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UDC:

INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION IN MEXICO: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND (COLONIAL PERIOD AND INDEPENDENCE)

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This article presents the results of a historical-pedagogical research, which objective was to determine the features of Mexican intercultural education in the colonial era and during the period of Independence. The authors conclude that in colonial times, Mexico has challenged the construction of a single national identity, imposing a European language and culture on a multicultural territory with Amerindian roots. From this, the harmony of Mexican society is sought (until today), the idea of involving minorities, which are groups of Mexican people who have been marginalized for having different ideologies with respect to the majority culture, persists. In the 16th century in the colony, the strategies used by the evangelizers for teaching Christian culture and Castilian to the conquered people were designed: education was traced as a conquest with the Franciscan missions. During the teaching of the Castilian language, which had the objective of evangelizing and obeying the monarchy, since it was considered the official language of the crown, some innovative didactic practices were designed. The time of the Independence of Mexico (1810) represented the dissidence of secular oppression. That is to say, the assimilation that implies the passive state of a culture in relation to another, the dominant culture, which considers it a superior culture, was implemented. After the Mexican Independence (1810) and revolutionary struggles (1910), pedagogy tried to strengthen culture and Spanish as the de facto language. In short, although it can be found certain connotation of intercultural education in pre-Hispanic multicultural society, nevertheless both periods analyzed, the colonial era and that of Independence, are characterized by processes of psychological acculturation, something very distant, even opposed to intercultural education. At the same time, certain of its features are observed in the process of indigenous languages' studying by Catholic missionaries.



Key words: Mexican intercultural education; education in the colonial era and during the period of Independence; innovative didactic practices designed by catholic missionaries; cultural assimilation and psychological acculturation in independent Mexico.

У статті представлені результати історико-педагогічного дослідження, метою якого було визначення особливостей мексиканської міжкультурної освіти у колоніальну епоху та період набуття незалежності. Автори прийшли до висновку, що в колоніальні часи на території Мексики конкістадори мали за мету підпорядкування численних американських етнічних груп католицькій церкві та іспанській монархії, нав'язуючи європейську культуру та кастильську мову мультикультурній громаді завойованого континенту. З того часу й до сьогодні не полишаються спроби пошуку гармонійного існування мексиканського суспільства, зберігається ідея «залучення меншин», які були маргіналізовані через те, що їх світогляд не співпадає з ідеологією більшості. У XVI столітті в колонії були розроблені стратегії, які використовували євангелізатори для навчання християнської культури та кастильської мови завойованих місцевих. Так, францисканські місії усвідомлювали освіту як «завоювання» душі індіанців. Під час викладання кастильської мови, вивчення якої було основною умовою успішності євангелізації та підпорядкування «нових підданих» монархії, оскільки вона вважалася офіційною мовою корони, було розроблено багато інноваційних дидактичних методів. Так, заслуговує на увагу метод пікторгам. В період набуття Мексикою незалежності (1810 р.) та пізніше під час революційної боротьби (1910 р.) активно проводилася асиміляція, яка передбачає пасивний стан культур меншин по відношенню до домінуючої культури. Основною метою освіти була розбудова національної ідентичності, об'єднання нації навколо «єдиної» мексиканської культури та іспанської мови. Тобто, про міжкультурну освіту навіть не йшлося. Отже, очевидно, що хоча можна знайти певну конотацію міжкультурної освіти в доіспанському мультикультурному суспільстві, обидва проаналізовані періоди: колоніальна ера і епоха незалежності, характеризуються процесами культурної асиміляції та психологічної акультурації, які є віддаленими, навіть протилежними міжкультурній освіті. Разом з тим, певні її риси спостерігаються у процесі вивчення мов корінних народів католицькими місіонерами.

Ключові слова: мексиканська міжкультурна освіта; освіта в колоніальну епоху та в період незалежності; інноваційні дидактичні методи, розроблені католицькими місіонерами; культурна асиміляція та психологічна акультурація в незалежній Мексиці.

