"HASTA MAÑANA...TEACHER":

PERSPECTIVES OF CULTURAL IDENTITY INFUSION ON A GROUP OF YOUTH

IN

AREQUIPA, PERU

by

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ABSTRACT

This intrinsic ethnographic case study examines the group identity of youth attending the Villa Chachani Community School, in Arequipa, Peru. Considering the colonial, historical and current contextual factors, this study examined if the youth at this school were struggling with their identity or, alternatively, if they expressed a strong sense of identity. The data was collected from interviews with four adult participants associated with the Villa Chachani Community School and researcher field notes. Participants were asked to share their perspectives on the expressed identity of this youth cultural sub-group, while focusing on the unique contexts encasing the students.

Three major themes emerged from an analysis of the data: (1) environments; (2) people; and (3) culture and society. Within each of these themes, critical data supporting the overall strength of a youth sub-cultural identity emerged. Specifically, the environments of the Flora Tristan community, the Villa Chachani Community School, and the city of Arequipa impacted the students' group identity formation. The people surrounding and supporting the students, including their families, role models, peers and volunteer teachers, were also important factors. Finally, the role of culture and society; clothing, technology, and youth culture in general, were seen to contribute to the overall strength of the group identity, or sub-culture, expressed by these Villa Chachani youth. In conclusion, despite the lack of an obviously expressed Indigenous identity, the students exhibit a strong and unique Peruvian youth sub-culture.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction to the Study

"Baja", "baja, por favor", we shouted, quickly pushing our way through the mess of people to locate the cobrador (conductor) who was waiting for payment; 70 céntimos each. We each hand over our exact change to him and exit the bus, relieved at last to be outside of the crammed, hot bus and breath some fresh air. The bus quickly speeds away leaving a hanging trail of dust that clings to the skin and irritates the eyes. To find our way, we cross the rough gravel road and begin our ten minute walk to the Villa Chachani Community School. This is not an easy task; even the "bus stop" can be different every day depending on when you shout "baja" (drop me here) and where the driver decides to stop.

Navigating through unmarked gravel roads and a multitude of turns, right then left, then left, then right, then straight; directions passed down through the chain of volunteers, we make our way. The walk is difficult, sometimes uphill and similar to walking on beach sand. Your feet slipping underfoot add to an initial feeling of disorientation. Small houses, like sheds line the uneven streets. Care must be taken as wrappers, bottles and dog feces are often underfoot. The houses frequently have farm animals alongside them, vying for space with a makeshift outhouse consisting of a piece of well-worn fabric tied around supporting branches. After ten minutes we make the final right turn into a massive hill, that challenges your adaptation to the altitude. At so far above sea level, if you are not accustomed to the altitude, it is hard to breathe. By the time we reach the peak, energy reserves are low. Any feelings of fatigue however, quickly disappear as a rush of excited, smiling, enthusiastic students engulf our little group of volunteer teachers. The stream of contagious youthful energy quickly expands to invigorate and refresh flagging spirits. "Hola teacher, hola" (hello teacher, hello).

This thesis examines the identity of a group of students attending a small ESL (English as a second language) school in Arequipa Peru. Specifically, adult participants familiar with the school share their perspectives regarding the identity of the students as a group, rather than the individual self-identity of the students. Particular attention has been devoted to the unique contexts surrounding the students and their subsequent implication on the development of this youth subculture.

The following thesis contains a total of six chapters designed to facilitate continuity and comprehension. After consulting several individuals for their input, I have provided the information in the most logical means possible. While it is not necessary to read the thesis in the order given, skipping sections may obviously result on an incomplete understanding as pertinent details may be missed. Please note that in some instances necessary details may be provided only once and therefore, by deciding to read only sections you may miss the relevant information.

The intention of chapter one is to provide the necessary background information for the study as well as to introduce my own personal research lens. Also provided in this section is my research question, thesis rationale and specific research limitations encountered.

In chapter two, the "Literature Review", focuses on colonization/colonialism in the world and Peru, youth identity, the Peruvian educational system and the developing world's impact on children's education in Peru.

Chapter three, entitled "The Research Process", provides the reader with useful information regarding the phases of my research, how I gained entry/access, the data collection process, my own analysis and interpretation, validity concerns of the study and my own assumptions.

Chapter four entitled "The Research Design" contains all the information regarding the design of my study. The reader will find specifics on research protocol, methodology, methods, setting, sample, instruments and ethical considerations.

In chapter five, "Findings and Interpretation", I explore and discuss the themes that emerged with the culmination and interpretation of all the collected data. Major themes included: (1) the environment; (2) people; (3) society and culture.

Chapter six, my final chapter, I revisit my research questions while discussing the findings and end with the conclusion for my study.

Study Background

Peru is considered a developing country (The Worldbank, 2006). According to Kai-ming (1997) assigning the label of developing or developed to a country is much more complex than the simple economics of examining the country's gross domestic product (GDP). One must consider the critical roles "health care, literacy, educational, spiritual and other social dimensions" play in each individual country (Kai-ming, 1997, p. 65).

As a developing country, 53% of the population of Peru lives in poverty (The Worldbank, 2006). According to Avalos (1992) poverty is defined as "material deprivation that hinders not just physical development, but also psychological maturity and stability" (p. 422). Material deprivation includes obvious things such as access to food, shelter, health care and safe water, however most people living in poverty also lack access to the educational skills necessary for secure employment and the political power essential for change.

In Peru, living in poverty can mean living in a shanty town. Shanty towns (referred to as Pueblos Jovenes in Peru) are makeshift communities usually located along the outskirts of urban areas where basic needs such as water, electricity and sewage are not met (Peattie & Aldrete-Haas, 1981). I conducted my research study with the Villa Chachani Community School, located

within Flora Tristan, a shanty town community situated along the outskirts of the main centre of the city of Arequipa, Peru. Flora Tristan is approximately a one hour bus ride from the main centre of Arequipa.

For children and youth residing within Flora Tristan, the community presents certain contexts unique to the residents. For the purpose of this research, a basic definition of context refers to the circumstances forming the environment within which individuals exist. Furthermore, my use of context or contextual infers the importance of "the interdependent roles of society, family, peers, school or work environments" (Grotevant, 1987, p. 203).

Many Villa Chachani Community School students experience a low socioeconomic status and must work to provide for their family. Some young people cannot afford to attend school due to the associated costs of supplies and uniforms and therefore their only recourse is to periodically attend the Villa Chachani Community School as it is provided without cost or obligation. Although the first language of the students is Spanish, within the Villa Chachani Community School, classes are conducted mainly in English by migrant teachers. Outside of their own environment (the shanty town) students may experience the prejudice some people hold against shanty town individuals. Needless to say, life can be full of obstacles as Bullen (1993) expresses in the following statement:

> the situation of a young person in a shanty town is a bit more difficult, a bit tougher than that of any other youth, because the fact of living on the outskirts of the city implies a lot of things...for example, there's no water, no electricity, none of these services people need to meet their basic necessities, never mind develop themselves culturally (p. 238).

Recently, there has also been concern within the shantytown communities over the ability of youth to create a strong cultural identity (Bullen, 1993). Concern over youth identity is not limited to this region of the world. Keeffee (1995) believes "for most Aboriginal students, the issue

of cultural identity is a major concern" (as cited in Groome, 1995, p. 15). Although the complexities of identity are numerous, for the purposes of this research, identity will be defined as "the distinctive character belonging to any given individual, or shared by all members of a particular social category or group (Rummens, 2001, p. 3). Ultimately, identity construction pertains to the creation, maintenance and articulation of social identities by individuals or groups " (Talbot, 2008, para. 2.1). Although it can be argued that each individual student encounters a unique set of contexts on a daily basis, the Villa Chachani students as a group, share many similar contextual influences which contribute to their identity as Villa Chachani students.

Racial distinction is evident throughout Peru (Bjork, 2008; Garcia, 2005; Chambers, 2003; Haddad, 1994). It is therefore not surprising that the city of Arequipa is racially divided into many different categories based both on the color of ones skin, and where one lives (Bullen, 1993). There are clear divisions between those individuals living in shanty towns (assumed to be Indigenous or of mixed race) and the blanco (white) in the city. Bullen (1993) best expresses the common dislike of the shantytown poor when she states:

> the Arequipans not only fear the 'tainting of their blood' but also the dirtying of their pristine streets. Flora, another member of the Arequipian middle class, condemns the migrants for bringing the squalor of the shanty towns into the heart of the white city contributing the unsanitary conditions of poverty to a defect of the 'Indian race' (p. 235).

Chickering & Reisser have argued that "in the global village of the 21st century, where change is the only certainty...identity formation becomes the central and continuing task of education" (as cited in Groome, 1995, p. 5). Provided that the school environment is a critical component to a student's identity as suggested by Friesen and Friesen (2005), fostering a school environment which respects a student's cultural identity remains an important aspect of education. This is, after all, a stage in their lives when they are attempting to discover more about themselves;

in essence they are identifying and discovering who they are as individuals (Bajovic & Elliott, 2006; Groome, 1995). Additionally, Osterman and Freese (2000) stress the importance of a student sense of belonging within the school milieu, for a sense of belonging is inevitably linked to a stronger student identity. Therefore, fostering a school that respects a student's socio-cultural and socioeconomic background, while strengthening their sense of belonging to the educational environment remains an important aspect of education.

Crossley and Bennett (1997) believe that "much of the educational research that is carried out in developing countries is quantitative in nature" (p. 221). Personally, this raises concern as quantitative studies provide statistics but do not illustrate the human impact of the statistics. Quantitative studies are excellent at providing statistics, however, most quantitative studies miss the human interaction; a critical component necessary to enable personal connection to the situation. My examination of student identity relies on an anthropological and sociological lens as identities are constructed within a social environment. According to Talbot (2008) "group(s) identity is created, negotiated, and actively recreated through interaction with others. Identity can therefore be viewed as being a verb - it is something that one *does*...through social interaction" (para. 2.2).

Throughout this thesis I have attempted to provide sufficient details of my time in Arequipa (through my personal field notes) and through selected verbally expressed snapshots from my interviews with participants. Using narrative, my aim is to provide the details necessary to capture the reader's attention and make the community and people feel "real".

Personal Lens

In order to understand and appreciate the context of this thesis I believe it is important to provide a description of "me"; who I am, what I have done, and what I would like to do. I am a young Canadian female of European ancestry, thus my worldview is based on this European upbringing however, as I will explain later, it has also been greatly impacted by my own personal

educational interests and experiences as well as the worldviews of other people I have met throughout my life.

I was raised in the country approximately one hour from Thunder Bay Ontario, Canada, and attended a rural school throughout my elementary education. Although I always had lots of friends, teachers would often remark to my parents that I was a quiet student, always watching and thinking; as though this was incorrect behaviour. My parents just encouraged me to be "me", believing that there was nothing wrong with being quiet, nor was there anything wrong with being observant.

During these years I lived a somewhat "sheltered" life, far from many outside media influences; going to "town" was a luxury which occurred only a few times per year. We did however own a radio, and I remember we were able to watch two television stations, channels two and four, when they were clear enough to see. My exposure to people of other cultures during this time period was thus very limited until the age of 13 when I attended high school in the city of Thunder Bay. The high school was large and the ethnic diversity of Thunder Bay was much more evident to me. This time period in my life was also when my love of geography and culture emerged, becoming even more apparent in university as I completed a double major in Geography and Anthropology. Upon reflection, I believe my quiet demeanor, thinking and observation are skills practiced by ethnologists and thus perhaps my training in Anthropology began much earlier than when I officially studied Anthropology in university.

I know the value of money, for it was only on special occasions such as my birthday or Christmas when I was given something brand new. My clothes were usually second-hand, passed down from my older cousins. By sharing this information I am not implying that my upbringing was desperate or meager by any means, for I had everything I could possibly need, but rather, I am trying to provide the context from which I base my worldview. I had all the necessities of life; food,

clothing, shelter and a loving family. I believe that this upbringing imparted on me important values such as a strong work ethic, treating others respectfully; the way you would like to be treated.

While I have traveled quite extensively throughout North America, my recent trip to Peru was my first trip outside of North America. I also had the great fortune to be a member of the Cree community of Chisasibi, Quebec for close to three years where I taught ESL in the context of my official title as Special Education Teacher for grades three to six. I do not have enough positive remarks to make regarding my teaching experience in Chisasibi. I loved my job, the students, the people, the culture. During my time in Chisasibi I was exposed to a Cree worldview complemented by the worldview of other individuals from all over the world; Argentina, Zimbabwe, and the UK to name just a few. I can remember participating in Chisasibi's yearly Multicultural Day and feeling truly amazed by the number of different cultures represented and merged into the single small community of Chisasibi. Needless to say, my worldview was greatly impacted during the time I was fortunate enough to spend in this community.

While I have shared some insight into my worldview and upbringing in Canada, I must begin to divulge how this thesis project surfaced. My current study emerged from the demise of a thesis proposal that I had put my heart and soul into. In essence, the heartache I felt over the demise of the first project offered me the opportunity to truly examine who I was. I believe that something positive emerged from this heartache. For this I am truly grateful. Essentially, in order to come up with a new thesis project I was forced (in a positive way) to go back to what I know, and what interests me, essentially what I will term my educational roots: anthropology, geography and teaching.

I see my life's journey as a never-ending path; I am steered through this path I was meant to travel, relying solely on my intuition and "gut". My intuition leads me through the complex

branches of life, finding decisions and choices that must be completed as part of life's journey. With this in mind, my journey to the community of Chisasibi was neither planned nor intentional, but intuitively, the journey just felt "right"; similarly my new venture to Peru seemed "right".

Rationale/Purpose

Given the preceding background information, the purpose of this ethnographic case study was to examine the identity issues facing the youth of a small community school located within Flora Tristan, which is situated along the outskirts of the city of Arequipa, Peru. Ethnographic case study, as a research methodology, was strategically implemented to best compliment my research; a small, detailed study that focuses on the unique identity of a small cultural group of youth. While in Chisasibi, I, along with other researchers, had noted that the youth were struggling with their identity. Upon further research I discovered that these concerns were perhaps not isolated to Indigenous youth in North America. Thus, my research questions were specifically created to examine if youth in other parts of the world were experiencing difficulties with their identity.

The students attending the Villa Chachani Community School speak Spanish as a first language however they are educated in English by volunteer migrant teachers from all over the world. They are surrounded by other cultures both at school and in Arequipa, experience a low socioeconomic status and often face the dislike or "looking down upon" of shanty town individuals when entering the main city of Arequipa. Ultimately this research study endeavoured to observe from a holistic perspective if students are currently facing identity issues during a period in their lives when they are very easily influenced by the unique contexts surrounding them.

Research Questions

This research endeavours to answer the following research questions:

Are the students attending the Villa Chachani Community School struggling with identity issues?

If yes, what is the nature of their identity issues? If no, what are the factors that contribute to their

strong sense of identity?

Limitations

I entered this research with the full knowledge that I would be facing some tremendous

obstacles. What I would term obstacles many researchers term limitations, thus, I have entitled

this section "limitations".

1. An obvious limitation is that this study carries specific results for a specific group of

students. Although the city of Arequipa is large, and other community schools exist, the results of

this research are specific to the students attending the Villa Chachani Community School and

residing within the Flora Tristan community. My intention is to never generalize or apply results

directly to another group, although I do believe that inference may be possible. Ultimately

however, the results are specific to the students attending the Villa Chachani Community School

and they are not arbitrarily transferable to other community schools within Peru.

2. Although Indigenous languages can be heard throughout areas of Peru, Arequipa is

regarded as a predominantly Spanish speaking city and the majority of the residents, Indigenous or

not, speak Spanish as a first language. Thus, although English is the language taught at the Villa

Chachani School, all of the students and community members I encountered spoke Spanish as a

first language. As I am not fluent in Spanish; miscommunication and misunderstanding was a

possibility.

3. I am from North America where the culture is completely different and therefore, cultural

misunderstanding and miscommunication is possible both while at the Chachani School and out in

the city of Arequipa. I relied heavily on school representatives to guide me through correct cultural protocol and to answer or clarify any questions I may have had. All school representatives were Peruvian and spoke English as a second language; thus, I believe their guidance was most useful and appreciated.

4. The sample size for this study was small and relied heavily on my own field notes and those of the four individual interviews conducted. By stating this I am implying that the observations and opinions expressed by some individuals may not be what is necessarily observed and expressed by other individuals in the city of Arequipa, as this was a small, focused study.

Overall, the above limitations provide an indication of the exact situational specifics of this study. The results found are very particular to the students residing in Arequipa and specifically attending the Villa Chachani Community School. The results found are not arbitrarily transferable to other children residing within the city of Arequipa, nor are they immediately extendable to other communities or shantytowns in Peru.

CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review

Introduction

This literature review is written in sections addressing the relational relevancy to this study. Although the focus of this study was youth identity, it was of the utmost importance to hold a solid understanding in other areas that could be pertinent as well. In addition to youth identity specific reviews of the literature on colonialism/colonization, colonialism in Peru, the Peruvian education system, and how living in a shantytown community in Peru impacts children's education were carried out. All of the above mentioned areas provided the building blocks necessary to develop this research study.

Colonialism/Colonization Throughout the World

Colonization has occurred throughout the world; Australia, the United States of America, Latin America, Africa and Canada, to name just a few (Yazzie, 2000). Colonization is considered an "outcome of the process of colonialism, whereby Europeans assumed superiority over Aboriginal peoples [in Canada]" (Department of Justice Canada, 2001). Furthermore, Smith (1999) directly links imperialism with colonialism as she believes that "colonialism is but one expression of imperialism" (p. 21). As empires such as the British and Spanish sought to expand, they did so with little regard for the people or cultures already inhabiting the areas that they desired to acquire for the expansion of their empires. Yazzie (2000) formulates a fine analogy when he refers to colonialism as a triangle "of power in which the people at the top claim to have the right to control the people on the bottom" (p. 43). With reference to Canada, European society placed colonial power over Indigenous/First Nations/Aboriginal peoples as they sought to expand the European empires (British and French). According to Yazzie (2000):

after 1945, when the period of colonialism was to have ended, former British colonies such as Australia, New Zealand, and Canada achieved complete independence. However, the original inhabitants of those lands, Australian Aborigines, Maoris of New Zealand and the First Nations of Canada, did not get their independence. The people who colonized those countries run them, effectively excluding the first inhabitants (p. 43).

