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DECOLONIAL GESTURES OF ANDEAN BILINGUAL COLLEGE STUDENTS PROMOTING QUECHUA: COMMUNITY- BASED PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH WITH PHOTOVOICE

Yuliana H. Kenfield

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DECOLONIAL GESTURES OF ANDEAN BILINGUAL COLLEGE STUDENTS
PROMOTING QUECHUA: COMMUNITY-BASED PARTICIPATORY
RESEARCH WITH PHOTOVOICE

By

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DISSERTATION

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Requirements for the Degree of

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The University of New Mexico
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This dissertation marks for me a beginning in my life as an academic researcher. I fervently wish to serve with honor the community of South-North educators.

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ABSTRACT

Andean college students in Cusco, Peru, struggle to overcome discrimination against bilingualism during their pursuit of higher education. To examine this situation and possibilities for change, I employed a participatory method, photovoice (Wang & Burris, 1994) within a community-based participatory research framework, to facilitate Quechua-Spanish bilingual college students' exploration of Quechuan practices in their university. Participatory research methodology promoted critical dialogues to challenge ideologies that have obstructed the revitalization, maintenance, development of the Quechua language in higher education. Although university policies in Cusco formally promote inclusion of indigenous knowledge and practices, bilingual Spanish-Quechua practices on campus have remained largely symbolic.

Andean research partners and I collaborated for over six months using the photovoice methodology. Drawing from decolonial and poststructuralist perspectives on language

ideologies, I employed the concepts of *chi'xi* (decolonial gesture) presented by Rivera Cusicanqui (2017) and the analytics of decoloniality (Maldonado-Torres, 2016) to analyze how bilingual Quechua-Spanish ideologies and practices are learned, unlearned, rejected, and enacted.

Photovoice participants contributed to community critical awareness of Quechua-Spanish bilingual ideologies in Cusco when presenting their visual metaphors during photo exhibitions. They continually face *supay* (coloniality forces) when enacting their Quechuan practices rooted in collective memories and knowledges, decolonial forces that call for social justice for Quechua peoples. Participants shared personal experiences as bilingual students facing barriers to maintaining their Quechua language, and then shared their proposals for encouraging their university create a fertile terrain for bilingualism, rooting out ideologies of deficits towards Quechua, and promoting *T'ikarinnanpaq*, blossoming of Quechuan practices in college.

Through outreach photovoice sessions, participating students connected with urban and rural mountain Quechuan communities where they and I learned to appreciate decolonial cultural humility in dialogues. The participatory method encouraged greater decision-making power for the students and non-student community members: they reconfigured the photovoice process, by enacting their *saberes-haceres*, experiential knowledges retained in collective memories of Quechuan communities.

Already active in denouncing coloniality, participants adopted and adapted participatory photovoice methodology to expand recruitment of more bilingual students, locally and nationally, to their efforts to valorize Quechua in Peruvian universities, communities, and government.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

My dissertation research underscores Andean college students' experiences and projected steps' to overcome limited opportunities to practice Quechua language and culture in a Peruvian public university. Lack of appreciation for Quechua and other native tongues causes millions of Peru's citizens to suffer neglect, discrimination, and abuse.

Discriminatory abuse by Peru's government prevails when negotiating contracts with the global extraction industry. Most of Peru's natural resources exist in mountainous areas which are the homelands of the Quechua natives. These peoples are left out of formative discussions involving destructive mining or deforestation on their lands. Governmental response to their protests has been brutal subjugation, with no opportunity for dialogue. In response to global publicity, global entities and Peru's government have initiated preliminary discussions with Quechuan communities during early phases of contractual negotiations.

The problem is that few people outside the communities speak and understand Quechua; and community members usually lack effective skills of communication in Spanish and other of the world's languages. Thus, the dialogue process becomes little much more than a show still leaving villagers without a voice. For example, in February 2016, the first "mesa de diálogo" was created as a mechanism to improve discussions about social-environmental impacts among Quechuan community members, Peruvian officials, and the Minerals and Metals Group (MMG). These dialogues were established after Perú's bloody military action in September 2015 to control a 15,000-strong civilian protest against the ineffective environmental plan of the MMG for the \$10-billion Las Bambas mining project.

Governmental response to this large protest left five Quechuan people dead, 20 injured, and 100 Quechuan leaders charged for insurgent activities ("Peru anti-mining protest sees deadly

clashes," 2015). In August 2016, a second “mesa de diálogo” took place in Las Bambas. Quechuan peoples felt excluded, however, because of their limited participation in discussions. Victor Limaypuma, a Quechuan representative, reported that although the majority of the people who live near Las Bambas are monolingual Quechua speakers, there was no translator to facilitate actual dialogue between indigenous locals and the MMG. (“Los frentes de defensa de la provincia de Cotabambas,” 2016)

Failure of effective communication in Las Bambas is only one example of coloniality at work. The power structure of coloniality (Maldonado-Torres, 2016) allows dehumanizing acts that perpetuate vertical relationships with Quechua populations. The Las Bambas project affects the lives of Quechuans, yet the Quechua language was completely disregarded during the decision-making process. More than ever, such anti-human rights situations require the participation of young Quechua-Spanish bilingual professionals to enact social justice and build a genuine intercultural nation. Theoretically, universities should, and actually have a mandated federal resolution to, offer extensive coursework in Quechua to provide potential bilingual professionals effective opportunities to become accomplished professionals. Unfortunately, coursework employing Quechua-Spanish bilingualism exists largely as policy with minimal bilingual discourse even at the largest university campus of the Cusco region where 30% of the student population claims Quechua as their mother language (Kenfield, Huayllani Mercado, & Huilca Quishua, 2018).

Even though Quechua is an official language of Peru, Quechuan peoples there have limited participation in Perú’s education, health services, and economy because of institutionalized discriminatory practices and top-down resolution of issues without local input (Blanco, 2003; Mariategui, 1944; Sanborn, 2012; Supa Huaman, 2002; Valdiviezo,

2009). A good first step toward resolving these inequities is to honor the importance of the Quechua language (spoken by 25% of Perú's total population and 60% of its rural population) and to require Quechua-Spanish bilingual professionals to use Quechua in all negotiations and transactions pertaining to Quechuan communities.

In an effort to increase the number of young professionals who speak Quechua, policies in the universities in Cusco offer the Quechua language as one option among the requirements to graduate. Even with this emphasis, Quechua ranks third to Italian and English as a language choice by students. Why is this? Thirty percent of the student population in Cusco comes to college as Quechua-Spanish bilinguals already but what happens to these students is alarming. The literature reports that such bilingual students choose to stop speaking their mother language Quechua because they believe it will harm their Spanish skills (Cuenca & Vargas & Ramírez & Garfias, 2015; Zavala, 2011). Studies identify this subtractive view of Quechua-Spanish bilingualism to be rooted in negative language attitudes and discriminatory acts which the Quechuan students suffer when speaking their Spanish bilingual variation of Spanish (Escobar, 1994).

Oppression of Quechuan populations entails more than social discrimination, it has been quite brutal. One pertinent example: From 1980 to 2000, more than 50,000 Quechuans were killed in the worst episode of violence in modern Perú. Over 75% of the 70,000 casualties during that internal conflict had Quechua as their mother language ("Truth and Reconciliation Commission," 2003). During that period, the terrorist group Shining Path exploited and abused peasant Quechuan peoples; yet the military forces exterminated Quechuan peoples because they could not understand their Quechuan language and thus treated them all as terrorists.

This violence revealed a drastic need for radical changes in Peruvian society. In 2004, the report of the Peruvian Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) named ethnic and cultural discrimination as one of the most significant dimensions of political violence during the decades of terrorism in the latter part of the 20th century. In an attempt at reconciliation, several policies were developed to encourage inclusion of diverse Peruvian populations in future policy making, particularly in education.

Intercultural Bilingual Education (IBE) emerged as one strategy for indigenous students to access the attributes of the dominant society without losing their own culture or language. General Education Law No. 28044, Article Seven, states that Interculturalism is one of the principles on which Peruvian bilingual education is based; this general principle applies to all populations, not just Indigenous populations. However, several authors (Ansion & Villacorta, 2004; Tubino, 2015; Zavala, 2011) have reported the absence of the actual practice of Intercultural Education in higher education.

In this framework of Intercultural Education, a project of affirmative action funded by the Ford Foundation, the Hatun Ñan program, has been the only effort to apply the intercultural approach in higher education in Perú (Tubino, 2015). The Ford-funded Hatun Ñan program implemented the incorporation of intercultural citizenship in affirmative action programs developed in the Universidad San Antonio Abad del Cusco (UNSAAC) for 12 years, and the Universidad San Cristóbal of Huamanga (USCH) in Ayacucho for nine years. These two universities had in common the largest population of self-identified Quechuan students; therefore, the core principle driving the Hatun Ñan programs was to strengthen the indigenous intercultural citizenship, deliver a series of workshops in intercultural-related topics, and provide academic support. After 2015, the Ford Foundation discontinued their

support of these Hatun Ñan programs. Currently, neither university has committed to continue the Hatun Ñan program independently of the Ford Foundation. Discontinuation of Hatun Ñan at the University San Antonio Abad del Cusco (UNSAAC) resonated with me, as I have personal, familial, and communal history with this university as an alumnus. Stimulated by my education in critical social theory during my doctoral program at the University of New Mexico (UNM), I began to question intercultural practices at UNSAAC and explore the actual Quechua-Spanish practices of intercultural policies at UNSAAC.

Statement of the Problem

Peruvian linguistic and cultural diversity has been and remains a great challenge for the Peruvian state: one of Peru's intentions is to strengthen Quechua-Spanish bilingualism in the country, and practice actual dialogues with Quechuan peoples. In reality, schooling in Perú radiates from a series of reforms that do not genuinely align with Quechua speakers' needs. Since President Velasco's first attempt in 1972, several educational remixes have been implemented that promote bilingual models in rural areas, but these have failed to reflect the core ideal of democratic practices in education because of the low level of participation in curriculum development by local indigenous peoples (Blanco, 2003; Supa Huaman, 2008; Tubino, 2015).

In the specific field of Quechua-Spanish bilingualism, the work of Wölck (1973) and Van Gleish & Wölck (1994) might be the most ambitious work in Perú with longitudinal research in language attitudes. In 1973, during the emergence of bilingual education policies in Perú, research on attitudes towards language was utilized to assess the social status based on language. In collaboration with the Peruvian government, Dr. Wölck conducted a seminal work regarding language attitudes. The inherent dichotomous analysis prompted Wölck to

assess attitudes towards Quechua and Spanish through binary lenses of Hispanicist and Indigenist. Hispanicist, promoting the colonial hispanization project, and Indigenist promoting retention of the Quechua language (Ryan & Giles, 1982). Wölck's research revealed that, as bilingualism increased, the perceived differences of status between speakers of Spanish or Quechua decreased. Further, Wölck also postulated that: "Minority languages evoke more positive personal affective reactions, majority languages more instrumental institutional values" (Wölck, 2003, p. 36). This last conclusion becomes problematic since it suggests that the destiny of languages such as Quechua is of limited value in higher education. To further explore these ideas and possibly challenge this potential limitation, this participatory action research study explored the perceptions of collegiate Andean students towards the use of Quechua in higher education and their desire to promote Quechua-Spanish bilingualism. Bilingualism in this sense refers to lingual competency in both Quechua and Spanish, and its application in communication by faculty, students, and professionals.

Even though interculturality has been incorporated explicitly into policies directing Peruvian bilingual education since 1989, several authors criticize the use of the term "interculturality" in the education policies of the 1990s because it does not spell out reform (Cuenca & Vargas & Ramírez & Garfias, 2015; Tubino, 2015). They consider interculturality to be an element of multiculturalism which retains the idea of cultures as separate entities based on difference. The philosophy of difference leads to compensatory policies and policies of positive discrimination by certain groups. These policies then maintain the power relations that are in force between these groups (Tubino, 2015; Yataco, 2012; Walsh, 2009). This reproduction of power relations becomes even clearer in the Education Law of 2003:

La interculturalidad, que asume como riqueza la diversidad cultural, étnica y lingüística del país, y encuentra en el reconocimiento y respeto a las diferencias, así como en el mutuo conocimiento y actitud de aprendizaje del otro, sustento para la convivencia armónica y el intercambio entre las diversas culturas del mundo.

(General Education Law 2003, Article 8)

[Interculturality ... sees the country's cultural, ethnic and linguistic diversity as richness and regards the recognition of and respect for difference, as well as knowledge about and an attitude of appreciation of others as the basis for living together in harmony and for interaction between the world's different cultures.]

Importantly, while intercultural policies exist in higher education in Perú, they seem not to promote Quechua primarily because they are not enforced. This lack of enforcement of Quechuan sociolinguistic policies displaces Quechuans from higher education (Castro & Yamada, 2010; Valdiviezo & Valdiviezo, 2008; Yataco, 2012). By extension, intercultural Quechua-Spanish bilingual initiatives that exclude critical dialogue about language ideologies threaten to reproduce the historical colonial and postcolonial stigmatization of indigenous Quechua heritage among the Andean community at large.

In the Andean Department of Cusco, Quechuan peoples traditionally live in rural areas and commute to and from Cusco City for market business. After the recent affirmative action regulations and intercultural policies implemented in Perú, the number of urban bilingual Quechua-Spanish college student populations has increased. This Andean student enrollment increment promises to situate Cusco City as an exemplary urban site for recovery and maintenance of Quechua language and culture, while developing critical ethnolinguistic awareness (Kenfield, Huayllani Mercado, & Huilca Quishua, 2018).

Still, for analysts seeking better understanding, data is lacking about the indigenous languages of Peruvian college students, omissions which impede researchers' ability to analyze the paucity of indigenous languages in higher education (Cuenca & Vargas & Ramírez & Garfias, 2015; Suborn, 2011). Ironically, the last national census quantified the use of the English language in higher education, but omitted the indigenous languages (Sanborn, 2012). Currently in Cusco, neither of the two major universities includes any attempt to document the mother language of college students upon admission (Carlos Huamán Aguilar, personal communication, August 5, 2016). The only data available in the UNSAAC's annual statistical reports regarding the Quechuan students queries ethnicity. No information exists about their mother language.

Motivated by this limited data on the mother language of college students in Cusco, Yexy Huillca, Wenceslao Huayllani, and I conducted a survey study in fall, 2016. This survey aimed to better estimate the actual population of college students whose mother language is Quechua as well to understand their linguistic use and attitudes regarding Quechua. The survey data helped us recognize the alarming lack of opportunities students have to practice their Quechua-Spanish bilingual skills on the college campus (Figures 1 and 2), early confirmation that policies promoting interculturality were not being enforced.

Survey Results

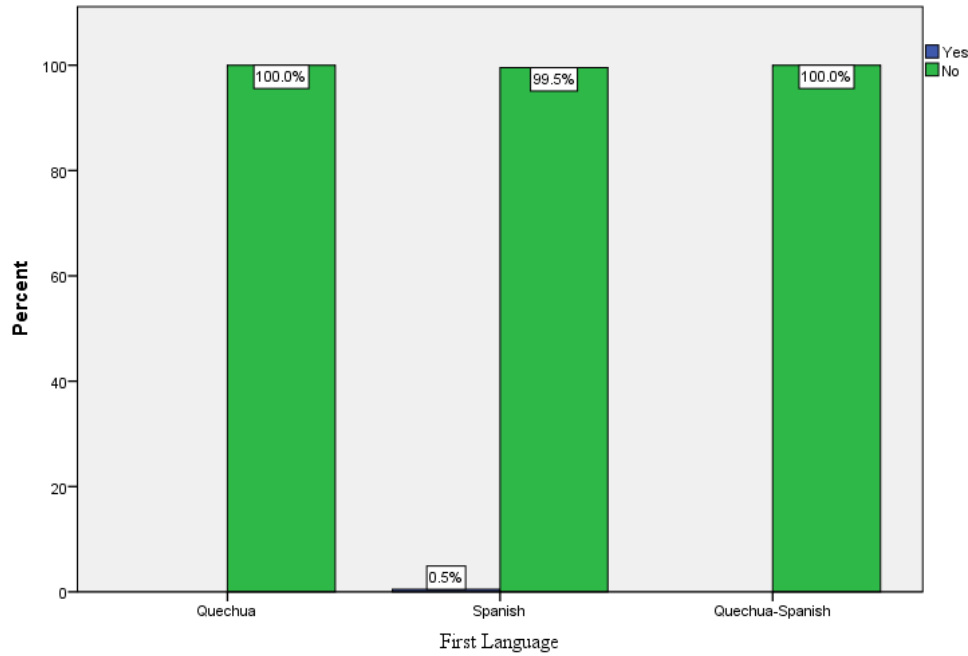


Figure 1. Responses to the survey question: Since you became a college student, do you speak Quechua with your professors and college personnel?

Results of our survey guided our planning for analysis of students' use of and attitudes towards Quechua. Of the 331 respondents, only one identified his mother language as Spanish. Further, no student whose mother language is Quechua or Quechua-Spanish declared that they speak Quechua with faculty and university personnel (Fig. 1). Drawing on the above results, students whose mother language is Quechua are the ones that speak the least Quechua in the university. This overall scenario suggests that there are both minimal opportunities to use Quechua at the university, and that Quechua speakers are practicing language hygiene (Zavala, 2011).

To further explore the actual use of Quechua in the university, we included questions related to their use with classmates and faculty members. Interestingly, very few students, regardless of mother language, speak Quechua with their classmates (Fig. 2).

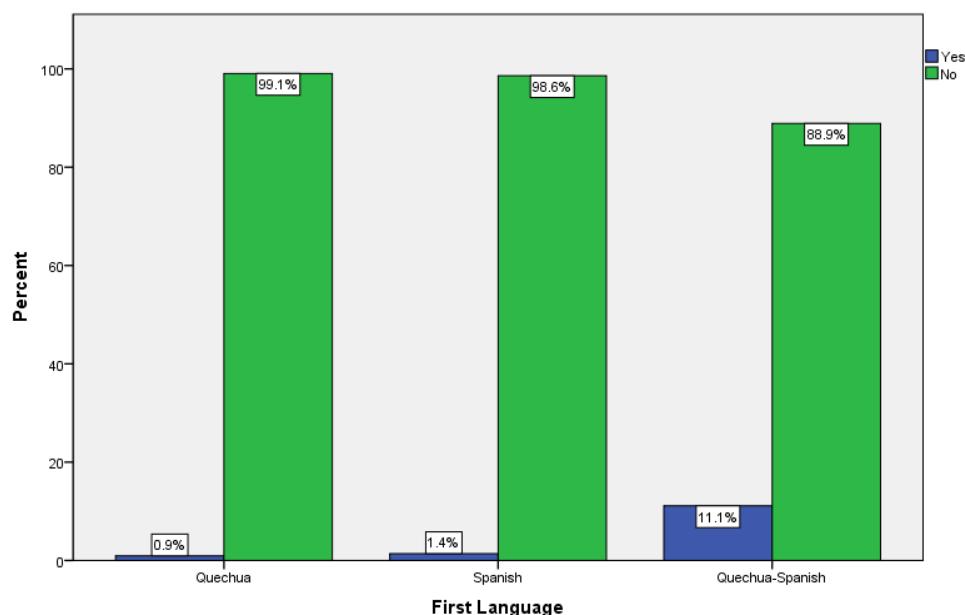


Figure 2. Responses to the survey question: Since you became a college student, do you speak Quechua with your classmates?

Finding that over 30% of the student body declared having Quechua as their mother language, we (Yexy, Wences, and I) assumed that most would speak it with some of their classmates. Apparently, our assumption was inaccurate (Fig. 2). This result opens up more questions about why the student were choosing not to use Quechua in the university and whether the University was providing sufficient opportunities for these students to be engaged in Quechua practices.

Policy versus Practice

Few Quechuan or bilingual Quechua-Spanish speakers use their native voice on campus even though *de jure* policies promote inclusion of indigenous practices in higher education. One reason for this behavior is that bilingual Spanish-Quechua practices on campuses remain largely symbolic even though affirmative action initiatives like the UNSAAC-Amazonian and Quechuan municipalities, the Hatun Ñan program of the Ford Foundation, and the Peruvian Beca 18 scholarship program could have helped Quechuan

students access higher education and facilitate their academic experience. Based on the minimal use of Quechua on campus, however, these initiatives have not facilitated activities towards the maintenance of and promotion of the practice of Quechua on campus. Current administrative oversight seems to disregard programs promoting interculturality despite evidence that, when implemented, they became effective (Villasante, 2015). One example of the effectiveness of promoting interculturality: during the existence of the Ford-funded Hatun Ñan program (2003-2015), indigenous students from various careers received regular, academic, structured activities (math tutoring, study support, and intercultural workshops). These activities became indirect venues for use of their Quechua language among peers because most of students who participated in the Ford-funded Hatun Ñan program had Quechua as their mother language. Students' enthusiasm and engagement increased during the program, but, after it ended, indigenous students felt abandoned because they had nowhere to meet nor any sponsored activities to practice their Quechua. Recently, fall 2016, and only after persistent requests from a group of former Hatun Ñan members, Quechuan students were assigned a physical space for meetings. This administrative concession stimulated Andean students' desire for even more formal recognition.

After learning these facts, one of my goals in this study became understanding how Quechuan students respond to UNSAAC's institutional discrimination.

Choice of Methodology

I decided to use a community-based participatory approach because it would place the participants' perspectives at the core of the study and hopefully disrupt vertical power relations between them and this investigator. Community-based participatory research (CBPR) is an approach that democratizes research. Reciprocity is a guiding principle that

resonates with Andean epistemologies and that aligns with CBPR because it promotes access to the local knowledges and relies on partnering with community members to develop mutually meaningful communal contributions. CBPR is not a single methodology, rather an approach that could involve different quantitative and qualitative methods that are adaptable to the researchers' needs (Israel, Schulz, Parker, and Becker, 1998).

I chose photovoice, a visual participatory methodology, because this approach emphasizes participants' voice in determining the scope, goals, and actions of the work. Photovoice is one of the recommended methodologies in CBPR and it is commonly used with youth (Israel, et. al; 2012). The visual component of photovoice engages youth, encouraging their critical collective dialogue; in this study, participants were expected to engage in a dialogue about their shared bilingual Quechua-Spanish practices. CBPR promotes participatory perspectives and thus it prevents reproduction of a prescriptive framework that would silence Quechuan peoples and communities. Photovoice is relevant to educational research because centralizes input of all community members, in this case, Andean college students whose experiences could expose practices that limit Quechuan usage in higher education. Then, rather than assuming a prescriptive stance to this study, CBPR allowed me to collaborate "with" the students "for" their interests about implementation of Quechua-Spanish at the university as well as to explore ways to improve current limited sociolinguistic offerings. My role as mediator became collaborative, and students' expressive of their situation (often unjust) at the university.

Purpose of the Study

This CBPR explored the bilingual Quechua-Spanish practices of Andean college students in higher education. Specifically, this study addressed the following research questions:

1. What conditions do Andean college students identify regarding the practice, maintenance and revitalization of Quechua in higher education?
2. How did the participation of the Andean research partners (community advisory board, photovoice participants, off-campus Quechuan peoples, and external researcher) shape the implementation of this CBPR study?

Initially, research partners in this study included two college students: Yexy Huilca Quishua and Wenceslao Huayllani Mercado. During the photovoice segment, student participation expanded to members of Voluntariado Intercultural Hatun Ñan Center, as 12 college students from the center became research partners. All 14 Andean college students consented to participate in this study. As the CBPR unfolded, the students requested to recruit off-campus Quechuan peoples who were not directly related to the university research partners. The students reasoned, and I agreed, that input from Quechuan villagers would enhance their (the students') knowledge of the Quechuan episteme and strengthen their goal to promote greater appreciation of Quechua, not only on campus but in the general public. Then, selected non-student, Quechuan participants included the Huayllapata women weavers, the Quechuan villagers who reside in Casa Campesina, and Claudia Cuba Huamani, the coordinator of Casa Campesina.

Rationale and Significance of the Study

Historically, Latin American and language researchers have investigated bilingual Quechua-Spanish practices in rural schools and communities (Cerron-Palomino, 2003; Garcia, 2005; Hornberger, 1988; Howard, 2007; Zavala, 2011). Research that examines the bilingual Quechua-Spanish practices of Andean youth in higher education is limited. The only literature about about this topic was a report about the experiences of indigenous college students in Cusco who were participating in the Ford-funded Hatun Ñan program. . I could not find any other studies that addressed questions on how Andean students deal with limited opportunities for Quechua-Spanish bilingual practices at universities. Andean university students represent an important group for study because many will become future leaders of Perú. Their attitudes towards and use of their Quechua-Spanish language will likely inform future emphasis on elimination of language barriers in policy-making, stigmatization of the indigenous heritage, and distribution of resources and contractual instruments with the global community.

CBPR is a methodology of choice for this group because it gives greater decision-making power to the college students about the direction of study on Quechua-Spanish bilingualism in higher education. The main goal of my dissertation is to explore how Andean college students identify the impediments and supports to Quechua-Spanish bilingualism, and understand the maintenance of Quechua, an indigenous language driven by transformative decolonial gestures of youth. Potential contributions of this study include: filling a gap in the literature by investigating bilingual Quechua-Spanish practices of college students from a decolonial framework. Further, this research may create an opportunity for informative reflections of academic and campus experiences by Andean college students of

Cusco. Ultimately, the discussions and insights of this study can inform decision-making by the college communities and language policy makers in Perú.

Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework that informs this CBPR study draws from decolonial thinking and poststructuralist perspectives on language ideologies because these concepts seemed to be embodied in the student participants. I particularly used the analytics of decoloniality (Maldonado-Torres, 2016) and the Andean concept of *chi'xi* (decolonial gesture) presented by Rivera Cusicanqui (2017) to reflect on and analyze how Quechua-Spanish bilingual students identify colonial and decolonial ideologies which are linked to language ideologies that impact their bilingualism in higher education.

Decolonial Thinking

The main objective of decolonial thinking is to interrogate and move away from colonial thinking. Colonial thinking is understood as a superior attribution assigned to Eurocentric-based knowledge (Castro-Gómez & Grosfoguel, 2007; Maldonado-Torres, 2016; Mignolo, 2005; Quijano, 2000; Rivera Cusicanqui, 2012; Walsh, 2007). Consequently, decolonial thinking evokes the subaltern knowledge that was

excluidos, omitidos, silenciados e ignorados.... este silenciamiento fue legitimado sobre la idea de que tales conocimientos representaban una etapa mítica, inferior, premoderna y precientífica del conocimiento humano. Solamente el conocimiento generado por la elite científica y filosófica de Europa era tenido por conocimiento "verdadero." (Castro-Gómez & Grosfoguel, 2007, p. 20)

[excluded, omitted, silenced ...silencing was legitimized on the idea that such knowledge represents a pre-modern/pre-scientific mythological stage of human

knowledge whereas only the knowledge generated by the scientific frameworks from Europe was taken for “true” knowledge.]

Students in this study revere their Quechua language, a language that resisted linguistic erasure under colonial rule in the Andean region. Colonial thinking justifies, through colonial ideologies of progress, the death of Quechuan speakers during the colonial period, forced sterilizations in the postcolonial period (Supa Huaman, 2002), massive murders by both Shining Path and Peruvian Military during the 20 years of internal violence in Peru (), and the current violence and murder Peruvian Military who “protect” globally-funded extractive activities in Quechua community lands. The students emphasized, and it is critical to point out, that in this study decolonization does not imply a “cruzada contra Occidente en nombre de algún tipo de autoctonismo latinoamericanista, de culturalismos etnocéntricos y de nacionalismos populistas” (Castro-Gómez & Grosfoguel, 2007, p. 90) [translated as: crusade against the West in the name of some kind of Latin Americanist ethnocentric autochthonism and populist rationalism].

Decolonial thinking provided the CBPR team the lenses for visualizing the knowledge, identities, and practices that have been located at the margins of a hegemonic system. Particularly, in the field of education, decolonial thinking provides two important tenants:

1. It favors transdisciplinary action. It extends beyond the binary pairs that promoted the Western thought of modernity: nature/culture, mind/body, object/subject, unity/diversity, civilization/barbarism. Transdisciplinary action seeks to change the exclusive logic (this, not that) by an inclusive logic (this and that) when

decolonizing higher education (Castro-Gómez & Grosfoguel, 2007; Mignolo, 2005; Rivera Cusicanqui, 2012).

2. It favors transcultural acceptance. It promotes bi-direction dialogue and exchange of knowledge. The university, therefore, should engage in dialogue and practices with those of knowledge and praxis that were excluded from the “modern map” for:

habérseles considerado como “míticos”, “orgánicos”, “supersticiosos” y “pre racionales”. Conocimientos que estaban ligadas con aquellas poblaciones de Asia, África, y América Latina que entre los siglos XVI al XIX fueron sometidas al domino colonial. (Castro-Gómez & Grosfoguel, 2007, p. 306)

[being considered as “mythical,” “organic,” “superstitious,” and “pre-rational.”

Knowledge that was linked with the populations of Asia, Africa, and Latin

America between the 16th and 19th centuries were subjected to European colonial rule.]

Lastly, appreciation of decolonial thinking made me aware not only of the traces of coloniality in situations around this study but my personal attitude as well. As an insider-outsider who returned to her hometown with new assumptions learned in the United States, decolonial thinking revealed the areas of potential reproduction of power dynamics between me, the academic researcher, and the community. Decolonial thinking helps the researcher and community partners transcend academic and political discourse; it urges disruption of deficit views of societies, knowledges, languages.

Conceptual Models of the Analytics of Coloniality and Analytics of Decoloniality

Because of the intended focus on language practices and ideologies, which involves a flux of colonial and decolonial tensions, the models of “analytics of coloniality and decoloniality” (Maldonado-Torres, 2016, p. 30) were useful when exploring the “areas involved in the production of coloniality as well as in the consistent opposition to it” (Maldonado-Torres, 2016, p. 2) (Figs. 3 & 4). My application of these models illuminated not only the discriminatory and exclusionary acts based on language, but also documented the agency by which the photovoice students engaged in an array of activities to battle colonial ideologies and practices. These models were helpful when exploring the colonial and decolonial forces that promote and/or impede Quechua-Spanish bilingualism on campus. Additionally, Maldonado-Torres’s model of analytics of decoloniality broadened the lens of this researcher, allowing me to exceed the dimensions of dehumanization caused by current racialized colonial practices: it focused my investigation on the agency of bilingual students and their decolonial actions. It shed light on the link between the situated and the recursive; it provided opportunities to explore the normative structures and the dynamic interplay of coloniality with decoloniality of knowledge, being, and power.

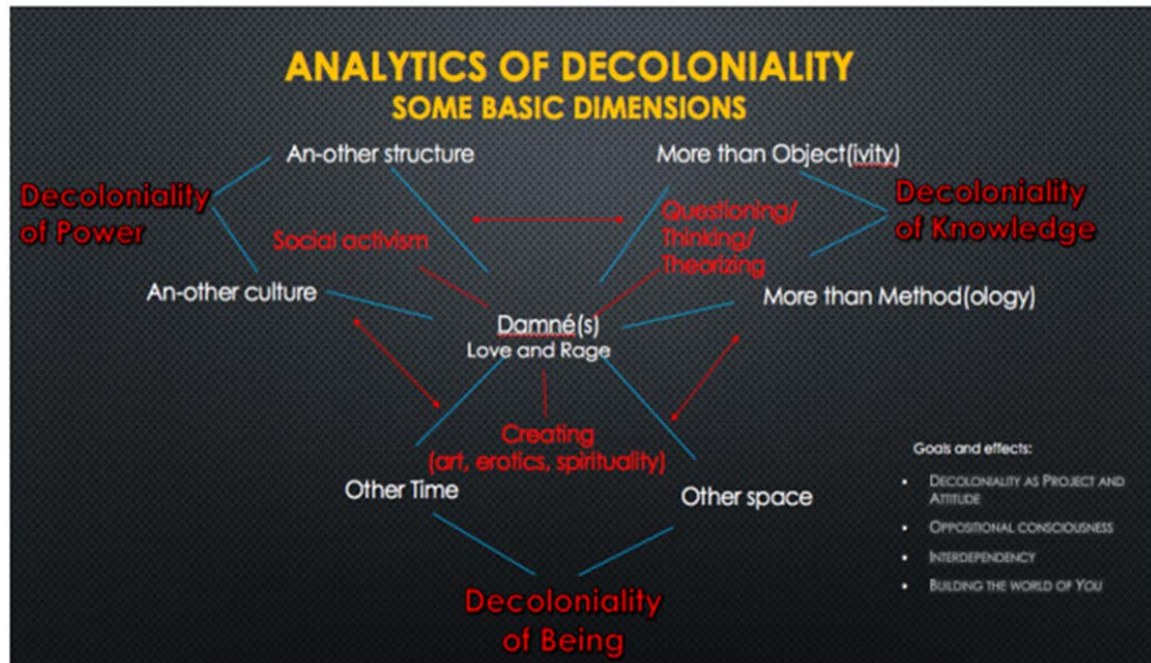


Figure 3. Analytics of decoloniality. Maldonado-Torres (2016) in *Fondation Frantz Fanon*, 30.

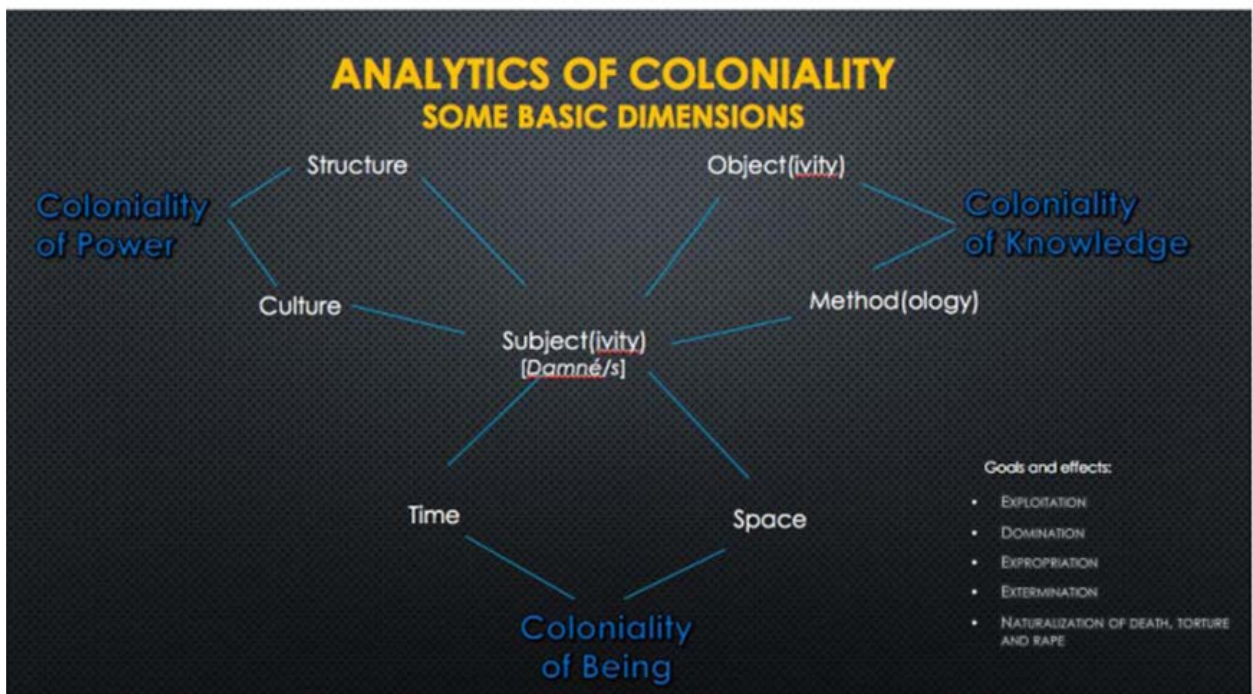


Figure 4. Analytics of coloniality. Maldonado-Torres (2016) in *Fondation Frantz Fanon*, p. 20.

These models provide a roadmap for my investigation of bilingualism. They include three constructs commonly used in decolonial studies: coloniality/decoloniality of power, coloniality/decoloniality of being, and coloniality/decoloniality of knowledge (Mignolo, 2005; Quijano, 2000). Coloniality of power refers to the economic and political hegemony; coloniality of being refers to gender, sexuality, subjectivity hegemony; and coloniality of knowledge focuses on the anthropocentric view of knowledge. I explored Quechua-Spanish bilingualism that occurs at the intersection of these constructs and elucidated the stigmatization and destigmatization of bilingual students' use of their linguistic repertoire and their agency as they "create, think, and act in the effort to decolonize being, knowledge, and power" (Maldonado-Torres, 2016, p. 30).

In this study, collective acting by the photovoice participants shifted my orientation; instead of focusing on participants as fixed subjects under the coloniality conceptualization, I saw them as a flux of subjectivities and inter-subjectivities. The analytics of decoloniality model helped me to identify the decolonial efforts displayed by this community of students (photovoice participants). The interactive flexibility of CBPR gave strong voice to them, encouraging them to demonstrate even more of their decolonial posturing in diverse geopolitical settings (on campus, off campus, Quechuan communities).

Analysis of these dimensions of coloniality and decoloniality enhanced understanding of a "context where coloniality perpetuates itself through multiple forms of deception and confusion" (Maldonado-Torres, 2016, p.2). The models also helped me understand the ways collegiate bilingual students disrupt the colonial reproduction to favor decolonial forms of being, knowing, and transforming.

Decolonial Gestures

Following decolonial thinking, the concept of decolonial gestures (Rivera Cusicanqui, 2010a) helped me collectively enact and examine decolonial praxis, practices which resist the perceptual and discursive structures of colonial “matrices of power” (Quijano, 2007).

Decolonial gestures highlight the importance of one’s stance when involved in decolonial thinking. Observing the decolonial gestures of everyone involved in this study, I appreciated them individually and collectively as dedicated activists and not simply discussants.

Decolonial gestures involved physical actions in addition to language, movement, and symbolic means to communicate, all of which disrupt the ever present colonial dimensions.

Rivera Cusicanqui (2010a) utilizes the Aymara and Quechua terms *Ch’ixi* and *Che’qche*, respectively, as metaphors to explain decolonial gesture of Andean peoples. *Ch’ixi*, translated as “motley”, that which “expresses the parallel coexistence of multiple cultural differences that do not extinguish but instead antagonize and complement each other” (Rivera Cusicanqui, 2010a, p. 105). This *ch’eqche* force and its contradictions were critical during this study; particularly because photovoice participants and facilitators all practiced diverse types of Quechua-Spanish bilingualism, biculturalism, and trans-culturalism. *Ch’eqche* allowed us to combine our differences yet retain our separate identities, much like oil and water can be combined in an emulsion yet, no matter how small, each bubble of liquid retains its separate identity as oil or water.

In her use of the term “motley,” Rivera Cusicanqui emphasizes that decolonial gestures involve efforts of “ours” and excludes the efforts of “others.” However, decolonial gestures are not exclusive to a collective “ours,” rather they are “stained, and partially inhabited by *others*” (Rivera Cusicanqui 2010a, p. 92). Ultimately, decolonial gestures “admit new forms of community and mixed identities, and thus enter into a creative dialogue

in a process of exchanging knowledges, aesthetics, and ethnics” (Rivera Cusicanqui 2010a, p. 106). My openness to a non-fixed “ours” guided by the students’ decolonial gestures helped to understand better their true voices and to avoid reduction of this study to an exclusionary “ours”, an appreciation that ultimately contributed to reshaping the dynamics of photovoice discussions.

Language Ideologies

In addition to decolonial gestures and *ch’ixi*, and because of the focus on bilingual practices, this study explored language ideologies surrounding Quechua-Spanish bilingualism amidst modern colonialism. Such language ideologies are conceptualized as a person’s beliefs about language which are guided by ideologies from the larger society (Pavlenko, 2002). This concept is understood from a poststructuralist approach, which accepts the non-stable nature of affective views of language and its link to larger societal processes. By necessity, then, this study recognizes that language ideologies are “context-sensitive” (Pavlenko, 2002, p. 284).

Shifting from structuralism towards a poststructuralist approach helped me shift the focus of language as “not merely a tool for communication, but the main site of world and identity construction” (Pavlenko, 2001, p. 121). This poststructuralist perspective on language, combined with the use of the decolonial thinking and the model of analytics of decoloniality, were integral to this study because they helped visualize intersections of colonial/decolonial language ideologies, and decolonial gestures, which affect language practices under hegemonic forces.

Definition of Key Terms

Andean Peoples

In this study, an Andean person refers to someone who has at least one of the following languages as their mother language: Aymara, Quechua, and Spanish. Although Andean peoples are linked merely by the Andean mountainous range, in this study the cultural and linguistic practices are the main characteristics of Andean peoples.

Andean Spanish

In this study, Andean Spanish refers to the Spanish variation spoken by Quechua-Spanish bilinguals whose mother language is Quechua.

Community-Based Participatory Research

A participatory research approach focused on change driven by the community working towards improving a problem situation that has originated in the community itself. CBPR strives to give greater decision-making power to the communities who historically have had little participation in research.

CBPR research/community partner

A member of the community who is commitment to and shares the vision for the CBPR project who brings relevant knowledge and expertise about the subject being studied/researched. Community partners may have different levels of awareness of the details of the project, and their involvement may vary depending on the stage of the project.

Programa Hatun Ñan

The Hatun Ñan program was an affirmative action program supported by the Ford Foundation. This program, as others pathways programs of the Ford Foundation, seeks to reverse discrimination in society with a support system to selective groups or discriminated

sectors who inherited social exclusion. This program was first implemented in the San Antonio Abad del Cusco University in 2003 and lasted close to 12 years. The Quechua words Hatun Ñan literally mean “Large Path”

Intercultural Bilingual Education

In Perú, Intercultural Bilingual Education appears as a possibility for Indigenous students to appropriate the homogeneous culture without losing their own culture or language.

Identity

A non-fixed construct that refers to a learner’s relationship to the broader social, political and economic world.

Poststructuralism

An intellectual movement that reject the subject-centered structuralist studies. This research paradigm challenges the binary-oriented analysis.

Quechua

Is one of the indigenous languages of the Americas. This language is one of the official language in Perú.

Voluntariado Intercultural Hatun Ñan

The Voluntariado Intercultural Hatun Ñan is a student organization that is self-sustain. This organization started in 2016 and has no relationship with nor funds from the Ford Foundation. Recently, since summer 2017, a minimal funding has been obtained from the Office of Student’s Welfare of the San Antonio Abad University of Cusco.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

In this research, I delve into college students' efforts to promote Quechua-Spanish bilingualism in higher education in Perú where colonial practices and ideologies subjugate their access. Bilingual students respond with decolonial gestures and openly demand equal opportunities for professional advancement. This chapter presents a review of relevant literature.

My review entails three major sections. First, I examine and review the scholarship and theories about decolonial thinking. Next, I review empirical research in Perú: a critical survey of the literature produced in the past decade, a synthesis of current thinking about attitudes and ideologies towards Andean and Amazonian languages in Cusco, and notation of the sociolinguistic data of language use. Lastly, I introduce the reader to community-based participatory research (CBPR) as an approach to working with community members throughout the stages of research and disrupt the vertical dichotomous practices in research that limits the subject as an object of study, not an active participant.

Decolonial Thinking

Herein I discuss the scholarship about decolonial thinking to deepen our understanding of some colonial and decolonial complexities and promulgate a challenge to the hegemonic views to Quechua-Spanish bilingualism. In contrast to the inherited, extensive, persistent, colonial forces in Andean regions, oppressive forces that establish and sustain vertical social relationships, a decolonializing counterforce works to disrupt modern stratifications based on colonality. The following questions are pertinent to this review and my research: What is the relationship between colonality and decoloniality? What does the

literature say about internalized colonialism? What does the literature reflect about the need to disrupt coloniality?

