

THE VOICING AND SILENCING OF ETHNICITY AND THE NOTION OF 'RESISTANCE' IN THE STRUGGLE FOR ETHNIC RECOGNITION. FROM THE SLOVENIAN MINORITY IN TRIESTE TO QUECHUA INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES IN THE PERUVIAN ANDES¹

DOI: 10.17234/SEC.36.17

Original scientific paper

Received:


30th April 2024

Accepted:

25th November 2024

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This article reflects upon the meaning of 'resistance' in the struggle and pursuit of ethnic recognition against racial discrimination. The making and the preservation of ethnicity is a complex phenomenon as not all ethnic groups employ their cultural and language heritage to resist domination. The process of maintaining a distinctive ethnic identity is not a straightforward matter, especially when we consider the long-lasting racist legacy in post-colonial societies. Our analysis of this topic will begin in the context of the Slovenian ethnic minority in Italy and continue in Peru, among Quechua indigenous communities in the Andes. The main variable the paper will focus on is the disruptive power of race, which in the case of the Peruvian Andean communities has made Quechua ethnicity a controversial field of studies fuelled with discrimination and the inherent disavowal of the indigenous Other. The intricacies of this phenomenon will be explored to shed light on the reasons why Quechua indigenous communities in this Latin American region have not claimed their ethnicity in the pursuit of identity affirmation against racial domination.

Keywords: Slovenian minority, Europe, indigenous people, Quechua and Slovene languages, Peruvian Andes, Latin America, ethnicity, minority languages, racism, discrimination, colonial legacy, power struggles, resistance, silence, voice, auto-ethnography

¹ The research contents in this article represent a preliminary result in the project "Etnografija tišin(e)" (Ethnography of silence(s)), which started on 1st October 2023 (J6-50198; 2023-2026; leader dr. Katja Hrobat Virloget).

INTRODUCTION

Ethnicity is a complex phenomenon, and its making and maintenance are convoluted processes. Since ancient times, social groups have differed in cultural, social, religious, linguistic, racial, and ethnic features, considering that mankind was never a unified entity (Fischer 1980:xiv). They have cultivated their ethnic and cultural distinctiveness by establishing boundaries among themselves. These distinctive features are based on a shared agreement of codes and values (Barth 1969:16; see also Gurr 1993), which characterise the uniqueness of each ethnic identity, hence their desires to preserve their culture. Barth suggests that it is within the persistent interaction among ethnic groups that identity is shaped, and the preservation of cultural differences takes place (Barth 1969:16). In this sense, the construction of ethnicity is a two-way process that takes place within the boundary between 'us' and 'them' (Jenkins 1997:54; Nash 1996). Moreover, an ethnic group, in confronting itself with another one, defines its distinctive features, which will also become the main characteristics of its own cultural and identity re-construction. Ethnicity develops when 'differences are made relevant through interaction' (Eriksen 2001:263; Brass 1996) and there is a constant process of negotiation of symbols, and re-interpretation of cultural features as ethnic identity is constantly reconstructed and reshaped (Strathern and Stewart 2001:8). The making of ethnicity is mutable, as social actors define and re-define it in time through reinterpretations of cultural values, which are either recognised as valid or rejected (Baumann 1999:118–119). In this respect, ethnic identity can be defined as a social process of maintaining boundaries that people themselves recognise as ethnic (ibid.:59). But what happens when the process of ethnic identity making is disrupted by racial discrimination? This question used to have for me personally, an individual who was born into an ethnic minority, a straightforward answer: a racially oppressed and discriminated against ethnic group will use and proudly voice its language to resist, fight and assert its ethnic identity. This is how it will be able to thrive and continue to exist and evolve with its distinctive ethnic and linguistic cultural heritage in relation to the different Other.² This perception was biased by my upbringing as a member of the Slovenian minority³ in Trieste (Italy), which during World War II struggled

² Here, I am coining Said's (2003 [1978]) definition of 'Other' understood as a theoretical construct used to relate to Otherness (Said 2003 [1978]:xiii).

³ 'Minority' is here intended as an ethnically, culturally, racially, and linguistically distinct group that lives in a subordinate and marginalised position within a territory dominated and ruled by a different group (see Schermerhorn 1996; Rex 1996). The Slovene community in Italy became a national minority due to historical developments, political processes, and changes in national borders on the regional territory of Trieste. Since the end of World War I with the collapse of the

to preserve its ethnic distinctiveness due to the racist and ruthless violence of the Italian Nazi-fascist regime (Connelly 1999; Naimark 2023). However, as I began my academic research about indigenous⁴ Quechua speaking communities in the Peruvian Andes⁵ I had to review this understanding.

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

In this paper I will start my analysis by presenting the socio-cultural and historical background I come from to inform the reader how my historical, social and cultural upbringing as a member of a minority, an auto-ethnographic approach (Heewong 2009; Reed-Danahay 1997:2) has shaped the intellectual analysis of my PhD research on the topic of intercultural and bilingual education in the Peruvian Andes (Latin America). The importance of acknowledging positionality in qualitative research has been largely discussed in literature (Denzin and Lincoln 2000; Ellis and Bochner 2000). I will use my positioned self as a starting point from where I embarked on my academic research in the pursuit of an intellectual endeavour in the field of post-colonial studies and indigenous struggles. In this respect, the context of the Slovenian minority is not intended as a case

Habsburg Empire in 1918, the Slovenes have experienced a subordinate and marginal position in most of decision-making processes – politics, economy, culture, and regional/provincial and local (municipal) development levels (Brezigar 2020:9).

⁴ In this paper I use the definition 'indigenous communities' as 'peoples' and 'nations' having a historical continuity with pre-colonial societies that developed on their ancestral territories and who consider themselves distinct from the dominant society prevailing on those territories today. They are commonly marginalized, excluded, or discriminated against by the dominant society and struggle to preserve their distinctive ethnic, cultural, and political systems (for definition see ILO convention 169 and Stavenhagen 1995:151).

