Towards a discourse of inclusion?
Tensions between policy and practice in rural Bolivia

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sociología, la historia, la lingüística, las políticas públicas y las ciencias políticas, indudablemente requieren valientes e innovadoras estrategias metodológicas y teóricas.

Dedication

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Abstract

This multi-leveled case study examines how local actors, such as administrators and professors from higher education institutions, and rural, college students, make sense of Bolivian educational policy. The contentious relationship between neo-liberal and anti-neoliberal mechanisms for providing poverty alleviation are being played out in Bolivian higher education, amid diverse[1] youth. This study explores how educational policy, in the context of neocolonialism and globalization, may open up or close implementational spaces (Hornberger & Cassels-Johnson, 2007) for rural college students from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds, across social class, gender and ethnic differences. Through vertical case study and discourse analysis methodologies, this study taps the perspectives of critical stakeholders and 'youngest policymakers' (McCarty, T. et al., 2011), within a wider context, highlighting the transversality of global 'flows' of policies (Appadurai, 1996) in postcolonial contexts.

This study examines ethnic identity and assimilation in a dynamic context where marginalized students are negotiating their own identity (Deaux, 2006) as well as how these disparities are resisted, co-opted, and framed around a higher education context (Arrueta & Avery, 2011; Burman, 2012). The study attempts to examine the perceived role of language education policy in this postcolonial space (Canagarajah, 2011) of tension and possibility. Additionally, this study builds on critical analysis of discourses of language endangerment (Duchêne & Heller, 2007) in a lesser-known context such as Bolivia. Through examination of key ideas within contemporary language policy discourse, linguistic diversity is situated within a wider discourse. Thus, by examining

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[1] Author's use of "diverse' student is same as in literature: the Indigenous language speaking student which assumes a multilingual and multicultural identity

[2] "Spanish and all the languages spoken by the originating, agrarian Indigenous communities, which are aymara,

globalizing discourse in a developing society by using an approach that reflects local realities and attempts to "explore how globalizing processes intersect and interconnect people and policies that come into focus at different scales" (Vavrus & Bartlett, 2014, p. 2), this study proposes a novel approach. Unlike past research in this context, this study takes a contextualized approach to examining bi-multilingual, intercultural education in Bolivia in its local, national and global dimensions. This study significantly takes into account the wider historical, political and social spaces that multilingual, intercultural educational policy occupies within Bolivian society.

Resúmen

Este caso estudio multi-nivel examinar cómo diversos actores, como ser administradores y docentes en institutos de educación superior o estudiantes universitarios/as de áreas rurales, entienden la política educativa boliviana. La relación conflictiva entre los mecanismos neoliberal y anti- neoliberal para aliviar la pobreza se manifiesta dentro de la educación superior entre la juventud diversa. Esta investigación analiza cómo la política educativa, dentro del contexto del neocolonialismo y globalización, puede abrir o cerrar espacios de implementación (Hornberger & Cassels-Johnson, 2007) para estudiantes de diversos orígenes lingüístico o cultural, a través de diferencias de clase social, género y etnicidad. Mediante un estudio de caso vertical y metodologías de análisis de discurso, este estudio utiliza las perspectivas de interesados claves y de jóvenes elaboradores de políticas a seguir (McCarty, T. et al., 2011), dentro de un contexto amplio, destacando la transversalidad de flujos de políticas públicas, (Appadurai, 1996) en contextos postcoloniales.

Este estudio examina la identidad étnica y la asimilación dentro de un contexto dinámico donde estudiantes marginados negocian su propia identidad (Deaux, 2006), haciendo un análisis de cómo estas disparidades son resistidas, adoptadas en conjunto con sus similares y formuladas en un contexto de educación superior (Arrueta & Avery, 2011; Burman, 2012). El estudio intenta examinar el rol percibido de políticas educativas del lenguaje dentro de este espacio postcolonial (Canagarajah, 2011) que consiste de tensiones y posibilidades. Además, esta tesis está construida en base a un análisis crítico de discursos sobre lenguas en peligro de extinción (Duchêne & Heller, 2007) en un contexto menos conocido como ser el boliviano. A través de un análisis de ideas claves, en el discurso sobre políticas lingüísticas contemporáneas, se ubica la diversidad lingüística dentro de un discurso más amplio.

Este estudio propone un enfoque innovador al analizar un discurso de globalización en una sociedad en desarrollo. Mediante dicho enfoque, que refleja la realidad local, busca "explorar cómo los procesos globalizadores intersectan e interconectan personas y políticas enfocadas en diferentes escalas" (Vavrus & Bartlett, 2014, p. 2). A diferencia de otras investigaciones en este ámbito, este estudio utiliza un enfoque contextualizado para examinar la educación bi-multilingüe e intercultural en Bolivia, en su propia dimensión local, nacional y global. Este estudio toma en cuenta, en forma significativa, los espacios históricos, políticos y sociales más amplios que ocupan las políticas multilingües e interculturales en la sociedad boliviana.

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List of Abbreviations

AECID   Spanish Agency for International Development

CDA   Critical Discourse Analysis

CEE   *Comisión Episcopal de Educación* (Episcopal Commision for
                   Education)

CEBIAE   *Centro Boliviano de Investigación y Acción Educativas (*Bolivian
                   Centre for Educational Research and Action)

CEPOs   *Consejos Educativos de Pueblos Originarios* (Indigenous Peoples'
                   Education Councils)

CEUB   Consejo Educativo de la Universidad Boliviana (Executive
                   Committee of the Bolivian University)

CPF   Carmen Pampa Fund

CRC   Convention on the Rights of the Child

DANIDA   Danish International Development Agency

EFA   Education for All

EIB/BIE   *Educación Intercultural Bilingüe (*Bilingual Intercultural
                   Education)

ETARE   *Equipo Técnico de Apoyo a la Reforma Educativa* (Technical
                   Taskforce in Support of the National Education Reform)

FUNPROEIB   *Fundación Programa de Formación en Educación Intercultural
                   Bilingüe* (Program for Professional Development in Bilingual
                   Intercultural Education Foundation)

GTZ/GIZ   *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit, since
                   January 2011 integrated in GIZ: Deutsche Gesellschaft für
                   Internationale Zusammenarbeit* (German Technical Assistance
                   Agency)

HDI   Human Development Index

IDB/IADB   Inter-American Development Bank

IIPP   *Instituto de Investigaciones Pedagógicas Plurinacional*
                (Plurinational Institute for Educational Research)

ILO   International Labor Organization

IMF   International Monetary Fund

JICA   Japan International Cooperation Agency

MAS   *Movimiento al Socialismo* (Movement Towards Socialism)

MFIC   Missionary Franciscan Sisters of the Immaculate Conception

MoE/MEC   Ministry of Education/Ministry of Education and Culture

NEC   National Education Council

NER/REN   National Education Reform (*Reforma Educativa Nacional)*

NGOs   Non Governmental Organizations

IGOs   Intergovernmental Organizations

PEIB   Proyecto de Educación Intercultural y Bilingüe (Education project
                for Bilingual Intercultural Education)