Coloniality

Many people, including activists such as Hilaria Supa Huaman¹ (Figure 5) and scholars in Latin America, have been working to comprehend, memorialize, and challenge the complexities of current colonial forces following the historical decolonization of Latin America during the 19th century. For Rivera Cusicanqui (1993), these forces would be called *la larga duracion del colonialismo*, “the long-standing of colonialism;” for Quijano (1993), such forces are *colonialidad*, “coloniality.” Cusicanqui and Quijano, important Andean scholars, were concerned primarily about inherited patterns of colonial domination in Latin America. Quijano explained the concept of coloniality as the socio-economic domination of the North over the South based on a perpetuated ethno-racial structure initiated by the colonial hierarchy of the European versus non-European. This hierarchy gave privilege to 16th century European societies, a stratification retained as former colonies gained independence in the 19th century. In the words of Maldonado-Torres: “Coloniality refers to long-standing patterns of power that emerged as a result of colonialism, but that define culture, labor, intersubjective relations and knowledge production well beyond the strict limits of colonial administrations. Thus, coloniality survives colonialism”. (Maldonado-Torres, 2011, p. 2)

Although Quijano would focus primarily on coloniality and socio-economic disparities as the main forces energizing asymmetrical relations of power upon which the

¹ Hilaria Supa Huamán is a Quechua activist for the human rights of indigenous women, former congresswoman, and current Peruvian Andean Parliamentarian.

New World was founded, this concept was expanded by the concepts of coloniality of being and knowledge proposed by Maldonado-Torres (2007, 2016). For Maldonado-Torres (2016) it is important to acknowledge that coloniality involves a radical transformation of power, knowledge, and being leading to the coloniality of power, the coloniality of knowledge, and the coloniality of being.



Figure 5. Quechuan women with Hilaria Supa Human during a meeting about the forced sterilization of women. Archivo fotográfico congresal, 2006. (<http://www2.congreso.gob.pe/Sicr/Congresistas/2006>)

Quijano utilized the term coloniality of power to characterize a pattern of global domination enforced since the beginning of the 16th century by a capitalistic Euro-centric system of domination through colonialization. Coloniality of power, the “dark side of modernity” (Mignolo, 2009) defines the hierarchical social/racial categories that emerged in the 16th century to justify the subjugation and exploitation of non-European peoples.

Coloniality of Power, Being, and Knowledge

Maldonado-Torres expanded the concept of coloniality to include the different dimensions of life, not just power. Thus, in his *Outline of Ten Theses*, Maldonado-Torres explains the coloniality of being (modes of beings/subjectivities), of knowledge (modes of knowledge) and power (modes of organization). These dimensions (Figure 6) delineate human versus non-human. Asymmetric validation promotes “dehumanizing coordinates or foundations that serve to perpetuate the inferiority of some and the superiority of others” (Maldonado-Torres, 2016, p. 20).

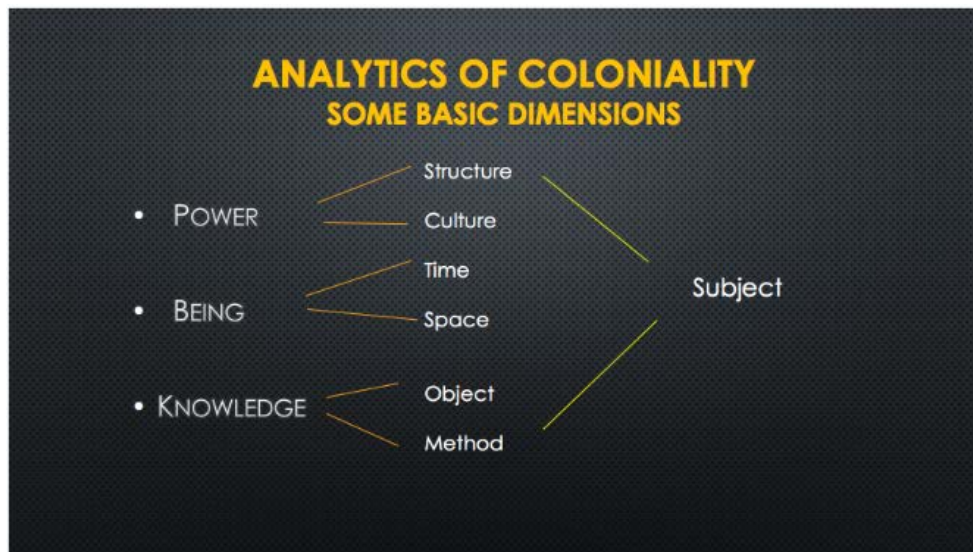


Figure 6. Analytics of coloniality, some basic dimensions. N. Maldonado-Torres, 2016, *Fondation Frantz Fanon*, p. 19.

Following a Fanoian² tradition, Maldonado-Torres (2016) highlights the role of the subject as “damnés³”, subjects/objects that are located out of human space and time who were discovered along with the discovery of the land that they inhabited.

The damnés cannot assume the position of producers of knowledge and are said to lack any objectivity. Likewise, the damnés are represented in ways that make them reject themselves and, while kept below the usual dynamics of accumulation and exploitation, can only aspire to climb in the power structure by forms of assimilation that are never entirely successful (Maldonado-Torres, 2016, p. 21).

It is especially useful to address this concept of subject-as-damnés, which the coloniality of power-being-knowledge aims to perpetuate in the zone of “sub-humanity.”

Using designation as sub-humans as justification, coloniality is perpetuated by four axes relevant to the enduring colonial matrix of power: (1) economic (appropriating land and controlling the economy); (2) political (maintaining authority); (3) civic life (controlling gender and sexuality with Western hetero-patriarchal discursive practices); and (4) epistemological (pertaining to subjectivity, identity, control, distortion, and erasure of knowledge) (Mignolo, 1995).

Finally, for Rivera Cusicanqui (1993), the efforts to identify the forces of domination are of little use if a resolution, action, or thought does not involve a real impact on daily colonial practices. For him, internal colonialism is the main force where the daily colonial mindset resides. Internal colonialism prevents the Andean peoples from embracing their

² Frantz Fanon was a revolutionary, psychiatrist, philosopher and Caribbean writer of martiniqués origin whose work focused on decolonization and the psychopathology of colonization.

³ Fanon uses the French word *damnés* "the wretched" to explain the psychiatric and psychologic analysis of the dehumanizing effects of colonization.

mixed identities (indigenous and non-indigenous); instead, internalizing colonial attitudes exacerbate the shaming and devaluing of their Indigenous roots.

Decoloniality

Decoloniality as the subject of scholarship emerged in Latin America and expanded to the United States (Quijano, 2000; Maldonado-Torres, 2016; Mignolo, 2009; Rivera Cusicanqui, 2012). For these scholars, decoloniality emphasizes the need to move away from continuing coloniality which requires an epistemic decolonial turn.

The “epistemic decolonial turn” must emphasize the need to go beyond political-economical paradigms so that systems of oppression become viewed as interlocking (Castro-Gómez & Grosfoguel, 2007, p. 216). Grosfoguel believes that an epistemic decolonial turn is needed in academia since coloniality also operates as a mode of internal mental control guided by colonial epistemology, a control exemplified in the works of scholars who give privilege to Western theories and methods in academia.

Proponents of decolonial turn aim to separate their scholarly work from those who “produced studies about the subaltern rather than studies with and from a subaltern perspective” (Grosfoguel, 2007, p. 216). He criticizes scholars whose theories remain based in the North while the subjects under study are located in the South. Therefore, decolonial-minded authors encourage scholars to move the locus of enunciation from the Eurocentric knowledge to Subaltern ones.

I do question Grosfoguel’s ambitious endeavor. How could scholars shift to Subaltern paradigms to acquire non-Eurocentric perspectives? Are not these circles of theorists reproducing the coloniality of power when their theorizing goes far ahead of the experience of subaltern, non-academic peoples?

It seems that Maldonado-Torres (2011) has an honest answer when he proposes trans-modernity as a way to engage in: “critical and creative appropriations of selected modern ideas, along with multiple other conceptual frameworks that can contribute to forge a less oppressive future. It recognizes that liberation and decolonization can be told in multiple languages, with unique and rich meanings and conceptual bases, and therefore values south-south encounters and dialogues” (Maldonado-Torres, 2011, p. 7).

Trans-modernity aims to be nurtured in a modern decolonial attitude which urges decolonial scholars to be open to “multiple languages and stripping modernity of its colonizing elements and biases” (Maldonado-Torres, 2011, p. 8).

Although decolonial scholars concern themselves about knowledge production that reproduces universalist and Eurocentric traditions, one cannot naively think that decolonial thinking is a theoretical framework that provides the extraordinary capacity to continually detect and resist epistemic domination. Regarding knowledge production from a decolonial aspect, we must recognize that all possible knowledge is embodied in subjects traversed/crossed by social contradictions.

The epistemic decolonial turn and trans-modernity then requires scholars to be genuinely open to all forms of knowledge, knowing, and languages. For example, Mignolo (2009) applauded an early practice of decolonial turn by the 16th century Andean chronicler Waman Puma de Ayala⁴ as he proposed a better organization of the colony for the well-being of the peoples. Rivera Cusicanqui (2010b) also refers extensively to Waman Puma de Ayala to understand what she calls “visual theorization of the colonial system” (p. 1). Particularly,

⁴ Between the years of 1612-1615 Waman Puma wrote “First New Chronicle and Good Government,” a letter of a thousand pages addressed to the King of Spain.

she applauded the “openness to the knowledge embodied and crossed” when engaging in Waman Puma de Ayala’s visual and textual production. “The language in which Waman Puma writes is full of terms and twists of oral speech in qhichwa, songs and jayllis in Aymara, and notions such as “Upsidedown world”, which derived from the cataclysmic experience of conquest and colonization (Rivera-Cusicanqui, 2010b, p. 1).

Rivera Cusicanqui paid particular attention to the visual form of knowledge production of Waman Puma de Ayala who depicted more than 300 drawings in ink. For her, such visuals hold valuable Andean knowledge:

Las imágenes nos ofrecen interpretaciones y narrativas sociales, que desde siglos precoloniales iluminan este trasfondo social y nos ofrecen perspectivas de comprensión crítica de la realidad. El tránsito entre la imagen y la palabra es parte de una metodología y de una práctica pedagógica que, en una universidad pública como la UMSA, me ha permitido cerrar las brechas entre el castellano estándar-culto y los modos coloquiales del habla, entre la experiencia vivencial y visual de estudiantes—en su mayoría migrantes y de origen aymara o qhichwa (Rivera Cusicanqui, 2010b, p. 2).

[The images offer us interpretations and social narratives, which from precolonial centuries illuminate this social background and offer perspectives of critical understanding of reality. The transition between the image and the word is part of a methodology and a pedagogical practice that, in a public university like UMSA [Universidad Mayor de San Andres], has allowed me to close the gaps between the standard-cultured Spanish and the colloquial ways of speaking, between experiential

and visual experience of students - mostly migrants of Aymaran and/or Quechuan origin.]

***Ch'ixi* as a Form of Vision**

Aligning himself with the proponents of the epistemic decolonial turn, Santos encourages transition from an epistemology of blindness to one of vision. He starts with the premise that modern science countered common sense; the latter defined as superficial, illusory, and false. He states, “common sense was the name given to all forms of knowledge that did not meet in the epistemological criteria established by science” (Santos, 2017, p. 201).

Contrasting colonial and modern views, the distinction between science and common sense is the first epistemological rupture that distinguished two forms of knowledge: true knowledge versus false knowledge, i.e., common sense. Modern science became the privileged form of knowledge regulation; common sense became denigrated and abandoned.

Santos believes that “the epistemology of vision is that which asks for the validity of a form of knowledge whose moment and form of ignorance is colonialism and whose moment and form of knowledge is solidarity”. (ibid, 2017, p. 202) Because vision evokes the possibility of knowing by creating solidarity, scholarly efforts should be based in solidarity. This particular form of knowledge (solidarity) recognizes the “other” as equal as long as the colonial difference is acknowledged. Further, we, as subjects, must be cognizant that we have been socialized by a form of knowledge that knows how to impose order in nature, an awareness that must be foremost when applying solidarity to the development of knowledge.

While Santos acknowledges the difficulty of imagining, much less implementing, a form of knowledge creating solidarity, he urges scholars to engage in the epistemology of the vision, cautioning us that “identifying the consequences of the epistemology of blindness does not imply processing the epistemology of vision” (Santos, 2017, p. 200). Employing his scholarly agenda for transitioning from a reductionist epistemology that conceives the subject as one-dimensional, Santos engages in conversations with other activist scholars about other epistemologies. One important conversation took place in La Paz, Bolivia, with Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui while strolling in the Andean mountains. (Rivera Cusicanqui & Santos, 2015) Santos, interested in Rivera Cusicanqui’s fight for the complexity of subjectivities, asked her about how epistemologies could transcend the universalistic blind view, and she responds to this query by proposing an ecology of knowledges that focuses on knowledges of the oppressed:

La ecología de saberes sería como la epistemología ch’ixi⁵, es decir, tratar de repensar los legados tanto de las sociedades comunitarias como del mundo del trabajo ya influido por modos individualistas, para poner en discusión una especie de esfera intermedia en la cual se formule esta dualidad de un modo creativo (Rivera Cusicanqui & Santos, 2015, p. 92).

[The ecology of knowledges would be like the *ch’ixi* epistemology, that is, one that rethinks the legacies of both communal societies and societies already influenced by individualist modes of work, to put into discussion a kind of intermediate sphere in which this duality would be formulated in a creative way.]

⁵ *Ch’ixi* is an Aymaran word that means mottled.

For Rivera Cusicanqui (2012), *ch'ixi* (Aymara) or *Ch'eqchi* (Quechua) does not mean conciliation of opposites: North-South. “*No es síntesis, ni es hibridación, mucho menos fusión.*” (Pazzarelli, 2016, p. 90) [It is not synthesis, nor is it hybridization, much less fusion]. Rivera Cusicanqui (2012) uses *ch'ixi* in her attempt to understand epistemology, mestizo intersubjectivity, and decolonial gesture against the internal colonialism. It is like an emulsion where liquids are mixed together but remain separate and do not blend (Figure 7).



Figure 7. Photograph of a Ch'eqchi corn, Y. Castalo, 2014.

Further, Rivera Cusicanqui's interest for the *Ch'ixi* relates to the *mestizaje*:

La ideología oficial del mestizaje, la confluencia armónica de los dos polos, el español y el indio, que daría lugar a esa fusión imaginaria: la raza cósmica (en el caso de México), o al contrario, la raza vencida y degenerada de Arguedas o Moreno, que reuniría lo peor ¿no es cierto? (Pazzarelli, 2016, p. 86).

[The official ideology of miscegenation, the harmonic confluence of the two poles, the Spanish and the Indian, that would give rise to that imaginary fusion: the cosmic race (in the case of Mexico), or on the contrary, the race defeated and degenerate Arguedas or Moreno, which would bring together the worst, wouldn't it?]

Decolonial gestures to dismantle internal colonialism should be at the core of Latin American activism. Particularly, Rivera Cusicanqui (2012) emphasizes that the vast majority of populations in the Andean region is mestizo, not indigenous. By recognizing those two forces, European and Indigenous, one can transform the internal colonialism in favor of emancipation, which, for Santos, would create solidarity.

Following the ch'ixi concept, Rivera Cusicanqui promotes bilingualism as a decolonial gesture: “El retomar el bilingüismo como una práctica descolonizadora permitirá crear un ‘nosotros’ de interlocutores/as y productores/as de conocimiento”. (Rivera Cusicanqui, 2010a, p. 71) [The return to bilingualism as a decolonizing practice will allow us to create a "we" of interlocutors and producers of knowledge.] In this study, Ch'ixi resides as the space that rises as an imaginary, balanced hybrid in harmony. Ch'ixi represents the parallel coexistence of multiple cultural differences that do not fuse, but antagonize and complement; mix, but do not blend.

In sum, concepts of coloniality and decoloniality presented by these scholars transcend the assumption of simply neutral knowledge. From a decolonial framework, knowledges are born in the struggles of those who have been victims of the injustices of capitalism, colonialism, and patriarchy.

Language Attitudes and Ideologies in Cusco, Perú

Language attitudes and ideologies in sociolinguistics and educational query are highly linked to language planning, language learning, language maintenance, or shift in research but scarcely a study apt for social justice in higher education. In this section I focus on research involving language attitudes and ideologies toward the Quechua language and Andean Spanish in Cusco, Perú, with particular emphasis on studies in urban settings. By

extension, this literature review might also serve to build understanding of the racialization effects of historical colonial practices as current stigmatization fossilized in social constructs. In this review I will demonstrate the importance of a participatory and decolonial approach for conducting this research on language attitudes and practices in Cusco.

Location and Ethnolinguistic Overview

Perú is located in South America and has 25 regional governments within its jurisdiction. These regions of Perú are commonly known as 24 regions (*departamentos*) and one constitutional province. Each department is subdivided into provinces and districts. Of the 24 departments of Perú, Cusco has the third largest indigenous urban and non-urban populations after the departments of Lima and Puno (CEPAL, 2007). Cusco department's total population in 2007 was 1,456,145 (CEPAL, 2007).

Although most people from Cusco have been associated historically with the Andean Quechua language and the ancient Inka civilization, Amazonian cultures and languages are also present. The ethno-linguistic proposal of The National Institute of Development of Andean, Amazonian, and Afro-Peruvian Peoples of Perú (INDEPA, 2010) recognizes the existence of 77 ethnic groups in Perú and 68 languages from 16 ethno-linguistic families. Of the 77 ethnic groups, at least seven are in isolation. According to the database of the Ministry of Culture of Perú, the Cusco region hosts eight indigenous languages: one Andean (Quechua) and seven Amazonian (Ashaninka, Kakinte, Nanti, Matsiguenga, Yine, Yora, and Wachipaeri). In addition to Spanish, these eight languages belong to at least five oral linguistic families (Romance, Quechua, Arawakan, Harakmbut, and Panoan) and constitute the official linguistic diversity of Cusco (Pilares Casas, 2008).

To add to the confusion, consistent consensual data about the speakers of Native languages in Cusco is absent. The census of 2007 in Perú was highly criticized by several Peruvian scholars who believed that there was a political agenda behind it (Castro & Yamada, 2010; Pilares Casas, 2008). In 1993 and 2007, data reveals the presence of indigenous language Aymara in Cusco city (Table 1), likely because of the migration of Aymara peoples from the Puno department (south of Cusco department, bordering Bolivia). Currently as well as historically, however, the Quechua language is predominant in the Cusco Department. By the year 2007, over 780,000 people, greater than 60% of the total population of the Cusco department, identified Quechua as their mother language (Pilares Casas, 2008). In the province (city) of Cusco, 23% of its population reported Quechua as their mother language in 2007 (Table 2). Quechua as the mother tongue prevails far more frequently in the department's rural rather than urban areas (Table 3).

Table 1

Number of Native Speakers in the Cusco Department in 2007 (Guido Pilares, 2008).

Language	Population	Percentage
Spanish	487, 083	37.76
Quechua	778,199	60.32
Aymara	3,941	0.31
Other Native Language	10,083	0.78
Foreign Language	1,194	0.09
Not specified	9,525	0.74

Table 2

Number of Native Speakers (> 5 years old) in Cusco Department (Rural + Urban)

Language	Location	Population	Percentage
Spanish	Cusco Department	307,920	33.7
Quechua	Cusco Department	560,101	61.30

Table 3

Number of Native Speakers (> 5 years old) in Cusco Province (Urban)

Language	Location	Population	Percentage
Spanish	Cusco Province	166,774	67.35
Quechua	Cusco Province	71.384	28.83

The Cusco department, because of the large number of speakers of Quechua and its dominant Inka heritage, identifies as an Andean region—perhaps causing the scarcity of statistical sociolinguistic studies of its Amazonian configuration. However, the Summer Linguistic Institute (SLI) did collect data from the Amazonian communities of the Alto Urubamba, Camisea, Picha, Manu, Yavero, Sepahua and Madre de Dios rivers (Table 4):

Table 4

Amazonian Languages in the Cusco Department (Solís Fonseca, 2002)

Linguistic Family	Language	Population
Arahuak	Matsiguenga	9,415
	Ashaninka	4,720
	Kakinte	174
	Yine	855
	Nanti	250
Harambut	Wachipaeri	320
Pano	Yora	200
Total		15,934

Research on Language Attitudes and Ideologies in Cusco, Perú

Parents, teachers, and students all have an impact on the use of bilingual Quechua-Spanish in education.

Parental attitudes and ideologies. Many narratives from rural indigenous Quechua parents depict concerns about the misplaced pedagogical optimism of the Quechua-Spanish bilingual model. In the words of a Quechua parent, “If [Quechua teaching] is so good for our children, why do you send them to French or English institutes?” (Garcia, 2005, p. 99). For rural Quechua parents, the place of the Quechua language is at home and not in school. This negative attitude toward the learning of Quechua in their rural schools seems to reflect their experience with the poorly implemented bilingual programs. Parents perceive Spanish as the

language of opportunity and the future. In contrast, they view the historical role of Quechua as the language of the oppressed. Such strong parental perceptions are critical sociocultural factors that help explain the opposition to a Quechua-Spanish bilingual education.

Even so, rural Quechua parents and community members sustain a “linguistic ideology of loyalty” toward Quechua language (Hornberger, 1988). Parents seem to have an explicit view of the role of Spanish: “We are campesinos, but by learning how to read and write [in Spanish], our children can defend themselves in the mestizo’s world” (Garcia, 2005, p. 94).

In the primary urban area of the Cusco department, the city of Cusco, diverse attitudes and ideologies abound towards the Quechua and Aymara languages. Similar to rural parents, some urban Quechuan parents believe that the learning of Quechua is an important part of their children’s heritage, but they recognize that Spanish is the only means for social mobility:

My kids’ mother language is Spanish. I have not gave the real value of the Quechua language in my home...if you want your kid to have a college education you need to teach your kid the Spanish verbal reasoning at the expense of the Quechua language. Here in the college the focus is on Spanish not Quechua, so in order to prepare our kids for college we made them forget their Quechua (Howard, 2007, p. 191).

On the contrary, other parents believe that learning and maintaining Quechua in both public and home spaces is highly important (Manley, 2008). These parents received bilingual instruction in their communities and moved to the city of Cusco for employment. They promote knowledge of the Quechua language at home and solicit positive attitudes toward their indigenous languages, attitudes perhaps explained by the fact that these parents were

part of two social projects for rural-born families: they were provided temporary shelter (one to two years) and food while adjusting to an urban lifestyle. These parents then had the opportunity to use their abilities in both Spanish and Quechua because they were in a bilingual community and sharing a common sociocultural background.

Teachers' language attitudes and ideologies. In rural communities, teachers' attitudes regarding multilingualism have been positive, in theory, but support for implementation is lacking. The Intercultural Bilingual Education⁶ (IBE) teachers are responsible for breaking the cycle of Spanish-only schooling, which has been part of the hegemonic discourse in Perú. Unfortunately, they lack support from non-IBE teachers and face limited resources to enact the IBE model in both rural and urban Cusco. Their main complaint centers on the insufficiency of adequate IBE training:

Teachers do not seem to be able to break away from rote-learning, blackboard copying and dictation, which is persistent, features of pedagogy in many rural schools of Perú, particularly in connection to indigenous language teaching. This type of pedagogy contradicts the purpose of IBE (Garcia, 2005, p. 93).

Teacher educators' attitudes and ideologies. In the Cusco Department three major organizations offer professional development to IBE teachers: The Academia Mayor de la Lengua Quechua del Cusco (AMLQ), the Centro Regional de Estudios Andinos Bartolome de las Casas (CBC), and the Universidad Nacional San Antonio Abad del Cusco (UNSAAC).

⁶ In the Cusco region, teachers who teach Quechua are Intercultural Bilingual Education (IBE) classroom teachers in rural communities and language (Quechua) teachers in urban classrooms. The implementation of the Quechua language courses in the city of Cusco is recent (2007); under Regional Law 025-2007 both public and private schools of the city of Cusco were called to implement Quechua language courses (Fernando Hermoza, personal communication, October 4, 2015).

The Academia Mayor de la Lengua Quechua del Cusco is the preferred source for Quechua and IBE teachers. Starting in 2008, this academy annually offers intensive two-month training in Quechua for teachers. In 2014, 1100 teachers attended this training (Fernando Hermoza, personal conversation, November 2, 2015).

The Academia Mayor de la Lengua Quechua is well known for their defense of the Qosqo-Collao dialect of Quechua. Local scholars as well as international linguists have criticized the AMLQ for fomenting a purist language ideology to their students who often are pre-service teachers. For Colonel-Molina, the language purist ideology of the Academy members, who are the main teacher educators in the Cusco Department, harms the efforts of Quechua language revitalization because the Academy members make a horizontal distinction between the Qaphac Simi (the Quechua spoken by the Inka) and Runa Simi (the Quechua spoken today). In Colonel-Molina's words, "their aspiration to control access to the language and to the people who speak it would amount to a guarantee of the Academy's continued existence and a definitive recognition of its ultimate authority". (Colonel-Molina, 2008, p. 325).

The Bilingual Experience on Campus

Because of inconsistent experiences around language ideologies of Andean college students in Cusco, Perú, it is worth looking back at the social inclusion policies in higher education there. The Universidad Nacional San Antonio Abad del Cusco (UNSAAC) has been exercising social inclusion policies since 1995, the program of educational inclusion of the UNSAAC aimed at providing academic support to students of Quechua, Aymara, and Amazonian origin who were admitted to college (Villasante, 2007). From 2003 to 2015, the UNSAAC managed a program called HatunÑan underwritten by the Ford Foundation

through their Pathways to Higher Education Program. HatunÑan was an affirmative action program that strived to reverse discrimination by developing a support system for selected groups or discriminated sectors who had inherited social exclusion. HatunÑan began in Huamanga in 2007. The cities of Cusco and Huamanga are alike in that they both have large populations of Quechuan peoples alongside indigenous scholars.

In 2009, professors in the Hatun Ñan programs of the UNSAAC and the Universidad Nacional San Cristobal de Huamanga (UNSCH) formed a research team based on a proposal from the Pontificia Universidad Catolica del Perú (PUCP). The PUCP research team formed an interdisciplinary and inter-university research laboratory. Their goal was to assess and reflect on the implications of the HatunÑan's outcomes from the perspective of an intercultural citizenship (Programa Hatun Ñan, 2011). The recurrent responses about language ideologies of the participating Andean and Amazonian college students reflected a perceived standard language ideology and linguistic discrimination. Indigenous participants at UNSAAC expressed their desire to please the general, Spanish-speaking college system. These students seemed to have accepted that standardized Spanish is the language of the academy and progress. They speak Andean Spanish, which transfers linguistic properties from Quechua to Spanish, relics of the first contact of Spanish with the Quechua language. One particular linguistic property of the Andean Spanish is the pronunciation of the sounds of the Quechua vowels when using the sounds of Spanish vowels (Lic. Evaristo Pfuture, personal communication, June 13, 2015). This particular phonological aspect is known by Peruvians as *mote* or *motoseo*. Motoseo is a term introduced by Cerrón-Palomino (2003), a Peruvian linguist, to designate Spanish as spoken by those whose mother tongue is Quechua

or Aymara. The term *mote* is rooted in a widespread stereotype in Perú that identifies the people of Andean origin as ignorant.

Andean college students at UNSAAC experience recurrent micro-aggressions or discriminatory acts based on the students' *mote* or *motoseo*. These students believe that their mother tongue, Quechua, links to their inability to speak correct Spanish. Discriminatory acts from monolingual Spanish college students reinforce this ideology and help explain the practice of language hygiene observed in many statements from the students interviewed:

It's our own problem, right? We speak Quechua, as children we grow up speaking Quechua quite a bit and, when we get here, the *mote* comes out, and there are some accents too. But trying to get rid of all of those disadvantages that sometimes put us in a bad spot, right? It leaves us out of place with everyone else (Zavala, 2011, p. 397).

Sometimes I confuse the words, vowels, then I mix a vowel i for an e ... and ... they tell you, "You must speak well" ... they say it to you in an indirect way, they start mixing the vowels on purpose ... they start laughing ...they tell you so abruptly, "I do not come from a family of cholos, I do not come from a family of farmers" (Programa Hatun Ñan, 2011, p. 32).

The narratives from the Quechuan students refer to the constant reinforcement of the inferiority of the Andean Spanish. This linguistic discrimination causes Andean students to avoid using their indigenous language to avoid linguistic shaming. "I prefer not to speak Quechua, because if I speak it my classmates will ask where I come from. I avoid it because it's a disadvantage to know Quechua" (Zavala, 2011, p. 397).

Ashaninka students also perceived the derisive connotation of *mote*. It is not clear whether their pronunciation is due to the sociolinguistic contact of Ashaninka peoples with Quechua-speaking people or if it is due to their experience with monolingual Spanish speaking peoples. “Similarly, the refusal to use [their native tongue], widespread in some Andean Quechua communities in the belief that interferes with learning the Spanish language, also occurs in Amazonian populations, to avoid linguistic interference” (Programa Hatun Ñan, 2011, p. 72).

Thus far, this review of the literature highlighted major research on language attitudes and ideologies that intersect and/or compete, research with potential to understand social power dynamics beyond communicative functions. To better understand bilingual Quechua-Spanish language practices and ideologies, however, this inquiry needs to be explored from a decolonial perspective that utilizes participatory research methodologies.

Community-Based Participatory Research (CBPR)

In order to better understand CBPR as a different way to go about research, this paper will explore first the justification for shifting to this new approach, the researcher’s identity in CBPR, the CBPR core principles, photovoice as method in a CBPR study, and finally the limitations of the approach.

In order to keep a balance between theoretical and applied uses of science, educational researchers have found through interactive research a space and time for change. Now I will focus in depth on a methodology called community-based participatory research (CBPR) to explore its potential contribution to a more collaborative orientation to research with Andean peoples.

CBPR is not a singular method but rather an approach to research. “CBPR is a fluid, iterative approach to research, interventions, and policy change that draws from a wide range of research designs and methods and pays particular attention to issues of trust, power, cultural diversity, and equity” (Minkler & Wallerstein, 2008, p. 30).

CBPR’s ontological paradigm embraces a participative reality: it relies on an epistemology of experiential and participative knowing informed by critical subjectivity and participatory transaction (Israel et al., 2012). These ontological and epistemological stances speak to similar views from the Andean locus of enunciation (Flores Ochoa, 1988).

CBPR strives to link action to research with community members. CBPR recognizes the importance of involving members of the study community population in the entire research process. In my application of CBPR, I rejected the stance of education and research “for” Andean people that is designed and prescribed “by” persons outside the Andean community. CBPR approach helped me avoid prescriptive practices that reproduce demagogic manipulation to promote servile instruction; I abstained from the using any assimilation models in a paternalistic manner.

CBPR values local and indigenous knowledges held by marginalized groups as a basis for actions that will improve people’s lives (Muhammad, Wallerstein, Sussman, Avila, Belone, & Duran, 2015). Similar to other participatory approaches, CBPR promotes an appreciation of different representations of the world that team members bring to the collaborative research endeavor. It works on issues requested by the community; so instead of bringing an agenda where the community members will participate, the community together with the researchers create an agenda.

Although CBPR emerged from the concern of health researchers and practitioners in combating health disparities, it has recently gained popularity in social sciences and educational research. In general, participatory approaches to research and intervention have relied on the critical role of partnering with community members and organizations to address “the complex set of social and environmental determinants associated with population health and those factors associated more specifically with racial and ethnic inequities in health”. (Minkler & Wallerstein, 2008, p. 47)

The Researcher’s Identity and Positionality in CBPR

As a collaborative endeavor, CBPR focuses on the relations between the researcher and the participants who become co-researchers and collaborative problem solvers. “Researchers involved in CBPR recognize the inequalities that exist between themselves and community partners and attempt to address these inequalities by developing relationships based on trust and mutual respect and by creating an empowering process that involves open communication and sharing information, decision making power, and resources” (Israel, et al., 1998, p. 179).

CBPR is concerned with the positionality of the researcher and the concrete benefits that the community can gain from the research process. In sum, CBPR seeks to improve the often vertical and colonizing relationship between the Academy and the Community.

To address the issue of inequalities, CBPR researchers have urged scholars to reflect on their approach to research. They need to address fundamental questions like these: “What is the purpose for research? Who benefits from research? How are the results from research used? How can research contribute in reducing health disparities? And what role does

research play in intervention and policy change and in knowledge generation?” (Minkler & Wallerstein, 2008, p. 48).

These fundamental questions provoke a more self-critical and reflexive practice in the researcher. Answering them honestly, the researcher does not subconsciously reproduce the existing social determinants and power structures such as poverty, status hierarchies, racism, and corporate industrial policies. To disrupt this social reproduction of colonial epistemology, CBPR requires two important practices by researchers: cultural humility and self-reflexive positionality.

Cultural humility melds inter-mental and intra-mental identity attitudes of the researcher. Practicing cultural humility is critical for CBPR scholars as they interact with community members who often do not share a similar sociocultural background. CBPR rejects the concept and practice of cultural competency, since a person cannot really achieve or completely appropriate the culture of the other. Rather, Tervalon and Murray-García recommend a process that requires humility and commitment to continual self-reflection and self-critique. To practice cultural humility one must identify and evaluate one’s own patterns of unintentional and intentional racism and classism. Further, the professional or researcher must “develop mutually beneficial and non-paternalistic partnerships with communities” (Tervalon & Murray-García, 1998, p.123).

As adopted from intercultural communication, the concept of cultural competence has been important when conducting research in collaboration with community members. However, according to CBPR theorists, these concepts fail to dismantle the power relations between the professionals and the community members they serve. Cultural competence in health care describes the ability of systems to provide care to patients with diverse values,

beliefs and behaviors, tailoring delivery to meet patients' social, cultural, and linguistic needs (Betancourt, Green, & Carrillo, 2002). However, its non-critical look at diversity is problematic, as a professional could oversimplify a culture, which could lead to stereotyping. On the other hand, cultural humility seeks to elicit patients' understanding of the community problems and their approach to solutions.

Another practice of cultural humility is self-reflexive positionality. Positionality relates to the dimensions of power and privilege in the researcher's identities. That is, a researcher engaged in CBPR must reflect on the impact of his/her positionality on the research processes and outcomes: "CBPR practitioners have recognized the potential for reproduction of gender, racial/ethnic and socio-economic inequalities and power differentials within the research process. Academic researchers represent centers of power, privilege, and status within their formal institutions as well as within the production of scientific knowledge itself" (Muhammad, et.al., 2015, p. 2).

Researchers involved in CBPR efforts acknowledge the effect of their identities and power in the relations they have with a community, particularly in the potential impact that their positionality may have on the goals of the research, interpretation of the data, and production of knowledge. The practice of reflexive auto-ethnography concerns itself constantly on researcher socialization, outsider effects on research, and the status of research equity. "We suggest that CBPR researchers must address not just the "what" of CBPR, i.e., our research questions and design, but also the "how" of CBPR, how we engage in partnering, and the "who" of CBPR--who is on the research team and how our identities intersect with the research" (Muhammad, et.al., 2015, p. 3).

Theorists at the CBPR Institute, University of New Mexico, have further explored the area of researcher-identity based on their experiences in conducting CBPR case studies “with diverse communities (i.e., tribal, segregated rural/urban, and multi-racial/ethnic, and multi-gendered communities). “...we sought to minimize the unintended consequence of re-colonizing the population by ensuring that our field teams, as much as possible, reflected the ethnicity and/or class status of the communities we investigated” (Muhammad, et al., 2015, p.13). By using an autobiographical method, these theorists explored research-team identity in four categories: research positionality, research process, knowledge creation, and publication/presentation to unpack their own learning experiences. These theorists found practical benefits for comprising the research-team identity in this way; matching researcher identity with that of the interviewee minimized social distance, mistrust, and barriers to hidden agendas; a type of triangulation of data collection by varying identity with position to increase the validity of the knowledge accessed.

Further, these theorists presented the following recommendations for a more effective CBPR practice:

- Research Team Building and Reflexivity - Within the context of ensuring a diverse academic research group, allow teams to form organically.
- Utilitarianism and Social Justice Worldview - Affirming the possibility of real social or policy change will hasten a social justice worldview, while contexts with little possibility for change might reinforce a utilitarian approach, particularly for researchers of color who face added scrutiny about the ‘coins of the realm’ within the academy. Each approach brings different strengths, shortcomings, and may also be bridged as social justice researchers seek to assure usefulness of findings.

- Reflection on Researcher Identity - Seek to include academic team members whose identities (i.e., gender, race/ethnicity, sexual orientation, and class) intersect with those of the community partners. Changing the face of the academy is an important structural way to make a difference in knowledge production, as diverse academies foster trust, effective communication, access to local knowledge and the valuing of epistemological diversity.
- Resistance within the Academy - Find open spaces of resistance in the margins and across the disciplines, with partners both in and outside the academy, whether they are scholars of color, others who occupy non-dominant social identities at the margins, or white allies who share values and perspectives of CBPR as social justice research.
- Cultivation of Co-learning and Alignment with Community Partners - While proxy trust, whether from shared identities or personal relationships, is critical for establishing entry, seek to create an authentic co-learning environment for partnership sustainability, and, ultimately, utility of research findings. Additionally, establishing a continual co-learning environment promotes community ownership and co-governance, an essential element of any change or improvement targeted for complex systems.
- Collaborative, Up, Down, Peer Mentorship - Foster an equity-based research environment through mentorship that acknowledges the collective levels of expertise among community and academic partners.
- Sustainability - Seek to sustain partnerships through respect for local knowledge, traditions, and community concerns as central to the overall CBPR project. Assertion

of, or lack of critical awareness of, researcher positionality and power, even if unintentional, can lead to a devaluing of community voice, reducing the potential for long-lasting partnerships.

- Researcher Accountability - Develop a community checklist for holding academic researchers and universities accountable to core components of CBPR.

All these recommendations attempt to prevent the researcher from appropriating knowledge; rather, they prompt the researcher to engage in a critical co-learning process. CBPR theorists are also concerned with a more democratic practice with the community partners. Although some researchers would see themselves as insiders, who have close ties to the community under study, the academic historical legacy that the researcher has acquired needs to be discussed critically and reflected on: “Some of us may share common identities with the community; or may be “insider-outsiders” with bonds to the community based on ethnic identity, gender, sexual orientation, or disability, for example, yet we are outsiders based on other factors, such as our educational attainment or a change in class status, and the privileges that then convey. We may have to start *de novo* and therefore face challenges in being accepted” (Israel et al., 2012, p. 45).

These deep reflections on research identity and power can help us understand the principles of CBPR.

The Core Principles of CBPR

True, involving the community has been a historical practice among scholars and community organizations or members. However, CBPR challenges the level of commitment and relationship produced in these partnerships by enunciating principles for guidance, as

discussed in Methods for community-based participatory research for health (Israel et al., 2012):

1. CBPR acknowledges community as a unit of identity. ‘Community as a unit of identity’ defines a sense of identification with and emotional connection to others through common symbol systems, values and norms, shared interests, and commitments to meeting mutual needs.
2. CBPR builds on strengths and resources within communities of identity.
3. CBPR facilitates a collaborative, equitable partnership in all phases of research, involving an empowering and power-sharing process that attends to social inequalities. To the extent possible, all partners participate in and share decision-making and control over all stages of the research process.
4. CBPR fosters co-learning and capacity building among all partners. The reciprocal exchange of skills, knowledges, and capacities is paramount. This principle relates to cultural humility, since, by practicing cultural humility, the researcher is predisposed to recognize different bodies of knowledge, often non-academic.
5. CBPR integrates and achieves a balance between knowledge generation and intervention for the mutual benefit of all partners.
6. CBPR focuses on the local relevance of public health problems and on ecological perspectives that attend to the multiple determinants of health.
7. CBPR involves systems development using a cyclical and iterative process.
8. CBPR disseminates results to all partners and involves them in the wider dissemination of results. CBPR emphasizes the dissemination of research findings to

all partners and communities involved in ways that are understandable, respectful, and useful.

CBPR involves a long-term process and commitment to sustainability in order to establish and maintain the trust necessary to successfully carry out CBPR endeavors. This long-term commitment frequently extends beyond a single research project or funding period (Israel et al., 2012, p. 1-9). Deep appreciation of CBPR stems from the principles described above. As a novice CBPR scholar, I strived to apply these principles at the beginning and throughout my partnership with Andean college students. These principles oriented me to learn from the community, build capacity among the individuals, and translate research findings into actions that will benefit the community. The importance of balancing research, and actions is linked to the theoretical underpinnings of CBPR, which draw on the writings of Brazilian educator Paulo Freire (Freire, 1970). Freirean pedagogy embodies the core principles of participation, knowledge creation, power, and praxis (Wallerstein & Duran, 2008). This set of guiding principles undergirds the work of many scholars who use CBPR methods and often serves as a guideline for practitioners. Partnership formation and maintenance are at the core of CBPR efforts, and many of the principles of CBPR allow the researcher to better regulate and reflect on sustaining an effective partnership.

Embarking on a CBPR project usually begins with a partnership with a community organization with which they envision a long-term relationship. In this study, identification of potential partners and partnerships through appropriate networks, associations, and leaders was at the core (Minkler & Wallerstein, 2008). My partnership with two Quechuan college students (Yexy Huillca Quishua and Wencelao Huayllani Mercado) was immensely helpful to begin this CBPR journey. Then, partnering with Voluntariado Intercultural Hatun Ñan, a

proactive group of bilingual college students, for the development of the photovoice study was critical. Formation of these partnerships in CBPR helped begin and sustain a community participation by “negotiating a research agenda based on a common framework of mechanisms for change, and creating and nurturing structures to sustain partnerships, though constituency-building and organizational development” (Minkler & Wallerstein, 2008).

Three fundamental questions can be used periodically to evaluate partnerships: “What did/do you value most about the meeting/partnership? What did/do you value least about the meeting/partnership? What suggestions do you have for how to improve the meeting or partnership” (Minkler & Wallerstein, 2008, p. 393). Respective of limitation of funding, the ongoing use of these questions provides information for assessing the partnership’s progress over time.

CBPR core principles challenge researchers to have community partners involved in the analysis and interpretation of data, as well as the dissemination of the findings. Since CBPR researchers strive for the involvement of the community partner in all phases of research, ideally the scholars and community members negotiate what methods fit best for exploring the identified research problem. Consider any selected method as a tool of an ongoing equity advocacy, and policy change strategy (Israel et al., 2012).

Photovoice in CBPR

One goal for researchers involved in CBPR is to use methods for dissemination of findings that are easily accessible to community members and the public. CBPR scholars value a format with potential to engage the community in learning about the research findings. Therefore, CBPR scholars have suggested photovoice as a preferred participatory

method for youth engagement, data dissemination, which could better engage the community.

Photovoice is a visual participatory research methodology created by Wang and Burris (1994, 1997). These authors draw on the Freirean orientation to achieve critical consciousness (Freire, 1973). Similar to Freire's use of images as catalysts for critical collective dialogue, photovoice pictures serve to engage participants in germane dialogues and discussions (Latz, 2017). Freire's drawing and the photographs of Wang and Burris differ technically of course, however the photographs do not always represent the actual community reality; they could also be used to create metaphors of that reality guided by the photovoice participant's subjectivity.

Wang and Burris proposed photovoice as a method for marginalized peoples to document their experiences and comment on the social and political forces that influenced those experiences. This method involves having community partners visually represent and communicate their lived experiences. Photovoices, the photographs selected for a photovoice exposition become a tool allowing participants to project their message to the public and probe critical discussions. A photovoice exposition is led by the participants themselves and is a critical component to achieve the ultimate goal of photovoices, raising consciousness.

According to Wang (2006) and Latz (2017), the overall goals of photovoice are to enable people to:

1. Record and reflect their personal and community's strengths and concerns through taking photographs
2. Promote critical dialogue and knowledge about important issues through discussing their photographs

3. Reach policymakers and decision-makers who can influence positive social change through hosting public forums and showings of their photographs.

Photovoice allows participants to share their knowledge with people who might not normally have access, such as policymakers or community members who are influential people. Participants may forge relationships through which their insights operate to catalyze individual and social change (Wang & Burris, 1997).

To experience an integral photovoice experience, often researchers cover the following steps according to Wang (2006, p.149-152):

1. Select and recruit a target audience of policy makers or community leaders.
2. Recruit a group of Photovoice participants.
3. Introduce the Photovoice methodology to participants, and facilitate group discussion about cameras, power and ethics.
4. Obtain informed consent.
5. Pose initial themes for taking pictures.
6. Distribute cameras to participants and review how to use the camera.
7. Provide time for participants to take pictures.
8. Meet to discuss photographs and identify themes.
9. Plan with participants a format to share photographs and stories with policy makers or community leaders.

