

Power in Intercultural Education: "Education in Bolivia – from Oppression to Liberation"?

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Abstract

In this article I will consider the discussion on the educational system in Bolivia. Education is a potentially powerful way of communication. The educational reform of 1994 was a radical reform making it possible for the Indigenous peoples to receive education in their native languages. Nevertheless the government of Evo Morales abolished it as soon as they were in position, starting the process of making a new law with the slogan "decolonizing the education". "Education is oppression or liberation", with these words in the spirit of Paulo Freire the president of the Bolivian senate Santos Ramirez answered when I asked him why the new Bolivian government wants to change the educational system. (1)

Key words: intercultural education, school reform, Bolivia, indigenous population.

In January 2006 Evo Morales, the first president of indigenous descent in Bolivia, was installed in office. As soon as the new government with the sociologist Félix Patzi as minister of education had entered into office, it decided to set the educational reform of 1994 aside and start the work on a new reform, under the slogan: "decolonize the education".

The Law of Educational Reform of 1994, (LRE) (2), opened for the indigenous population to receive education in their native languages. LRE was a total revision of the educational system, from primary school to higher education including special education and adult education. The aim of the reform was to develop a high standard education equal for all Bolivians regardless of cultural and linguistic background and ability to learn. Bolivia was the first country in Latin America to make intercultural education the policy of the state "not only for indians", but for all children (Albó 2004:14). The reform is considered an educational policy that strengthens each culture and the exchange between cultures. International experts considered it the most advanced and "revolutionary" in Latin America. One would think that LRE would be a tool in the liberation of the indigenous peoples. What, then, was wrong? Why did the government want to start a new process? What does it mean to "decolonize" the education? These are questions I will discuss in this article.

My knowledge of the educational situation in Bolivia is based on fieldwork with students about six weeks a year over four years where I have listened to lectures, interviewed teachers and read newspapers and literature on this topic (3). Main literature sources have been the anthropologist Xavier Albó and the sociologist Felix Patzi, Bolivian scholars who have been working scientifically with intercultural education for many years. In March 2006 I also got the opportunity to assist at an educational conference about decolonization of the education and proposals for the construction of a multicultural society. I will first draw some historical lines of the education in Bolivia before I discuss the new educational proposition comparing it with LRE.

In contrast to most of the countries in Latin America, the indigenous (4) population of Bolivia constitutes the majority of the inhabitants, a majority marked by little schooling and a high rate of illiteracy. In the census of 2001 62 percent (5) of about 9.5 million inhabitants (6), declared themselves to belong to one of more than 30 indigenous groups of which the Quechua (31 %), Aymara (25 %) and Guarani (1.5 %) are the largest. According to an inquiry done in ten of the largest cities in 2006, 65.5 percent indicate that they belong to an indigenous group at the same time as 68.9 percent consider themselves mestizo (7) (*La Razón* 20.10.0606.10.20). In the census of 1992 few people identified themselves as indigenous. This

shows a change in self-conception over the last decade. According to Canessa "the Bolivians are much more likely than before to identify as indigenous, or, at least, as belonging to an indigenous group (such as 'Aymara' and 'Quechua') even if they do not identify as indigenous per se" (2006:242). This may reflect the political shift in the view of the indigenous population and their rights in the nation state during the last decade.

In the revision of the constitution of 1967 in 1994 it was in 1994 for the first time formally recognized that the Bolivian state is "multiétnica y pluricultural" (Constitución Política del Estado: Art. 1) and that indigenous peoples have social, economic and cultural rights regarding common land, natural resources, identity, values, language and institutions (Ibid.: Art. 171). In the constitution the concepts multiethnic and multicultural are used in a descriptive way, stating the ethnical and cultural diversity of the nation. It implies a political acceptance of the multicultural society instead of ignoring it (Zimmerman 2003:25). According to the Bolivian anthropologist Martin Bazarco the concept multicultural in the Constitution is used quantitatively, to describe a multiethnic society where the different ethnic groups live separately. Bolivia has always been multicultural and the use of the concept in the Law indicates a legal acceptance of this situation, but does not indicate how the relation between the different groups was earlier (Bazarco interview April 06).