PIEB   *Programa de Investigación Estratégica en Bolivia* (The Strategic
                Investigation Program in Bolivia)

PROEIB-Andes   *Programa de Formación en Educación Intercultural Bilingüe para
                los países Andinos* (Program for Professional Development in
                Bilingual Intercultural Education for the Andean Countries)

P.TRB   *Proyecto Texto Rural Bilingüe (*Rural Bilingual Text Project)

SIDA   Swedish International Development Agency

SIMECAL/ SMEEQ *Sistema de Medición de la Calidad de la Educación* (System for
                Measuring and Evaluating Education Quality)

SUB   Sistema de Universidades Bolivianas (System of Bolivian
                Universities)

UAC-CP   Unidad Académica Campesina-Carmen Pampa

UCB   Universidad Católica Boliviana

UDHR	The Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UE	Unidad Educativa (Educational Unit)
UMSS	Universidad Mayor de San Simón
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WB	World Bank
WCIP	World Council of Indigenous Peoples
WGIP	World Group on Indigenous Populations

Chapter 1: Introduction

As I understand it, when we say, "decolonizing," we are trying to strip away what has been inculcated in us, in this case within the [social] systems. I think it will be difficult to rid ourselves of all systems because we are already perhaps very accustomed to them. That we can salvage values we had before, we can, but not leaving it at all behind, it seems to me.
Efraín, rural college student from Caranavi Province, La Paz, on "decolonization" discourse

Formerly, *Ayni* was: "Today for you," and "tomorrow for me." This makes me remember what was talked about in the town where I grew up and studied.
Efraín on salvaging the local Aymara-Quechua value of *Ayni*

In the first quote, a Bolivian rural college student shares his views on

"decolonization." The second quote illustrates Efraín's perceptions about the theme of

"local knowledges," such as the concept of *Ayni*, and their relevance for education. The

reciprocity principle of *Ayni* is of Aymara origin (and over time appropriated by

Quechua-speaking communities in the Andes), proposing communal philosophy. The

premise of *Ayni* is, "I will help you today, and tomorrow you might help me." An

informal agreement, this ideal is at the center of the Andean *cosmovisión* or worldview.

Ayni, the traditional form of mutual help, also reflects "the Aymara idea of something

that is and is not at the same time. It is the logic of the included third" (Rivera

Cusicanqui, 2012, p. 105), an ambiguous liminal space that represents the idea of

"inclusiveness." By this rationale, inclusive approaches, such as *Ayni*, are to be explored

practically, rethinking traditional interpretations of identity and, in this vein, consider

identity as fluid and changing.

In today's Bolivia, a capitalist system of accumulation and individuality are being

promoted, yet paradoxically at the same time, the values of mutual help and reciprocity

are also supported. Thus, this study reveals the various identities of the "Indigenous"

person, which cannot be separated from the history of colonization, nor the alleged promise of globalization, as it is being lived out in education policy today.

Together, the quotes above allow for an accurate and illuminating glimpse into the lived reality of a consumer of educational Law 070 (2010), which might, or might not align with key policymakers' intentions. Thus, these excerpts illustrate the tensions between the discourses of inclusive education and how they play out on the ground, particularly in Indigenous territories that have been historically marginalized by the state.

General Context

A landlocked country located in the center of the South American continent, Bolivia is characterized by great diversity. Arrueta and Avery (2012) offer that, "the country is comprised of several climate zones, including deserts and rainforests, and has altitudes that range from 90 to 6540 metres above sea level" (p. 420). Paralleling this geographic and biological diversity is linguistic and cultural heterogeneity—with concomitant ideological and epistemological diversity (Burman, 2012). Linguistic diversity in Bolivia is formally valued in the 2009 Constitution, which states that all 36 Indigenous languages are deemed co-official to Spanish.[2]

Although cultural and linguistic diversity is valued firmly in the current education system through contemporary education policy, diversity is commonly conceived in essentialist and relativist ways at the societal and educational level (Osuna, 2013). A reason for this is a history of exclusionary and discriminatory approaches to multiculturalism and multilingualism in Bolivian education (Albó, 1994, 2001; López,

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[2] "Spanish and all the languages spoken by the originating, agrarian Indigenous communities, which are aymara, araona, baure, bésiro, canichana, cavineño, cayubaba, chácobo, chimán, ese ejja, guaraní, guarasuwe, guarayu, itonama, leco, machajuyaikallawaya, machineri, maropa, mojeño-trinitario, mojeño-ignaciano, moré, mosetén, movima, pacawara, puquina, quechua, sirionó, tacana, tapiete, toromona, uru-chipaya, weenhayek, yaminawa, yuki, yuracaré and zamuco are official languages of the State" (Bolivian Constitution, 2009, Article 5, Section II).

2010). Additionally, the historic socioeconomic divide between Indigenous and non-Indigenous students paints a stark picture in which the valuing of Indigenous languages and cultures are met with skepticism, at best. This lack of valorization is tied to geographic location, with *rural areas* being associated with a lack of educational access and progress. Conversely, *urban areas* are typically associated with development and access to educational opportunities. Although the Spanish language is the marker of an urban identity, and Indigenous languages are markers of a rural identity, this does not mean that language and geographic location are mutually exclusive.

In Bolivia, Indigenous language speakers rarely reside in exclusively rural (nor exclusively urban) areas, which points to the complexity of the rural and urban distinction. Moreover, poverty rates are much higher between the excluded Indigenous populations than among the dominant, non-Indigenous population, across rural and urban areas: 86% versus 74% in rural areas, and 59% versus 47% in urban areas (World Bank, 2004). The drop-out and grade repetition rates for Indigenous youth are critically high and enrollment in secondary education remains low—at 51% (World Bank, 2006). Thus, the several educational reforms that have taken place throughout the 20th and 21st centuries in Bolivia were aimed at closing the "advantage"[3] gap, centrally aimed at providing universal primary education, and promoting language and culture-in-education.

The "advantage" disparity rates between Indigenous[4] and non-Indigenous students in Bolivia show a substantial difference in educational achievement, as documented in a

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[3] The "advantage" gap in education is similar to the "achievement" gap in education in the U.S. context, where the achievement gulf is mostly framed by ethnicity, or between whites and non-white students, but not necessarily by language and culture. In Bolivia, the "advantage" gap is automatically defined by differences in language, culture, ethnicity, and especially by socioeconomic status (SES).