⁵ The Quechua population is one of the most numerous, linguistically, and culturally spread ethnic groups across the Andean region in Latin America. Its members live predominantly in Peru, Bolivia, Chile, and Ecuador. This ethnic group has been the primary carrier of great pre-colonial civilizations before the formation of the Inca Empire, and they had an important political and cultural role under the Incas. The Inca Empire (1438–1532) was conquered by Spaniards during colonial times. The Incas, who represented the aristocratic status, were one of the communities within the ethno-linguistic Quechua group, who at first lived predominantly in the fertile valleys around Cuzco in the Andean mountain region. Approximately between the 2nd century and 15th century BC, the Quechua population developed important state connections, which were founded in sophisticated agricultural systems; they were knowledgeable in the field of astronomy, medicine, trading etc. Among them there were the Mochica, Nazca and Wari, who once lived on what is today's Peruvian territory (Murra 1975:1978). In the last century in Peru, Bolivia, Chile, Ecuador, Argentina, and Colombia about 7 million people were registered as part of the Quechua ethnic community. In 2017, there were 5.176.809 people who self-identified as Quechua only in Peru (Censos 2017:219).

study compared to the context of indigenous Quechua communities in the Peruvian Andes *per se*. Rather, it is employed to illustrate how my upbringing has influenced my academic research, in particular the understanding of ethnic identity affirmation, language maintenance and resistance against racial discrimination. By introducing my socio-cultural background, the reader will better comprehend the reasons why I assumed that any racially oppressed ethnic group would use language and education as means for ethnic resistance and affirmation to fight back domination in the pursuit of political recognition. These preconceived notions were fundamentally challenged during my doctorate degree. It pushed me to review the binomial interpretation of 'language and education' equals 'ethnic resistance' I had as I began exploring the disruptive power of racism and its violent colonial legacy in the context of indigenous Quechua communities of the Peruvian Andes.

The information I provide about my community is based on research that I did for my master's degree (2006–2007) (a literature-based study) and my own personal experience of the socio-cultural minority context where I grew up. The analysis of indigenous communities in the Peruvian Andes is grounded in academic interdisciplinary research, which I started for my master's study and completed in 2015 for my PhD. In 2008 I spent about six months doing fieldwork, travelling to remote Andean Quechua indigenous communities in the regions of Cusco, Puno and Ayacucho where I conducted semi-structured interviews in Spanish. On some occasions my consultants interpreted for me in Quechua, especially if the conversations took place with elderly women in the countryside. In contrast, men prevalently used Spanish for work purposes and trading in the cities⁶ and urban areas.⁷ The main theme I inquired about was what indigenous Quechua communities thought of Intercultural Bilingual Education (IBE) schooling programmes that were promoting their culture and language and whether they thought it was important to maintain and cultivate their Quechua language through education. The interviews took place in different locations,

⁶ Women are still the primary carriers and users of the Quechua language in the household domain, as men traditionally moved to cities for work, where they learned Spanish and ever since tend to prioritise its use over Quechua. The progressive replacement of the use of Quechua with Spanish, also known as 'language shift' (Hornberger and King 1996:427), has contributed to the drastic reduction in the number of indigenous Quechua speakers in Peru in the 21st century: from 4.500 million in 1993 (INEI 1993) to 3.261 million in 2007 (INEI 2007).

⁷ In the regions of Cusco and Puno, I reached remote schools with the help of bilingual IBE promoters such as teachers, university professors and NGO employees either by public or private transportation. In the case of Ayacucho, I travelled to remote Andean communities by public transportation together with Malena (anonymised name), a bilingual woman who used to teach intercultural bilingual education in rural areas. For this paper, I will provide different examples from my trips with Malena because they provide a more in-depth analysis of the argument presented here.

at home, in the streets, at school where I spoke with family members (*padres de familia*) of Quechua communities, teachers, pupils, parents, university, professors and other supporters of the IBE agenda (e.g. NGO coordinators). During my school visits in remote Andean villages, I was able to do participant observation in class where I gained insight about the inconsistent and volatile character of the schooling programmes. The more I dove into my fieldwork, the more my findings confirmed what I read in literature prior to my fieldtrip: there was indifference and very little interest to endorse this type of inclusive education amongst teachers and family members (Tonet 2015). Teachers were reluctant to teach IBE and opposed the use of Quechua, whereas many families rejected it by sending their children to Spanish-speaking schools. In the paper, I will provide some answers to this complex phenomenon by unravelling the racist colonial legacy that Peruvian education has endorsed through the use Spanish language. But let us start with the Slovenian community where I come from.

THE SLOVENIAN MINORITY IN TRIESTE AND THE IMPORTANCE OF LANGUAGE

The Slovenian minority in Trieste is still alive and very vibrant today. The city was one of the imperial ports of the Austro-Hungarian Empire (1867–1918) and it was considered to have a ‘cosmopolitan orientation’ (Hametz 2005:6; Ballinger 2003) with a lively linguistic mix of peoples that included Greek, Armenian, Serbian, German, Austrian, Jewish, Italian, and Slovene communities (Ballinger 2003:28). Even today there is evidence of past interrelations between different ethnic groups that can be seen in the architectural style of the buildings, also in the culinary tradition, in the *triestin* dialect, religion (Christian, Serbian Orthodox, Greek Orthodox, Protestant churches, synagogue), all of which are representations of a ‘cultural intermixture’ (ibid.:25).

During the Habsburg Empire many ethnic groups distinguished themselves primarily by their language (Vilfan 1993:112). In 1867, the Austro-Hungarian constitution awarded all nationalities and local languages equal rights (Sluga 2001:18). Moreover, language rights became fundamental in reclaiming and affirming ethnic identities. The Habsburg Empire was an ‘ethnic mosaic’ in which multilingualism was ‘compatible with loyalty to the newly acquired national identification’ (Fischer 1980:354). Having ‘freedom of expression’ (De Varennes 2001:9) in the private and public domain allowed people to maintain a specific identity that distinguished them from the sovereign dominant national one. Language was considered one of the most important distinctive identity markers of nations (Vilfan 1993:126) and language rights were essential for the survival