Multiculturalism may also be used in a normative sense, to "refer to an ideology that attaches positive value to cultural diversity, calls for the equal recognition of different cultural groups, and calls upon the state to support such groups in various ways (Miller 2006:326). This way of understanding 'multicultural' is almost synonymous with the concept 'intercultural', a concept that is not used in the constitution, but is a main concept in LRE. 'Intercultural' indicates a new situation; it is a dynamic and qualitative concept implying that the different groups are supposed to interrelate culturally as equal parts at least in theory (Bazarco op.cit.).

'Intercultural' is used in different ways in Bolivia; I will focus on how it is used in the educational laws. By Bilingual Intercultural Education (EIB) one understands an education that has as its main goal to disclose

"the estimation and the pride of one's own culture (and language); the participants' knowledge of the two cultures, the respect of the two cultures, that is, the mutual appreciation and the ability to understand like as the capacity to move within the two cultures and to integrate into one's own culture what one perceives as foreign (Zimmermann 2003:31).

The Indigenous Population and Education in Bolivia up to 1994

Education in the Andes was traditionally not meant for the indigenous population. The educational system was in European colonies used to serve the colonizers, with the purpose of westernizing the ethnic communities. As the Iberian colonies were liberated from the colonial power, the Spanish-speaking people of European decent tried by different strategies to keep the power in the new states. A main strategy was to keep the majority, the indigenous population, as their labor force, preventing them from turning into *cholos*, hispanized indians, by moving from the countryside to the cities. Another strategy was to keep the indigenous population away from the educational system because they were not considered to be teachable. Franz Tamayo (8) declared in his newspaper column in 1910 that Bolivia's indians supplied "ninety percent of the nation's energy," because the indian was born for only one destiny: "to produce, to produce incessantly in whatever form, be it agricultural or mining labor, rustic manufacturing or manual service in the urban economy" (in Larson 2005:36). In the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s the Bolivian state used education to "remake indians into productive peasants" so that they could take part in the progress of the Bolivian state on the conditions of the ruling classes, erasing the indigenous languages, communal memories, traditions, and identities (Ibid:34).

"Rural school reform was aimed at the cultural production of Bolivia's modern campesino class, but it was not simply about "incorporating indians into the national culture". It was equally driven by the need to fix racial, class, an gender hierarchies in ways that subordinated the indian peasantry to the state, especially as rural insurgents pounded on the gates of Bolivian cities in the 1930s an 1940s" (Ibid:35).

Bolivian educators created a "national pedagogy" on the idea that indians needed a separate system of rural education, geared to their "racial aptitudes" and "natural habitat". Special work-training schools located in isolated rural settlements were created and run by indigenous teachers trained in special rural teacher training schools (9) "The new *normal* pedagogy would teach three subjects: practical knowledge

in agriculture, new methods of soil preparation and methods to improve small industries" (Ibid:37f). The school language was Castellan and the vocational training "pushed literacy to the edge of the curriculum in the rural indian school, since to read and write was deemed a useless, if not dangerous, source of knowledge among a feisty, often litigious peasantry" (Ibid:54). The socialization of the new indian generation was undertaken in boarding schools that "became rural colonies of productivity, discipline and acculturation" (Ibid.:Ibid. 40). It was important to keep the indigenous peoples at the countryside so that they did not discover the benefits of city-life.

This negative view of the inhabitants that did not master Castellan properly remained in the laws until the revolution in 1952 and regulated the indigenous people's lives by, for instance not permitting them to appear in public wearing traditional outfits or speaking native languages. The revolution brought new laws to the nation, with some changes for the indigenous population. The education act unified the people in one educational system, but the teaching had to be carried out in the only national language, Castellan, with the aim to assimilate the indigenous population, to "blanquear"(10). "The principal nation-building project was to assimilate indians into a national mestizo Spanish-speaking culture" (Canessa 2006:245). The school promoted prejudices based on the language and the culture of the rulers, resulting in incomplete schooling, high desertion, poor distribution and content. The teaching was centred on the teacher and based on memorizing. The curriculum was most appropriate for urban children. The pupils did not experience any gain of what they learned and the training of the teachers was poor. Educational reforms were mostly organisational and did not change the educational science. Irarrázabal claims that school reforms often reproduce European and nNorth American norms and do not convey real quality (2000:169). Patzi states that from 1952 the state has institutionalized the occidental values and *habitus* (11) not by force, but by symbolic power, using the educational system as the most efficient agent (in Suarez 2000:150).