[4] In Bolivia, "Indigenous" is synonymous with "rural" populations, although they are not mutually exclusive, as previously described. For the purposes of this study, "Indigenous" will be used interchangeably with "rural" with regard to populations.

national survey of achievement in 1997 by a unit of the Ministry of Education, *Sistema de Medición de la Calidad de la Educación* (SIMECAL), also known by the English acronym, SMEEQ, System for Measuring and Evaluating Education Quality. McEwan (2004) reported on the statistical significance and reasons for the consistent gap in achievement between groups:

> It finds a consistent gap of 0.3–0.5 standard deviations, favoring nonindigenous students… In each subject and grade level, more than half of the gap can be explained by the quality of schools or peer groups. That is, a substantial proportion of the gap can be explained by the fact that indigenous students attend worse schools, on average, with worse peer groups. A smaller but still important proportion of the gap—between 20% and 40%—is explained by the lower socioeconomic status of indigenous families. (p. 159)

Given the disparity in equal educational opportunities for Indigenous students, it is a rare feat for Indigenous youth to attain secondary or even tertiary education, particularly for those from far-flung communities with few socioeconomic resources. Thus, since the 1990s, democratization efforts in education have aimed to close this gap. The conditions and reasons for furthering and democratizing education in a diverse and complex country such as Bolivia have been or are being promoted across two reform eras, post-1990 and post-2000, respectively. However, all education reform post 1990 signals a paradigm shift in how diversity is expressed and approached.

International mechanisms for the protection of human rights, such as UNESCO's Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1996) and the UN's Declaration on Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007), have enacted protection of the rights of Indigenous peoples on a wider scale. At the global level, multilateral development projects run by Nongovernment Organization (NGOs), such as Germany's Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ), have been working with government factions in the Latin

American region, co-constructing built-in guidelines to protect the rights of Indigenous populations (Von Gleich, 2010). Post-1990, discursive shifts worldwide, such as "educational democratization" and the struggle for "quality education for all," have been met with both encouraging and problematic approaches in Bolivian education reform.

One encouraging approach, the Latin American regional wave of education reform, *Educación Intercultural Bilingüe* (EIB), or the English acronym, Bilingual Intercultural Education (BIE), supported national level education reforms, such as Bolivia's National Education Reform (NER) or Law 1565 (1994).[5] More recently, Law Avelino Siñani-Elizardo Pérez or Law 070 (2010)[6] reflects the 2009 Constitutional mandate that education must be "inter/intracultural," and "multilingual."

The latter law—positioned as a fundamental epistemological break from a historically discriminatory and exclusionary education system on the basis of ethnicity, socioeconomic class, and language—is the policy focus of this study. A departure from NER (1994), Law 070 (2010) legislates that all public and private education from first grade to college level must be, among other philosophical and practical provisions, "multilingual" and "intercultural" with radically different definitions of these types of discourse than those first described in NER (1994), but with its own problematic assumptions about identity, culture, and language.

The mainstream, "neoliberal imaginary" views the capitalist global economy as a solution to socioeconomic and educational inequalities (Rivzi & Lingard, 2010), and not as a cause of deep structures of exclusion and discrimination within historical processes

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[5] National Education Reform (NER) or Law 1565 (1994) is used interchangeably, but author from here will use NER (1994).
[6] Law Avelino Siñani-Elizardo Pérez or Law 070 (2010) is used interchangeably, but author from here on will use Law 070 (2010).

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of education in developing, postcolonial contexts. The neoliberal model, characterized by minimal government intervention while liberating the power of markets (Harvey, 2005), applied to postcolonial societies such as Bolivia is problematic, particularly given society's pre-existing condition of inequity. Economic reform in Bolivia in the 1990s, with its harsh "shock therapy" and other neoliberal tactics, did little to alleviate poverty or advance social and educational reform. Klein (2007) proposed that in fact, "…neoliberal reforms pushed…were neither democratically agreed upon nor achieved without violent state repression, and left the majority of Bolivians in far worse circumstances" (p. 187).

In both reforms—NER (1994) and Law 070 (2010)—the initial drive to democratize society and to transform the educational system come from grassroots movements with anti-neoliberal approaches. However, over time, neoliberal approaches to educational inequalities have been or are being adopted by both policies. This reproduction of inequities reflects the historically unequal system of power derived from colonial initiatives in education development (Benson, 2004; Contreras & Talavera-Simoni, 2003; Hornberger & López, 1998; Luykx, 1999; Regalsky, & Laurie, 2007; Taylor, 2004) and global initiatives in education development (Klein, 2007), such as neoliberal, market-based approaches to education.

This neoliberal economic approach post-1990s presents several challenges when applied to education, including, but not limited to, curriculum processes disconnected from the realities and imaginaries of grassroots implementers. However, post-1990s, neoliberal doctrine was not the only policy shaping education processes and practices. The discourse of social inclusion also shaped education reform during this time, changing

how education was viewed and talked about for the first time. This shift is particularly true for the role of education in promoting linguistic rights. Since the 1990s, the educational movement Bilingual Intercultural Education (BIE) has been transforming policy, as policy has moved towards a language-as-resource or language-as-rights orientation, and away from a language-as-problem approach (Ruiz, 1984).

Post-2000s, we have seen an increase in "anti-neoliberal" rhetoric in education, suggesting a "post-neoliberal social imaginary" (Fernandes, 2010). In this era, the contested nature of power in education has been met with an over-politicization of education reform. The politicization of education reform, and the under-examined discourse of "inclusion," is proving detrimental to the lived realities of grassroots implementers. Behind neoliberal ideology is the same assumption about globalizing forces, namely that, "…individual freedoms are guaranteed by freedom of the market and of trade" (Harvey, 2005, p. 7).

This assumption is deeply problematic, particularly in a postcolonial society, where the increasingly standardized world of globalization has re-articulated the colonial notions of a standard set of worldviews, a common language, and a default culture. Viewed as an expression of social power (Ball, 1990 in Vavrus & Seghers, 2010), policy discourse reflects particular forms of knowing. To the detriment of implementers, any exploration of social relations of power (Vavrus & Seghers, 2010) in the Bolivian policy context has occurred, and continues to occur, at the macro- and meso-levels only, largely excluding the perspectives and opinions of local actors on a micro-level.

As illustrated in the Findings chapter (Chapter 7), social actors from the national and local levels or "scales" of analysis employed in this study hold multiple and competing responses to how democratizing education is approached in Bolivia today. To address assumptions about larger social constructs embedded in policy ideology, this study draws from three main theories or themes: (1) the revitalization of heritage languages in a postcolonial society; (2) postcolonial policy studies; and (3) "inter/intraculturalism" theory, all of which will be briefly introduced below. In addition, the theoretical aims of two methodological tools, vertical case analysis and discourse analysis, will also be briefly discussed below, although both theories and methods will be discussed more thoroughly in Chapters 2 and 3.

Themes and theories

Revitalizing heritage languages in a postcolonial society. Subaltern[7] members of Bolivian society are continuously fighting for inclusion on an individual and collective level. In contemporary, "postcolonial[8]" Bolivia, these individual and collective factions include students; community rights organizations; grassroots movements such as teacher unions; and fringe movements largely from minoritized populations (e.g., lowland Indigenous groups or Afro-Bolivian populations). The struggle for social and economic inclusion is apparent in contemporary social reform. Specifically, through so-called progressive educational reform that supports quality education for each Indigenous

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[7] As an outcome of the colonial project, the colonizer has created a discourse about the colonized that has served not only to legitimize the political and economic domination, but also to represent the "natural" identity of the colonized as "subaltern." These subaltern classes are living the postcolonial legacies of colonialism.

