Intercultural education and indigenous peoples in the State of Guerrero, Mexico

La educación intercultural y los pueblos indígenas en el Estado de Guerrero, México

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Summary: The article maintains that intercultural education emancipates indigenous peoples and contributes to the construction of a dialogical democracy. In addition, he points out that the school plays an important role, since it promotes respect for the Other, fosters more horizontal knowledge and learning among students and teachers. But it also indicates that the lack of budget, the bureaucracy, the discrimination and the rejection of non-western culture impede the construction of a new school. That said, the purpose of this work is to analyze the current situation of indigenous peoples and education in the state of Guerrero. The discussion on this topic allows educational actors and society to reconsider the fact that intercultural dialogue reinforces the sense of belonging and identity of those communities such as the Amuzgos, Mixtecos, Nahuas and Tlapanecos, who have been marginalized during these last decades. As for the methodology, we rely on reflective and interpretive sociology in order to carry out a detailed analysis of bibliographic and newspaper sources, but also of the complexities, possibilities and paradoxes of the Mexican educational system.

PALABRAS CLAVE
educación intercultural, Estado, identidad, indígenas, otherness.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Mexico is one of the countries with the greatest cultural and linguistic wealth; Among these are speakers of Nahuatl, Mixtec, Zapotec, Tlapaneco, Amuzgo, among others (INEGI, 2010). However, most of these languages are about to disappear due to the precarious social and economic conditions that persist in these communities. Furthermore, the lack of employment and inequality have forced many of these indigenous people to be forced to abandon their lands and seek employment opportunities in large cities. Added to this problem is discrimination and the lack of recognition of the so-called Others, that is, indigenous peoples, as part of the Mexican nation (Kapuscinski, 2007; Todorov, 1991). This situation can be glimpsed in spaces or fields of public instruction such as schools, especially rural ones. There, the teaching practice, the academic activity carried out by the student and the teaching administration that is in charge of the training, elaboration and reproduction of (western) curricular programs are varnished by the complex fabric of the market society. Based on this, not only is the citizen educated, but also an idea of rejection of any culture or social form that prevents the reproduction of the market and merchandise system for a highly competitive world is constructed. We refer to otherness. It is a category that has served to understand the subjugation of Western culture over the rest of the world. In other words, we are talking about the domination that the Indian, known pejoratively, has suffered from the colonizer.

This idea of domination is present in all schools of official instruction. Denial of the Other, that is, the teacher or student from a non-Western culture, has to face a whole discursive canon that is embedded not only in the plans and programs of study, but also at the very heart of the system educational. The (rural) school, beyond including the subjects or educational agents, forces them to form part of an unequal and combined citizenship (Muñoz, 2001). Furthermore, the State does not commit to interculturality as a process of dialogue between cultures and the construction of a democracy based on differences and for social and economic equality (Schmelkes, 2003). On the contrary, it paradoxically promotes acculturation. This has to do precisely with that idea that the (multicultural) State does accept the difference or existence of cultures, but does not admit the inclusion of the Other in the consolidation of democracy or in the participation of world economic and political circuits (García, 1999; Bauman, 1999; Fuller, 1992). In this regard, Fornet-Betancourt
(2009) points out that the Indian’s intervention in the economic scenario has always been marginalized and in politics he has only been in charge of reproducing an egalitarian language of civil and political rights.

Beyond this discourse that is typical of multicultural capitalism, it is important to note that despite the fact that Mexico is a diverse country, the submission of indigenous peoples still persists. The State and its political project of inclusion of the Others not only tries to recognize, value and promote the use of non-western languages, but also considers that education is the best way to achieve their integration as citizens. It seems to us that this idea has been a present agenda for the state apparatus as the Secretary of Public Education during, at least, these last decades. All the educational projects aimed at the most vulnerable populations such as indigenous communities have fulfilled the purpose of recognizing part of their history, but the efforts and proposals made have been meager, because no recognition of cultural difference and much less political (Stavenhagen, 1996; Sánchez, 1999; Saladino 1995; Ortiz, 2004; Benjamin, 2002).