The indigenous population has been oppressed both by economical exploitation and racial, linguistic and cultural discrimination that above all has been revealed in an educational system where all teaching was given in the language of the conquerors and the rulers, with teaching material reflecting their values and culture. A teacher would ask an indigenous child: "Do you want to be "indio" (12) or intelligent?" Many children experienced to be punished by the teacher if they spoke their native language.

"I have suffered when I went to school. I couldn't understand in Castellano: the teachers treated me like a donkey, like I am stupid, but if they had spoken to me in Guaraní, I would have been able to answer well. When they taught me to read, of course, I read but I didn't understand a thing" (Bonifacio Barrientos cited in D'Emilio 2002:22).

One of my students met this attitude when she was interviewing a preschool teacher in Yotala, a municipal centre about 15 km. from Sucre where over 90 % of the students are using Quechua at home (13). The teacher lived in Sucre and worked in Yotala. She asserted that children from the city are more intelligent than children from the countryside. "Intelligence depends on which race you belong to", she said (March 05). With this, she expressed the attitude of a great deal of Bolivian teachers who themselves are products of the upbringing and education they have received. This is an example of the colonial attitude the new government wants to oppose.

New Government – New Educational Strategy

The consequence over the years of the educational policy is that about half of the population over 65 years is illiterate and only a few have ever attended school. Of the population between 20 and 25 years old, 3.4 percent are illiterate and about 4 percent have no schooling. The illiteracy rate was officially reduced from 70 percent in 1950 to about 13 percent in 2004 (INE). It is asserted, though, that the absolute and functional illiteracy amounts to 70 percent in rural areas and 30 percent in urban areas (Tellez G 05). The cities are growing fast, but still about 40 percent of the population livepopulation lives at the countryside, partly in remote aereasareas with poorly developed infrastructure and poor distribution of schools. Even in the cities there are not enough schools for the rapidly growing population under 18 years of age (14).

This situation challenged the new government. After having been in office only a few months, it initiated an intensive literacy campaign, *Yo sí puedo*, (Yes, I can). The method has been elaborated by IPLAC (Instituto Pedagógico Latinoamericano y Caribeño) and developed by the Cuban government in order to eradicate illiteracy. It is said to have been very successful in Venezuela, and it is in use in several Latin

American countries. Both the Cuban and the Venezuelan state are supporting the Bolivian state with educational aids and personnel. The goal is to eradicate illiteracy within thirty months and then declare Bolivia the third state on the continent without illiteracy (*La Razón* 03.05.0606.05.03). At the end of the year 2006 On December the 3rd 2007 eighty thousand the minister of education and culture Magdalena Cajías gave previous "illiterates" have been the declared "alphabetized" no. 400.000 and Cristina Carlo de Calderón received their diplomas after completing the course. The campaign has then reached 49.44 % in relation to the goal (*La Razón* 28.02.07Educabolivia 07.12.05).

This program is one of the elements of the educational transformation in the government's strategy. In July 2006 the government summoned for a Congress to work out the new educational law with 26 organizations and 628 delegates. The new proposition was called "Ley Elizardo Pérez y Avelino Siñani" – "Decolonized community education". The proposition is highly discussed because many of the delegates felt the Government was forcing their proposal and their ideology on the Congress "in communist style" without giving possibility for debate (*La Razón* 15.07.0606.07.15). The proposition has not yet passed the Parliament and the government has promised to embody suggestions from sectors that feel they have not been heard (*La Razón* 27.09.0606.09.27). In January 2007 Evo Morales replaced Patzi with Víctor Cáceres as minister for education and for the first time in 25 years the minister had educational background. He promised to listen to the different educational actors and wanted to unify the urban and the rural teachers in one organization (*La Razón* 25.01.0707.01.25). Apparently he listened more to the teachers than to those who support the government's vision about the education. After only a little more than four months in office, he was exchanged by Magdalena Cajías, historian and university lecturer. When installing her, Morales uttered that it was a mistake to appoint Cáceres and he asked Cajías to "'fall in love" with the literacy and the educational changes" (*La Razón* 09.06.0707.06.09). Since the new educational law has still not been submitted to the Congress, it seems that one is waiting for the new constitution that is being in course of preparation by the constitutional assembly in Sucre and will form the basis also for the new educational law.. This work is supposed to be finished by August 2007, and will form the basis also for the new educational law.

