

Reform is a very popular term in Mexico these days, particularly in the education sector. In other circumstances, this word would have encouraged positive reviews from teachers, parents and pupils who have longed for change to the shortcomings of a system they know too well. Take teachers, who have frequently expressed that they want better training and working conditions. Or parents, who want the government to boost quality education for their children.

Instead, a newly minted government led by leftist nationalist Andres Manuel (or AMLO as popularly known) has proposed a reform that has created uncertainty. Having been elected with a powerful mandate, AMLO swiftly worked to substitute what he perceived was the punitive educational reform of his predecessor, Enrique Peña Nieto. But many are sceptical. Some fear that dismantling the evaluation mechanisms will imply a return to the previous status quo of selling teaching jobs. Others believe the changes will bring budget cuts in priority areas such as early childhood education. And while Congress has already approved changes to the constitution, the details of the secondary laws are still unknown.

This lack of detail is why public opinion and teachers were surprised to learn that the Ministry of Education (SEP, in Spanish) had developed a new educational model to be enacted in the coming academic year of 2019-2020. But the model is transitional: students in the first years of elementary education can expect to learn under the 2011 curriculum while the other remaining four grades will work under a hybrid approach of the 2017 and 2011 educational models. This situation poses a challenge to schools in terms of synchrony since each curriculum conceptualises the goals, processes and outcomes of education differently.

One such difference concerns indigenous education. Indigenous education in Mexico resulted from an increased recognition that the country is a multicultural and multilingual society—a shift from previous ideals of *mestizaje* or racial-mixing. Under *mestizaje*, indigenous peoples needed to conform to a homogeneous conception of citizenship, which included speaking Spanish. Those unwilling to integrate were isolated from mainstream society. In this process, the textbooks and curricula have played an important role.

Starting in the 1960s, textbooks for elementary education have been free, government-endorsed and mandatory. They have been used as a tool to uniformly promote the values of national unity in children by creating a set of common heroes. Such was the case of the first edition where the cover pages of the books showed the main figures of Mexico's independence and revolutionary periods. Inside the texts, there is little information on the indigenous peoples and cultures that inhabited the country before the Spanish conquest.

(picture 1 over here)

The idea of a homogenous Mexican nation has gradually shifted since then. Textbooks diversified and began showing indigenous pre-Hispanic symbols. They aligned with the recently approved changes to the constitution that recognised Mexico as a pluricultural society (in 2001). Yet, the government at the time did not issue any methodological or conceptual document that systematised the approaches to attend diversity.

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Policymakers hoped the new model of 2011 would fill the conceptual gap described above. It did so by highlighting the multicultural and multilingual composition of the country. In the textbooks, each indigenous culture was considered as important as that of the *mestizos*. This perspective was known as interculturalism. In interculturalism, there is wide cross-cultural dialogue and a shift in power relations whereby each culture has a position of equal standing. In practice, the programmes, despite their intended goals to achieve otherwise, emphasised a one-sided perspective where indigenous students could learn in their own language as well as Spanish, but only in indigenous schools. Other modalities in the educational system were left unchanged.

It is in this context that my CLAS summer grant takes place. Initially, my interest focused on the school processes—how teachers, particularly those in urban areas, adapt their practice to diverse classrooms. But the recent constitutional changes made me realise how important was to look at the policies, and ideologies, that govern the curricular changes. As a result, I conducted archival research to understand how the different educational models addressed indigenous education in the country. Concretely, I focused in the textbooks, curriculum and plans.

I visited the Ministry of Education, the National Archives and National Libraries such as the library of the National Autonomous University and the Jose Vasconcelos looking at textbooks, policy documents, speeches and any other document related to this process. My goal was to expand my understanding of the conceptual approaches to indigenous education over time but focusing in the 2011 and 2017 models as well as the current proposal.

There is evidence that some change is underway. Nowadays, the constitution explicitly states that the curricular plans and programmes will incorporate indigenous languages. More textbooks are expected to be available in more languages in the coming years. The main question is whether it will only apply to indigenous schools, as it is currently done, or whether the entire educational system will adopt this approach. Success will depend, in part, on how well it designs the necessary resources for indigenous students to build their capabilities and how committed the government is to continue adopting an intercultural approach.