This fact took place during the twentieth century and the beginning of this century. For example, currently public policies aimed at indigenous peoples aim to eliminate inequality and economic and social inequality. There has even been a modification to Article 3 of the Constitution where reference is made to compulsory education in secondary education, but in reality the interests of indigenous communities are excluded, because the economic conditions are not provided, as well as the infrastructure necessary to carry out real learning processes and according to the needs of each region. To tell the truth, indigenous languages or the uses and customs of indigenous communities are not protected despite the fact that there is a national and international tourist campaign that Mexico is a diverse country and immersed in a global logic of merchandise exchange.

Despite the fact that the new educational model in force promises to break the knots of inequality, the situation of access to official education is more complex than it seems. To obtain good results, the fact that equity and inclusion must be cross-cutting principles throughout the educational system must be considered (Emiret et. Al., 2018). All this must be done in order for indigenous culture and languages to take their value as systems of thought and communication. It should be noted that despite the model being presumed to be inclusive, it is necessary to carry out activities inside and outside the classroom alluding to these principles so that the contributions of
the different cultures originating from each state are recognized and transmitted from all educational actors. In this way, the foundations of an intercultural education could be established.

2. METHOD AND MATERIALS

The method that is approached in this work has two aspects to highlight: first, we consider it as a process of de-fetishization of the categories (State, culture, school, curricular programs, among others) that must be questioned based on reality in which occur (Kosik, 1967). Second, we take reflexive sociology (Bourdieu and Passeron, 2005) and interpretive sociology (Weber, 1992; 1984; 1982) as a starting point in order to understand the constituent elements of education and indigenous peoples in the state of Guerrero. To do this, we use Weberian theory in the spirit of explaining the social and political action that is established from the idea of the State. This has allowed us to conceive the way in which political rationality and social structuring respond to historical and rational aspects of the individual. This "rational form of existence does not guarantee human freedom at all, on the contrary, it is the individual who must assume the setbacks of this society" (Acuña, 2015, p. 228). In other words, any political superposition of one culture over the other in a diverse nation like Mexico cannot be thought of without the rationalizing action of the (western) subject on the Other. In this sense, it seems to us that the school as a social and political field plays a fundamental role in the legitimization of that dominant rationality. To unveil these rational ideals of contemporary society, we have tried to reconstruct the idea of education from below, that is, from the ways in which knowledge is organized and reproduced in settings where a complex ethnic framework survives. Furthermore, following Marx (2005, p. 21) we have relied on critical theory with the need to "resume the return journey" and see within the paradoxes of education in Guerrero a "rich totality with multiple determinations and pedagogical and cultural relationships. We refer to those indigenous peoples who have questioned any reality reified or conditioned by time of the neoliberal economy. Not surprisingly, Benjamin (2008, p. 307) insists that an image of the past must be retained, such as that which is unexpectedly presented to the historical subject at the very moment of danger.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

a) Rethinking the State and the construction of the Other
This section starts from the need to interpret the complex relationship that exists between the State and civil society, as well as to better understand the inter-ethnic processes that take place in the state of Guerrero. We start from the idea that it is necessary to appeal to historical reason, because it is an important epistemic resource that allows us to delve into those processes and events that give rise to the dilemmas, paradoxes and habitats of a society like that of Guerrero. It is an invitation to rethink the State in its relationship with the Other and, above all, to know the current situation of intercultural education. In this case, we are referring to the indigenous world, that is, that world that has been marginalized and withdrawn from the great stories of Mexican history. It is undoubtedly a torn world, but one that has also put its historical memory into effect.