[8] Coloniality [or post-colonialism] is an invisible power structure that sustains colonial relations of exploitation and domination long after the end of [direct] colonialism (Maldonado-Torres, 2007). A continuation of colonial legacy, "post-colonialism" refers to the era we are living in now (Grosfoguel, 2007), affecting ways of carrying out and disseminating research in these contexts, in particular in the field of policy studies.

group, defined autonomously and with sovereignty, the struggle for social justice and equity continues.

In Bolivia, the definition of "quality" education and educational emancipation among Indigenous communities has at its core formal bilingual education initiatives, although the types of bilingual education programs differ widely (López, 2010). The ideological movement—from a *problem orientation*, to a *rights-based approach* to a *resource approach* (Ruiz, 1984) in considering Indigenous languages and cultures—has not progressed sequentially throughout Bolivian education reforms. Rather, the movement toward a linguistically and culturally inclusive curriculum has often moved "back and forth along the success-failure continuum" (Luykx, 2011) in policy processes. However, the 'recycling' of ideologies—or the back and forth movement--is not unique to Bolivian education reform, in particular approaches to the diversity dimension. Globally, mother tongue education (MTE), with case studies in the African context, offers similar challenges.

For instance, Desai (2012) proposed that, in the multilingual and multi-ethnic South African setting, the relative success of bilingual education initiatives in this semi-developed, "postcolonial" country is born out of misguided policies and limited constructs, such as mother tongue education (MTE). The same argument could be made for the Bolivian education reform context, where "mother tongue" is interpreted as widely as multiple languages are spoken, or as prominently as multiple ethnicities co-exist. Despite diversity in a "postcolonial," developing country like Bolivia, Spanish is still the dominant medium of instruction in schools. Thus, MTE is problematic.

"Mother tongue," as a concept, could be considered, "a reified construct of a particular language inherited from colonial times and far removed from people's daily language use" (Desai, 2012, p. 7). In Bolivia, *mother tongue-based education*, also known as *bilingual education*, could be interpreted as a reproduction of social and educational inequities, in the context of the schooling system. Pennycook (2002) proposes that the controversial term "MTE" is "a strategically essentialist argument which is useful for mobilisation and legislation, but it may also reproduce those fixed categories of identity that many wish simultaneously to avoid" (p. 24).

Furthermore, MTE is not necessarily the implied social equalizer or the only pathway to promoting inclusive and "quality" education it is traditionally seen as. Recent language revitalization initiatives and forms of bilingual education in postcolonial Bolivia present difficulties and challenges given the country's culturally diverse context within a historically marginalized setting. Thus, the field of policy studies in any postcolonial setting merits more attention to the "particulars" of a global concern in its local applications (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2014; Bray & Thomas, 1995), in particular within lesser-known contexts, such as Bolivia.

Policy studies in a post-colonial setting. The uptake of educational policy is not a foregone conclusion (Hornberger, 2009), and certain local actors coming from "below" will foreseeably meet contemporary progressive educational policy with resistance and contestation. Hornberger (2009) cautions that "local actors may open up—or close down—agentive spaces for multilingual education as they implement, interpret, and perhaps resist policy initiatives" (p. 199).

Local actors conceive "agentive spaces" for multilingual education as widely as

student's social and educational backgrounds are diverse. Additionally, social actors in the institutional domain, such as administrators and academics at higher education institutions, might view "education development" differently than policymakers' intended purpose. For instance, in this study, an administrator at Unidad Académica Campesina-Carmen Pampa contends that the state runs the risk of underestimating local understandings and knowledges that predate Law 070's (2010) pillar concepts.

Disparate views about "education development" across national institutions, from the public and private sector, might also exist. For example, the Catholic Church has adopted education policy ideals from previous policy NER (1994), which contradicts certain ideas within the current state's education policy Law 070 (2010). Specifically, the *Comisión Episcopal de Educación*, or the Episcopal Commission for Education (CEE), the educational arm of the Catholic Church advocates bilingual, intercultural education, while Law 070 advocates multilingual, inter/intracultural education, considered an ideological rupture from BIE reform. Despite these disparate ideological views, an important common thread between these policymakers includes how their positions about education (in particular diversity in education) are shaped by a colonial history with subjugation of those less powerful (e.g., Indigenous language speakers), highlighting the impact of post-colonial[9] residue on marginalized voices.

Despite "progressive" forms of education reform, the exploration of social relations of power (Vavrus & Seghers, 2010) in the Bolivian policy context has occurred, and continues to occur, at the macro- and meso-levels only, largely excluding the

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[9] Coloniality is an invisible power structure that sustains colonial relations of exploitation and domination long after the end of direct colonialism (Maldonado-Torres, 2007). A continuation of this legacy, "postcolonialism" refers to the era we are living in now (Grosfoguel, 2007), impacting ways of carrying out research in the field of policy studies.

perspectives and opinions of local actors on a micro-level. In this dissertation, I describe

what conflicting ideologies (at the three described levels and within their own levels)

look like, and how they are always in tension with the official policy. In this way, I will

contribute to a regionalized and localized understanding of the specific big "D"

Discourses[10] (Fairclough, 2010) around language policy in post-colonial Bolivia,

including the promotion of "ancestral" languages and cultures, in the face of the market

value of education and the phenomenon of globalization.

   "Inter/intraculturalism" as deconstruction of the *mestizaje* ideal. This study is

also situated in the construction of the pervasive *mestizaje*[11] ideal that has shaped cross-

cultural relations in Bolivian society, presenting a complex picture of misshaped and

misplaced ideas about the *other*. *Mestizaje* or "hybridity" is the flattened representation

of identity, paradoxically promoted and celebrated in a context that is linguistically,

culturally and ethnically diverse. This paradoxical view assumes a neutral stance on

cross-cultural mixing and the elusive *mestizaje* ideal.

   However, *mestizaje* is a product of biological and cultural inter-mixing of

ethnicities that masks a history marked by violent domination of hegemonic groups over

subaltern factions. Intraculturality, a pillar concept of Law 070 (2010) is the concept of

self-knowledge and experience between groups of the same or similar ethnicity, a

philosophy that implies critical examination of notions of power and ideology. Flores

Vásquez (2012) contends that,

> Intraculturality in the urban context implies, first, a radical critique of *mestizaje* as
> identity, which eventually leads to a recuperation of Indigenous culture

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[10] Gee (1989) defines Discourses with a capital "D" as more than language but rather as discourse communities. A Discourse is "a socially accepted association among ways of using language, of thinking and of acting that can be used to identify oneself as a member of a socially meaningful group" (Gee, 1989, p. 18).

originating from those who by forces of coloniality and by their parents, distanced themselves or were distanced from, the experience of living their cultures. (p. 28)

Thus, the discourse of the myth of *mestizaje* as a benign phenomenon is problematic because of its roots in hegemonic discourses of power. Varying interpretations of this term have further clouded hegemonic discourse. Sanjinés (2002) defines *mestizaje* as:

> A complex process of interracial and/or intercultural mixing, *mestizaje* is the paradigm *letrado* elites sometimes employ to describe and interpret the mechanisms that govern society at the sociopolitical and cultural levels. In this sense, *mestizaje* attempts to impose a homogeneous order upon a totality whose internal coherence is built vertically by the structures of power. (p. 39)

Contemporary education reform allegedly proposes to turn *mestizaje*, and its implied promotion of status-quo maintenance, on its head thus turning "*mestizaje* upside down" (Sanjinés, 2002). This definition implies substantive critique of inter- and intraculturality, and challenges dominant cultural concepts as *the* markers of identity. However, anti-*mestizante* rhetoric is also critiqued—as far as contesting the reproductions of inequities in an unfocused way—a critique that will be discussed further in the findings chapter.

