)	No
v. ¿Es necesario que las mujeres de esta comunidad sepan leer Shipibo? (Is it necessary for the women of this community to know how to read Shipibo?)	Sí (yes)	No
w. ¿Es necesario que las mujeres de esta comunidad sepan escribir Shipibo? (Is it necessary for the women of this community to know how to write Shipibo?)	Sí (yes)	No

6. Participación en el proceso cívico local, regional, nacional (Political participation in the local, regional and national political processes)

a. ¿Cuántos miembros de la comunidad tienen. partida de nacimiento? (How many villagers have birth certificates?)	
b. ¿Cuántos miembros de la comunidad tienen libreta militar? (How many villagers have military registration?)	
c. ¿Cuántos miembros de la comunidad han hecho servicio militar? (How many villagers have do military service?)	
d. ¿Cuántos miembros de la comunidad votaron en la última elección? (How many villagers voted in the last election?)	
e. ¿Alguien de la comunidad trabajó en las mesas de sufragio? (Did anyone from the community work at the voting tables?)	
f. ¿Hasta dónde viajan para votar? (Where do villagers go to vote?)	

Name of interviewer:_____
Name of interviewee:_____
Name of interpreter: _____

7. Sistemas de gobernación (Governate systems)

a. ¿Cómo se escogen los líderes? (How are leaders chosen?)		
b. ¿Cómo se escogían antes? (How did they used to be chosen?)		
c. ¿Es esto un cambio bueno? (Is this a good change?)	Sí (yes)	No
d. ¿Cuántos jóvenes han hecho servicio militar? (How many young people have done military service?)		
e. ¿Cuándo tienen los miembros de la comunidad interacción con las autoridades peruanas? (When do people talk with/cooperate with Peruvian leaders?)		
f. ¿Uno tiene que saber leer y esribir para la interacción con autoridades peruanas? (Does one need to read and write to do this?)	Sí (yes)	No
g. ¿Cuáles son los asuntos que se manejan al nivel de la comunidad? (What kinds of business do people handle at the village level?)		
h. ¿Es necesario saber leer y escribir para ser dirigente de la comunidad? (Does one need to read and write to be a village leader?)	Sí (yes)	No

i. ¿Tiene la comunidad? (Does the community have):

Teniente Gobernador (lieutenant governor)? ____	Juez de paz (justice of the peace)? ____	Policía (police)? ____
Alcalde (mayor)? ____	Cárcel (jail)? ____	Registro civil (notary)? ____

j. Estas autoridades,¿cómo son nombradas? (How are these authorities named?)

8. Organizaciones políticas (Political organizations)

a. ¿Cuántas organizaciónes políticas hay en la comunidad? (How many political organizations are there in the community?)		
b. Si no hay,¿Hay individuos que pertenecen a una organización política? (If none, are there individuals that belong to a political organization?)	Sí (yes)	No
c. Cómo se llama(n) la(s) organización(es)? (What are the organizations called?)		
d. ¿Cuántos miembros tiene cada una? (How many members does each one have?)	hom (men) ____	muj (wom) ____
e. ¿Cuáles son los objetivos de la organización? (What are the objectives of the organization?)		
f. ¿Quién puede ser miembro? (Who can be a member?)		
g. Cómo se escogen los dirigentes? (How are leaders chosen?)		
h. ¿Cuánto tiempo sirven? (How long do they serve?)		

Name of interviewer:_____

Name of interviewee:_____

Name of interpreter: _____

i. Esa(s) organización(es), ¿está(n) incorporado(s) legalmente? (Are these organizations legally incorporated?)	Sí (yes)	No
j. ¿Hay comisiones para tratar diferentes asuntos? (Are there commissions to deal with different matters?)	Sí (yes)	No
k. La(s) organizacion(es) políticas, ¿pertenecen a una federación más grande? (Do the political organizations belong to a larger federation?)	nacional ___ intern'l ____	
l. ¿Cuáles oficinas del gobierno visita Ud. a favor de la comunidad? (What are the government offices that you visit on behalf of your community?)		
m. ¿Reciben lo que necesita de las oficinas del gobierno? (Do you get what you need from the government offices?)	Sí (yes)	No