In Eurocentric academic jargon the Other, in capital letters, is a category (capitalist-multicultural) that has served to catalog or racialize the subject (Zizek, 1998). The Other is a being devoid of attitudes and aptitudes to face modernity (Bartra, 2013). To tell the truth, for progress the Other is not part of the western psyche but of a mythological thinking, suffered and condemned (Fanon, 1994). On this same subject, Edgar Lander (2003, p. 12) maintains that this difference is considered as the imposition of a scientific "hegemonic thought" where reason has not only bifurcated the body to arrive at more concrete facts, but has also been mapped and imposed a relationship of strength and domination between the West and the other worlds. In addition, he points out that it is undoubtedly necessary to question a “historical narrative” typical of a modern and capitalist society since, in addition to naturalizing social relations, it naturalizes human knowledge. Another approach that calls into question the field of epistemic hegemony comes from Aníbal Quijano (2003, pp. 201-223), who points out that this relationship of distance and rupture is “an element of coloniality in the pattern of power today worldwide” Reproduced and objectified; What has been said is linked to the fact that the radical rupture of the subject between mind and body addressed by Descartes (2015) in his Discurso del método was applied to America and, also, perhaps to the East. From this, construction of the West and modernity began. In this way, it can be said that the unpaid, "Indian" labor force was part of the gear of exploitative social relations in the world. For this reason, a pattern of hegemonic domination was established and today it is reproduced in all scenarios that are controlled by the highest spheres of power. The school is the ideal place to put this cultural and ideological imposition into effect.

This vision is key to understanding Western thought, because it gives rise to the birth of the folk and not the real Other. This experience can be seen from the debate on the condition of the Indian between Bartolomé de las Casas (2005), the bishop of Chiapas, and Juan Ginés de
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Sepúlveda at the end of the 16th century. Sepúlveda pointed out that, following the Aristotelian thesis, there were people destined to serve others. Such debate suggested that the European world was the only hemisphere capable of producing knowledge and the rest of the world was inferior to rational thinking (Weber, 1984). In view of this, the tradition or culture of the Others would not be recognized as modern forms of thought because the epistemic or Eurocentric totality prevents the emergence and dialogue of Other thought. Under these circumstances, subaltern thinking becomes an ethical problem, since it is about defending the cultural (mental) dispossession that indigenous peoples have suffered and, above all, because there is a need to rewrite another narrative ab initio that expresses the cry of Todas las sangres (Arguedas, 1998). In this sense, the intercultural pedagogical task must try to recover that indigenous memory that has been the victim of repressive / hegemonic history; in turn, it must promote a just order by recognizing the Other for his dignity and his ability to share and imagine other worlds.

The indigenous question comes to be that great culmination that needs to be addressed as an epistemic issue. It is not about folklorizing subjects who speak a language other than the official one, much less about making indigenous people known as rural heroes. On the contrary, the central idea is to reveal and expose those constituent elements that are generating marginalization and political, economic and, above all, educational inequalities. In relation to this, roughly speaking, starting from the twentieth century and from the so-called "Mexican revolution" it is necessary to indicate that the construction of the new nationalist state was driven by those from below, that is, by the Indians and cowboys thus, to the rural inhabitants of the south and north, some intellectuals familiar with Mexican political culture). The “Indian problem”—J.C.’s starting point Mariátegui (2008) to understand non-European capitalism– not only marked Mexico, but also all regions of Latin America. In the middle of the twentieth century, and under the consolidation of the nation-states, a patrimonial type of social relationship persisted, one that was intertwined with progress. The farm-state, the gamonal-state or the banana-state was the expression of that relationship between feudalism and capitalism at the same time in Mexico and Latin America. In this sense, in the Mexican nation the urgency of a popular overflow was necessary, since the need to reorganize society and redistribute the wealth concentrated in the hands of the landowners and family clans remained.

The State played a fundamental role in the subjugation of indigenous populations. In Mexico, Porfirio Díaz's rise to power involved a series of political reactions on the part of the vanquished. The need to build another power with the humblest led to the generation of a rebellious
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The revolution became marginalization and homogenization of society. The purpose of creating a nation-state or Mexican nationalism was consistent with the modernization project. This implied that all social sectors were part of a single identity, of a single nation that advanced and looked forward. Not surprisingly, for example, the concern of many academics such as José Vasconcelos (2009), who was in charge of the Secretary of Public Education, focused on finding in *La raza cósmica* a mestizo, almighty social being, a Prometheus of the future. For this it was necessary to combat illiteracy, promote rural schools and upper secondary education. Culturally homogenize every educational instance. This purpose starts from the idea that education was considered an important instance in maintaining the *status quo* and legitimizing social coercion.