European people and culture was believed to be (and some people still believe) a superior culture. Historically, Indigenous peoples were considered savage; they were neither human nor civilized (Smith, 1999). Accordingly, "to consider Indigenous peoples as not fully human, or not human at all, enabled distance to be maintained and justified various policies" (Smith, 1999, p.26). In Canada policies such as the Indian Act of 1876 and subsequent amendments have sought to impose a continual control and domination of "Indians" in Canada by defining who is "Indian" and how bands and reserves are to operate (Congress of Aboriginal Peoples, 1998). For Indigenous peoples in Canada colonization was an attempt to "humanize" through assimilation of a European culture and worldview. According to Smith (1999), historically, Indigenous peoples throughout the world "were not fully human, they were not civilized enough to have systems, they were not literate, their languages and modes of thought were inadequate" (p. 28). One obvious implication of this view was a loss of both culture and language as European society sought to civilize Indigenous peoples through assimilation. This occurred "through a colonization process in which communities lost control over their families and cultures" (Department of Justice Canada, 2008).

When referring to colonization, Smith (1999) refers to the disciplining of Indigenous in the form of "exclusion, marginalization and…enclosures: reserve lands are enclosures, schools enclose, but in order to enclose they also exclude, there is something on the outside" (p. 68). One obvious enclosure meant to assimilate Indigenous peoples as early as possible was the creation of residential schools throughout Canada. According to Smith (1999):

Native children in Canada were sent to residential schools at an early age designed to systematically destroy their language and memories of home. There is a growing body of testimony from First nations peoples in Canada which tells of years of abuse, neglect and viciousness meted out to young children...These forms of discipline affected people physically, emotionally, linguistically and culturally. They were designed to destroy every last remnant of alternative ways of knowing and living, to obliterate collective identities and memories and to impose a new order (p. 69).

For Indigenous peoples in Canada and around the world, the aftermath of years of colonization are still felt. This is perhaps best summed up by Smith (1999) when she states that:

Many Indigenous communities continue to live within political and social conditions that perpetuate extreme levels of poverty, chronic ill health and poor educational opportunities. Their children may be removed forcibly from their care, 'adopted' or institutionalized. The adults may be as addicted to alcohol as their children are to glue, they may live in destructive relationships, which are formed and shaped by their impoverished material conditions and structured by political oppressive regimes. While they live like this they are constantly fed messages about their worthlessness, laziness, dependence and lack of 'higher' order human qualities. This applies as much to Indigenous communities in First World nations as it does to Indigenous communities in developing countries. Within these sorts of social realities, questions of imperialism and the effects of colonization may seem to be merely academic [and obvious] (p. 4).

Speaking from my own experience, through the gaze of a European, female teacher who worked for the Cree School Board for three years, residing within the Indigenous community of Chisasibi, much of the above statement strikes a chord. Pashagumskum, (2005) a researcher,

employee and community member within one of the communities of the Cree School Board has argued that "the creation of the Cree School Board was an anti-colonial act, but an anti-colonial act which has upheld the forms of the colonial education system" (p. 18). As a teacher working in a band controlled school I observed a strong Indigenous presence throughout the elementary sector (i.e. Cree teachers, language of instruction was Cree) until students entered grade three and an English as a Second Language Environment. The number of Cree teachers drops dramatically; English becomes the language of instruction, and a European worldview is much more obvious.

Pashagumskum (2005) further believes that "although we have our own school board, teach our own language and culture, we have adopted educational settings very much like those of the mainstream Canadian society" (p. 18). Essentially, the Cree School Board, like many Indigenous school boards in Canada, was created to operate under the position of "*Indian Control of Indian Education*", reinforcing Indigenous language and culture and empowering Indigenous people in the education of their children. Yet, the above shows that there are still concerns even with schools created and run by Indigenous peoples; the past colonization and assimilative practices of Indigenous peoples is still evident.

Colonialism in Peru

Spanish colonialism in Peru began in 1532 and lasted approximately 300 years before finally ending in 1821 (Figueroa & Barron, 2005). During this time, not all of Peru was equally 'conquered' by the Spanish; "Spanish colonial domination concentrated in the coastal area of Peru...Lima" (Figueroa & Barron, 2005, p. 6). This makes perfect sense as Lima was "founded by the Spaniards and made the centre of the colonial power" (Figueroa & Barron, 2005, p. 7).

Peru itself is a vast country divided into three regions; the coast, the Andes mountains, and the Amazon jungle region (Figueroa & Barron, 2005). The Spanish therefore concentrated their population and domination in the coastal region while the Andes and Amazon regions were "almost

untouched" (Figueroa & Barron, 2005, p. 7). Due to vast geography and the Spanish preference for coastal community development, the Spaniards "conquered but could not dominate culturally, especially linguistically (Figueroa & Barron, 2005, p. 6). At the start of the conquest "colonial language policy favored the maintenance of Quechua instead of Indigenous learning Spanish... because then they [the Spanish] could maintain their control and privileged social and economic position over the Indigenous" (Bjork, 2008, p. 16).

Even when the Spanish language was considered the only "official" language of Peru and "it was declared that Spanish should be compulsory and should be used to restrain Indigenous languages and by extension, Indigenous culture", Indigenous languages such as Aymara and Quechua survived (Bjork, 2008). This is perhaps due to the vast geography and the inability of the Spanish to completely conquer the Andean and Amazon regions (Figueroa & Barron, 2005). According to Garcia (2005) Quechua was not considered a language equal to Spanish until 1975 when law was passed following the Peru's Education Reform of 1972.

Indeed, Indigenous languages in Peru:

> have in the last quarter of the twentieth century experienced a reversal of their legal fortunes, after centuries of official prohibition and social denigration dating from the imposition of colonial rule by the Spaniards in the sixteenth century (Hornberger & Lopez, 1998, p. 207).

According to Chambers, (1999) "following the conquest, the crown legally divided the society into two separate parts: the Republic of Indians and the Republic of Spaniards" (p.45). This colonial rule obviously had a tremendous impact on Indigenous peoples in Peru. Under this colonial rule, racial categories were assigned to individuals based primarily on their phenotype, however, "appearances could be deceiving...once factors such as dress or customs were considered along with color, categories could become very ambiguous" (Chambers, 1999, p. 86).

Indigenous who chose to self identify as Indigenous and pay tribute to the King of Spain were offered a plot of land. As many Indigenous relied on agriculture for survival, paying tribute to the king was an attractive option as it provided those individuals with a means of providing for their family. Individuals were considered Spanish (also termed "white" or "blanco"), mestizo (mixed race) or Indigenous. Later other characteristics such as "dress, language, and occupation" were taken into consideration by Spanish officials (Chambers, 2003, p. 33). Some mestizo would self identify themselves as "white" if they had lighter skintones, dressed European and spoke Spanish. Denoting a race of only "white" had privileges that were not available to someone of mestizo or Indigenous identity (Chambers, 2003, p. 33).

Colonial rule in Peru lasted 300 years (1532-1821) until Peru finally gained independence from Spanish colonial rule in 1821 (Figueroa & Barron, 2005; Garcia, 2005; Chambers, 2003). Peru is still very much a racially divided country composed of Spanish and Indigenous peoples as the "transition from Spanish colonialism to republican independence...represented a move from "two republics" (Indian and Spanish) to "one divided" (Garcia, 2005, p. 64). Today Peru is a single republic yet the impact of Spanish colonialism is still felt; according to Figueroa & Barron (2005) current racial self identification data is considered unreliable in Peru and other hierarchical societies "because people tend to hide the stigma of being non-white" (p. 8).

Identity

Considering the tremendous impact of colonialism on Indigenous people throughout the world, it only makes sense that issues with identity will also surface. Keeffee (1995) believes "for most Aboriginal students, the issue of cultural identity is a major concern" (Keeffee, as cited in Groome, 1995, p. 15). Additionally, Purdie, Tripcony, Boulton-Lewis, Fanshawe and Gunstone (2000) when discussing Indigenous students in Australia have noted that "young Indigenous

people were not always clear in the knowledge of who they were and they struggled to understand their relationship to their Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander backgrounds" (p. 6).

There are numerous factors or contexts that contribute to the development of an individual's identity. By context or contextual factors I am inferring the importance of the circumstances forming the environment within which a group of individuals exists. One well-documented and obvious factor is the important role the family has on the development of a child's identity. Other specific factors such as the community, school and society may also play a contributing role in the creation of ones identity. Thus, although it has been noted that parents contribute to the creation of identity in their children, outside influences such as the "community and the larger society are of considerable importance to ethnic identity by either reinforcing or weakening the cultural context provided by the family" (Kvernmo & Heyerdahl, 1996, p. 453). I believe that the students attending the Villa Chachani Community School are surrounded by numerous factors that may be impacting their ability to create a strong sense of self.

According to Goossens & Phinney (1996) and Grotevant (1987) examining the roles that various contexts may have on the formation of identities has been largely ignored by researchers in the past and has only recently began to spark the interest of identity researchers. Indeed researchers such as Crockett & Crouter (1995), Baumeister & Muraven (1996), Nurmi, Poole & Kalakoski (1996), and Goossens & Phinney (1996) emphasize that the contexts within which an individual is surrounded contribute immensely to the development of an individual's identity. Furthermore, Crockett and Crouter (1995) believe that:

    the paths that young people take through adolescence and into young adulthood also

    depend on the nature of the environment in which they are developing. Key contexts such

    as the family, school, peer group, and local neighborhood help shape the actual (and

    perceived) opportunities available to developing adolescents as well as the risks to which

they are exposed. These settings are embedded, in turn, in broad social, cultural, and historical contexts that shape, in part, the resources and opportunities available (p. 8).

Although the study of contextual influence over adolescent identity is still developing, the work of Grotevant (1987), Kvernmo and Heyerdahl's (1996), and Nurmi et al. (1996) provide an excellent basis for further examination of this research area. I have specifically chosen to emphasize the research of Kvernmo & Heyerdahl (1996) and Nurmi et al. (1996) as their research has focused on the contextual development of identity within Indigenous youth.

Nurmi et al's. (1996) research examined how sociocultural opportunity and environmental contexts impacted the identities of youth (male and female ages 13-17) living in rural and urban environments in Australia and Finland. Specifically, the researchers were " interested in examining the extent to which identity development progresses differently among adolescents living in urban and rural environments" (p. 444). They also hypothesized that "the region where adolescents live, i.e. urban or rural environments, is a societal factor that may have an important impact on their identity development. It might be expected, for example, that these environments differ in the educational opportunities and career prospects they provide" (p. 444). They concluded that there were notable differences for youth living in rural and urban Australia.

Kvernmo & Heyerdahl's (1996) research in Norway with Indigenous Sami youth examined the contextual influences of both family and community in the creation of youth self-identification. Essentially, they were concerned that "adolescents embedded in the dominant Norwegian culture at the coast may lose their cultural identity because of the limited support from the ethnic group. The dominant identification may indicate assimilation, where the cultural identity is lost" (p.460). They discovered that differences in adolescent self-identification were evident and attributed the differences to the contextual influences of family (i.e. ethnicity of the parents and if the adolescent

was of mixed heritage) and to community composition variations (i.e. coastal Norwegian region or highland region).

From my own experience residing and teaching in the Indigenous community of Chisasibi, Quebec for three years, I noticed that the students were surrounded by a dominant European worldview and culture throughout the school, but it was especially noticeable to me when they left the Cree sector and transitioned into an English as a Second Language (ESL) environment in grade three. Pashagumskum (2005) when discussing the schools within the Cree School Board states "for the most part walking through one of our schools is like walking through many other schools in Canada" (p. 18). My own observations regarding student identity have been confirmed by other researchers and community members such as Gnarowski (2002) and Runnels (2007). Runnels (2007) goes on to further clarify the issues students face regarding how context (i.e. environmental, school, historical) impacts student identity. As she is directly discussing identity issues Indigenous students within the Cree School Board face, its relevance is worth citing at length as I also observed much of the same during the three years I taught in the community of Chisasibi. I also believe that the observations made regarding Indigenous student identity made by researchers in Canada may be evident among other ESL schools throughout the world. Runnells (2007), an educator and long-term resident of Chisasibi states:

> for young students in my community there is a strong link between culture and their identity as learners in the early grades. The first language, Cree, is the language of instruction for students from pre-kindergarten to grade three...their teachers are Cree people who know the community and, usually, the students' families. The images that surround them are familiar, most of the didactic materials have Cree text, and the culture is embedded in the curriculum. This changes dramatically when the students arrive in the third grade in that their instruction is predominantly in the second language (French or English according to

parents choice) with Cree language being taught as a subject a few times during the week...From this time onward the students encounter few Cree teachers...Students are immersed in a second language environment with few cultural markers and, for most, a stranger at the front of the room. They experience doubt and confusion: for the first time in their school careers they don't know what is going on. They are on unfamiliar ground (pp. 7-8).

While the above statement provides merely a glimpse, from a single perspective, it does provide evidence of the importance of context when considering identity.

The Peruvian Education System

Historically, the education system in Peru has undergone numerous difficulties as a result of the colonial power of the Spanish. According to Anderson and Wood, (1955) "Peru and other Spanish colonies suffered from a policy of isolation imposed by the government of Spain...during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, Peru was kept in comparative ignorance of educational developments and doctrines that arose and declined in Europe" (p. 162). Despite this isolation from the larger European education trends, the implication of Spanish domination over the education of all Peruvian peoples meant exactly that; domination. After all, education was the "principal mechanism through which "Indians" were to be transformed into citizens" (Garcia, 2005, p. 63). Transforming Indigenous peoples into citizens required Spanish control over education; the European school prevailed and Indigenous students were required to learn in Spanish instead of their own Indigenous language as "Spanish was compulsory" (Bjork, 2008, p. 16). Indeed, although in the early 1940s...35% of the population spoke only Quechua or Aymara, the two main Indian languages...Spanish was the language of the schools" (King & Bellew, 1989, p. 2). Broadfoot (1997) also raises concern over the overwhelming domination of a European system of schooling when she states that one must consider the:

effects of thoughtless imposition of the assumptions and practices of other cultures has had on these societies. Such impositions include religion, and work practices, farming methods and political institutions that colonial powers have often sought to introduce in the light of their successful development in their own countries. Perhaps the most pervasive and the most powerful of these cultural exports is that of education. Virtually every country in the world now has an education system designed to provide schooling along the lines of that developed in Western Europe in recent centuries (p. xii).

Prior to colonial rule Quechua was the official language of Peru, however other Indigenous languages could be spoken and bilingualism was not prohibited (Garcia, 2004). This was quite the opposite during the Spanish colonial rule; in education, the use of Indigenous languages was prohibited from 1780s until the 1940s (Bjork, 2008). The implication of years of colonial rule by the Spanish has meant that even today, formal education is associated only with Spanish and Indigenous languages such as Quechua are of a lower status despite now "officially" having the same status as Spanish (Garcia, 2004; Niño-Murcia, 2003; Hornberger, 1988).

Peru's Revolution in the late 1960s caused a huge educational change that ultimately resulted in the 1972 Educational Reform. According to Hornberger (1988):

Peru's 1972 Education Reform had the intention of creating an educational system that would build up the Peruvian nation along humanistic, democratic, and nationalistic lines; and proposed a 'flexible and diversified education that would take into account the social and regional variety of the nation without giving privilege to any particular member, but with a broad spirit of justice (Hornberger and Lopez, 1998, p. 210).

Additionally, under this new Reform a National Bilingual Education policy (PNEB) was created. Most importantly, this lengthy document highlighted that students should be taught in Spanish or the vernacular language (i.e. Quechua), and additionally, if Spanish is the students' first language

the vernacular language should be taught as a second language and that at the primary level a foreign language may also be taught as the second language (Hornberger, 1988).

Canada also faced similar educational changes during this time period as Indigenous peoples began to revolt against the colonizing effects of a European educational system. Following the White Paper of 1969 that sought to equalize Indigenous peoples through the abolishment of the Indian Act and the termination of treaties and Indian status, Indigenous chiefs united together to show the government of Canada that the White Paper's suggested changes were not welcomed. This united front against the Canadian government produced a response to the government's White Paper that is referred to as the Red Paper of 1970. The Red Paper rejected all the changes proposed by the Canadian government. Also unveiled during this time period was 'Indian Control of Indian Education' by the National Indian Brotherhood/Assembly of First Nations in 1972. Subsequent to this policy framework, many highly successful Indigenous school boards were formed. The Cree School Board, formed in 1978 under the James Bay Northern Quebec Agreement is just one Canadian example of 'Indian Control of Indian Education'.

Meanwhile in Peru, emerging from the Reform and Bilingual Policy of the 1970s was the Puno Experimental Bilingual Education Project (Hornberger & Lopez, 1998, p. 211). The project ran from the late 1970s until 1988 (Garcia, 2004, p. 352). This experimental project sought to establish a multilingual approach to education in test schools (Spanish, Quechua and Aymara). According to Hornberger and Lopez (1998) the effects of this project were hoped to be "the development of the indigenous languages, cultural integration, the overcoming of social discrimination, reduction of illiteracy, and better use of educational opportunities (p. 218). By the 1980s a change in government and financial difficulties lead the way to the eventual demise of the project in 1990. This left the public without the resources, personnel, or expertise to carry on the project (Hornberger and Lopez, 1998).

Garcia (2004) considers the entire project a failure despite the good that Hornberger and Lopez (1998) emphasize emerged from the project. Hornberger's analysis proved an increase in academic levels, greater cultural awareness, increases in Indigenous language use in the schools and public areas as well as the creation of written Indigenous texts. Recently, there has been a recommitment by the government to bilingual education; after dismantling the Bilingual Education Directorate in 1988, the Ministry of Education re-established a new Bilingual Education Unit in 1996 (Hornberger & Lopez, 1998). Additionally, private organizations have continued utilizing the Puno Experimental Bilingual Education Project as a model and several other bilingual education projects have emerged.

Under the Education Reform and subsequent policies regarding education, "foreign language instruction is mandatory in the national official curriculum" (Niño-Murcia, 2003, p. 127). As foreign languages may be taught as the second language instead of an Indigenous language, schools that offer English are highly sought after. Parents must therefore be willing to pay for their child to receive quality ESL instruction. According to Niño-Murcia (2003) "in both public and private schools, English gets more attention than any other foreign language...English has become an important status marker and is perceived as the most useful linguistic resource (p. 127). Researchers such as Dewey (2006) and Niño-Murcia (2003) also believe that by gaining English language skills individuals gain better employment opportunities and social mobility. Yet, in Peru, "English has nonetheless become a symbol for success, prosperity, technological ability, progress, and economic growth...have-not Peruvians possess few English skills as they possess few dollars" (p. 138). Niño-Murcia (2003) concludes, "English is currently the most respected and desired foreign language in Peru and is seen as intrinsically powerful" (p. 138).