Thus far, I have described the three theories from which I draw throughout the study, including revitalizing heritage languages in a postcolonial society, postcolonial policy studies, and "inter/intraculturalism" as a deconstruction of the *mestizaje* ideal. I present these ideas here to situate this case study in the larger scholarship that reviews theories about power, identity, and language. Framed within the theories described above, this study examines policy discourses in relation to stakeholder perspective and meaning-making, situated in a multi-leveled analysis framework, a vertical case study.

Methods

Vertical case study: Multi-level analysis of Bolivian education policy. The

vertical case study (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2014) has a clear theoretical underpinning, but is used in this Bolivian case study as the central method to uncover where the policy discourse is opening up or closing implementational spaces (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007). My rationale for using the vertical case study will be addressed and further discussed in Chapter 2. However, a critique of the vertical case study framework, as with other similar multi-scalar analysis tools, is included below with the purpose of offering a comprehensive analysis.

A vertical case study is "…an approach that maintains the centrality of ethnography—specifically multi-sited ethnography—in the study of educational policy while expanding its scope to the non-local level by tracing a transversal process or set of relations that spans local, national, and global scales" (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2014, p. 1). The different "scales," also referred to as "levels," constitute the "verticality of comparison" in a vertical case study (p. 2), or analysis at the micro-, meso-, and macro-levels. A useful heuristic to examine language-in-use, use of the different "levels" or "scales" have also been critiqued for their fundamental use for the "anthropology of education" (Wortham, 2012, p. 129), particularly in contemporary, postcolonial settings.

Desettling traditional research strategies that convey static representations of hierarchical order, this case study contributes to research in this setting through a multileveled analysis. This study uses a multi-scalar analysis as a point of departure, emphasizing above all else that, "…social events and processes move and develop on a continuum of layered scales, with the strictly local (micro) and global (macro) as extremes, and with several intermediary scales" (Blommaert, 2007, p. 1). Thus, this study emphasizes that in Bolivia, the theoretical relevance and "methodological clarity"

(Bartlett & Vavrus, 2014, p. 1) needed to trace the movement of policy discourse across multiple "scales" or "levels" (beyond the micro-macro paradigm) is critically important and yet largely missing from scholarship. Variation in resistance or uptake of policy by local actors underscores a complex society and reform history in Bolivia, highlighting the sociohistorical tensions between "ideological political intentions in an education system that is strongly embedded in a context of inequality, discrimination, tensions and mistrust" (Lopes Cardozo, 2011, p. 23).

The purpose of this dissertation is to uncover the experiences of rural college students in Bolivia and make them known to a wider audience. There are three reasons why this is important, and why the rationales link to a vertical case study. First, wider dissemination of rural college students' experiences has practical implications. Students' voices must be heard so that constructivist, anti-oppressive, and critical multicultural pedagogies are given real life application. Second, educational policy must be informed by what is actually happening on the ground, as opposed to working in isolation from the implementers or key stakeholders. And, third, uncovering these voices promotes an alternative to the theory in the field of multicultural education that problematically promotes racialized and exoticized multiculturalism. It is also my intention, through this dissertation, to reveal what the critical voices of social actors from the institutional domain are saying, voices traditionally underrepresented or ignored in research and typically overshadowed by power structures and political pressure.

In particular, this last reason links with the vertical case study, since this approach "traces the creative appropriation of educational policies and practices across time and space" (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2014, p. 2). Across reform eras in Bolivia, certain voices have

been privileged and others silenced in spite of inclusive approaches in education policy.

Moreover, the vertical case study approach "expands the locations of research while

showing how actors are related through specific historical contingencies that connect

disparate social sites and social actors" (p. 2). Expanding locations of research while

considering the linkages between levels highlights the importance of tapping the

perspectives of local stakeholders, particularly those most vulnerable. In this light, I pose

four questions around the disparities and connections between policy and practice in

Bolivia within three different analytic levels.

Research Questions

In this study, I address four main questions with a focal group of rural, college

students and national education leaders, or through my independent analysis of public

documents, including educational policies and institutional websites. At the macro-level:

(1) What are the global discourses around intercultural, bilingual education? a) What are

the practices and ideologies maintained by international donors? b) How do they intersect

with practices and ideologies at the national level? At the meso-level: (2) What is the

policy discourse around diversity at the national (meso) level? And, at the micro-level:

(3) How do local, rural college students make meaning of Law 070? (4) How do the focal

participants at each level understand the diversity dimension [in policy]?

This study gathered empirical evidence about Indigenous youths' perceptions,

beliefs, and attitudes about language, culture, identity, and educational policy. However,

it does not attempt to make generalizations about Indigenous youth in general or

Indigenous worldviews, cultures, or languages in particular. The contribution of this

study lies in contextualizing the examination of educational policy from multiple levels

of analysis and across space and time. Given that the examination of educational policy in developing, postcolonial societies is often kept separate from the perception of local actors, and often decontextualized from wider macro- and meso-factors, this study is timely and relevant.

Aims of Study

Overall, this study illustrates how at each level of analysis—governmental, institutional, and within a local group—policy discourse is talked about, and ultimately adopted or rejected (and, possibly, both). This present study aims to examine how the formal recognition of pluralism at the societal level is equally—and critically—adopted into the national education system. Given policy's neoliberal economic discourse juxtaposed with the valorizing traditional indigenous culture discourse, it is critical to draw attention to these contradictions. This study aims to create a need for deeper analysis at the individual or collective level about how to introduce the "ethnocultural diversity" dimension in the curriculum as a mobilized dimension for inclusion.

In recent history, bilingual education in Bolivia has increasingly contributed to political awareness and empowerment processes among Indigenous populations. This awareness and mobilization, in turn, has led to educational reforms and additional intercultural bilingual approaches (López & Sichra, 2008) that address the complex relationship of changing cultural policies with diversity, roles of language in education, and conceptions of national identity (Taylor, 2004). Taylor (2004) proposed that progressive approaches to educational reform should not be seen in sequential or logical progression.

In the case of Law 070, with its so-called progressive and radical policy, it should not be read as a panacea for policy. The fundamental approach to examining Bolivian education reform should in fact adopt a conceptual positioning, framed by the question, "How can educational provision address diversity and how can diversity shape the nation?" (Contreras, 1999) In other words, how does each reform address the ethnocultural dimension? And what are the lessons learned from each reform, according to actors from the micro-, meso- and macro-levels? The distinct levels are examined in this study within the key policies, institutions, and actors present, whose interactions help to produce understandings of cultural diversity.