Introduction

The treatment of Mexican intercultural education is presented as a challenge for the construction of national identity, that is, the educational system in the attempt to impose a foreign language and culture on the multiculturalism and multilingualism of the territory. It has always been a challenge for pedagogy to develop harmony in Mexican society: the idea of involving minorities, who have been marginalized for having different cultural ideologies with respect to the territory where they live, that is, because of the “majority” culture, persists. It should be noted that in the political sphere the “majority” is the regulatory principle understood as “pluralism”; thus, “they must exercise their power with



moderation within the limits set by respect for the pluralistic principle¹” (Sartori, 2001, p. 32).

The primary intent of pluralism is to ensure intercultural peace, not to foster hostility between cultures. UNESCO (1996) identified and classified the following cultural groups:

- indigenous villages;
- territorial minorities with a long cultural tradition that have lived in national contexts where minorities are numerous, as is the case in the countries of Europe and America;
- non-territorial or nomadic minorities, groups without spatial ties related to a territory;
- immigrants who tend to collectively negotiate their cultural and religious presence in a particular society.

Consequently, for the protection of these vulnerable groups, agreements have been concluded since remote years, such as the *Peace of Augsburg*² (1555, Germany) for the protection of religious minorities; or the *Peace Treaties* of 1919 established between nations to avoid future conflicts, among other agreements, signed before and after the Second World War.

Another important strategy to promote intercultural peace, and decrease hostility between different cultural groups, is the implementation of intercultural education. The analysis of Mexican intercultural education constitutes the historical, migratory, cultural, linguistic confluence. The first topics to be discussed are education as a conquest with the Franciscan missions in colonial times and literacy and cultural assimilation of the period of Independence.

In general, the historical aspects of Mexican education studied Álvarez, Bazant, Bolaños, Bracamonte, Cardiel Reyes, Díaz Covarrubias, Escalante Gonzalbo, Gonzalbo, Greaves, Hernández, Hernández Camargo, Labastida, Lecoin, Loyo, Mejía Zúñiga, Meneses Morales, Novo, Ornelas, Palacios, Ríos Zuñiga, Sánchez Flores, Solana, Staples, Tanck de Estrada, Tena, Torres Septién, Vázquez, Zebadúa, among others.

Aim of the research

The objective of the work which results are presented below was to determine the features of Mexican intercultural education in the colonial era and during the period of Independence. The study was carried out using the documentary-bibliographic research method.

Results and Discussion

The study carried out showed that a certain connotation of intercultural education is found in pre-Hispanic cultures. Thus, the pre-Hispanic education of the Mexicas before the arrival of the Spaniards, worked as follows. In the first place, it is important to specify that in the 15-16th century, the Aztec Empire was a multiethnic, multicultural, multilingual country, serving Nahuatl as the language of intercultural communication (thus, the scribes (in Nahuatl, *tlacuilos*), for example, dominated in two to four or five languages). Second, the inhabitants of Tenochtitlan (the capital of the Aztec Empire) under the power of Itzcóatl and

¹ Authors' note: The pluralistic principle is inclusive, the spheres of religion, politics and economics must be properly separated and none must overlap the other, since pluralism yearns for a policy of peace. Aforementioned, according to the Mexican legislation of the 2014, in reflection of the intercultural aspects.

² Authors' note: The *Peace of Augsburg*, also called “*Peace of Religions*”, was a treaty signed by Ferdinand I of Habsburg, brother and representative of Emperor Charles V and the Imperial States, on September 25, 1555 in the free city of Augsburg in Germany, by which the religious conflict of the Reformation was resolved.



Tlacaélel, opened a program of ambitious reforms for the life of the people in the political, religious, historical and social orders, inspired by a mystical-warrior ideal. To do this, the old version of the story was destroyed: “[...] Because many lies are kept there, and many in it have been considered gods” (León-Portilla, 1966, p. 245).