Indeed, Gugemberger conducted a study in a shanty town in Arequipa which provided evidence that half of the parents questioned would, if given the opportunity and choice, choose to

have their children educated in English over any other language (as cited by Niño-Murcia, 2003).

These views are hardly surprising given the vast increase in the globalization of English:

> the world of large scale commerce, industry, technology, and banking, like the world of
> certain human sciences and professions, is an international world and it is linguistically
> dominated by English everywhere, regardless of how well established and well-protected
> local cultures, languages, and identities may otherwise be (Fishman as cited by
> Bamgbose, 2001, p. 357).

The domination of European languages in Peru should not be underestimated. Even with

education policies promoting Indigenous language, English and Spanish continue to impact as

Niño-Murcia (2003) states: "Quechua is to Spanish as Spanish is to English, where in each case

the latter is the more prestigious" (p. 126). Students at the Villa Chachani Community School face

many everyday obstacles to attend this small ESL school. Their first language is Spanish and

some of the students may come from a home where an Indigenous language is spoken. My

research study will therefore examine the possible issues students may have with their identity

provided all of the contexts surrounding them.

Impact of the Developing World on Children's Education in Peru

According to Hornberger (1988) "formal education in Peru has been directly linked to the

sociocultural stratification of Peruvian society" (p. 22). Additionally, studies conducted by the

Peruvian governments in 1963 and 1968 consistently discuss the "inequitable access to education"

(Haddad, 1994, p. 40). This is despite the fact that under the 1921 constitution education in Peru is

"free and compulsory for everyone, without restriction of race or creed" (Anderson & Wood, 1955,

p. 162). Indeed Avelos (1992) concludes that many in Latin America truly believe that "the problem

of universal access to primary education is under control" (p. 420). Even after the Education

Reform of the 1970s which was meant to "enable the marginalized majority of Peruvians to

overcome their marginalization and oppression and participate fully in the new just society" equal access still does not exist (Hornberger, 1988, p. 24).

During the 1950s and 1960s Peruvian governments sought to expand education and redistribute income, as education was believed to be "the key to economic development and income redistribution...and extend access to previously excluded groups" (King & Bellew, 1989). Even with the expansion and investment in education, not all students in Peru benefit. This is a point that Patrinos and Psacharopoulos (1997) emphasize when they state that "education is ostensibly free in Peru, [but] there are still costs to the family, especially in terms of foregone earnings, but also for outlays on school uniforms and utensils" (pp. 390-391). Many children in both rural and urban areas must work to provide for their families (Patrinos & Psacharopoulos, 1997). Obviously, although the Peruvian education system is organized into morning, afternoon and evening shifts, those children working will not benefit as their families simply cannot afford the other associated costs of school (Patrinos & Psacharopoulos, 1997).

The Educational Reform continued to see Peru invest and build their education system. Today, over 30 years later Peru has managed to "achieve a mass education system almost of a developed country standard in terms of coverage" (Bjork, 2008, p.8). Yet despite this achievement, there are still students not able to access the educational system, and some students able to only access an educational system run by volunteers and donations which caters to them by providing an education that actually is at no cost and accepts students 'as they are' and when they are able (i.e not working). Ultimately Hornberger (1988) sums up how belief and reality are separate and as of yet the two have yet to meet as:

> although only a small percentage attains social advancement through formal education, a widespread belief among the population is that all may attain it. Free public education is perceived as a means of escape from a situation of exploitation and dominance (p. 22).

Literature Summary

In summary, the experience and observations I made while teaching Indigenous students in Chisasibi (Quebec, Canada) lead me to question if students in other parts of the world (such as Peru) also face identity issues. After examining the relevant literature I believe that students in Peru, despite some contextual differences, may also be facing identity issues which were worth exploring further and comparing to my (and other noted researchers) impressions of Indigenous students in Canada. Additionally, I am providing a summary (Table 1) that illustrates the similarities and differences I made between Chisasibi and Arequipa.

Table 1.

Canada and Peru Context Comparison

Chisasibi	Arequipa (Villa Chachani Community School Specifically)	Similar	Different
Colonization	Colonization	√	
Equalization of all people (i.e. White Paper of 1972 and subsequent band controlled school boards)	"Equalization" of all people through Reform (started in the 1970's)	√	
Languages: Cree/French/English *Indigenous languages devalued*	Languages: Quechua/Aymara/Spanish *other Indigenous languages may be possible* *Indigenous languages devalued*	√	
Heritage: Cree with some French and English	Heritage: Indigenous, Mestizo, Spanish		√
Self governing bands	Government/shanty town community		√
Poverty *to a much less degree*	Poverty	√	
Accessible schooling	Inaccessible schooling		√
Social economic status: Low	Social economic status: Low	√	
Remote isolated community	Shanty town along a large urban city		√
Surrounded by western dominated society/culture (i.e. school)	Surrounded by western dominated society/culture (i.e. school)	√	

CHAPTER THREE

The Research Process

Research Phases

This research project, like every research project came with some common research phases that I have attempted to break down for the reader in Table 2. My initial research proposal included a total of eight weeks of field research. Like many typical novice researchers, I underestimated the amount of time for initial phases such as editing, allowing sufficient time for supervisor and committee feedback, as well as the number of weeks it would take for ethics approval. In total, my research time was scaled back to only six weeks rather than the initial eight weeks I had intended to be in the field.

I arrived in Arequipa on November 27th 2008 and stayed to complete my field research until January 8th 2009. This is less time than I would have liked to have spent; I also believe the shorter research time in combination with the holiday season greatly impacted the number of interviews I was able to successfully complete. Despite the challenges, I was able to complete four of the eight interviews I originally proposed to conduct.

During the six weeks I was in Arequipa I also began taking intensive Spanish lessons, two hours a day for a total of three weeks. I intended to complete Spanish lessons throughout the length of my six weeks, however, I found taking Spanish lessons in the morning and teaching and observing at the school in the afternoon left me with no time to conduct my interviews. As a result I felt I was threatening the successful completion of my research and I made the decision to forgo Spanish lessons. In addition to my daily observations of the students at the Villa Chachani Community School, I specifically made a point of daily documenting my observations of local markets, people and other events in order to make comparison between the city of Arequipa and

that in the shanty town of Flora Tristan. During this time I also began interviews and transcribing

the interviews.

Table 2.

Research Phases

Date	Phase of Research
July- September 2008	- Establish contact with those in charge of the community school - Request for email support and approval for research from the coordinators of the Villa Chachani Community School - Literature research - Begin to write proposal/rewrites/editing - Write ethics request - Confirmed visa requirements for Peru (No prior application was required for Canadian citizens)
October- November 2008	- Submitted ethics request at the end of October, approval took 4 weeks to complete - Planned trip details (i.e. airfare, immunizations, travel and medical insurance) - Maintained contact with Traveller Not Tourist
November 27th 2008-January 8th 2009	- Research in Arequipa, Peru - Individual Spanish lessons for 3 weeks, 2 hours daily - Field notes; participant observation in community school daily for the duration of my time in Arequipa, a total of 6 weeks - Interviews with relevant individuals (i.e. coordinators, volunteers, city residents) - Experienced Peruvian culture daily - Began interview transcriptions and searching for possible themes for the coding of data
January 2009	- Finished transcribing interviews - Final analysis and coding of data.
February-March 2009	- Final write-up - Reviewed by supervisor and thesis committee - Sent to internal/external examiner for review

Entry/Access

I find myself bombarded by questions from inquisitive individuals concerning my research, and in this section I will do my utmost to provide the details to the questions I am most often asked. Frequently, I find I am asked a number of "How and Why" questions regarding my research; "Why Peru?", "Why Arequipa?", "Why **this** school?", "How did you find and establish contact?" I sometimes find these questions difficult to answer fully because I never initially planned on conducting international research in an unfamiliar community. In fact, I have openly admitted that, had it not fallen through, my original research proposal would have been based in Canada, in a community with which I was familiar. With this stated, I am someone who relies heavily on my gut feelings, believing that everything will eventually fall into place the way it was meant to. My first project was just never meant to be and its demise opened the doors to new opportunities in Arequipa, Peru.

Thus, my journey to Arequipa never began as a "plan". Initially, as I was dealing with the demise of my first thesis proposal in June 2008, I was considering quitting the Masters program and found myself surveying the Internet for available international job opportunities for teachers as a means of transition. Eventually I came across a site run by Traveller Not Tourist, looking for volunteer teachers to teach English at their school in Arequipa, Peru. Although I was immediately drawn into the Internet site and was intrigued by the school, I was never really looking for a research opportunity I could complete in Peru, nor did I know at the time that I would complete my research in Arequipa and that the focus of it would be on the Chachani School. It just sort of happened. Over the course of June and July 2008 I began corresponding with the Traveller Not Tourist organizers regarding the Villa Chachani Community School, and I was eventually given permission via email in July 2008 to conduct my research study.

As a result, my entry to Arequipa, Peru and the Villa Chachani Community School was solely achieved through e-mail correspondence with the school organizers. I had never personally met them, I did not know anyone who had previously volunteered, nor had I ever traveled to Peru before. The agreement between the school organizers and myself up to this point was not "official" and could have easily fallen through even with consistent contact over the months prior to my arrival in Arequipa. The actual consent form was not signed until I arrived in Arequipa on November 27th 2008. As I stated previously, I had never been to Peru prior to this research endeavour, nor had I visited the city of Arequipa or the Flora Tristan area where the Villa Chachani Community School is located. Prior to my visit, my education regarding Peru was obviously based solely on the media; books, television and the Internet.

Upon reflection, I do not believe that I would immediately recommend any novice researcher to undertake research in an entirely new country. In fact, I now think it was a very risky venture that could have resulted in the sacrifice of my degree. I basically put my trust in the people running the organization; they were being truthful, there was indeed a school, and I would not end up stranded in an unknown country. However, with the above cautions noted, my experience was absolutely wonderful and the knowledge and research experience I have gained is immeasurable. If you are interested or considering international research, please be cautious, but don't be overly cautious. Let your heart and gut feelings guide you in the right direction.

Data Collection Process

I began my field research with three possible pre-determined themes integral to the examination of my research question; ESL school related, social milieu and family. During the first week of my research I began making field notes only on these three pre-determined themes. I quickly became frustrated with this method and sensed that I needed a better plan. It became very obvious to me that I was taking notes only on these three initial categories rather than directly on

the observations I made that day. In fact, it was apparent that including daily observations might well bring to light other themes more important than those initially chosen. I also came to strongly believe that a continuation of this practice might actually perpetuate a bias of information, as I, the researcher, utilizing this practice would not allow all possible themes to emerge. As a result, I discontinued the practice of searching for only pre-determined theme related material, choosing instead to allow myself the freedom of researching without the strictures of specific pre-determined themes.

My entire field notes from the participant observation data of the school, my time in Arequipa, and the interview transcripts, were coded into categories and eventually into major themes after completing my field research and subsequent to my return to Canada. This technique coincides with Bogdan and Biklen's (2003) suggestion to develop a coding system while you begin to read and re-read your data picking out "certain words, phrases, patterns of behaviour, subjects way of thinking, and events..." (p. 173). Included in the data analysis were my own field notes of my participant observation at the Villa Chachani Community School (five days a week for a total of two hours) and noteworthy observations of Arequipa, and the transcripts of the interviews I conducted.

Analysis and Interpretation by the Researcher

As I previously noted I am of European ancestry, thus my interpretation is through the gaze of a European female from Canada, a country of vast difference from that of Peru. I am not Indigenous, I am not fluent in the Spanish language nor am I from the community of Flora Tristan where my research is centred. My upbringing and life in Canada is quite different from the students attending the Villa Chachani Community School. For instance, although I never had what I believe to be an overabundance as a child growing up, from the worldview of a Peruvian living in the Flora Tristan community I have had an overabundance in many facets; water, electricity, food,

health care, shelter and sanitation. Thus although my interpretation and analysis of the data collected during this research study is from that of a European, it is from the point of view of a European who has had unique cultural experiences with Indigenous communities in the past, and is heavily reliant on the interviews and conversations conducted with individuals other than the Villa Chachani Community School students.

I take my role as a researcher very seriously. For I am solely responsible for ensuring my study is valid and accurately represents both what individuals expressed during conversations or interviews and what I observed. Due to the amount of data I had collected, I found making decisions regarding what information to include in this thesis difficult; however, I also knew that I obviously could not include every part of each interview. Thus although I made the final decision on which pieces to include in this thesis I must emphasize that the findings were the perspectives and opinions of more than myself as a researcher, and I made every effort to ensure I accurately represented what the participant was expressing during our interview. I personally spent hours transcribing each interview; listening to section upon section, time and time again. I found this extremely beneficial as it allowed me to remember the conversation; the individual, the time, the place, the intonation and the expression.

Validity

As a qualitative researcher I was concerned with establishing a valid ethnographic study. Essentially, validity can be defined as "how accurately the account represents participants' realities of the social phenomena and is credible to them" (Creswell & Miller, 2000, pp.124-125). In order to combat validity concerns, I incorporated several of the strategies Creswell and Miller (2000) suggest qualitative researchers utilize; triangulation, researcher reflexivity and thick description. According to Creswell and Miller (2000) "triangulation is a validity procedure where researchers

search for convergence among multiple and different sources of information to form themes or categories in a study" (p. 126).

For this study, triangulation was achieved through my own participant field notes, literature review, and taped interviews with individuals from a variety of categories such as volunteer teachers, school coordinators and community members. While I was unable to establish any in-depth interviews with parents, I was able to achieve several informal group discussions with the mothers of very young children attending the school. Lasting only a few minutes, these discussions were not recorded and were very brief, as the mothers were dropping their young children off at the school, often for the first time. On all but one occasion there was a fluent Spanish speaking volunteer teacher present so I believe miscommunication between the parent and myself was minimal. These were spur of the moment conversations were not recorded and therefore I am forced to rely solely on my own field notes and my use of the data from these conversations is minimal. I only make note of it because I believe it is important to emphasize the fact that interaction between parents and myself (and other volunteers) did occur; however, it was often with the parents of very young children. These were not with the Villa Chachani Community School youth.

It is pertinent to note the reason I never carried my digital voice recorder with me at all times for those "spur of the moment" interviews that could surface. In Arequipa theft and personal safety is a major concern. Upon my arrival I was immediately provided information by locals to ensure I would be safe during my stay in Arequipa; it is, after all, very different from even the largest city in Canada. Much of the advice I took to heart after having my camera stolen from my pocket during my first few days in Arequipa; I never carried a purse or bag with me, I didn't walk anywhere after dusk, I was always alert on public transit, I only took good taxi companies where the driver had their identification displayed, I carried only a minimal amount of money with me in

various sections of my clothing and never took anything that would draw attention like a cell phone or voice recorder. Needless to say, I was wary of unnecessarily traveling with my digital recorder due to the important information it contained and I made the decision not to travel with my voice recorder. Had it been lost or stolen all of my data would have been permanently gone and I could not take that risk. Having said this, I made a point of taking public transit and traveling to local areas away from the tourist centre, despite recommendations regarding safety. During my six weeks I never felt unsafe during my investigations. In fact, locals were intrigued by me and would begin conversations. To me, this was an important aspect of my research, to experience life away from the "tourist" centre.

By not successfully interviewing a parent I do not mean to imply that the parents do not care or have absolutely no interest in their children's education. I only mean that during the time I was in Arequipa I was not able to conduct an in-depth interview with the parent of a youth attending the Villa Chachani Community School. I solely take this on myself as a novice researcher; I was inexperienced and I believe that I underestimated how long it would take to actually establish a rapport and make the contact necessary for more community interviews than I achieved.

To compensate for this I believe that my own thick description and "redundancy of data gathering" as Stake (2005) suggests (p. 454) and utilizing the details from the interviews I did conduct allow me to avoid misrepresentation and establish validity.

I stayed in Arequipa for a total of six weeks. I was a volunteer teacher at the Villa Chachani Community School and partook in any community activities that occurred during my time in Arequipa. One such activity was the annual school Christmas party, which is a huge party for any children in the Flora Tristan community. Creswell and Miller (2000) also suggest prolonged engagement as another method of establishing validity; however, I do not feel comfortable stating that a six week stay is "prolonged", and therefore I have not utilizing the length of time I am

devoted to this project to establish validity. I believe the length of time I spent devoted to my fieldwork establishes validity on a more personal level for myself as I know that I have devoted the maximum amount of time I could, provided my own thesis timeframe. Additionally, according to Hammersley, (2006) shorter ethnographic fieldwork has become much more common for a variety of reasons, such as school and financial reasons, and field work "is, at best, likely to last months rather than years" (p. 5).

Assumptions

This research study is based on numerous assumptions I made regarding the education of students in the Villa Chachani Community School. My assumptions for this study were based primarily on my own worldview. I felt that accurately addressing these assumptions was important for myself as a researcher, for my observations, interpretation and subsequent analysis would obviously be through the gaze of a European. Accordingly, I entered this study with four initial assumptions.

1. It was my belief that the parents and or grandparents of Indigenous students may speak another first language that has not been passed down to their children as Bullen (1993) noted during her research study.

2. Based on the literature I had read such as Bullen (1993) and Niño-Murcia (2003), I was led to believe that the children attending the school had little desire to learn their parent's first language and culture, preferring to shed this identity in order to become Arequipian (Spanish).

3. I assumed that the school is created and run in the best interest of the community and the students and that there are caring, responsible parents acting with the best interest of their children at heart.

4. Based on my knowledge, experience and observation of the identity issues faced by students in Chisasibi, and the similarities between Peru and Canada noted previously, I assumed that students in Peru might also be facing identity issues.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Research Design

Research Protocol

I conducted this study in the city of Arequipa, the second largest city in Peru. This was an ethnographic case study that focused on the identities of students living within Flora Tristan and attending the Villa Chachani Community School. I now consider this a huge undertaking for a novice researcher such as myself. Smith (2007) would term me a "fledgling school ethnographer" (p. 159). By acknowledging my research inexperience I took the advice of other scholars such as Bogdan and Biklen (2003) seriously. They suggest novice researchers begin with a focused case study as "they are easier to accomplish than multisite or multisubject" (p. 54) and after completing a single site study, I believe this advice to be very useful. Additionally, van Lier (2005) also suggests that case study research is a good starting point for researchers being "introduced to the research community" (p. 198).

This research endeavour presented me with many obstacles and challenges along the way. Some of which were obvious to me from the beginning, such as the impact of my own lack of Spanish fluency, and others, such as the effect the holiday season would have on my study, emerged while I was completing my research. Despite all of the obstacles I faced, it is my belief that this research project was the appropriate research project for me at the time in which it occurred and that sufficient detailed data were gathered to answer my research questions.