During seventy years of priismo (1929-1999), from Plutarco to Zedillo, the State carried out policies to promote the social and cultural integration of the peasant peoples, those who had organized to emancipate themselves together with Zapata and Villa. Under this maelstrom, in 1948, for example, the INI (National Indigenous Institute), today known as CDI (National Commission for the Development of Indigenous Peoples), was born with the aim of combating underdevelopment through the industrialization of traditional forms of peasant production and reproduction (peasant proletarianization), as well as considering the indigenous language as an important element in the incorporation of the individual into the market society. This stance was strengthened in the early 1980s when the developmentalist or Keynesian state was dying and a turn towards the neoliberal state was taking place. Based on this new state form, economic and, above all, educational reforms were carried out, since they had to respond to the needs of an expanding and highly competitive world.

The emergence of the neoliberal state gave way to a new social pact. However, the priority role of the State has always been the articulation of the workers' society for the capitalist economy. Under this paradigm, the State has always considered as a fundamental axis the participation of
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education as a trigger for progress since the end of the 20th century. This involved not only providing conceptual and analytical tools to the student, but also equipping them with job skills so that they can face the vicissitudes and needs of the globe. This fact caused the privatization of education to be promoted, as well as the privatization of public companies. To this was added the modification of Art. 27 of the Constitution, since the intention was to distribute the lands and, above all, promote the fading and proletarianization of the communities. The result of this culminated in a broad rejection by the indigenous people. We refer to the uprising of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN-Ejercito Zapatista de Liberación Nacional in spanish) and its fight not only to question the wave of privatization that the country was suffering, but also to demand the cancellation of the FTA with the United States in 1994.

This disagreement between indigenous and State culminated in the realization of the San Andrés Accords. In said agreement, the EZLN demanded that indigenous rights and culture, democracy and justice, well-being and development, conciliation in Chiapas, as well as women's rights be discussed. On the other hand, this struggle led to an opening to the indigenous political movement, a reinvention of the Indian arose, alliances between indigenous peoples were produced to stop the neoliberal advance and put at the center of the debate the idea of autonomy and pedagogy of the snail.

b) Intercultural education in Guerrero

Interculturality and the educational process in the state of Guerrero have to be seen from historical reason. This does not imply that we are stuck in time and that we cannot think about current events and what afflicts education and school. On the contrary, it seems to us that to open the discussion around such a complex subject it is necessary to approach certain events that have formed part of the indigenous memory. The indigenous people of the state of Guerrero have had a difficult and resistant relationship with the official power. Thus, for example, the Constitution of 1857 made so-called Indians become citizens. This change responded to the interests of the ruling class, since it considered that in order to secure power and legitimize its domination as such, the school should become an important mechanism for national integration. Political-cultural subordination through education has served to legitimize the hegemonic discourse and justify the prostration of indigenous peoples. For this, it was necessary to create a new identity that passed through language and education. This creation of cultural values implied the denial of the Other (Moya, 1998).
In this context, we think that it is necessary to delve more into the subject at hand: intercultural. For this, it is necessary to remember the indigenous category and its relationship with power. During the Intendance of Mexico, in 1808, “schools of indigenous languages” were created and were under the administration of the indigenous parents or communities. It is known that there were 20 schools in both Chilapa and Tixtla. The most important referent of indigenous education in Guerrero dates from 1932 and was implemented by the Center for Social Integration (Centro de Integración Social) of San Gabrielito, municipality of Tepecoacuilco; Later, other schools were created, such as in Atenango del Río and Alcozua (González, 2009, p. 259).