Where LRE had two pillars: *common participation* and the *generalisation of intercultural bilingual education*, the new education rests upon three pillars: *decolonization*, *community involvement* and *productivity*.

Decolonizing

The government emphasizes that the education has to be decolonized in order to bring the ethnic boundaries to an end. Giving people privileges - academic, political, economic, or in employment – because they are "white", or belong to certain, ethnic or linguistic groups, should no longer be possible. The government also emphasizes not to allow to privilege western thoughts as the only and universal ones, but to pay importance to the thoughts, knowledge, and technology of the cultures of the indigenous societies both in the Andes and in the Amazon (Congreso nacional de educación). The proposition states that the education is

"decolonizational, liberating, anti-imperialist, anti-globalizational, revolutionary and transforming the economical, social, cultural, political and ideological structures; directed towards self-determination, reaffirmation of the villages, the original indigenous nations, Afro-bolivians and the other cultural expressions of the Bolivian multinational state" (Nueva ley de la Educación Boliviana 2006: Cap. 1, Art. 1,2).

The education is also "intracultural, intercultural and multilingual because it articulates a Multinational Educational System of the state based on the fortification and development of the wisdom, knowledge and the proper language of the indigenous nations; because it promotes the interrelation and living together with equal opportunities with the appreciation and mutual respect between the cultures of the Multinational State and the world" (Ibid. Art 1, 8).

The LRE is also focusing on many of these themes in LRE which states that the Bolivian educational system "is intercultural and bilingual, because it presupposes the socio-cultural diversity of the country in an atmosphere of respect between all Bolivians, men and women." And it "is all Bolivians' rights and obligations, because it organizes and develops with the participation of all the society without restriction or discrimination against ethnicity, culture, region, social, physical, mental or perceptual condition, of sex, belief or age" (LRE 1,5 and 6). The aim of the Bolivian education is "to fortify the

national identity by exalting the historical and cultural values of the Bolivian nation in its enormous and diverse multicultural and multiregional richness" (Ibid. Art. 2,4, 4). The curriculum has two parts: one common curriculum for all students and a local part where the intercultural education has consequences for content and language of teaching. The local part should be

"oriented toward the acquisition and development of the competences and contents related to the specific ecology, ethnicity, socio-cultural, socioeconomic and sociolinguistic aspects of every department and municipality of the country where the curriculum is organized and developed" (LRE Decreto Supremo no. 23950: Tít. I, Cap. II, Art.10).

Concerning the educational language it states that the curriculum will be bilingual in all the educational system, applying itself gradually from primary education. "

First of all it is bilingual in the districts and areas where the students speak their original language and require an educational attention in a different language than Castellán. The bilingual education aims at the preservation and development of the original languages and at the same time universalize the use of Castellán" (LRE Decreto no.23950: Tit. I, Cap. II, Art. 11).

In Irrázabal's opinion, LRE "presents an education in and between cultures, bilingual, a liberating instrument, with equality in opportunities, quality, and efficiency." He refers to the international professionals that have outlined the educational politics, strengthening every culture and the exchange between them (2000:174).

On the contrary, Patzi views LRE as the continuation of the colonial hierarchies as the governing classes have not changed their view on the indigenous population. LRE is "the continuation of the integrating and hierarchic homogenizing objectives of the expansion of the post revolutionary school system that are implemented by other media" (2000:147 footnote 2). The lecturer at EIB in Cochabamba, Guido Machaca, states that in the proposition, the whole educational system has been expanded and deepened educationally and it has been radicalised (interview 07).

Communitarian

The second pillar of the new proposition states that education is communitarian permitting all actors in the territorial spaces (the quarter, the district and the rural community) to make collective decisions about educational subjects. This will be acquired by participation of parents, teachers, students and local community- and grass root organizations. The obligation will include supervision, administration, and decision in educational politics and the guarantee of a high quality education for all (Congreso nacional). In the proposition the expression "consensus participation" is used. This is a main concept in the Andean way of decision-making: to maintain balance and harmony one works out agreements by consensus, not by voting.