I completed this study utilizing the research protocol I believed to be most beneficial to the endeavour. I feel my role as an ethnographer has been guided by Hornberger's (1988) ideas on a southern Peruvian Quechua case. Thus I was to "participate with the community without judging it, and to be part of the community without forgetting to observe it" (p. 4). My research design echoed

my personal beliefs regarding how research should be conducted. I never wanted to impose myself on the community. Most importantly, I believed that my research necessitated "respecting community norms, identities, and privacies [and] required the shedding of my own norms, identities and privacies to the greatest degree possible" (Hornberger, 1988, p. 5).

As I was utilizing participant observation and interviews, I believed that it was important for myself as a researcher to establish a rapport and be seen in the community and school (Hornberger, 1988, p. 8). This was challenging to say the least given my short research time, the holiday season which closed down the school for several days and the fact that I was not living anywhere close to the Flora Tristan community. In fact, because the Flora Tristan community is situated outside of the main city of Arequipa, I completed a daily one hour bus ride both ways to arrive there. So for two hours a day I was one of seventy people often standing in a crammed bus designed for approximately fifty people. The buses, often termed micros, can vary in size from very small VW vans to larger, old school buses. Catching the bus is achieved by making eye contact with the driver and raising your hand out, similar to hitch hiking. If it is not already too full the conductor, with a hand gesture, shoos you in. You need to make sure to hold tightly to the metal bar above your head as empty seats are rare, and the driver takes off and stops quickly. Music is often playing on the radio; different every time, but predominately popular Peruvian or American pop music. As a passenger, the drive can be a little scary at times; I was in three minor "accidents" and cannot remember the number of times in the six weeks I was in Arequipa, that the bus was pulled over by the police. I assume that because these were minor accidents and infringements, nothing major ever seemed to surface as a result; the bus driver, after a discussion with the other driver if an accident has occurred, or with the police officer if they were pulled over, simply gets back on the bus and drives on.

As difficult as it may be to believe, I actually became accustomed to the long bus ride, and the differing rules of the road. I began to look forward to the time it gave me to examine much of the city of Arequipa as we drove, and I appreciated the opportunity to sometimes talk with locals in my Spanglish, when I happened to get a seat. This commute gave me first-hand experience with Peruvian locals and culture. I made the best of the situation that was given to me; however, I do believe that my observation time was sacrificed, as was my ability to conduct more interviews.

Considering the above, it was critical for me to admit and address the assumptions I brought with me to the community of Chachani and to Arequipa, Peru. Creswell and Miller (2000) recommend researchers openly acknowledge their assumptions in their studies through researcher reflexivity, "a process whereby researchers report on personal beliefs, values, and biases that may shape their inquiry" (p. 127). I utilized research reflexivity in order to further validate my research study.

Methodology

As stated above, this was an ethnographic research study. For the purposes of this work I am utilizing Hammersley's (2006) definition of ethnography as:

> a form of social and educational research that emphasizes the importance of studying first hand what people do and say in particular contexts. This usually involves fairly lengthy contact, through participant observation, in relevant settings, and/or through relatively open-ended interviews designed to understand people's perspectives, perhaps complemented by the study of various sorts of documents-official, publicly available or personal (p. 4).

My use of an ethnographic methodology is not without issues; Bogdan and Biklen (2003) have noted that most "recently educational researchers have used the term ethnography to refer to any qualitative study" (p. 29). Other researchers such as Fetterman (1982), Hammersley (2006),

and Watson-Gegeo (1988) are also apprehensive over how researchers misrepresent their research as ethnographic when, in fact, the research is missing what Fetterman (1982) defines as either "ethnographic techniques" or the "cultural perspective" required for a credible ethnography (p. 3). I define my study as ethnographic not simply as a qualitative generic term, but rather, because it is genuinely ethnographic. First and foremost, I believe this methodology was the best complement for my research endeavour and would provide me with the rich data necessary to answer my research questions. Secondly, although I am an educational researcher, I have a strong background in Anthropology, a discipline that has historically formed the building blocks for ethnographic research (Hammersley, 2006; Palys, 1997; Watson-Gegeo, 1988). I firmly believe that my education and experience in Anthropology provided me with the necessary skills to deal with the many unforeseen challenges I faced and gave me the confidence to complete a valid ethnographic research study.

I had experienced similar cultural and language challenges before although while in Canada my feelings and reactions differed. My first major solo cultural challenge occurred when I left the comfort of my home community of Thunder Bay in 2005 to undertake a teaching assignment in Chisasibi, Quebec; a community I called home for close to three years. When I entered this new community I knew no one, had no Cree language or culture exposure, and yet by developing relationships I was able to pick up some of the language, and was also welcomed into family and community cultural events. I believe that my past experience with a different culture was beneficial to my research study, however, I also believe that even given my Anthropology background, I was not fully prepared for this research. There really is no way to fully prepare oneself for cultural research in a new country.

Ethnography itself branches off into many different types, I also further define my ethnographic study as being an *intrinsic ethnographic case study,* which I will define for the reader.

Bogdan and Biklen (2003) provide a simple definition of case study research, defining it as "a detailed examination of one setting, or a single subject, a single depository of documents, or one particular event" (p. 54). I have also stated this case study is intrinsic, by this I would like to iterate that the purpose of this study was:

> not to come to understand some abstract construct of generic
>
> phenomenon...the purpose is not theory building—though at other
>
> times the researcher may do just that. Study is undertaken because of an
>
> intrinsic interest [of the researcher] (Stake, 2005, p. 445).

Methods

In order to accomplish this ethnographic case study, I utilized the methods considered essential by many ethnographic educational researchers: participant observation, extensive field notes and individual interviews. Essentially I utilized these methods to achieve a holistic view, which allowed me to see "the complete picture". According to Fife (1997) this holistic view is considered critical as "we cannot really understand what a particular school is about unless we are also able to interpret something about the kind of role it plays in education as a whole and the way a specific educational system has been constructed" (p. 89).

Undertaking participant observation as one of my research methods presents some issues as, prior to starting their observations, researchers bring to a given situation preconceived thoughts and ideas of what they intend to observe (Watson-Gegeo, 1988). I have already stated that I also brought pre-established themes with me, however, after recognizing this as an error I quickly readjusted my methods to avoid perpetuating this issue and to maintain the validity of my research. Considering that "any gaze is always filtered through the lenses of language, gender, social class, race and ethnicity, there are no objective observations, only observations socially situated in the

worlds of the observer and the observed", (Denzin and Lincoln, as cited in Palys, 1997, p.217) I believe I made the best decision possible.

I began my field research by first augmenting my Spanish language capabilities with an intensive three week Spanish course on site in Arequipa. Establishing my presence in the community and school was also essential, thus daily participant observation was started and completed for two and a half hours (school days Monday to Friday 3:30-6:00) over the course of my six weeks in Arequipa. I specifically observed the students within their ESL school environment in order to examine how this atmosphere may possibly impact the students' expression of their identities.

During this time I also complemented my participant observation with interviews specifically regarding student identity. While the interviews were audiotaped and conducted in English, I did however, offer to provide a Spanish translator if the participant felt more comfortable communicating in Spanish. I developed an interview guide (Appendix A) to utilize during the discussions, however I was never strict about utilizing only the questions in the guide and allowed the participants the freedom to deviate from the questions I asked if desired. There can be a restrictive awkwardness in interviews, thus I felt it was important to gain the trust of the participant and hold more of a conversation rather than a rigid interview. This practice allows the participant the opportunity to provide additional information or experiences, thereby broadening my insight.

My goal was to interview a total of eight individuals (two from each; school representatives, volunteers, parents, and community members) regarding their opinions about student identity issues. As I stated previously, considering my short time frame, the in-depth interviews I was able to conduct were a worthy accomplishment.

Although I have outlined all of the methods utilized throughout this research process, I also firmly believe that ethnography is about more than simply methods. Ultimately, the critical

component in ethnography is not the methods but rather, the thick description created by the

researcher (van Manen,1997; Geertz, 1973). Geertz (1973) further explains that:

> although methods are important they do not necessarily ensure an ethnography that
>
> captures the reader, for ethnography is not a matter of methods. From
>
> one point of view, that of the textbook, doing ethnography is establishing rapport, selecting
>
> informants, transcribing texts, taking genealogies, mapping fields, keeping a diary, and so
>
> on. But it is not these things, techniques and received procedures that define the
>
> enterprise. What defines it is the kind of intellectual effort it is: an elaborate venture in, to
>
> borrow a notion from Gilbert Ryle, "thick description" (p. 6).

Thick description, as defined by Creswell and Miller (2000) infers "describing the setting,

the participants and the themes of a qualitative study in rich detail" (p. 128). My goal for this

ethnographic study was therefore to provide the reader with the thick description necessary to draw

the reader in, making them feel as though "they have experienced, or could experience, the events

being described in a study" (Creswell and Miller, 2000, p. 129).

Setting

This research study took place in the shantytown community of Flora Tristan, which is

located along the outer edge of the city of Arequipa, Peru. Arequipa, located in Southern Peru, is a

large city, with an estimated population of 28 million in 2006 (The World Bank, 2007). I would

describe the climate in Arequipa as moderate. It was cool in the morning and evening and warm

enough for a tank top and shorts during the day. There is an obvious weather difference between

the main city of Arequipa and Flora Tristan where the Villa Chachani Community School is located.

Flora Tristan is at a higher altitude, near the base of a mountain. This necessitated a strategic

layering system; a tank top for the long bus ride would almost immediately be covered with a

hoodie or jacket upon stepping off the bus. Although I visited during the "rainy" season, actual rain was sparse with only a sprinkling appearing on two or three days.

Historically, Arequipa has been given the name of "The White City" which according to Chambers (2003) is "a racial double entendre building upon its architecture of the white volcanic stone as well as the color of its Hispanic inhabitants" (p. 35). The 1792 census breakdown of Arequipa's population provides evidence of the historically high proportion of non-Indigenous individuals residing in Arequipa, which is in stark contrast to the remainder of Peru where the majority of the population, around 49%, is Indigenous (Haddad, 1994). This 1792 census lists 66% of the population as Spanish and only 6% of the population Indigenous and the remainder being either Mestizo (European and Indigenous) or Black (Chambers, 2003). Not much has changed racially in Arequipa since this time; Arequipa is still referred to as "The White City"; racial divisions and a dislike of those living in shantytowns (stereotyped to be Indigenous migrants) are prominently expressed throughout the city. It has been argued by Chambers (2003) that the citizens of Arequipa have traditionally promoted the whitening of their city to gain acceptance from the Spanish and European world. According to Bullen (1993):

the Arequipans pride themselves on their Spanish descent and boast the 'whiteness' of their city, manifest not only in the white volcanic rock (sillar) of the colonial architecture which characterizes Arequipa, but also in the predominance of blancos, the white descendents of European settlers who form Arequipa's elite...the Arequipan is depicted as fully human: civilized, intelligent, hard-working, ambitious, progressive and sociable whilst the stereotype of the Indian is the antithesis: savage, brutish, lazy, stubborn, backward and unsocial and moreover given to violence, drunkenness and delinquency (p. 235).

Situated within Flora Tristan exists a small community classroom named Villa Chachani. Previously it was a single room school educating up to 50 students at a time, that due to increasing student numbers, is currently under development to become a three classroom community school. Walking through the classroom doors of the Villa Chachani School you will notice a room approximately 16 feet by 16 feet. The floor is uneven and constructed of a cracked cement type material that collects the dirt from outside. Four small wooden primary school tables with six chairs surrounding each are situated near the middle of the classroom with just enough space to walk around the edges and down the middle. Another plastic table, similar to those sold for outdoor use is also located along the back wall of the classroom along with five or six extra plastic chairs. There are two bookshelves; one for teaching resources and school supplies such as pencils, pens and a few story books, the other for outdoor equipment such as balls and skipping ropes. Some teaching resources such as lesson ideas are also located on a bookshelf approximately one hour away at the residence where many of the volunteer teachers choose to reside in Arequipa. Additionally, Internet resources can be utilized, however, this can be difficult; volunteer teachers must first go to an Internet café to locate the material, print a single copy, and then go to a photocopy shop to get the remainder of the photocopies made for the class. At the front of the classroom you will notice a white board, while murals, decorations and posters adorn the walls. The mission of the current Villa Chachani classroom and the future four-room school in Flora Tristan is:

> to improve the lives of the children there by spending quality time with them, keeping them off the streets and providing them with a stimulating environment and resources which they can utilize to improve their motor skills, concentration, confidence and social skills (Traveller Not Tourist, 2008).

The individuals residing in this community lack many of the basic necessities such as electricity, proper sanitation and waste disposal. Also impeding student education is the "high rate of domestic abuse, absent parents (particularly fathers), malnutrition, unemployment, child labour and, obviously, poverty" (Traveller Not Tourist, 2008).

Sample

This ethnographic case study was based on participant observation including detailed field notes from within the community classroom. I specifically observed the students within their ESL school environment in order to examine how this may possibly impact their identities. Although children in Peru may attend school for free, parents are obligated to purchase other necessities such as books and uniforms. As a result, many children are not able to go to school; their parents simply cannot afford to purchase the necessary equipment making education a luxury that many children in the shanty town community cannot afford. Villa Chachani Community School is not compulsory. Although very few of the children attend the school every single day, they can however, attend the Community School at no cost when they are able. As a result, the student attendance numbers can vary; on busy days the school educates approximately 45 students ranging in age from four to late teens (Jay Chavez, personal communication, 2008). According to the school representatives, all of the students speak Spanish as a first language; however, the school teaches English as a Second Language (ESL) as the coordinators believe that English is a valuable communication skill that will benefit the students.

Additionally, I interviewed other volunteers, a school coordinator and a community member regarding their opinions on student identity. I personally invited participants to complete an interview with myself. Based on who I felt would have some valuable information and insight on the topic of student identity, I made the decision of whom to invite for an interview. As I did not inform participants I would be providing a profile of them in this thesis and I did not request that

each participant provide a self-profile, I have not included individual participant profiles. This decision is based on my belief that I might unwittingly provide personal information the participant would not use to describe themselves. Instead, I purposely chose to write a profile synopsis of all participants that can be found in chapter four under "Profile Synopsis of Participants". This method will provide the reader with an understanding of who the participants were without divulging exact specifics of each individual participant.

Ethical Considerations

I designed this research study to meet all the ethical requirements specified by Lakehead University's Research and Ethics Board. Accordingly, I followed Lakehead University's *Ethics Procedures and Guidelines for Research Involving Humans*.

This ethnographic study required the approval of the coordinators of the school as well as any individual participants partaking in the interview process (i.e. parents, volunteers, community members). Additionally, representatives of the Villa Chachani Community School were given the option of either having the school specifically identified as the "Villa Chachani Community School" or leaving the school unidentified. The school representative specifically requested to be identified and I have honored this request throughout this thesis. Individual participants were also provided the option of remaining anonymous through the use of assigned pseudonyms or being personally named. In all instances participants chose to be identified by first name, which was witnessed by a third person, as required by Lakehead University's Research and Ethics Board.

Lakehead University's policy for informed consent was achieved through a verbal and written explanation of the research in the form of a cover letter/invitation to participate and a consent form (Appendix B and Appendix C). Specific information appearing in the invitation letter to participate included a description of study, potential benefits and risks, confidentiality and the ability to remain anonymous through assigned pseudonyms, participant's ability to refuse or

withdraw from research at any time, audio recording agreement/consent, and the storage of data for five years. The consent form also emphasized that part of the participant interviews may be utilized in this thesis or other publications or presentations.

CHAPTER FIVE

Findings and Interpretation

Findings

In this chapter, I present the findings and interpretation of this research study. I begin this section by presenting the themes and categories that emerged from data analysis, followed by a profile synopsis of the participants and the findings. Three major themes regarding the contextual influences found to be associated with student identity will be discussed and subsequently interpreted by the researcher: (1) environment; (2) people; and (3) culture and society. Categories or sub-themes are also located within each of the three major themes and I will refer the reader to the *Coding Chart of Themes and Categories* (Figure 1) for a clear visual representation of each of the major themes and categories that emerged.

Although categories appear in a single theme, overlap is possible; issues discussed in one theme, may, fit additionally into another theme. Sub-themes are included where applicable to provide the most insight to the reader.

In order to protect the anonymity of individuals not participating in this study (particularly the students) I have chosen to delete any of the specific names which appeared in my field notes as well as those within the interview transcripts and replace it with the symbol [.....]. Thus, the reader will find this symbol [.....] within some of the selected interview transcripts and field notes I have provided in this thesis.

Figure 1. Coding Chart of Themes and Categories
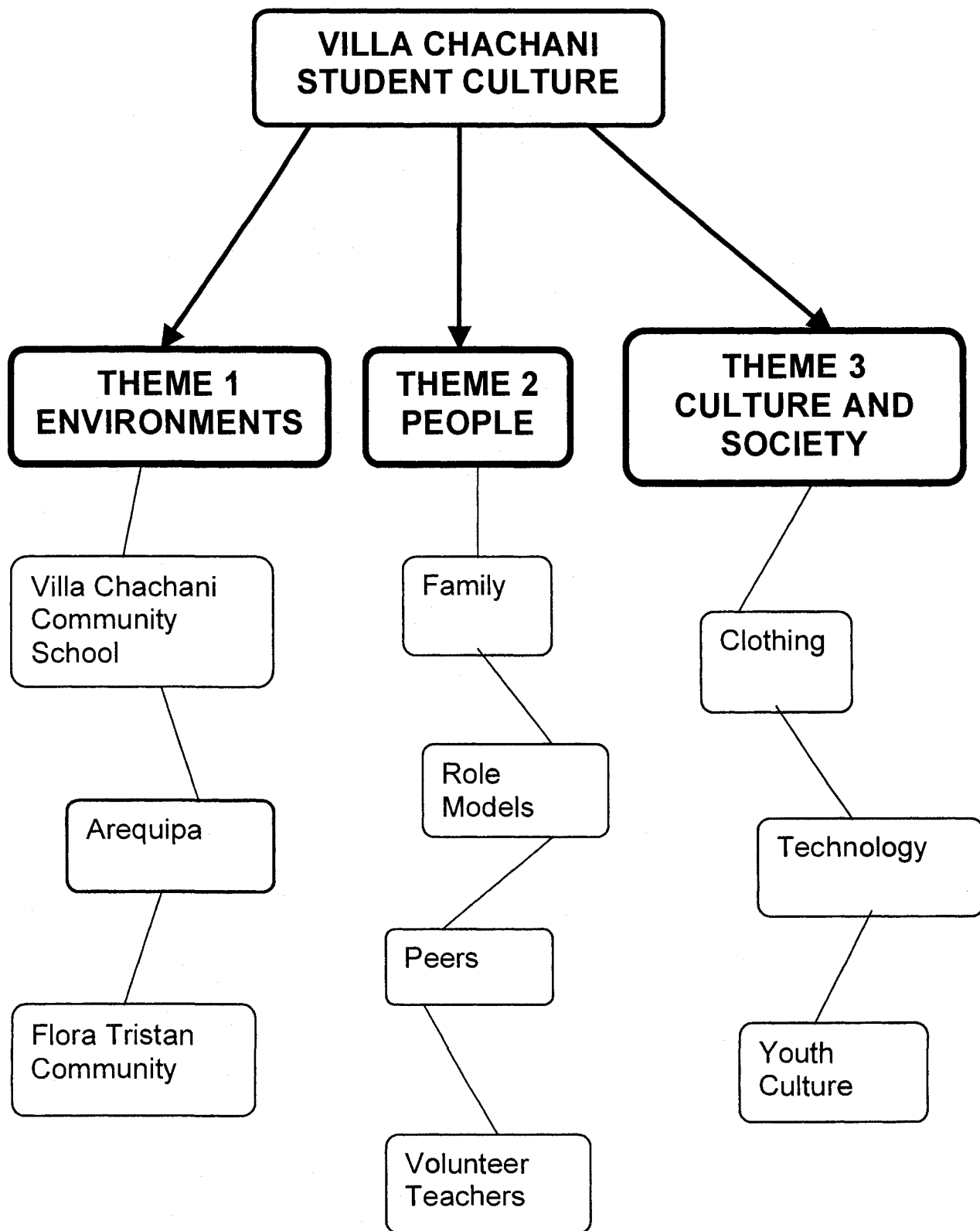
Profile Synopsis of Participants

The following profile synopsis is provided for the participants of this research study. All participants explicitly chose to be identified by first name for this research study, thus, their real names have been utilized; Sandra, Haley, Nathalie and Sheri were all willing participants. The following group profile synopsis is included along with a summary table (table 3).