of ethnic minorities. The protection and recognition of linguistic minority rights became more visible on a European level at the end of the First World War under the so-called Minorities Treaties overseen by the League of Nations.⁸ The Treaties afforded national linguistic minorities to enjoy the same treatment in law as other nationals and have equal rights to establish schools and institutions in their languages (De Varennes, 2001:5–6). In this respect, ethnic minorities were able to use their languages to continue practising their ethnic identity. This was also the case of the Slovenian minority in Trieste, whose language has been one of the main identification features of this ethnic group (Krejčí and Velímský 1996). It has provided the community with a sense of identity and continuity (Smeets 2004:156). The community members have been able to share and nourish a sense of belonging to their ethnic group. The Slovenian community members have until today claimed and used language as a symbol of diversification which has, among other things, prevented the assimilationist process of Italianisation to take over and cancel the Slovene ethno-linguistic distinctiveness (Roter 2010:314). In expanding its domain through the claim of 'italianità' (the Italian national identity) fascism fostered the disavowal and the annihilation of cultural, ethnic and linguistic diversity. The fascist regime denied and violently repressed the Slovenophone identity's claims in the area (Rigo and Favretto 2007:7). The first attack to the Slovenian minority took place in 1920 when Italian fascists burned down the Slovenian cultural centre *Narodni Dom* (Home of the People), a symbol of the Slovenian existence in the Trieste region which became an 'emblem of fascist persecution' (cf. Knittel 2015:260). Like other ethnic minorities, Slovenes were the target of intimidatory acts which threatened their daily existence. Fascists used denigratory terms such as *schiavo* ('Slav' or 'slave') against the Slovenian speaking inhabitants of Trieste region to promote the expulsion of what they referred to as 'Slovenian enemies.' Slogans such as '*Schiavi fora!*' (Slavs/slaves out!) were common during this historical period (Ballinger 2003:21). Many Slovenes and members of other ethnic minorities like Jews were taken to *Rižarna* (The Rice Mill of San Sabba), which was the only lager in Italy with a crematory oven. Here Nazi-fascists tortured, killed, burned, and sorted prisoners to be deported to Auschwitz and other extermination camps (Knittel 2015:148). The violence and atrocities that this and other ethnic communities had to endure since lasted until the end of World War II in 1945. For more than two decades, the Slovenian minority had to fight to be able to survive and preserve its ethnic and linguistic cultural identity, and language has played a major role in maintaining it.

Today, the Slovenian minority can claim its own newspaper (*Primorski Dnevnik*) in

⁸ On Minorities Treaties see *The League and the Minorities Treaties* in the Bulletin of International News, Vol. 5/18 (Mar. 16, 1929), pp. 3–10.

the Slovene language, a publishing house, a library (*Slovenska Narodna Knjižnica*), and its Slovene Research Institute (SLORI) (Ballinger 2003:43). In addition, we can listen to Slovenian news on the frequency of Radio Trst-A; we can request a bilingual ID printed in Italian and Slovene languages; we can freely celebrate cultural events (e.g. *kraška ohcet* – a traditional marriage and *majenca* – a ceremony dedicated to the celebration of spring) by wearing traditional *narodna noša* clothes, sing songs in Slovene and perform traditional folklore dances. Furthermore, we can attend the bilingual school system (from nursery to the age of eighteen) where in addition to the compulsory national Italian language I was able to study in my mother tongue. In this respect, language has been a 'symbolic guide to culture' (Sapir 1956:70, emphasis in original). In proving to be a coercive powerful symbol for consolidation and legitimisation of cultural solidarity and a 'sense of belonging' (Giles et al. 1977:307; Dobrin et al. 2007:60), it has served my community as a means of resistance against domination. Language has been a vital resource against assimilation and my community has employed it to assert our distinctive cultural and ethnic identity (Giles and Coupland 1991:190). As a member of the Slovenian minority in Trieste, I have always perceived the combination of language and education as a powerful form of resistance that has enabled acts of 'cultural opposition' (cf. Scott 1985) against an imposing and coercive sovereignty identifiable primarily with the Italian national identity. With the rise of fascism, the Slovene community politicised its language and, as Knittel phrased it, 'The mere act of speaking Slovene' served 'as an act of resistance' (Knittel 2015:261). Thus, besides being a means of cultural and ethnic maintenance, a medium for memory and testimony of a past struggle, language turns into a political statement, a subversive act of resistance against domination. This does not imply that the Slovenian minority is a closed community. On the contrary, the community has been able to preserve its ethnic, cultural and language heritage because of its openness towards the Other.

The region of Trieste is a place of fluxes, connections, and ethnic mixing. It is because of its spatial characteristic as a border region that the Slovenian community has been able to maintain an 'ethnic continuum' because of interactions and negotiations with different groups, which gave shape to a more 'conscious ethnic integration, preserving ethnic pluralism and the strengthening of bilingual practice' (Bufon 2003:7). This is what multicultural societies produce, different and multiple cultural identifications as ethnicity is a matter of contestation (Baumann 1999:57). Therefore, identity is constructed through open negotiations with the Other, as well as with a strong bond towards the maintenance of the Slovenian language, which has served the community as means of resistance against domination. In other words, the community has developed a collective consciousness or, in socio-linguistic terms, a 'collective volition' (cf. Hoffmann 1991:185) with the use of

their language, which enabled them to affirm their distinctive ethnic identity.

When I started exploring the indigenous Quechua speaking context in the Peruvian Andes, I assumed that this 'imagined community' (cf. Anderson 1991) also had a similar type of consciousness in relation to its language, which would enable them to form of coercive resistance to counteract assimilatory trends due to the Hispanization of their indigenous culture and language (Hornberger and King 1996:427; Cerrón-Palomino 1989:25). Nevertheless, I was naïvely biased by my socio-cultural background. As I began to unravel the destructive power of racism in the Peruvian post-colonial context, not only did I learn about the disruptive force racism has on the making of ethnicity, but it also forced me to review the idea of resistance in relation to the affirmation of ethnic identity.

THE POWER OF RACISM AND THE IDEA OF RESISTANCE

During my research I came to learn that the 'power of racism' is by far more destructive than one can imagine. Not only it is an external force that oppresses a given subject (e.g. ethnic group); it is also a power that in permeating individuals from within, disrupts the process of identity construction. How racism shatters individuals' sense of self and disrupts the making of identity was already extensively analysed in the 1950s–1960s by one of the great thinkers and supporters of the decolonisation struggles Frantz Fanon (1925–1961). In his study on the repercussions of colonialism on 'black people', Fanon (1963) discussed how racism deprives individuals of being human regardless of their actions and silences (Fanon 1963:65–66). Moreover, in being an oppressive force internalised by the colonised, racism crashes individuals from within as it forges identities grounded in what Fanon referred to as the 'colonised personality' (ibid.:250). Racism is therefore more than a mere category as it has proven to be more enduring, which makes the notion of resistance and ethnic affirmation a controversial topic.

In his theory on 'bio-power,' Michael Foucault (1926–1984), one of the most influential theorists on power in the modern world, discusses how racism is a 'revolutionary discourse,' which simultaneously 'blocks and replaces the call for revolution' (Foucault 2003:81–82). Racism protects society from impurities by normalising the 'right to kill' and by dictating what must live and what must die, what is worthy and what is unworthy (Foucault 1988). By serving as a form of governmentality or 'technology of power' (Foucault 2003:256), racism is a force interwoven in the social fabric, which in maintaining a 'permanent war' impinges on individuals and the relations established between them (Stoler 1995:69; Rasmussen 2011:35). Therefore, when we consider racism not only as an oppressive force that subjugates individuals from outside, but also in terms of actions

that individuals endorse in response to oppression and which shape the fabric of a society, the idea of resistance identifiable with a given ethnic group (e.g. Slovenian community or Quechua indigenous peoples) that opposes domination ought to be reviewed.