It is noted that, in the last stage of the pre-colonial era, the central power homogenized and manipulated the knowledge of the students. Undoubtedly, the school as a regulatory institution of the State has always been the ideal place to instill values by the will of those who govern. What was vigorously pursued was to renew the mind and spirit of the inhabitants of Tenochtitlan, the State proposed to give its version of history to its citizens: “the same government took control of the education of its subjects” (López, 1961, p. 118).

The education process traced a legal order ensuring that “in all the neighborhoods³ there was schools and recollections of the young men”, a place where religion, good breeding, good customs, war exercises and activities away from leisure were taught; the student should feel chosen by the divinity (Durán, 1980, p. 217). The objectives of education were divided into two:

1. Domestic education: prepare and help the child to adapt to his/her own environment, which encompassed everything vital to man, from birth to adult development. It was believed that an individual lacking this education would feel alienated from his/her own environment.

2. School education: in it there was interference of interests, both on the part of the student, and of the society or the State that provided it. The learner acquired the means to fight for existence in society, the efforts of each individual formed a sum total of effort (Kobayashi, 1996).

In short, for a society to work, it needs the collaboration and effort of all its members, and even projects for the future. In Mexica society, man was born for war (“cosmic mission”); and the woman, for the home (“domestic mission”); with birth, one's own mission was conceived, specific and determined.

With the arrival of the missionaries in ancient Mexico, or New Spain as it was called by the colonizers, their specific mission was to evangelize and convert the Amerindian peoples to the Catholic religion. What the teaching of the letters of the Castilian language meant. This caused an impact on the inhabitants in their way of life, their worldviews, aspects such as linguistic, intellectual, everything in relation to their human integrity. “The conquest sought its legal and religious motive in evangelization” (Picón, 1969, p. 60), that is, the recognition of being a colony under Spanish rule. Likewise, the natives sought recognition of their new god, through baptism the creed, or the Catholic faith was assumed.

The injustices and mistreatment that some conquerors applied in relation to the indigenous people to evangelize them, have been the subject of controversy and disgust. However, it is important to highlight the figures of the friars Pedro de Gante and Arnaldo de Basacio, who were the first to recognize in the indigenous people the same qualities of the European human being, affinities to be cultivated by an education towards high goals. The first obstacle encountered by the missionaries was the language: how could they learn the Nahuatl language without a teacher? They learned it by playing with the children and

³ Authors' note: According to Fray Sahagún, the four large neighborhoods of Tenochtitlan prior to the Spanish conquest: Cuepopan, Teopan, Moyotlan and Atzacualco, were preserved even later, becoming the parishes of Santa María la Redonda, San Pablo, San Juan and San Sebastian.



it took about half a year for “the first twelve⁴ missionaries to understand the indigenous people” (Richard, 1995, p. 84).

According to Diego Valdés, the Indians “[...] were greatly astonished to see the promptness and ease with which some strangers expressed themselves in their native language and believed it was something divine” (Palomera, 1962, p. 126). Otherwise, for them, Castilian was almost impossible to learn: the complexity of the Spanish language was due to the terminology, the letter system, concepts that did not exist in the Nahuatl language, and consider the lack of consonant letters: b, d, f, g, r, s, j, ñ, ll. Likewise, it is of interest to observe about the Nahua speakers, the linguistic aspects related to the masculine and feminine genders in the *Compendium of the Art of the Mexican language (Compendio del Arte de la lengua Mexicana)* of Fray Horacio Carochi (1759):

The males did not pronounce the consonant “v”, as in the Spanish language the two “v” are pronounced (in the word “vivo”, “alive”) because it seems a little in the pronunciation of the vowel “u”, but it does not make a syllable either (as in the Nahua word “uéuétl” which means “drum”); it has two syllables and not four, and so that the consonant “v” is not pronounced as in Spanish, an “h” is usually placed before it, such as “huéhuétl” which means “old”. But Mexican women pronounce the “v”, a consonant, as it is pronounced in the Spanish language (Carochi, 1759, p. 15).