These steps often happen chronologically; however, there is no linear strictness as photovoice participants can always alter this process. Contrasting with Wang's initial step of meeting with policy makers, Latz (2017) recognized that initiation need not begin top-down

but could vary depending on sociocultural, political, ideological, ethical, and theoretical underpinnings that inform the photovoice orientation.

Steps two and three listed by Wang (2006) are crucial to identify potential participants of interest. Participants must commit to understanding the methodology of photovoice and must be dependably available. Attrition of participants during the study is a reality even though informed consents are obtained. This too is part of the dynamics of CBPR.

Wang suggest posing initial themes (that probably were informed by the policy makers or community leaders) to stimulate conversations and thoughts among photovoice participants. Latz illustrates a more participatory stance for this step: "...prompts should be open-ended; they can take the form of questions, directive statements," (Latz, 2017, p. 71). Latz emphasizes the important of this stage which she called it "documentation"; her primary concern focuses on the effective photography prompt as this will ensure the exploration in depth of the general topic under study. Under the CPBR perspective, the collective discussion to pose initial themes or redefine potential initial themes would be preferred instead of structured prompts initiated by the photovoice facilitators (informed by policy makers or community leaders) that may carry pre-conceptions. In addition, each participant might interpret these initial themes chosen to guide the photo taking differently. Actual picture taking occurs at the end a solo process where each participant decides what to elicit in his or her picture. The core of the photovoice process resides in interpretation of the photographs: participants, not an investigator, analyze and interpret their pictures. These interpretations are often recorded as data by the academic researcher for further analysis (Latz, 2017).

Because the level of group participation is critical, group discussions commonly start with a look at all photographs. After selecting representative pictures, each participant shares their interpretation of their own photographs as relates to the main topic under study. During these discussions about the meanings of the photographs, facilitators often use the SHOWeD method (Wang, 1999, p. 188) to engage photovoice participants in deep discussions about their photographs. The SHOWeD method stands for the following:

S - What do you **S**ee?

H - What is really **H**appening here?

O - How does this relate to **O**ur lives?

W- **W**hy does this situation, concern, or strength exist?

e – How could this photo be used to **e**ducate others?

D - What can we **D**o about it?

Photovoice participants use these questions to engage themselves in dialogues directed to identify issues as well as to discuss potential solutions. After photo-elicited discussions about community problems, strengths, and potential action towards social change, participants draft captions that encapsulate the main message of each selected photograph.

The last step in the photovoice process is to “plan with participants a format to share photographs and stories with policy makers or community leaders” (Wang, 2006, p.152). Latz (2017) calls this last step of the process a “presentation”. These exhibits are expositions that engage others in a critical dialogue elicited by the photographs. Ideally, during this photovoice presentation the policy makers and other community leaders are present to hear not only the identified issues but also the potential solutions recommended by photovoice participants.

Photovoice exhibitions can be either generally educational or more art-based and aesthetic (Latz, 2017). All photovoice exhibitions are encouraged to happen in a “public” location, as the ultimate goal is to engage community members in systemic social change. Latz (2017) and Wang (2006) agree that having the photovoice exhibition in community public spaces reaffirms the public issues under discussion, perhaps a good reflection of the Freirean theoretical underpinning of photovoice. In the digital age, the location of a photovoice exhibition might be virtual not physical.

Although, the photovoice process often ends with the photovoice exhibitions, CBPR requires photovoice researchers to think about photovoice exhibitions as the main effort “to capitalize on increased awareness as a means for creating action leading to local change” (Strack et al., 2010, p. 635). Further, for CBPR scholars it is highly important to balance “expectations with local conditions for change” (Strack et al., 2010, p. 635). This reflection relates to the CBPR focus of building partnerships for sustainability. Once the photovoice study is completed, the community partners should be able to carry on the agenda and any further actions needed for tangible social change. However, cultural humility reminds us about the transformations might have different expressions and not solely in ways perceived as new policy.

Limitations of the CBPR Approach

CBPR aims to engage community members in greater levels of participation. Ultimately, the investigator from the academy and the community members involved in a CBPR study become co-researchers who share the power of the photovoice process. Efforts towards these goals often fall short due to various factors, however. One significant aspect is that, no matter how dedicated to equitable representation a researcher might be, attaining

true equality is often very difficult if not impossible. As Savin-Baden and Major state, “[W]e suggest that mutual participation and true collaboration are rarely really possible, excepting between those of equal status” (Savin-Baden & Major, 2013, p. 271). Cognizance of this potential inequity must always flavor interpretations of any results.

A second major factor is the demand for great amounts of time required for these projects which creates problems for some researchers, particularly those facing professional pressures from the academy. “For example, CBPR is less feasible for faculty members struggling to earn promotion or tenure, who must meet high publication demands” (Branon, 2012, p.267).

In conclusion, the literature I have reviewed suggests that the decolonial thinking it is critical in studies that focuses on both observing, and engaging in alternative forms of being, knowledge, and power. Therefore, decolonial thinking as a conceptual framework helps this researcher transcend euro-centric understanding on Quechua-Spanish bilingualism. The decolonial perspective helps the researcher reveal forms that Quechua-Spanish college students challenge coloniality at work.

Further, the review of empirical research on language attitudes has recently adopted an orientation towards naturalistic inquiry. Studies by Zavala (2011) incorporated interviews, which allowed the participants to narrate their experiences, a progression that revealed discriminatory acts. Although qualitative research is recently leading up to participatory investigations in education, community-based participatory research goes even further and allows participants to create and reshape the space for dialogue that explores in depth their language practices.

CBPR centers on disrupting the vertical relations between the researcher and the subjects, in my opinion this is aligned with the decolonial thinking framework used in this study.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

Community-Based Participatory Research and Design Overview

Community-based participatory research (CBPR) underpins this study. The principal motivator for selecting CBPR was because this approach to research values local and indigenous knowledge as a basis for actions that improves people's lives (Muhammad et al., 2015). The CBPR approach offered an alternative, non-western approach to working with Andean community members, mainly youth. This CBPR study focused on an issue suggested by the Andean college students, former members of an affirmative action Hatun Ñan program. These students wanted to explore the possible argument that could support their desire to have the Quechua language as a core course in all departments within a public university that serves Quechuan students. This study therefore required the use of an engaging participatory method, photovoice, in order to address the different types of questions related to opportunities for Quechua-Spanish students in regards to the use of Quechua language.

The photovoice method had two major phases because the photovoice process from a CBPR approach involved a great deal of time and effort to establish the conditions for a CBPR photovoice study to happen. The first phase focused on approaching the community. The second phase covered nine steps of the photovoice study (Wang, 2006), described in Chapter 2. Figure 8 shows the sequential flow of this design.

Community-Based Participatory Research with Photovoice

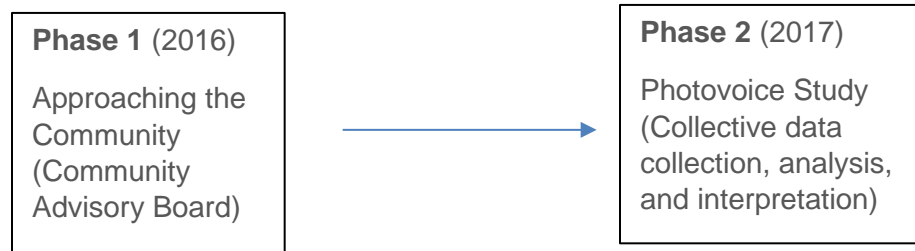


Figure 8. Sequential flow of the CBPR phases

Phase 1: Approaching the Community of Bilingual Quechua-Spanish College Students

Background on the Community Partnership

The topic of this research emerged during conversations with Emilio Tito Vega, an activist student of anthropology at the Universidad San Antonio del Cusco (UNSAAC) and former associate of the Hatun Ñan program. I was introduced to Emilio via email, and in spring, 2015, Emilio and I began having Skype conversations about the Quechua language and its role in the UNSAAC. We would talk mainly in Spanish but often in Quechua. Also at this time, I was taking the Community-Based Participatory Research (CBPR) course at the CBPR summer institute of the University of New Mexico (UNM). Emilio would later introduce me to some bilingual Quechua-Spanish students who would become the photovoice facilitators.

When talking to Emilio, I employed the principle of cultural humility advocated by CBPR. I would remind myself that, although I was a former UNSAAC graduate myself, my eleven years living in the United States distanced me and I no longer felt like an insider. At that time I learned about the Hatun Ñan program through Emilio and learned that he and

several other Quechuan students were trying to have this program institutionalized in the UNSAAC because they were aware that the Ford funding was soon to end. I asked Emilio Tito Vega, along with other Quechuan students Ronald Castillo Callapiña, Yexy Huilca Quishua, and Wenceslao Huayllani Mercado at UNSAAC, about how could my research training be of use around the general topic of Quechua-Spanish bilingualism. They were curious to know if my research could help to find ways to increase the Quechuan ethnolinguistic awareness among students and explore how to increase the visibility of Quechua in the university.

These students, Emilio and Ronald, were actual members of the Hatun Ñan program at that time (summer, 2015). They explained that there was no facility in the university where students could use Quechua outside of Hatun Ñan meetings. Further, they also confirmed a recurring insight I found in the literature: the enlightened policy promoting an intercultural approach to education was mostly wonderful words, far from reality in both the university and the national educational system. The very few exceptions involved community-based projects.

The students were glad and surprised to learn of a new-to-them participatory approach to research; although the participatory aspect resonated with their own Andean cultural identity. Their enthusiasm helped me commit to community-based participatory research (CBPR) as the leading strategy for my proposed study.

Formalizing the Community Advisory Board

I began to work on the Investigation Review Board (IRB) paperwork for the CBPR study in fall, 2015. Emilio was graduating from the UNSAAC and going back to his Quechuan rural community in Apurimac to work as a high school teacher. Although Emilio

was a key person in initiating the focus of my current proposal, he could not formally join the Community Advisory Board⁷ for this study since he no longer resided in Cusco City. In spring, 2016, Wenceslao Huayllani and Yexy Huillca (senior students of Anthropology), both current UNSAAC students, became the Community Advisory Board for this CBPR study and are listed as co-researchers in the IRB-approved protocol.

In the summer, 2016, I traveled to Cusco to physically meet Yexy and Wences to start a survey study. One of our meetings at that time was convened in a *w'atia*⁸ to continue the conversation on the vision for our team's future actions to accomplish the research goals (survey study and later a photovoice study). The CBPR team members were highly engaged in the *w'atia* as they all have grown with this cultural practice. We decided to use *w'atia* discussion sessions because they are a historically and culturally relevant format that strengthen our ties for future steps. The pictures (Figure 9) below show Yexy, Wences, and I during our first *w'atia*.

⁷ Community Advisory Boards (CAB) refers to a group of members from a community who are interested in becoming co researchers in a Community-Based Participatory Research.

⁸ W'atia is a Quechua-Aymara practice which probably have been used in the Andes since pre-Inka times. The *w'atia* is the process of building a clay oven, firing to then insert crops to cook. The end product is the cooked crops. In the entire process of the *w'atia* materials from nature are used with the exception of matches to start the fire.



Figure 9. First CBPR W'atia, Y. Kenfield, 2016

These students have a history of involvement in forums related to social inclusion and intercultural initiatives towards equity education. They have high cross-cultural skills since they themselves were born outside of the urban area of Cusco. Their Andean background and language skills in Spanish and Quechua added tremendously to this study.

By summer 2016 I traveled to Cusco to conduct with Yexy and Wences a survey study to preliminary observe from a larger scope some demographics from the student population of the *Universidad San Antonio Abad del Cusco*. The main motivation to conduct this survey was the lack of statistical data on the mother languages of the students. We found that 32.29% of students had Quechua as their mother language, 3.14% of students had Quechua-Spanish as their mother language, and 64.57% students had Spanish as their mother language. Although the number of Quechua speakers impressed every one of us, the reasons were different. Yexy and Wences thought they were going to find more students with Quechua as their mother language, and I thought the number of Quechuan students were going to be less than 30%. Later, I talked to the director of the center of statistics at the UNSAAC and he would inform me that in fact there is an increased of students who are not

from the Cusco province, rather from Quechuan communities and provinces where the level of bilingualism is higher. I was gladly surprised to learn all of that.

The survey study conducted with Yexy and Wences established a closer relationship despite the geographical long-distance spaces guided by core principles of CBPR: co-learning, capacity building, and partnership. In December of 2017 I moved to Cusco and meet regularly with Yexy and Wences to plan and envision the photovoice study. They both would become the facilitators and collaborators, formally called in CBPR terms as the Community Advisory Board.

Additionally, since fall 2016, I had the indirect collaboration Claudia Cuba Huamaní of Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos Bartolome de las Casa (CBC), a local non-profit organization based in Cusco. Claudia Cuba Huamaní, who self-identifies as Quechuan, works as the main coordinator of Casa Campesina, a housing project of (CBC). Casa Campesina lodges any villager (Andean or Amazonian) who needs lodging in the city of Cusco for short periods of time while taking care of any issues in the city. These villagers often have to spend some days in the city for health, legal, or social services that can only take place in Cusco city. These Andean women have extensive experience in advocating for language diversity focused on education of adult Quechua villagers

It is important to mention that in particular Claudia Cuba Huamaní was a key collaborator when photovoice students decided to get involved with the Casa Campesina project of the Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos Bartolome de las Casa (CBC). The relationship with Claudia Cuba Huamani begins in 2016 when Yexy, Wences, and I wanted to share our initial survey results with Quechuan peoples in the city of Cusco.

Phase 2: The Photovoice Study

I conducted a photovoice project with the collaboration of Yexy and Wences during the months of January to July of 2017 in Cusco, Peru. This phase of the research was guided by the following research question:

What issues do Andean college students raise to the opportunities to practice Quechua-Spanish bilingualism in higher education?

Photovoice Participants

The participants in this study were adult students who resided in an urban setting and attended the Universidad San Antonio Abad del Cusco (UNSAAC). These students identified themselves as Andean, Quechuan, or place specific (e.g. Haquireño, as someone from the Haqira town, Apurimac department, Peru). The students' ethnicity is Andean, all self-identify as an Andean person.

In Perú, an Andean person is one who was born in the Andean mountainous range or whose heritage and ancestors are Andean. Andean people speak any of the following three languages: Spanish, Quechua, and/or Aymara (and their diverse array of variations). Andean peoples whose first language is Quechua often speak the language variation known as bilingual Spanish (Escobar, 1988) in which morphosyntactic and phonological features from the Quechuan linguistic inventory carry into Spanish, a dialectical signature of this variation.

These Photovoice participants were selected from the pool of students who completed the sociolinguistic survey study conducted by Yexy, Wences, and this doctoral student. Over twenty students responded to an email invitation to the first photovoice orientation session. Only sixteen actually came to our first orientation session, fifteen signed the informed consent but due to time availability three photovoice participants could not continue after the

3rd session. Twelve photovoice participants were part of the photovoice study. All of them (12) self-identified as bilinguals who were bilingual from birth, or who had Quechua as their first language, or whose first language was Spanish (Table 5). All participants manifested that they wanted to be refer by their actual names in this study with the exception of PucaHuayta which is a pseudonym.

Table 5

Photovoice Participants' First Language and College Major

N°	Names	First Language	Major
1.	Castilla Callapiña, Ronald	Quechua	Anthropology
2.	Ccasa Aparicio, Carmen	Spanish	Law
3.	Chino Mamani, Fructuoso	Quechua-Spanish	Law
4.	Conde Banda, Nilda	Quechua-Spanish	Anthropology
5.	Ccasani Ccossco, Edgar	Quechua	psychology
6.	Flores Ramos Ana, Cinthia	Quechua-Spanish	Anthropology
7.	Levita Pillco, Yolanda	Quechua	Anthropology
8.	PucaHuayta	Quechua -Spanish	Anthropology
9.	Quispe Huayhua, Gabriel	Quechua	psychology
10.	Tecsi Ayme, Yanet	Quechua	Agronomy
11.	Vargas Quispe, Yuly	Quechua-Spanish	Communication
12.	Ventura Aucca, Diana.	Quechua-Spanish	Anthropology

The photovoice participants brief biographic information can be found in Figure 10, this demographic information includes mother language, ethnicity, and some migration information which was revised by each of the photovoice participants.



Ronald Castilla Callapiña is a recent graduate of Anthropology. He is originally from the Quechua community of Misca, Cusco. Her mother tongue is Quechua and he became bilingual due to his schooling in Spanish. Ronald self-identified as Quechua and a poet. He is interested in promoting the Quechua language not only by giving face-to-face tutorials but also via whatsapp and facebook. Ronald lives between Misca and the city of Cusco due to his studies and work.



Carmen Ccasa Aparicio was born in Combapata, in the department of Cusco. Although her mother tongue is Spanish due to her mother's work in intercultural bilingual education in Quechua communities Carmen learned Quechua as a child, but with her schooling in Spanish she stopped speaking Quechua. Carmen takes Quechua classes in a language center to help the process of recovering her second language. He is a law student, and a member of the Intercultural Volunteering Hatun Ñan group.



Edgar Ccasani Ccoscco was born in Haquira, in the department of Apurímac. Edgar is a Quechua-speaker from birth. He completed his schooling in Spanish. It identifies itself as a Haquireño. He is a student of psychology. Edgar is president of Volunteering Hatun Ñan group HIVÑ and organizes cultural activities inside and outside the university with incoming students from provinces in the university. He moved to Cusco for his studies.



Nilda Conde Banda was born in Kunturkanki, in the department of Cusco. Nilda calls herself Quechuan and is Quechua-Spanish bilingual from birth. All her schooling was in Spanish with the inclusion of a Quechua courses in some grades. She is a student of the professional career of anthropology. Nilda is part of the Intercultural Voluntariado Hatun Ñan. Nilda migrated to the city of Cusco for her university studies.



Fructuoso Chino Mamani was born in Kunturkanki in the department of Cusco. Fructuoso self-identifies as Quechua and bilingual from birth since his mother is a Quechua speaker and his father is bilingual. All his schooling was in Spanish. He is a law student at the university where he is also an active member of the VIHÑ. Fructuoso migrated to Cusco for his college studies.

Figure 10. Photovoice Participants' Bios



Cinthia Flores Ramos was born in San Jerónimo in the department of Cusco, where she still resides. She was bilingual from birth, she had her schooling in Spanish in the city of Cusco. Cinthia feels that it is important to maintain Quechua as part of her identity. That is why she is actively maintaining her bilingualism with her family and with her Quechua-speaking peers from the university in Anthropology. Cinthia hopes to write her thesis in Quechua and Spanish. She is an active member of the VIHÑ.



Yolanda Levita Pilco was born in Chinchero, in the department of Cusco. Quechua is her mother tongue, and then with her schooling in Spanish she became bilingual. Yolanda is a student of the anthropology career and is my member of the Intercultural Volunteering Hatun Ñan. She is also part of the Bicentennial Youth Association of Chinchero. Yolanda did not have to emigrate to the city of Cusco however to be able to attend college from Chinchero she has to have a 45 minute trip.



Gabriel Quispe Huayhua was born in Haquira, in the department of Apurímac. Gabriel is bilingual from birth who had also bilingual parents. He considers that Quechua is his mother tongue, all his schooling was done in Spanish. He identifies himself as a Haquireño. He is a student of psychology. He is a musician, he plays the Andean instrument charango, quena, zampoña; and the guitar. As a member of VIHÑ, Gabriel includes music in VIHÑ various activities. He currently works in a non-governmental organization called Amhauta, oriented to Adult Education within Human Rights framework, in which he can use his Quechua skills in the field with Quechua speakers. He resides in the city of Cusco for his studies.



Yuli Vargas Quispe was born in Sicuani, in the department of Cusco. She is bilingual from birth and all her schooling was in Spanish, with the exception that one Quechua course in high school. Yuly self-identifies as Quechua. She is a student of communication. Yuli had to emigrate to the city of Cusco for her studies where she works in a printing press. Yuli is a member of the Intercultural Volunteering Hatun Ñan group. She is very active in creating communicational products that promote Quechua and anti-discrimination through not only brochures, but also theater and using her own traditional Andean clothing in some exhibitions.

Figure 10 Continued. Photovoice Participants' Bios




	<p>Diana Ventura Auca was born in Anta, department of Cusco, and grew up among high Andean communities due to the teaching work of her single mother, for which she learned Quechua in her childhood. She considers her cultural identity as much as Quechua and Chanka (Panaca-Killque), both legacies with the common Quechua language. Diana was also raised by her grandmother Regina Chacca Ichuhuayta, who was Chanka (Cotabambas, Apurimac), she had schooling in Spanish and for that reason Diana lost many of her Quechua language skills. She is now in the process of recovering the Quechua language. She is a student of Anthropology.</p>
	<p>Yaneth Tecsi Ayme was born in Caycay, in the department of Cusco. She had Quechua as her mother tongue, and then with bilingual Quechua-Spanish schooling she became bilingual. Yaneth is a student of Agronomy and member of the Intercultural Volunteering Hatun Ñan. Yaneth did not emigrate to the city of Cusco for his university studies however to be able to attend college from Caycay she has to have travel for about 70 minutes.</p>
	<p>PucaHuayta is a bilingual student of Anthropology at UNSAAC, originally from the community of Yanarico, Apurimac. She is interested in disseminating and maintaining the Quechua language. She is bilingual from birth and in her schooling she had Quechua instruction in addition to Spanish. She now resides in Cusco for her university studies.</p>

Figure 10 Continued. Photovoice Participants' Bios

Collection methods will retrieve data from the field notes (observations), narratives written by the photovoice participants about their photos (brochure for the photoexhibition), photo-elicited semi-structured individual interviews with photovoice participants, audio-recorded photovoice group discussions. The data collection occurred throughout the three major stages of a photovoice study, as in Figure 11:

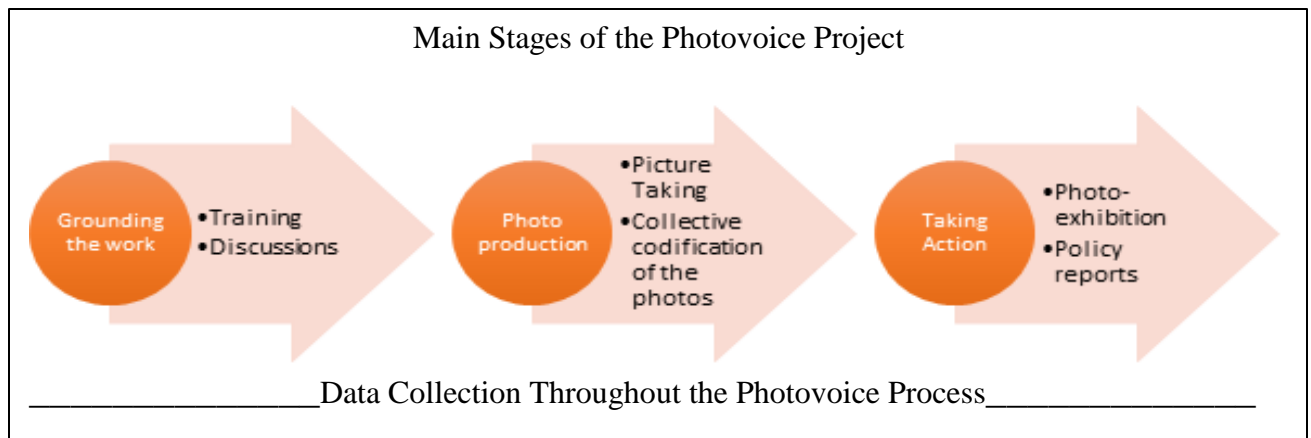


Figure 11. Data Collection Throughout the Main Stages of The Photovoice Project

Photovoice

In photovoice (Wang & Burris, 1994) the community members being studied are active participants of the research. Wang drew from the problem-posing method used by Freire in his work with peasants in Latin America. Freire had participants represent in drawings their reality to visualize the issues they wanted to change in their communities. In photovoice, photography replaces Freire's drawings as an innovative tool that support participants to represent their messages.

Further, in photovoice selected photographs ultimately are exhibits that serve to probe discussions with community members and policy makers during a photovoice exhibition lead by the participants themselves.

In this study, photovoice was oriented towards:

- a) documenting the situations which impede and/or allow the undergraduate students' use of their Quechua-Spanish bilingualism in higher education,

- b) promoting critical dialogue and knowledge about personal and community attitudes toward indigenous language and heritage through group discussions of photographs; and
- c) challenging the language ideological distortions that obstruct Quechua-Spanish bilingual practices at the college level, particularly focusing on de-stigmatizing the bilingual Spanish and Quechua language variations.

Throughout the photovoice process, Yexy and Wences were active photovoice facilitators, coordinators, supporters, and co-researchers, in CBPR terms they were genuinely serving as the community advisory board for the study. Photovoice participants (11) participated in the entire process while one participant (Ronald Castilla Callapiña) was only able to participate to the first stage photovoice sessions (six sessions). Therefore, his photographs are not part of this study. However, he was active in supporting the first photovoice exhibition which did not conflict with his availability.

Initially the length of photovoice sessions was thought for two hours at the most, but this changed as the photovoice participants suggested longer sessions outside the city. In total we had 13 photovoice sessions over a period of six months (January-March and May-July of 2017), and 4 meetings devoted only for logistics of the main photovoice exhibition in the university campus. Figure 12 describes the processes to take place during the photovoice projects.

<i>Photovoice Process Overview</i>	
<u>Context of the Photovoice Sessions</u>	<u>Major Steps in the Photovoice Project</u>
The 1 st session lasted 90 minutes for the orientation and presentation of the consent form. This session took place at the research library of the Universidad San Antonio Abad del Cusco (UNSAAC).	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Introduction to Photovoice study and facilitators. 2. Additionally, I went over the consent form. At the end of this session participants were asked to sign the consent form.
The 2 nd session lasted six hours, we met at the UNSAAC main entrance to take from there a bus to the Sacsayhuaman area (outside the city). It took 30 minutes from the UNSAAC the trip to the Tambomachay area where we began our hike. We hike for 30 minutes between two stops to have group discussions facilitated by Yexy, Wences, and I. The photovoice participants were divided into small groups. Lunch boxes were provided.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. Group discussions were focus on trying to identify main themes related to the general main topic of the study the Quechua-Spanish bilingualism in higher education (limitations, opportunities, and projected changes). Some questions posed by the facilitators were: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Is the Quechua language important to you? Why? • What language/s has status at the UNSSAC? Why is that? • What in my student life or community has helped me maintain the Quechua language? • What in student life or community has slowed down my use of the Quechua language since becoming a college student? • Do you think that inclusion or exclusion based on language exist in UNSAAC? Why do you think that happens?

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What is my experience of inclusion or exclusion based on language?
<p>The 3rd session lasted 2 hours include a brief presentation of the results from the discussions of the previous session. This session took place in an Anthropology classroom at UNSAAC.</p> <p>The documents presented in this session was also share with students electronically.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4. The photovoice facilitators (Yexy, Wences, and I) presented a list of themes that emerged in the group discussions during the previous session. By looking at the themes (focused on their language practices in the university) students verify that their voice was understood. Students expanded in depth the major themes that would later direct the photograph-taking. 5. I briefly provided two examples of photovoice exhibitions, so participants would think about possible questions about their own participation in this study. 6. Last, in this session I introduced the SHOWeD Method. This method was again discussed in a session after they took their picture. The SHOWeD method is a set of questions to guide the photovoice participant in his/her selection of visual narratives (Wang & Burris, 1997; and Wang, 2006): <hr/> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What do you See here? • What's really Happening here? • How does this relate to Our lives? • Why are things this way?

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How can this image Educate people? • What can we Do about it?
<p>The 4th session focused on the protocol for taking pictures and photograph training. Disposable cameras were provided participants that requested them.</p> <p>The location of this session was in Casa de la Cultura in Cusco downtown. This session lasted 2.5 hours.</p>	<p>7. The photography training was delivered by a professional photographer.</p> <p>8. Finally, during this session, the facilitator introduced questions to guide the sharing for next session with Quechuan women of the Huayllapata community.</p>
<p>The 4th session took place in the Quechuan community of Huayllapata, Cusco. This community is located in the province of Paucartambo. It took 1.5 hours to get to the community from the city of Cusco. We took with us several goods for our gathering with the Women Association of Weavers of Huayllapata.</p> <p>This session lasted 10 hours.</p> <p>During this field trip the photovoice participants had the chance to preliminary share their answers to the questions they were prompted electronically.</p> <p>This discussion was video recorded.</p>	<p>9. Photovoice participants first heard the Weavers to have a chance to converse in Quechua and learned about their work as weavers. We helped with the cooking for our shared lunch.</p> <p>10. Photovoice participants shared their thoughts prompted by four questions that were sent to them electronically:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What in my (university) student life has helped me maintain or recover the Quechua language? • What has slowed down my use of the Quechua, and Quechua-Spanish bilingualism since becoming a college student? • How do (or will) I promote the Quechua language and Quechua-Spanish bilingualism in my university?

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How should the university support the promotion, recovery and maintenance of the Quechua language and Quechua-Spanish bilingualism in my university
<p>There is no session while participants take pictures. Participants requested to have identifiable humans in the pictures. Therefore, I made amendments in the IRB protocol and had it approved by April 2017. Photovoice participants were asked to sign the Spanish version of the amended consent form. (Appendix 1)</p> <p>The last four questions that guided the sharing of photovoice students in the session in Huayllapata were suggested to be used as the main reference to guide their picture-taking.</p> <p>I individually had photo-elicited interviews with the photovoice participants. I used questions that prompt students to share the meaning behind their images (Appendix 2). Within three weeks after the interview, each participant received a written transcription to make any changes they deem necessary. They were given seven days to make any changes. Everyone was satisfied with the transcriptions. These communications took place via email.</p>	
<p>The 5th session took place in the Casa Campesina institution. I paid for a lunch in the restaurant which is part of the Casa Campesina project. This session lasted 3.5 hours. We first had lunch and then work on the collective sharing and selection of the main photographs for the photovoice exhibition. This session happened in April during the first week of their semester.</p>	<p>11. Prior to his meeting photovoice participants selected 4 photographs. I printed for them those 4 pictures. After everyone looked at everyone pictures. Photovoice participants were divided in small groups.</p> <p>12. Facilitators provided the SHOWed questions to participants to guide the discussion to a critical direction. These questions were either in Quechua or Spanish.</p> <p>13. Selecting, Contextualizing, and Codifying Photos. The facilitators</p>

	<p>helped the group in developing a consensus for the categories. Students in their small groups helped each other to select only two of the four photographs to be used during the photovoice exhibition.</p> <p>14. Students voiced their desire to have their first photovoice exhibition in Casa Campesina.</p>
<p>The 6th session lasted 90 minutes. This session took place in a classroom at the university. This session was focused on the practicing the SHOWed method to prompt critical dialogue during the photovoice exhibition.</p>	<p>15. Students used the SHOWed method to guide their conversations with a partner elicited by each other photograph.</p>
<p>The 7th session, 2 hours, at Casa de la Cultura in downtown Cusco.</p>	<p>16. During this session photovoice participants were able to see the example of the actual size of the photographs exhibition. This was focus on have the last changes for the final version in the photoexhibition.</p> <p>17. Students shared also their narratives for the brochure. This narrative (suggested by the photovoice participants themselves to put together a brochure) served to elucidate more deeply the photovoice participants' focus on: (a) educate others about the issues that they feel limit and/or support the ability to use the Quechua</p>

	<p>language, (b) educate others about their own projected steps to dismantle the limitations to Quechua-Spanish bilingual practices in the university and (c) engage others to welcome and promote Quechua and other Indigenous languages to enhance a true intercultural college environment.</p>
<p>The 8th session was a 7-hour group meeting to evaluate the photovoice process, celebrate the progress, and schedule the first photo exhibition.</p> <p>This session took place in the archeological place of Písaq, 60 minutes away from Cusco city. Students made a barbecue-like lunch.</p>	<p>18. First, we had a hike in the archaeological place of Písaq. The first discussion was around the goals of the photovoice project that were included in the brochure (see Appendix 3).</p> <p>19. The second part was focus on concrete step to influence in policy. Particularly, a short-term goal of drafting a projected “Quechua research week” was discussed.</p> <p>20. The last part was focus on thinking about the photovoice exhibition in Casa Campesina.</p>

<p><u>Photo Exposition at Casa Campesina</u></p> <p>Session 9th, this photo exposition lasted 3 hours. It took place in the main meeting room of Casa Campesina. This was part of the <i>martes campesino</i> gatherings. During the <i>martes campesino</i>, villagers discuss any topic that interest them. Claudia Cuba Humani coordinated with photovoice students about this photo exposition.</p> <p>Casa Campesina provided a hot drink for the cold night in Cusco. It was June of 2017 (winter season).</p>	<p>21. During the photo exposition; Yexy, Wences, and I briefly presented the background of the photovoice exposition and it purpose. This photo exposition was mainly presented simultaneously by each photovoice participant in Quechua.</p> <p>22. Apu Wayra, a music group, asked to get involved in this photovoice project. Photovoice students were happy to have them play their music during the next photo exposition in the main campus of the Universidad San Antonio Abad del Cusco.</p>
<p>The 10th session lasted 90 minutes. This session took place in a classroom of Anthropology at UNSAAC. group meeting for rehearsing the presentation of their photo exhibition.</p>	<p>23. During this session photovoice participants talked about their experience in their first photo exposition. And begin thinking about the organization (permissions, publicity, and any other logistics) for the next photo exposition at the university.</p>
<p>The 11th session lasted 2.5 hours. This session took place in a restaurant near to the university main campus. This dinner photovoice session was to evaluate the photovoice exhibition organization process, celebrate the progress, and schedule the second photo exhibition.</p>	<p>24. Students made concrete commitments for the organization of the second photo exposition that required photovoice participants to formally invite faculty members, student associations, deans, and other policy makers and community members of the university. This was expanded to</p>

<p>Other informal meetings were organized to ensure concrete logistics for the success of the campus photo exposition.</p>	<p>the Cusco community in general, as photovoice participants make two radial invitations and one in a local tv channel. Other publicity venues were discussed.</p> <p>25. Importantly students gave feedback on the brochure draft that was put together by Yexy, Wences, and I.</p> <p>26. The draft for the projected 2018 “Quechua research week” was shared electronically.</p>
<p><u>Photo Exposition at the Universidad San Antonio Abad del Cusco</u></p> <p>12th session took place at the UNSAAC. It lasted about 6 hours. During this photo exposition some photovoice participants participated since 9am, others join later (due to conflict with testing). However; all photovoice participants stayed even after the official time of our permission to use the open public space expired. I left at noon (permission ended).</p> <p>Light drinks were provided. Live music was provided by Apu Wayra for about 90 minutes.</p>	<p>27. Photovoice participants led dialogues with members of the college community (students, faculty, and staff) in a critically conscious way using the SHOWeD method (Wang & Burris, 1997).</p> <p>28. During the photo exposition in the College campus, the CBPR team were all the time around for any needs, questions, as well as documenting the event.</p>
<p>The 13th session lasted 2-hour.</p> <p>This session took place near by the Sacsayhuaman mountain.</p>	<p>29. During this session students shared their major insights based on the photo exposition in the university.</p> <p>30. Finally, participants were given a hard</p>

	<p>copy of the projected “Quechua week” draft as well as an electronic copy. This draft was shared with the Dean’s office of Research of the University San Antonio Abad del Cusco. All reaffirm that members of The Voluntariado Intercultural Hatun Ñan would follow up with more activities oriented to the goals identify in the photovoice study, and follow up with the Dean’s office of Research of UNSAAC.</p>
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Figure 12. Photovoice Overview

Qualitative Data Analysis

Qualitative Data Analysis in this study was handled in two ways, one followed the photovoice collective analysis procedure conducted by the photovoice participants, and the other one followed a thematic qualitative data analysis procedure conducted by this investigator. The Photovoice participants completed the initial coding during the 3rd photovoice session, this was based on their discussions in the second photovoice session. Later; during the 5th photovoice session in Casa Campesina, the photovoice participants created categories after presenting in small groups the major themes of four of their photographs. Finally, they wrote the interpretations of their own findings (elicited by their own photographs) in the brochure distributed during the second photo exposition (Appendix 3).

Following the general protocol for qualitative thematic analysis, I created and organized the data files from the photo-elicitation interviews, read the texts to make notes, and formulate the initial codes using the data analysis software Nvivo11 with the collaboration of the. Then, after more data (observations) are collected from the video-recorded photo-exhibitions (approximately by July 2017), I began an overall initial coding to establish primary coding structures, defined a central experience, and utilized a coding structure to define causes, context, and ordering (Creswell, 2013).

By November 2017 I completed the selective coding. Then, I engaged in a thematic analysis of the data (individual photovoice participants interviews probed by their own photographs, photovoice group discussions, field notes) to create a version of the story, which I shared that version with Yexy, Wences, and photovoice participants electronically. This member check allowed me to confirm the version of the story during the data analysis stage. Creswell (2013), states thematic analysis “... [a]ssumes emergent multiple realities; the link of facts and values; provisional information; and a narrative about social life as a process” (p. 197).

As this study favors the engagement of the participants in the data analysis, the photovoice participants were part of the analysis of data through regular facebook meetings.

Trustworthiness

In this participatory study, qualitative in nature, the establishment of trustworthiness was addressed with strategies as follows:

- a) Credibility. I increased the credibility in this study by triangulating the analysis.

Triangulation involved the use of different methods of data collection such as:

observation, field notes, written narratives, and individual interviews, as illustrated in Figure 13.



Figure 13. Data triangulation

Further, one particular aspect of the photovoice method in a CBPR study is participation. Participation demands a “prolonged engagement” of the researcher with the participants which aligns with a technique for increasing credibility (Lincoln & Cuba, 1986). In this study the prolonged engagement happens prior of the data collection. The photovoice participants will have three sessions before the actual data collection in the form of individual photo-elicited interviews and group discussions.

- b) Dependability. While in the field I ensured thick description of the entire photovoice project to increase the dependability level of the qualitative study. As I firmly believe that the photovoice method promises to empower populations through critical

consciousness the thick description in a text form was focused on the photovoice process with special attention to power dynamics. Thick descriptions in this study also included the reflection on the effectiveness of the process of the photovoice project.

- c) Confirmability. I believe that the involvement of photovoice participants in the development of the photovoice project increased confirmability and decrease the researcher's bias-led interpretation of the data. For instance, I began to write up the interpretation of the photovoice findings, I asked the participants to read these interpretations to ensure the interpretation portray the shared truths beyond the simply description of transcriptions.

Data Interpretation

In this last phase, I followed the grounded theory approach to data interpretation (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) rather than theoretical guided data interpretation. Concepts and theories that emerged during the data analysis guided the interpretations.

In addition to following the grounded theory tradition to data interpretation, I compared and informed my interpretations respecting the photovoice participants interpretations drafted in the form of a brochure. Thus, I paid special attention to how the photovoice participants themselves made sense of the data (their own photographs).

One technique I used to demonstrate movement from data analysis to interpretation was mapping the interpretative process. This mapping helped to avoid oversimplification – “the process of just taking what is said at face value, and expecting those reading the data to necessarily understand what is being said without it being explained” (Savin-Baden & Major,

2013, p. 467). Finally, this investigator used the following questions based on the criteria for evaluating data interpretation proposed by Savin-Baden & Major (2013):

- Do the interpretations provide a good overview of the happening/situation?
- Do the interpretations appear to help explain and represent participants' views, metaphors, and voices?
- Are there different explanations that would suggest that the interpretations are not credible?
- Do the stories seem logical and coherent?
- Do the interpretations lead to understanding of the participants' experience?
- Is the interpretation suitable for the intended audience? (p. 469)

This data interpretation process helped me negotiate meanings to portray the shared truths beyond simple descriptions of transcriptions.

Researcher's Positionality

I should begin by identifying myself as a *Surandina* or a South Andean mother-child. Where I came from, the term *Surandina/o* is used to refer people who live in the southern Andean mountain range. I grew up in the Cusco region of Perú where most of the population lives in rural areas and where sixty percent have Quechua as their mother language. I was born in Cusco's capital city (at that time with about 300,000 people), and grew up in both in the city and the rural Sacred Valley. During childhood, I heard both Quechua and Spanish languages; I was a passive bilingual due to the preference of my bilingual relatives to speak to me in Spanish. Their preference for Spanish stemmed from the long history of stigmatization to the indigenous Quechua heritage: bilingual Cusco natives would choose to use Spanish, as the imagined language of prestige and power, at the expense of losing their

indigenous languages. My relatives, like many of Cusco people in poverty cared little about abstract ideals related to our indigenous heritage. More important to them was socio-economic stability through employment, obtained only by an effective command of Spanish.

In addition to the racialization of Quechua and other indigenous languages, effectively equating indigenous heritage to poverty, for military members Quechua language was associated to terrorists based in Ayacucho (Southern Peru). Terrorists of the Shining Path group during the 1980's in Perú would force Quechuan villagers to support their group. This negative association with violent revolution compounded the attrition rate of Andean languages. When I was ten, Perú was facing its second worst economic crisis of the post-colonial era of Peruvian history. The Shining Path took control of several rural towns, and even threatened the capital city. Hundreds of Quechuan people were killed by the terrorists and thousands more Quechuan people were killed by the Peruvian army who conveniently assumed that Quechuan speakers must be accomplices of the Shining Path.

Lessons from my ancestors, urban and rural Andeans, resonated around the earth, social and gender struggles, and hope. Most of my relatives lived in the Sacred Valley where they would work on their farms. I was fortunate to meet four out of my eight great-grandparents as well as all my grandparents. I often remember my great-grandmothers, Juana and María, and great-grandfather Mario speaking mostly Quechua. When I would travel to the Sacred Valley to visit relatives and help work in their fields of corn, potatoes, strawberries, peaches, peas, beans, and squash, I would feel frustrated for not speaking Quechua, the most-used language throughout the Sacred Valley. In the city of Cusco, I had no use for Quechua as it was not part of the curriculum in any school. In college, when I

began to learn Quechua formally, my relatives in the countryside became my tutors. Fondly, I remember them telling me that they will give me a Master's degree in Quechua language.

As a student and educator in the southwest U.S, I became aware of the relations of power and the need for building critical consciousness. I am interested in the Decolonial Thinking perspective because it focuses on breaking the status quo of all forms of discrimination including those based on sex, sexual orientation, race, and religious belief. Additionally, I find it crucial to recognize the dynamics between research participants and those conducting the research, thus locating "bias" in social systems rather than an artifact of a particular research situation.

In my experience as a novice scholar at the University of New Mexico, I find the positivist epistemology of education too narrow for the multi-ethnic world we live in as it takes the scientific-natural knowledge as a reference to model the objectivity, neutrality, universality, and certainty of knowledge. This personal reflective process has also to do with my self-questioning about the influence of non-western traditions in my personal stand and positionality as a novice researcher and scholar.

I must say that although most of my formal educational experiences in Perú and the U.S. generally reflect western traditions, non-western traditions tremendously influenced my non-formal educational experiences in Cusco and Albuquerque. Reflection on my upbringing led me learn about a collaborative approach to research called Community-Based Participatory Approach (CBPR). In 2015, I enrolled in the summer institute *Community-Based Participatory Research and Critical and Indigenous Methodologies* at the University of New Mexico. During my participation in the institute, I felt that the CBPR approach aligned to the collaborative and emancipatory actions promoted by Andean activists.

As a researcher involved in CBPR efforts I acknowledge the effect of my identities, particularly regarding the potential impact that my positionality can have which may affect the goals of this research, interpretation of the data, and production of knowledge. To document my own reflexive process, once every month I will ask myself the following critical questions (based on Minkler & Wallerstein CBPR theorists' proposals (2003)) and document my answers in my journal: Why am I working with this community? Who benefits from this research? How can this research contribute in reducing disparities in higher education? And what CBPR principles are/are not becoming visible in the research process?