The participants were all in their twenties or thirties, female, and from various parts of the world; Peru, Australia, England, New Zealand. There was a mixture of married/unmarried individuals with and without children. Some were bilingual or multilingual speaking a variety of different languages. It should be noted that this impacted "grammatical correctness" in some of the interviews and *I have consciously not corrected* any of the errors in syntax or grammar that appear throughout the transcript sections. Only one participant was a teacher, while the rest held occupations ranging from student and traveler to child psychologist.

The interviews were all conducted in the city of Arequipa at my residence. I specifically chose to complete the interviews at my residence because I wanted to ensure that we would not be interrupted and because I wanted somewhere quiet. Participants were all given the option of where in the residence they would like to complete the interview and every person chose a different section of the house, depending on where they felt most comfortable. Interview length varied for each participant however, they averaged 45 minutes with the longest lasting just over 1 hour. I began the interviews with a series of warm-up questions designed to gain a rapport with the participants and to slowly lead into more research driven questions.

Table 3.

Participant Summary

Participant Name	Date of Interview	Place of Interview	Time and Length of Interview
Sheri	December 8, 2008	Researcher's residence	1:00PM-1:45PM
Haley	December 12, 2008	Researcher's residence	11:45AM-12:30PM
Nathalie	December 14, 2008	Researcher's residence	3:30PM-4:15PM
Sandra	December 18, 2008	Researcher's residence	10:30AM-12:00PM

Theme 1: Environments

Villa Chachani Community School

During my time in Arequipa, the Villa Chachani Community School was undergoing renovations to accommodate the growing number of students. A visual tour reveals a small one-room school, approximately five large steps wide and seven steps long. Four small tables with chairs are located inside, along with a white board and two small bookshelves housing a limited amount of school supplies and outdoor game equipment. The room is painted bright white and original paintings and pictures adorn the walls. You will notice a clown displaying student birthdays and the bright red, green and blue handprints of all the students and volunteers of the past prominently displayed on the walls. On my first day at the Villa Chachani Community School there

were seven volunteers, including myself, with the addition of approximately thirty students squished into this single small room. The dust was almost intolerable and yet I observed how the students happily stayed to learn.

Through these careful observations I tentatively established the school environment as a possible contextual influence on student identity. Each of the four participant interviews highlighted the influence of the school environment and prompted further discussion. Haley and Nathalie remarked that their preliminary impressions of the school revealed it to be unlike any previously encountered typical school. Haley described her initial impressions of the Villa Chachani Community School:

I went trying not to have preconceived ideas of what it would be like to avoid disappointment. I thought it was originally a real school not an after school English language program. So, I had to adapt to that idea.

Nathalie also concurred. She stated that:

I can't remember very well, but I think I thought it was going to be a more proper school than it is, and I wasn't sure how it was going to work. Actually, I thought I was going to work at the orphanage as well so I hadn't been thinking about the school very much, but I thought it was closer to a proper school and we were going in to help the teachers with the English lessons.

For the participants there was an obvious division between their impressions of Villa Chachani Community School and any "regular school". Regular school being the daily, regulated school environment as they had experienced in their own countries. Sheri noted the difference between the obligatory regular school and Villa Chachani Community School when she stated "maybe at school [regular], there probably is more containment and expectations than there would be in any other setting".

In Arequipa, Peru in order to attend regular school the parents must invest in uniforms and supplies. Villa Chachani is free, after school, and holds no obligation. According to Sandra the Villa Chachani Community School exists to "help the children because the children who lives there are not able to go to school maybe or to learn another language...they don't have the opportunities that childrens elsewhere have...to give some English lessons".

Although the goal of Villa Chachani Community School is specifically to teach English to the students, many participants discussed the role that the Spanish language and culture have within the classroom environment. They particularly noted not only the importance of language, but that of the first language of the students. Participants all observed that the students at Villa Chachani Community School used Spanish as a first language. Nathalie remarked that:

> I think it is easier to explain to them something and even here when people, the volunteers take lessons they learn the vocabulary with translation so it is easier to take something home and learn the vocabulary written when you have the translation and one kid I asked [.....] she said to me that she'd rather have a teacher that speaks Spanish cause she feels that she learns better. It is because she is more comfortable and she prefers that, she said.

Haley believed that "you do need to explain in Spanish or have some level or amount of Spanish spoken just to make sure that everyone is on the same page". Sandra took the idea of first languages one step further by referring to the role Indigenous languages such as Quechuan or Aymaran have in Peru. Sandra reported that:

> most of the people speak Spanish. There are some people that speak some Quechuan and Aymaran...it's very small in Arequipa but in Cusco and Puno there are many people that speak that there, but not at the schools, not at the main city but some places...outside the city, the countryside.

When I asked participants if they had heard students or others in the community speaking any other languages besides Spanish or English Sheri responded "no I don't think so", while Haley responded similarly when she stated "if I had heard it I don't know that I would recognize that it wasn't Spanish".

During my time in Arequipa I often found myself questioning what the students must be thinking. As a teacher, I could not help but reflect upon the difference in classroom dynamics when there is no fluent Spanish-speaking teacher volunteering. I think it is confusing for the kids in terms of their identity when they don't have a Spanish speaker around. Perhaps they are thinking "Who is this Gringo and what are they saying to me?", "Why am I here?", "Why is this person not Peruvian?", "What world do they come from?". "They leave my world everyday". They know little about my life and create lessons from their own culture never allowing me to make the connection to my own cultural experiences". As I am the teacher today you must say and repeat in English, for I am not Spanish and it is important to me you learn about my world and who I am, not who you are.

Also surfacing during the interviews was the potential role of English as a second language in the lives of the students and it's possible influence on the student identity. All participants believed that the students' use of English was solely within the Villa Chachani classroom, thus, the influence of the English language during this short period of time was believed to be minimal. When they exit the Villa Chachani Community School, Sheri believed they speak "entirely Spanish" while Haley also thought they only speak "in Spanish". Sheri observed how "sometimes they will say 'hello teacher' but apart from that it's all Spanish". Nathalie commented that students didn't take the learning of English seriously even within the Chachani school room:

> sometimes when they come in, they say 'hello' or umm they call us 'teachers' obviously
>
> and sometimes they will throw in a couple of sentences in English, but that's as far as it

goes and they'll do it merely as a joke. Umm, they'll laugh every time they speak English, but they do speak very little English.

The students at Villa Chachani Community School rely on their Spanish language. At the Villa Chachani Community School the volunteer teachers often explain everything in Spanish so the students don't have to enter an entire ESL environment as in Quebec. The class sometimes seems as though it is delivered in Spanish with a little English thrown in.

Nathalie, Sheri and Haley all remarked on students mixing the Spanish and English languages. Nathalie and Haley stated that students don't use language mixing while Sheri believed that they do and referred to it as "Spanglish". When asked if they noticed students mixing the two languages while communicating, Nathalie responded, "no they just speak in Spanish" and Haley stated "not really, no. I don't notice many of the students doing that. I can think of maybe one time I've seen one student do that". I also observed a lack of language mixing among the students attending the Villa Chachani Community School when compared to the language mixing I observed in Chisasibi. In regards to the first language, the students in Chisasibi were struggling with Cree, and there was (is) concern over the ability of the language to survive as many students communicate in a Cree/English mixture, a cause for concern in terms of their identity. This does not exist at Villa Chachani Community School. The students don't appear to mix the two languages.

City of Arequipa

Another facet of the environmental theme involves the whole city of Arequipa, Peru. The city of Arequipa is a city divided in more ways than one. Geographically, it is broken into sections similar to a concentric circle. The middle is the main "tourist" centre with residential areas surrounding this central business and cultural district. During my stay in Arequipa I resided within a section of this residential area. The division between the city of Arequipa and the community of

Flora Tristan became very obvious to me when I would walk throughout these residential areas. Through my European gaze I could not help but notice the spacious, large homes often with a newer vehicle in the yard; an obvious Spanish colonial feel associated with "The White City"; in stark contrast to the Flora Tristan community, located outside this "White City".

On the far outer edge of the city you will find shanty town communities similar to Flora Tristan. These areas are viewed similar to a separate village. Although all participants gave information regarding how residents of the main city of Arequipa perceive the shanty towns, none of the participants made reference to the geography of the city. Nathalie did mention the city centre as a tourist centre when stating "around the square, obviously, there is a lot of tourist stores and umm tour companies so the tellers, the agents, speak English to communicate with the tourists, but they don't come to you in English". I also believe that the city centre specifically caters to tourists. There are many small souvenirs as well as tour companies. As many restaurants are located above street level, it was common to see restaurants enticing people with free drinks throughout the main centre. Both the tourist and residential areas are in direct contrast to the shanty towns, where the road literally ends. Geographically, economically, and socially the division between the shanty towns and the city of Arequipa becomes very evident.

When I inquired of the participants as to how residents of the general city of Arequipa perceive those living in shanty town communities such as Flora Tristan, Haley, Sheri and Sandra provided a variety of observations of the city of Arequipa. Haley responded that:

I would assume their feelings would be similar to those people living in richer areas of Australia compared to maybe native Australians, or poorer people in their community. So there would be a mixture of pity, of avoidance, umm maybe some sort of compassion, or maybe lack of compassion, maybe they think they should try harder.

Sheri's observations, based on a conversation with a resident of Arequipa, were equally insightful. Her recollection was as follows:

> we talked to a lady the other day that didn't actually come from Flora Tristan, they came from a bit more in towards the city and they came to look at the school cause they'd heard about it and they said that they felt it was dangerous at Chachani. That they wouldn't want their children coming there alone, umm, and I think it's just seen as a really low socio-economic status with under-educated people living there.

Sandra also provided some valuable insight into how the residents of the main city of Arequipa perceive those in shanty town communities. I believe her deliberate response was specifically designed to provide me with the stereotypes that abound in the city of Arequipa. When asked how she believes people in the main city of Arequipa perceive those residing in the shanty towns, Sandra stated:

> there are poor people, but the problem we have here is really bad, but also with drunk people...most live here, but we always say there is money for to have a drink, so the big problem is the fathers in the family...maybe he is looking for a job and he couldn't find a job, but he find someone to drink. So maybe it would be easier if we send the children to work because the people will say "oh why is he working?" and we give some money...so that is the main thing I think that we would like to help the children we see everyday on the street...but sometimes the parents are waiting two or three blocks away for the money, and after they go and they spend on whatever they want, and they don't even get food for the children, like milk, things children need.

When I sought to clarify the participant's views by inquiring if this was the general assumption of the people in Arequipa Sheri responded that "ya from talking to people that come from Arequipa,

they say it must be very under privileged", while Sandra believed that "no, I don't think so that many people feel like that".

For those participants with negative responses, I inquired if they believed that any of the students had an understanding of how they and the community of Flora Tristan may be negatively perceived by the residents in the main city of Arequipa. Sheri responded:

no I don't think so, I've never heard any comments about it. But I guess like anywhere in the world, there are the rich kids that can have anything they want, and the kids who are out in the poorer communities, are under privileged and they don't have as much, and I think from them watching T.V. and playing on the Internet, they must have that sense.

Not all responses provided by participants were negative. Some thoughts seemed more neutral. Nathalie described how:

when I've been sometimes in taxis or spoken to people, locals, I say that I work in Chachani over there, and they know the place, and they don't seem to react negatively, like when I tell them that we teach English to the kids, they know that the village over there is poor and they always think it's great so they don't have a negative reaction to 'ohhh you work in Chachani'...I think people here realize that there is poor people and that everybody's got a chance and that it's fine. I don't think that people they don't do judgment like westerns do on poverty; they're not like that here. So, no, I don't think that they're too afraid.

Flora Tristan Community

Walking throughout the Flora Tristan community I always felt safe. I noticed that the houses are constructed in a basic fashion; brick, cement shacks that are basically open. The road is gravel and rocks which makes it a difficult walk to the school site from the bus stop. It reminds me of walking in beach sand for about ten minutes; never an easy task. Animals such as ducks

and geese run free, not to mention the number of dogs also running free throughout the community and in and out of the classroom. There were never many people around; locals were sparse to see, but somehow the students attending the Villa Chachani Community School appeared as if out of nowhere.

Sandra, Nathalie and Haley all described the Flora Tristan community as a "poor" section of Arequipa and that this poverty would obviously impact the students. Sandra remarked that in the Flora Tristan community "there are many people that live there without very good economic situations". When I asked her for clarification, if the students were disadvantaged because of the area they were living in, she responded by stating "yes, this is a poorer area, yes, I think that, I don't know exactly if they have electricity or some water. I know that sometimes some people have to carry water in that place". Nathalie responded "I know the people there are squatters, they don't own their houses, or maybe, if they own them, they have been given them because they've been staying there for awhile". She also stated that "they are living in this very poor village, they barely have electricity...their little houses barely have doors, windows and roofs". Haley also went on to say that she "wasn't completely prepared for the poverty that was in the area". When I asked her if this was something that stood out to her, she stated, "Initially yes, but then I got used to it". I also had similar thoughts and impressions of the community however; I noted that this isolated section of Arequipa created a unique cultural section away from the larger city of Arequipa. Although there are similarities between Flora Tristan and Chisasibi, the students in Flora Tristan appear to have a stronger sense of group identity. Spanish is the main language, and in some respects, I feel that the students, although exposed to Western influences daily, still manage to maintain a strong sense of their unique group identity.

The students' English exposure ends when the volunteer teachers leave at 5:30. In Chisasibi the personal connection continues into the community as teachers go shopping or pay

their bills. In Flora Tristan this does not happen. Teachers are in and out in a couple of hours and the English exposure leaves with them.

Theme 2: People

Family

Many participants discussed the possible influence of various individuals on the students that attend Villa Chachani Community School. Haley believed that the "biggest influence would come from their family". In the Flora Tristan community it was obvious that the dominant family composition consisted of a mother and several children. Haley and Sandra noted the importance of the role of the mother. Haley observed, "The only parents I see are random moms coming to see what we do and how much it costs. You know so they can send their child".

Sandra also remarked on the role of the parents within the family when she stated "the big problem is the fathers in the family, not really the parents because the mother is always at home cooking, washing, doing all the things at home caring for the children". Sheri also mentioned absentee fathers when she stated that "a lot of them don't have fathers, they've died or left their mothers". One possible reason for absentee fathers can be due to the sale of gravel. Within Flora Tristan the selling of sand and gravel is prevalent. Children and young men throw rocks at the side of a mountain cliff to dislodge the gravel. As a result of this dangerous practice, many young men and children are killed or injured, resulting in fewer male role models within the family.

Despite all the obstacles the parents and children face, the students are taught the behaviours appropriate for Peruvian society. Sandra emphasized the correctness of cultural greetings in Arequipa when she stated, "it's not possible to just come and say 'hello' to everybody. No, we need to kiss everyone". She emphasized how you are taught this from your family and it is an important aspect of Peruvian cultural etiquette. I also noted this behaviour amongst many of the

students attending the Villa Chachani Community School. Many of the students will kiss the

teachers on the cheek at the beginning and at the end

of the class. It is done for each and every teacher at the school. Whether it's one teacher or ten,

each will receive a kiss and "hasta mañana" [stated after class by the students, translates to "until

tomorrow"]. This is obviously a ritual passed down to the students from their parents and

community. It is not a ritual solely utilized to show respect for the teachers, but rather, a cultural

greeting emphasized throughout Arequipa.

      Haley and Sheri remarked how the family all works together and that the students played a

major role providing help within the family unit. This behaviour can consist of household chores,

care giving or finding a way to earn money for the family. Appropriate behaviour for the students

emphasizes the necessity of caring for family members. Sheri believed that "the older children are

expected to look after the younger siblings". Students are expected to behave responsibly and this

responsibility does not end with care giving, as students are also expected to help provide for the

family monetarily. Haley noted that the family has a major role and perhaps that: "they do tend to

be aware of helping their family, like they will often ask us for empty water bottles because they

know that that is a source of income for their family, and the selling and reselling of plastic. So I

think the family has a big influence over the way they behave". The independence necessary for

this type of endeavour is a lesson learned early in life throughout their cultural upbringing. I also

observed an example of this independent behaviour when one day, a new student who was two or

three years old was brought to class by his mother. She was supposed to come and pick

him up after class, however, she did not show up. So we decided to walk with him around the

community until he found a house that looked familiar. When he located his house we noticed his

mother working outside. I was unsure how she would react as she had forgotten to pick him up

after class. She appeared unfazed and happy to see him.

Had we, the volunteers, not interfered in this situation, the student would have independently found his way home. It was our assumption that he was young and unable to find his way home. In retrospect, he probably knew exactly where he lived; his mother had raised him for this independence and knew he would find his way home. My observations correlate with Sheri's belief that the students "are raised to be independent and they are allowed to be wandering around in the community from a very young age and are expected to amuse themselves".