In 1948 the National Indigenous Institute (Instituto Nacional Indigenista) was created, as well as the Centers for Indigenous Coordinators (Centros de Coordinadores Indigenistas). In this way, intercultural bilingual education began in Guerrero. The first CCI was created in Tlapa de Confort in 1963. The purpose of the project was to recruit bilingual promoters. “As bilingual promoters, I had to attend to children 4, 5, 6 and even older, through a program called the Preparatory Degree, since they were preparing them to enter the federal or state primary school by Castilianizing them for a year, that is, their fundamental role was for children to learn to speak Spanish” (González, 2009, p. 237). In many cases the promoters did not have completed studies and what the State did was create the Education for all program. After this, the Federal Institute for Teacher Training was created, it was not until the middle of 2003 that young people were recruited to teach in indigenous communities; on the other hand, most of these young people had baccalaureate studies and later completed their studies at the National Pedagogical University and at the Regional Normal School of Tlapa (González, 2009, p. 238). Currently, indigenous education in Guerrero depends on the Directorate of Indigenous Education (Dirección de Educación Indígena-SEP). In other words, it consists of:

14 zone heads of the Primary Education Level and 10 of the Preschool Level, with 92 school supervisors and one supervision of migrant children. Of those 102 bilingual cultural promoters who started indigenous education in Guerrero in 1964, for the 2002-2003 school year, they have become 5,934 teachers, who attend to 126,273 students of different levels and educational services in 1,639 centers of Work: indigenous initial education, indigenous preschool and bilingual intercultural primary, as well as support services: school shelters, social integration centers, education centers for migrant children. All these educational services and supports for indigenous education are
located in 769 communities that include 39 municipalities out of 80 that exist in the state of Guerrero. (González, 2009, p. 239)

According to INEGI (2010) in Mexico there are about 6.9 million indigenous people. The population of the state of Guerrero is 3,079,349 million people. Of these, 19.86% aged 15 and over cannot read; 7.9% from 6 to 14 years old do not attend classes. Acapulco has a population of 722,499 inhabitants: 347,722 are men and 374,647 are women. The four indigenous languages that exist are Mixtec, Amuzgo, Tlapaneco and Nahua. That said, it is known that the indigenous population is 700 thousand inhabitants and Afro-Mexicans are around 200 thousand inhabitants. The Nahua population represent 40% of the population and are found in La Montaña, Sierra Central and the Upper Basin of the Balsas River, Sierra Norte and Tierra Caliente. The Mixtec population represents 28% of the indigenous population and are located in the upper part of La Montaña. The tlapanecos represent 22%; and the Amuzgos represent 9% of the indigenous population. The latter are found in Xochistlahuaca, Tlacoachistlahuaca, Zocoalpa, Cosuyoapan, Chocoapan, Huehuetano, El Pájaro and Las Minas. Finally, Afro-Mexicans represent 6.5% of the population in Guerrero.

In Guerrero and in comparison with other states, 33.9% of the population is indigenous; in Oaxaca 65.7% of the population is indigenous; in Yucatan 65.4% of the population is indigenous; and in Tamaulipas 6.3% of the population is indigenous (Plan Estatal de Desarrollo, 2016). Furthermore, more than half of the indigenous population in Guerrero is illiterate. This problem could be seen in Cochoapa el Grande 56.1%; Metlatónoc, 43%; Aleozauca de Guerrero 42.3%; José Joaquín 37.3%; Xalpatlahuac 36.1%; etc, etc (Plan Estatal de Desarrollo, 2016).

That said, in the state of Guerrero the indigenous communities that have migrated have been the Amuzga and Tlapaneca communities. These pre-hispanic cultures descend from the Costa Chica, in the south of the state, and have mobilized to other spaces in order to find better job opportunities and overcome the wave of marginalization, violence and unemployment. Although this phenomenon is occurring in many regions of the state, we believe that the Amuzgos and Tlapanecos, who are in the town of Ejido Nuevo, Acapulco municipality, and from towns such as Xochistlahuaca, we refer to one of the poorest territories Mexico, since in this place human development indicators are only comparable to other scenarios such as Africa, they suffer chronically from the devastating effects of the neoliberal and global crisis.
It should be noted that this problem forces us to seriously consider that culture is understood as something non-static, because it changes and its wealth depends on its members and on the way languages build dialogic temporal spatialities that go beyond the logic of State (neoliberal). But, this is not possible if the State considers that the culture is inert and not living. Above all, it moves away from any claiming purpose because it discards the dialogue of cultures and proposes a dialogical culture structured by universal plans, programs and policies. With this, we believe that the State is a social form and relationship, since it is in charge of legitimizing the social, economic and reproduction relations of capital (Hirsch, 2005).