CHAPTER 4: DELVING INTO DECOLONIALITY OF SOCIOLINGUISTIC PRACTICES

This chapter describes themes observed during the photovoice study conducted with college students of the San Antonio Abad University of Cusco (UNSAAC) using a format called Community Based Participatory Research (CBPR). CBPR combined with photovoice methodology works especially well for studying language use. Data collected is visual, auditory, and can be digitized. Students became active participants in the study and brought a personal focus on limited opportunities to utilize and revitalize their Quechua language while pursuing their college degree. This photovoice study, developed over a six-month period, included group discussions, participant-generated photographs, photo-elicited interviews, and meetings that focused on:

- participants' experiences on and off campus with ideologies and practices that either augmented or impeded their Quechua-Spanish bilingualism, and
- their current and future actions for creating physical spaces in the university as well as virtual spaces, for Quechua-Spanish bilingual and bicultural practices that dismantle deficit language ideologies towards their bilingualism.

With access to collective and individual venues (e.g., photography, collective photovoice sessions) for sharing thoughts, experiences, and practices, students took ownership of this CBPR process to discuss, and in some degree address, limited opportunities to express their linguistic and cultural ways of knowing and being. In response, students not only identified the problems with regards limited opportunities to Quechua-Spanish bilingualism but projected possible solutions and corrective actions for themselves, other students, and Quechuan community members.

The following findings derive from a thematic analysis of the data (elicited individual interviews, participant observations, field notes, and photo-based narratives of the photovoice participants) collected during the study. In photo-elicited interviews, participants used their own photograph during an individual interview to narrate to this student investigator their experiences regarding the foundational first research question of this study. Photo-based narratives, created by the photovoice participants, present individual interpretations by students that go beyond simple descriptions of a photograph: these narratives used an analytical process that included:

- the collective selection of photographs by students after which they chose two of their six photos for the photo-exposition during a photovoice session;
- the process of coding (naming the photographs);
- the sharing (in pairs) and discussion of each student's themes (probed by the facilitators' questions, see chapter 2) behind their photographs; and
- narratives written by the students describing their interpretations on their own photographs; narratives which were then included in a brochure.

My observations and field notes during these photovoice sessions helped me gain insight into symbolic cultural practices and group discussions. The decolonial thinking perspective of this study requires particular attention not only to textual data, but non-textual data that might carry meanings in symbolic cultural practices (several of them present in the photographs created by photovoice participants) and any other non-verbal manifestation during group discussions. Particularly, Andean peoples used often visual communication (Cajete, 1999; Rivera Cusicanqui, 2010b) which is critical to understand or attempt to understand.

Throughout this chapter, I feature photographs and quotations developed by the participants to illustrate the themes emergent from the data generated by photovoice participants. This thematic analysis followed a standard sequence of first conducting open coding of data (transcripts, participant's narratives, and field notes) by identifying salient codes. I then conducted axial coding by grouping codes that had similar patterns, a preliminary form of grouping data. Finally, I developed categories which became the three major themes in this chapter. Please note that when I quote a photo-based narrative from the brochure, I quote the original version of the narrative to respect the participant's original personal interpretation. I also document the original language extracted from the audio recordings, in either Quechua or Spanish, accompanied by an English translation. Photographs appear in their original form to maintain the visual representations produced by the participants. Some photographs lack a title, by choice of the students. Honoring requests from nearly all the participants, actual names occur throughout this chapter. One student, however, requested that I use a pseudonym, PucaHuayta.

The overall thematic analysis reveals pertinent topics of opportunities and limitations for Quechua-Spanish bilingualism in higher education. My analysis of the photovoice project was derived from responses to my Research Question 1—*What issues do the photovoice participants, Andean college students, raise related to opportunities to use their bilingual Quechua-Spanish repertoire?*—and yielded three main explanatory themes about students' use of Quechua in their college education:

1. *supay* (to act with ill intent),
2. *lazos* (ties), and
3. *tikarinanpaq* (to flourish/develop),

Because I use Quechua and Spanish words strategically with respect to the participants' input through their analysis during the photovoice project, I briefly describe below what they mean and where they derived from. These themes, while described separately in this chapter, continuously intersect with each other. I highlight important intersections in the narrative.

Supay: To Act with Ill Intent

Supay focuses on how students identify the wrong-acting of the collective unconscious as well as how photovoice participants, bilingual college students, challenge this maleficent act that limits the Quechua-Spanish bilingual practices. *Supay*, as a Quechua verb, means acting in a malicious or malevolent manner, acting with ill intent that holds the possibility of change. As a noun, *supay* refers to something evil. During the colonial period, Catholics interpreted *supay* as a reference to the devil himself (Martinez, 1983). Andean Quechua speakers, however, connoted the figure of the *supay* as a symbolic force that distracts people from following the right path. The presence of *supay*—used as a noun or a verb—links to the marginalization and under-use of Quechua in the university community. The power of *supay* is not supernatural, and humans are capable of repelling this force. Therefore, in this chapter the theme *supay* extends further than the mere description of individual and collective ill intentions towards Quechua-Spanish bilingualism directed by colonial ideologies: *supay* represents strategies that photovoice participants utilize to confront these forces.

Regarding limitations for Quechua use, participants identified a *supay* present in different spheres: individual, communal, and institutional. I explain the internalized version of *supay*, a malignant action directed from the individual in response to a colonializing

collective, under the subtitle “Recognizing the *Supay* Within Oneself.” I discuss *supay* as manifested between members of the university community as well as the confrontation of the students towards *supay* within the university community, under the subtitle “Confronting the *Supay* Within the University Members’ Interrelations.” Lastly, I present the identification of the institutionalized legitimation that allows the flow of *supay* in the university under the subtitle “Identifying the Institutional *Supay* at the University.”

To further elaborate on the explanation of this construct, I draw on the description provided by one of the photovoice participants, Diana. Diana depicts *supay* poignantly in her selection of visuals and narrative presented in the brochure of her photovoice study (Figure 14).


Original Title: Supay Translated Title: To Act with Ill Intent	
	<p>Original text: Foto metafórica que representa la belleza del quechua en la flor de papa y el hecho de que la zapatilla este sobre la flor representa los prejuicios y las discriminaciones por las cuales no se utiliza el quechua dentro de la universidad.</p> <p>Translated text: Metaphorical photo that represents the beauty of Quechua, as seen in the potato flower; the fact that the shoe looms over the flower represents the prejudice and discrimination that cause Quechua to not be used inside the university.</p>

Figure 14. Entry in the brochure.⁹ D. Ventura Aucua, 2017.

Diana took a picture of herself about to stamp on the flower. Her visual metaphor clearly demonstrates *supay* as an oppressive force that feeds off the prejudice and discrimination that

⁹ The brochure was created collectively to show some of the photographs of the photovoice participants as well as their narratives.

restricts the use of the Quechua language at the university. The sub-themes below explain in more detail how *supay* manifests.

Recognizing *Supay* Within Oneself

Students who participated in the photovoice stated that they do not feel embarrassed speaking Quechua at the university. They, however, have witnessed other students who suppress speaking Quechua with other university students. Avoiding its ethnic and racial association has been one reason that might explain why bilingual university students who know Quechua choose not to use it in the university setting (Zavala, 2011). Bilingual students may not want to be associated with the Quechua-speaking population that inhabits a place at the edge of an imaginary progressive Peruvian citizenship because, in Perú, Quechua speakers represent a population marginalized by a modern economy (Hornberger & King, 2001).

Attending college is a very important marker of social progress, and when they do matriculate, some students choose to hide their Quechua identity as *campesinos*¹⁰ by rejecting their own language. This rejection of the Quechua language is a response to the racism that Quechua speakers experience. PucaHuayta, using her own photograph and commenting it (see her quote below the photograph), brought up this point (Figure 15).

¹⁰ *Campesino* is a Spanish word for peasant. In Perú, the word *campesino* connotes racial and socio-economical meaning identified with Indigenous peoples who work in the agricultural fields.



Figure 15. Photovoice. PucaHuayta, 2017.

Muchos estudiantes son de provincias y es casi predecible que saben quechua, pues sus familias hablan quechua. Aquí hay cuatro estudiantes de antropología, él es de Chumbivilcas hablamos en quechua, ella es de Chinchero ella sabe quechua pero te contesta en castellano, no se anima a hablar quizá por miedo al racismo. (Pucahuayta)

Many students are from the rural provinces, and there is a strong likelihood that they know Quechua; since their families speak Quechua. Here we have four anthropology students: one of the male students is from Chumbivilcas, and we are speaking in Quechua. One of the female students is from Chinchero; she knows Quechua but answers in Spanish. She doesn't feel like speaking it, perhaps because she fears racism.

These discriminatory acts of linguistic self-exclusion (using Spanish rather than Quechua) are deliberate responses to the historical oppression of Quechua-speaking populations in Perú. Colonial-era dogma categorized Quechua speakers as ignorant people who needed to be civilized because they did not follow a Eurocentric logic (Blanco, 2003). This internalized inferiority still appears to be present. Diana recognizes that this disassociation from the Quechua language continues to be a wrongful choice: “*A veces lo hacemos conscientemente, sabemos que está mal, pero continuamos haciéndolo.*” [We do it consciously; we know it's wrong, but we keep reproducing it.]. Some bilingual Quechua-Spanish university students dissociate from their Quechua cultural identity to avoid

authoritarian, institutional discrimination as subjects who do not belong in the university environment. In her narrative and photography, Cinthia refers to this phenomenon as having “another face of identity” which students are willing to temporarily adopt due to the burden of prejudice against Quechua people (Figure 16).

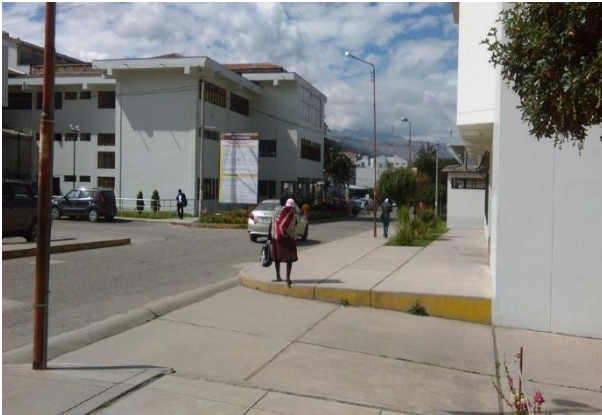
Original Title: Prejuicios Translated Title: Prejudices	
	<p>Original Text:</p> <p>La UNSAAC cada año realiza el examen de admisión dirigido a estudiantes que culminaron la educación secundaria, al cual miles de jóvenes concurren a la universidad para poder inscribirse y postular, sin embargo podemos observar al menos en esos días que los jóvenes no vienen solos, sino vienen acompañados de sus padres. El motivo de describir este hecho nos lleva a mencionar lo siguiente: la actitud de los estudiantes universitarios frente a sus lugareños (estudiantes que aún no son de la UNSAAC y padres de familia de su comunidad) en algunas ocasiones se pudo observar como una especie de alejamiento, es decir, se evidencia que la actitud del estudiante universitario fue adquiriendo una nueva identidad, ya que ahora el espacio en que se encuentra no le permite seguir practicando su cultura andina, motivo por el cual hoy se encuentra con otro rostro de identidad, incluso podríamos decir, que ya no puede dirigirse a sus paisanos, vecinos, familiares y demás como lo hace y lo hacía antes en su comunidad.</p> <p>Para culminar quisiera hacer un llamado a la reflexión de cada uno de nosotros en cuanto a la identidad nuestra ¿Realmente practicamos nuestra identidad como queremos? ¿Somos libres en una sociedad donde todavía existen prejuicios y poco respeto entre seres humanos? ¿Cómo haríamos para poder cambiar esta realidad que se vive a diario no sólo en la universidad, sino en distintos espacios?</p>
	<p>Translated Text:</p> <p>Each year the UNSAAC conducts admissions testing for students who have completed high school, and thousands of young people come to the university to register and apply. However, we can see that, at least on these days, young people are not by themselves but instead come together with their parents. The reason to describe this fact leads us to mention the following: university students' attitudes towards the local population (students who are not yet enrolled at UNSAAC, and parents from their communities) can sometimes present as a kind of distancing. That is, it is clear that university students' attitude is one of acquiring a new identity, since now the space they find themselves in does not allow them to continue practicing their Andean culture. That's why today they find themselves with another “face of identity.” We could even say that they can no longer talk to people from their hometowns—their neighbors, relatives and others—in the same way they do and did before, when they are in their communities.</p> <p>To wrap up, I would like to make a call for each of us to reflect on our identity. Do we really practice our identity the way we want to? Are we free in a society where there are still prejudices and not much respect between human beings? What could we do to be able to change this reality that we experience each day, not only at the university but in all kinds of spaces?</p>

Figure 16. Entry in the brochure. C. Flores Ramos, 2017.

Cinthia reflects on the practice of consciously and/or unconsciously denying one's Quechua cultural heritage—a practice that has roots in the colonial process when the selection of last names put people into racial categories. The categories of *Indian*, *mestizo*, and *Spaniard* were colonial constructs used to categorize people, marginalize them, and create socio-economic hierarchies (Rivera Cusicanqui, 2011). Colonialists categorized Indians—the majority of whom, in Perú, were Quechua speakers—as inferior people who lacked any citizenship rights. Thus, the term *Indian* led to a derisive attitude toward people with Quechuan first and last names. Carmen gives an example of the stereotypes that still exist against the Quechua last names, stigmatizing Quechua speakers and causing them to reject their mother tongue:

Estereotipo es juzgarte por tu apellido sin conocerte, Quispe Mamani; entonces ellos dicen no será un buen profesional, quien no tiene las suficientes capacidades. No juzgar a una persona por lo que tiene o si es profesional o no, sino por la calidad de persona que es y como contribuye a su capacidad de solucionar problemas. Sino utilizar lo semejante que puede unir a miembros de la comunidad, y a través de las semejanzas en opinión o ideas hacer un cúmulo de oportunidades para más personas.

Stereotyping means someone is judging you by your last name—Quispe Mamani—without actually knowing you. Then they say you won't be a good professional, that you don't have enough capability. Not judging a person based on what they have, or whether they are a professional or not, but based on their qualities and how they can contribute to their capacity to solve problems.

Although these discriminatory acts contribute to a *supay* linked to self, photovoice participants denounced systemic *supay*, racist actions and thoughts rooted in colonialism; as PucaHuayta reflects:

Ichaga noqanchis yuyarinanchis pin kanchis, maymantan hamunchis, maymanmi rinchis.wakinga yachasqanchismahina qhepa pachakunataqa ,paykunaqa riranku qosqoman campesinohina...comunidad campesinakunamanta... chaymanta qosqopiña qonqonku runasimi rimayta ,wawankupas mañana rimankuñachu, chhayna paykunaqa wiraqochaman tutupunku,manaña rimankuchu runasimipi,ninku paykunaqa kanku waqcha pitukukuna, ichaga paykunan ñawpaqtaqa discriminanku runasimipi rimaq estudiantikunata,chayrayku noqa rispa nimuni,paykunata enfrentamuni,paykunawan ch'aqwamuni discutimuni...manan chhayna kanachu

*respetanakunan.. manan castellano rimaqllatachu aswan respetasqa
kanan, llapanchismi munanchis respetutaqa.*

But we must remember who we are, where we come from, where we are going to. As we all know, in the past some people went to Cuzco as peasants...from rural communities... and then in Cuzco they forgot. Their children didn't speak the language anymore, they became mestizos, they didn't speak Quechua any more, they said "we are the 'rich-poor.'" These are the first ones to discriminate against students who speak Quechua. That's why I go, and I tell them, I confront them, and I argue with them... I tell them we shouldn't be like this, we should respect ourselves... we shouldn't just respect those who speak Spanish; we all deserve respect.

PucaHuayta not only expresses her denunciation of this attitude but also describes her response when she faces discriminatory actions among students who reflect the set of racial categories created and used since colonial times. The category *mestizo* designates someone of mixed racial heritage who has broken away from their Quechua associations to distance themselves from identification as *Indian*. The term *campesino* replaced *mestizo* during the 1970s. Students see this sort of "racial climbing" (Rivera Cusicanqui, 2010a) as an act that is reproduced among Quechua speakers who reject their native Quechua tongue within the university.

Bilingual students' opinions about the self-suppression of the Quechua language and their experiences of racial discrimination based on speaking Quechua and having a Quechua last name reveal that students are aware that internal colonialism is still active among students. Recognizing the *supay* is necessary to trace it and individually or collectively dismantle it. Photovoice participants are constantly creating decolonial turns when acknowledging their Quechua heritage and speaking Quechua whenever they find an opportunity.

Confronting *Supay* in Personal Relationships at the University

Photovoice participants linked the loss of Quechua language among college students not only to individual acts of racism, but also to collective linguistic discriminatory acts within the university community committed by faculty and other university personnel. This discrimination derives from linguistic and colonial ideologies of a purist nature and does not offer conceptual room for Quechua-Spanish bilingualism within the university. Even so, certain students challenged others college students who discriminate, and reject the mock of faculty members towards the bilingual Spanish they sometimes find among Quechuan students. Confronting the *supay* depicts the active commitment of photovoice students to dismantle the ascribed colonial value to the Spanish language and therefore the Spanish purist ideology.

Through her photograph (Figure 17) of an illustration given her by a friend and illustrator, Carmen shows the effects of *supay*. For Carmen *supay* in personal relationships of students, faculty, and staff members of the university are discriminatory acts that humiliates and oppress students that has to be stopped otherwise the Quechua, as the woman below, will remain lost:

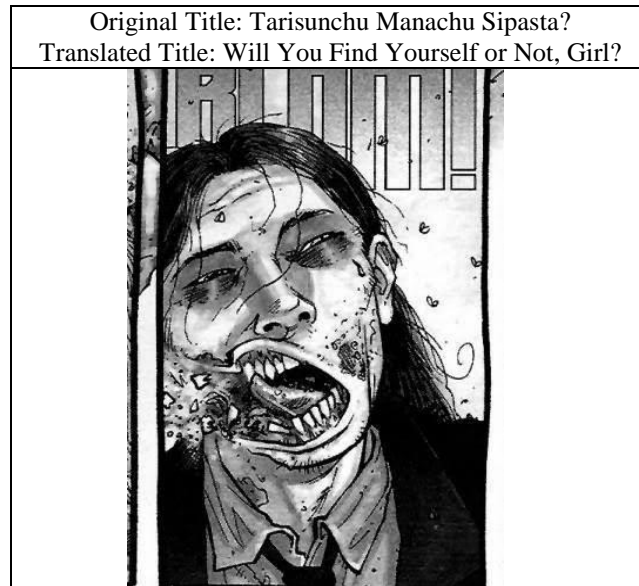


Figure 17. Photovoice. C. Ccasa Aparicio, 2017.

For Carmen, acts of *supay* by the university community cause loss of language, which leads to loss of self:

La imagen nos quiere dar a conocer todas los obstáculos, indiferencias, discriminación, señalamientos que puedan determinar el fortalecimiento o muerte de la práctica de nuestro idioma materno quechua, es un mujer como cualquiera que tiene sueños y eso no quiere decir que sea débil, o vulnerable o simplemente represente al quechua perdido, maltratado, humillado, no valorado.

The image wants to let us see us all the barriers, indifference, discrimination, and markers that can determine whether the practice of our Quechua language grows stronger or dies off. It's an ordinary woman who has dreams—and that doesn't mean she is weak or vulnerable, or that she simply represents Quechua as something that has been lost, mistreated, humiliated, and not valued.

According to participants, *supay* flows throughout the university community and considers the Quechua language as unnecessary skill for academic advancement of the Quechuan student. Bilingual students within the community challenge this view. This is what Carmen declares through her narrative, which calls on the community itself to change the way they look at things and to stop trampling down on their own people:

Es momento de sacarle el lado positivo y valorativo a este tema que no solo concierne a alumnos quechuahablantes, esto va mas allá de quien sabe hablar

quechua o no...no debemos rendirnos ni doblegarnos en este objetivo para esto llamemos a la consciencia de las autoridades universitarias, maestros, alumnos desarrollemos una verdadera interculturalidad, valoremos lo nuestro, vamos si se puede.

It is time to take the positive and valuing side of this issue, which does not just concern Quechua-speaking students. This goes beyond who knows how to speak Quechua or not... we should not surrender or give way to this objective, and to do so we call on the conscience of the university administrators, faculty, and students, to develop a true intercultural sense, to value what is our own. Let us see if we can achieve that.

Students recognize that collective awareness and action are required to counteract actions that devalue and throw up barriers to Quechua-Spanish bilingualism in the university. Acts of devaluation, prompted by purist ideologies, censor both bilingual Spanish and bilingual Quechua. Yuly sums it up: “*Dicen, él no puede hablar bien castellano, o dicen, no hablan bien el quechua.*” [They say, he can’t speak good Spanish, or they’ve said, they don’t speak good Quechua.]

Another source of linguistic discrimination identified by participants relates to the use of or speaking of Spanish with Quechuan influence, which linguists call “bilingual Spanish,” or in popular terms, “speaking with *mote*.”¹¹ Bilingual students know about this phenomenon and recognize it in their own classmates and even relatives whom they remind that using Quechua is going to lead to speaking “Spanish with *mote*.” As PucaHuayta was reminded by her own sister who is also a college student in the same university, “no me hables en tu idioma, si hablas quechua vas a hablar con tu mote” [Don’t speak to me in your language. If you speak Quechua, you’ll speak your Spanish with *mote*.]

“Speaking with *mote*” also happens when students speak Quechua with Spanish phono-linguistic features, whether using Spanish vocabulary, Spanish phonology, or Spanish

¹¹ A traditional type of hominy.

word order. *Quechuañol* is the most popular slang term that describes this “speaking with *mote*” in the case of bilingual-influenced Quechua. Thus, “speaking with *mote*” includes both bilingual Spanish and bilingual Quechua, yet university students find more censorship of bilingual Spanish than of bilingual Quechua, discrimination that devolves from the emphasis on standardized Spanish within the university. As a result, the communication of and with bilingual students is de-legitimized by the image of a university student as one who speaks standard Spanish. As Yaneth describes:

Mayninpiqa yachachikunapas qhawayusunkiku mana allinta runasimita rimaqtiyki o castellanuta mana allinta rimaqtiyki... mana allinta rimaqtiyki qhawasunkiku, discriminasunkiku, q'asqachiqtahina discriminacionkunata ruwanku millay uyankuta churanku yachachikunapas hinallataq estudiantikunapas.

Teachers sometimes look at you when you don't speak proper Quechua or proper Spanish... If you don't speak properly, they look at you, they discriminate against you, they discriminate indirectly using the gestures the teachers make to the students themselves.

Speaking bilingual Spanish, “speaking with *mote*,” as a marker of being a bilingual speaker whose first language is Quechua, leads to acts of discrimination. This discrimination, in turn, becomes a factor that causes students to suppress bilingual practices. Cinthia notes:

algo que pudo frenar el hablar el quechua es la discriminación hacia los estudiantes rurales, principalmente quechuahablantes, por la identificación de que uno es estudiante quechua con la característica moteo del idioma castellano”

One thing that leads people to stop speaking Quechua is discrimination against rural students, mainly Quechua speakers, because of the identification of someone who is a Quechua student with the characteristic “Spanish with *mote*” way of speaking.

This purist linguistic ideology stigmatizing bilingual Spanish leads to acts of exclusion towards students. Some students prefer not to work with students who speak bilingual Spanish because they do not want to deal with a oral presentation that might impact their grade; in this regards Yolanda mentions:

Nosotros como universitarios a veces experimentamos esta exclusión de compañeros que hablan con mote el castellano. Cuando tenemos que hacer trabajo en grupos en la universidad se nota claramente que algunos compañeros excluyen a los quechuahablantes.

As university students, we sometimes experience this exclusion toward classmates who speak “Spanish with *mote*.” When we must do group work at the university, it is clear that some fellow students exclude the Quechua speakers.

Students also mention, with sadness, that some teachers participate in acts of censorship toward speaking bilingual Spanish in public. Because their teachers mock bilingual Spanish students with gestures or disapproval, they stop participating in class, preferring silence to mockery. Edgar decided to use the following photovoice to illustrate the *supay* among his instructors who hold purist linguistic ideologies (Figure 18).



Figure 18. Photovoice. E. Ccasani Ccosco, 2017.

Aquí reflejamos el problema de la universidad, en varias oportunidades como ya mis compañeros habían manifestado que muchos docentes no aceptan que un estudiante este leyendo o hable mote, si un estudiante va a leer en español tiene que ser perfecto, si ven ese error el docente trata de discriminarle o bajonearle.

Here we reflect on the problem of the university. On several occasions, like my classmates have already stated, many teachers don’t accept it if students read or speak with *mote*. If a student is going to read something in Spanish, it must be perfect. If they see these kinds of mistakes, the teachers try to discriminate against the student or they put them down.

Censorship against speaking Spanish with *mote* means that students must deal with ridicule. Students challenge these types of acts in either Spanish or Quechua, indicating their discomfort. They criticize seriously in Spanish, but when bilingual students challenge these discriminatory acts in Quechua, they do so ironically, using insults. In particular, students use insults in Quechua against classmates they know or with students they surmise to speak some Quechua. As Nilda states:

A veces les bromeamos insultándoles en quechua, y aunque sea después de un día, aunque sea averigua que le hemos dicho. Esto es una manera de también promover el quechua, porque si te hacen renegar le insultas en quechua, la persona va a recurrir o preguntar para averiguar que le han dicho y así se le queda grabado ese acto.

Sometimes we joke around, insulting them in Quechua—even if it’s a day later, even if they find out that we said to them. This is also a way to promote Quechua, because if they make you angry, you insult them in Quechua, and the person will either respond back, or ask someone to find out what’s been said about them, and in that way the act becomes a significant reminder.

PucaHuayta mentions having used *q'elele* (someone suffering from diarrhea) or *waqcha pituco* (poor rich) as insults toward some students, making mocking gestures when she speaks in Quechua. When she is sure that fellow students understand Quechua but are ashamed to use it, she elicits laughter using these insults. Particularly the insult of *waqcha pituco* (poor rich) emphasizes the imagined socioeconomic advancement that accompanies to the delinking from the “poor” Quechua student. Social mobility is probably the main motivator of every Andean student for having higher education which creates a desire to cut out links with languages or identities that would not be compatible with the new professional identity.

Recognizing and Contending with Institutional *Supay* at the University

During photovoice sessions, students acknowledged the naturalization of certain ideologies that oppress students' use of Quechua in the university community: they believe that these colonial attitudes contribute directly to institutional blindness. Blindness that lose sight to the bilingualism of Quechuan students who could enrich the learning environment, rather than being disregarded by a monocultural educational setting far away from a cultural responsive perspective (Ladson-Billings, 1995). This institution only envisions and practices systematic rules that ignores cultural responsiveness which take into account the important role that culture plays in shaping the thinking process of students whose mother language is Quechua.

Additionally, the lack of university policies that promotes a culture that embraces bilingualism reinforce the Quechuan students' feelings of rejection by the collegiate community. Students argue that, within the university, Quechua-speaking students feel isolated in a hostile environment where they cannot find a space that genuinely welcomes them. Although the students have begun to identify minimal appearances of Quechua in the university setting, they consider it insufficient. Fructuoso, like most students in this study, saw a poster recently put up by the Dean of Research at the university (Figure 19):

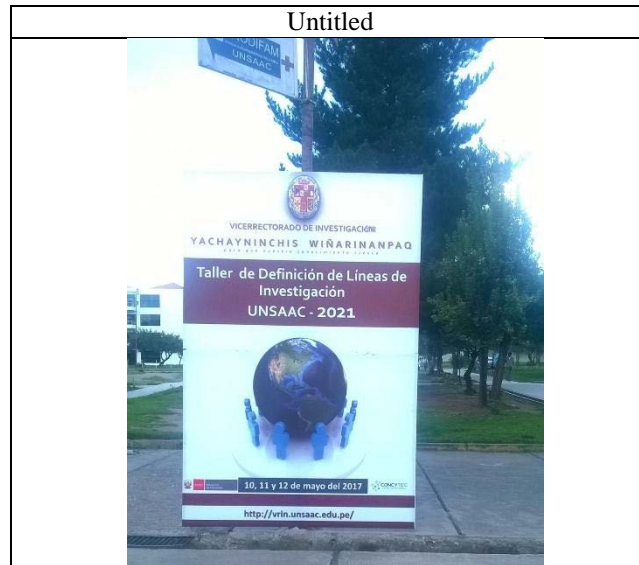


Figure 19. Photovoice. F. Chino Mamani, 2017.

The Active Science Fund, an entity that works with deans of research at certain public universities in Perú, created this poster. The poster contains the Quechua words *yachaninchis winarinanpaq*, translated into English as “so that our knowledge grows.” Fructuoso acknowledges this attempt to make the Quechua language visible in the university:

At least the name of the program is also in Quechua and indicates that Quechua is being valued. It doesn't go far enough, but we've already got this opportunity or this bit of equality for Quechua speakers. Recently Quechua has been growing in importance, whereas before there was nothing in Quechua. It's encouraging to see this, at least for those who speak Quechua.

When asked whether any of the events were bilingual, students who participated in the workshops sponsored by the office of the Dean of Research answered “No.” Furthermore, there is no recognition for students who want to conduct bilingual Quechua-Spanish research through the Office of the Dean of Research and the Active Science program. It is understandable that the university is not yet able to link to Quechua beyond a few words on a noteworthy poster; it is, however, surprising that monetary recognition exists for publications not just in Spanish (2, 025 to 4, 050 Peruvian soles) but also in English (from 4,050 to 8, 100

Peruvian soles). This recognition means twice as much funding for publications that come out in English, but zero recognition for any efforts to publish in Quechua. Although there is an apparent welcoming towards university students who speak Quechua, further recognition has not yet materialized through specific examples, monetary or otherwise.

Absence of university policies that support Quechua-Spanish bilingual practices at the university is a point that requires urgent attention to counteract linguistic discrimination.

Yolanda reports:

Mana discriminacionta chaskinankupaq, paqarichina kanman políticas linguisticas nisqata runasimipaq chhayna runasimi rimaq runakuna atinkuman aswanta avansayta mana discriminacionwan, ruwasunman concursukunata costumbrekunamanta, runasimi rimaykunamanta, chaypi willanarikusunman yuyayninchiskunata, concursukunata tusuykunamanta, takikunamanta, harawikunamanta, teatrokunamanta ichaqa llapanta runasimipi, aswanta chayta ruwasuman, chhaynata aswanta valorasunman runasimita hinallataq runantapas.

In order for them to not be subject to discrimination, we would have to create language policies for Quechua so that those who speak Quechua can progress without discrimination. We could have competitions where we could have intercultural fairs, where we could exchange ideas. There should be dance, music, poetry, and theater competitions, but with everything in Quechua. Above all, we could do these things so that we would assign more value to Quechua and Quechua speakers.

Students also note the lack of physical spaces within the university that truly promote the Quechua language. Daily, students like Gabriel experience limited opportunities where they can promote and sustain bilingualism:

manan runasimipichu rimayusunkiku nitaq considerankuchu... wakin carrerakunapi manan yachachinkuchu runasimipi wakinpitaq yachachinku, chay rayku mañakuna universidadta. manan yanapawankuchu chay Sistema hinallataq reglamentupas.

They don't speak to you in Quechua; they don't even think about it... In some departments they don't teach anything in Quechua, while in other departments it's possible; that's what we need to ask the university for. This system itself doesn't help us, starting with the regulations themselves.

Algo que ha podido frenar mi uso del quechua tal vez es la inexistencia de docentes universitarios que enseñen o dicten clases en quechua, desde que entre a la universidad jamás he recibido clase alguna en quechua.

Something that has led [to] my no longer using Quechua is probably the lack of university professors who teach or offer classes in Quechua; since I've been at the university I've never taken any class in Quechua.

The minimal effort to incorporate Quechua into the curricula of university degree programs reflects a lack of interest in the university's bilingual population. Participants of this study come from five different degree programs, but only Yuly, a communications major, mentioned that they have a mandatory Quechua course, called Rural Communication. At UNSAAC, out of the 32 different majors offered, only four incorporate courses in Quechua into their curricula (Communications, Education, Nursing, and Medicine). Yuly was surprised to learn about the other realities that her classmates face because of Quechua not being included in the training of future professionals. Yuly reflected on this hostile university climate; focusing on the admissions office (Figure 20):


Original Title: Exclusión del Quechua En La Oficina Permanente de Admisión Translated Title: Exclusion of Quechua in the Permanent Admissions Office	
	<p>Original Text:</p> <p>La oficina permanente de admisión es la primera impresión en la UNSAAC, sabemos que la concurrencia a dicha oficina es población bilingüe estudiantil y sus padres zonas rurales; así como se muestra en la imagen no vemos escritos en quechua, ahí se ve la exclusión, discriminación.</p> <p>Eso es solo una parte de la realidad, así como es la primera impresión, imaginémonos las demás escuelas oficinas, aulas sin contenidos en quechua, eso no debe ser así, recalco la UNSAAC en su totalidad debe incluir dentro de sus actividades establecidas, la organización y realización de concursos en el que se vital el empleo del quechua, así haya reconocimientos, premios talvez en efectivos con el fin de fortalecer las capacidades, habilidades y competencias de los estudiantes. Existen muchos medios la difundir el quechua, como ciudadanos del SurAndino tenemos esta tarea. Y la tarea no está en solo de uno, sino está en todos si realmente queremos cambiar algo.</p> <p>Translated Text:</p> <p>The permanent admissions office is a student's first impression of UNSAAC. We know that the bilingual student population and their parents from rural areas go to this office. As we see in the image, there is nothing in Quechua. This shows its exclusion and discrimination. This is just one part of the reality. But this is just the first impression—imagine adding to that the other school offices and classrooms with no Quechua content. This should not be the case. I emphasize, the activities that UNSAAC supports should include the organization and holding of competitions where the use of Quechua is vital, as well as recognition—perhaps cash prizes—in order to strengthen students' abilities, skills and competencies. There are many ways of spreading Quechua, and this is our job as citizens of the southern Andes. This is not a job just for one person; everyone needs to do their part if we really want to change things.</p>

Figure 20. Entry in the brochure. Y. Vargas Quispe, 2017.

In addition to rebuffing exclusionary tactics after matriculation, students challenge the *supay* at work in the admissions process, especially the university's lack of supportive attention for new students from Quechuan communities. Bilingual Quechua-Spanish students empathize with Quechua students who are new to the university and to the experience of living in a city, and take on the supportive role themselves. Gabriel tells us:

Cuando recientemente los estudiantes de campo o provincia ingresan a la universidad se les puede a veces identificar por la vestimenta. Por ejemplo, el otro día vi a una estudiante y me acerqué, era una estudiante de Anta. Me acerque porque ella estaba sentada y triste; y justamente también para que ella se socialice satisfactoriamente faltan actividades sociales como las que organizamos [en el Voluntariado Intercultural Hatun Ñan]. Y que mejor que vean que hay actividades donde pueden ver un poco de su cultural o conversar en quechua. Porque hay otros estudiantes que están jugando y nada que ver, no pueden sentir como es el choque

cultural cuando alguien del campo recién tiene que venir a la ciudad para estudiar en la universidad. Justamente la estudiante me comentaba que tenía problemas para matricularse en sus cursos y le pude ayudar.

When new students from the countryside or the provinces start at the university, they can sometimes be identified by their clothing. For example, the other day I saw a student, and I went up to her; she was a student from Anta. I went up to her because she was sitting down and she looked sad. I just wanted her to have a good opportunity to socialize. We lack social activities like the kind we organize [at Voluntariado Intercultural Hatun Ñan]. And it's better if they see that there are activities where they can see a bit of their culture or have a conversation in Quechua. Because there are other students who are playing, and it's got nothing to do with them; they can't feel the culture shock experienced by someone from the countryside who has just come to the city to study at the university. The student told me that she had problems with registering for classes and asked if I could help her.

Collective activism by students confronts the institutionalized *supay* in the university, as Gabriel exemplified above. Students like Gabriel, active members of the Hatun Ñan Voluntary Intercultural Organization (VIHÑ), report the frustration they feel after losing the physical space they previously enjoyed at the university. VIHÑ is made up of Quechua speakers and students from the provinces who do not speak Spanish as their first language. Members of the organization have little familiarity with the benefits that the Ford Foundation had given to the Hatun Ñan program for more than 10 years, beginning in 2003. Students like Gabriel know that there was a physical allocation within the university for Hatun Ñan, a place that focused on serving “indigenous” students, Ford Foundation’s categorization of bilingual students whose first language is not Spanish. When the Ford Foundation finished this affirmative action project, the University of Cusco ceased to provide space to VIHÑ students who were still meeting voluntarily. When funding from the Ford Foundation ended, the university reallocated Hatun Ñan’s space for other programs. In his narrative, Gabriel shows and recounts the loss (Figure 21).


Original Title: Golpes y Restricciones de La Unsaac Translated Title: Striking a Blow: Restrictions from UNSAAC	
	<p>Original Text:</p> <p>Un importante espacio intercultural donde se reconocía y se respetaba a los estudiantes quechuahablantes fue el Programa Hatun Nan, lo cual ha sido suspendido por no tener contar con los fondos de la Fundación Ford. La universidad debió asumir y continuar con ese proyecto. La casita que ves donde se alojaba el Programa HÑ ahora tiene un propósito muy distinto. Pese a que el modelo y principio académico de la universidad es la interculturalidad, también es reiterada en el estatuto de la universidad. El cartel desterrado que ves, que para los ex estudiantes era como su bandera sagrada, demuestra las restricciones y limitaciones hacia los estudiantes bilingües. Aquí se percibe cómo nos trata la universidad. Como miembro del Voluntariado Intercultural HÑ veo el discurso de las políticas interculturales, pero no mecanismos que sirvan a la realidad existente de estudiantes bilingües y provenientes de diferentes culturas andinas que en su mayoría son quechuahablantes.</p> <p>Translated Text:</p> <p>The Hatun Nan Program was an important intercultural space where Quechua-speaking students were acknowledged and respected; this program was suspended because it was no longer getting funding from the Ford Foundation. The university ought to have taken over and continued this project. The little building that you see here, which was home to the HÑ Program, now serves a very different purpose. The academic model and principle of the university is intercultural, and this is even reiterated in the university statutes. The discarded sign that you see—which for the former students was like their sacred flag—demonstrates the restrictions and limitations put on bilingual students. Here you can see how the university treats us. As a member of the HÑ Voluntary Intercultural Program I see the discourse in intercultural policies, but I do not see mechanisms that serve the reality that exists for bilingual students coming from different Andean cultures, primarily Quechua speakers.</p>

Figure 21. Entry in the brochure. G. Quispe Huayhua, 2017.

Contending with the presence of the university's institutional *supay*, students create their own spaces to practice Quechua-Spanish bilingualism. Discussions about how *supay* obscures Quechua-Spanish bilingualism were publicly shared by the students participating in the photovoice—for example, in an interview on a local television channel (see Figure 22)—as an action denouncing the fact that such acts still occur, yet showing that people can change.



Figure 22. Photograph at the studio of a local TV channel in Cusco. Y. Kenfield, 2017.

During this interview at the local TV channel, students presented their most important discussions about bilingualism at the university and invited members of the local public to the photo exhibition on the university campus.

Working from the assumption that the *supay* is a temporary force and not supernatural, bilingual students reject the Supay force each time they denounce the negative impact of it among the college community members and every time they use their Quechua, bilingual Quechua, or bilingual Spanish in the university—transparent resistance to colonial prejudice by open use of their native tongue.

To summarize this section, participants identified the pervasive presence of *supay* in their college lives, a miasma that extends beyond language. They recognized that *supay* encompasses an attack on the entire Quechuan identity. Nevertheless, participants acknowledged that avoidance of and passive acceptance of *supay* is untenable.

Lazos: Ties

Lazos represents the theme that explains the primary source of social and emotional support that students find in their ties to their Quechua community for the maintenance or

recovery of their Quechua language. During photovoice sessions, Students discussed their feelings for their Quechua cultural heritage and bonds which link them with their Quechua communities. Further, they examined these ties in terms of their orientation of social justice for themselves and their communities. These ties are not limited only to one's family or community of origin. They extend deeply into the larger Quechua population, resonating from shared sociocultural practices and a common orientation toward resistance as a social practice of decolonization. Contemporaneously and seemingly inconsistent, this cultural legacy also creates ties that students perceive as paradoxical insofar as the Quechua language often reflects a glorious Inca past yet disarticulates from current speakers. Additionally, the *lazos* theme concerns Quechua epistemologies, because students conceive the world from the perspective of a certain episteme, foundational knowledge, and culture which they perceive sadly as vanishing together with the loss of the Quechua language.

Lazos, Spanish word which translates as “ties,” identifies the connection students feel with the Quechua community connections. *Lazos* work as a primary connection to Quechua identities, language, and cultural practices. *Lazos* nurture the continued use of the participants' Quechua-Spanish bilingualism. Ingrained in participants, *lazos* cannot be ignored: they persist and transfer into a social commitment nurtured by the collectivist perspective of Quechua communities, a commitment that students discuss and enact in their university lives. “*Lazos* are what make us be who we are.”

In this section, I describe *lazos* through three sub-themes identified by the participants. The first one, “collective memory in motion,” illustrates how students see their Quechua linguistic *lazos* and legacy as problematized: an emotion that is applauded in rhetorical discourse but ignored in daily life as well as in college practices. The second sub-

theme, “collective justice,” describes the motivation for using Quechua as a common thread to dignify and respect all Quechuan peoples. The last sub-theme, “communal Quechua knowledge,” concerns students’ awareness and reflections on the loss of knowledge that goes together with the loss of the Quechua language and how the university allows these “epistemicides” to take place (Santos, 2017). For them, if this knowledge is lost, so is their connection to their Quechuan heritage.

Collective Memory in Motion

For many students, their reason for speaking Quechua is closely linked to their socioecological roots, a collective historical identity that resonates to their present through the linguistic practices of their communities, their cultural practices, and their grandparents. Students state that this past—which flows in the present—causes them to continue their bilingual practices in opposition to a society that still cultivates an inferiority complex associated with such practices.

When bilingual students speak Quechua, it is part of their experience passing through Quechua and non-Quechua spaces yet also of carrying space-time in their memories. Through his photography and narration (Figure 23), Gabriel shows us the vitality of the Quechua language that allows him to inhabit the past and present in space and time:

Original Title: Lazos Translated Title: Ties	
	<p>Original text:</p> <p>En esta imagen esta mujer es como la madre para la mayoría de los estudiantes en la unsaac . Porque ella justamente refleja con su vestimenta que es Paucartambina, es de Cusco; ella refleja toda valiente, resuelta, alegre; y esto da fuerza motiva para que sus hijos también valoren y respeten su cultura y sigan con su generación, y no muera la cultura en sus hijos o nietos. Para mi esta imagen representa a la madre para los estudiantes de la unsaac, te hace recordar que asi es mi procedencia, mi cultura, mi identidad; por qué no podría hablar como lo que mi mamita habla. Tan solo recordar o oír la voz de tus padres, es muy diferente, más aun si te hablan en quechua es una conexión muy segura. Así tambien lo propio ocurre si con algun amigo hablamos en quechua, te hace recordar a tus padres, uno asocia que así hablan tus padres, te esta hablando tu tierra, tu infancia, ese lazo.</p> <p>Translated text:</p> <p>In this image, this woman is like the mothers of the majority of students at UNSAAC. Because with her clothing she precisely depicts that she is from Paucartambina, that she is from Cusco; she represents everything that is brave, determined, and cheerful, and this gives her strength to motivate her children to also value and respect their culture and carry it forward with their generation, for the culture not to die off with her children or grandchildren. For me this image represents UNSAAC students' mothers. It reminds me that this is where I came from, my culture, my identity. Why wouldn't I speak like my mom does. Just remembering or hearing your parents' voice is very different, even more so if they speak to you in Quechua, it is a very secure connection. And so the same thing happens if you talk to a friend in Quechua—it reminds you of your parents, you associate it with how your parents speak, your homeland is talking to you, your childhood, that tie.</p>

Figure 23. Entry in the brochure. G. Quispe Huayhua, 2017.

Collective memory relates directly to the Quechua language for students. That is why they believe bilingual practices sustain memories of their origins. For them, origins define their past and present as a continual march forward in their Quechua communities through iterative cultural practices and pertinent references to ancient Incan and pre-Incan civilizations.