Nevertheless, how to teach your language to the speakers of such a different language? It is pertinent to resort to the reflection of Eco (1994), where he suggests that all culture must be studied as a communication phenomenon based on meaning systems. In particular, in the 16th century, the missionaries used pictograms and ideograms. However,

Figure 1
Pictograms in the Italian and Ukrainian languages



Adapted from “Communication notebooks with arasaac pictograms for Ukrainian refugees – translations in different languages” by Aragonese Center of Augmentative and Alternative Communication (ARASAAC), 2022 (<https://aulaabierta.arasaac.org/archivos/Items%20de%20portfolio/cuadernos-de-comunicacion-para-refugiados-de-ucrania>). Copyright 2022 by ARASAAC

⁴ Authors' note: The first twelve friars of the Franciscan order arrived in Mexica territory between June 17 and 18, 1542.



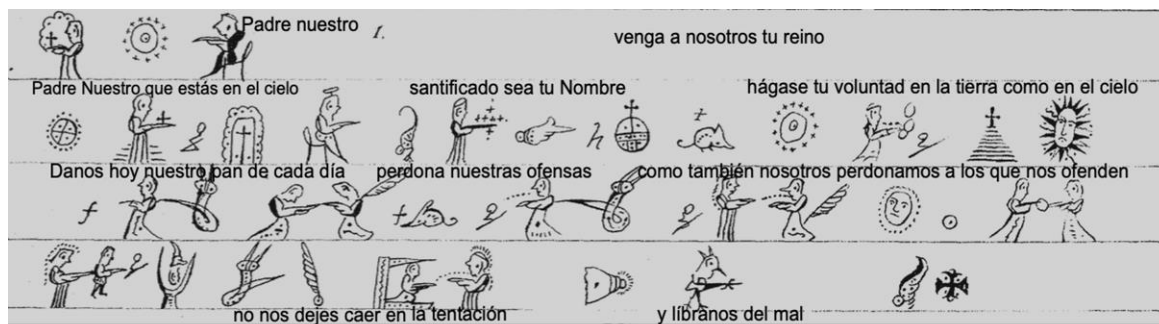
over the centuries, even today, people with different languages and cultures continue to use creativity to communicate. Thus, due to the war started by the Russian Federation against Ukraine on February 24, 2022, thousands of families were forced to immigrate as refugees to different European countries. Within the Italian schools, the small Ukrainians were welcomed, a situation that demanded reciprocal understanding. In this way, the didactic technique of pictograms similar to those used by the evangelizing friars of the 16th century was installed (see Figure 1). As can be seen, the Italian and Ukrainian languages denote differences in their alphabets, so the creators resorted to capturing ideas through pictograms.

Apparently, there are still pedagogical contexts that are based on the technique of pictograms and ideograms, as happened with the Nahuatl-Latin-Spanish languages. The first to use the didactic method of paintings was Fray Pedro de Gante, who introduced pictograms and ideograms for the doctrine of children in the catechism. He explained the main sentences with simple drawing figures and signs, almost certain that they had been made with the help of the indigenous people (Vázquez, 1981).

In another order of ideas, the missionaries, by achieving the understanding and learning of the Nahuatl language, managed to indoctrinate through the didactic material created in collaboration with the indigenous. It was a dense repertoire between sentences like: *Ave Maria*, *Credo*, dictionaries. Thus, the teaching of the *Pater Noster* in Latin can be seen in Figure 2.

Figure 2

Teaching method of the pictograms of Fray Pedro de Gante



Adapted from "Annals of the National Museum of Mexico", volume I, 1877, p. 217. (<https://archive.org/details/analesdelmuseona00muse>) Adaptation in Spanish by the authors.

The didactic method for teaching language and catechesis was applied taking into account two linguistic strategies; however, both had advantages and disadvantages:

- Use of European terms: it avoided misunderstandings and distortions, but Christianity was seen by the natives as a foreign element over time; that is to say, it prevented the true roots in the indigenous soul.
- Use of periphrasis of vernacular languages: it had an affinity with the assimilation of Christianity by the indigenous people, but it was questioned whether the dogmas were understood.