Studies have shown fundamental contradictions in policies implementing Law 070, highlighting unintended consequences on local actors. For instance, an unintended consequence of the "education revolution" includes an increased inequality gap as well as the (re)essentialization of Indigenous cultures (Osuna, 2013). Despite the form of "revolutionary education" Law 070 proposes, amid discourse of political justice and social equality, fundamental tensions are present in education reform processes. However, of the policy studies completed, few have researched how micro-level social actors have specifically been impacted by this policy, illustrating how social actors perceive the mismatch between policy and practice.

Ethnographic research describing stakeholders' perspectives at the micro-level is largely absent. This omission might reflect the unequal balance of power between practitioner and student, as well as historically anti-constructivist education approaches in Bolivian education (Contreras & Talavera-Simoni, 2003; Delany-Barmann, 2009; Lopes Cardozo, 2013). Through this study, I emphasize that within this context, students might

contest certain notions of identity in education policy discourse, constructing newer, more relevant conceptualizations of identity. Framed by a fluid characterization of identity that does not conflate Indigenous ethnic identification and language maintenance, it is not unfathomable that student perspectives might be variable, contradictory, and complex.

Freitas et al. (1997) disturb the often-rigid characterization of identity formation. The authors oppose the idea of a "unified, rational self," proposing instead the need to negotiate border spaces that lead to looser and more nuanced conceptualizations of identity. Contemporary education reform in Bolivia discounts third-space negotiation. It is the aim of this study to bridge this ideological gap, since discourses of inclusion are paradoxically increasing the tensions between policy and practice from the perspectives of diverse youth and from the point of view of critical voices at the national level.

Additionally, consideration of how policy is interpreted and consumed by local actors, including rural college students and postgraduate Indigenous educational leaders, and why policy is perceived in certain ways, merits close examination and evaluation. This examination is critical because an absence of examination of these critical or silenced voices suggests that education policy is not auto-critical, and thus, not advancing the plight of Indigenous groups in meaningful or sustainable ways. In order to understand Indigenous identity constructs and to fill the research gaps in the under-examined field of postcolonial[12] policy studies in Bolivia, it is my central aim to bring marginal or ignored voices to light with this study.

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[12] Coloniality is an invisible power structure that sustains colonial relations of exploitation and domination long after the end of direct colonialism (Maldonado-Torres, 2007). A continuation of this legacy, "postcolonialism" refers to the era we are living in now (Grosfoguel, 2007), affecting ways of carrying out research in the field of policy studies.

While recent Bolivian policy studies identified tensions in the relationship between neoliberal[13] approaches to education development, as promoted by previous Bolivian education reform NER (1994), few studies critique the contestation to social inequities exacerbated by neoliberal approaches in education through current education reform, i.e., Law 070 (2010).

Currently, the state plays the largest role in national politics and education reform processes, shaping discourse around multilingual, intercultural education. However, without accessing local stakeholders' opinions about policy, the focus becomes mostly theoretical and largely cut off from practice. An example of this policy-practice gap has to do with the rhetoric around political justice and educational equality. In Law 070, this gap is exemplified by promotion of the concept of "diversity" and a prescriptive path to "decolonization" through "inclusive" education, wholly subjective discourses difficult to implement, and yet policy offers few practical considerations (Arrueta & Avery, 2012).

The stories of Indigenous youth, as well as the experiences of social actors in the institutional domain who have a critical voice, and not just of those revaluing or restating what policy says, are voices traditionally underrepresented or ignored in research. In response to these gaps, this study contributes to the field of educational research and policy studies in Bolivia by exploring how policy impacts these largely forgotten or silenced stakeholders. More widely, this study is situated in the fields of comparative international education and applied linguistics. A fundamental aim of this study is to advance areas of research that are under-examined in geographic areas that are

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[13] Neoliberalism is characterized by minimal government intervention and liberating the power of markets (Harvey, 2005), removing all barriers to commerce, but also to communication and knowledge. With intensified flows of people, things, and ideas (Appadurai, 1990), social and economic outcomes of globalization advantage or disadvantage groups of people differently.

overlooked. The second chapter reviews the wider literature used to couch this study, providing critical frameworks that present useful tools of analyses for examining education policy processes in multilingual, pluricultural and "postcolonial" Bolivia.

Having discussed the aims of the study, and the reasons for examining policy discourse in Bolivia across reform eras, drawing from stakeholder interviews and document analysis, below I describe my stance as a researcher in tandem with the origins of my interest in the subject matter of this dissertation.

Origins of the researcher's stance and progress of the study

To trace the origins and development of this study, I begin with the summers of 2010 and 2011, when I volunteered with the Carmen Pampa Fund (CPF) at Unidad Académica Campesina in Carmen Pampa (UAC-CP), Bolivia, the site of this study. I worked as a translator, interpreter, and consultant within the language department. I was offered this volunteer position based on my particular background and skills, as well as for practical reasons. I did not identify as an English volunteer teacher or as a CPF[14] administrator at UAC-CP, positions usually occupied by white, Anglo, twenty-something Americans, thus I was offered an itinerant position that conveniently fit within my teaching schedule.

The volunteer tasks given to me were—like my own sense of identity—amorphous and embedded within a specific context. As a nontraditional U.S. volunteer at this institution, I was uniquely qualified to work in an "insider-outsider" role, as a kind of cultural ambassador to first-time U.S. visitors to Bolivia. It is through this preliminary volunteer experience that I was introduced to rural Bolivian life and, in particular, rural

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[14] CPF is the U.S.-based NGO that partially funds UAC daily operations and scholarships.

higher education. Thanks to the CPF contacts that I developed while I volunteered, I was able to return to this site in the capacity of researcher.

In 2012, with help from a University of Minnesota grant, I conducted a pilot study at the same site within Global Programs and Strategy (GPS) Alliance. I conducted a two-week intensive study, which would turn out to adopt a vastly different approach than my dissertation study, and of course with different participants. The pilot study, entitled, "Indigenous Students' Attitudes towards Language and Perspectives of Language Policy in Rural Bolivia," tapped the perspectives of 30 Indigenous students from various academic fields (Education, Nursing, Veterinary Sciences, Agronomy, Rural Tourism, etc.) and from various academic years. In this instance, I employed a "helicopter researcher" approach (Ferreira & Gendron, 2011), where relationship-building is sacrificed for efficiency, potentially promoting reductionist methodologies to study Indigenous communities (Ferreira & Gendron, 2011).

The methodologies that I employed in my pilot study, both within the recruitment and implementation processes, were my first attempts at studying with an Indigenous community. I recruited students through a questionnaire that asked students to identify their first language (L1). The 30 students who volunteered to participate in the pilot study had all identified an Indigenous language as their L1, a criterion for participant involvement in the pilot study. Through focus group interviews and questionnaires, the pilot study aimed to dispel basic assumptions about Indigenous youth in the rural context, giving a more nuanced picture of their linguistic and cultural backgrounds as well as the role that this background plays in their identity formation.