Studies which analyse resistance, such as peasant rebellions and indigenous revolts, have often generated a misleading polarity between those who 'dominate' and those who 'resist' or 'oppose domination.' As Poole (1994) pointed out in her study on power and cultural identity in the Peruvian Andes, 'peasants' and 'Indians' have been too frequently approached and analysed as interchangeable identities and have been used to describe the cultural and class formations of a resistant population (Poole 1994:3–4). The study by Scott (1985) *Weapons of the Weak. Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* provides an example of this cultural approach to resistance in history. Scott analysed forms of Malaysian resistance in terms of a 'cultural type' of opposition (Scott 1985:274), which makes power a 'monolithic category of the subaltern' (cf. Ortner 2006:54). While this approach can be applied to the case of the Slovenian minority in Trieste who has openly voiced and politically claimed its language for ethnic affirmation to resist the Nazi-fascist racist regime, it is not applicable to the context of indigenous Quechua communities in the Peruvian Andes. The making of ethnicity in this Latin America region has been fundamentally fuelled by a racist legacy deeply rooted in the disavowal of the indigenous Other.

In her study on what she refers to as 'culturalist forms of discrimination,' De la Cadena (2001) extensively illustrates how individuals in Peru – from officers in local markets to scholars in academic environments – have constructed and asserted their own identities by enforcing 'intellectual' and 'moral codes' of worthiness which commonly excluded people of indigenous ethnicity from their identity making (De la Cadena 2001:3–5). In asserting their ethnic identities, individuals in the Peruvian Andean regions have simultaneously excluded specific indigenous ethnic traits such as the Quechua language because they perceived them as 'unworthy.' This can be regarded as a repercussion of what the Peruvian sociologist Quijano (2000), an important figure of the decolonial perspective, refers to as 'coloniality of power.' The theorist suggests that colonialism endures in contemporary societies in the form of social discrimination integrated in succeeding social orders. The notion of 'coloniality' identifies racial, political and social structures that European colonialism imposed in Latin America, which prescribed value to specific peoples and societies while degrading others. In overcoming postcolonial theory in its temporal and spatial reach (Castro-Klarén 2008:133), the 'coloniality of power' encompasses the transhistorical expansion of colonial domination and the perpetuation of its effects in contemporary times (Moraña et al. 2008:2). In this respect, the 'Idea of Latin America' today continues to exist 'within the violence of colonialism' (Mignolo

2005:48) with its entrenched racist colonial legacy. The following sections illustrate how a racist legacy has endorsed the formation of an exclusive ethnic identity grounded in the inherent denial of the Quechua indigenous Other culture and language included. I will start by presenting the intricacies of Peruvian education.

A PERUVIAN RACIST EDUCATION: THE INHERENT DISAVOWAL OF THE INDIGENOUS ETHNIC OTHER

Education is more than formal schooling. In the first decades of the twentieth century, Dewey (1916) referred to education as the very process of living. Living not only produces knowledge, but it influences human consciousness and growth in terms of behaviours and thinking. It also constantly unfolds and reconstructs experiences (Dewey 1916:6, 76). Later, Durkheim (1956) defined education as a 'social organism,' which maintains conformity and homogeneity in society by shaping the ideal man and collective consciousness (Durkheim 1956:70, 123). In deepening further the relationship between education and society, studies have illustrated how education has played a crucial role in the reproduction of culture and the social system (Bourdieu and Passeron 2000 [1977]:6). By determining education, the attitudes and actions of individuals have endorsed cultural production and asserted identity formation (Willis 1977:120–122; Luykx 1999:xxxix–xl; Oliart 2011:184). Besides moulding the culture of a society, education has disclosed the process of identity-making that individuals have actively engaged in redefining. Education is, in Althusser's terms, the 'Ideological State Apparatus (ISA)', which re-defines a given social order (Elliott 2006:207–209; McLennan et al. 2007:84–85). It generates a given ideology that individuals in society mutually redefine through their material existence and actions. Historically, Peruvian education has been rooted in the disavowal of the indigenous Other and the exclusion of specific ethnic identity markers such as the Quechua language.

Since colonial times, Peruvian education has implied converting what were then called 'Indians' to values pertaining to the dominant Spanish speaking society. Indians were 'wrong forms of being' with an 'unworthy existence' that should be either annihilated, suppressed or fixed. Those who were not killed were subdued under paternalistic education aimed at redefining their ways of being. In referring to Indians as 'savages' and 'uncivilised,' Spaniards aspired to change their identity in terms of language, ideas, beliefs, and customs (Wood 1986:2, 7–8). Missionaries endorsed this type of education by teaching children of Indian chiefs and nobles (*caciques*) Spanish values, including the learning of Christian doctrine, Spanish language, reading, writing, maths, singing

and Latin in the internal colleges (*colegios de internos*) instituted in Lima and Cusco in the sixteenth and seventeenth century (Oberem 1985:178; Flores Galindo 1987:145–137; Spitta 1995:65–66). While converting the descendants of Inca aristocracies to Christian morale and principles pertaining to the Hispanic socio-cultural context, the Spanish crown controlled Indian masses by keeping them illiterate. Clerics were concerned that Indians would use the knowledge acquired through formal education to criticise their priests (Arriaga 1621 [1949]; Spitta 1995:67). Though Quechua, the official language of the Inca Empire, was never really an issue for the colonisers, it was banned after Túpac Amaru's II rebellion (1780-81) (Cerrón-Palomino 1989; Adelaar and Muysken 2004:165–410; García 2005b:21). During the Indian uprisings, the Quechua identity was a threat to the Spaniards. In symbolising a subversive identity, Quechua was attempting to overthrow the Spanish crown. Hence, the Spanish administration produced anti-Indian policies forbidding the further endorsement of any indicator symbolising the ideological pillars of the rebellions (Walker 2012:56). This included the prohibition of the use of Quechua language, the Quechua culture, the Quechua theatre, and literary works in Quechua (Adelaar and Muysken 2004:255). From this time onwards in Peruvian history, the Quechua language, when related to an indigenous identity, has been associated and regarded as something unworthy of including into the making of indigenous ethnicity.