Figure 3

Description of the pictograms of the Our Father prayer by Fray Pedro de Gante

Pater noster: expressed by the religious, in the sense of father and our Lord.

Qui es in coelis: the bust of the same religious or Lord, placed in the two concentric half circles in representation of heaven.

Sanctificetur nomen tuum: developed the idea by the religious in a reverential attitude.

Name was signified by the four initials placed at the head of the Savior's cross, which unleash the words *Jesus Nazarenus Rex Iudeorum*.

Adveniat regnum tuum: a man with his hands raised, like someone who tries to reach the sky that is discovered towards the top: *regnum*, taken for heaven or the kingdom of heaven.

Fiat voluntas tua, sicut in coelo, et in terra: the inseparable figure of the priest serves for the regimen of prayer, presenting the word *Lord*; the hand says *will*, action, or do; the plants or magueyes are placed to indicate the earth, just as the circle crowned by the cross says *heaven*.

Panen Nostrum: the religious distributing the bread to the people who receive him on their knees.

Quotidianum: written with the two altars surmounted by a cross.

Da nobis hodie: the two seated people eating. The hand shown in this way belongs to this pictorial group as well as to the next; here in the sense of giving; in the next throw the verb forgive.

Et dimite nobis debita nostra: the hand to forgive; the priest or *Lord* as nominative in the sentence; the *toad* representing sin, debt or guilt; the plural *nobis* for the two supplicant persons.

Sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris: the previous group; the hand in the sense of forgiveness; people who retire *forgiven*.

Et ne nos inducas in tentationem: the religious as nominative, the *Lord*; a fallen man over whom the evil spirit rises; the hand symbolizing the idea of holding, taking, receiving, doing, executing.

Sed libera nos a malo: the religious with a sword in his hand, defending two immediate people and threatening the devil who flees to the demonstration.

Amen: Represented by the hand next to a flower.

Adapted from "Annals of the National Museum of Mexico", volume I, 1877, p. 214-215. (<https://archive.org/details/analesdelmuseona00muse>).

It was considered that the use of terms in the European language would lead to the following of religious orthodoxy, which is why greater use was made of Spanish and Latin words. Figure 4 breaks down some examples:

As the languages in question were involved, hybrid terms also emerged, that is, a way of accommodating the language by grammatical requirements: *crístianóyotl*, *Diosé*, *santome*. What was not allowed was the translation of God in "téotl" (in the Nahuatl language), but the hybrid form "téotl Dios" was tolerated. That is to say that the Creator, the Almighty, was reiterated in both languages. More examples of the hybrid forms are presented in Figure 5.



Figure 4.

Spanish and Latin words frequently used in the evangelization of the indigenous

Dios, Spiritu Sancto, Sancta Iglesia Católica, gratia, doctrina Christiana, obispo, artículos de la fe, sacramentos, pecado venial, pecado mortal, virtudes theologales, sentidos corporales, padrinos, limbo, domingo, misa, cuaresma, pascua, diezmos, primicias, bautismo, confirmación, penitencia, comunión, extremaunción, orden sacerdotal, orden de matrimonio, bendición, bendito, sacerdote, virtudes, cardinales, evangelio, justicia, madrinas, archangel, personas, purgatorio, cruz⁵.

Adapted from “Vocabulario en lengua castellana y mexicana” by fray Alonso de Molina, 1571, imp. A. de Spínola (bibliotecadigital.aecid.es/bibliodig/es/consulta/registro.cmd).

On the other hand, in the picturesque secular tradition of the Mexica culture⁶, the dance constituted an important element for the religious rites. This even became an incipient theater with a mask and other elements of disguise for the rites in honor of Quetzalcóatl, god of the wind. The missionaries took these artistic elements for the purpose of rooting the parishioners to the holy Catholic faith. This pre-Hispanic tradition was used for didactic purposes, taking “the birth of Christ” to the theater. The first reference to theatrical representation was in 1533. Very popular were representations such as the “End of the world” and the “Incarnation” (Kobayashi, 1996, p. 114).