9. Asuntos médicos (Medical matters)

a. En su casa ¿Hierven el agua para tomar? (In your house do you boil drinking water?)	Sí (yes)	No
b. ¿Qué hace Ud. si tiene diarrea? (What do you do for diarrhea?)		
c. ¿Cuántos hijos tiene Ud? (How many children do you have?)	hijos _____	hijas _____
d. ¿Cuántos han muerto? (How many have died?)	hijos _____	hijas _____
e. Su papá, ¿cuantos hijos tuvo? (How many children did your father have?)	hijos _____	hijas _____
f. ¿Cuántos han muerto? (How many died?	hijos _____	hijas _____
g. ¿La comunidad crece? (Is the community growing?)	Sí (yes)	No
h. ¿Han sufrido problemas de salud en la comunidad? (Any health problems of note?)	Sí (yes)	No
i. ¿De dónde reciben información de la salud? (Where do people receive health information?)		
j. ¿En cuál idioma? (In which language?)	Ship	Cast

10. Uso de la escritura (Use of writing)

	En Shipibo	En Castellano (Spanish)
a. ¿Cuántos libros compra Ud.? (Do you buy books, how many?)		
b. ¿Escribe cartas? (Do you write letters?)		
c. ¿Recibe cartas? (Do you recieve letters?)		
d. ¿Lee revistas? (Do you read magazines?)		
e. ¿Lee periódicos? (Do you read newspapers?)		

Name of interviewer:_____

Name of interviewee:_____

Name of interpreter: _____

f. ¿Ud. ha estudiado por correo? (Have you taken a correspondence course?)	Sí (yes)	No
g. ¿Ud. (u otra persona) ha hecho oficina en su casa? (Have you (or anyone) made an office in your (their) home?)	Sí (yes)	No
h. ¿Hay alguien que escribe libros? (Does anyone here write books?	Sí (yes)	No
i. ¿En cuál idioma? (In which language?)	Shipibo	Castellano (Spanish)

12. La educación (Education)

a. ¿Ha habido cambios a causa de tener una escuela en la comunidad? (Have there been changes due to having a school in the community?)

beneficios/ayudas (benefits):	problemas/desventajas (disadvantages):

13. La alfabetización (Literacy)

a. ¿Qué lee Ud? (What do yo read?)

libros (books)	cartas (letters)	folletos (brochures)
la Bíblia (the Bible)	Libros de texto (text books) _____ nivel (level) _____	
periódico (newpapers)	Otro (other):	

b. ¿Con qué frecuencia? (How often?)

varias veces al día (several times a day)	todos los días (every day)	nunca (never)
de vez en cuando (sometimes)	casi nunca (almost never)	

c. ¿Cuándo es la última vez que Ud. leyó? (When is the last time you read)...

Name of interviewer:_____

Name of interviewee:_____

Name of interpreter: _____

	hoy mismo (today)	ayer (yesterday)	hace_días (_days ago)	hace_ semanas (_weeks ago)	hace _ meses (_ months ago)	
un libro (a book)?						
el periódico (newspaper)?						
_____						

d. Para Ud., ¿qué es leer? (In your own words, what is reading?)

13. Identidad cultural/Costumbres/Valores (Cultural Identity/Customs/ Values

a. ¿Mantienen Uds. las costumbres tradicionales? (Do you(plural) maintain traditional customs?)	Sí (yes)	No
cuando están en la comunidad? (When you are in the community?)	Sí (yes)	No
cuando están en la ciudad? (When you are in the city?)	Sí (yes)	No
b. ¿Los jóvenes aprenden historias tradicionales? (Do the young people learn traditional stories?)	Sí (yes)	No
c. ¿Los jóvenes aprenden costumbres tradicionales? (Do the young people learn traditional customs?)	Sí (yes)	No
d. ¿Cuáles son las tradiciones que no aprenden? (What are the traditions that they are not learning?)		
e. ¿Es importante que los jóvenes aprendan las tradiciones (Is it important for young people to learn traditions?)	Sí (yes)	No

f. ¿Qué se hace para orientar la gente d)e fuera sobre los Shipibo? (What is done to orient people from outside toward the Shipibo?