LRE is based upon the Law of Popular Participation (LPP, 1994) which gives the man in the street right to participate in the society. Traditional organisations in the countryside and the neighbourhood councils in the cities are recognized under the label "territorial base organisations" (OTB). Local committees and municipalities were given control over local education with some authority over the local curriculum, all costs of infrastructure and school supplies: the Bolivian education "is democratic, because the society will actively participate in the planning, organizing, execution and evaluation, so that it responds to its interests, needs, challenges and aspirations" (LRE 1565: Título I, Cap. 1, Art. 1,3, 3). The teacher is not any longer the only person influencing the school. Parents and grass-root organisations, liaison committees, and school management boards, central and local society are supposed to take part in the development of schooling and teaching. Teachers and pupils, parents and other persons in the local society will analyse the needs together and find solutions to any emerging problem. This includes both decentralisation of decisions and that the responsibility for infrastructure and the daily operation of the school is laid on the municipality that receives resources from the national budget according to the size of their population.

On this point it is not easy to see the difference between the old and the new law since it is also based upon LPP. The union of the urban teachers, (Confederación de Trabajadores de la Educación Urbana, CTEUB) has never accepted the decentralization of LRE and the influence given to parents and local organisations. They are also now protesting on the same reasons maintaining that the parents are welcome to contribute to the education, but should not have the definitive word (*La Razón*

26.09.0606.09.26). CTEUB made their own proposal for the congress, "La Escuela para Rescatar la Patria" (15). According to Machaca, there is an ideological difference: The urban teachers do not accept the intercultural education, only the bilingual education. They still believe in the nation state with one official language and in a school with one common curriculum. While the social groups have considered the ethnicity as the reason for exploitation, the teachers have been reasoning from an awareness of class. They are not interested in the history, only in the context, Machaca says (interview 07).

Productive

Productivity is the third pillar. The education is oriented toward guaranteeing the process of the production, conservation, management and defence of the natural resources. The four last years of the schooling is *productive* which implies that the education connects to the production, valuating and legitimating the original indigenous cultures and the intercultural dialogue about knowledge (*Nueva Ley* Art. 24)24). On this point there may be a new focus compared to LRE although this also includes the local aspect emphasizing environment and ecology.

The Discussion of the Concepts "Intercultural" and "Multicultural" in the Educational Laws

Both LRE and the new proposition are using the term intercultural and as far as I can see the main subject of the debate is whether the education under LRE promotes really interculturality or not. The discussion reflects the main problems with intercultural education in Latin America: There is little practical evidence, and for the countries that are aiming at this, there is a considerable work to be done. Zimmerman lists seven main points, including the need for educational material in each language, lack of trained educational personnel to teach in the also missing schools. In addition there is a lack of educational and didactical research as a base for the work and finally, there is not sufficient funding to accomplish the vision for the education (2003:36-37).

Albó, as one of the main contributors to the discussion, describes a negative and a positive sort of interculturality. Interculturality exists when people or groups from different cultures meet. Negative interculturality arises when the encounter leads to destruction or reduction of certain groups. History shows this happens especially where European peoples are involved. On the other hand, interculturality is positive when it results in acceptance and recognition for the culturally different. This first step is essential, but it is not sufficient. If one stops here, it may create a relation based on mutual respect, "like a mosaic where some pieces are put together, but without exchange of the individual's potential". When one talks about multiculturalism it seems like one is only operating according to this level, Albó says. This equals the descriptive and quantitative use of the concept. At the next step one enters into real interculturality when one is seriously considering each person's contributions and values to create something together, making a common loom where everybody recognizes their own part and is enriched by the others' contributions (Albó 2001:4). This does not imply that every cultural group has to lose their identity, but as Hofstede says, "Successful intercultural encounters presuppose that the partners believe in their own values. If not, they have become alienated persons, lacking a sense of identity. A sense of identity provides the feeling of security from which one can encounter other cultures with an open mind" (1993:237). The basis for the intercultural encounter is recognizing one's own cultural values and the values of the culture with which one is cooperating.