The above is presented as a problem, because there are not promoted or there are spaces where cultural dialogue is encouraged and the indigenous language is revalued. On the contrary, the purpose is to generate a cultural and linguistic hegemony in all possible scenarios. Of course, this draws our attention powerfully, because it is about mastering the true needs of marginalized populations. A reflection of this is the fact that little by little the indigenous people of the south who have settled in Ejido Nuevo, it is a place that is located on the outskirts of the Port, they have chosen to put aside their mother tongue and They have clung to their second language, Spanish. Added to this is the fact that mockery, ignorance, criticism and rejection of their indigenous origins represent daily and political actions that are imposed from above and are reproduced in certain ideological apparatuses such as the school (Althusser, 1995). Because of this, the indigenous people of the south have chosen to hide and speak their languages within the same family and within their homes. What is most striking about the effect that cultural domination produces is knowing how identity in these places has become an act of rejection and denial and not as something emancipatory. It is enough to know that families of indigenous origin look at their own language as a matter of exclusion. Of course, this stance has resulted in their descendants, who attend schools, being embarrassed and refraining from learning and reproducing their languages, all this to fit into a unique and liquid society (Bauman, 2003).

Within educational institutions, it has been observed how young people who come from indigenous-speaking families feel rejected, discriminated against and even embarrassed by their identity. This type of feelings produced by their peers leads them to take certain introverted attitudes, shyness, sadness, exclusion, inferiority, shame and grief (Bartra, 1998; 1999; 2011). In this sense, it is necessary to include spaces for coexistence and intercultural relations where cultural diversity, dialogue, equity and democracy are promoted among all the members of a
society. This helps to build a peaceful and dialogical society, absent in one of the states most hammered by neoliberal politics.

4. CONCLUSIONS

How to educate under these circumstances? How to promote intercultural education in a context in which everything seems to indicate that there is only one dominant culture, globalization? How to promote an intercultural pedagogy that breaks with educational eurocentrism? The task is not so easy to say, but we have to dare to propose an alternative. It seems opportune to propose the epistemological rupture of knowledge. In other words, the indigenous culture and its language have to be revalued, because it has been the most hammered sector in history. In Guerrero the communities of amauzos, tlapanecos, nahuas and mixtecos are the most marginalized. The official education they receive is far from their ways of acting, thinking and feeling the world. The inclusive discourse promoted by the State has not solved complex problems such as economic or political inequality, freedom and autonomy. On the contrary, the State, through its multicultural policies, has only been in charge of recognizing the existence of ethnic groups, but it does not make them part of the construction of another democracy and, much less, of a new school (for all bloods). In schools, respect for the Other is not fostered, but rather one looks at the non-western or indigenous-speaking subject at a distance. In addition, (intercultural) programs designed for rural areas are not being thought from within each reality or culture, but from the western reality and the dominator, perhaps colonizer.

Reflection and criticism are key to interpreting the processes of knowledge generation in indigenous peoples and the way in which they establish a dislocation with the dominant culture. That said, it is important to develop an argument that addresses the antagonism between subaltern thinking and hegemonic thinking or, in fact, the theoretical opposition between the western and non-western epistemological canon, since the latter is an element of importance for the construction of a teaching and learning process with an intercultural face. Above all, it is necessary to question western epistemology to refer to those subjectivities that continue to reproduce in a historical space and time.

This questioning occurs in a multiplicity of ways of thinking and doing. This implies questioning that thinking is not exclusive to a western center or world, but to doing that knows the conflict in which reality is at stake to build and make it more horizontal. In other words, non-
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Eurocentric philosophy is a knowledge characteristic of all times and of all cultures. Knowledge refers not only to the analysis of complex systems of ways of reasoning but, above all, to a know-how to make reality. In short, intercultural education is not only a pedagogical proposal, but an entire historical assumption of justice. Its work consists of making the dialogue of cultures, since it allows to challenge those western symbolic habits and contents that transgress the forms of socialization and Other thought not recognized by the schools.

5. REFERENCES


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