Nilda's photograph shows the symbolic evidence of the Incan presence. We have two flags: the Peruvian flag, white and red, and the flag of Tahuantinsuyo (that name of the territory occupied by the Incan civilization), the colors of the rainbow. We also have an example of a Quechua tradition called *Tupay*, an annual celebration in Kunturkanki that perhaps dates to pre-Incan times and has taken on elements from the colonial period, such as the horse. Although Nilda links the Quechua language with the Incas, she also claims to be aware that valorizing Quechua is not just about treating it as an object of folklore but also about planning for its permanence in new generations using concrete facts (Figure 24).


Original Title: Tupay Translated Title: Interlinking	
	<p>Original Text:</p> <p>En algunas circunstancias solo utilizamos el quechua con otros fines sin darle el valor que se merece y a muchos que lo utilizan solo sus insultos en sus cantos carnavalescos o eventos folclóricos, pero esto no debería ser todo. cuando el quechua se debería de difundir más para que nosotros como descendientes incas nos sientamos más orgullo de nuestra identidad y lengua.</p> <p>Translated Text:</p> <p>In some circumstances we only use Quechua for other purposes, without giving it the value it deserves. And many only use it for their insults, in their carnival songs or folkloric events. But this shouldn't be the end of it. Instead, Quechua should be spread more, so that we, as descendants of the Incas, feel more pride in our identity and language.</p>

Figure 24. Entry in the brochure. N. Conde Banda, 2017.

For students, promoting Quechua is vital to fulfilling the goal of an institution of learning, which is to improve the quality of life in the region. Students like Diana who are recovering their Quechua abilities as heritage speakers see that the Quechua language nurtures their ties with the Quechua community and helps them understand truly the community's priorities. Diana chose a photograph showing an interaction between another

student and a group of women from Huayllapata, whom they met with during a photovoice session (Figure 25).

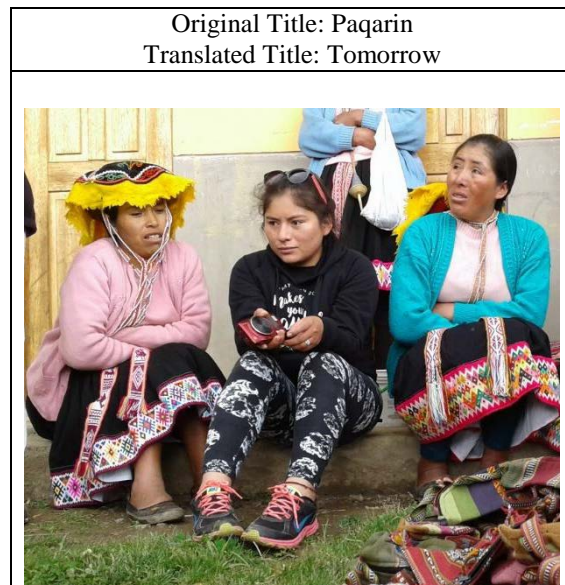


Figure 25. Photovoice. D. Ventura Aucca, 2017.

Heritage-language students who are in the process of recovering their Quechua language feel that their ties with the Quechua community propagate from encounters with Quechua communities in the high Andes and with their fellow Quechua-speaking students at the university. It is their source of inspiration to continue recovery of their Quechua language.

Although many of the students mentioned pride in an Incan past and recognized its imprint on current Quechuan culture, they had problems with this feeling. PucaHuayta opines that the Incas should be thought of not only as something from the past that is already dead, but rather as something that is redeemed and revitalized through people of Inca descent, the Quechuas—a vibrant people who still remain outside the hegemonic system (Figure 26).

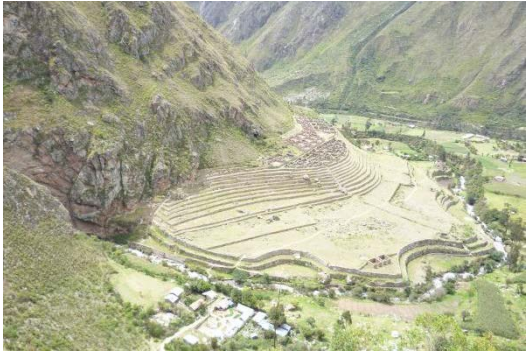
Original Title: Naupaqwan, Kunanwan Hukhinalla Translated Title: The Past and the Present Together	
	<p>Original Text:</p> <p>La fotografía muestra que el patrimonio material es más valorado que el patrimonio inmaterial, como el idioma quechua y las diversas prácticas de los pobladores andinos. Este mismo hecho sucede con los estudiantes quechuas de la Universidad, que a pesar de ser parte de estas prácticas y de convivir con el pasado y el presente, aún se resisten a aceptar ser parte de ello. (PucaHuayta)</p>
	<p>Translated Text:</p> <p>The photograph shows that material cultural heritage is more valued than intangible cultural heritage, such as the Quechua language and the diverse practices of the Andean peoples. This same thing happens with the Quechua university students, who despite being part of these practices and living with the past and the present, still refuse to accept that they are part of it. (PucaHuayta)</p>

Figure 26. Entry in the brochure. PukaHuayta, 2017.

PucaHuayta's photograph shows part of an Incan archaeological site, Patallaqta, which is along the tourist-popular Incan road to Machu Picchu. PucaHuayta emphasizes that, although the Quechua language is associated with the amazing Incan architecture of Patallaqta, the current Quechua residents do not receive the services available at archaeological sites surrounding them. Modern emphasis on ties with the Incan civilization creates contradiction. Students appreciate and admire their Incan heritage; but they feel that the worldwide respect for a past civilization, boasted about and publicized by their government and fellow citizens, contradicts prejudicial actions of authorities and neighbors who cast a dark cloud over the current Quechua population still living their lives in the highlands just as they have since the pre-Incan era.

Students expressed concern about the paradox of boasting about an Incan past but not really giving space or respect to their Quechua descendants. Through her photograph and narrative (Figure 27), Cinthia reflects on this disconnect, photographing part of the Incan architecture that is found within the university campus. For her, each university student

carries an energy from a cultural legacy linked to pride in an Incan past, but that energy does not always translate into practices of respect for that same past by the teachers or students themselves.


Original Title: Cimientos Ocultos Translated Title: Hidden Foundations	
	<p>Original Text:</p> <p>Una imagen metafórica que asemeja nuestro comportamiento de muchos de los jóvenes estudiantes de la actualidad. A diario ocurren situaciones, donde nuestras raíces culturales cada vez entran en lo más profundo del subsuelo, donde es menos el número de quechua-hablantes en los andes. Si bien nuestros padres son bilingües (castellano-quechua) nosotros como estudiantes, ¿somos bilingües en la universidad? ¿Cuántos de nuestros maestros nos enseñan en quechua, si se sabe que más del 30% de estudiantes de la UNSAAC somos quechua-hablantes? ¿Existe un enfoque de respeto al bilingüismo en la enseñanza? ¿dónde queda el aprendizaje de lo nuestro? Si nosotros, los jóvenes universitarios, ya no hablamos el quechua al menos dentro de la universidad, ¿dónde es que lograremos con toda libertad hablar, dialogar, indagar, investigar y hacer ciencia en quechua? Cabe resaltar que dentro de cada antoniano bilingüe o no, aún llevamos esa energía de poder reavivar lo nuestro, de cambiar la hegemonía de una lengua invasora por una diversidad lingüística que respete a todos y todas.</p> <p>Translated Text:</p> <p>A metaphorical image that resembles the behavior of many of today's young students. Situations occur every day where our cultural roots are increasingly buried in the deepest subsoil, where the number of Quechua-speakers in the Andes grows fewer. Although our parents are bilingual (Spanish-Quechua), we as students—are we bilingual at the university? How many of our teachers teach us in Quechua, when we know that more than 30% of UNSAAC students are Quechua speakers? Is there a respectful approach to bilingualism in teaching? Where is the learning that is our own? If we—young university students—no longer speak Quechua at least within the university, where is it that we will be able to speak, dialogue, inquire, investigate and do science in Quechua? It should be noted that within each UNSAAC student, whether or not they are bilingual, we all still carry that energy to be able to rekindle what is ours, to replace the hegemony of an invading language with a linguistic diversity that respects everyone.</p>

Figure 27. Entry in the brochure. C. Flores Ramos, 2017.

Students like Cinthia desire a critical evaluation of the role of Spanish as a hegemonic language. She and others believe that Quechua should not be divorced from professional training by following a monolingualistic ideology rooted in Euro-centric colonial conceptions. They reject the linguistic disarticulation of their identity as Quechua-Spanish bilinguals, since their daily life goes hand-in-hand with their past. This past goes beyond a simplistically imagined monolingual society or a legendary Inca past.

Photovoice participants expressed a reverberant meme that, historically, Quechua is integral to Perú's history as it relates to the accomplishments of the Incan empire, yet modern Quechua speakers, descendants of those empire builders, are relegated to second class status as citizens. They recognize that they must first overcome their own internal coloniality, and then strive to encourage their classmates and the university to acknowledge, honor, and respect not only their past but their current and future histories. To promote pride in Quechua, they feel they must continually and openly practice the language and culture of their birth. They feel they can bridge memories of the lives of their parents and ancestors with modern lifestyles by retaining the *lazos* with their communities and displaying collective memories, those ancient accumulations of culture, from their past, all the while acquiring information necessary to succeed in today's Perú.

Collective Justice

The participants regard highly the role of their *lazos* with Quechua communities in their professional lives. They maintain these ties concretely by knowing the Quechua language, and that is why students are signaling to the rest of the student population—bilingual students in particular—to always recall that they will be professionals and that they must serve all citizens, the majority of whom in the southern Andes are Quechua speakers. They must learn well the lingua franca and mechanisms of modern society and then advocate for their communities that often lack basic services provided non-Quechuan communities – health care, education, transportation infrastructure. Yolanda expresses this thought in her narrative (Figure 28).

Original Title: Universitarios Preparémonos Para Servir a Diferentes Sociedades Translated Title: University Students Prepare to Serve Different Societies	
	<p>Original Text:</p> <p>Entendemos que las lenguas indígenas son herramientas en la construcción de la ciudadanía y que por lo tanto deben ser preservadas y promovidas. Implementar políticas públicas con enfoque intercultural y desarrollar herramientas a través de los cuales los ciudadanos con lenguas distintas al Castellano pueden acceder a servicios como Salud, Educación y Seguridad Ciudadana debe ser una prioridad en el ejercicio de la función pública. El uso del idioma quechua es un aspecto importante para dar servicio al pueblo, sin embargo, consideramos que es aún más importante que los ciudadanos quechua hablantes se sientan respetados y bien atendidos cuando visiten las oficinas estatales y que no se sientan que son discriminados al margen del idioma en el que se habla. Aunque es cierto que ya existen políticas dentro de la UNSAAC, estas no son ejecutadas porque en sí no toma en cuenta lo dejan de lado por eso tenemos que ir a recurrir al idioma quechua que tenga Mayor interés e importancia para que los quechua hablantes no se sientan desprestigiados.</p> <p>Translated Text: We understand that indigenous languages are tools in the construction of citizenship, and that they therefore must be preserved and promoted. Implementing public policies with an intercultural focus and developing tools that citizens who speak languages other than Spanish can use to access services such as health care, education, and safety, must be a priority for those who exercise public functions. The use of the Quechua languages is an important aspect in providing public service; however, we believe that it is even more important that Quechua-speaking citizens feel respected and properly served when they visit government offices, and that they do not feel that they are being discriminated against or marginalized due to the language they speak. Although it is true that there are already policies at UNSAAC, they are not being implemented, because these policies in and of themselves are not considered but are instead put on the back burner. That is why we must continue to make a call for use of the Quechua language, and that people take a greater interest in it and put more importance on it, so that Quechua speakers do not feel denigrated.</p>

Figure 28. Entry in the brochure. Y. Levita Pilco, 2017.

Students not only plan to provide service to Quechua communities after they finish their degrees, they also currently practice this service on the university campus itself through many of their encounters with Quechua-speaking people who come to the university and need information. Yolanda:

La señora me pregunto maypin tarikun economia asi que la pude ayudar. La señora quizá hablaría en castellano, pero me preguntó en quechua así que la pude ayudar. Así que aproveche también para tomarle una foto. Nosotros los universitarios para poder entrar a este tipo de relaciones es bueno que podamos usar el idioma quechua y el castellano.

[The lady asked me, “Where is Economics located?” and so I could help her. The lady might speak in Spanish, but she asked me in Quechua, so I could help her. So, I took the opportunity to take a picture of her too. We, the university students, to initiate this type of relationship—it’s good that we can use the Quechua language and Spanish.]

Gabriel offers another example where his *lazos* prompted his behavior.

Remembering his own struggles to navigate the university and confusion when first at the university, Gabriel also tells us about helping a Quechua mother who could not find the university's orientation service to navigate the system:

Una señora quechuahablante quería averiguar sobre la matrícula de su hijo, se notaba que estaba buscando información. Su hijo no pudo venir ese día, ella estaba angustiada, se notaba, por coincidencia yo andaba por ahí. Muy amablemente interactué en quechua pues ella era quechuahablante, le ayudé con la información correspondiente. Y en ese momento justamente me puse a pensar que así hay mamitas que a veces vienen de zona rural; y cuando no hay una buena recepción por parte de los estudiantes o trabajadores no se logra atenderles. Eso es lo que deseo mostrar que así es la realidad en la unsaac que muchas veces hay una carencia de que los estudiantes estén atentos y sepan interactuar con ellas. A veces hasta tratan de discriminarlas, más bien deberían ser más sensibles a la realidad.

[A Quechua-speaking woman wanted to find out about her son's registration. You could tell she was looking for information. Her son could not come with her that day. You could see she was distressed, and I just happened to be walking by that way. Trying to be friendly, I interacted with her in Quechua because she was a Quechua speaker. I helped her get the information she needed. And at that moment, I just started to realize that there are moms who sometimes come from rural areas, and when they don't get a good welcome from students or staff, it's not possible to meet their needs. That is what I want to show, that this is the reality at UNSAAC. That there is often a lack of students who are attentive and who know how to interact with these women. Sometimes they even try to discriminate against them, when instead they should be more sensitive to their reality.]

Photovoice students like Gabriel feel obligated to intercede in the absence of the university's awareness of struggles with communication by Quechuans on campus. They are very aware of the lack of information available for rural communities in Perú about the public university's admissions process. In rural Quechua-speaking areas, high school teachers are the main source of information about this admissions process, and they often are not conversant in Quechua. Even when available, Quechua or bilingual initiatives regarding the admissions process are published in Spanish. The Internet, our primary modern form of information transfer, is largely absent from Quechuan communities. Bilingual students are

cognizant of these forms of social injustice and must always remember their origins and commit to serving the Quechua population, efforts that they constantly vocalize and practice, says Fructuoso:

Debería haber más espacios en la universidad y no solo en la universidad sino en todas las instituciones del estado que sirvan mejor a los quechuahablantes. Aquí hay una señora del campo que quizá es bilingüe y se sentiría feliz si le podrían atender en quechua como a cualquier ciudadano. Si una mama quechua quisiera saber sobre el examen de admisión para la universidad y si no hablara tanto el castellano, a quien va a preguntar.

[There should be more spaces at the university, and not just at the university but at all state institutions, so that Quechua speakers are better served. Here we have a woman from the countryside who might be bilingual and who would be happy if she could be served in Quechua like any other citizen. If a Quechua-speaking mother wants to know about the college admissions exam and she does not speak much Spanish, whom is she going to ask?]

The title of Fructuoso's photo "University of All Bloods" (Figure 29) recalls the original function of the public university, which is to serve all students and their families, not just singling out city-dwellers who are mostly monolingual Spanish speakers, but also targeting, as he says, all bloods.



Figure 29. Photovoice. F. Chino Mamani, 2017.

The students know that social injustices such as discrimination by omission are part of the reality of Quechua people. To the extent that they are able, they are acting to put an end to

these kinds of injustices. As one strategy, they are preparing themselves as professionals who want to serve the Quechua community, says Fructuoso, after reflecting on the photograph above:

Esto lo relaciono con la necesidad de que los universitarios, futuros profesionales, que egresen podrían ayudar más a los quechuahablantes que son una mayoría. Por lo menos los profesionales deberían saber quechua básico o algo de noción para ayudar a la población. Yo me puse en contacto con la señora porque mi mama es quechuahablante, y me puse a pensar que sería si mi madre estaría así, se le ponga un hijo mal y no tenga ayuda.

[This is related to the need for university graduates, future professionals, for them to graduate with the ability to provide more help for Quechua speakers, who are a majority. At a minimum, professionals should know basic Quechua or have some knowledge of it to help the population. I reached out to the woman because my mother is a Quechua speaker, and I started to think how it would be if my mother were in a situation like that, if she had a child who was sick, and she did not have anyone to help her.]

For bilingual students, *lazos* lead to commitment to promote social justice for Quechua communities. This commitment is apparent when they demand more support for bilingual practices from the university. For them, using their Quechua language means remaining close to the reality of Quechua-speaking communities in the countryside, as expressed in this quote from Yolanda as well as in her photovoice (Figure 30).



Figure 30. Photovoice. Y. Levita Pillco, 2017.

Los estudiantes universitarios necesariamente tienen que comunicarse en quechua para poder ver la realidad que hay en las comunidades quechuas, los conocimientos que hay, las necesidades que también tienen. Los universitarios al poder comunicarse pueden tener conciencia de ellos (quechuas). Ellos necesitan una valoración por parte de nosotros.

[University students need to be able to communicate in Quechua to see the reality that exists in Quechua communities—the knowledge that exists, and the needs they have. When university students can communicate, they can become aware of them (Quechua speakers). They need us to see them as valuable.]

Social injustice, denying basic humans rights to health, education, and equal treatment under the law; stems from justification of discrimination based on racial profiling using appearance, last names, and spoken language as evidence for denigrating selected populations like the Quechan. Photovoice participants know this, they live this, and they struggle to employ effective strategies – decolonial gestures – to counter the ill effects of such discrimination. Their demands for recognition of and service to the Quechuan communities demonstrate their commitment to their heritage.

Communal Quechuan Knowledges

Since its founding during the Spanish colonial era in the year 1692; the state university of Cusco has failed to include non-European ways of creating knowledge, disrupting and delinking in that way Andean peoples from their Quechuan communities of origin. For students, linguistic disarticulation of Quechua at the university discounts legitimacy of Communal Quechuan knowledge. Quechuan students comment on the lack of bilingual Quechua-Spanish presentations or discussions in university classrooms. Use of the Quechua language by the university community would benefit everyone greatly by being more open to different thinking and perspectives. Continued disregard for, even denigration of, Quechuan episteme weakens students' *lazos*, legitimizes institutional discrimination, and

leads to attrition of their culture. Photovoice participants candidly reject this diminution of their Communal Quechuan knowledges.

Edgar in his photovoice (Figure 31) shows an altered montage of the Tricentennial Park on the university's campus: he superimposed an image of an imaginary condor. By using the image of the condor—a bird that not only represents the Andean region but is also a sacred being in the Andean cosmology—Edgar projects a university that better reflects communal Quechuan knowledge, called *saberes* in this interpretation.

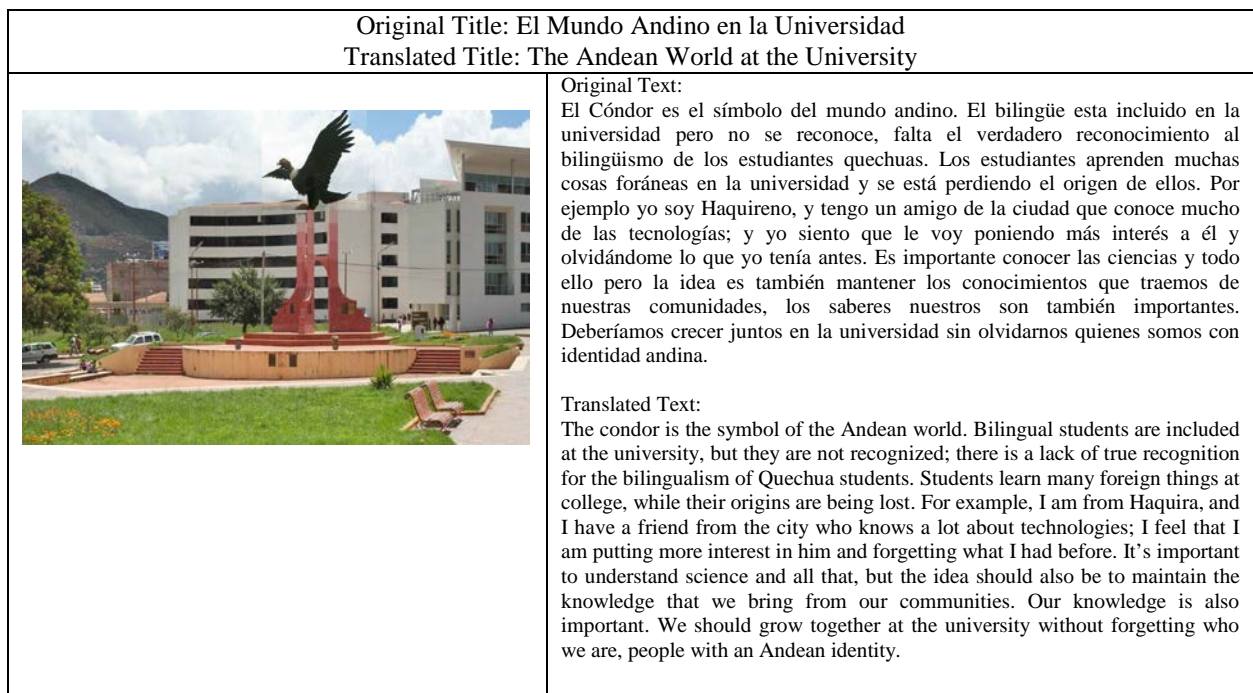


Figure 31. Entry in the brochure. E. Ccasani Ccosco, 2017.

Communal Quechua knowledge emanates not only as a source of motivation for the flourishing of bilingualism but also as a reminder of collective memories absent from the hegemonic knowledge promulgated by the university. *Saberes* strengthen people's daily social struggles, visions, thoughts, and spirituality—integral knowledge of the Quechua people.

Participants’ awareness of the importance of this communal knowledge abounds in their photographs. By their continual reference to and practice of *saberes*, students demonstrate their belief that to maintain their Quechua language they must learn and remember Quechua knowledges like making offerings to important spirits, building a *wat'ia*, and learning about traditional foods and medicines like *tage papa* and *pulla t'ika*.

Nilda shares the practice of “making a symbolic payment” or delivering an offering to the *Pachamama*, Mother Earth, and to the mother of cattle reproduction, *Chitamama*, and to the protective spirits of agricultural activity, the *Churusayma* (Figure 32).



Figure 32. Photovoice. N. Conde Banda, 2017.

In the context of environmental destruction, communal Quechua knowledges, exemplified by making an offering to *Pachamama* “Mother Earth,” teaches a valid cultural, spiritual, environmental belief of being nurtured by the Earth, our mother. These offerings are constant reminders to honor Earth, not desecrate her.

More examples that illustrate the tie between the Quechua language, Andean epistemology, and Quechua *saberes* can be found in this photo by PucaHuayta (Figure 33) and the one following by Nilda (Figure 34).



Figure 33. Photovoice. PukaHuayta, 2017.

The *taqe papa* (Figure 33), “the potato of plenty,” could go unnoticed by some, but to Quechua students it represents a bountiful or good harvest of potatoes. *Taque papa* and *pulla t’ika* are good examples where Quechua language supports Andean ontologies and epistemologies for bilingual students who cross paths with Euro-centric ontologies and epistemologies.

Knowledge of traditional medicine is another example of communal Quechuan knowledge which is being lost along with the loss of the Quechua language. Nilda exemplifies this topic in her photograph of a specific Andean medicinal plant that exists in her community



Figure 34. Photovoice. N. Conde Banda, 2017.

Nilda's discussion of *pulla t'ika* details the epistemicide by oppression of the Quechua language, producing an ignorance of certain communal Quechua knowledge, such as traditional medicine:

El perder el quechua tiene que ver con la pérdida de conocimientos ancestrales como las plantas medicinales como esta planta de pulla t'ika, hay muchas que ya no conocemos ya. Esta flor es nativa de Anta. Antes se usaban esta planta en las fiestas, como planta medicinal también, y en las ofrendas o pagos a la tierra porque simboliza la altura de la puna; pero ahora se ve menos como otras plantas la sallica, también la yareta.

[Losing Quechua has to do with the loss of ancestral knowledge, such as medicinal plants like this *pulla t'ika* plant. There are many of them that we no longer know about. This flower is native to Anta. Formerly, this plant was used at fiestas, and as a medicinal plant, and in the offerings or payments to the land, because it symbolizes the high grasslands of the *puna*; but now we see it less frequently, along with other plants like *sallica* and also *yareta*.]

Communal Quechuan knowledge have been transmitted from generation to generation for centuries. This communal Quechua knowledge and practice have been preserved over time mainly through the oral tradition and practices transmitted from parents to children in the context of the dynamics of the community coexistence that characterize Quechua peoples.

Connection to the Quechua community through the critical collective memory, sense of collective justice and communal Quechua knowledges are sources of support that bilingual students know they must practice if they wish to sustain their Quechua language. These students desire support from the university community, hoping it will increase its appreciation of and connection to the Quechua language to truly serve all citizens of the region and the country.

Lazos, promotes Quechua episteme that is a requisite from a communal reality that seeks as a source of life, an ecological balance, spiritual health, social equality, inspiration, and retention of valuable knowledge learned by our ancestors. Participants appreciate the power of modern technology but they know they must retain their connections to their roots through continual advocacy against unequal treatment based on racist stratification. If they don't, not only their language, but an entire culture based on survival in the Andes will disappear. Their advocacy must begin with *lazos*, not simple nostalgia, but organic connections to their heritage. Retaining these connections will help them sustain their self-respect at the university and deliver selected modern knowledges to their villages, a two-way street.

Tikarinanpaq: To Flourish/Develop

Tikarinanpaq means "to flourish or develop." The students actively create and imagine spaces for the flourishing of Quechua in the university to enhance their *lazos* and counter the institutional and intra-,interpersonal *supay*. Creating spaces the Quechua language to flourish means cultivating Quechua collectively and unraveling ideologies or practices that prevent the growth of bilingualism in the university. This theme illustrates the emerging practices of university students, as well as the projections and visions they employ

for the maintenance and recovery of the Quechua language, and respect of Quechua-Spanish bilingualism. *Tikarinanpaq* mainly focuses on the initiatives and plans of bilingual students to ensure that Quechua blossoms or flourishes among the entire university community. *Tikarinanpaq* embraces three forms of decolonial gestures students employ to cultivate and expand Quechua and Quechua-Spanish bilingualism among the university community. First, “look at what is sprouting”, illustrates the current actions students employ to ensure that Quechua does not disappear but continues to be nurtured among them. “Look at what is sprouting”, in particular, reveals the collective strength of VIHÑ activities that recruit physical spaces for Quechua students at the university. Next, “rooting out deficit ideologies” details how students are confronting ideologies that create a terrain hostile to development of Quechua-Spanish bilingual practices. Finally, “more ground to flourish in” describes how students are planning strategic measures that the university should take into account to promote and maintain bilingualism among the university community.

Sprouting

This subtheme focuses on all the self-managed initiatives of students in order to recover and maintain their Quechua language and culture that they strive to promote in a framework of respect for diversity. Photovoice students discussed on the importance to look at the sprouts, the different ways the Quechua language is being used practice to move forward. These initiatives that are sprouting are found in their frequent meetings with members of the VIHÑ or with Quechua students in university housing, even in virtual spaces. They have extended their face-to-face connections to the virtual world with their own chat group. They attend off-campus meetings with urban dwellers anxious to affirm their Quechuan heritage.

Although students receive limited systemic support from the university to encourage the flourishing of Quechua-Spanish bilingualism, they do find support among themselves and are engaged in self-organizing. Intercultural VIHÑ is a clear example of student activism, comprised of volunteers who persist in valorizing Quechua diverse cultures, Quechua language, Spanish-Quechua bilingualism in the university community (as well as bilingualism in Spanish and other languages). Members encourage intercultural dialogue and inspire others to take action in an effort to expand the expression of Tikarinanpaq.

VIHÑ was initiated by student leaders who were part of the former Hatun Ñan program, which was funded by the Ford Foundation from 2003 to 2015, however, VIHÑ does not currently receive any funds from the Ford Foundation. In 2015, students decided to pursue institutional recognition from the university for VIHÑ and thus obtain some type of university funding. The university did not sustain the affirmative action initiatives such math and writing tutoring (in Spanish), and intercultural workshops funded by the Ford Foundation. For two years the students continued to hold intercultural activities on a voluntary basis, and they have continued to request institutional recognition of the Hatun Ñan Volunteer Intercultural group, as a student organization.

The Hatun Ñan program was the first to aggregate students that the Ford Foundation identified as indigenous (based on their maternal language being listed as an indigenous language and not Spanish) and who came from provinces other than Cusco. After the Ford Foundation's funding ceased, students who wanted to maintain established ties and manage their own agenda created an organization called Intercultural Hatun Ñan Volunteer Group, VIHÑ. Looking at what is sprouting in this case means looking at the agency of VIHÑ members who collectively persist in enacting their cultural and linguistic rights.

In the photovoice by Nilda in Figure 35, you can see some members of VIHÑ in the main plaza of Cusco following a parade of university students for the celebration of Cusco's city holiday.

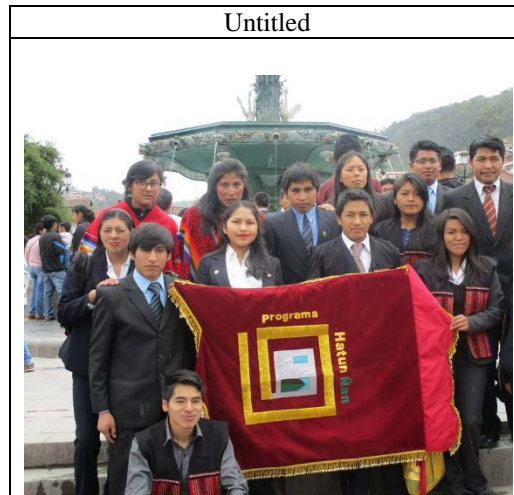


Figure 35. Photovoice. N. Conde Banda, 2017.

The photovoice is based on a photograph, taken in 2016, that reveals that the student members of VIHÑ were still using the former banner of the Ford Foundation, sponsored by the Hatun Ñan program, because they did not have funds for a new banner. Following a continuous struggle to achieve institutional recognition, the student activists of VIHÑ finally achieved their goal in April 2017. Recognition as an official student organization entitled them to a physical space. Although this physical space was not an “entire building” as the one granted to the former Ford Foundation’s Hatun Ñan program; still, it was an office, full of dreams and expectations. In addition, VIHÑ obtained the commitment of the university’s Social Welfare Office to provide financial support for intercultural activities. This account of events is important to mention, because the photovoice participants are almost all members of VIHÑ, and they expressed their desire to illustrate their own collective history within UNSAAC.

This unique group works to provide a space not only for Quechua-Spanish bilingualism but also to offer an intercultural space that respects the diversity that each student brings to the group, especially students who migrate from the provinces in search of a university degree at UNSAAC. As Gabriel says and illustrates in Figure 36.

Kaypi kashayku grupopi voluntariado intercultural nisqapi... compañeruykuna amiguykuna apamuwanku, chhayna munaychata chaypi tariricurani hoq llaqtamanta hamuq runakunawan ima rimarayku hoq hina runasimikunata ...mana sapallaychu... noqa rimarani Apurimac runasimita, wakintaq Sicuani runasimita,,,paykunawan munaychata rimarani kawsayninmanta runasimipi, allin kawsayqa runasimin. manan hayk'aqpas runasimitaqa qonqaymanchu. hinaspapas ninku sistema educativo nisqapi, secretaria oficinapi manan rimayusunkikuchu runasimipi nitaq considerankuchu. wakin carrerakunapiqa manan yachachinkuchu runasimita hoq carrerakunapiqa yachachinku, chayta mañakuna universidadta kanqa . Manan yanapawankuchu chay sistema kikin reglamentumanta pacha, chayllatan noqa atiyman niyta.

[Here we are in the intercultural volunteer group... my companions, my friends, they took me, and it was so nice there. I was with people who came from other places, and we spoke different kinds of Quechua and not just the same kind...different types...not just...I was talking in the Apurimac dialect, and another person spoke the way they speak in Sicuani...I talk with them in beautiful terms about how my life is Quechua—the good life is Quechua. I would never forget Quechua, never. Like they say about the educational system, the office secretary doesn't speak to you in Quechua, they don't even think about it. With some university majors they don't teach anything in Quechua, while for other majors they do. We need to ask that the university provide that. This system doesn't help us, starting with the regulations themselves. That's all I would say.]



Figure 36. Photovoice. G. Quispe Huayhua, 2017.

Though diminished in numbers compared to the Ford Foundation's Hatun Nan program, VIHÑ's members create bonds that demonstrate their constant participatory approach and their legitimate desire to create a welcoming environment for students who want to do more than just get a university degree. VIHÑ's members also want to create a network that promotes respect for the cultural diversity that students from the provinces contribute. The volunteers create a place for speaking that reflects their collective interests within the university community and extends to Quechua-speaking high school students; as Gabriel explains:

Tenemos ya cuatro actividades para este año, el Voluntariado tiene ahora la actividad de concurso de poesía en quechua o bilingüe. Deseamos es más invitar a los estudiantes de secundaria de provincias para que concursen aquí en la universidad y quizá como un premio una beca de la CEPRU [Centro para Admisión Preuniversitaria]. Para esta actividad tenemos pensado pedir ayuda del Ministerio de Cultura y Proyección Social.

[We have already had four activities for this year. The Volunteer Organization now has a poetry contest for Quechua or bilingual submissions. We would like to invite high school students from the provinces to participate here at the university, and perhaps as a prize there could be a scholarship from CEPRU [Center for College

Admission Training]. We plan to ask for help from the Ministry of Culture and Social Projection to support this activity.]

VIHÑ meets frequently, creating activities not only to maintain bilingualism but also to valorize Spanish-Quechua bilingualism, activities such as the ones Gabriel describes when discussing the organization of bilingual literary contests.

It is noteworthy that members of VIHÑ not only hold meetings on the university campus but also in spaces outside the university—for example, on mountain roads, as we see in the following photovoice, a picture of an old Inca road in the area of Tambomachay (Figure 37). By expanding student meetings into spaces that cut across the divisions between urban and rural, academia and nature, Spanish and Quechua, students travel between places for enunciation, as Edgar mentions:

Aquí estamos en una reunión de campo del grupo Hatun Ñan que promueve el bilingüismo, ya que para mantener el quechua se requiere difusión y comunicación, el título para esta foto sería Juntos Si Podemos porque juntos podemos caminar para adelante.

[Here we are in the countryside, having a meeting of the Hatun Ñan group that promotes bilingualism, since in order to maintain Quechua we need to spread it and communicate in it. The title for this photo would be “Together We Can,” because together we can move forward.]



Figure 37. Photovoice. G. Quispe Huayhua, 2017.

VIHÑ also promotes activities for intercultural dialogue through involvement with intercultural forums at other universities in the southern Andes. For example, members of VIHÑ have been invited to events of the International Network of Intercultural Studies at the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú. As Gabriel comments on his experience (Figure 38).



Figure 38. Photovoice. G. Quispe Huayhua, 2017.

Esta imagen fue tomada en una de las actividades del Voluntariado Intercultural de Hatun Ñan, es en un foro intercultural, nos encontramos estudiantes de diferentes provincias de Apurímac y Ayacucho, no solo del Cusco el 2016...en reuniones así, que se lleva a cabo conjuntamente con estudiantes como uno mismo, te motiva, y no solo te motiva sino te hace sentir seguro para expresar y manifestarte para hablar en quechua.

[This image was taken at one of the activities that Hatun Ñan Volunteer Intercultural Organization participated in, at an intercultural forum where we met students from different provinces—Apurímac and Ayacucho, not just from Cusco, in 2016... At meetings like this that are held jointly with students like ourselves, it motivates you. And not only that—it also makes you feel safe to express yourself and make statements, speaking in Quechua.]

VIHÑ is creating a powerful, effective, collective force that promotes linguistic and cultural diversity. In addition, VIHÑ enables an academic environment that supports new

students, most of whom are the first generation in their families to attend university while learning to cope with both a university city and an extensive academic system.

Although VIHÑ's activities for university students (cultural, intercultural, meetings) within and outside the university campus have been one of the main mechanisms through which the organization has promoted the valorization of Quechua at the university, during the photovoice sessions the students formulated new proposals for intercultural dialogue. The VIHÑ students are keen to expand their intercultural dialogues, to have more dialogue between students, and to extend intercultural dialogue to Quechua communities (Figure 39), as Cinthia mentions:

nisqankuman hina harawikunta llallinakuykunta ruwanchis cheqaqchu, ichaqa aswanman rinanchis, rinanchis aswan ñawpaqman rinanchis noqanchis reqsichiq. Hamusunman kay llaqtakunaman.... Chhaynaqa noqanchis munakunanchis llaqta ukhupi runasimikunata hinallataq hawa llaqtapi runsimikunata imayna manan khunachan tarishanchischu... imaynapas kay ukhu llaqtapi tiyaqkunata.

[Like they say, we have poetry competitions, it is true, but we must go beyond that, go farther forward. We have to go out so they know. We could go to these villages, then we could also revalorize the diversity of Quechua that exists both in Andean society, which means the communities, and like we are seeing right now... as well as in purely urban societies.]



Figure 39. Photo of students listening to Cinthia in Huayllapata. Y. Kenfield, 2017.

In their eagerness to hold intercultural dialogues in Quechua, during the photovoice sessions the members of VIHÑ initiated conversations about the possibility of remaining connected with the Quechua community in both rural and urban areas; in particular at Casa Campesina in the city. Casa Campesina serves as a low-cost accommodation (one dollar a night) for people coming from rural (indigenous) communities in the highlands and from jungle lowlands who are visiting Cusco briefly—usually for health reasons, because public hospitals do not exist in their rural areas. On Tuesday nights, they hold “Campesino Tuesdays” with conversation in Quechua about matters of interest to the guests.

After this process of making contacts at Casa Campesina through the photovoice sessions, the students decided to hold the first photo exhibition during one Campesino Tuesday meeting, because they expressed their level of comfort with Casa Campesina (Figure 40).



Figure 40. Photo of Cinthia dialoguing in Quechua at Casa Campesina. Y. Kenfield, 2017.

In addition to meeting guests from Quechua communities, the students met other university students and professionals who go to Campesino Tuesday to maintain or recover their Quechua language and to sustain connections to the real-world situation of Quechua speakers.

After discovery of Campesino Tuesdays and initial participation in discussions using Quechua, VIHÑ members were motivated to deepen their ties with Casa Campesino, recognizing this urban space as a place for intercultural dialogue in Quechua. Cinthia comments: “*De hecho en los martes campesinos podemos exponer nuestros estudios, así podemos usar el quechua con los compañeros del campo en la ciudad.*” [In fact, at Campesino Tuesday we can make a presentation about our studies, so we can use Quechua with our rural companions in the city.] Fructuoso also expresses his desire to share his thesis topic at Campesino Tuesday: “*Una vez que tenga mi tesis finalizada sobre el sistema de congreso peruano quiero exponerla en quechua en la casa campesina, como ya tenemos un enlace con los martes campesinos.*” [Once I have my thesis on the Peruvian congressional system completed, I want to present it in Quechua at Casa Campesina, since we already have ties through Campesino Tuesdays.]

In addition to VIHÑ’s gatherings, *La Vivienda Universitaria* (Student Housing) is a space where students can use Quechua, three of the photovoice participants reside in this Student House. Student Housing is a university project, which provides temporary housing to UNSAAC students, is a project restricted to students from rural provinces in Perú other than Cusco province and who do not have relatives in the city. UNSAAC students who reside in the Student Housing often speak Quechua or other indigenous languages.

Quechua also sprouts on the university campus, in classrooms and offices of departments where both students and teachers value Quechua, such as the Anthropology Department. PucaHuayta describes:

Universidadman risqaymantan (profesorkunata) yachachiqkunata ima reqsini, maymantas kanku, huñunakuykun, k’aminakuyku. Chhaynata takiyku, pukllayku chansanakuyku runasimipi, chay raykun mana qonqanichu. yachanin Antropologiata

*hinaspataq piwanpas runasimita rimayta atini ,asikuytapas,runa simiykupi rimayku
mana atiykumanchu chayqa manacha imatapas rimaykumanchu hoq
llataqtakunaman rispa,chay raykun manan qonqanichu Nisqayman hina mana
qonqaymanchu,chaymi allin...chay raykun,estudiasqaymanta pacha manan
qonqayta munanichu.*

[Since I've been at the university I've gotten to know the students and professors. Where they are from... And we get together and trade insults. So we sing songs, we play games, we joke around in Quechua, and that's why I'll never forget who I am. I'm studying anthropology, and that's why I can talk to anyone. We laugh, we speak in my language, and if I didn't know it I wouldn't talk at all when we went to the communities. That's why I won't forget. Like I say, I wouldn't forget it, which is good... that's why, since I started studying anthropology, it's come to the point where I don't want to forget it.]

Anthropology students have also advanced their own initiatives to promote Quechua in their department. Diana, an active member of the Anthropology Student Association, comments that, starting with previous federated centers, “the initiative to offer conversational tutoring in Quechua was implemented. The tutor is an anthropology student and his reward is symbolic.”

Students also maintain and learn Quechua through two main virtual media applications: Facebook and WhatsApp. Using these tools, not only do UNSAAC students who are recovering their Quechua help each other, but they can also connect with students in other regions of the country. As Cinthia says:

Nos mostramos a veces con compañeros lo que envían por WhatsApp, a mí me gusta escuchar lo que algunos envían del quechua ayacuchano, yo como tengo parte sangre ayacuchana me gusta oírlo.

[We sometimes share with other fellow students what people send us on WhatsApp. I like to listen to what some people send in the Quechua dialect of Ayacucho [in the central Peruvian highlands]. Since I have some Ayacucho blood in me I like to hear it.]

Andean students interact on Facebook, but WhatsApp is more accessible to them because it is cheaper. It also allows them to record and listen to audio messages. In her comment above, Cinthia mentions how she likes listening to other varieties of Quechua.

The appreciation for the diversity of Quechua resonates among Andean students. Participants in this study represented three variants of Southern Quechua: Cusqueño, Apurímac, and bilingual Quechua. Belonging to or being connected to different Quechua communities helps students appreciate the diversity within Quechua communities. This diversity is important to them, since they recognize differences even within the Quechua variants that they speak. Respecting all forms of Quechua is key to the flourishing of the language: students take any opportunity to learn about different Quechua communities, whether or not they have direct ties to them.

Sprouting, then, encompasses a broad variety of activities – personal, group, virtual – that bilingual students enjoy to replenish their own sense of belonging and to broaden appreciation of Quechua. It is a dynamic theme, and its dynamism stimulates the students to appreciate even more their heritage. Staying connected, feeling a sense of purpose, helping others understand and appreciate themselves, rejecting their own inner feelings of coloniality: all are positive outcomes. Even more, these students perceive a bright future for bilinguals.

From all their efforts, students feel ties to a national initiative are within their reach. One example was when the photovoice participants joined an initiative to produce software that can transcribe Quechua audio into text, an action organized by the Universidad Católica de Lima. Proudly, the participants shared with me the following flyer via WhatsApp (Figure 41). It is an invitation that sought to bring together 1,000 volunteers who are native speakers of Quechua:



Figure 41. Flyer shared via WhatsApp.

Rooting out Deficit Ideologies

Rooting out ideologies that oppress bilingualism creates fertile terrain for Quechua to flourish or blossom. This subtheme discusses decolonial gestures of students when confronting deficit ideologies towards Quechua-Spanish bilingualism at the university, in social contexts, even in their family environments daily. The socialization to comply deficit ideologies towards the Quechua language and practices is resisted by photovoice students. Photovoice students reject ideologies that promotes purist language ideologies, standardized language ideologies (Rivera Cusicanqui, 2010a), and modern ideologies (Maldonado-Torres, 2011). Additionally, photovoice students project ways to better engage the university community members in battling these ideologies that maintain coloniality. They affirm that a collective effort is urgent to root out deficit ideologies towards Quechua (language, and culture).