After Peruvian independence (1824), racist education persisted through forced assimilation and the process of Hispanization. The educational agenda promoted amongst Peruvian elites was grounded in the whitening (*blanqueamiento*) of Indian race and the cleansing of the Peruvian Nation from possible 'negative' effects of racial mixtures (Oliart 2011:27–28; De la Cadena 2000:17). This racist discourse was endorsed through various educational schooling programmes and projects such as the civilian project (*proyecto civilista*) (1871–1930) (Contreras 1996:15–16; Oliart 2011:29) and farm schools (*granjas escolares*) (1929) (Espinoza 2010:2, 4–5, 9), which had the objective of 'cleansing Indians' from the 'impurities' of their identity and to replace their native Quechua language with Spanish. The spread of Spanish literacy consolidated the 'whitening' and 'purification' of the Peruvian Nation. Spanish was officially proclaimed the *lingua franca* during Peruvian independence, and it was used as *the* symbol of national identity (Godenzzi 2006). The 'purification of Indian souls' has been common practice in Peru (De la Cadena 2007:95–96), together with the learning of Spanish language. Peruvian *indigenismo* has played a major role in fostering this racist legacy.

THE PERUVIAN INDIGENISMO PURIST TRADITION

Together with Mexico, Peru has had the largest *indigenismo* legacy across Latin America (Coronado 2009; Chevalier 1970; Marzal 1986). The roots of *indigenismo* go back to the War of the Pacific in 1884, when indigenous peoples became objects of political and social reform. During this period, various writers, scholars and political activists established the *indigenista* school. The latter developed from a literary form of nineteenth-century romantic liberalism and in the twentieth century it became a movement for social and political reform (Klarén 2000:245). As a cultural movement cultivated amongst elite circles and by upper-class urban intellectuals, such as artists, literary writers and politicians, *indigenismo* aspired to build a nation based on a pre-Hispanic past and its prestigious Inca legacy (De la Cadena 2001:5). *Indigenistas* aimed at re-structuring the national image of 'Indians' by asserting the worthy indigenous identity through purist discourses. In comparison to other Latin American countries such as Mexico, Bolivia, and Ecuador, *indigenistas* in Peru have yet to claim *mestizaje*, the process of mixing of cultures and races, as an official ideology for the building of the Peruvian nation (De la Cadena 2001:3, 8). Peruvian *indigenistas* have viewed ethnic hybrids as 'immoral', pertaining to 'uneducated people', as they viewed it – a proper 'cultural deformation' (De la Cadena 2005:274). Although some Peruvian writers such as José María Arguedas argued against this purist ideology suggesting that it was through *mestizaje* that Peru could construct a solid nation and develop a free, right and homogeneous society, with no privileges or class and power hierarchies as all Peruvians carry some of 'all the bloods' or all races (Aliaga Murray 2011:150, 153; Cortez 2009:175), Argueda's proposal was disregarded and the debate about *mestizaje* in Peru is still ongoing (see De la Cadena 2006; 2001:7).

The *indigenismo* racist purism and segregationist paternalism can be traced back to creole nationalism (1836–1839)⁹ and later on to the oligarchical ideology during the Peruvian Aristocratic Republic (1895–1919) (Klarén 2000:214). In constructing national identity, the creole aristocracy employed specific symbols, which only accepted Indian ethnicity in relation to a magnificent distant Inca glorious past. At the turn of the twentieth century, the Peruvian oligarchy used the same xenophobic, racist and paternalistic discourses to exclude the 'Indian race' from national identity. While mythical Inca rulers, like Manco Cápac, were exalted, the ruling aristocracy enforced mechanisms of social coercion and moral control by portraying 'Indians' as 'barbaric,' 'uncivilised,' 'backward,'

⁹ The *criollo* nationalism refers to the ideology that was established by independence movements among the *criollos* (descendants of European colonizers) specifically in Latin America in the early 19th century.

'brutish,' 'stupid' and 'impure' (Méndez 1996:203–204, 222–223). This racist legacy, which has diminished the identity of the indigenous Other, has been consolidated through the idea of civilising Indians through Hispanization.

In the 1940s, Peruvian *indigenistas* instituted schooling programmes which aimed at Hispanicising the indigenous population. This was the case of brigades of indigenous acculturation (*Brigadas de Culturización Indígena*) (1930s–1940s) and clustered schools for peasants (*Núcleos Escolares Campesinos*) (1945–1952),¹⁰ which 'civilised Indians' by means of Spanish literacy (Espinoza 2010:6). By the 1960s, the growth of Spanish literacy among the peasantry produced significant social change. In elevating the masses, it brought transformations for the most disadvantaged social strata. In the broader Gramscian (1971) sense, education served as a means for the divulgence of revolutionary agency among subordinate groups (Gramsci 1971; Borg et al. 2002), as Spanish literacy allowed a larger number of individuals in the Andes to challenge the existing *status quo*. It was peasants who were now demanding education for themselves, a proper 'reactionary action' (Contreras 1996:2; Oliart 2011:34). The demand was nonetheless for an exclusive education, which valued and prioritised Spanish over the indigenous Quechua language. Although Spanish literacy helped indigenous peoples to defend themselves from the abuses of those in power as, among other things, it facilitated the recuperation of their lands from the landowners (*hacendados*) (Montoya 1990:98; De la Piedra 2003:45–46). Ever since the Hispanization process we can observe in the Peruvian Andes the consolidation of a broad and persistent opposition against the endorsement of a democratic education, inclusive of the Quechua indigenous culture and language.

RESISTING A DEMOCRATIC EDUCATION: THE DENIAL OF QUECHUA CULTURE AND LANGUAGE

The 1970s saw major changes in Peruvian National politics, which aimed to develop a more inclusive approach towards the indigenous Other. In 1972, during the presidency of Juan Velasco Alvarado (1968–1975), the Educational Reform intended to acknowledge and promote dialogue among different cultures within the Peruvian Nation (Oliart 2011:89). The purpose was to enable teachers and members of the indigenous community to together determine a new education founded in cross-cultural dialogue

¹⁰ During the educational reform in the 1960s, the Clustered Schools for Peasants (*Núcleos Escolares Campesinos*) became Educational communal nuclei (*Núcleos Educativos Comunales* (NECs)).

(Bizot 1975:38). In 1972, the National Bilingual Education Policy (Política Nacional de Educación Bilingüe - PNEB) promoted bilingual education in all highlands, lowland and coastal regions where languages other than Spanish were spoken (García 2005b:21; Hornberger 1987:208; Howard 2007:25–26). This was a significant move given that teaching in native languages had been prohibited since Túpac Amaru's II rebellions in the 1780s. In 1975, the Peruvian State proclaimed Quechua for the first time in Latin American history to be an official language co-equal with Spanish in the Law N 21115/21156 (May 27th) (Hornberger 1987:208). Only a year later, the Instituto de Estudios Peruanos (IEP) published six dictionaries and grammars, one for each of the main Peruvian Quechua varieties¹¹ and teaching Quechua became obligatory at all levels of education (Howard 2007:25–26). In an attempt to establish an education inclusive of the country's cultural and language diversity, Velasco's reform encouraged the development of a national ideology and identity respectful and inclusive of ethnic Otherness countrywide. However, Velasco's changes to the educational system were not welcomed.