During the time of Independences in the Latin American region, as far as Mexico is concerned, the years 1810-1850 represented the dissidence of the old colonial regime, prior to the secular oppression of the colonizing power that imposed its own culture and civilization, including language, religion and laws (Estermann, 2009).

Figure 5.

Hybrid forms of Nahuatl and Latin used during evangelization

cruztitech, sanctome, sancta Mariaé, christianome, christianóyotl, Diosé, tipadre, tichristiano, igracia.

Adapted from “ (1947). Nahuatl honorifics” by Pittman, R., 1947, *International Journal of American Linguistics*, 14, p. 141. Copyright 1947 by Pittman.

This fact constituted the entry of the republican government, which promoted an educational system for the process of emancipation of the people (“citizen”⁷); the school

⁵ Authors' note: This is the list prepared by Alonso de Molina and printed, by order of Zumárraga, on June 20, 1546, by the historian García Icazbalceta, J. (1941, pp. 30-53), one of the illustrious men of the nineteenth century, considered a pure intellectual.

⁶ Authors' note: Mexica culture was a synthesis of the heritage of other cultures that preceded it in the Mesoamerican sphere: religious thought, political system, trade, urban planning, calendar, writing, arts. Everything was the fruit of a long cultural tradition that had come together in the culture of Tenochtitlán. It is distinguished, however, by two cultural creations and a spiritual tradition.

⁷ Authors' note: As established in the *Constitutional Decree for the Freedom of Mexican America (Decreto Constitucional para la Libertad de la América mexicana)*, sanctioned in Apatzingán on October 22, 1814, article 50 says: “[...] sovereignty resides originally in the people, and its exercise in the national representation, made up of deputies elected by the citizens”; the nation placed the citizens at the center. This liberal idea was influenced



inculcated “the virtues” useful for the construction of the new citizenship. In practice, it had to face a rich context of traditional values that remained strongly rooted, which in the long run caused greater difficulty in the process of spreading the new republican global system from educational spaces (Alarcón, 2010).

The government made an effort to “homogenize” the country, channeling the nationalist idea that promoted the development of national schooling (García, 2004) and school education (Nolasco, 1988). The teaching of the Spanish language was established, first, under the independence idea of the national language; second, “for schooling and literacy that was restricted to the jurisdiction of city dwellers” (Acevedo, 1988, p. 221).

The foregoing shows that the teaching of the Spanish language was an instrument for the assimilation⁸ of a European culture, religion and language, in a territory that considered the indigenous⁹ a problem to solve, an obstacle to the modernization and progress of the time. The objective was that the Indians should integrate as soon as possible into the dominant society (Stavenhagen, Baronnet, 2013). Apparently, the school has always been an institution that imposes the will of the government in the learning process, which objectives are derived from public education policies without considering the cultural and linguistic identity of children, a fundamental part of the pedagogical decision.

The Mexican intercultural dynamics in their evolution, are parked in the theory of acculturation, as reflected in the distinctions that were made of Mexicanness; that is, the attention to the indigenous and non-indigenous population present in educational policies, which have been developing until the new assumptions that support bilingual intercultural education (Fábregas, 2011). Here, it’s interesting to appeal to the theory of acculturation.

Anthropology shed light on the dynamics of human movements in order to put peace in the face of conflicts, and improve relations between cultural contacts; even more, the repercussions of these subjects in their personal development. Classic studies, such as interethnic relations or intercultural relations, arouse international interest in the 21st century. Indeed, it concerns the global question, knowing that the school (or the pedagogical practice in the school institution) is the ideal place to put boys and girls, children of different social groups, in contact. For example, the meeting of an indigenous companion and a binational¹⁰ companion supposes an unimaginable wealth that they can share; hence, the transcendence that can flow from the cultural legacy of this experience.