Sheri and Nathalie believed that the value placed on education in general by the parents would be reflected in how the students construct their role in society. I asked Sheri if she believed education was seen as important to the parents in the community. Sheri responded by stating that "the parents do have to make quite a bit of investment for their child to go to school, and they all seem to go to school...Yeh, I guess it does say something about the importance of education". The Villa Chachani Community School students attend regular school a short distance from the Flora Tristan community where they live. Several times while traveling on the bus, I had the ability to observe some of the students returning home to the Flora Tristan community from school. I specifically noticed their uniform. Often it was altered; a small boy when standing shows his pants have been quickly sewn to make it fit his waist, a growing girl's skirt zipper is broken and loosely pinned to stay on. Her socks are mismatched and her shirt is not clean. The uniform is too large for her. It has obviously been passed down or given to her by another sibling or family member. It's probably the only uniform she has, so it must do, fit or not, clean or not, there is no choice. The students come to Chachani without a uniform, so it is obviously important that they go home to change to play clothes. I believe these observations speak directly to the sacrifices parents must make to be able to give education to their children and the importance parents place on education in general.

Participants noted that not all the parents place equal emphasis on the education they receive at Villa Chachani and regular school, some even referring to it as a "daycare" or "kindergarten", only there to keep the children occupied for a couple of hours of play time. Nathalie believed that:

> probably some parents will send their kids [Villa Chachani Community School] as kindergarten probably more than anything else but it's probably a good thing for the kids to come to the school rather than just playing outside and doing something silly. The parents we've spoken to, even just very quickly, they seem happy about the kids being able to come to the school and do some work, and something clever, instead of running about the streets.

This is despite the fact that many believe that learning English is important for future employment and would open doors for their children. Sheri noted that:

> some of the parent's there can be quite resistant to the school because they are resistant to change, generally, and that they don't see the importance of teaching their children English...and they don't know what the purpose is. They don't care if their children stay in Chachani [Flora Tristan community is sometimes called Chachani] and work at the mines...I think there are some parents that really do want a better future, so they see the value in it, and then there is another group of parents that just send their children along because it's a daycare.

Even with these conflicting views, Sandra still believed that teaching English to the students in Flora Tristan was a good idea because it would give them opportunities and advantages. She believed that in Arequipa, a city highly dependent on the tourism sector, those not able to speak some English would be at a "disadvantage...they don't have the opportunity because when they go to apply for a job they say 'we need a person that speaks both languages' ".

Those who cannot speak English are at an obvious disadvantage in terms of future employment in the city of Arequipa.

Role Models

When discussing any potential role models impacting the students, there were a variety of responses. Sandra remarked upon the role of members in the family and also emphasized other role models from the television and video games. Sheri remarked that they "talk about super heroes a lot...Spiderman seems to be very important, and, umm, superman and then there are some Peruvian T.V. shows...but I haven't heard them talk about studio actors or singers or anything like that". Nathalie stated that "they know things in T.V.s and movies, American movies and stuff and American actors, we've been speaking about actors sometimes and they know the names".

Peers

Nathalie and Haley both remarked that peers have a tremendous influence over each other. Nathalie believed that the Villa Chachani Community School students are influenced by their peers. Specifically, she thought that the students cared what their peers thought, and that they tried to impress one another, even if that meant encouraging bad behaviour. Haley concurred by stating, "I think they have an influence over each other, peer wise, distracting each other during class and fighting". Sheri's insight into this question was different, believing that other people do not influence the students. Sheri stated "I feel that they are so independent that they're not really influenced by anybody".

Volunteer Teachers

The potential influence of volunteers was believed to be minimal. Volunteers are only in the Flora Tristan community for a few hours a day, thus, their influence over the students is limited. Only one participant, Nathalie even mentioned that volunteers could be a potential influence on the students when she remarked that the greatest influence over students was:

probably not the volunteers because they don't always listen to us much. The other day, some students were sent to the school by their parents and they didn't come; they went running about in the countryside, they were playing in the dust, and then after school, they came ... to after class they came to get water. Umm, so I don't think they care very much about what we say, or what we think, because otherwise they wouldn't of let us know that they had skipped class to go play.

Theme 3: Society and Culture

Clothing

When discussing youth culture, the issue of clothing surfaced in all participant interviews. While some participants viewed the clothing choice of students as a reflection of the poverty and a result of financial issues facing the families, others viewed clothing choice as a more commercialized venture. Nathalie also remarked that:

some family takes more care about the way that they dress their kids because some kids will come nicely dressed, and some others that are brothers and sisters come and they have got trashed clothes and shoes. Families, it is because of their means, their money, or just because they care, or they don't care.

When I asked if Sheri believed clothing choice had anything to do with the impact of western consumerism she remarked, "I think most of the kids out there do have televisions and access to the Internet and stuff like that, so commercialism probably does influence them in some

way". I also observed the possible impact of western consumerism when I noticed an older boy

wearing a hat with the letters USA on the front. All the kids have western type clothes but

this was the first USA outright I had seen. I was not sure exactly what the hat meant to him, if he

knows where the USA is, or if the hat is a team, or important to him to wear. He appeared to be a

popular boy, very smart and enthusiastic to learn English. I asked what Nathalie thought that hat

meant to the student. Nathalie believed that:

> probably the USA is a symbol to them even if they are not too sure what or what it means,
>
> but it's an emblem that you find on clothes and stuff and I think they recognize it...I don't
>
> know if they know that USA stands for United States of America and it stands for the better
>
> world...I wouldn't be surprised if they told you that they didn't know.

I also observed a reflection of students' culture during a clothing give-away at the Villa

Chachani Community School when each of the students was invited to come up and choose a

single piece of clothing. Even though it was up to them, they seemed to need guidance relying on

the teacher to pick up the clothes and choose for the student. This occurred for all the students

until one girl was actually choosy about what she wanted, brave enough to say no and keep

looking. She seemed to enjoy looking through the clothes and having the option of many different

clothes at her fingertips. Once she decided which clothes suited her style, she sat down, and

almost immediately, we had other students raising their hands to switch for something else. I think

the students initial gratefulness for the clothes impacted their own personal style, as they were not

brave enough to say "no" until one student, the outward girl, always disobedient, said "no". She

was not the oldest in the class, but she was probably one of the most outrageous and loud. The

students were grateful to simply receive a "new" piece of clothing, however, I also believe that their

own style was an important component in addition to some influence by commercialism. In

deciding which pieces they wanted, brand name clothing never appeared to be extremely

important. Even the choosy student was not looking for only brand name pieces amongst the pile of clothes.

The issue of brand name clothing came up in the interviews with Nathalie and Haley who both believed that brand names probably have a role in this culture. Nathalie believed that the youth desire name brand clothing and that "I've seen Nike and Reebok and some shoes anyway; I think they are probably fake ones". Haley also concurred that brand name clothing was important in this youth culture and described that they have a "mixture of clothing, umm sometimes branded, which is a bit surprising to me...the older kids tend to wear less of the cartoon brand clothing and more adult-like clothing; jeans and t-shirt and caps". I also observed that the students were all wearing non-traditional clothing, something evident everywhere in Arequipa. Open markets sell fake American brands, everything from toys to clothes, shoes and hygiene products.

Sheri also brought traditional dress of the children in the community to light when she remarked upon the difference that could be seen between how parents dress the very young children and how older students attending Chachani were dressed. She remarked, "I think it's a financial thing. I think that probably the clothes for the little children are probably made in the community and that's why they look more traditional and as they get older, they just buy regular clothes".

Technology

Several participants brought up the impact of technology on the students' lives. Participants made particular note of the role that the Internet, video games (Playstation) and television played as important to the Villa Chachani students. Sheri emphasized the impact of commercialism through products such as the Internet and games by stating, "I think that most of the kids out there do have televisions and access to the Internet and stuff like that, so commercialism probably does influence them in some way". She further clarified this view by

stating that "the more exposure they have to the world outside Chachani they're going to desire things they don't have and umm and I guess look to the people on T.V. shows as to how life can be different". Sandra remarked the "the main thing here I think is the Internet because they want to be there all the time there, and they know many people, and then after they meet there, to their parent's, they don't tell the truth about the Internet. The childrens start to lie".

Nathalie believed that "they don't talk about T.V. and stuff very much. I've not heard that very much. They talk about games a lot and they go on the Internet to play games, but other than that, I haven't heard them talking about T.V shows". Haley further clarified this influence when she remarked that "one week the theme of the week was past times, and they recognized the word "guitar" from the play station game "Guitar Hero", so I do know for definite that one student has a play station like console in their home and they are familiar with that video game culture". When I asked Haley how this would impact the students, she first made an analogy to western culture by stating, "I do know from my own culture that T.V. and media and video games play a big role in influencing youth, so I would assume it's the same here". After, she clarified how this would impact the students and the family in Flora Tristan:

I think that in terms of, you know, pop culture, and them yelling and stuff, especially for the boys, the whole play station thing is a really big deal and they want to know how to play the game and have those games. I think it would impact on the parents that would have to afford this stuff, and purely from an observer's perspective it doesn't seem like the area has a lot of wealth, and I think that the children, umm, desire to have these western games and put a lot of pressure on the family to be able to afford them.

Youth Culture

Youth culture within the Villa Chachani Community School was emphasized and seen similarly by each of the participants. Nathalie and Sheri viewed the youth culture as a reflection of the students' lives, but noted the distinct influence of other forces such as technology. When discussing youth culture Sandra remarked that:

> this is very, very different. You can see at the school, when I was at the high school, umm, if I go to study, just to study, and then when I finish the school...I go straight to my house, but now? No they don't...they go to chat or to go to Internet or to go with friends they already have some boyfriends or girlfriend.

Sheri explained how she had:

> thought about it quite a bit cause I've been trying to understand the mindset and sort of where the kids come from in terms of how they think, and why they're there, and what they want to do...but I think their culture sorta stems from the fact that they are raised to be independent and they are allowed to be wandering around in the community from a very young age and are expected to amuse themselves. They don't have a lot of possessions, so I think their play revolves around more creative things than actually having toys and playing with them, but I think that also means that they are very needy and they want a lot of things and I think that at the school where you see a lot of attention seeking behaviour, stealing, and they are constantly asking "can I take this home?" That's a real reflection of the poverty, I guess, and wanting things, that they don't have. I feel that's how they grow up.

She also noted of the Flora Tristan community culture that:

> there is a real mismatch, I think, between the way that they live and the traditions that they have, and they seem to place more emphasis on attaining things like flat screen T.V.s,

video games and stuff rather than using their money to buy necessities. The children never have clean clothes; they don't get haircuts; they don't have dental hygiene, or just general physical well-being. The money seems to be spent more on the commercialized items like T.V. rather than on looking after their basic needs.

Nathalie remarked that:

> funny enough they are living in this very poor village, they barely have electricity, but they have T.V. and play station, and they go on the Internet to play games, and [.....] took my email address so she can email me. She's probably got an email and, umm, they still know about modern things. It doesn't seem like that they would, it doesn't seem to be part of their lives when you see their little houses that barely have doors, windows, and roofs. But, yeh, they know about things in T.V. and movies, American movies and stuff, and American actors. We've been speaking about actors sometimes and they know the names. They are not like completely lost 100 years behind us.

The participants all shared insightful data regarding the identity of Villa Chachani Community School students. In the next section, this data will be interpreted and later reflected upon to answer my research question.

Interpretation of the Findings

In this section the data will be interpreted. According to Bogdan and Biklen (2006) "data interpretation refers to developing ideas about your findings and relating them to the literature and to broader concerns and concepts" (p. 159). I am interpreting the individual perspectives from four participant interviews in addition to the field notes I collected throughout my participant observation of the Villa Chachani Community School and the city of Arequipa.

The purpose of this study was to examine the group identity of the students attending Villa Chachani Community School. Rummens' (2001) definition of identity is most pertinent to this

research study; she describes identity as "the distinctive character belonging to any given individual, or shared by all members of a particular social category or group (p. 3). For this study, adult participants shared their perspectives regarding the identity of the students attending Villa Chachani Community School as a group, thus the individual self-identity of particular students was not examined. The emphasis was obviously on the Villa Chachani students, however the study focus was the identity created within this unique socio-cultural group and the contexts that encase the students, thereby impacting group identity. This examination takes into account the fact that the social identity of the Villa Chachani Community School students relies on the "we-ness of a group, stressing the similarities or shared attributes around which members coalesce" (Cerulo, 1997, p. 386). Although it can be argued that each individual student encounters a unique set of contexts on a daily basis, the Villa Chachani students as a group, share many similar contextual influences that contribute to their identity as a Villa Chachani student.

Three major themes emerged from the findings; (1) environments; (2) people; (3) society and culture. These themes are critical components to Villa Chachani student identity construction and were subsequently essential to answering my research questions from a social science perspective: are the students attending the Villa Chachani Community School struggling with identity issues? If yes, what is the nature of their identity issues? If no, what are the factors that contribute to their strong sense of identity?

Theme One, Environments

Villa Chachani Community School

Physically the Villa Chachani Community School is a colourful, inviting, school reminiscent of a single classroom. Students although grouped together by age, rather than grade level, study simultaneously. Haley and Nathalie both placed emphasis on their estimation that according to their own definition, the Villa Chachani Community School was not a regular school. From a

Canadian perspective this is a logical observation as the school has several obvious differences. While the Villa Chachani Community School is run by a private organization, it is not a private school according to Peruvian standards. Parents are not required to provide tuition, uniforms or supplies. Attendance is not mandatory, and as the school is located within the village, students are able to come as they are and attend when they have the opportunity. The school day starts at 3:30 pm when other elementary schools would normally end. Perhaps the students themselves don't see Villa Chachani as a "regular school" either because there is not the same discipline and structure they experience at their regular school. There is also the fact that at the Villa Chachani Community School teachers, although they speak Spanish, are not Peruvian. Sheri also made a distinction between Villa Chachani Community School and regular school by noting that it was held after regular school hours and perhaps the children felt less structured and more free to be themselves.

They step out of their school uniform, leave the regular school identity behind and enter the atmosphere of the Villa Chachani Community School. Together they forge a group identity linked by strong cultural experiences and tempered with their own particular social identity. Because the students do not see the school merely as an educational opportunity, but rather more of a social outlet, the students form a tight group identity based on their Villa Chachani Community School experiences.

Within "The White City" of Arequipa, Spanish is a dominant first language. This is no doubt the result of the colonization of the city of Arequipa by the Spanish and the subsequent devaluation of Indigenous languages. None of the participants reported hearing any other Indigenous languages spoken either in the Flora Tristan community or the city of Arequipa. This is consistent with Niño-Murcia's (2003) research throughout various cities in Peru (including Arequipa) that asked participants to discuss their views on language. Participants devalued

Indigenous languages; one even stated "Quechua? What for?" (p. 135). Only two participants in the study saw Indigenous languages as important for Peruvians even though government policies place them of equal importance in Peru (Niño-Murcia, 2003). This is also consistent with the overall devaluation and subsequent global loss of Indigenous languages throughout the world.

Spanish is an important symbol of student identity; the students utilize it to communicate within the community, their family, peers and other individuals such as volunteers, they use it to completely express their thoughts and ideas with others. Nathalie remarked how one student said, "she'd rather have a teacher that speaks Spanish cause she feels that she learns better. It's because she is more comfortable". Teachers utilize Spanish while teaching thereby creating a warmer environment and showing the students that their first language, a part of their culture, is respected and deemed important. In essence they create what Wright (1995) terms an environment in which there "is a clear affirmation of the value and status of the heritage language" (p. 243). Some people in the community may have an Indigenous heritage language, however, the Spanish language is now predominant throughout the community. The students attending Villa Chachani Community School speak Spanish as a first language. Indeed, most of the volunteers spoke either fluent Spanish or had acquired the Spanish language capabilities necessary to explain to the students in their first language. Haley remarked, "you do need to explain in Spanish, or have some level or amount of Spanish spoken". Spanish is not an Indigenous language to Peru and could be interpreted as more "useful" in the eyes of the volunteers as it is spoken in a variety of different countries such as Spain, Peru and the United States. Throughout my observation of the school environment it became obvious that most of the volunteers utilized Spanish while teaching.

To fortify a strong student identity one must value and respect the students. Smith (1999) believes that "respect is a reciprocal, shared, constantly interchanging principle which is expressed through all aspects of social conduct" (p. 120). With this in mind, the volunteer teachers use the

students' first language while teaching English as a second language. Additionally, Purdie, et al. (2000) believe that "language is important to one's cultural identity, and acceptance of one's language serves to preserve self-respect and foster knowledge that one is valued as a person" (p. 12). Within the Villa Chachani Community School the students' first language, Spanish, is consistently utilized by the volunteer teachers. This practice, combined with the location of the school, creates a comforting, familiar environment capable of bolstering the underpinnings of the students' cultural identity. The odd times when there is no Spanish speaking volunteer teacher, students must experience confusion and frustration. Some individuals within the community may have an Indigenous heritage language, however the students speak Spanish as their first language and Spanish is predominant throughout the community.

According to Niño-Murcia (2003) there is a prestige and an importance placed on the English language in Peru. This is not surprising considering the importance of English in the tourism industry in Arequipa and the general global domination of the English language. It also speaks to the parental desire for their children to attend the Villa Chachani Community School. Parents realize that although language fluency takes years of practice, learning English will open the doors to future opportunities for their children.

Participants in this study noted that within the classroom the use of English is very limited, and next to nil when the students exit the classroom doors. As English is taught using only vocabulary, particularly nouns rather than conversation, students lack the necessary skills to converse in English. Natalie and Sheri both remarked on this fact. Sheri stated: "sometimes they will say 'hello teacher' but apart from that it's all Spanish". I believe that the students' inability to use English outside of the classroom environment correlates with any person learning a new language. Taken out of the environment (in this case the school) where there is no exposure to the language, students will automatically revert to the comfort of their first language. This is hardly

surprising given that the community surrounding the students (Flora Tristan), speaks entirely in Spanish and their source of English exposure, the volunteers teaching English, leave the community to go back to the main city of Arequipa.

By comparison, while in Chisasibi, I noted the students speaking English outside of the context of the school as there were other people within the community speaking English thereby providing them more exposure and practice with the English language. Nathalie remarked that the students "will throw in a couple of sentences in English, but that's as far as it goes and they'll do it merely as a joke". This speaks directly to student identity. Students speak Spanish as it is important to who they are as a member of the Flora Tristan community and to Arequipa in general. Although student culture dictates that you need to know certain words in English like teacher and hello, students attending the school are Spanish, prefer to utilize their first language and find it more productive in the community to use Spanish. Outside of the context of the classroom, English is not "useful" for them, everyone around them, such as their family and peers, speak Spanish. The distinction here is that Villa Chachani students all have the tie of a collection of English words that they all know making them part of a unique culture within a culture.