Students sense that because remnant colonial ideology still views speaking Quechua as deficient, community members feel embarrassed to speak their mother tongue or even to identify as Quechua. Students such as PucaHuayta reject this ideology and reaffirm their stance regarding Quechua:

Manan profesorniykunapas ni pipas universidadpiqa facilitaqa rimayusunkimanchu runasimipiqa, hinaspapas p'inqarikunku... universidadpi runasimita rimanki chayqa qhawayusunkiku universidadpi runasimita rimanki chayqa critisunkiku nisunkiku chayqa comunidadmantan payqa seguro campesinoq wawancha chhaynatan ninku ichaqa imataq noqaman qokuwan, chhaynan noqaq kayniy, noqa allinmi kashani runasimi yachasqaymanta.

[It is not easy to get anyone at the university to speak to you in Quechua, neither professors nor anyone else, and so they feel ashamed... if you speak in Quechua at the university, if you speak in Quechua they criticize you, they tell say "she is from a community, it's certain she's the daughter of a peasant." That's what they usually say, but it doesn't matter to me. That's how I am. I'm fine, I'm very proud to know Quechua.]

As PucaHuayta affirms, the photovoice participants feel very proud to speak Quechua: they actively seek to overcome the embarrassment of speaking Quechua, hoping to inspire others to set aside their embarrassment in the same way.

By persisting in valorizing Quechua, students interdict the dynamics of a linguistic ideology that views bilingualism as deficient: they encourage people to switch go back and forth between Spanish and Quechua without limitations. The students expressed hope that faculty members also can be motivated, as Edgar notes in his thoughts on this topic:

En este grupo fotovoz u otros grupos culturales como voluntariado intercultural Hatun Ñan mucho hablamos el quechua. Eso llevamos hasta nuestra facultad ..ahi en la escuela profesional donde estudiamos ahí adentro hablaríamos en quechua en cualquier cosa que organizamos exposiciones, podremos exponer en quechua al profesor le puedo decir: ¿puedo hablar en quechua?, le bajaríamos, entonces así se avergonzaría. El profesor diría ah estos si saben hablar en quechua y yo solo se castellano entonces yo también quisiera saber así le impulsaríamos a hablar en quechua.

[In this photovoice group, or in other cultural groups such as the Hatun Ñan Volunteer Intercultural Organization, we speak Quechua a lot. We even bring this up with our department...there, in the professional school where we are studying, inside the department itself, we would talk in Quechua about anything, we would organize exhibitions, making a statement to the teacher in Quechua, there I could say: "Can I speak in Quechua?" and we would bring him down, and so he would feel ashamed. The teacher would say, "Ah these kids, if they know how to speak in Quechua and I only speak Spanish then I would also like to learn it"—and that's how we would encourage people to speak in Quechua.]

Students like Dino also imagine challenging their teachers to be able to make presentations in Quechua, and in this way to use bilingualism in a public space, especially in the classroom, where, traditionally, only Spanish is permitted.

In addition to valorizing Quechua, students rebuff or counteract ridicule from other students towards bilingual Spanish and bilingual Quechua. By taking action against this teasing, they raise awareness among the university's student community regarding Quechua-Spanish bilingualism. As Edgar comments on this issue:

Mana allinta rimaqtiy, wakin asikunku niwanku , imatan rimashanki?, maymantan hamuranki?, chhaynatan asipayawanku wakinkuna. Noqaqa rimashallani manan dejakunichu. chaymanta qhawarisqayaman hina allintan reqsinanachis, noqanchis valorananchis ima raykun qhepa taytanchiskuna kay runasimitaqa saqerawanchis kay simitaqa noqanchis valoraninchismi

[I also speak “with *mote*”; other people laugh and say, “What are you talking about? Where did you come from?” But I keep talking; I don’t give up. Then, I started to become aware that we should know the language well, we must valorize it, because in the past our ancestors left us this language and we must value it.]

Raising awareness as a way of handling this ridicule improves attitudes toward bilingual Spanish as well as bilingual Quechua. The students strive to eliminate idealizing a perfect or pure language, since this causes bilinguals to feel linguistic shame. Such a purist ideology harms the maintenance and flourishing of the variety of Quechua or Spanish that students retain, as Yexy and Cinthia mention:

Yo creo que el momento en que podemos concientizar es en el momento en que él te señale, no..porque.. si yo te digo tú hablas el idioma quechua pero no lo hablas bien, imagínate cuantas personas están en lo mismo, y cuando tú lo señalas es el momento en que ellos empiezan a negar su idioma también. Es el momento decirles que yo soy bilingüe y mi manera de hablar el quechua es así y voy a mejorar para hablar mejor.

Las culturas cambian, entonces el quechua no permanece intacto en las sociedades. Pero eso sí, si vamos a tender al perfeccionismo... hasta yo diría yo no hablo un buen quechua entonces no me atrevo a exponer en quechua, el tema del purismo para mí en una barrera.

[I believe that the time to raise awareness is at the moment someone points you out, no...because if I tell you that you speak Quechua but don't speak it well—imagine how many people are in the same position? And when it gets pointed out to them, that's the point when they start to deny their language too. That is the time to tell them, I'm bilingual, and my way of speaking Quechua is like this, and I'm going to improve so I speak better.

Cultures change, and so Quechua doesn't remain monolithic in societies. But yes, if we strive for perfectionism... I might even say I don't speak proper Quechua, so I don't dare make a presentation Quechua. The issue of purism for me is a barrier.]

In addition to purist sociolinguistic prejudice, ideologies of social progress must be rooted out with urgency in order for Quechua-Spanish bilingualism to flourish. The students advocate changing the perception that Quechua language is a barrier to progress. They hold a perspective that is counter even to the views of some of their parents who believe that Quechua can interfere with their children's social mobility. Fructuoso reflected on this familial divergence (Figure 42):

mayninpiqa hawa llaqtapiqa piensanchis wawanchisqa manan runa simita
yachananchu, paykunaqa manan noqa hinachu kananku. mayninpiqa chhaynatan
piensanchis, ichaqa mana allintachu piensanchis imarayku runasimiqa sumaqmi chay
ukhupin tarikun sumaq kaynin.

[Suddenly in the countryside, we think, "My children should no longer know Quechua; they should not be like me." Sometimes we think that way, but that's the wrong way to think, because Quechua is very beautiful, and that's where you find the part that is original.]



Figure 42. Photograph in Huayllapata while Fructuoso is talking. Y. Kenfield, 2017.

Fructuoso claimed that sometimes in the Quechuan communities, fathers and mothers share the mentality that being Quechua and speaking Quechua have no value compared to an idealized world of progress. The students affirm that it is time to stop seeing themselves in that way and instead to demand rights and not allow discrimination. This stance that valorizes Quechua language and peoples dismantles deficit ideologies. Students are convinced that valorizing Quechua speakers is the primary way to respond to the disrespect that Quechua speakers continue to face—in general, and even at the university.

Another important way to combat deficit ideologies is to provide training and workshops that allow for critical discussions about Quechua-Spanish bilingualism for and with university teachers. Students see teachers as critical allies, as Carmen explains: “Considerar que los docentes a quienes no les interese el quechua que los invitemos a taller de concientización como este fotovoz para que respeten a los quechuahablantes.” [Think about teachers who aren’t interested in Quechua, if we invite them to an awareness workshop like this photovoice, to encourage respect for Quechua speakers.]

Although valorization is an important step as a gesture of solidarity, students also have expressed the need to address deficit ideologies by not being bystanders whenever they hear or see discriminatory acts towards Quechuans. Additionally, the need to hold awareness-raising workshops to combat harmful ideologies towards Quechua-speaking bilinguals is described in their agenda to battle ideologies that inhibit the growth of Quechua. They have a strong connection to their history through the Quechua language and know, even against their parents’ wishes, that they must retain that language as the portal to their past. Beyond feeling shamed of the way they speak, they proudly proclaim their ethnicity through their languages. And they poke and prod others, students and teachers alike, to follow suit.

More Fertile Ground to Flourish

Students continue to develop administrative-level proposals to create an academic terrain that allows Quechua to flourish. These proposals focus primarily on Quechua, the nearly extinct indigenous language within the university community. For students, this terrain has to do with fostering concrete university mechanisms, policies, and research agendas that systematically contribute to the flourishing of Quechua.

They believe is critical that Quechua be mandatory for all degree programs in order to train professionals who are familiar with and have knowledge of Quechua, professionals who then have a closer connection to Quechua-speakers who inhabit the region. This goal is achievable, as Nilda mentions, if Quechua classes are included in each program of studies: “No en el centro de idioma, pues va a ser difícil que nos den gratis; sino en cada carrera que se implementen cursos de quechua.” [Not at the language center; it will be difficult for them to offer them to us for free; but for Quechua classes to be implemented for each degree program.] Cost is important because many students at this state university do not have the financial means to do anything other than buy the materials that their degree program requires. UNSAAC is a state university where tuition each semester is less than 30 U.S. dollars, not a lot in Western economies, but a formidable sum to these Andean students. Thus, it would be hard to cover extra cost with increased tuition so the university would have to dedicate more of its budget to placing Quechua coursework in all its curricula. Again, this is a complex request because of the many variants of Quechua. From the students’ perspective, to stress the importance of respecting all varieties of Quechua is crucial, PucaHuayta emphasizes:

El quechua que sea gratis para todos en cada carrera, que al menos no sea un curso de tres créditos, sino tal vez cinco créditos y que se den al menos tres cursos para aprender lo básico. Y que los docentes que van a enseñar tengan dominio, y que respeten las diferencias dialécticas del quechua. Pienso que se debe presentar como proyecto que se enseñe el quechua si o si como parte de la formación profesional, para todos no solo para quechuahablantes. Se presentaría el Proyecto directamente al rector.

[Quechua classes, they should be offered for free, for everyone in each degree program, and they should be more than three credits, maybe five credits at a minimum, and they should offer at least three classes so students can learn the basics. And the teachers who are going to teach should be fluent, and they should respect the dialectical differences in Quechua. I think that it should be presented as a project to teach Quechua, as part of the professional training, for everyone and not just for Quechua speakers. The project should be presented directly to the chancellor.]

She emphasizes the theme of respect for variants of Quechua because not all Quechua-speaking students necessarily speak the Cusqueño variety.

Additionally, students feel that efforts to help Quechua flourish in the university should focus not only on students but also on the teaching staff, either encouraging them to take Quechua courses or recognizing bilingualism when hiring future teachers. As Yolanda says: “Para pedir la obligatoriedad a los estudiantes primero sería pensar en que los profesores también estudian quechua, tomar un criterio al contratar a profesores.” [To ask for it to be required for students first also leads us to think that teachers should also study Quechua, that it be taken as a criteria when hiring teachers.]

While some faculty members, whether or not they are Quechua speakers, express a positive attitude toward Quechua, no concrete mechanisms exist to promote the use or study of Quechua among teachers. Cinthia reflects on the topic:

Hay docentes que no dominan el quechua, pero también sabemos que hay docentes quechuahablantes, quizá al postular a la docencia sería un requisito que se considere en la universidad. De esa manera los docentes quechuahablantes podrían impartir algunas lecciones en quechua, no sería el total de los docentes, pero si se aspiraría poco a ello.

[There are professors who aren't fluent in Quechua, but we also know that there are Quechua-speaking teachers. Maybe when they apply for a teaching position, it should be a requirement that the university considers. In this way, Quechua teachers could offer some lessons in Quechua. It wouldn't be the entire faculty, but that's a little bit like what we might aspire to.]

In her statement, Yolanda echoes the other students' appreciation for the major effort and cost that providing Quechua in the classroom entails, but they want to see a start in that direction by the university.

The language center at UNSAAC, a space where university students, teachers, staff, and residents of Cusco have the option to study the Quechua language, provides another opportunity for Quechua to flourish. It offers five languages: French, English, Italian, Portuguese, and Quechua. To graduate, university students must complete a certificate in a "foreign language" (Quechua, for some reason, qualifies for this classification), either from the language center or another institution. According to UNSAAC statistics, most students graduate with English or Italian, with the third most popular certification being Quechua.

The language center is not free, unlike the for-credit classes offered by the university. Therefore, only students who can afford language classes at this center have access to them. Removing the cost factor from the center would greatly increase students' access to Quechua. The only mandatory Quechua courses for the university's professional majors are basic Quechua for communications majors and two courses in applied Quechua for education, nursing and medical students. Students like Cinthia insist (Figure 43) that Quechua should be a prioritized elective for all students: to be a future professional, students should have a social orientation towards the Quechua population:


Original Title: Empecemos Por Lo Nuestro Translated Title: Let's Start with Our Own	
	<p>Original Text:</p> <p>¿Por qué no son más los que eligen estudiar quechua? resulta que recientemente el idioma quechua fue reconocido por la autoridad universitaria como una lengua con la cual el estudiante universitario pueda adquirir su grado de bachiller, lo cual hasta hace unos años, no era así. Esta es una de las causas por la cual el estudiante universitario no se siente motivado para estudiar el quechua y obtener un certificado de estudios de dicha lengua. Con esto queremos manifestar que no hay una promoción igualitaria de lo nuestro con el resto. No es posible que se mercantilice de esta forma la enseñanza de los idiomas.</p> <p>Somos una universidad, donde hay estudiantes de diversas provincias, hasta regiones que hablan el quechua, muchos de ellos, como idioma máter. Sin embargo, al ingresar a la universidad casi nadie dialoga en quechua, por lo que los estudiantes deben hablar solo en castellano” (Cinthia)</p> <p>Translated Text:</p> <p>Why don't more people choose to study Quechua? It turns out that recently Quechua was recognized by the university authorities as a language that university students can use to fulfill their requirements for a bachelor's degree. Until a few years ago it wasn't like that. This is one of the reasons why university students don't feel motivated to study Quechua and obtain certification in that language. With this, our intention is to say that our language doesn't receive the same promotion as other languages. It's not possible to market language instruction in this way.</p> <p>We are a university, where we have students from different provinces, with many of them being areas that speak Quechua as their maternal language. However, when students come to the university almost no one speak in Quechua, and students must speak only in Spanish.” (Cinthia)</p>

Figure 43. Entry in the brochure. C. Flores Ramos, 2017.

Bilingual students who tried to take Quechua classes at the language center also mention their frustration with the teachers there: faculty at the center neither recognize nor respect their variants of the Quechua language. One complication: no consensus exists about the number of variants of Quechua; however, according to Torero's (1964) classification of dialects, there are 16 main varieties of Quechua, of which there are two in the southern Peruvian Andes: Qosqo-Qollao, and Chanca. Students in this photovoice study identify their Quechua variants as one from Apurímac and the other from Cusco; these variants are sub-variants of the Qosqo-Qollao dialect.

The students insist that the teachers who teach Quechua must be sensitive not only to Quechua variants but to the legitimacy of speech produced by people who have learned their

maternal language orally, not from formal instruction; a frustration that PucaHuayta articulates:

A mí me pareció algo contradictorio que yo que he aprendido desde niña el quechua paralelo juntamente con el español, y resulta que una persona quien su lengua materna es el español y aprendió luego el quechua a mí me quería corregir como se escribe, me decía no se escribe así, yo quería usar como a mí me habían enseñado. Luego también hubo una discusión del tri-vocálico o penta-vocálico. Y yo como soy de Apurímac tengo mi variedad, y esta persona me decía que la palabra no era así. Personalmente me he decepcionado. Pienso que las personas que enseñen deben respetar las variantes.

[It seemed to me somewhat contradictory that I have learned Quechua since childhood in parallel with Spanish, and it turns out that a person whose maternal language is Spanish and then learns Quechua would want to correct how I write, telling me it's not written like that. I wanted to use it the way I had been taught. Then there was also a discussion on the issue of spelling Quechua using three vowels or five vowels. And I, since I'm from Apurímac, I have my variant, and this person told me that's not how the word is. Personally, I felt disappointed. I think that the people who teach should respect the variants.]

The assessment test assesses the level of linguistic knowledge that a prospective student claims to know, either high or low. The results of this test determine at what level the student will start: either basic or intermediate. The Quechua assessment test at UNSAAC's language center does not have the listening or speaking component; it has only the writing component assessing Quechua composition, grammar, and reading comprehension. Evaluating a person who has Quechua as their first language using a test focused primarily on Quechua grammar does not make much sense, since education in Perú does not focus on developing Quechua grammar in schools.

Writing is an area that would contribute to students' development of Quechua-Spanish bilingualism at the university. Although the subject of writing was not central for all students, they did say that writing would help to make Quechua more visible at the

university. The students imagine the written presence of Quechua in libraries (Figure 44).

With respect to this type of initiative, Edgar comments:

A través de esta imagen puedo decir que un estudiante puede disfrutar más de la lectura si hallara la lengua y cultura quechua en la lectura. A través de la escritura del quechua se oficializa y se logra su reconocimiento. En la universidad la mayoría de libros en la biblioteca son en español a veces inglés, y para personas que tienen una orientación hacia el bilingüismo no hallas textos en quechua, pero si habría libros bilingües la persona misma se motivaría a leer y hacer su investigación del idioma quechua.

[I'm using this image to say that a student can enjoy reading more if he or she sees the Quechua language and culture in what he or she is reading. Using Quechua in writing makes it more official and helps it to achieve recognition. At the university, most of the books in the library are in Spanish, and sometimes English. For people who have an orientation towards bilingualism, you cannot find texts in Quechua, but if there were bilingual books, these people would be motivated to read and do their research in the Quechua language.]



Figure 44. Photovoice. D. Ccasani Ccosco, 2017.

Although the students want to have texts written in Quechua, they desire that content in these Quechua books contain more than mere translations of theoretical books in Spanish.

PucaHuayta states the need to balance the students' theoretical/linguistic training with information in Quechua, whether students are bilingual or not:

Hay que leer y escribir también en nuestro idioma quechua, ya que toda información para formarse como preofesional esta en español y otros idiomas extranjeras; de

esta forma darle importancia a este idioma oriinaria y dar a conocer a personas no quechua hablantes.

[We must also read and write in our Quechua language, since all the information we need to be trained in as professionals is in Spanish and other foreign languages; this would be a way to give importance to this autochthonous language and familiarize non-Quechua speakers with it.]

Students imagine that Quechua books would communicate Quechua knowledge

(Figure 45).



Figure 45. Photovoice. PucaHuayta, 2017.

They also envision bilingual texts that would help those who are in the process of recovering Quechua. Students like Dino explain that such texts would be written originally in Quechua and then translated into Spanish: “*Yo me imaginaría que los textos en quechua reproducirían nuestra realidad más que traducciones de textos del castellano al quechua.*” [I imagine that texts in Quechua would reproduce our reality better than translations of Spanish texts into Quechua.]

Students believe that printed and audio Quechua books could play an important role in familiarizing students with Andean knowledge. Students see themselves as potential

producers of such texts or audiobooks. This is particularly true for anthropology students, like Cinthia, who are familiar with the experiences of authors in anthropology. As she explains,

Hay algunos libros en quechua, por ejemplo, de Valderrama que escribió Gregori Mamani que es un libro en quechua y en castellano. Si creo que debería darse más importancia, pero no creo que se podría traducir libros teóricos en castellano al quechua. Y al tener todos estos libros en castellano es un impedimento para mantener el quechua en la universidad.

[There are some books in Quechua: for example, from Valderrama, written by Gregori Mamani, which is a book in Quechua and in Spanish. I do think this should be given more importance, but I don't think you could translate theoretical books in Spanish into Quechua. And having all these books in Spanish is an impediment to maintaining Quechua in the university.]

She voices the concerns of all the participants that, to have a real flourishing, textbooks must be in Quechua by Quechuans. I had the sense that this would help them identify and engage more with the learning process.

Few academic works are written in Quechua; for instance, anthropology majors are very familiar with the dissertation written in Quechua in the late 1970s by Ricardo Valderrama Fernandez and Carmen Escalante Gutierrez. Fernandez and Gutierrez submitted their thesis, in its Quechua-Spanish bilingual version, to the University of Cusco as part of their requirements for graduate degrees in anthropology. In subsequent decades, the book was translated into Danish, English, Norwegian, and German. These two anthropologists documented the testimonies of a Quechua-speaking couple, Gregorio Condori Mamani and Asunta Quispe Huamán. Later, in 2016, Mrs. Carmen Escalante Gutierrez wrote her doctoral thesis in Quechua. These bilingual publications are well known in the Anthropology Department at UNSAAC, and in social sciences departments in Perú in general. Students like

Cinthia hearken to these theses in their argument for writing their own bachelor's theses in Quechua.

Although students agreed that written Quechua would take a collective effort with the help of language teachers, there was no agreement on whether to follow the five-vowel system taught at the language center or to use the three-vowel system supported mainly by the Ministry of Education in its objective to standardize written Quechua. Few students were even somewhat familiar with the arguments behind these two systems. The only thing that the students who supported the three-vowel system mentioned was that in order to progress with written Quechua it would be important to use the standardized system. As Dino commented, "There's a lot of research on Quechua writing, so we have to follow the official written Quechua to give it more visibility." It seems these students would be flexible concerning the 3-vowel versus 5-vowel systems as long as all writing in Quechua was standardized. Still, students like PucaHuayta insist on respecting the variants spoken, even in their written form.

Interestingly, even with all this emphasis on writing Quechua during this photovoice study, 99% of students' written statements were in Spanish, with minimal content written in Quechua. The booklet the students created contains Quechua written using both the five-vowel and three-vowel systems. Some, not all, of the photograph titles and brief descriptors in their written communications with me were written in Quechua. In contrast, oral participations showed the presence of Quechua equal to that of Spanish. Nearly all students felt comfortable verbally in both languages. Diana, however, did not have enough oral command of Quechua to be able to express herself for more than a couple of sentences. The minimal use of written Quechua probably stems from not having learned to write in

Quechua. In their Quechuan communities, communication is primarily oral, written Quechua is minimal.

In one strategy to address this deficiency of Quechua in higher level learning, the members of VIHÑ envisage creating a center for teaching written forms of Quechua at UNSAAC. To achieve this, they want to invite Quechua teachers so that Quechua speakers who want to learn to write it have direct support, without having to go to the language center. Another concrete strategy proposed by students is “Quechua Week,” an event which would include a series of cultural activities along with a week dedicated to research on Quechua language and knowledge.

Currently, students are aware of “Research Week,” an activity recently started in 2016. The Dean of Research sponsors it with funds from mining royalties received by the university. Diana comments:

Como hay un presupuesto para investigación seria llamar a cada carrera a que realice una investigación financiada por el vicerrectorado de investigación. Así puedan presentar su investigación en la semana.

[Since there's a budget for research, it would involve appealing to each department to conduct research funded by the Dean of Research. That way, they could present their research during this week.]

However, similar to their future Quechua center and unlike Research Week, students propose that Quechua Research Week involve not only teachers or students as speakers but also knowledgeable people from Quechua communities. Recruiting Quechua speakers as guest lecturers or presenters demonstrates how students refuse to perceive academia as the only valid source of knowledge, an attitude illustrated in their draft proposal (Appendix 4) and another example of their decolonial gesturing.

Students also showed some savvy and familiarity with academic publications and event management in the way they envisaged Quechua Week:

Tanto Voluntariado Intercultural Hatun Ñan como algunos de nosotros seríamos la comitiva para organizar la semana del quechua, Después de esta semana de quechua se tendría que hacer un resumen, una revista no solo que se comparta en la universidad sino con otras universidades, internacionalmente para que sepan cómo se está recuperando el quechua en la universidad. Porque si no se está recuperando es debido a que no hay políticas que dictaminen que el quechua se debe usar en la universidad (PucaHuayta).

[Both Hatun Ñan Intercultural Volunteering and some of us would be on the committee to organize Quechua research week. After this Quechua Week, we would have to do a summary, a publication not just to be shared at the university but with other universities, and internationally, so that people can see how Quechua is being recovered at the university. Because if it is not recovering, it is because there are no policies that dictate that Quechua should be used at the university (PucaHuayta).]

In sum, the subtheme of “Sprouting” of Quechua, students recognize that respect must be the epicenter to allow the language to flourish within the university community. Respect implies always being respectful of all the variants that make up the linguistic repertoire of bilingual speakers of Quechua, Spanish, or a combination of both of them. “The rooting out of deficit” ideologies towards Quechua, and Quechuan speakers is a dynamic that must be present to prevent the ground from being poisoned. Complementing action, planning is essential to imagine the blossoming of ethnolinguistic awareness within the university community, essential because the social environment there still reproduces ideologies that prevent the growth of Quechua-Spanish bilingualism. There are two levels of commitment on the part of students. At a personal level, they maintain their bilingual practices and collaborate to achieve ethnolinguistic awareness among the university community. Collectively, primarily through activities of the Hatun Ñan Voluntary Intercultural Organization, they create alliances with the Dean of Research and the Social Welfare Office at the University.

Chapter Summary

Listening to the voices within the data, I was overwhelmed at the ways students' efforts and vision to create spaces for their Quechua practices to flourish, despite the hindrance found at their university. The themes (*supay*, *lazos*, and *tikarinnanpaq*) discussed in this chapter reflect the conditions identified by the photovoice participants (Andean college students) to reach their overall objective of achieving the maintenance, revitalization, and practice of Quechua among the Andean people through decolonial gestures, intercultural dialogue and Quechua-Spanish bilingual coexistence. These three themes summarize students' political objective of *tikarinnanpaq*, maintaining and promoting Quechua in order to exercise genuine *lazos* and intercultural citizenship through battling *supay* as a carrier of long-standing colonial practices. Though few in number, participants are focused and are taking advantage of new formats like photovoice and internet chat groups to strengthen their stance and spread their message.

As tangible evidence of equality and respect, they perceive achieving *Quechua T'ikarinnanpaq* (the blooming of Quechua language-culture) as closely linked to language equity, a crucial right that is often lessened for Quechua speakers since this population lacks equal access to basic services and their view of the (Andean) world is ignored and delegitimized. Demanding respect for the Quechua language is their primary vehicle for attaining *T'ikarinnanpaq*. Students like Fructuoso state this concept emphatically:

*noqa niykichis kuisqa orgulloso kaychis runa simi rimasqaykichismanta
kawsayninchismanta, culturanchismanta, amataq ima p'inakuypas
kachunchu, amataq p'inakusunchu imayna kasqanchismanta, hinaspapas niqayman
hina piwanpas maywanpas, presidente de la republica kamachiqwapas ñawpaqta
rimana runasimipi paykuna mana yachaqtinkuña castellano simipiqa, runasimipi
rimayqa hoq derecho fundamentalmi... manan pipas ninmanchu ah.... Qanqa
runasimi rimaqmi kanki lloqsiy lloqsiy.*

[I tell them to be proud of the fact that they speak Quechua, to be proud of our experiences, our cultures, to not be ashamed. We are not ashamed of what we are. That is what I would say to anyone, even the president of the republic. Speak in Quechua first; if they cannot, then speak in Spanish. Speaking in Quechua is a fundamental right. No one can tell us: “Ah, you’re just a Quechua speaker get out.”]

Feeling shamed because of their appearance, names, and language seems to be a major *supay* for even the most vociferous participants. They fight back with pride of self, and strive to encourage all Andean students with Quechuan roots to do the same. They also recognize that self-respect is a good start, but insufficient to accomplish true *T’ikarinanpaq*. Non-Quechuans and institutions like UNSAAC must change their colonial behavior. The students emphasize the racialized experience of many Quechua peoples since they argue that legal, educational, and health care systems limit the exercise of intercultural citizenship for those who do not speak Spanish, and the university also enables this unequal treatment by not training professionals capable of serving everyone. In their fondest wishes, students hope that the university community will gradually open up to intercultural dialogue, become not only tolerant of but respectful to the Quechuan episteme. Not just hopeful, they insist on concrete measures to create greater opportunities to achieve this vibrant blooming for everyone within the community university – classes taught in Quechua by Quechua speakers, physical spaces dedicated to Quechua, structural recognition (statuary) of the importance of Quechua to Perú, funding for Quechua-specific cultural events like Research Quechua Week. Immersion in Quechua – the people, their language, their culture - at the university would shut off the tap that feeds exclusionary systems. This respect must also extend to legislative and legal venues where Quechuans are treated as inferior. Fructuoso states this emphatically (Figure 46) in his criticism to the judicial service in Perú.


Original Title: Photo: El Idioma Quechua Como Derecho Fundamental Translated Title: The Quechua Language as a Fundamental Right	
	<p>Original Text:</p> <p>Esta imagen es el reflejo de las instituciones públicas que tenemos en nuestro país, donde observamos el quechua hablante es considerado como un discapacitado, a pesar que nuestra constitución reconoce que el idioma quechua es un idioma oficial, donde señala expresamente que “todo peruano tiene derecho a usar su propio idioma, ante cualquier autoridad”. ¿Entonces porque considerar a un quechua hablante como un minusválido que limitaciones tiene psíquicas, físicas? No es gracias a la comunicación con el idioma quechua sean construido las grandes construcciones en el incanato que ahora deja atontado a toda la humanidad? Así como la maravilla del Machupicchu. Entonces por que la marginación a un quechua hablante, peor aún en otras instituciones del estado ni existen ventanillas que te pudieran atender en quechua, a sabiendas de que en el Cusco más del 50% de la población es quechua hablante.</p> <p>Es por ello en mi opinión de que todos los egresados de nuestra tricentenaria casa de estudios estén obligados con el dominio del idioma quechua, de esa forma exista un servicio profesional adecuado y correcto a la ciudadanía.</p> <p><i>“Runasiminchista parlasun maypiña, piwanya tariricuspapas”</i></p> <p>Translated Text:</p> <p>This image is a reflection of the public institutions we have in our country, where we see that Quechua speakers are viewed like disabled people, despite the fact that our constitution recognizes the Quechua language as an official language, where it expressly states that “all Peruvians have the right to use their own language before any authority.” So why would a Quechua speaker be considered the same as a disabled person who has mental or physical limitations? Isn’t it true that it is thanks to communication in Quechua that the great construction projects of the Incas were built, which now leave all of humanity in amazement? Not to mention the glories of Machu Picchu. So why are Quechua speakers marginalized, even more so in other state institutions. There are no service counters that serve people in Quechua, even though we know that more than 50% of the population in Cusco speaks Quechua.</p> <p>That is why, in my opinion, all graduates from our three-hundred-year-old institution of learning should be required to master the Quechua language. That way there would be adequate and proper professional services for our citizens.</p> <p><i>“Runasiminchista parlasun maypiña, piwanya tariricuspapas”</i></p>

Figure 46. Entry in the brochure. F. Chino Mamani, 2017.

Photovoice participants are acutely aware of the hegemonic forces rooted in colonial practices that impede the full exercise of citizenship by Quechua speakers. Quechuan citizens offer diverse and critical ways of knowing, being, and communicating. To magnify and exemplify this potential benefit for all Peruvian society, the photovoice participants believe that exercising citizenship through the Quechua language is a central issue in their criticism of institutionalized racism, a discriminatory action that precludes access to valuable knowledge from its marginalized communities. Students like Fructuoso fail to find compatibility between the “dead letter” of the constitution and the reality of rights. He

believes in passive-active resistance to this bigotry and advises, “Runasiminchista parlasun maypiña, piwanya tariricuspapas,” which means “Let's speak Quechua wherever we are, with whomever we meet.” If linguistic rights are limited for indigenous citizens and their exercise of citizenship remains nearly nonexistent, the outlook for *T'ikarinanpaq* is dismal.

Cogently aware of colonial forces still at work in this century, photovoice participants accept their responsibility to transform awareness into actions, actions that engender bilingual Quechua-Spanish interculturality. Students continue to hope that more students will join in Quechua-Spanish bilingual practices, creating, in effect, a mandate to accept openly Peruvian diversity in all its manifestations. They desire a community-wide interculturality that they have felt in activities organized by VIHÑ on the university campus and outside it, and in their daily lives when they return to or visit anew Quechua communities.

CHAPTER 5: ANDEAN PEDAGOGIES CROSSING THE PHOTOVOICE PROCESS

In the subsequent text I outline the contributions from the community researchers' (photovoice participants and community advisory board members) and Quechuan peoples' participation that emerged when collectively applying decolonial cultural humility¹² during the process of the photovoice study. This communal approach required me to practice cultural humility to nurture greater participation by community-based participants—the bilingual Quechua-Spanish university students; however, the sociohistorical configuration of this particular region required me to strive for decolonial cultural humility.

I initiated cultural humility at the beginning of this research, since I was interacting with members of the Andean community with whom I share a similar sociocultural background (K-16 education, ethnicity, nationality, religion). As an alumna of the same university where the participants study, I held the status of insider to a certain extent; yet my experiences during 12 years in the United States positioned me as an outsider.

Learning from my first year of collaboration with Yexy and Wences (community advisory board), I surmised that a different approach to research was required, a decolonial turn was needed. I considered that Quechuan ontologies and epistemologies influenced our thinking because our topic connected directly to Quechua language and culture. Although cultural humility was fundamental at first, decolonial cultural humility replaced it by all involved – community advisory board members, photovoice participants, and this

¹² I am adding a decolonial turn to cultural humility due to the situated coloniality and decoloniality in the Andean macro culture reality. While cultural humility acknowledges that community members are experts, decolonial cultural humility highlights the decolonial forces within that expertise.

investigator – to allow full expression of participants’ feelings. This decolonial turn was explicitly outlined during initial photovoice sessions.

At first, I aimed to investigate the strategies these bilingual students (photovoice participants and community advisory board members) utilized to shape the photovoice methodology to attain this viewpoint: I practiced cultural humility. I did not assume cultural characteristics about them; I considered them the experts. It was not my aim to exercise my cultural capacity to understand Andean communities with different values, beliefs, and behaviors. Rather, I promoted participants full expression, to understand better their perspectives, rather than adhere to pre-planned methodology. Throughout the process, the original methodological aim expanded due to the collective orientation of the bilingual university students who listened to and responded to other voices from the community – Quechuan women weavers, Quechuan *campesinos*, and urban Andean activists. Adhering to the study’s decolonial framework, immediate analyses of responses stimulated me to identify the various Andean peoples’ ways of knowing that reconfigured the photovoice process.

Cultural humility was an extremely helpful approach when starting this research (2016), but, as an Andean native working with a population experiencing colonality, I needed to apply what I call decolonial cultural humility which adds the awareness of colonial differences and practices that disfavor internal colonialism between members involved in a CBPR research. While recognizing community members as the experts, I remained sensitive to the potential for their expertise being guided by colonial or decolonial ideologies due to internal colonialism. Remaining cognizant of the above concerns based on personal histories of the participants and myself, I formulated the following question: *How did the participation of the Andean community members (photovoice students, Yexy Huillca Quishua, Wenceslao*

Huayllani Mercado, and other Quechuan peoples) shape the implementation of this photovoice study?

One primary answer to that question, promoting the use of the local knowledge of bilingual students as well as Quechuan peoples, determined the course of the research process and made it more significant for the participants. Emphasis on valorization surfaced immediately and explicitly. From the initial photovoice orientation session, I acknowledged the participatory nature of this study and sensed that decisions by photovoice participants would greatly influence how and where the photovoice sessions would happen. For example, participants started a facebook group to sustain conversations between face-to-face sessions. Overall, the Andean community partners played an active role in guiding the photovoice study using Andean *saberes-haceres*, “experiential knowledges”, integral components of the local knowledge base.

In this chapter, I seek to capture an appreciation for the different representations of Andean *saberes-haceres* (Quechuan and Quechua-Spanish conceptions, practices, and imaginaries) that enriched and reconfigured our photovoice process during the implementation of this study. Andean experiential knowledges particularly informed the building of collective trust and sustainability as follows:

- Engaging in Quechuan practices for Collective Trust
 - *muyu muyurispá*—circular scenarios in motion;
 - *tinku*—an exchange of information, plans, or experiences, which could be translated as an "experiential encounter";
 - *kuka akulliy*—the act of chewing coca leaves and sucking their juices;

- Enacting Andean Agency for Sustainability
 - *ayni*—a type of labor exchange that involves collective physical effort to benefit both parties;
 - *student collective activism*—students’ participation in social and political activities at the university.

It is important to note that this chapter reports my individual interpretations based on a semiotic analysis of my field observations (pictures, videos, and self-reflections). The semiotic analysis helped me to dig deeper into the pictures and short videos that community advisory members and I produced during several photovoice sessions. I shared this interpretation with both CAB and photovoice participants who enjoyed viewing the highlights of their Quechuan *saberes-haceres* discussed in this chapter.

Engaging in Quechuan Practices for Collective Trust

Most bilingual Quechua-Spanish college students in Cusco city and on campus speak Quechua in limited spaces even though they continue engagement in Quechuan forms of being. Despite limitations, they have succeeded in reproducing, and reinterpreting key practices and concepts linked to Quechuan core relational ontologies and epistemologies that continue to cross their subjectivities. Understanding photovoice as a participatory study, students engaged in collective orientations (*muyu muyurispa*, *tinku*, and *kuka akulliy*) linked to their Quechuan epistemologies and ontologies. This section describes how the Quechuan practices indigenized the photovoice process by aligning the mutual collective trust necessary to proceed in a collective project.

***Muyu muyurisp*a—Circular Scenarios in Motion**

These circular scenarios in motion are irregular in form: they played out during the development of the photovoice study at the beginning (first field session in Tambomachay), middle (one session in Huayllapata), and end (photovoice exposition on campus). Andean peoples commonly associate such circular scenarios in motion with the universe because in Quechua, *teqsimuyu*, “the universe”, translates literally as the “circular foundation”.

Collective gatherings of Quechuan peoples occur in circles so they can feel and identify the others around them. I interpret the *muyu muyurisp*a as a micro human reproduction the “circular foundation”, unconsciously reproducing the centrality of the collective motion, fusing not isolating individuality. During this study, photovoice participants would call out spontaneously in Quechua to make a *muyu muyurisp*a. I would then join them.

*Muyu muyurisp*a are very common collective activities in the Andean world. I emphasize this idea from an Andean worldview to acquaint the reader more closely with the southern Andean setting where Quechua resounds and where we find practices of “others” that extend beyond everyday urban life in Latin America. I interpreted this cultural expression as a manifestation that signals the creation of a collective reality, which some academics refer to as communality¹³.

In general, circular spaces were present in two forms among the actors involved in the photovoice project: one form, the circular configuration of conversations, where everyone can see each other face-to-face and direct their attention to all, not just one person; and a second form of collective dance movements called *muyu muyurisp*a. The facilitators –Yexy,

¹³ Floriberto Díaz (1951-1995) an indigenous intellectual of the Mixe culture of Oaxaca introduced the term "communality" to explain the collective forces in contrast to “individuality.” (Maldonado Alvarado, 2015)

Wences, and I – deliberately promoted the first form, circular configuration of conversations. The photovoice participants spontaneously self-organized two “circular scenarios in motion,” and the sikuri music group, Apu Wayra, accompanied participants as they enacted the final *muyu muyurispas* of collective dance movements (Figure 47).

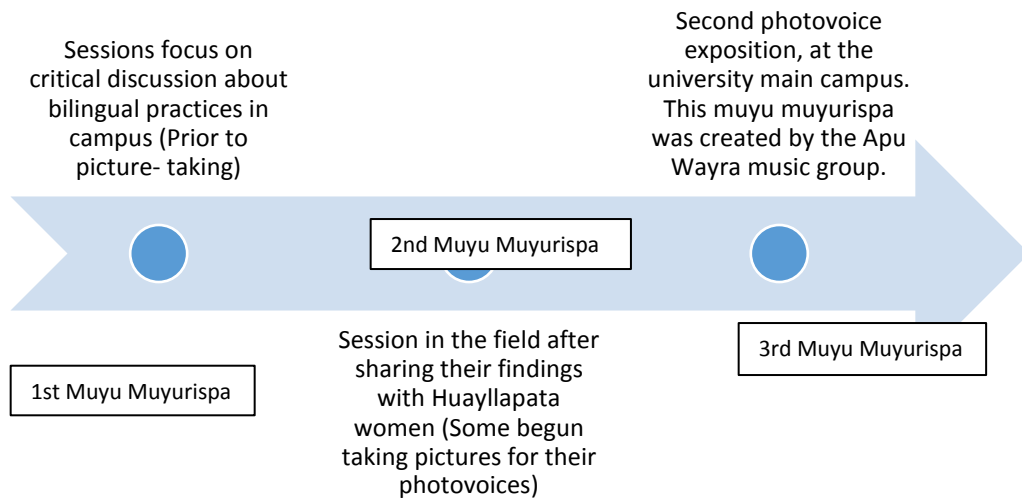


Figure 47. Sequence of *Muyu Muyurispas* during the photovoice process

These three *muyu muyurispas* occurred in open spaces, which I interpret as acts that promote strengthening of the collectivity and affirming their relation not only to the group but to *teqsimuyu*. The two *muyu muyurispas* initiated by the photovoice participants occurred during our informal breaks, and involved the singing of a popular Quechua-Spanish songs such as: “Sacsayhuamanpi pukuy pukucha, imaynallamanta qamri wakanki, te quiero dicen, te adoro dicen, y al poco tiempo adios te dicen.” [In Sacsayhuaman, deep sorrow, Why are you crying? I like you they say, I love you they say, but time later goodbye they say]

Visualization of the circular scenarios in motion is readily apparent, as seen in Figure 48, a photograph taken at one of the initial photovoice sessions held on the outskirts of Cusco.



Figure 48. *Muyu muyurispá* in the Tambomachay area. Y. Kenfield, 2017

After a morning tour, the closing discussions in the afternoon culminated as students started a *muyu muyurispá*, they joined hands and moved in a circle. At the beginning, someone put on radio music in the background; later, the participants gustily sang acapella, mixing Quechua and Spanish. The *muyu muyurispá* ended spontaneously with a poetic declaration in Quechua by one of the photovoice participants, Ronald: “*kunantaq kaypi rikhuni qankunawan chay rumikunallan qhawarimuwan, kay allpaq sonqonpi pachamama uyarimashanchis rimasqanchispa, parlarisqanchista.*” [Now here, these stones see us, we see you with us, in the heart of the earth, mother earth listens to us and speaks to us, and we speak to her.]

I interpret this initial *muyu muyurispá* as enacting the collective commitment initiated in the photovoice session. Photovoice participants knew this study would take several sessions, and their willingness to participate was going to depend on how they identified as members of a group. They had signed consent forms weeks earlier, but in this spontaneous circular joining together, this *muyu muyurispá*, they declared openly that each of them absolutely *consented to* and *committed to* the photovoice project. Quechua is a language for not only for communicating verbally, but also through eye contact and body movements, a way of being that vibrates with fluid identities, enabling bilingual people to navigate between *muyus* and among the coordinates of altitude and latitude in the southern Andes.

The students would make another *muyu mururispá*, “circle in motion” (Figure 49), during a photovoice session held in the Quechua community of Huayllapa. This collective act, which occurred during the first half of the meeting, encouraged the village women to feel more confident with the students, to the point of loaning them their traditional articles of clothing: *polleras* and *monteras*¹⁴.

¹⁴*Montera* is a Spanish word for a traditional hat, which varies in style; *Pollera* is a Spanish word used in the Andean region to refer to traditional skirts, which style depict the place of origin of the person who wears it.



Figure 49. Muyu muyurispá of students with the village women's children. Y. Kenfield, 2017

After donning the borrowed clothing, the students continued their *muyu muyurispá* wearing the clothes of the women of Huayllapata (Figure 50).



Figure 50. Students doing a muyu muyurispá and wearing traditional women's polleras and monteras. W. Huayllani Mercado, 2017

***Tinku*—Experiential Encounter**

In Quechuan communities, *Tinku* is a type of meaningful encounter in which people often exchange products and, most importantly, information. One important aspect of the *tinku* is that peoples ask critical, penetrating, deep questions to gain the most information possible. During a *tinku*, conversations often turn into opinionated confrontations, akin to a dialogue using a dialectical method. Tensions and contradictions during the makeup of the conversations are important in *tinkus*.