Teachers largely rejected Velasco's reform. In challenging their educational upbringing, the Educational Reform questioned what teachers had learned in school regarding Peruvian society and its problems prior to the Agrarian Reform. They were now asked to embrace an ideology that valued the cultural and linguistic richness of the Peruvian nation, and they were not prepared for it. The 'principles of the reform' incited teachers to acquire an anti-imperialistic view and to promote a nationalistic and anti-oligarchic position (Oliart 2011:47–48). The propositions of Velasco's reform were further dismissed under the presidencies of Fernando Belaúnde Terry (1980–1985) and Alan García Pérez (1985–1990). From 1980 to 1990, twenty thousand teachers abandoned indigenous communities where they used to teach. According to teachers, it served no purpose to teach in these areas. Teachers viewed teaching in rural indigenous communities worthless, a place of perdition, where they would become someone who would no longer be accepted by urban society and who would be rejected by schools in the provincial centres (Oliart 2011:53).

Since the 1980s, new reforms have been envisioned for the inclusion of the indigenous ethnic, cultural, and linguistic diversity into education. In 1991, the Peruvian government institutionalised the National Policy of Intercultural Bilingual Education (BIE) (Howard 2007:25–26). In 1993, the State reformed the Peruvian Constitution under the

¹¹ When Quechua was officialised in 1975 (Law N 21115/21156, May 27th), the commission that implemented the law proposed an official Quechua alphabet called the Basic General Quechua Alphabet, with specified adjustments for each of the principal varieties of Quechua in Peru (Ancash-Huaylas, Ayacucho-Chanca, Cajamarca-Cañaris, Cusco-Callao, Junín-Huanca, San Martín) including the grammar rules of Quechua in each of these varieties (Howard 2007:25–26; Hornberger 1988:30).

international banner of human rights, with the aim to promote fundamental freedoms, including establishing a more equal society, respectful of cultural and linguistic diversity (UNESCO 2002:61–64; UNESCO 2006:13). For the first time in the history of the Peruvian republic, Peruvian Law formally recognised the multicultural nature of the nation inclusive of native peoples (Yrigoyen Fajardo 2002:157; Howard 2011).

Based on these constitutional principles, a new multicultural institutionalisation aimed to develop and strengthen cultural elements such as language, traditional forms of organisation, customs, and normative systems in the name of cultural plurality (Yrigoyen Fajardo 2002:167). The major body in charge of the implementation of bilingual and intercultural education was the Unidad Nacional de Educación Bilingüe Intercultural (UNEBI). In 1996, this institution made IBE national policy (Howard 2011). While claiming 'respect' for indigenous languages (Hornberger 1987:205–206), the UNEBI promoted governmental policies that aimed at incorporating indigenous peoples into the larger society to *achieve national unity* (García 2005b:24–25). Between 1997 and 2001, the UNEBI produced a significant amount of bilingual teaching material, which included about forty-nine bilingual manuals, including five regional Quechua variations and other indigenous languages. With the support of NGOs, universities, and research institutes, the UNEBI endorsed training for teachers in bilingual education, providing material for IBE programmes (García 2005b:22).

In 2001, the UNEBI merged into the Dirección Nacional de Educación Bilingüe Intercultural-DINEBI, and in 2003, the New General Law of Education (28044), the *Ley de Lenguas* (Language Law), and the National Policy of Languages and Cultures in Education were established (see Comisión Permanente del Congreso de la República 2003). The objective of the policy was to institutionalise IBE not only through government policy, but make it part of the state (García 2005b:23). Intercultural Bilingual Education was not meant to differ from the national curriculum (Documento de Trabajo [s. a.]:22). Nevertheless, in practical terms, IBE programmes have been applied primarily in rural areas (Zavala 2007:18–19). During my fieldwork in 2008, most teachers were not interested in endorsing this type of inclusive and democratic education.

During a meeting with six teachers and the headmaster at the school in Paucarcolla-Collana on the outskirts of Puno, teachers showed no interest and no motivation in endorsing an IBE curriculum (Tonet 2015:151). Only one teacher was using Quechua in class. The rest of them did not see the point. As one of them mentioned, family members do not wish their children to speak Quechua. Another one said that children no longer spoke Quechua. Yet, only one hour earlier, I had attended a fourth-grade class in that same school, where the teacher who was endorsing an intercultural bilingual programme spoke with his pupils in Quechua and the pupils lively and cheerfully responded to him

in their mother language. Teachers commonly discriminated against the implementation of IBE programmes. During a conversation with Malena, the former IBE teacher disclosed that her attempts to promote IBE were disapproved of by most colleagues, who used to teach exclusively in Spanish in Quechua speaking communities. As she explained, they used to criticise and scorn her by saying: '¿porque EIB?, ¡¿crees que el Perú va a progresar?! ¡¿Te crees patriota, vas a progresar enseñado quechua?!' ('Why IBE, do you think Peru is going to progress?! Do you think you are a patriot, do you think you will progress if you teach Quechua?!', translation by Tonet) (Tonet 2015:151–152).

Malena pointed out that those colleagues who refused IBE had prejudiced and racist views of indigenous peoples living in the countryside. They used expressions such as 'indiecitos que no dicen nada' ('Little Indians who don't say anything', translation by Tonet), 'pobrecito el indio' (poor Indian), and 'indios chanchos' (dirty Indians) to refer to their students and family members (Tonet 2015:150). I heard similar denigratory condescending tones during my visits in the main square of the remote Huarcaya village (near Chuschi, Ayacucho) where Malena and I spent some time conversing with family members and pupils about IBE programmes at the local school. As we were about to leave, a male teacher approached us and asked in Spanish what we were looking for. Malena kindly explained the purpose of our visit. In a condescending manner, the man asserted that we should go to the local school instead and speak directly to teachers, including himself, about IBE and not to family members. As he referred to the latter: '¿iqué saben ellos?!, ¡ellos no saben nada!' ('What do they know, they know nothing!', translation by Tonet) (Tonet 2015:150). The teacher openly exerted his prejudiced view of Quechua speaking indigenous family members as he portrayed them as ignorant and unworthy of engaging with on matters regarding the education of their children. This disparaging trend towards indigenous peoples has been common practice amongst teachers who discriminate against children and family members whom they depict as 'less civilised,' 'dirty,' and 'ignorant' (García 2005a:116–118), judged on their traditional clothing, their feasts, their beliefs, their language and because they are indigenous (De la Piedra 2003:38–39). Here we can see how the Peruvian racist education has secured the disavowal of the indigenous Quechua ethnicity. Teachers have played a major role in maintaining a legacy of prejudice against Quechua indigenous peoples as they have promoted the idea that Quechua culture and language are not worth nurturing and maintaining in education. This also illustrates how the coloniality of power is re-enacted in present times through discriminating attitudes and beliefs, grounded in the inherent disavowal of the indigenous Quechua Other. But how have family members in indigenous Quechua speaking communities responded to this unjust and racist legacy, which has throughout history persistently attacked their ethnic identity? As I presented in the case of my ethnic community, the latter has employed its distinctive ethnicity, especially