There were conflicting views on whether or not students mixed the languages of Spanish and English while speaking. While Nathalie and Haley believed that the students did not do language mixing, Sheri believed they did and referred to it as "Spanglish". Having resided in Chisasibi for numerous years I noted students mixing Cree and English languages within their expressed language consistently both inside the classroom and in the community, and I expected students attending Villa Chachani Community School would face similar language confusion. This was not the case; in fact I never witnessed any students mixing the two languages when speaking. Students appear to set up a distinction between the English classroom environment and the

Spanish community of Flora Tristan. Additionally, English is not utilized by anyone else in the community as it was in Chisasibi.

The City of Arequipa

Bullen in her 1993 research made particular note of the divisions and stereotypes that abound in the city of Arequipa. I personally noticed the geographical, socio-cultural, and ethnic divisions within Arequipa. Essentially, Flora Tristan provides a contained environment for the students, separate from the city of Arequipa. I resided within the main city of Arequipa, however my daily travels to the Villa Chachani Community School, located in the shanty town of Flora Tristan, provided me with the experience of "both sides of the tracks". I was therefore able to thoroughly observe the divisions between the two contexts and subsequently examine the implications on the Villa Chachani Community School students. This research was of particular interest to myself, considering that stereotypes can dramatically impact self identity and most likely, as a result, group identity as well. Restoule's research study (2006) noted, "in interactions with the non-Aboriginal society, the participants learned how sometimes they were identified or seen as Aboriginal and often became aware of their difference from being othered" (Restoule, 2006, p. 185).

Haley, Nathalie and Sandra all presented what I consider to be typical reactions and stereotypes of individuals looking down upon others. These were not their own personal feelings, rather, they were envisioned responses drawn from their own backgrounds, and conversations and encounters with residents of the general city of Arequipa. Their reactions resonated with my own as I was initially shocked by the poverty and immediately became conscious of the preconceived ideas, which can quickly transform into stereotypes. Some of the stereotypes mentioned by the participants include many fundamental and obvious clichés and are often found throughout the research literature. Haley envisioned that others might view the residents of Flora Tristan as not

trying hard enough, and would hold either compassion or a lack of compassion and avoidance. Sheri, when speaking with a resident of the main city of Arequipa, learned that many residents view the Flora Tristans as undereducated and believe the people and community held danger to others. Although not her own view, Sandra brought to light the standard cliché of the drunk, troublesome, dangerous, lazy "native". This cliché sadly still exists, although Sandra believes that this idea is not prevalent. Not all participants observed negative reactions and stereotypes when conversing with others. It was also my experience that many residents of Arequipa displayed no stereotypes when asked about Flora Tristan.

When questioned whether or not Villa Chachani Community School students were aware of the perceptions of the residents of the main city of Arequipa, only one participant responded, believing that the students vocalized no knowledge of the perception of others. This was prefaced by the idea that the students possess an obvious awareness of the media, and therefore must perceive difference in circumstance. I interpret that the response of the participant takes into account this difference. They appear to understand the difference, and that different people have different lives and "things" but I believe that had they encountered many negative comments. These "negative portrayals which they see [or hear] are a direct challenge to their own positive sense of identity" (Groome, 1995, p. 57) and subsequently would have been outwardly presented in their group identity as, for example, anger and frustration.

While considering Peru's colonial history and the cultural composition of the city of Arequipa, it was important to address possible stereotypes surrounding the students. Nakkula (2003) stresses " while identity construction might appear to be a profoundly personal matter, it is also a social and political matter, precisely because it is deeply implicated in the struggle to develop a sense of self within a social sphere" (p.156). The social sphere of the Villa Chachani students can possibly encompass not only the school but also the village of Flora Tristan and the

city of Arequipa at large. I found that the students rarely entered the city at large, and therefore, had minimal exposure to any negative reactions. Their lack of geographic movement has obviously protected any positive elements within their group identity. This closed contextual situation has a bi-fold effect on the students. Positive identity reinforcement is an obvious benefit of the situation, however, little exposure to a context outside of their safe environment does nothing to challenge the strength and durability of their group identity.

Flora Tristan Community

Researchers such as Nurmi et al. (1996) and Grotevant (1987) have suggested that the societal environment is critical to identity development in youth. Indeed according to Nurmi et al. (1996) "the region where adolescents live is a societal factor that may have an important impact on their identity development" (p. 444). Provided this position, the community of Flora Tristan, presents unique socio-cultural conditions that are a critical component to the identity development of the students attending Villa Chachani Community School.

Sandra, Nathalie and Haley all used the adjective "poor" when asked to describe the Flora Tristan community. Later they expanded on this topic by portraying the community as lacking electricity, water, sanitation, good economic conditions and adequate housing. This echoed my own description of the community. Schwartz (2005) notes, "a number of barriers that might impede identity development in low socio-economic status ... poverty constricts the range of identity choices available to the person" (p.298). Given this information, it would be expected that the students would have a negative sense of self-identity and this would impact their sense of group identity. I believe that although these socio-economic conditions definitely impact the students, the conditions do not necessarily result in a negative group identity. While there are many things that the students lack, they still seem very happy to be who they are and where they are. They are pleased with their community. I never witnessed the students angry with whom they were, or with

one another, there were no obscenities, and within their tightly knit group, they would assist one

another. It was common for the students to share a treat or to help with lessons. There seemed to

be no longing for a different life. Not one student ever asked to be taken into the city at large, or to

be taken with the volunteer when they left. This speaks to their overall sense of completeness and

satisfaction. Given the students obvious sense of the media and other places, it is reassuring that

they have such a strong community and group identity.

Theme Two, People

Family

Any discourse regarding persons significant to social identity construction must, by default

include those closest to and most familiar to the Villa Chachani Community School students.

Groome (1995) states:

> the major sources which individuals draw on in forming their identities are social
>
> relationships, especially the messages which they receive from the different individuals
>
> and groups which impinge on their lives. These influential voices provide a measuring
>
> stick for behaviour, values, and attitudes (p. 3).

Participants particularly noted the importance of the family and peers as contributing factors.

Appearing to have less influence was the role of volunteer teachers and media role models. This

appears consistent with other researchers (i.e Purdie et al., 2000) who note the family as a major

contributing factor in identity development.

In particular, Sandra noted the role of the mother in looking after the children, "cooking,

washing, doing all the things at home, caring for the children". Haley chose to emphasize the role

of the mother in ensuring that her children receive all the educational opportunities that are

available, such as learning English for free at Villa Chachani Community School. Both Sheri and

Sandra mentioned that many fathers were absent and not as visible in the community, either

working, or in some instances they had been killed during the collection of gravel. Even with perhaps one parent absent, the strength and commitment of another provides the students with the appropriate cultural protocol necessary to succeed in the community of Flora Tristan and within the Peruvian society as a Peruvian. Sandra and I both noted the importance of correct cultural protocol in Peru; not simply a handshake and a hello, but rather a kiss on the cheek and the appropriate greeting. This is something important, emphasized in society, and obviously taught by the parents. Within the community and the Villa Chachani Community School youth there is a continuous re-emphasis and reassurance of this behaviour.

Haley and Sheri both believed that the family has an important role in the lives and behaviours of the students as evidenced by the help and care they give to their families. Haley remarked that "they do tend to be aware of helping their family, like they will often ask us for empty water bottles...that is a source of income for their family and the selling and reselling of plastic, so I think the family has a big influence over the way they behave". Sheri emphasized the caring role older siblings attending the Villa Chachani Community School provide to younger siblings and the independence that is required to complete this important task. My own field notes also provide an example of this independence. Care giving is a responsibility entrusted to older siblings who, having previously learned correct cultural behaviour, will see to the reinforcement of this practice in their younger siblings.

The role of the family is critical to understanding how the students view the Villa Chachani Community School and how the families' subsequent educational beliefs impact the students. Sheri believed that parents appear to hold education highly, stating, "the parents do have to make quite a bit of investment for their children to go to school...it does say something about the importance of education". The emphasis and subsequent sacrifices parents must make for a regular school education does not necessarily follow through with the Villa Chachani Community

School. Sheri and Nathalie reported that there are probably conflicting views of the school; some parents see it as a "daycare" or "kindergarten" to keep the students occupied while others see "the value in it" and the "importance of teaching their children English".

Role Models

The impact of role models in forming an important component to the group identity created within the Villa Chachani Community School also surfaced. While Sandra emphasize those within the family and media such as the television and video games, Nathalie and Sheri remarked upon the importance of more media based role models. Sheri emphasized superheroes and Peruvian television shows while Nathalie highlighted the television and American movie actors the students knew. The mention of family members as role models would indicate an "admiration and respect for the family and community members" (Purdie et al., 2000, p. 18) and something one would expect in a group composed of individuals with a positive self identity. Indeed the research of Purdie et al. in Australia noted that youth participants particularly thought family members and community members to be most influential in their lives. Although, the participants specifically mentioned the television as a source for role models, I believe the mentioned role models must also surface during the students' substantial exposure to the Internet and video games. This interpretation is based on the fact that the majority of data received during participant interviews made mention of the Internet and video games, and I believe these media would also be dominant sources of potential role models.

Peers

Many researchers believe that peer interaction encompasses a critical component to identity formation. Groome (1995) believes:

> for many children and adolescents the contacts which they have with their peers are some of the most influential ones in the process of forming their identity. In these group settings individuals learn a range of attitudes and behaviours (p. 62).

Heaven (1994) further emphasizes that peers have the ability to both create a "sense of identity and independence" (p. 79). Nathalie and Haley both observed and remarked upon the fact that peers appeared to play an important role in the Villa Chachani Community School culture and subsequently to the identity of the group. Nathalie remarked that the students were easily influenced by each other. Haley agreed stating, "I think they have an influence over each other peer wise". Indeed, Nakkula (2003) even argues that "identification with and attachment to peer groups takes on so much importance that it can override other attachment to family, parents, and teachers" (p. 22). In this case, the peers that attend the Villa Chachani Community School share similarities that include among others, socio economics, community residency, Spanish as a first language, and use of technology.

Volunteer Teachers

Participants did not emphasize the role of volunteers in influencing the students' group identity. Nathalie did remark that influential people in the lives of the students were "probably not the volunteers…I don't think they care very much about what we say or what we think". This is not surprising considering that none of the volunteers permanently reside in Arequipa, and are only seen within the context of the Villa Chachani Community School for a couple of hours a day. In addition, none of the volunteers reside in the Flora Tristan community while teaching at the Villa Chachani Community School. Volunteers that come to teach at the Villa Chachani Community

School, with few exceptions, have not had previous experience teaching ESL. Consistency and quality of teaching methods obviously varies greatly depending on the volunteers. Taking the above into consideration, this group of youth is not reliant on outside individuals for their identity construction. English therefore plays a minimal role in who they are as a group, and they are not easily influenced by transient outsiders.

Theme Three: Culture and Society

Clothing

Upon first meeting the students attending the Chachani Community School I noticed that they wore what I would term to be westernized clothing, typical to what you would expect to see the youth wearing in Canadian schools. Haley remarked upon this westernized clothing as that of "jeans, and t-shirt and caps" that were "sometimes branded" while Nathalie believed that the students desired and wore brands such as "Nike and Reebok" and also believed that the USA hat was a "symbol" or "emblem" to them signifying a brand.

I believe that clothing choice may be a result of the socio-economics of the family and community however; I also believe that it is a reflection of personal style and that of the school culture. Being a youth member of the Villa Chachani Community School obviously requires that the students "fit in" to the school culture. More traditional clothing is a symbol of young childhood; it is not a symbol of youth for the Villa Chachani Community School students. They are influenced by the surrounding westernized clothing culture prevalent in the surrounding city of Arequipa. Thus I would postulate that, although the youth attending the school do admire and place importance on family systems, they are also impacted by the youth culture of the Villa Chachani Community School. As I mentioned previously, the students never wear their uniform to the Villa Chachani Community School; they all change in order to become a student of the Villa Chachani Community School. As the students mature, they transition away from more traditional Peruvian clothing types

such as ponchos and chullo's (a hat with earflaps that is usually made from Alpaca wool), obviously an identity marker of young children in the community, to more adult clothing like jeans and t-shirts. A particular type of clothing, usually consisting of a hand me down branded t-shirt, jeans and cap is the visible Villa Chachani Community School "uniform". To create a group sense of "we-ness" the youth have adopted a specific yet easily attainable outward appearance.

Technology

Technology and the media were a focal point in participant discussion surrounding the group identity transition the Villa Chachani youth inevitably construct. Adolescence, as a life stage, presents at a time when youth are attempting to discover more about themselves; in essence they are identifying who they are as individuals (Bajovic & Elliott, 2006; Groome, 1995). Moreover, they become more overtly aware of their peers. Adolescence is full of change and a time when one is easily influenced by the media. Sheri remarked how this media exposure outside of Flora Tristan would make them "desire things they don't have". She reaffirmed the notion that given the students access to television, the Internet and games, commercialism would negatively influence the students' sense of group identity.

The media have the possibility to present the students with negative images such a stereotypical views of Indigenous peoples (Truchon, 2007; Restoule, 1999; Bird, 1996) or differences in socio-economics. While Sheri's view of the students' use of media can be interpreted as a negative self influence, my own interpretation, given the observed positive self and group identity of the students, reflects a more benign media influence. All the participants recognized a media influence, however, when questioned on the direction of this influence Haley believed that "it would impact on the parents that would have to afford this stuff". In my estimation, the students accessed media to play games and communicate with friends. In most of these games, such as "Guitar Hero" the student enters a role-playing environment designed merely for

entertainment. They totally recognize that it is a game and not reality. The youth are intrigued by the fantasy of the superhero and by playing these games can achieve gratification that is easily accessible and part of their Villa Chachani Community School group identity. They access the Internet in one of the small Internet "cafes" within Flora Tristan, which is actually a convenience store with Internet access. This is the same place they would go to buy their milk or bread, and therefore, is familiar and non-threatening. This is not a place they go to escape the village, rather they know everyone there and it is an everyday part of their lives. It is here where they check their e-mail and play games online. Their immediate link to the outside world is actually quite insular, thereby protecting their Villa Chachani group identity.

Youth Culture

When discussing youth culture, Natalie remarked how they live in a poor village but still access the Internet and probably use e-mail, see television and movies, and therefore, "they are not like completely lost a hundred years behind us". The use of the Internet for games and email is a definite part of the youth culture in Villa Chachani Community School. Once the students have changed from their regular school uniforms to play clothes, they frequent the Internet cafes for games and chatting on MSN. This behaviour is dependent on their access to cash, although the cost, comparable to buying a chocolate bar or a pop, is very affordable to them. For the most part, the youth are chatting with Villa Chachani Community School friends and perhaps, as Nathalie suggested, past school volunteers. Their exposure, even on the Internet, is self-limited to the familiar. They never mentioned anything like Facebook or My Space. For them the Internet is a tool similar to a cell phone or a game console. Where Canadian youth would text friends within their immediate group, the Villa Chachani Community School youth chat with each other on MSN.

To be a Villa Chachani Community School youth means living in the community of Flora Tristan, attending the school and being recognized as a student of the Villa Chachani Community

School as well as having a similar socio-economic status and retaining the strong family values and etiquette of their culture. These youth place emphasis on access to the Internet, video games and to a lesser extent, television. It also means that Spanish is your first language and you have some knowledge of the English language. This limited knowledge of English is perhaps the telling or key ingredient in the group culture. This is a new and unique culture. Despite recognizing the usefulness and desirability of the English language, none of their parents or others within the village has any knowledge of the English language, and this sets the youth of Villa Chachani Community School apart, strengthening their group ties.

Summary

This chapter described the participants, findings, and interpretations for this research study. While exploring the three themes that emerged; (1) environments; (2) people; and (3) culture and society, I interpreted participant perspectives with that of my own observations and related this with the scholarly literature on identity formation. In Chapter Six I discuss the findings further while revisiting and reflecting upon my research question.

CHAPTER 6

Discussion and Conclusion

Discussion While Revisiting the Research Questions

The purpose of this research study was to provide an indication of Villa Chachani Community School student group identity in the modern world from a social science perspective. Three themes, (1) environments, (2) people, (3) culture and society emerged from an analysis of the participant interviews and my own field notes. In this section, I will reflect specifically upon the following research questions taking into account the findings from the study:

Are the students attending the Villa Chachani Community School struggling with identity issues? If yes, what is the nature of their identity issues? If no, what are the factors that contribute to their strong sense of identity?

This study places emphasis on the importance of specific contextual influences that all Villa Chachani Community School youth encounter on a daily basis, be they environmental, social, historical or media and technology based. It is my belief that the students attending the Villa Chachani Community School face a unique set of contexts that ultimately impact their identity creation. Some of these unique contexts include: the socio-economics of the Flora Tristan community and its separation from the main city of Arequipa, the English language program at the Villa Chachani Community School, the people that students encounter everyday, the media and finally any existing stereotypes.

Closely tied to the contextual influences facing the students at Villa Chachani Community School is the impact of colonialism. While completing my research proposal, I initially believed the students would be Indigenous; their parents or grandparents would most likely speak an Indigenous language and more symbols (i.e. clothing, music, traditions) in the Flora Tristan

community would indicate an obvious cultural distinction from "The White City" of Arequipa. This belief was based upon the research I had completed for my thesis proposal and my experience teaching in Chisasibi Quebec, a remote Cree community in Canada where Cree culture is very evident in the community. Although English is evident throughout the community, Cree language and traditions are still valued and practiced. This was not the case in Flora Tristan. None of the students, or their parents, encountered by the participants or myself, spoke, or appeared to have knowledge of an Indigenous language or culture. The only exception to this observation was the use of some traditional clothing by very young children.

Answering my first research question, regarding any struggles with identity issues the students attending the Villa Chachani Community School might be facing is difficult. On one hand, considering the Spanish colonization of Peru and the subsequent loss of Indigenous languages and culture, some of the students attending Villa Chachani Community School, if Indigenous, will, I believe, inevitably face confusion and perhaps begin to question who they are within their group and individually. The community of Flora Tristan, where the Villa Chachani Community youth live, is extremely different from the main city of Arequipa. The effects of colonization and years of colonial rule are very evident today; the city itself is still divided with the shanty towns such as Flora Tristan outside, and separate from the main city of Arequipa. The residents of Flora Tristan are contained and without the same opportunities as those of the main city. They face poverty and lack essential services such as water and electricity enjoyed by Arequipa city residents. For most Flora Tristan community residents, maintaining Indigenous language and culture is not advantageous, and learning English, the key to many better jobs and opportunities in Arequipa, is not easily attained for adults. Although children and youth are provided with some opportunity to learn English through the Villa Chachani Community School, English proficiency takes years of

dedicated full-time study, and presently this program provides only a couple of hours of English lessons a day.