The continual migration and mobilization of urban or rural Quechua people promote the reproduction of *tinku(s)* in the Andean world. Photovoice participants related to me that, for young migrants to the cities, *tinku* represents more than a visit to their community; it creates a space to validate the use of their new experiences for individual and communal growth. For them, *tinkus* are experiential encounters that allow social, economic, and spiritual networking.

In this study, *tinkus* just happened, unplanned, not fully envisioned prior to the realization that we were actually participating in them. We, both facilitators and photovoice participants, did not designate these encounters as *tinkus* initially; we called them *encuentros* in Spanish. I now interpret these *encuentros* as actual *tinkus* after revisiting my field notes and reflections. I realized that involving Quechuan peoples outside the university context of this photovoice study was to create also a space for dialogue in Quechua, a *tinku*, between the photovoice participants, facilitators and high mountain peoples.

This photovoice study included two additional *tinkus*, significant experiential encounters for all involved. One *tinku* happened with the women from the weavers' association of Huayllapata, a Quechua community in Paucartambo. The second *tinku*

happened between Quechuan members and guests of the Casa Campesina in the city of Cusco.

Following the students' logic that Quechua serves to create ties and mobilize people, the facilitators (Yexy, Wenceslao, and I) reflected on the need to leave the city and go out to the mountains during some photovoice sessions. As we discussed involving high mountain peoples, we considered visiting a Quechuan community. Wences suggested having conversations with Huayllapata women, weavers in their community, an endeavor that would involve a two-hour trip from Cusco city. While Wences coordinated our visit with them through a nongovernmental association called Amhauta, we anticipated an informative visit to the Huayllapata community, eating with and learning from the weaver women: we did not anticipate a *tinku*. We simply intended to share with the Huayllapata community a meaningful space for testimonial exchange. As the conversation became a *tinku*, however, the photovoice participants sought nourishment from the women's comments regarding reflections by the photovoice participants about their limitations and confrontations at the university because of their Quechua-Spanish bilingualism. On their part, the women wanted to show the college students their weavings, a recent economic venture for them. As this type of temporal coexistence usually involves food, all participants shared a meal prepared using the supplies from both parties, a collaborative venture which helped the *tinku* to develop there in Huayllapata (Figure 51).



Figure 51. Participants bringing firewood from the forest to cook. R. Castilla Kalapiña, 2017

In the middle of the meeting, while soup (using quinoa harvested by the community itself) was boiling and meat (bought at an urban market) was frying, the women—mostly mothers—spontaneously showed their techniques of weaving while talking about how this new economic activity was helping them develop financial autonomy. Some students, who were familiar with this artisanship of spinning and weaving, started to discuss details of the woven cloth with the women. In response, the women teasingly challenged students who claimed to know how to use a spindle to give them a demonstration. Yolanda and others complied (Figure 52), once again practicing the Quechua epistemology of not separating knowing from doing: one knows by doing. This spontaneous challenge and response stimulated a deeper communication between the students, struggling with their Quechuan identities at the university, and the local women who were risking a new venture with their historical craftsmanship. Cultural humility and a willingness to show vulnerability worked to create this *tinku*.



Figure 52. Yolanda showing her ability to use a spindle. Y. Kenfield, 2017.

While the soup was cooking, some Huayllapata women loaned their polleras and monteras to the female students in the group, a chance gesture according to the women, although we interpreted it as a very deliberate action. The students happily put on their polleras and monteras, joyfully sang in Quechua for the women, and then continued wearing the polleras and monteras until the end of the meeting (Figure 53).



Figure 53. Students wearing women's polleras and monteras. Y. Kenfield, 2017.

The women were very pleased to share their personally crafted *polleras* that demonstrate another form of Quechuan communication. In Quechuan communities of the Andean highlands, women traditionally wear a *pollera* for special events (Figure 54). These *polleras* look similar, but their details identify a woman as a member of a specific community, with designs that vary, giving each garment a unique and personal touch. These designs portray part of the Quechuan repertoire of communication; they are texts spun in wool (Cereceda, 1987).



Figure 54. Women wearing *polleras* they had woven, with local designs. Y. Kenfield, 2017.

At the end of the meal and after the photovoice participants shared their testimony about their limitations and plans to maintain Quechua-Spanish bilingualism, one young weaver, a bilingual teacher from the community school, spoke to the group (Figure 55). She first congratulated the students for making this visit and for continuing to use Quechua. However, after these congratulations, she shared testimony about experiences with professionals from her community who had gone to the university and then appeared to forget their origins. She mentioned “Universidadmanta yachaqkuna hamunqa niqtinku kusirikuni, Qankuna runa simipi rimayta qallariqtiykichis noqaykuwan muspharikuni,

sorprendikuni. mayninpiqa Qosqo llaqtaman riqkuna kanku universitariokuna chaymanta paykuna profesional kaspanku corbatawan churakunku mañana rimayusunkichu qosqo llaqtapi tupaqtiyku.” [When I was told that university students were going to come, I was happy, when you began to speak to us in Quechua, I was surprised. Sometimes those who go down to Cusco city and are university students become profesional, put on their ties they no longer speak to us. When we see each other in Cusco city, when they put on their suit they do not know you anymore.]



Figure 55. Weaver being part of a *tinka*, calls for reflection. Y. Kenfield, 2017.

Between the teasing and anecdotes, this interjection from the young woman within the circle was an appeal for the students to see themselves as future professionals who are going into other spaces relegated mostly to Spanish speakers. This warning, this authoritative criticism from the community voiced by this Quechua woman became a critical moment defining this meeting as a something deeper than an encounter. By reflecting on her intervention, I understood that this was a real *tinka* between the Huayllapata women and us (the photovoice participants and facilitators).

A second *tinku* took place in the city of Cusco, at Casa Campesina, a project sponsored by the Bartolomé de las Casas Center for Andean and Amazonian Studies. Prior to the *tinku*, the photovoice participants visited the Casa Campesina project and its facilities, especially their dining hall for tourists. I subsequently rented this hall for a photovoice session in which the students collectively selected the photographs they would use in their upcoming photo exhibitions.

When the university students first learned about the Casa Campesina project, they became enthusiastic and decided to make a presentation about their photovoice results as a work-in-progress at Casa Campesina. Specifically, students wanted this presentation to happen during the nighttime *tinku* called Campesino Tuesdays. Each week during Campesino Tuesdays, when people (mostly from Quechua communities in the highlands) come to stay at Casa Campesina, they hold a *tinku* in Quechua. After enjoying their first *tinku* at Casa Campesina (Figure 56), the students decided to create the first photo exhibition and present it at one of the Campesino Tuesdays.



Figure 56. Photo exhibition at Casa Campesina. Y. Huillca, 2017.

This decision by the students showed yet again that they were fully engaged, committed to making this project their own. I, of course, acquiesced to their wishes. The events at Casa Campesino revealed again that this photovoice project was a malleable process, introducing new techniques and applications for both participants and the investigator as they encountered novel experiences.

***Kuka akulliy*—Chewing Coca Leaves**

The Quechua experiential knowledge of *kuka akulliy* is the act of chewing and sucking on coca leaves—keeping them in one’s mouth while extracting their juice, but not swallowing them. Andean peoples have likely practiced *kuka akulliy* for more than 8,000 years (Dillehay et al., 2010). Andeans perform *kuka akulliy* only with leaves of the coca plant. Coca is endemic to the Andean valleys; Quechua people consider it sacred and use it medicinally in holistic healing.

During the *tinku* at Casa Campesina, the Quechua rural villagers asked in the Quechua language to start *kuka akulliy* before the session begins (Figure 57). The coordinator of Campesino Tuesday quickly proceeded to pass the coca leaves around, before the community advisory board, photovoice participants, and I began sharing about our progress with the photovoice study.



Figure 57. People selecting coca leaves for *kuka akulliy*. Y. Huillca, 2017.

All people present engaged in *kuka akulliy* during this Campesino Tuesday following a specific protocol: one person invites others to take coca leaves by passing them in a circular, clockwise motion, sharing the leaf from a bag or fabric pouch and letting people take a handful of leaves to chew.

The protocol becomes more formal ceremonially and spiritually when the names of the spirits of the surrounding mountains as gods, *apus*, are pronounced in Quechua. Naming the spirits shows respect for the surrounding territory, a critical part of the relational ontology of Andean peoples. Although some of us, particularly photovoice participants and I, did not perform the ceremonial degree of naming the spirit of the mountains around us, many individually made blowing gestures towards the four cardinal directions, keeping the mountains in mind. Some Quechuan *campesinos* did mention the names of the spirits of the mountains such: “Sacsayhuaman”, and “Huanacauri.”

I learned that this sharing of coca leaves for chewing and sucking in a group, this *kuka akulliy*, signifies a commitment to start or continue a task, a collective task in which one

asks for strength from the coca leaf so as not to stop in the middle. The *kuka akulliy* performed during Campesino Tuesday implied a petition to *mama coca* so that those present would be aware, alert, and correctly understand what the students wanted to communicate regarding progress on the photovoice study.

A group of about thirty people performed *kuka akulliy*, including some people who knew how to make “the ball” properly. Those who perform *kuka akulliy* more often can make a ball that creates a bulge in their cheek, as you can see in Figure 58.



Figure 58. Note “the ball” from the *kuka akulliy* of the young man standing. Y. Kenfield, 2017

The right cheek of the young man at the top of this photo is bulging due to the accumulation of coca leaves he is chewing without swallowing, showing that he is a experienced practitioner of *kuka akulliy*.

Enacting Andean Agency for Sustainability

This participatory methodology of photovoice sought to empower community members, not as “subjects” but rather as co-researchers key to tackling challenges in sustainability. Collective activism by the student advisory board and photovoice participants

enacted this approach that mirrored an Andean form of collaborative agency called *Ayni*. Coupling these two actions -- *Ayni* “reciprocal and collective work” and “student collective activism” --helped maximize the efforts towards sustainability, enabled by Andean ways of collaboration.

***Ayni*—Reciprocal and Collective Work**

Ayni signifies making a commitment to cooperate on a task that will primarily benefit one of the parties in the short run but will benefit the other party later by providing the same level of cooperation on a similar task or duty. Quechua communities perform *ayni* mostly to support agricultural or construction tasks. *Ayni* requires a verbal commitment that follows specific protocols, and it involves providing some type of meal during the time the work (usually physical) is being performed.

The Quechua lodgers at Casa Campesina and others who were working to recover their Quechua skills attended the first photo exhibition held on Campesino Tuesday. It is common to see university students or professionals attending Campesino Tuesdays, because they know they can practice their Quechua skills in an urban setting. Attendees included members of a *sikuri* group called Apu Wayra, a name that translates to “sacred wind.” They learned about this presentation because they saw the flyer in the Casa Campesina facebook account. Members of Apu Wayra who were present at the Campesino Tuesday expressed their desire to get involved with the photovoice study. As students presented their photovoice exhibits, members of Apu Wayra engaged in them in critical dialogues, *tinkus*, to both encourage the students and learn from them. Consequently, Apu Wayra proposed to perform *ayni* with the photovoice students. Apu Wayra would create the musical background during the photovoice exhibit at the university campus.

We were delighted to hear Apu Wayra's proposal of *ayni*. It showed that the group trusted us and that they were enthusiastic about our project because it coalesced with their interest in ethnolinguistic awareness in Cuzco. The exchange that they expected in return from the bilingual students was support in helping them improve their Quechua. Apu Wayra saw the photovoice students as a source of help to continue their own recovery of Quechua. Subsequently, members of Apu Wayra and the Hatun Ñan Volunteer Intercultural Organization connected via Facebook to support the recovery of Quechua. The university students also began to attend Apu Wayra's musical performances on Sundays in Cuzco's Tupac Amaru square.

Culminating this spontaneous mutual interest, a *muyu muyurispa* happened at our final photo exhibition on campus, a circular movement set to music by Apu Wayra (Figures 59 and 60). *Sikuri* groups similar to Apu Wayra are mainly associated with Aymara, not Quechua, communities, and use Andean instruments such as a drum called *tinya* and wind instruments called *sikus*.



Figure 59. Apu Wayra on the university campus during the photo exhibition. Y. Kenfield, 2017



Figure 60. Apu Wayra in the university campus during the photo exhibition. Y. Kenfield, 2017

Student Collective Activism

Student activism, a form of student *saber-hacer*, is understood as the manifestation of students' agency in exercising their rights in a collective manner. The students who participated in the photovoice study are active members of the federated centers of their university majors, as well as being members of Hatun Ñan Intercultural Volunteer Group and various study groups.

Students demonstrated their degree of student activism in their ability to know what resources and rights were available to them as university students and to self-direct activities aimed at student fellowship and raising awareness of bilingual issues. Their activism contributed to the development of this photovoice study. The students easily accessed university classrooms for photovoice sessions at night. We also had access to the premises of the federated center of anthropology and its sound equipment. Furthermore, the students knew how to arrange permits to hold the photo exhibition.

Using their collective agency, the students were able to guide us efficiently through bureaucratic procedures on several occasions. They were the main organizers of the photo

exhibition on the university campus. They requested sound equipment and panels for visual displays and obtained authorization to use Tricentennial Park to mount the exhibition. They also got permits to display the advertising poster for the photo exhibition on the university campus. Gabriel took the photograph in Figure 61 on the night he and Wences put up the poster for the photo exhibition at one of the university's entrances.



Figure 61. Wences next to the poster for the photo exhibition. G. Huayhua Quispe, 2017

With the help of the photovoice facilitators (Yexy, Wences, and myself), student participants managed and led the photo exhibition on the university campus. Although not physically present, other people who helped construct the photovoice process were symbolically present. The coordinator of Casa Campesina loaned us the weavings that covered the panels and formed the background for the students' photos. The participants also carried *chuspas*, small pouches they had bought from the women of Huayllapata. They also wore the vests and monteras provided by the Hatun Ñan Intercultural Volunteer Group (Figure 62).



Figure 62. Looms for the backdrop for the photo exhibition panels. Y. Kenfield, 2017

Although I had to leave due to my commitment to return the textiles to Casa Campesina in the afternoon, we had legal permission to use the Tricentennial Park on the university campus until noon. The photovoice participants who were members of the VIHÑ (eleven out of the twelve students involved in that specific photovoice exposition) stayed even longer to continue the discussions initiated during the photo exhibition. It is important to note that not all photovoice participants were members of the VIHÑ, however as the photovoice project progressed, all but one of photovoice students who were not members of the VIHÑ joined them. The reason these four students joined VIHÑ, as I was told, was to help the VIHÑ continue actions found necessary to sustain the photovoice study after it ended formally.

The photo exhibition on the university campus was my last direct involvement in this study, but was not the last event for the photovoice course participants. The university students, as members of the VIHÑ, reproduced the exhibit at the national university in Huancayo as part of their participation in an intercultural student forum in August 2017.

After their experience in Huancayo, members of the Hatun Ñan Intercultural Volunteer Group felt the need to include conversations about local and national intercultural

policies on their agenda for 2018. They decided to continue meetings for conversation in Quechua. In spring, 2018, the photovoice participants sent me a poster (Figure 63) about a forum organized by the members of Hatun Ñan Intercultural Volunteer Group, an event that would take place at the university on January, 2018.



Figure 63. Informative poster about the event organized by the VIHÑ.

In sum, the Quechua-Spanish know-how of the participants continues to be mobilized into other geopolitical spaces. The recognition of the conceptions, practices, and imaginaries that shapes current knowledge of young students, mediating the nature of their ontologies, epistemologies, and methodologies, reconfigured the photovoice study process, respecting a participatory research approach centered on the community.

In this chapter, I portrayed the collective symbolic constructions that appealed to participants during the process of this photovoice study. Understanding the meaning of Quechua-Spanish bilingualism for Andean students using a photovoice methodology required considerations that exceeded an objectivity that refers to standardization of linear

processes. Visual and auditory methods incorporated Andean expertise by necessity, thus allowing recognition of the existing strengths of this Andean student community by promoting an authentic dynamic of co-learning and balance of power (coloniality of knowledge and being). I, along with the participants, gained valuable appreciation for the adaptability of the photovoice process and its ability to allow creative, innovative modifications by researchers and clients alike.

As an Andean social researcher, I intended to promote integrative conceptualizing wherein Western science can connect to diverse forms of Andean knowledge production. Science and education must cease to be sole allies of vertical, colonializing models: instead, research must blend the best of modern thought with the tremendous knowledge base of indigenous populations who have succeeded for thousands of years. Photovoice methodology is a perfect tool to advance this approach to participatory research, enabling the participants themselves to use their capabilities of acquiring, storing, and disseminating data in visual and auditory formats. Outsiders, outsider-insiders, and even insiders must employ the methodology with an approach sensitive to the purview of the participants, with emphasis on decolonial cultural humility. As in this study, decolonial cultural humility, by definition, is larger than our individual persona. It advocates a level playing field systemically. Coupling decolonial cultural humility with modern technology such as photovoice enables researchers and participants alike to discover and transmit Andean cosmology by Andean people. Also, decolonial cultural humility allowed the various Andean *saberes-haceres* to

enliven decolonial gestures¹⁵ by the participants individually and collectively during the photovoice process.

Because we, too, are participants, we cannot individually commit to evaluation of self-colonialism or to fixing power imbalances without advocating within the larger participatory study.

¹⁵ Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui coined the term decolonial gestures as the actions, words, and thoughts that challenges the internal colonialism found in societies.

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

This study explored strategies that bilingual Quechua-Spanish college students utilized to respond to policies and ideologies (supports or impediments) concerning Quechua practices within the University. Research methodology included a participatory approach through which study participants became research partners. Involvement of Andean research partners in decision-making reconfigured the methodological process, outcome which became important to explore. These explorations were addressed by answering the following questions:

1. What conditions do Andean college students identify regarding the practice, maintenance and revitalization of their Quechua in higher education?
2. How did the participation of the Andean research partners (community advisory board, photovoice participants, Quechuan peoples, and external researchers) shape the implementation of this CBPR study?

In chapters four and five, I detailed findings of this photovoice study regarding the research questions posed above. Herein, I synthesize key results of this study within the existing literature on linguistic ideologies, the colonality of being-knowledge-power, and decolonial gestures. I organized my discussion around the questions that guided this investigation. Lastly, I highlight the implications of these findings and directions for future research on ethnolinguistic awareness and bilingualism.

Before discussing results of this study and given the relevance of decolonization in these results, it is important to review the concept of colonality and decolonial gestures. On the one hand, the Peruvian sociologist Anibal Quijano defines colonality as an evolved mode of domination in today's world following the collapse of classical colonialism as a political

order (Quijano, 2000). Current coloniality is rooted in historical colonialism yet has morphed into the present reproduction of intersubjective relations wherein one population dominates another. Justification for this coloniality stems from a basic and universal stratification of the world population in terms of race, a societal invention during historical colonialism that assigned selected populations to an allocation of inferiority with respect to others (Quijano, 2000). On the other hand, decolonial gestures strive to dismantle the modes of domination that coloniality nurtures. While the decolonial attitude refers to the discussion "whose origin lies in the horror of the world of death created by colonization" (Maldonado-Torres, 2007, p.127), a decolonial gesture refers to an action—thought, body language, imagery—in favor of a "semiotic subversion against the totalizing principle of colonial domination" (Rivera Cusicanqui, 2014, p. 2).

Synthesis of Findings

Initial findings, reported in chapter 4, emerged from a focus on exploring the experiences of photovoice participants regarding their current and projected opportunities to use Quechua in higher education. The themes of *Supay* (to act with ill intent), *Lazos* (ties), and *T'ikarinnanpaq* (to flourish) explain the struggles, colonial and decolonial tensions, resistance, contestations, inspiration, and hope that Quechua-Spanish bilingual students perceive, live, and wish for in their higher education experiences.

As illustrated in Figure 64 below, students recognized having minimal support for the use of Quechua at the university:

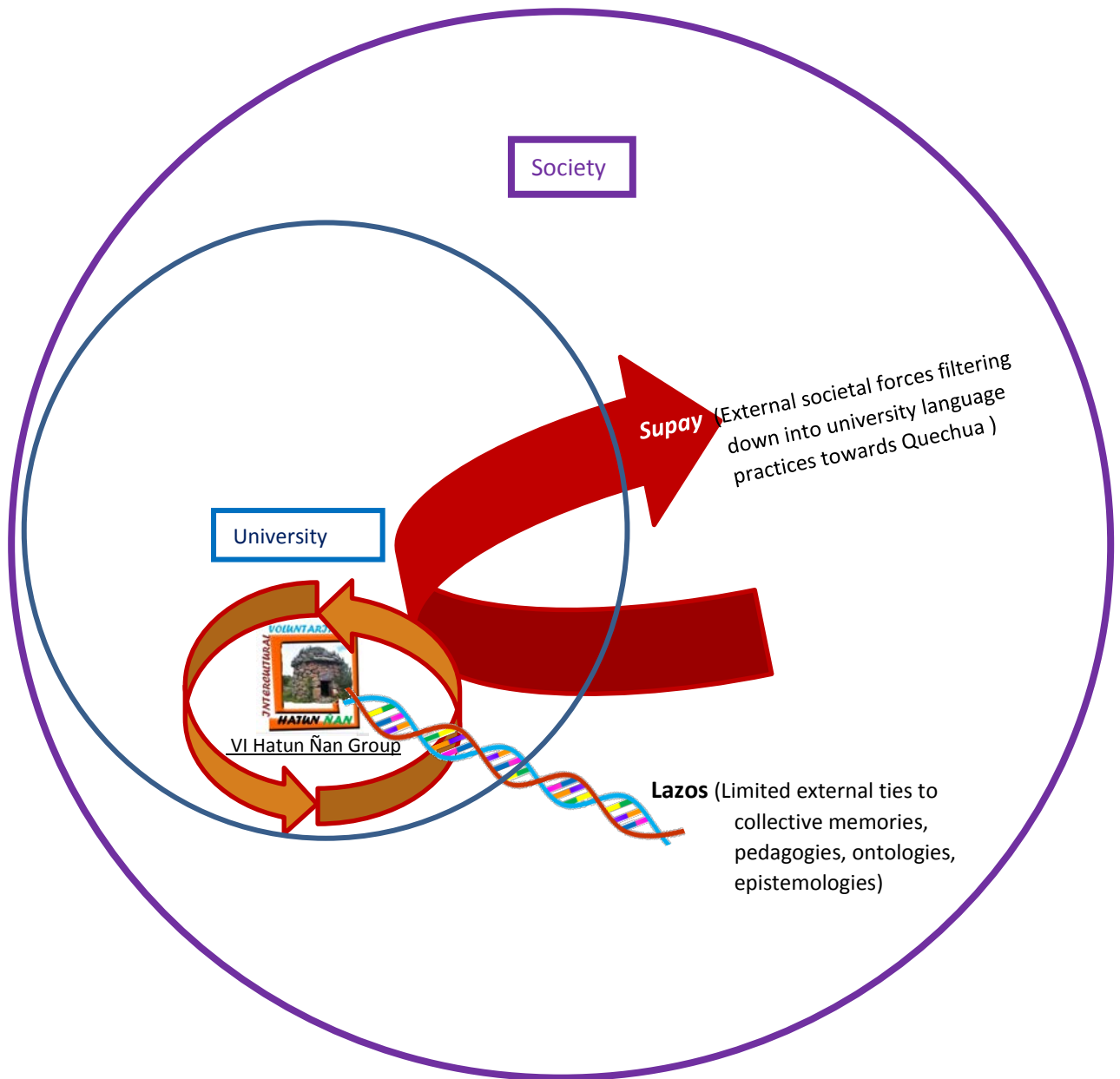


Figure 64. Andean Students' Perspectives on Current Quechuan Practices at the University campus.

As portrayed in the figure, Andean students identified experiencing these limitations arising from an intra-, inter-personal, communal, and institutional character: *Supay*. *Supay*, directed by colonial ideologies, refers to limitations that sustain an array of linguistic discriminations such as language shame practices, the absence of Quechua courses in core

curricula, and the failure of administration to recognize bilingualism of the Quechuan students as an asset. Despite these limitations, Andean students also recognized the importance of their background and commitment to the Quechuan peoples through *Lazos* (ties). *Lazos* have helped create personal spaces within the university through decolonial gestures towards supporting the use of Quechua, to gain respect for Quechuan peoples and Quechuan knowledges, and to battle against deficit views of bilinguals—actions that in turn encourage Quechua to flourish on campus. A particular space that Andean students identified as a place where they can nurture Quechuan knowledges and practice the Quechua language is the Intercultural Volunteering Hatun Ñan group (VIHÑ, Spanish-Quechua Acronym). This is a student group managed by students who self-identify as indigenous. Photovoice participants in this study are active members in the VIHÑ who collectively, constantly battle the *Supay*.

Also in the figure 64 above, students (VIHÑ members) enact decolonial responses to the colonality of intrapersonal *supay*: they increasingly and actively confront the collegiate community at large as they attempt to root out the internal colonialism on campus. It is my interpretation that, for these students, the *supay* existing within the university community can be understood as thinking and acting according to linguistic coloniality (Veronelli, 2012) and epistemic (Garces, 2007; Maldonado-Torres, 2007). Most students perceive that Spanish, and therefore European, ideology is superior: many even deny the existence of their native language Quechua. This *supay*, this linguistic coloniality in the university community, corroborates the literature on lingual colonialism (Garces, 2007; Rivera Cusicanqui, 2012; Veronelli, 2012; Supa Huaman, 2002; Zavala 2011) as well as the colonality of being, knowledge, and power (Maldonado-Torres, 2011).

Carmen, one of the participants, spoke about this deficit view of Quechuan peoples based solely on their last name, a distinct manifestation of colonial thinking. People with surnames (e.g., Quispe, and Mamani) that show Quechuan descent are presumed ignorant, the burden of prejudice levied according to colonial racial categories. These discriminatory and discriminating acts exemplify the impacts of the social practices of power they from which they exude: “....quedó formada de la idea de que los no europeos tienen una estructura biológica no solamente diferentes de los europeos, sino sobre todo pertenece a un tipo o a un nivel inferior.” [the idea that non-Europeans have a biological structure not only different from Europeans, but of a lower type or level] (Quijano 1992, p. 761).

According to participants, the stress of migrating to the city as a university student causes Quechuan students to dress as a *mestizo* (crossbreed), delink from or deny their Quechuan heritage, and disconnect from, even exclude, others coming from Quechua communities. The use of the social and racial category of *mestizo* reproduces the colonality of being (Maldonado-Torres, 2012), an aspiration to belong to more civilized categories. Although *mestizo* often camouflages the Quechuan heritage of numerous bilingual students, most participants in this study continually affirmed their *mestizaje*: their Spanish and Quechuan languages and ways of knowing coexist within them. Other students consider that the only option for them within the university is to act as *mestizos*, detach from their Quechuan communities, and accept Spanish as their primary language. This form of colonality of being has been invigorating the *Supay* and exerts a strong presence in the university and society (see, figure 64). The participants of this study, however, continuously challenge that colonizing ideology since they use Quechua among themselves and openly

acknowledge their Quechuan communities—actions that also embody their identity as Quechua college people.

In another decolonializing act, participants confront the *supay* that they perceive among other students and university staff by using Quechuan "insults" to those who know Quechua but hide it. An insult is a very peculiar Quechua practice used for approaching people. These are burlesque remarks aimed at discrediting social distance. They are mocking, not hurtful, and help bring people closer within a distressed environment. Insults like *waqcha pituco* (poor rich), *q'elele* (someone with diarrhea), *chiwaco* (bird of the Andes who eats what it can) are typical insults mentioned by the students. Such use of insults to bridge across social distance is a very common strategy in the daily life of Quechua populations.

In another example of combatting *supay*, photovoice participants reject the belief that Quechua does not belong in the university campus and community, an attitude explained by the sociolinguistic phenomenon of diglossia. This diglossia is a legacy of linguistic coloniality: "el fenómeno diglósico se da siempre en términos de adquisición y posición de prestigio de la variedad a lo cual conlleva obviamente a relaciones de tensión y conflicto con las otras variantes involucrada" [the diglossic phenomenon is always given in terms of acquisition and prestige position of the variety, which obviously leads to relationships of tension and conflict with the other variants involved] (Garces, 2007, p. 123). The photovoice participants challenge this colonizing sociolinguistic ideology by enacting their bilingual and bicultural Quechua-Spanish practices, projecting a strategic agenda in support of Quechua.. They openly decry discriminatory acts towards Quechuan peoples.

Students also confront sociolinguistic discriminations not only towards their speaking in Quechua but even more so when they speak in bilingual Spanish¹⁶ (Escobar, 1988). Students identify these discriminations as Pukawayta (acts of 'ignorance'), since these acts come from a blindness that pushes other students and some teachers to denigrate students who speak the bilingual form of Spanish.

Despite limitations that students experience when using Quechua in the university, they find solace and support when they form *lazos*, bonds created between students, certain teachers, and their Quechuan cohorts outside of the academy. This need to connect, create, and maintain ties with other Quechuan peoples is another decolonial gesture that could be explained as communality: “una racionalidad comunitaria y gremial, prácticas que no resulten legibles para el ethos eurocéntrico que sólo podría verla como ‘supervivencia’ al desconocerlos como sujetos colectivos de su propia historicidad, y su propio proyecto de vida” [a communitarian and union rationality, practices that are not readable for the Eurocentric ethos that could only see it as 'survival' by not knowing them as collective subjects of their own historicity, and their own project of life] (Rivera Cusicanqui, 2016, p. 135).

Communality, collective being and knowing, is reproduced by students as a Quechua practice to prevent their fading into the university space of coloniality. They create and maintain ties through their activities not only on campus but also through visits to villages and urban communities outside university space. This enacting of communality by the Quechua-Spanish university students goes beyond nostalgia; it includes a sense of solidarity:

¹⁶ In the field of Sociolinguistics bilingual Spanish refers to the Spanish variety that carries morphosyntactic and phonological features from the Quechuan linguistic inventory carry into Spanish.

social conscience and collective memory reinforce their desire for social justice. Students know and live the intergenerational disrespect they first learned in their Quechua communities. The practice of communality is at the core of *Lazos* which invigorates the bonds the Quechuan sociolinguistic identity of college students. The participants identified this practice as inspiration that sustains the vitality of their Intercultural Volunteering Hatun Ñan group. .

The students, through their vibrant *azos* with Quechua communities, other academics, teachers, and student cohorts, maintain their collective memory that allows them to act and to practice a local social orientation that transcends national history. These ties interrupt the "epistemic purification" (De la Cadena, 2007) that tends to encourage the universalization of the knowledge from a Eurocentric perspective: *lazos* counter policies that support the objective of Hispanicizing future college graduates. Through *lazos*, the Quechua-Spanish university students collaborate to gain respect for the Quechua community. They perceive their bilingualism as key to this decolonial gesture and a direct refutation of epistemic purification.

Further, photovoice participants identified the colonality of power as the most difficult area to dismantle: it requires collective efforts from bottom up. In the figure 64 above, the colonality of power is represented by the red arrow of *Supay*, whose presence is found in the university and the society at large. One reason colonality of power is so difficult to address is that bilingual students, like the general Quechua population, have had limited access to educational systems historically. Andeans had to fight constantly for their rights. Thus, their limited background in education has been primarily Spanish-centric and has imprinted a colonial mindset in those students who aspire to higher education.

Some progress towards reducing discrimination against Quechua in the educational system has been made in recent decades. One example of countermeasures to discrimination against Andean students: at the San Antonio Abad National University of Cusco in 1998, a scholarship system for students from Quechuan communities was formalized as a result of the actions of peasant federations that negotiated this agreement between UNSAAC and representative indigenous organizations of the region Cusco (Sanborn, 2012). In a second example, the students of this photovoice study succeeded in their endeavor to receive formal institutionalization of their VIHÑ group. This administrative response culminated almost two years of persistent activism by the students from 2015 to 2017. During the last reflections of this photovoice project, and building on the strength of the members of the VIHÑ, the students agreed to continue the following agenda of the VIHÑ through actions to be taken after the completion of this photovoice study:

- the inclusion of the Quechua language in the curriculum of the professional careers.
- the week-long administration of Quechua sponsored by the UNSAAC vice-rector for research.
- The organization of forums regarding ethnolinguistic awareness, intercultural dialogue, and any topic related to the promotion of decolonial consciousness.

The last item in the agenda has already borne fruit. Last fall students presented their photovoice findings during an Intercultural Forum of University Students of Peru in the department of Huanuco, a presentation that included a bilingual performance. Following that success, they organized a forum this spring about Intercultural citizenship in their college, UNSAAC.

These examples of progress after formal recognition of VIHÑ by the Universidad San Antonio Abad del Cusco provost have encouraged Andean student members of the VIHÑ to increase their decolonial activities. They continue to reject impediments to their practice of Quechua (language-culture) not only in the form of daily decolonial gestures (battling *supay*) and nurturing *lazos* mentioned above, but also in the form of projected actions to allow bilingual Quechua-Spanish to flourish, "*T'ikarinanpaq*". The proactive VIHÑ practices (e.g. the gatherings where Quechua is spoken in campus, social activities with Quechuan high mountain communities) are responses directly oppose the coloniality of power, knowledge, and being (Maldonado-Torres, 2007).

Current decolonial gestures by photovoice students have stimulated a limited sprouting of Quechua within the university community (students, faculty, professional staff), but achieving flourishing of Quechua in a sustainable and expanding way will require a continuous collective effort. Photovoice participants envisioned *T'ikarinanpaq* as a cyclical, self-perpetuating process that disrupts the reproduction of *supay* (intra-, inter-personal, communal, and institutional limitations) guided by deficit views to Quechua practices, peoples, and language, as illustrated in Figure 65.

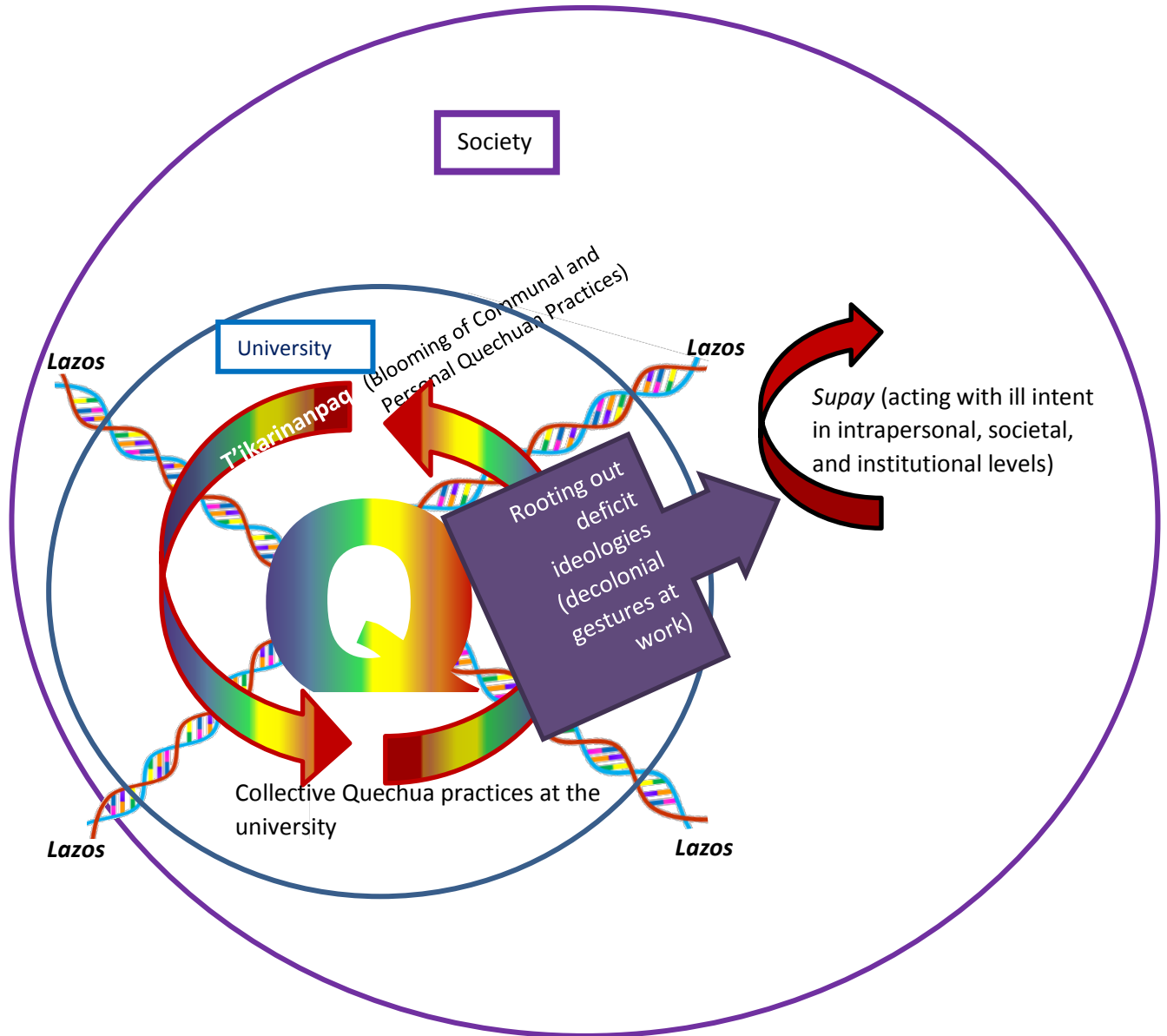


Figure 65. Andean Students' Envisioned Cyclical T'ikarinanpaq (Cycles of Quechua Blooming)

Andean students envision that with each cycle of decolonial gestures, each cycle of *lazos*, *T'ikarinanpaq* will bloom even larger and reinforce the students' collective Quechuan practices. The nature of this cyclical process corresponds to the vision not only of collective efforts from the university community members, but for a working continuum undergoing

constant revisions. The Andean students perceive this revision as an annual collaboration between VIHÑ members and the university administration.

Photovoice participants not only respect and practice Quechua knowledge, they also urge the university to broaden their vision and promote Quechua knowledge in the classroom. Beyond the classroom, they desire support for a "Quechua research week", a conference-like event that brings in outlying Quechuan peoples thus creating more connections with the Quechua communities. In this action, the students are reflecting Santos's difference between "science as monopolistic knowledge and science as part of the ecology of knowledge" (Santos, 2014, p. 56). They openly acknowledge and wish to display the richness of Andean knowledge as complementary to and an extension of academic learning.

Photovoice participants envision that more collective forces, coming from faculty, student body, families, and staff, will join them to battle discriminatory practices on campus and in the classroom by speaking in Quechua, forming Quechuan support groups, requesting coursework in Quechua, and petitioning administration for more emphasis on the Quechua language as well as physical spaces in which to practice their culture. For Andean students, members of VIHÑ, the physical space recently granted to them, an office, is not large enough for their growing membership body. Under the Ford-funded Hatun Ñan program, this group, much smaller then, occupied an entire building dedicated exclusively to the Quechuan students. As VIHÑ members recruit more bilingual Quechua-Spanish students to their activities at UNSAAC, they will also expand their activism to other campuses, urban Quechuan communities, and rural villages in the mountains to have Quechua bloom in the university.

To summarize, insights from chapter four center on regaining respect for Quechuan populations, respect that can be achieved by confronting the different forms of coloniality, respect which is key to the flourishing of Quechua-Spanish bilingualism in the university. Although, college students in general appreciate Quechua as part of their Inka cultural pride, they commonly dissociate from this appreciation through disrespect of its native speakers. This attitude is reinforced by the university's coloniality of power which demotes the value of the Quechua episteme and elevates only languages and ideologies of European origin as the driving axes of valid knowledge. Andean students believe the envisioned cyclical *T'ikarinampaq* serves as an effective counter to the institutionalized coloniality of power.

To better explore the research participation of Andean students in this Community-Based Participatory Research (CBPR) (Israel et al., 2012), chapter five was centered on ways study how participants shaped the study. From chapter five, major insights from utilizing CBPR demonstrated that investigators must practice a willingness to apply *cultural humility*, a contrasting stance to those researchers who assume a position of cultural superiority to their subjects in communities. *Cultural humility* guides the researcher's attitudes towards and interactions with research participants and other community research partners by valuing, respecting, and focusing on all contributions. Often during this CBPR, the photovoice participants and members of the community advisory board reconfigured the format of photovoice sessions, and, as an outcome of the collective *decolonial cultural humility* motivated us to practice some Quechuan experiential knowledges initiated by the Quechuan community members we met during the photovoice process, the photovoice format became spontaneously modified by all involved.

An even stronger extension of cultural humility is *decolonial cultural humility* (DCH) which extends the concept of cultural humility and evokes an active rejection of colonial stratification based on the intersection of race, class, and gender. I conceptualize *decolonial cultural humility* (DCH) as a collective practice that engages community partners and academic partners to disrupt the long-lasting forces of coloniality implanted in cultural practices. This humility requires all people involved in a participatory study to embrace cultural and social practices that reshape the format of data collection, data sharing, and any research-related activities; all such malleable morphing designed to prevent mechanistic reproduction of Eurocentric practices. This does not necessarily mean the discarding of all Western practices, however, but it emphasizes a collective, deliberate effort to enact important practices from the Global South that might have been obscured under internal colonialism.

My and all participants' systemic application of *decolonial cultural humility* created an active environment of collaboration ensuring diversified effort and input. The use of *decolonial cultural humility* illuminated discussions about non-Eurocentric epistemologies and pedagogies. During 2017, while working with Yexy and Wences, I realized that the practice of mere cultural humility was insufficient to fully promote the leadership actions from Yexy, Wences, and myself. At that time I was shifting my thought to a more decolonial thinking framework. First, I reflected on how I was constantly focusing on being humble and flexible, showing my desire to learn more from Yexy and Wences' perspectives about planning the photovoice sessions. This initial reflection showed me that I was alert to each person bringing something different to the table. What Yexy and Wences provided was their expertise which would often reflect their Eurocentric college training. For example, Yexy

preferred structured questions to guide discussions, a preference that limited the participation of the group. Wences seemed to accept most of my proposals and became a sort of translator of prompts to be used during our initial session. I realized then how we three college students, involved in a participatory research project, were setting an academic tone that seemed contrary to the decolonial framework in the Global South. The predominance of the Western episteme is not a characteristic of college students alone but of Latin American societies in general. In his influential work, Aníbal Quijano (Quijano, 2000) says that one of the elements that characterizes social situations arising from colonial experiences is Eurocentrism deeply rooted in the social, economic, and cultural conceptions of the postcolonial country.

After this initial reflection, I explicitly conveyed to Yexy and Wences my thoughts and feelings about discovering shared visions for the photovoice sessions without reproducing subconsciously ascribed value to the knowledge holders in their collegiate, Eurocentric space. Together we decided to explore possibilities for drawing on Andean ways to combat our Eurocentric orientation during the photovoice process. For example, my initial thought of having sessions in historical pre-Hispanic sites that would activate our memories was shifted when I realized, thanks to Wences, that the mountains and their communities were just as important, maybe even more so, than iconic archeological sites. By arranging a session in Huayllapata with women weavers, Wences showed me the difference. During that session and while applying *decolonial cultural humility* by honoring our hosts' guidance and input, Yexy, Wences, and I became more honest about our own inclinations to ignore Andean ways of knowing. Yexy, in particular, made me reflect on how I initially had a subtle tendency to misread her as a Quechuan woman. During early sessions, I saw myself as a

scholar who grew up as a heterosexual woman in Cusco city and migrated to the United States. I harbored deep-seated resentments and a bias concerning the unfair treatment that women experience in Cusco. Because she was not talkative and allowed Wences to lead discussions, I assumed that the patriarchal orientation in Cusco's general society underscored Yexy's seemingly submissive participation as well. Then I realized that I was having a colonial read of Yexy's demeanor. Yexy was a doer not a talker. Reticent in group discussions, she would contact me via WhatsApp outlining a concrete step towards the photovoice project. In our retreat in Coya, Yexy described her being action-oriented is a common trait in Andean peoples. She shared with me her frustration while being a student leader in the Anthropology department where she was an elected vice president, a position she later resigned because the president, a male student, was dependent on her actions but not listening to her suggestions. She resigned as an act of protest.