Peripherally, the pilot study aimed to gather perceptions that students had about language policy. I problematically based both queries on the assumptions that students easily self-identify as Indigenous, or are well-informed and/or interested in the topic of curriculum as a mobilized dimension for social inclusion, a stance I found troubling as I undertook my dissertation study. However, it was through this preliminary study that I drew many valuable insights, in addition to identifying and honing my research ideas. This work undoubtedly shaped my dissertation approach, since my initial approach was largely non-critical and decontextualized. Drawing from lessons learned through this pivotal experience, in my dissertation study I adopted a different stance and I linked my findings back to the literature that I discussed at the outset of the dissertation. Having contextualized the origins of this study, tracing my path along the evolution of the topic of this study and of my own position in it, below I give an overview or a roadmap of the contents of this dissertation.

Overview of Contents

This dissertation study is organized into eight main chapters including this introductory one, in which I described the study's purpose, aims, the origins of the researcher's stance, the progress of the larger and pilot studies, and, presently, an overview of the study. Chapter 1 also introduced the research questions and described the thesis of this study, which critiques the unexamined direction contemporary education policy is moving toward.

Then in Chapter 2, I examine specific literature within the fields of international education and applied linguistics in order to analyze discourses of "pluralism" and "inclusion" in Bolivian educational policy, so-called progressive discourses that might

impact Indigenous youth in unintended ways—or not at all. In Chapter 2, I discuss central theories, such as postcolonial policy studies as well as the theoretical underpinnings of methodological approaches, like the vertical case study and discourse analysis, focusing on relevant research concepts and ideas that provide a basis for examining Bolivian educational policy within a sociopolitical context.

In Chapter 3, I describe the methods used in this study, which complement the specific theories outlined in Chapter 2. In this third chapter, I also introduce the participants involved in this study, the setting, and data collection and analysis methods. In Chapter 3, I also examine my own positionality, promoting intensive self-reflection, introspection, and self-critique of the types of positioning present in my accounts of the "other" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005) throughout the study.

In Chapters 4 through 6, I describe the context for the macro-, meso-, and micro-levels of analysis, according to the vertical case analysis structure. In each of these chapters, I delineate the ideological and practical stance held about educational policy represented at each level, such as institutional (international), governmental/institutional (national), or grassroots (local).

In Chapter 7, I present the results of this study, implementing discourse analysis (DA) at the three levels described above, and in Chapter 8, I discuss the importance of these findings at each level, plus how this study advances the field and connects to current theory. Based on the results and discussion chapter, in Chapter 9, I describe conclusions inherent in the discussion, providing implications for policy, practice, and theory. In the final chapter, I weave together the findings of the four research questions

and addresses how this study contributes to educational research in the fields of applied linguistics and international education.

This overview of the main findings and arguments in this section furthers two main ideas: (a) that Law 070 (2010), via so-called progressive discourse, impacts Indigenous youth in unintended ways, and (b) there are important implications of present empirical evidence illustrating this impact, particularly for policy and practice. The qualitative methodological approaches used in this study serve to discuss and analyze these results in an apt and relevant way. The supporting theoretical underpinnings used in this study serve to contextualize this study within the wider literature.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

In this literature review, I discuss three overarching theories. First, I will discuss the revitalization of heritage languages in a postcolonial society. Of particular importance in this theory is the relevance of the language-as-rights paradigm in the context of a developing society that emphasizes the market value of education. Second, I will further examine postcolonial policy studies, with a focus on policy provision for opening up or closing "agentive spaces" for multilingual and intercultural education. Finally, I will discuss inter/intraculturalism theory, with a focus on desettling dominant approaches to socially inclusive education. In addition, I will briefly address the underlying aims and theoretical underpinnings of two methodological tools, namely the vertical case study and discourse analysis (DA), highlighting in this chapter their theoretical importance and relevance for this study.

Through this literature review, I address the central gap in the literature that this study aims to fill, i.e., the missing voices of Indigenous students and their conflicting internal ideologies, situated within problematic approaches to diversity in education. A non-essentialist narrative of Indigenous voices is the gap that I am working to address. The tension between policy and practice in this context is attributed to a lack of critical examination in defining "diversity" and educational "quality," according to the largely forgotten stakeholders, the students themselves. Below, I extend the discussion of central ideas in the field of language revitalization, and their importance for language policy studies in the Bolivian context. This critique of pluralism rhetoric in education, couched in the three central theories discussed below, discusses political intentions behind reforms

post-1990 and post-2000, critiquing how recent policy processes have paradoxically deeply undermined this democratic system and furthered the plight of marginalized groups. I now turn to the more specific aspects of this dissertation's theoretical underpinnings.

Revitalizing heritage languages in a postcolonial society. In 1992, Krauss proposed that "language loss [is] projected to threaten the survival of 50–90% of the world's 6800 languages in the next 100 years" (Krauss, 1992, in Maffi, 2002, p. 386) a warning that signaled a growing awareness among linguists and the international educational development community about language endangerment in the post-1990 era. As a result of this charge for more research about the survival and protection of these endangered languages, the relationship between linguistic and cultural diversity and biodiversity was established and promoted in the newly created interdisciplinary field, "biocultural diversity" (Harmon, 1996; Maffi, 2002; Oviedo, Maffi, & Larsen, 2000; Skutnabb-Kangas, & Phillipson, 2000). However, this emerging trope was also seriously critiqued by researchers for representing language as an "organic whole" that needs defending against attack, rather than focusing on ongoing ideological struggles in particular contexts and the tensions created by these struggles (Heller & Duchêne, 2007).

This work is situated in this critique of revitalization. To examine language revitalization processes in Bolivia, the need to unpack and "re-write" traditional narratives of language revitalization themes are key. This study's critical lens examines what language means to local actors and institutions through their perspective about official language policies, which is important in order to examine issues deeper than

language itself: i.e., that the underlying language ideologies within reveal broader discourses of language, identity, and power.

In a postcolonial, developing society, balancing heritage language promotion with calls for economic and social development is a real and daunting challenge. Considering Krauss's (1992) call for language revitalization of dying or extinct languages world-wide, the challenge to save certain languages from extinction can prove too difficult for small, rural, language communities, particularly in the developing world. Economic challenges, as an inheritance of the colonial project, have further exacerbated language loss, particularly for rural communities from the *Altiplano* (high plateau), Eastern Lowland, and Amazonian or *Chaco* (dry lowland) regions of Bolivia (see Appendix A). Thus, educational policy changes in postcolonial settings such as Bolivia merit a deeper examination of how economic restructuring and large-scale developments affect social groups differently, particularly across socioeconomic status and linguistic background.

Language revitalization and maintenance approaches propose different goals, given fluctuating language-learner motives and intricate relationships between the learner and language (Hinton, 2011), particularly for learners in different contexts. In many postcolonial, developing societies, languages are subject to policy and ideological changes amid contested sociopolitical processes, such as Bolivia's official revaluing of traditional Indigenous worldviews through education reform. Thus, given the volatility of languages, meanings about why languages change are subject to the dynamic contexts (i.e., globalized society) that languages occupy. Since the common association with globalization is "economic renewal," the belief is that in the Bolivian context, by

presenting the urban poor and impoverished *campesinos*[15] with a way out of poverty, a "liberating" process ensues.