the Slovenian language, to assert itself and nourish a collective consciousness to resist and oppose the oppressive and racist Nazi-fascist domination. However, as the next section illustrates, this is not the case with the Quechua speaking indigenous communities in the Peruvian Andes.

ETHNIC RESISTANCE: EXPERIENCING SILENCE IN A REMOTE ANDEAN COMMUNITY

In the Peruvian Andes, indigenous Quechua speaking communities have yet to employ their ethnic identity for political recognition as they have been relatively unresponsive to social movements organised under the banner of 'indigenous cultural rights' (De la Cadena 2007:12). A shared indigenous ethnic identity and the establishment of independent indigenous political organising on a national level has been fundamentally disrupted by cultural discrimination and internal violence (Caumartin et al. 2008:232–236). By arison with the Peruvian Amazon¹² as well as other Latin American countries such as Mexico, Guatemala, Ecuador and Bolivia, where indigenous communities have claimed their ethnic cultural and linguistic identity for political empowerment (Smith et al. 2000; Brysk 2000; Nash 2001; Stephen 2001; Sieder 2002; Pratt 2007) as they have openly and proudly affirmed it to celebrate their 'indigeneity' (indigenous identity) in order to promote and consolidate their partisan endeavours (Glidden 2011:33; Van Cott 2005:52), the Peruvian Andes lack this type of mobilisation, which has been also referred to as 'the Peruvian anomaly' (Yashar 2005:225; Pajuelo 2007:33). In this Latin American region, indigenous peoples have politicised their 'peasant identity' over their ethnic indigenous ancestry (Glidden 2011:78). The term peasant (*campesino*) began to be increasingly used in the 1960s when peasants, workers and miners were contesting the state (ibid.:100). Since the Agrarian Reform in 1969, the notion *campesino* has formally replaced the term 'indigenous' to refer to Andean communities, and still today indigenous peoples in the Peruvian Andean highlands use the connotation *campesino* to self-identify in the pursuit of their autonomous political agendas (Nueva Reforma Agraria - Decreto Ley 17716 (1969); Harding 1975; Laats 2000:2; Decreto Legislativo N. 1015, 2008). In the 21st century, Quechua indigenous communities in the Peruvian Andes still

¹² The native communities (*comunidades nativas*) in the Peruvian lowlands have officially asserted their ethnic and political autonomy in 1978 by establishing the *Confederación de Nacionalidades Amazónicas del Perú (CONAP)* –The National Confederation of Amazonian Nationalities of Peru (Glidden 2011:86; Selekman 2011:138–139; Greene 2006).

refer to themselves as 'peasant communities' (*comunidades campesinas*) (Census 2016: Confederación Campesina del Perú CCP; Decreto Ley N. 31269, 2021). Furthermore, in contrast to Ecuador and Bolivia, in the Peruvian Andes IBE has not been in the hands of indigenous peoples (Zavala 2007:35). Exceptions have existed in the Peruvian Amazon with IBE programmes such as AIDSESEP (1980) and FORMABIAP (1988). The indigenous communities of the Amazonian regions have participated in determining how to implement IBE programmes in the communities (Zavala 2007:221; García 2005b; Aikman 1997, 2003; Burga Cabrera 2005). However, in the Peruvian Andes there is little or no interest to endorse an education inclusive of Quechua culture and language among indigenous peoples. Community members would rather send their children to a Spanish speaking school than have them attend an intercultural and bilingual class. The school where Malena used to teach an IBE programme in the Cangallo community (Aycucho) closed because the local mayor and other community members withdrew their children from her class as they did not want them to learn Quechua culture and language (Tonet 2015:154). I could personally see this opposing strategy during one of my trips to Andean communities. Early one morning, Malena and I were on our way to Culluchaca village (Ayacucho) when we met about six children between six- and ten-years old walking in the opposite direction. Malena asked them in Quechua where they were headed, and one of them responded in Quechua saying that they were going to school in another village down the valley where they taught exclusively in Spanish (Tonet 2015:161–162). Opposition to an education inclusive of Quechua language and culture was widespread across Quechua speaking indigenous communities and it was also palpable in the silence I experienced in another Andean community.

When I visited Paccha, a remote Andean village in the region of Ayacucho, during a school meeting, Malena asked in Quechua the present audience (about thirty male and female community members) what they thought about IBE (Tonet 2015:156–158). About a minute of silence followed Malena's words. 'Que quieres decir?' (what do you mean?), a male's Spanish voice from the audience broke the silence. Malena repeated herself in Quechua, but her words were once again followed by an even longer and daunting period of silence. I remember thinking 'Where are the voices of indigenous peoples? Where are those voices supportive of an education inclusive of their Quechua language, culture and identity?' As I started to feel uncomfortable standing with Malena in front of all those community members, a woman from the crowd stood up and said in Quechua that she would like her children to learn Quechua at school but: 'why teachers who come to the village do not speak Quechua?!'¹³ She added that when she and other

¹³ Malena translated for me.

women go to school, they cannot talk to teachers because the latter do not speak their language. As Malena started responding by explaining the difficulties that surround the implementation of IBE programmes, she was soon interrupted by the local teacher's Spanish authoritarian voice who strictly stated that they had to start their meeting and that we should leave. Once again, silence fell upon us, no words were added. Quietly Malena and I collected our backpacks and walked away. As we were passing by some women, the latter kindly smiled at us, shook our hands, and handed us traditional *t'anta wawa*¹⁴ for our trip back to Ayacucho.¹⁵