On the other hand, acculturation consists of the phenomenon originated by constant and direct contact between groups of individuals with different cultures, manifesting successive cultural changes and modifying the models of one of the groups (Tylor, 1871). Malinowski (1940), during his research stay in the valley of Oaxaca (Mexico), addressed social change and “cultural contact”, finding that one of the few constants in human life is cultural change. Likewise, Aguirre-Beltrán maintains that the vitality of culture leads to

by the Cádiz Constitution of 1812, an assembly made up of representatives from Spain and Latin America (Decreto Constitucional, 1814).

⁸ Authors' note: Assimilation implies the passive state of one culture in relation to another, the dominant culture, in value judgment, is considered the superiority of one culture over the other, which is a misconception.

⁹ Authors' note: Indigenous people in the history of Mexican education have been the object of analysis in different historical contexts and in educational policy models. They are often the object of reflection in intercultural didactics projects.

¹⁰ Authors' note: The term “binational students” in the Mexican educational system refers to children from families of returning Mexican migrants who have studied in the US educational system and are more fluent in English than Spanish.



contact with others, that “no matter how simple its technological use and the process of evolution of cultures may be, it can be fast or slow” (Aguirre Beltrán, 1957, p. 73).

Based on Graves’ (1967) proposal, acculturation causes a psychological impact at the individual level, with these internal transformations having an impact on the change of attitude, lifestyle, behaviors, values, identity, etc. and, considering a parallel contact of cultures, it involves each one of the individuals of the group to a new culture, a “psychological acculturation”.

Conclusions

So that our advance to various historical moments in Mexico, in which this country has approached the construction of intercultural education, allows us to conclude the following. The antecedents of modern Mexican culture are preliminary notions with a connotation of intercultural education; modern bilingual (indigenous) education reforms were led by the secular struggles of past centuries. The Mexican educational system finds its roots in the configuration of the Mexican national State, which is reflected throughout the educational policies to educate and “acculturate” the Mexican citizen.

In colonial times, Mexico has challenged the construction of a single national identity, registering attempts to impose a European language and culture on a multicultural territory with Amerindian roots. From this, the harmony of Mexican society was sought, because the idea of involving minorities persists to this day, which are groups of Mexican people who have been marginalized for having different ideologies regarding the majority culture.

As a consequence of the colonizing movements of the 16th century throughout the Mexican territory, the strategies used by the evangelizers for teaching and learning Christian culture and Spanish to the conquered people were designed. So that at the beginning, education was traced as a conquest with the Franciscan missions. By identifying the background of Mexican culture, notions that find intercultural bases in the country were recorded. On the other hand, it is vital to address the indigenous to encompass the secular battles that led to bilingual education reforms. This historical background shed light on some didactic practices during the teaching of the Spanish language, which had the objective of evangelizing and obeying the monarchy, since it was considered the official language of the crown. It is worth adding that the religious rites were carried out in Latin, a language that the ancient Mexicans also had to learn.

The time of the Independence of Mexico (1810) represented the dissidence of secular oppression. That is to say, the assimilation that implies the passive state of a culture in relation to another, the dominant culture, which considers it a superior culture, was implemented. After the Mexican Independence (1810) and revolutionary struggles (1910), pedagogy tried to strengthen culture and Spanish as the *de facto* language.

In short, although it can be found certain connotation of intercultural education in pre-Hispanic multicultural society, nevertheless both periods analyzed, the colonial era and that of Independence, are characterized by processes of psychological acculturation, something very distant, even opposed to intercultural education. At the same time, certain of its features are observed in the process of indigenous languages’ studying by Catholic missionaries. It is important to clarify that the purpose of this apprenticeship was merely practical: to understand the languages of the locals in order to evangelize them.

Further research

In future research, it is pertinent to find out how intercultural education develops in post-revolutionary Mexico and in the stage of the socialist government (thirties and forties of the 20th century).



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