The Bolivian history is a sad example of a negative intercultural experience where in Hofstede's words, the nation has put "a considerable moral investment in its own dominant mental software, which amply explains the common hesitation to make cultural differences discussable" (1993:236). One would think that LRE would break this negative trend, but it seems that the new government regards it as what Albó calls the first step: the cultures living together side by side without real interaction which equals multiculturalism as a description of the Bolivian society. Patzi considers the interculturality of LRE a collective illusion. In his opinion the dominating class does not really want a total integration and equality of the cultures since that would lead to its own extinction. Multiculturalism in the national philosophy of the former governments, means "integration of the non-dominant cultures by diffusion of values, beliefs, administrative systems, technology, that is, on the one hand inculcating all of the symbolic representations, and the preservation of the local experiences or ancestral practises, that have been re-functionalized and suppressed under the logic of modernity and in the function of the growing capital" (Patzi 2000:151-153). He therefore sees multiculturalism as symbolic violence; it does not include

respect for the native cultures, but is always considering them subordinate and suppressed under modernity (Ibid:157-58). It is on this background one has to understand the new governments' emphasis on the decolonization of the education.

Concluding Comments

Was it necessary to abolish LRE? Several of the Bolivians I have talked to, teachers and others, consider a revision of LRE and an increasing rate in the implementation of the law as sufficient measures to achieve the government's objectives. After twelve years in use, it is still not introduced in all parts of the educational system and most teachers are educated to teach according to the former law. Evaluations show positive effects on interculturality in the sense that indigenous pupils have improved their mother tongue, they participate and appreciate their own culture, and they have improved their self-esteem. This shows that the new generations are strengthening their cultural identity and by this are establishing a better foundation for entering into intercultural encounters. Teachers express that "we are redeeming a culture that was on the way to perish" (Albó 2004:42).

Nevertheless, for a government consisting of representatives with indigenous background, it may be necessary to turn to a more drastic action. It is hard to change negative attitudes toward the indigenous population formed over generations. The new law is an attempt to emphasize the need for the different cultures of Bolivia to enter a new, qualitative level of interculturality, to create the common loom and make a richer and more open minded community where both the cultures of the indigenous peoples and the culture of the colonizers' meet. This includes a more explicit emphasis on the indigenous peoples' own knowledge and wisdom, a knowledge that has never before been recognized as valuable to the governing classes. In my opinion, this is where the core of the decolonizing project is to be found. It will be interesting to follow the process and see if the new educational law will succeed in creating a liberating education and a decolonized nation.

Notes

1 Personal communication in Bergen, Norway, at a meeting where he was the main speaker. Sept. 06.

2 *Ley de Reforma Educativa*.

3 The translations from Spanish and Norwegian are made by the author

4 In Latin America indigenous means the descendants of the peoples who populated the western hemisphere prior to the arrival of the Europeans.

5 Of those over fifteen years.

6 Estadísticas Nacionales, INE, Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas, the Bolivian statistical bureau suggests 9.627.269 for 2006. http://www.ine.gov.bo/pdf/Bo_Es_Na/BEN_2005_05.pdf, 27.10.06). Other figures are based upon the census of 2001 if not other reference is given.

7 *Mestizo*, traditionally signifies an individual presumably of both Hispanic and Indian descent. Today the term signifies more a social group of people one chooses to join than an ethnical term.

8 Bolivian poet, politician and educator.

9 Rural normal schools with a different length and curriculum than urban normal schools were in use until the educational reform of 1994.

10 "blanquear", bleach, whiten. Concept used in Latin America from the time of the colonies about civilizing the original population by christening, teaching Castellan and transforming culture and mode of living, i.e. assimilate or mestizize.

11. *Habitus* used in Bourdieus' understanding of the concept

12 'Indio', patronizing concept used by the Spanish speaking population about the indigenous peoples

13 According to a questionnaire one of the Norwegian students made in this school in 2005.

14 INE prognosticates that 44% of the population is less than 18 years in 2006 (*La Razón* 14.07.0606.07.14).

15 "The School to rescue the Native Country"

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03.05.0606.05.03 "En 100 días de gestión la tarea en educación fue alfabetizar."

14.07.0606.07.14 "Sólo 4 de cada 10 niños concluyen colegio y son sanos."

15.07.0606.07.15 "Fallido congreso educativo."

26.09.0606.09.26 "Maestros piden retroceder 12 años en el aula."

27.09.0606.09.27 "Nuevo proceso en la Reforma Educativa."

20.10.0606.10.20 "7 de cada 10 bolivianos son mestizos."

25.01.0707.01.25 "Patzi pide a su sucesor dar continuidad a sus reformas."

28.02.07 "Alfabetizar es una condición para ascender."

09.06.0707.06.09 "Cajías es la Ministra de Educación."

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