	En Shipibo	En Castellano (Spanish)
radio?		
periódico (newspaper)?		
otra imprenta (other publication)?		
otro (other)?		

Name of interviewer:_____

Name of interviewee:_____

Name of interpreter: _____

14. Relaciones con los demás (Relations with others)

a. ¿La comunidad tiene relaciones con… (Does the community have relations with…)

Colonistas (colonists)?	Sí (yes)	No
Ciudades/Pueblos (cities/towns)?	Sí (yes)	No
Patrones locales, (local patrons)?	Sí (yes)	No
Ranchos locales (local ranches)?	Sí (yes)	No
Ayuda técnica (technical support)?	Sí (yes)	No
Bancos/préstamos (banks/loans)?	Sí (yes)	No

APPENDIX E

HEALTH PROMOTER SURVEY

Name of interviewer:_____

Name of interviewee:_____

Name of interpreter: _____

Entrevista (Promotor de Salud)
Interview Form (Health Promoter)

1. Datos personales (Personal Data)

a. Identidad (identity):	b. Mujer (woman)	Hombre (man)		
c. Comunidad (community):	d. Estado Civil (civil status): S (s) C (m) V (w)		e. Edad (age):	
f. Años de estudios (years of study):		g. Año que salió (year finished)		
Años de estudios (years of study):		Año que salió (year finished)		
h. Cargos que ocupa (ó) (positions)		Año (year)		
		Año (year)		
i. ¿Cuántas personas viven en esta comunidad? (How many people live in this community)		hom (men)	muj (wom)	total

2. Asuntos Médicos (Medical Matters)

	Sí (Yes)	No
a. ¿Hay clínica en la comunidad? (Is there a clinic in the community?)	Sí (Yes)	No
b. ¿Cuándo se estableció? (When was it established?)	19___	
c. ¿Quién se encarga de la clínica? (Who runs the clinic?)		
d. ¿Quién lo apoya económicamente? (Who sponsors the clinic financially?)		
e. ¿La gente paga su propia medicina? (Do people pay for their own medicine?)	Sí (yes)	No
f. ¿Alguien da clases de salud? (Does anyone give health classes?)	Sí (yes)	No
g. ¿Al escuchar la lección la gente hace lo que dice la promotor? (After hearing the lesson, do people do what the health promoter said?)	Sí (yes)	No
h. ¿Cuántos letrinas hay en la comunidad? (How many latrines are there in the community?)		
i. ¿Hay pozo en la comunidad? (Are there wells in the community?)	Sí (yes)	No
j. ¿Tiene bomba? (Does it have a pump?)	Sí (yes)	No
k. ¿La gente hierve el agua? (Do people boil their water?)	Sí (yes)	No
l. ¿Qué hace Ud. cuando los comuneros tienen diarrea? (What do you do when the villagers have diarrhea?)		

Name of interviewer:_____

Name of interviewee:_____

Name of interpreter: _____

m. Normalmente, ¿cuántos niños hay en una familia? (How many children are normally in a family?)		
n. ¿Este número es más o menos que antes de tener clínica? (Is this more or less than before having a clinic?)	más (more)	menos (less)
o. ¿La población de la comunidad está creciendo? (Is the population of the community growing?)	Sí (yes)	No
p. ¿Cuántos bebes se han muerto en este año?How many babies have died this year?	homb (male)	muj (femal)
q. ¿Esto es más o menos que antes de tener clínica? (Is this more or less than before having a clinic?)	más (more)	menos (less)
r. ¿Cúantos bebes han nacido en este año? (How many babies have been born this year?)	homb (male)	muj (femal)
s ¿Hay húerfanos en la comunidad? (Are there orphans in the community?)	Sí (yes) (#____)	No

s. Nutrición: ¿Los comuneros plantan suficiente para sostener sus familias? (Nutrition: Do the villagers plant enough to sustain their families?)	Sí (yes)	No
t. Por lo general, ¿la gente tiene buena nutrición? (In general, is nutrition good?)	Sí (yes)	No
u. ¿Hay problemas de salud que Ud. quiere comentar? (Are there any health problems you would like to comment on)?		