The episode provides an example of how the disavowal of Quechua ethnicity in the Peruvian Andes has been also tacitly consolidated through silence(s), and not only through the non-politicization of indigenous Quechua identity or overt forms of opposition such as not sending children to school where IBE programmes were applied or withdrawing children from class where Quechua was taught. Although there are indigenous family members and teachers like Malena who believe in a more just education, inclusive of Quechua ethnicity, their voices succumb under overt and tacit forms of consent, which deny the implementation of intercultural bilingual education. The indigenous Quechua woman in Paccha was alone in voicing her wishes for an inclusive education for her children, her voice was absorbed into the silence the rest of the community members repeatedly 'voiced.' The voice can be viewed as an attempt to resist and withstand domination. However, her voice alone cannot subvert the deeply rooted colonial racist legacy when most of her fellow Quechua indigenous community members oppose the consolidation of a democratic education inclusive of their ethnicity, which instead continues to be viewed and perceived as a 'wrong' and unnecessary identity. In this respect, we can conclude that in disrupting ethnic consciousness and fragmenting a sense of belonging to their own Quechua culture and language, the destructive and violent power of race, in Foucault's terms (Foucault 2003:81–82), has 'blocked' Quechua ethnicity from serving as a 'revolutionary discourse' to resist and oppose domination. The coloniality of power is therefore secured, and so is the reproduction of a racist education that promotes the inherent disavowal of the indigenous Quechua ethnic identity.

¹⁴ *T'anta wawas* are typical Andean homemade bread in shape of a baby made of sweet dough. They are shared during gatherings and festivities (e.g. carnival).

¹⁵ To reach the remote Andean communities, it was common for us to catch the local *colectivos* (buses) at about 3:00 AM to reach the communities at about 6–7 AM so we could talk to family members before they went to work in the fields. After the interviews, we returned to the city where we resided.

CONCLUSIONS AND FINAL REFLECTIONS

In this article I provided an example of how two very different communities have responded to racial discrimination on the grounds of their ethnicity. The Slovenian minority in Italy has openly voiced and politicized its distinctive ethnicity, including its community's language, to affirm itself and to resist racial oppression, whereas the indigenous Quechua-speaking communities in the Peruvian Andes have silenced it by excluding it from political objectives and denying its preservation through education. Based on what has been illustrated so far, some conclusions can be drawn.

To begin with, the Slovenian minority in Trieste was able to resist the roughly two-decade-long Nazi-fascist domination because the latter was, in comparison to the long-lasting colonial racist legacy in Peru, a short episode in European history. The powers involved were clearly defined: the Italian Nazi-fascist racist regime vs. the Slovenian speaking ethnic minority. Once the tyrannical Nazi-fascist rule collapsed, the Slovenian minority was able to redefine itself and its boundaries in relation to the new Italian national identity by reconstructing a sense of ethnic self and belonging to the community. Language was employed to re-affirm its distinctive ethnic identity. About seven decades later, I can proudly and freely voice my Slovenian ethnic background, while embracing and cultivating a multi-ethnic identity inclusive of Slovenian, Italian, English and Spanish languages, among others. Based on my upbringing, I have been able to develop an inclusive outlook towards both languages – Slovenian and Italian – and one did not exclude the other even though prejudice against the Slovenian community still exists (e.g. today's fascist damage road signs with Slovenian names on them; on one occasion, after learning that I was attending a Slovenian high school, a man referred to me as *schiaiva*).

Nevertheless, as we saw with the case of Quechua indigenous communities in the Peruvian Andes, the long-lasting colonial racist legacy has been way more efficient in undermining the indigenous Other. In shaping individuals' identities, it has made racial prejudice a daily practice whereby indigenous peoples end up replicating a racist *status quo*: a vicious cycle embedded in the repudiation of indigenous Quechua ethnicity. As a result, in the twenty-first century, a racist colonial inheritance continues to shape Peruvian ethnicity, which keeps indigenous peoples in a state of marginalisation and social exclusion discriminated against because of their ethnic identity (Escobedo 2013:121). Perhaps, the silencing of indigenous Quechua ethnicity from political endeavours and education has been a strategy that Peruvian Andean communities have employed for ethnic survival, or maybe it indicates resignation. Whichever may be the case, by opposing the establishment of an inclusive and democratic education, indigenous communities in this Latin American region have paradoxically secured the disavowal

of their ethnicity as a racist colonial legacy continues to repropose the idea that the indigenous Quechua Other is still, after centuries, a wrong and unworthy identity. The choice to openly voice indigenous ethnicity is still conditioned by a deeply rooted racist and subjugating education, which has made resistance in the Peruvian Andean post-colonial context a controversial field.

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Davanja glasa i utišavanje etničnosti te pojam “otpora” u borbi za etničko priznanje. Od slovenske manjine u Trstu do autohtonih zajednica Kečua u peruanskim Andama¹⁶

Martina Tonet

U ovom se radu razmatra značenje “otpora” u borbi i nastojanju za etničko priznanje u kontekstu rasne diskriminacije. Stvaranje i očuvanje etničnosti složen je fenomen jer ne koriste sve etničke skupine svoju kulturnu i jezičnu baštinu kao sredstvo otpora dominaciji. Proces održavanja prepoznatljive etničke pripadnosti nije jednostavan, pogotovo kada se u obzir uzme dugotrajno nasljeđe rasizma u postkolonijalnim društvima. Analiza ove teme započet će u kontekstu slovenske etničke manjine u Italiji, a nastavit će se u Peruu među autohtonim zajednicama Kečua u Andama. Glavna varijabla na koju će se rad fokusirati je disruptivna moć rase, koja je, u slučaju andskih zajednica u Peruu, učinila etničnost Kečua kontroverznim područjem istraživanja punim diskriminacije i inherentnim odbacivanjem autohtonog Drugog. Istražit će se složenost tog fenomena kako bi se rasvijetlili razlozi zbog kojih autohtone zajednice Kečua u ovoj regiji Latinske Amerike nisu iskoristile svoje etničko nasljeđe u nastojanjima za afirmacijom identiteta protiv rasne dominacije.

Ključne riječi: *slovenska manjina, Europa, autohtoni narodi, jezik Kečua i slovenski jezik, peruanske Ande, Latinska Amerika, etničnost, manjinski jezici, rasizam, diskriminacija, kolonijalno nasljeđe, borba za moć, otpor, tišina, glas, autoetnografija*



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¹⁶ Istraživanje u ovom radu predstavlja preliminarni rezultat u projektu “Etnografija tišin(e)” koji je počeo 1. listopada 2023. (J6-50198; 2023-2026; voditeljica dr. Katja Hrobat Virloget).