I did not want to reproduce the same situation in our team dynamics so Yexy Wences, and I talked honestly about how our sociocultural multiplicities would play a role in our interactions. We would be humble towards others' culture but would constantly be wary of the power dynamics that tend to infiltrate interactions via the matrix of coloniality.

DCH also became relevant in our interactions with photovoice participants. During our initial photovoice sessions with twelve college students, Yexy, Wences, and I observed again how certain vertical practices, a hierarchical top-down stratification, were expected by most of the photovoice participants. They thought I, as the expert coming from an American university, was going to tell them what pictures to take. Some of the students literally asked me to choose their themes for the pictures, even after our second session. Yexy, Wences, and I emphasized that we were co-participants with all the students, seeking answers from, not

giving answers to, them. Additionally, by using the Quechua language as much as possible, we made evident our decolonial attitude and opened the Quechua path to communicate. In this, we began our practice of decolonial cultural humility.

Further, during the second session some students were not comfortable having Yexy and Wences facilitating the group discussions. These students were surprised that college students like them would be “co-researchers”. I had to clarify that we all were co-learners in this process. The students soon realized that Yexy and Wences were not having a vertical hierarchical role with the photovoice participants, rather a supporting role as facilitators. Later on, the students told me that they realized the power of student-led participation and preferred dynamic group discussions instead of simply listening to a professor. In this regard, Cinthia mentioned: “Para mi es grato estar en este proyecto ya que me permite desenvolverme como soy, y poder compartir mis ideas para un trabajo fructífero colectivo como investigadora.” [For me it is pleasant to be in this project since it allows me to develop as I am, and I can share my ideas for a fruitful collective work as a researcher.]

After the first part of our group discussions, the participants, student facilitators and I reflected on the group-discussion format. We decided to divide the large group into three smaller groups and then began identifying themes to guide the pictures. I explicitly encouraged photovoice participants to view themselves as the experts in their own bilingual practices in the University.

Our emphasis on DCH encouraged all participants in this CBPR to practice collective Andean efforts that would decrease the Eurocentric epistemologies often embodied by every person involved in the partnership. For instance, facilitators became engaged in constant participatory practices during sessions to lessen the vertical dynamics and create more

democratic dialogues; Quechuan community members became engaged in problem-solving discussions disrupting the often deficit view attitude towards Quechuan communities and knowledges. Students joined with urban and rural Quechuan community members as co-participants to access a broader view of Quechua outside the university. Inspired by Wences' initial suggestion to have a session in Huayllapata with Quechuan women weavers, student participants requested a session with Quechuan peoples in Cusco city at the Casa Campesina institution. These students were eager to hear insights from the outer communities about their initial findings concerning bilingualism in the university. At Casa Campesina, a smile, body language, sitting together or dancing in a circle, critical discourse – all encouraged a sharing, a teaching, a learning – a true Quechuan encounter (*tinku*) where trust overrode unfamiliarity. Andean students desired to show locals that they had not forgotten their roots and respected the opinions of the urban migrants' at Casa Campesina. In dynamic, interactive discussions with, non-student Quechuans, students began honest critical dialogues while reinforcing their own Quechuan identities. The participatory collaborations reminded students of the need for a more profound respect for their own *saberes-haceres Andinos*. The reciprocal learning during these collaborative sessions revealed to the students that a sincere appreciation and knowledge of Andean culture along with collective DCH will empower their careers as they complete college and re-enter society as professionals.

In sum, DCH urges the disruption of the *epistemicidio*—epistemic attrition (Santos, 2017) of Quechuan culture—by affording all participants equal footing, not in an egalitarian sense, but with genuine respect for everyone's personal and collective heritage. This disruption of coloniality progresses by practicing Andean ways of knowing such as the emergence of *saberes-haceres Andinos* (Andean experiential knowledges) in this study.

Students not only spoke in Quechua, but engaged in Quechuan practices such as *muyu muyurispa*, *tinku*, and *kuka akulliy* ¹⁷, all made possible by the willingness of everyone to be open to learning from each other; to learn not only from their words, but actions, gestures and symbols. Practicing DCH enabled a decolonial read on the participation of all involved in this project, myself, Yexy, Wences, the student participants, and the off-campus participants.

Implications

Implications of this study unfold in methodological, practical, and theoretical projections.

Methodological Implications

This study highlighted the practice of *decolonial cultural humility* (DCH) as paramount in a participatory study that attempts to democratize the investigative process for CBPR researchers, community partners, and activists who are or anticipate engaging in participatory studies in and with communities of the Global South ¹⁸.

DCH is a collective practice that engages both community and academic partners to disrupt the long-lasting forces of coloniality implanted in cultural practices. This humility requires all participants to embrace cultural and social practices that reshape the format of data collection, data sharing, and any research-related activities; malleable morphing designed to prevent mechanistic reproduction of Eurocentric practices. It emphasizes a collective, deliberate effort to enact important practices from the Global South that might

¹⁷ *Muyu muyurispa* (circular scenarios in motion), *tinku* (experiential encounter), *kuka akulliy* (the act of chewing coca leaves and sucking their juices), *ayni* (collective labor exchange), and *activismo estudiantil colectivo* (collective college student activism).

¹⁸ In general, it refers to the populations of countries which experienced (continue to experience) colonialism, and/or neo-imperialism that sustain inequalities in living standards, life expectancy, and access to resources.

have been obscured under internal colonialism. However, the risk of imagining the existence of pure non-Western practices must be acknowledged as this attitude has the potential for patronizing or mystifying Global South practices and may obscure the primary objectives of social inquiry, in this case, an accurate assessment of Quechuan epistemology in modern Peru. Researchers must remain cognizant that coloniality affects all populations who might identify as *campesinos*, *mestizos*, *ch'eqche*, or hybrids - not just rural indigenous populations.

To summarize, I argue that the practice of DCH during research projects disrupts asymmetric, deliberate, or unintentional power relations between people involved in the different stages of participation. Using decolonial cultural humility, participants and researchers alike would disrupt their dichotomous preconceptions and move away from academic-nonacademic, traditional-nontraditional dualities that keep dividing peoples. Decolonial cultural humility creates the possibility of collective unlearning and learning, even transforming cultural and social practices that open the door to counter hegemonic attitudes. And, DCH invites total participation from all involved, causing the CBPR to be flexible and accepting of client- as well as researcher-based perspectives.

Practical Implications

The CBPR approach of this study illustrates an alternative to common non-participatory methodologies when working with Andean college students. Implementation of this participatory approach gave greater decision-making power to college students about not only the methodological process, but also the direction and scope of the central topic of this study – Quechua-Spanish bilingual practices. Andean college students contributed to the development of more critical dialogues around the use of Quechua in the university campus,

and how everyone (Quechua-Spanish bilingualism in students, faculty, and professional staff) could contribute to nurture the *lazos*.

While photovoice participants were engaged in promoting positive attitudes towards Quechua prior to this research, discussion of the participatory photovoice process caused them to realize the critical need for more allies to protest more effectively the stigmatization of the Quechua language and culture at large in the university. This realization motivated them to strengthen the agenda of their Voluntariado Intercultural Hatun Ñan group and reinvest in their unfinished project, the flourishing of Quechua among the college community, *T'ikarinanpaq*, based on partnering.

Photovoice participants have revealed their awareness of a linguistic coloniality that devalued not only non-European languages but also 'thought'. For example, even though the Quechuan native expresses his/her thought in Spanish, it "will always be less valued than the 'thought' of a Spanish-speaker especially if it is urban white mestizo male " (Garces, 2007, p. 126). This connection of language and race also makes evident the 'coloniality of being' which is a major concern of the photovoice participants who hold close "ties" with Quechuan peoples. This concern was evident when photovoice participants drafted a request to the Research Dean Office that included the provision for childcare and lodging for the "Liderezas campesinas" (Appendix 4), Quechuan women leaders, when participating in their envisioned Quechua research week.

By extension, this study should resonate with faculty, student body, policy makers, and community members in general who share the Andean heritage. All can learn from the documented experiences of Quechua-Spanish bilingual college students to enhance ethnolinguistic awareness and respect.. Ethnolinguistic awareness is critical to battle long

standing coloniality and thereby better serve Quechuan communities. Photovoice students, who are also members of the VIHÑ, are individual and collective activists; however, they could effectively participate in university policy configuration. The university (UNSAAC) administration would benefit from the input these VIHÑ students have regarding linguistic as well as humanistic policies to democratize knowledge and dismantle epistemicides. To better serve Quechua students, university policy makers need to formulate policies that are informed for the bottom up. A sustained and systematic effort at inclusion will satisfy the need for real mechanisms to promote and maintain the Quechua language among all members of the college community. The analysis and discussion of the findings in this thesis raise important questions for Quechuan college policy makers: For what purpose and in whose interest are the college policies serving? How are these policies affecting Quechuan collegians, a student population on the rise? Is there a better way to bring in the Quechuan knowledge to contribute to the wellbeing of all college students, the nation?

The proposal of a Quechua research week (Appendix 4) exemplifies a practical implication germinated by the photovoice participants. Students reflected on their learning experiences during Research Week in 2016 and conceived of having a similar event focused on Quechua, sponsored by the Research Dean's office of the UNSAAC, for all students to learn more about the Quechuan language and culture in Peru. Photovoice participants envisioned a Quechua research week that portrays Quechuan *saberes-haceres*. For legitimacy, key speakers from highland communities must lead the event. This reflection was informed by the dialogues with women weavers from Huayllapata and the urban migrants they met at Casa Campesina. One suggestion entailed having interpreters translate Quechua into Spanish as well as Spanish to Quechua. I suggested that they request funding for child

care as the Quechuan leaders might be mothers coming from their towns with kids. Students thought about asking their Quechuan professors to present in Quechua or bilingually at such an event. All students wanted Quechua Research Week to be an annual event, the same as Research Week. The Quechua research week would take place on the UNSAAC campus, but would be extended beyond through a magazine and video clips in Quechuan and Spanish formats that would document the event and be available in university libraries as well as the facebook accounts of the Research Dean's Office.

Theoretical Implications

If we are to work from a decolonial perspective, the concepts of epistemic and ontological justice need to be accompanied by, if not transformed by, epistemological and ontological engagements. From my point of view, epistemological-ontological engagements are acts of decolonial advocates who engage in alternative relations with the world. Drawing from the concept of *Ch'ixi* (decolonial gestures), the dissociation of theory from application often reproduces coloniality among and within us. I would argue that decoloniality of being, knowledge, and power are not only unfinished ontological and epistemic justice project, but also a tentative, are disconnected mental projections if they lack epistemological- ontological engagements. In other words, when we aim to work from a decolonial perspective we, the researchers, can no longer solely intellectualize epistemic and ontological justice. We must, rather, practice epistemological and ontological engagements and enact the plurality of knowledge to be effective. I sympathize with Maldonado-Torres' appeal: "In order to decolonize education, it is vital to have as many as possible black bodies and bodies of colonized subjects in the university. This is a question of social and epistemic justice" (Maldonado-Torres, 2017. p. 31). This argument, however, seems to contradict the

decolonial narrative because it emphasizes body count only. While Maldonado-Torres' statement recognizes the visibility needed from colonized subjects in the university, it seems somehow naïve to expect epistemic justice purely as a function of token diversity in body count. For example, at UNSAAC, my former and the participants' current university has been occupied for over three hundred years by *mestizo* bodies and over seven decades of *Quechuan* bodies, both groups being colonized subjects. While implementation of Quechua at the university has been legislatively mandated, it remains in practice a deficit language regardless of the population of Andeans in attendance. As long as an institution lacks an epistemological-ontological engagements activated by diverse bodies, a passive and ineffective decolonization process empowers and sustains the colonial mind-set, a situation representative of that at UNSAAC. Change will not come solely from diversity but must be enacted by colonized bodies that are committed to work towards dismantling such epistemological and ontological injustice. And it is the collective will of the people which will become a more powerful force advocating for that change; the flowering of Quechua, T'ikarinanpaq. One voice, one token, may be ignored, but not 4 million. In growing numbers, student participants have begun this *t'ikarinanpaq* process that has actively confronted colonial-based practices.

Lastly, we may conceive epistemological and ontological engagements as *saberes-haceres*, experiential knowledges, similar to what Rivera Cusicanqui explains as “practice as a producer of knowledge” (2015, p. 96). Ideation and application must go together to valorize and sustain Quechua from a decolonial project. I propose that epistemology and ontology not be separated from action; but further, I believe that a fundamental point for analyzing decolonial gestures is the collective-memory of Indigenous-Western relations. These

Indigenous-Western relations reflect the epistemological-ontological engagements beyond simplistic dichotomies such as the pure Quechuan, -non-Western categorization of colonial mentality. Practicing DHC will augment and elucidate a more realistic appreciation of the similarities and differences of Quechuan and Western/European cultures. DHC will also lessen the colonial stratifications based on race, leading to more respect for and less stigmatization of the Quechuan episteme.

Future Steps

In the context of colonality of power (Quijano, 2000) evident by marginalization of Quechuan communities, participatory studies and efforts are emerging to contest social injustices. Community researchers ask questions such as, “Who benefits from research?” “How is this research valuable for impacting policies?” Shared viewpoints are those resolutions that are shared during a dialogue and will combine and value all participants’ input. Western philosophies and technologies are innovative, but why subtract knowledge gained from current and thousands of years of experience by millions of Andean people thriving in a harsh environment such as the Andes? Further participatory research is necessary to increase, not only our understanding of Quechuan practices in the university, but the commitment with policy oriented research to better serve Quechuan students and peoples. This commitment should be rooted in *Ch’eqche* (mottled), a non-fundamentalist view to either Indigenous not Western epistemologies (Rivera Cusicanqui, 2017). *Ch’eqche*, combining Western and Andean knowledges without necessarily blending them, producing a powerful synergy yet retaining separate identities—this seems a more sustainable path to future research to inform policy and transform community members.

A further critically important future commitment is to support college student organization such as VIHÑ. The VIHÑ members have active initiatives towards Quechua practices and they envision a long term commitment to support the blooming of Quechua in the university. One major reflection of VIHÑ photovoice participants as future professionals, they recognize that without knowing the Quechua language, their ways to serve the region and nation will be limited. Students accept not just one epistemology but a variety of knowledges. They argue that the curricular absence of coursework in Quechua language threatens to frame the Quechuan knowledge as invalid, and, by extension, delegitimize Quechuan epistemologies and ontologies.

As the community researchers in this study suggest, future steps rooted in a less Euro-centric and more Andean-centric practices is the foundation to respect Quechuan peoples. This involves the incorporation of at least basic Quechua courses in all the core curriculums for obtaining degrees. Once successfully implemented, basic Quechua can be expanded to address the numerous dialects that comprise the totality of the Quechuan language. Also, Quechuan students should be given a more appropriate assessment in the Language Center of the university. Current assessments delegitimize nascent literacies of students whose mother language is Quechua. While they may be struggling with proficiency in Spanish, these students could be excellent mathematicians, engineers, social scientists, agriculturalists who can combine Quechuan epistemologies and ontologies in their professions.

Further, photovoice participants perceive the Quechua writing and audio production of the various Quechuan knowledges to be a practical tool for the maintenance and recovery of Quechuan practices. Written and audio material in Quechua by Quechuan professionals

would enhance education for Andean bilinguals at all levels of schooling. These written materials in Quechua would help them promote Quechua knowledge and facilitate the generational transfer of that knowledge. The university needs to consider a form of digital and physical database or repository that contains these materials to be accessible for all. This initiative, through Ciencia activa, should recognize and compensate those faculty and students (who might collaborate with Quechuan communities) to publish in such data base.

Concluding Thought

As a corollary, the community-based participatory research that framed this study required a community organization to be a critical partner with the academic investigator. The student organization Voluntariado Intercultural Hatun Ñan (VIHÑ) became that partner because they have the experience, history, and capability to sustain projects necessary to apply the photovoice study findings to real-life resolutions. Enabling the CBPR orientation also required reframing the photovoice process by applying ontological and epistemological outcomes that emerged from the collaboration of VIHÑ, CAB, the Quechuan peoples, and this external researcher.

As suggested in this study, critical collective forces are at the core of conditions to promote the Quechua-Spanish bilingualism, however this collective effort must reflect decolonial, non-Eurocentric thinking yet combine Quechuan knowledges with appropriate western technologies for the benefit of Andean students and their communities. *Ch'eqche!*

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Appendix 1

Consent to Participate in Research

The University of New Mexico Consent to Participate in Research

Introduction

You are being asked to participate in a research study that is being done by Yuliana Kenfield and the Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos Bartolome de las Casas (CBC) research team under the direction of Dr. Carlos LopezLeiva who is the Principal Investigator and Assistant Professor, from the Department of Language, Literacy and Sociocultural Studies at the University of New Mexico. This study explores the attitudes toward indigenous languages, Andean Spanish, and indigenous heritage of college students who are in an urban university setting in Cusco.

The research is based on a Visual Method and Community Based Participatory Research model. The method we are using is called Photo-voice, which uses photography to investigate and discuss about the research topic. There are no right or wrong answers. The ultimate goal of this study is to develop critical ethnolinguistic awareness among the college student body, faculty and staff by engaging college students. For this, you will take part in participatory action research on the use of and perspectives on indigenous and non-indigenous languages in Cusco.

You are being asked to participate in this study because you: a) you participated in the sociolinguistic survey last year; b) 18 years of age or older; c) are enrolled as an undergraduate student at a university in Cusco city; d) willing and able to use a disposable camera and/or your personal digital camera or smartphone's camera; e) willing to be audio-recorded, individual interviews and photovoice sessions; f) willing to be video-recorded during a photovoice session; Approximately 20 other students are taking part of this study.

This form will explain the research study, and will also explain the possible risks as well as the possible benefits to you. We encourage you to talk with your family and friends before you decide to take part in this research study. If you have any questions, please ask one of the study investigators.

What will happen if I decide to participate?

If you agree to participate, the following things will happen:

You will be invited to attend an initial group meeting at the Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos Bartolome de las Casas (CBC) where the researcher will meet with you and other participants to explain the purpose and nature of the research, facilitate personal introductions, sign the informed consent, and complete an anonymous questionnaire.

How long will I be in this study?

1. Participation in this study will take a total of approximately 16 hours over a period of six months, beginning in March, the first semester of 2017 in Cusco. As described above the research method we are using is called Photo-voice, which uses photography to investigate or discuss about your concerns. There are no right or wrong answers. We will meet and discuss your photographs by using the SHOWED method. The SHOWED method consist in having the following guiding questions to
 - What do you See here?



- What's really **H**appening here?
- How does this relate to **O**ur lives?
- **W**hy are things this way?
- How can this image **E**ducate people?
- What can we **D**o about it?

The initial session will last approximately 1.5 to 2 hours for orientation and completion of an anonymous questionnaire. In the questionnaire you will be asked to answer the following questions: 1) How do you as a college student interpret the linguistic diversity in Cusco? 2) What language holds the most "status" in Cusco city based on your experiences? Why do you think that happens?; 3) Recovering Quechua or any other indigenous language is important to you? Why or why not? 4) When presented with information concerning the maintenance or losing indigenous languages in Cusco, what connections do you make of those issues to your future role as professional?; 4) Have you experienced or witnessed exclusion based on a language you speak other than Spanish, Could you describe it?; 5) Can we learn lessons from looking at our indigenous heritage?; 6) What can be done about prejudice based on indigenous languages in Cusco city, in your opinion?

The questions are significant to initiate the research process to understand the impacts that language choice may have on racial and cultural issues in Cusco.

The second session will last approximately 1.5 to 2 hours. This will include a brief presentation on the critical ethnolinguistic facts of Perú and Cusco, and the questionnaire findings collected in the first meeting.

The third session will last approximately 1 to 1.5 hours for the photo-voice training as well as the SHOWeD method. You will also be given a journal, which will allow you to document, reflect on, and share details about your experiences and perspectives about each photograph you take as well as your thoughts about the potential photo exhibition or presentation. You will have 2 weeks to take photographs and journal your thoughts. Although you might choose to include yourself in the pictures, taking pictures of other humans besides you will only be accepted for this project if you have their verbal consent (e.i., relative). You might have people in the background who are not identifiable, these non-identifiable humans might not need to consent permission to be included in your photo.

The fourth session is a 1.5 to 2 hours video-recorded group meeting to collect the cameras, download the pictures and discuss experiences during the picture-taking process.

The fifth session is a 1.5 to 2 hours audio-recorded individual interview for each photograph selection and dialogue meeting with researcher.

The sixth session is a 2 hour group meeting and feast to evaluate the research process and schedule photo exhibitions.

The seventh session is a 2 hours group meeting for the presentation rehearsal for the photo exhibition.

Two photo exhibition session will take place in the college campus, each of them will take two hours approximately. You might choose to audio-record, during your presentation, your conversations with your public.

These meetings will take place at the Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos Bartolome de las Casas (CBC) main location.

The two photo exhibitions will take place at a college campus in Cusco, they each will last two hours approximately.

What are the risks or side effects of being in this study?

The minimal risks may include the discomfort of making time for the photovoice sessions. I will address this issue by rescheduling any session when necessary. Also, if you feel uncomfortable with any of the questions during the sessions, I will address this situation by asking you (the interviewee) if you want to skip a question, or you could also stop participating whenever necessary.

What are the benefits to being in this study?

Your insights and concerns about the ethnolinguistic awareness in Cusco city on your generation are very important information that only you have. By participating in this study, you have opportunity to learn about, and engage in photography and participatory research method to develop the dialogue about the impacts of attitudes toward a more inclusive intercultural college environment. The proposed research study findings may have language policy implications, given increased awareness, about the impact of positive attitudes towards indigenous languages and peoples.

At the end of the study, you will be provided with a package that includes your photographs, transcripts, and research findings. The larger benefit of this project will be gaining knowledge to help those working to improve educational opportunities and support services for Indigenous students.

What other choices do I have if I do not want to be in this study?

You have the option not to take part in this study. There will be no penalties involved if you choose not to take part in this study.

How will my information be kept confidential?

Confidentiality will be assured to all participants. However, if you choose to present in the photo exhibition you will no longer remain anonymous in this public event.

Names of educational institutions will be disguised, as will names of participants. Pseudonyms will be used in all writings, publications or presentations to further protect the participants' confidentiality. After the research project is completed, all the audiotapes will be erased.

The research team members will keep the audiotapes and videotapes in a locked cabinet at CBC. We will also use only two computers with secure passwords to handle the transcripts, audio files and any other item/file related to the data.

When we received the modified transcripts from the participants we will delete the previous transcripts from the files.

We will take measures to protect the security of all your personal information, but we cannot guarantee confidentiality of all study data.

Information contained in your study records is used by study staff and, in some cases it will be shared with the sponsor of the study. The University of New Mexico Institutional Review Board (IRB) that oversees human subject research and/or other entities may be permitted to access your records. There may be times when we are required by law to share your information. Your name will not be used in any published reports about this study.



What are the costs of taking part in this study?

There is no costs of taking part in this study.

Will I be paid for taking part in this study?

There is no compensation for participating in this study. However, you will receive a \$35 dollar gift certificate at the end of the sixth group meeting.

How will I know if you learn something new that may change my mind about participating?

You will be informed of any significant new findings that become available during the course of the study, such as changes in the risks or benefits resulting from participating in the research or new alternatives to participation that might change your mind about participating.

Can I stop being in the study once I begin?

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. You have the right to choose not to participate or to withdraw your participation at any point in this study without affecting your future health care or other services to which you are entitled. You may also choose to not answer questions, but still remain in the study.

The data obtained from a withdrawn participant will be destroyed and the participant will be informed about it. If you withdraw after the findings are published in any fashion I will do not use your data from the date of your withdrawal.

Whom can I call with questions or complaints about this study?

If you have any questions, concerns or complaints at any time about the research study, contact the PI, Carlos Lopez-Leiva, at 001 (505) 277-5887 (USA) or contact him via email at callopez@unm.edu. If you need to contact someone after business hours or on weekends, please call and ask for Yuliana Kenfield at 953 419 805 or via email at ykenfield@unm.edu; and/or Rafael Mercado Ocampo at 984 363 935

If you would like to speak with someone other than the research team, you may call the UNM Office of the IRB at 001 (505) 277-2644 (USA)

Whom can I call with questions about my rights as a research participant?

If you have questions regarding your rights as a research participant, you may call the UNM Office of the IRB (OIRB) at (505) 277-2644. The IRB is a group of people from UNM and the community who provide independent oversight of safety and ethical issues related to research involving human participants. For more information, you may also access the OIRB website at <http://irb.unm.edu>.



CONSENT

You are making a decision whether to participate in this study. Your signature below indicates that you read the information provided (or the information was read to you). By signing this consent form, you are not waiving any of your legal rights as a research participant.

I have had an opportunity to ask questions and all questions have been answered to my satisfaction. By signing this consent form, I agree to participate in this study. A copy of this consent form will be provided to you.

Name of Adult Subject (print)

Signature of Adult Subject

Date

INVESTIGATOR SIGNATURE

I have explained the research to the participant and answered all of his/her questions. I believe that he/she understands the information described in this consent form and freely consents to participate.

Name of Investigator/ Study Team Member (print)

Signature of Investigator/ Study Team Member

Date

CONSENT FOR USING THE PICTURES YOU GENERATED FOR THE PHOTOVOICE PROJECT

Please choose one of the following options:

--- I give permission to the research team to use my photo(s) for project related discussions, publications and presentations. The research team can use my photos after the length of the photovoice project.

--- I do not give permission to the research team to use my photo(s) for project related discussions, publications, and presentations. The research team only can use my photos during the length of the photovoice project.



Appendix 2

Interview Question Script

Note: This is not the copy that will be seen by participants. It is possible that these questions were rephrased/ changed some, but this shows the semi-structure nature of the interview sessions.

The interview session will begin as follow:

Thank you so much for participating in this interview. I appreciate you taking the time to speak with me. I expect this interview to take up to about 1 to 1.5 hours of your time.

Please let me know at any time if you do want to use your full name or if you prefer to have your name changed for a pseudonym. You do not need to answer any question that make you feel uncomfortable.

Again, my thanks for your participation.

1. How do you define your experience in portraying your message through pictures?
2. Have you participated in any dialog with others before or during taking pictures? Can you describe that experience? Whom did you talk?
3. What is the main message you want to present to your audience through your selected pictures?
4. What other messages you want to discuss to your audience?
5. How important will be explaining your own experiences with language exclusion or inclusion when presenting these pictures?
6. Do you feel that the images will engage discussions about prejudice based on the Quechua language in Cusco city? How?
7. How are you planning to adjust your presentation when you audience would be young people (college students in contrast to older people (professors)?

Is there anything you would like to share that we have not included here about your picture-taking journey for photovoice?

I would like to express our sincerest gratitude for sharing your thoughts and experiences with me here today.

Appendix 3

Brochure



QUESWASIMI T'IKARINANPAQ LLANK'AMUSHAYKU

RUNASIMI TIKARINANPAQ LLANKAMUCHKAYKU



Usando el método de investigación participativa visual Fotovoz, los estudiantes universitarios bilingües runasimi-castellano dialogando sobre: sus experiencias y reflexiones sobre el bilingüismo en la universidad, las acciones que toman para mantener su bilingüismo, las propuestas para incluir aún más al quechua/runasimi en la universidad, y sus objetivos como futuros profesionales bilingües.

Abajo puedes ver una nube de palabras que de manera resumida ilustra los temas emergentes de los fotovoceros bilingües:



participantes del proyecto son estudiantes de cinco carreras universitarias (agronomía, antropología, comunicación, derecho, y psicología).

Facilitadores:

Yexy Huilca Quishua, es estudiante de antropología, interesada por los derechos Quechuas y metodologías participativas.

Wenceslao Huayllani Mercado, es estudiante de antropología, interesado en la interculturalidad, y metodologías participativas decoloniales.

La principal facilitadora es Mgt. Yuliana Gamarra Medrano es estudiante doctoral en EE.UU. Yuliana, cusqueña de nacimiento, espera establecer vínculos académicos y comunales con estudiantes, docentes, familias y del Cusco a quienes les interese las metodologías participativas y el Quechua.

Objetivos que desea cumplir el proyecto:

La implementación de la Fotovoz en la unsaac es clave para poder sensibilizar a la comunidad universitaria, el enfoque participativo da mayor poder de decisión a los estudiantes universitarios sobre sus prácticas quechua-castellano.

Los diálogos críticos durante las sesiones grupales y la foto exhibición tienen como objetivos:

1. Promover el desarrollo de actitudes más positivas hacia el bilingüismo quechua-castellano entre los estudiantes, profesores y personal profesional.
2. Promover la des-estigmatización de la variación del idioma castellano llamado moteo (español con rasgos quechuas) entre los estudiantes universitarios.
3. Promover el prestigio del bilingüismo quechua-castellano para la mantención y/o recuperación del idioma quechua entre los estudiantes universitarios de La Universidad San Antonio Abad del Cusco (UNSAAC).
4. Promover el habla visible del quechua en los espacios universitarios, contando como aliados clave a los docentes.
5. Desafiar ideologías que impiden el desenvolvimiento de los estudiantes bilingües runasimi-castellano en la universidad. Por ejemplo, desafiar la ideología purista que idealiza al bilingüe como únicamente alguien que habla un puro castellano y un puro quechua.
6. Promover el RESPETO hacia los quechuahablantes del mundo al demostrar que hay profesionales jóvenes bilingües quienes son sus aliados.
7. Crear alianzas con más promotores (docentes, autoridades universitarias, centros federados, residentes, visitantes, y demás) hacia el respeto de no solo al idioma quechua sino a los quechuahablantes de la región quienes de acuerdo al INEI 2007 representan el 60% de la población total de la región del Cusco.

GOLPES Y RESTRICCIONES DE LA UNSAAC

Gabriel Quispe Huayhua, estudiante de psicología

Procedencia: Haquira, Cotabambas; Apurímac

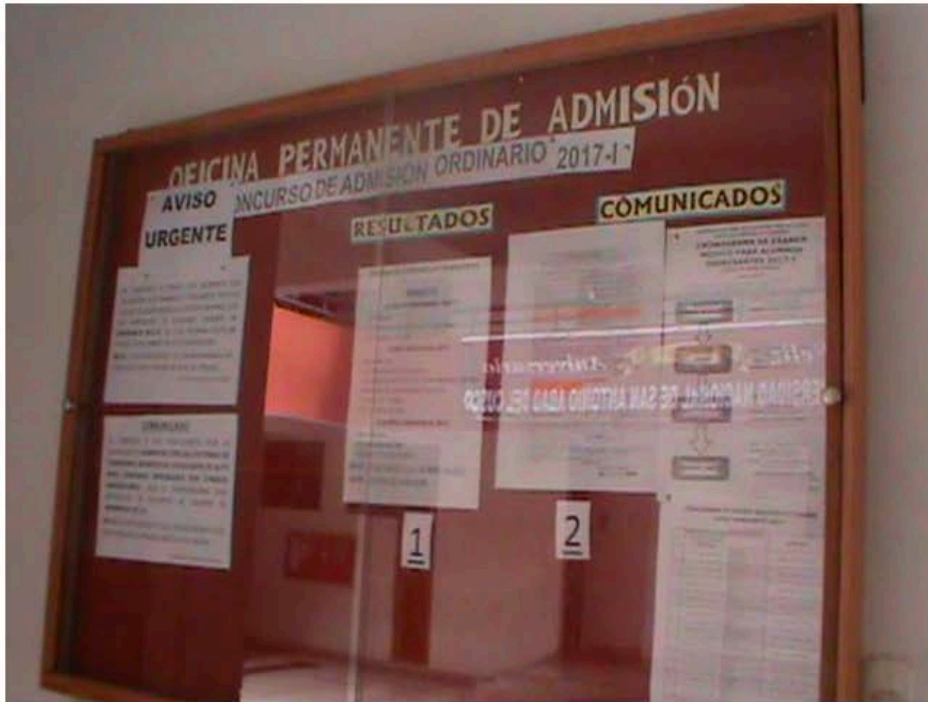


Un importante espacio intercultural donde se reconocía y se respetaba a los estudiantes quechuahablantes fue el Programa Hatun Ñan, lo cual ha sido suspendido por no tener contar con los fondos de la Fundación Ford. La universidad debió asumir y continuar con ese proyecto. La casita que ves donde se alojaba el Programa HÑ ahora tiene un propósito muy distinto. Pese a que el modelo y principio académico de la universidad es la interculturalidad, también es reiterada en el estatuto de la universidad. El cartel desterrado que ves, que para los ex estudiantes era como su bandera sagrada, demuestra las restricciones y limitaciones hacia los estudiantes bilingües. Aquí se percibe cómo nos trata la universidad. Como miembro del Voluntariado Intercultural HÑ veo el discurso de las políticas interculturales, pero no mecanismos que sirvan a la realidad existente de estudiantes bilingües y provenientes de diferentes culturas andinas que en su mayoría son quechuahablantes.

EXCLUSION DEL QUECHUA EN LA OFICINA PERMANENTE DE ADMISION

Yuly Vargas Quispe, estudiante de Ciencias de la Comunicación

Procedencia: Sicuani, Canchis; Cusco



La oficina permanente de admisión es la primera impresión en la UNSAAC, sabemos que la concurrencia a dicha oficina es población bilingüe estudiantil y sus padres zonas rurales; así como se muestra en la imagen no vemos escritos en quechua, ahí se ve la exclusión, discriminación. Eso es solo una parte de la realidad, así como es la primera impresión, imaginémonos las demás escuelas oficinas, aulas sin contenidos en quechua, eso no debe ser así, recalco la UNSAAC en su totalidad debe incluir dentro de sus actividades establecidas, la organización y realización de concursos en el que se vital el empleo del quechua, así haya reconocimientos, premios talvez en efectivos con el fin de fortalecer las capacidades, habilidades y competencias de los estudiantes.

Existen muchos medios la difundir el quechua, como ciudadanos del SurAndino tenemos esta tarea. Y la tarea no está en solo de uno, sino está en todos si realmente queremos cambiar algo.

Tinkuy (quechua-castellano)

Edgar Ccasani Ccoscco, estudiante de psicología

Procedencia: Haquira, Cotabambas; Apurímac



A través de esta imagen quiero hacer conocer la problemática de la discriminación del uso de nuestro idioma mater, a pesar que hablamos el español, eso no significa dejar de lado nuestra idioma runasimi. No veamos el castellano y al quechua como dos cosas diferentes, más a lo contrario veámoslo como complementarios para un dialogo intercultural, como una manera o medio de expresarnosy para mí eso representa el puente, el encuentro, *tinkuy*.

SUPAY

Jhasmin Diana Ventura Auca, estudiante de antropología

Procedencia: Cotabambas, Apurímac/Anta, Cusco



Foto metafórica que representa la belleza del quechua en la flor de papa y el hecho de que la zapatilla este sobre la flor representa los prejuicios y las discriminaciones por las cuales no se utiliza el quechua dentro de la universidad

TUPAY

Nilda Conde Banda, estudiante de antropología

Procedencia: Kundurkanki, Canas; Cusco



En algunas circunstancias solo utilizamos el quechua con otros fines sin darle el valor que se merece y a muchos que lo utilizan solo sus insultos en sus cantos carnavalescos o eventos folclóricos, pero esto no debería ser todo. cuando el quechua se debería de difundir más para que nosotros como descendientes incas nos sientamos más orgullo de nuestra identidad y lengua

EL IDIOMA QUECHUA COMO UN DERECHO FUNDAMENTAL

Fructuoso Chino Mamani, estudiante de derecho

Procedencia: Kundurkanki, Canas; Cusco



El idioma quechua como un derecho fundamental puesto que el idioma quechua está reconocido en la constitución como un idioma oficial. Sin embargo, las instituciones del Estado no hacen nada ante ello solo algunas instituciones cumplen como en esta imagen con proveer el servicio en quechua a los pobladores.

UNIVERSITARIOS PREPAREMONOS PARA SERVIR A DIFERENTES SOCIEDADES

Yolanda Levita Pillco, estudiante de antropología

Procedencia: Chincheros, Urubamba; Cusco



Entendemos que las lenguas indígenas son herramientas en la construcción de la ciudadanía y que por lo tanto deben ser preservadas y promovidas. Implementar políticas públicas con enfoque intercultural y desarrollar herramientas a través de los cuales los ciudadanos con lenguas distintas al Castellano pueden acceder a servicios como Salud, Educación y Seguridad Ciudadana debe ser una prioridad en el ejercicio de la función pública. El uso del idioma quechua es un aspecto importante para dar servicio al pueblo, sin embargo, consideramos que es aún más importante que los ciudadanos quechua hablantes se sientan respetados y bien atendidos cuando visiten las oficinas estatales y que no se sientan que son discriminados al margen del idioma en el que se habla. Aunque es cierto que ya existen políticas dentro de la UNSAAC, estas no son ejecutadas porque en sí no toma en cuenta lo dejan de lado por eso tenemos que ir a recurrir al idioma quechua que tenga Mayor interés e importancia para que los quechua hablantes no se sientan desprestigiados.

CHIWCHICHAKUNA-HINA RUNASIMITA YACHASUN

Carmen Ccasa Aparicio, estudiante de derecho

Procedencia: Combapata, Canchis; Cusco



Con esta imagen y como una estudiante universitaria que está recuperando su idioma quechua quiero dar el siguiente mensaje: nunca es tarde para aprender y debemos hacerlo y tomar como ejemplo a estos nobles niños, a cultivar y practicar nuestro idioma como lo niños, polluelos *chiwchikuna* que van sonriendo tiernamente en este camino llamado aprendizaje, el quechua nació en sus venas. Estoy sumamente segura de que con el apoyo de sus maestros y familiares lograran seguir manteniendo el quechua con gran orgullo y por ende no dudaran de mostrarles y enseñar a las futuras generaciones de su valiosa existencia no solo como parte de nuestro legado cultural-histórico sino como parte de toda una identidad peruana!

CIMIENTOS OCULTOS

Ana Cinthia Flores Ramos, estudiante de antropología

Procedencia: San Jerónimo, Cusco; Cusco



Una imagen metafórica que asemeja nuestro comportamiento de muchos de los jóvenes estudiantes de la actualidad. A diario ocurren situaciones, donde nuestras raíces culturales cada vez entran en lo más profundo del subsuelo, donde es menos el número de quechua-hablantes en los andes. Si bien nuestros padres son bilingües (castellano-quechua) nosotros como estudiantes, ¿somos bilingües en la universidad? ¿Cuántos de nuestros maestros nos enseñan en quechua, si se sabe que más del 30% de estudiantes de la UNSAAC somos quechua-hablantes? ¿Existe un enfoque de respeto al bilingüismo en la enseñanza? ¿dónde queda el aprendizaje de lo nuestro? Si nosotros, los jóvenes universitarios, ya no hablamos el quechua al menos dentro de la universidad, ¿dónde es que lograremos con toda libertad hablar, dialogar, indagar, investigar y hacer ciencia en quechua? Cabe resaltar que dentro de cada antoniano bilingüe o no, aún llevamos esa energía de poder reavivar lo nuestro, de cambiar la hegemonía de una lengua invasora por una diversidad lingüística que respete a todos y todas.

ALLIN KAWSAYNINCHISPAQ

Yaneth Tecsi, estudiante de agronomía

Procedencia: ; Cusco



El quechua es la llave de la cultura porque los nombres geográficos, tales como caminos, lagunas, pueblos; y los nombres de animales, y los productos como las papas etcétera son provenientes del quechua. Es por esta razón nosotros debemos sentirnos orgullosos de nuestra cultura y dar más valor a lo nuestro al hablar el quechua o aprenderlo.

Hablar el quechua con las personas en una comunidad crea una confianza y abre un camino de diálogo y de entendimiento con la sociedad. Saber el quechua nos abre las puertas a los saberes importantes como es el saber de las papas nativas y su diversidad tan grandiosa.

ÑAUPAQWAN, KUNANWAN HUKHINALLA

Yeny Cereceda Espinoza, estudiante de antropología

Procedencia: Huayllati, Grau; Apurímac



La fotografía muestra que El patrimonio material es más valorado que el patrimonio inmaterial, cómo el idioma quechua y las diversas prácticas de los pobladores andinos. Este mismo hecho sucede con los estudiantes quechuas de la Universidad, que a pesar de ser parte de estas prácticas y de convivir con el pasado y el presente, aún se resisten a aceptar ser parte de ello.

¿Quieres conectarte con nosotros?



VISITA NUESTRO BLOG EN WORDPRESS

<https://fotovocesandinas.wordpress.com/>

VISITA EL FACEBOOK DEL VOLUNTARIADO INTERCULTURAL HATUN ÑAN:



Appendix 4

Draft Proposal

PROPUESTA PRELIMINAR DE LA SEMANA DE INVESTIGACION QUECHUA

Introducción

Los estudiantes que proponen esta semana de investigación quechua son participantes de un proyecto Fotovoz sobre el bilingüismo runasimi-castellano de Antonianos.

Estos participantes son trece estudiantes de diversas carreras universitarias (antropología, agronomía, comunicación, derecho, y psicología). Los participantes, como parte de su discusión de cómo fomentar a la valoración del bilingüismo runasimi-castellano en la universidad, vieron que debía fomentarse la investigación sobre no solo el runasimi sino sobre el bilingüismo runasimi-castellano y más aún sobre los *saberes* quechua.

Siendo los *Saberes* quechuas gran fuente de conocimiento que desafortunadamente no son fomentados en transmisión intergeneracional y que la comunidad universitaria científica intenta documentar en sus diversas líneas de investigación.

Es así que los universitarios, quienes llevan no solo su curiosidad sino su deseo de investigar aún más el runasimi y los saberes quechua, el día 4 de junio del presente año 2017 en un conversatorio realizado en el sitio arqueológico de Pisac discutieron e imaginaron la semana de investigación quechua que se realizaría una vez por semestre.

Secuencia

La semana de la investigación quechua duraría una semana debido a que incluiría salidas de campo.

El lunes iniciándose con paneles sobre marcos de índole epistemológica, ontológica, y metodológica para situar el entendimiento que como se entiende investigar saberes quechua, en pro de las comunidades quechuas, en pro del runasimi, en pro de una comunidad global. *Especialmente el lunes se oiría sobre maneras de como los lideres comunales ven las alianzas con la universidad en pro de acercar la universidad a las comunidades quechuas.*

El martes se tendría ponencias o presentaciones de posters de investigación de estudiantes y docentes de ciencias puras, naturales, y de salud quienes estén formulando sus investigaciones, estén ya gestando sus investigaciones, o ya hayan culminado sus investigaciones y deseen reportar sus resultados y reflexiones.

El miércoles se centraría en la investigación relacionada al idioma runasimi (quechua)

El jueves se tendría ponencias o presentaciones de posters de investigación de estudiantes y docentes de ciencias sociales, económicas, humanidades quienes estén formulando sus investigaciones, estén ya gestando sus investigaciones, o ya hayan culminado sus investigaciones y deseen reportar sus resultados y reflexiones.

El viernes se realizarían salidas de campo a espacios donde se pueda ejemplificar los saberes quechua. Tres salidas simultaneas.

Invitados

dirigentes/investigadores/líderes y lideresas del campo/de comunidades quechuas

Idioma

Las presentaciones podrían ser tanto en castellano como en runasimi, sin embargo, se contaría con intérpretes que podrían traducir del castellano al runasimi como del runasimi al castellano. El formato bilingüe ayudaría tremendamente a la democratización del saber, a la adquisición o mejoramiento del runasimi, y a la accesibilidad al público quechuahablante.

Publico

Comunidad universitaria (docentes, estudiantes, personal universitario)

Comunidad quechua (líderes del campo, estudiantes pre universitarios, familiares de estudiantes bilingües)

Comité Organizador

La mayor parte de los participantes de Fotovoz con miembros del Voluntariado Intercultural Hatun Ñan quienes por iniciativa propia se comprometen a planificar esta semana de investigación quechua aliándose con el vicerrectorado de investigación al igual que con la asamblea universitaria.

Costo

No se ha calculado el costo, pero se requeriría cubrir los siguientes:

- contratación de traductores/interpretes
- transporte para los invitados dirigentes/investigadores/líderes del campo/de comunidades
- servicio de cuidado para niños de lideresas campesinas.
- transporte para las salidas de campo
- paneles para la colocación de posters de investigación
- bebidas para los ponentes
- snacks para el publico
- impresión de invitaciones, y publicidad

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