3. Uso del idioma (Language Use)

	Shipibo				Castellano (Spanish)				Otro (other)
	mucho (a lot)	regular (moderate)	poco (little)	nada (none)	mucho (a lot)	regular (moderate)	poco (little)	nada (none)	
a. Ud. habla (you speak)									
b. Ud. lee (you read)									
c. Ud. escribe (you write)									
d. ¿Dónde aprendió el Shipibo? (Where did you learn Shipibo?)					e. ¿Dónde aprendió el Castellano? (Where did you learn Spanish?)				

Survey - health promoter

Name of interviewer:_____

Name of interviewee:_____

Name of interpreter: _____

f. Esposo/a habla (spouse speaks)										
g. Esposo/a lee (spouse reads)										
h. Esposa/o escribe (spouse writes)										
i. ¿Dónde aprendió el Shipibo? (Where did spouse learn Shipibo?)					j. ¿Dónde aprendió el Castellano? (Where did spouse learn Spanish?)					
k. Sus hijos hablan (your children speak)										

	Shipibo				Castellano (Spanish)				Otro (other)
	mucho (a lot)	regular (moderate)	poco (little)	nada (none)	mucho (a lot)	regular (moderate)	poco (little)	nada (none)	
l. Sus hijos leen (your children read)									
m. Sus hijos escriben (your children write)									
n. ¿Dónde aprendieron el Shipibo? (Where did they learn Shipibo?)					o. ¿Dónde aprendieron el Castellano? (Where did they learn Spanish?)				
p. Su madre habla (your mother speaks)									
q. Su madre lee (your mother reads)									
r. Su madre escribe (your mother writes)									
s. ¿Dónde aprendió el Shipibo? (Where did she learn Shipibo?)					t. ¿Dónde aprendió el Castellano? (Where did she learn Spanish?)				
u. Su padre habla (your father speaks)									

Name of interviewer:_____
Name of interviewee:_____
Name of interpreter: _____

v. Su padre lee (your father reads)										
w. Su padre escribe (your father writes)										
x. ¿Dónde aprendió el Shipibo? (Where did he learn Shipibo?)					y. ¿Dónde aprendió el Castellano? (Where did he learn Spanish?)					
z. Asamblea General (general assembly)										
aa. en su casa (at home)										

	Sí (yes)	No
bb. ¿Es fácil para Ud.hablar Shipibo? (Is it easy for you to speak Shipibo?)	Sí (yes)	No
cc. ¿Es fácil para Ud. hablar Castellano? (Is it easy for you to speak Spanish?)	Sí (yes)	No
dd. ¿Le gusta hablar Shipibo? (Do you like to speak Shipibo?)	Sí (yes)	No
ee. ¿Le gusta hablar Castellano? (Do you like to speak Spanish?)	Sí (yes)	No
ff. ¿Cree Ud. que continuará a hablar su idioma? (Do you think that your language will continue to be spoken?)	Sí (yes)	No
gg. Cuando viene gente hispanohablante a la comunidad, ¿Habla Ud.con ellos? (When Spanish-speaking people come to your community do you speak with them?)	Sí (yes)	No
hh. (If appropriate:) ¿Invita Ud. a gente hispanohablante a su casa? (Do you invite Spanish-speaking people to your home?)	Sí (yes)	No

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She has taught linguistics, ESL and Spanish in Japan, Mexico and the United States. She has also worked as a linguist and lexicographer in the field of machine translation. Other research interests include the use of metaphor in the discourse of literacy professionals.