On the other hand, I also believe that at the time of my research, the students attending Villa Chachani Community School exhibited a strong sense of identity within their Peruvian sub-culture group. This is surprising considering the fact that Indigenous students throughout the world are currently facing issues with their identity. With this surprise, however, comes an obvious word of caution; this unique Peruvian sub-culture may have surfaced from an overall submerging of Indigenous identity. Subsequently, the lack of an overtly expressed Indigenous identity amongst the Villa Chachani Community School students, may somehow be expressed in a strong and unique Peruvian sub-culture dependent not only on the Spanish language, but also their other unique surrounding contexts; the environments, people and society that encase them.

To explore the sub-question involving the factors that contribute to the overall strength of the Villa Chachani Community School youth identity, I reflected on the data collected. An essential factor impacting the identity of this group of youth is language. Despite the possibility of many residents being of Indigenous extraction, Spanish is the first language of everyone I encountered in Flora Tristan. There was no indication when the Indigenous languages had been "lost" in favour of the Spanish language and Peruvian identity. Political "equalization" of Indigenous languages on paper, obviously does not, as Niño-Murcia (2003) showed in her study, equate to equalization of use by the residents of Arequipa, and other major cities throughout Peru.

Additionally, the lack of impact strangers or volunteers have on the group, further contributes to the strength of group identity. The volunteers each spend a minimal amount of time teaching at the Villa Chachani Community School (two hours a day), and teach English by utilizing the Spanish language, thereby bolstering and fostering an identity already strong within the

community. Additionally, Villa Chachani Community School group members are distinguished by their unique and minimal use of English.

Students are also exposed to a minimal number of stereotypes from the surrounding city of Arequipa, further contributing to the overall strength of identity expressed by the student group. The students rarely leave their community of Flora Tristan, thus are able to avoid making daily comparisons to other areas in the city of Arequipa. The Villa Chachani Community School student culture is therefore a reflection of both individuals in the community, such as family and peers, as well as the Flora Tristan environment. They have a unique sense of pride for their own community and the people in it.

The final contributing factor to the identity strength of this group of students lies in the individual families and peers encasing the Villa Chachani Community School students. Parents are seen as role models who instill a sense of independence while teaching cultural etiquette for Peruvian society. In addition, most parents see the Villa Chachani Community School as a constructive influence, and this is probably reflected in the students' positive attitude and the satisfied nature of the students attending the Villa Chachani Community School. Peers attending the Villa Chachani Community School share many commonalities that strengthen their group ties and further add to their identity as Villa Chachani Community School students. They all live in the same community, share the same first and second languages (Spanish and English), wear the signature "uniform", and are influenced by the Internet and video games.

Study Conclusion

This research study examined the perspective of four participants regarding the group identity of students attending the Villa Chachani Community School in Arequipa, Peru. Overall, the data demonstrates that these students present great strength in their group cohesion. Despite what some would consider to be mitigating contexts, they seem happy and confident and appear to

be pleased with their lives and overall situations. The source of the group identity appears to be a mixture of factors stemming from the environment (Villa Chachani Community School and Flora Tristan), the people (family and peers), and the culture and society encasing the students. This group of Villa Chachani Community School youth is a unique sub-culture, and as such, will no doubt continue to evolve alongside any new or changing contextual influences. These positive findings were reassuring considering that the work of other scholars regarding youth identity, as well as my own personal observations in Chisasibi, Quebec, initially suggested that the youth of Villa Chachani Community School could be facing identity issues.

This study emerged from my own intrinsic interest in youth identity and I find myself still engrossed in this research area. Contemplation often intrudes upon my writing, leading to reflection. I wonder, what has happened to the students attending Villa Chachani Community School? What are they doing now? How has their group changed or further emerged? Many questions remain, and as I find myself reflecting on my time in Arequipa, I desire to be there once again; to visit the Villa Chachani Community School youth, to shout "baja" after a long bus journey, or just to talk with locals in my Spanglish. My reflection always returns me to the last day I spent in Peru and my personal memories of this time. This day ended similar to many others.

Bang, Bang! The sound of echoing metal resonates loud enough for the community of Flora Tristan to hear. Students and volunteer teachers circle around the object and the soft muttering of discussion surfaces. "Pull, pull". "It's useless". "It won't shut. This door never shuts". "Let me do it. You need to kick it and then firmly pull the door to get it to shut". With one swift kick and a firm pull we are rewarded with success. Or is it? Yes, today, like every other day, we managed to get the door closed, but closing the door to the Villa Chachani Community School today finalized that my research journey was ending. Today it was personal; I could no longer say,

"I still have three more days, two more days, one more day". Saying to myself that "I still have…" was no longer fitting.

Now was the time to face my last walk through the streets of Flora Tristan. What had seemed so foreign just a few short weeks before was now second nature. Our small band of volunteer teachers and remaining students gradually made our way over the rough gravel road to the bus stop. Down and around the twists and turns of the steep terrain was a time that had become a daily ritual of reflection. Students and teachers chatted in Spanish about what had happened during the day, remarking on the beauty of the snow on the mountain in the distance, the amount of gravel that had been removed that day, or perhaps the appearance of a new shack. Every so often a student would break away from the group to head for home. Each time, cultural protocol necessitated a kiss on the cheek for every teacher and a polite "hasta mañana". "Until tomorrow", but for me, I had to face the fact that I was leaving and there would be no more tomorrows with this wonderful group of youth.

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Appendix A

Sample Interview Questions

Interview Guide of Sample Questions (parents, community members)

Warm up
1. How long have you been living in the community?
2. Were you born in Arequipa?
3. Is your family living with you or are they in another part of the country?
4. Do you have children? What are their names/ages?
5. What do you do for a living?
6. Where do you work?

More Specific

7. Do you know a lot of children and youth in the community? If you had to guess how many do you think you know?
8. What do you know about the Villa Chachani Community School?
9. Do your children or any children you know attend Villa Chachani Community School?
10. Do you like that the children are learning entirely in English at the Villa Chachani Community School? Why or why not?
11. Is the Chachani School seen positively by those in the community?
12. What is the first language of most of the students attending the Villa Chachani Community School?
13. What other languages are the children able to speak?
14. Do you know what languages are spoken within the home (i.e Spanish, Indigenous language, English)?
15. Do you know what languages are openly spoken within the community (i.e Spanish, Indigenous language, English)?
16. Have you noticed students speaking a mixture of languages while conversing (i.e Spanish and English or Spanish and Indigenous language)?
17. Have you noticed students speaking different languages only in certain places (i.e Indigenous language at home, Spanish outside the home and English at School)?
18. Do you think the children know their heritage? What do they know? Can you think of any specific examples?
19. How do you think the children identify themselves?
20. Who do the students identify with?
21. Who are their role models?
22. What do you think the students know about their culture?
23. Do the families and community observe specific traditions and ceremonies? Does this include traditional songs and stories?
24. What have you observed about traditional clothing? Is it worn solely for ceremonies? Do grandparents still wear traditional clothing? What about the parents or children?
25. What have you observed about the youth culture (i.e. music, clothing)?
26. What do you think has the greatest impact on a students sense of self identity (i.e. family, community, school, peers, general society)?
27. How are the community and residents perceived by those in Arequipa? Are they seen positively, negatively? How do you think this impacts the students identity?
28. Have any youth you know remarked or shared experiences about how they are treated by those outside the community?

Interview Guide of Sample Questions (volunteer teachers)

Warm up
1. How long have you been in Peru?
2. Where are you from?
3. What interested you about Arequipa?
4. How did you hear about the Villa Chachani Community School?
5. Why did you decide to volunteer? How long have you been volunteering for or how long will you be volunteering for?

More Specific
6. Do you know a lot of children and youth in the community? If you had to guess how many do you think you know?
7. What do you know about the Villa Chachani Community School?
8. Do you like that the children are learning entirely in English at the Villa Chachani Community School? Why or why not?
9. Is the Chachani School seen positively by those in the community?
10. What is the first language of most of the students attending the Villa Chachani Community School?
11. What other languages are the children able to speak?
12. Do you know what languages are spoken within the home (i.e Spanish, Indigenous language, English)?
13. Do you know what languages are openly spoken within the community (i.e Spanish, Indigenous language, English)?
14. Have you noticed students speaking a mixture of languages while conversing (i.e Spanish and English or Spanish and Indigenous language)?
15. Have you noticed students speaking different languages only in certain places (i.e Indigenous language at home, Spanish outside the home and English at School)?
16. Do you think the children know their heritage? What do they know? Can you think of any specific examples?
17. How do you think the children identify themselves?
18. Who do the students identify with?
19. Who are their role models?
20. What do you think the students know about their culture?
21. Do the families and community observe specific traditions and ceremonies? Does this include traditional songs and stories?
22. What have you observed about traditional clothing? Is it worn solely for ceremonies? Do grandparents still wear traditional clothing? What about the parents or children?
23. What have you observed about the youth culture (i.e. music, clothing)?
24. What do you think has the greatest impact on a students sense of self identity (i.e. family, community, school, peers, general society)?
25. How are the community and residents perceived by those in Arequipa? Are they seen positively, negatively? How do you think this impacts the students identity?
26. Have any youth you know remarked or shared experiences about how they are treated by those outside the community?

Interview Guide of Sample Questions (school representatives)

Warm up
1. How long have you been living in Peru?
2. Is your family living with you or are they in another part of the country or world?
3. Do you have children? What are their names/ages?
4. Why was the Chachani School started? What were the goals of the school?

More Specific

5. Do you know a lot of children and youth in the community? If you had to guess how many do you think you know?
6. What do you know about the Villa Chachani Community School?
7. Do you like that the children are learning entirely in English at the Villa Chachani Community School? Why or why not?
8. Is the Chachani School seen positively by those in the community?
9. What is the first language of most of the students attending the Villa Chachani Community School?
10. What other languages are the children able to speak?
11. Do you know what languages are spoken within the home (i.e Spanish, Indigenous language, English)?
12. Do you know what languages are openly spoken within the community (i.e Spanish, Indigenous language, English)?
13. Have you noticed students speaking a mixture of languages while conversing (i.e Spanish and English or Spanish and Indigenous language)?
14. Have you noticed students speaking different languages only in certain places (i.e Indigenous language at home, Spanish outside the home and English at School)?
15. Do you think the children know their heritage? What do they know? Can you think of any specific examples?
16. How do you think the children identify themselves?
17. Who do the students identify with?
18. Who are their role models?
19. What do you think the students know about their culture?
20. Do the families and community observe specific traditions and ceremonies? Does this include traditional songs and stories?
21. What have you observed about traditional clothing? Is it worn solely for ceremonies? Do grandparents still wear traditional clothing? What about the parents or children?
22. What have you observed about the youth culture (i.e. music, clothing)?
23. What do you think has the greatest impact on a students sense of self identity (i.e. family, community, school, peers, general society)?
24. How are the community and residents perceived by those in Arequipa? Are they seen positively, negatively? How do you think this impacts the students identity?
25. Have any youth you know remarked or shared experiences about how they are treated by those outside the community?

Appendix B

School Information Letter and Consent

Lakehead
UNIVERSITY

School Representatives Request for Approval of Research Study Entitled: Perspectives on Student Identity Issues at the Villa Chachani Community School, Peru

Dear School Representatives,

My name is Maija Lamminmaki and I am a student at Lakehead University currently completing my Master of Education degree. I would like to complete a research study at Villa Chachani Community School as partial fulfillment for my degree. The purpose of my research study is to examine the identity issues facing the students living in the community and attending the Villa Chachani Community School.

For this study I will be utilizing observation as well as interviews. I will be observing while I am a volunteer teacher at the Villa Chachani Community School in order to observe how the school environment impacts the creation of student identity. Interviews with participants (other volunteer teachers, community member, parents, organizers of the school) will also be conducted. Specifically, participants will be asked to:

1. Have an interview (really more of a conversation) with Maija to discuss their opinions regarding student identity. **This interview will last no longer than 1 hour.** The **conversation will be recorded on audiotape** and later transcribed by Maija. **Participant identity will remain confidential** because pseudonyms (fake names) will be utilized unless the participant requests in writing to be identified. In addition, **a Spanish translator will be made available** if a participant is more comfortable speaking in Spanish.

There are no direct benefits to participants. I do not believe there are any risks to participation. **Participation is voluntary, participants can withdraw at anytime or choose not to answer any of the questions asked by Maija.**

During this research **Maija will safely store all written data** in her place of residence. Maija will be the only one with access to the data pertaining participant identity. Transcription of the interviews will be done entirely by Maija to maintain confidentiality. Any written work regarding this project will always be shredded and never be thrown directly into the garbage. Additionally, all written field notes, interview tapes and transcribed interviews will be safely stored at Lakehead University for a period of 5 years, as per Ethics guidelines.

At your request, a written copy of the research results will be made available to you through either email attachment or through regular mail. Some of the research results will also be utilized for my thesis and other publications or presentations related to this research study. Participant confidentiality will be maintained during any presentations or publications through the use of fake names (pseudonyms) unless you choose to be identified and it is witnessed by a third person.

Please feel free to contact me at any time with any questions, concerns or comments you may have either by phone (807) 768-8526 or email mlamminm@lakeheadu.ca. You may also contact my thesis supervisor, Dr. Stelómethet Ethel B. Gardner by phone at (807) 766-7195 or by email at egardner@lakeheadu.ca. The Research and Ethics Board at Lakehead University may also be contacted at (807) 766-7289.

Thank you for taking the time to consider this opportunity,

Maija Lamminmaki

Lakehead
U N I V E R S I T Y

Consent form for School Representatives

We have read and discussed the following cover letter regarding Maija Lamminmaki's Master of Education research study. We understand and agree to the following:

1. There are no apparent risks to participation.
2. There are no direct benefits to participation.
3. **Participation is voluntary, the participant can withdraw at anytime or choose not to answer any of the questions asked by the researcher.**
4. All interviews will be conducted in English however, a participant may request a Spanish translator.
5. **The research interviews with the participants will be recorded by audiotape.**
6. Unless the participant gives permission to be identified **the participant's identity will remain anonymous** in all publications or presentations.
7. Final research results will be available at Lakehead University in Thunder Bay, Ontario (Canada) and all participants may request a copy of the final thesis to be sent by email attachment or through regular mail.
8. All data will be securely stored at Lakehead University for a period of 5 years.

➤

I, _____ represent the Chachani

Community School and we have agreed to support Maija Lamminmaki's

research study.

Signature _____

Date _____

In addition, we have decided that we would like the school to be:

☐ **Identified in this research study. The "Villa Chachani/Flora Tristan Community School" name WILL BE USED** by the researcher in any publications or presentations.

☐ **Confidential in the research study.** Only the name of the city (Arequipa) will be used by the researcher in any publications or presentations. The school will be assigned a fake name.

Appendix C

Participant Information Letter and Consent

Lakehead
UNIVERSITY

Invitation to Potential Participants: Perspectives on Student Identity Issues at the Villa Chachani Community School, Peru

Dear Potential Participant,

My name is Maija Lamminmaki and I am a student at Lakehead University currently completing my Master of Education degree. The purpose of my research study is to examine the possible identity issues facing students living in the community and attending the Villa Chachani Community School. I would like to invite you to participate in my thesis research project because I feel it is important to provide as many different perspectives on student identity as possible (i.e. community members, parents, school representatives, volunteer teachers).

For this study you will be asked to:

1. Have an interview (really more of a conversation) with Maija to discuss your opinions regarding student identity. This interview will last no longer than 1 hour. **If you choose to participate, the conversation will be recorded on audiotape** and later transcribed by Maija. **Your identity will remain confidential** because pseudonyms (fake names) will be utilized unless you request in writing to be identified. The interview will be conducted in English however, **a Spanish translator will be made available** if you are more comfortable speaking in Spanish.

There is no direct benefit to your participation in this research study. I do not believe there are any risks to your participation. **Participation is voluntary, you can withdraw at anytime or choose not to answer any of the questions asked by Maija.**

During this research **Maija will safely store all written data** in her place of residence. Maija will be the only one with access to the data pertaining participant identity. Transcription of the interviews will be done entirely by Maija to maintain confidentiality. Any written work regarding this project will always be shredded and never be thrown directly into the garbage. Additionally, all written field notes, interview tapes and transcribed interviews will be safely stored at Lakehead University for a period of 5 years, as per Ethics guidelines.

At your request, a written copy of the research results will be made available to you through either email attachment or through regular mail. Some of the research results will also be utilized for my thesis and other publications or presentations related to this research study. Participant confidentiality will be maintained during any presentations or publications through the use of fake names (pseudonyms) unless you choose to be identified and it is witnessed by a third person.

Lakehead
UNIVERSITY

Please feel free to contact me at any time with any questions, concerns or comments you may have either by phone (807) 768-8526 or email mlamminm@lakeheadu.ca. You may also contact my thesis supervisor, Dr. Stelómethet Ethel B. Gardner by phone at (807) 766-7195 or by email at egardner@lakeheadu.ca. The Research and Ethics Board at Lakehead University may also be contacted at (807) 766-7289.

Thank you for taking the time to consider this opportunity,

Maija Lamminmaki

Lakehead
UNIVERSITY

Participant Consent Form

I have read the following cover letter regarding Maija Lamminmaki's Master of Education research study. I would like to participate and understand and agree to the following:

1. There are no apparent risks to my participation.
2. There are no direct benefits to my participation.
3. **Participation is voluntary, I can withdraw at anytime or choose not to answer any of the questions asked by the researcher.**
4. All interviews will be conducted in English however, I may request a Spanish translator.
5. **The research interview will be recorded by audiotape.**
6. Unless I give permission to be identified, **my identity will remain anonymous** in all publications or presentations.
7. Final research results will be available at Lakehead University in Thunder Bay, Ontario (Canada) and all participants may request a copy of the final thesis to be sent by email attachment or through regular mail.
8. All data will be securely stored at Lakehead University for a period of 5 years.

➤

I, _____ would like to

participate in Maija Lamminmaki's research study. **I AGREE TO BE AUDIOTAPED DURING THE RESEARCH INTERVIEW.** I have also decided that:

☐ I WANT to be identified in this research study. **My own name will be used** by the researcher.

☐ I DO NOT want to be **identified** in the research study. A **fake name will be assigned to me** by the researcher.

Signature of participant _____

Date _____

Signature of Witness _____
(required for those wishing to be identified)