The education system, as proposed by recent education policy Law 070 (2010), aims to "revolutionize" education, promoting neoliberal and market-based initiatives to education, in addition to promoting multilingualism and interculturalism in education. As past Bolivian education reforms have shown, promotion of neoliberal approaches to education and an over-emphasis on education's economic purposes also exerts significant social strain on those most disadvantaged. An onslaught of pressure to assimilate culturally, with loss of the heritage language, occurs almost simultaneously. Therefore, re-valuing ancient Bolivian traditions while valuing globalizing forces in the education context is a situation complex and worthy of deeper examination.

This study focuses on critically examining language revitalization efforts and concomitant formal revalorization of Indigenous traditions amid culturally homogenizing contexts. To this end, this study examines how globalization and colonialism, two conditions representing different temporal-spaces but proposing similar assimilatory approaches, reinforce each other in a postcolonial education system by using language of instruction as an instrument of power, in explicit and implicit ways. This Bolivian case study is situated within particular debates in the broader fields of international education and applied linguistics.

For instance, to understand how "agentive spaces" (Hornberger, 2009) for multilingual education are conceived and performed by rural college students or critical voices in the academic arena, in the context of education policy, this study is situated

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[15] Translated to "farmers" or "rural workers" that live economically and socially on the margins of a dominant social and economic system.

within a wider language-in-education and policy studies debate. Thus, this study draws from the field of language revitalization, primarily from a language-as-resource orientation (Ruiz, 1984), within a linguistic human rights paradigm (Maffi, 2002; Romero-Little et al., 2007; Skutnabb-Kangas, & Philipson, 2000; UNESCO, 1953).

Situated in this paradigm, the flattened Bolivian identity demands examination of how "diverse" voices actually come from distinct languages and worldviews, even those from the same ethnic or linguistic group. Thus, couched in the language-as-resource philosophy (Hornberger, 1998), real diversity (as opposed to "symbolic" diversity) is valued. This literature review also fills a research gap in Bolivia, particularly where it concerns advancing non-positivist areas of research in the field of Bolivian policy studies. To this end, the overarching method, the vertical case study, is discussed.

The vertical case study and its complementary analytic tool, critical discourse analysis, are each a theory and a method; however, in this study I draw mainly from the methodological aspects of each. I introduce both approaches in the literature review section, briefly discussing the aims and underpinnings of both, and discuss more thoroughly what the methods are in the next chapter on methodology. These critical tools present a useful lens of analyses for examining policy processes in Bolivia, particularly since in the context of the post-1990 and post-2000 eras, Bolivian reformists have aimed to contest deep structural inequities among marginalized social and cultural groups.

Interculturalism narrative to deconstruct *mestizaje.* The critique of language revitalization in Bolivia above is focused largely on linguistic, as opposed to cultural issues. However, one of the pillars of contemporary Bolivian education reform, and a value promoted across current social reforms, is "interculturalism" which also merits

examination. Xavier Albó (2001) resists facile definitions of Interculturality as a binary process by which different cultural groups relate positively or negatively, with the latter type of relationship as a critique of European colonization and assimilatory practices in education, which will be extended below.

The traditional definition of "interculturalism" is critiqued as representing the *other* negatively, through

> …integration of the non-dominant cultures by diffusion of values, beliefs, administrative systems, technology, that is, on the one hand inculcating all of the symbolic representations, and the preservation of the local experiences or ancestral practices, that have been re-functionalized and suppressed under the logic of modernity and in the function of the growing capital. (Patzi Paco, 2000, pp. 151–155)

Conversely, the positive type of intercultural relationship references a utopic sense of acceptance and recognition of differences in culture.

However, Albó (2001) proposes that there is an additional step toward acceptance and recognition beyond the binary approach with respect to theorizing the concept of "interculturalism." This step involves, "entering into real interculturality with one seriously considering each person's contributions and values to create something together, making a common loom where everybody recognizes his/her own part and is enriched by contributions of others" (p. 4). Thus, using this approach, "interculturalism" is not merely a peripheral issue in education that is easily dismissed. Rather, it is a concept that is central to the discussion on power and identity and inherent to the discussion on the role of diversity in education.

As such, one of the pillar concepts of Law 070—"decolonization"—addresses the need to unsettle dominant epistemologies in education. However, Law 070 does not present an alternative to approaching diversity in education by employing the key task of

critiquing the *mestizaje*[16] ideal or the "hybrid" identity, despite the fact that this is the

singular narrative around diversity in postcolonial Bolivia.

Mestizaje or "hybridity" is the flattened representation of identity, paradoxically

present in a context that is truly diverse. Although this view takes a neutral stance on

cross-cultural mixing, in reality, the elusive *mestizaje* ideal is a product of biological and

cultural inter-mixing of ethnicities that masks a history marked by violent domination of

hegemonic groups over subaltern factions. Thus, the myth of *mestizaje* as benign

phenomenon is problematic because of its roots in hegemonic discourses of power.

Mestizaje is defined by Sanjinés (2002) as,

> A complex process of interracial and/or intercultural mixing, *mestizaje* is the paradigm *letrado*[17] elites sometimes employ to describe and interpret the mechanisms that govern society at the sociopolitical and cultural levels. In this sense, *mestizaje* attempts to impose a homogeneous order upon a totality whose internal coherence is built vertically by the structures of power. (p. 39)

Undoubtedly, the "metanarrative" of *mestizaje* plays an important and influential role in

the "homogenizing colonial project" (Valdiviezo, 2013, p. 15) in Bolivia, as well as

across the Latin American region. However, critique of the *mestizante*/anti-*mestizante*

binary proposes that, paradoxically, the binary itself promotes the production of

"…subjects that are socially located in the oppressed side of the colonial difference, to

think epistemically like the ones on the dominant positions" (Grosfoguel, 2007, p. 213).

Thus, these binaries end up producing, "reductive ideological and cultural

dualisms" (Moraña, Dussel, & Jáuregui, 2008, p. 5). These dualist-minded constructions

of identity amidst the diverse and changing sociocultural landscape that is Bolivia

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[16] Mestizos (n) are a mix of European and Indigenous, and mestizaje (v) is the biological and cultural mixing of different ethnicities, producing new ethnicities and phenotypes. Describes historic process of racial and cultural mixing throughout Latin America since colonial times.
[17] The erudite scholar

presuppose a decontextualized or "disembodied and un-located neutrality and objectivity of the ego-politics of knowledge" (Grosfoguel, 2007, p. 214). This position reproduces inequities, further distancing the "subject" from its "geo-political" and "body-political" location (Grosfoguel, 2007, p. 214), and thus produces detrimental though unintended consequences for historically marginalized social actors.

Thus, a new framework that extends binary analysis is necessary. Construction of identity beyond *mestizante/*anti-*mestizante* dualisms addresses the complex relationship of language-in-education or "diversity policies" and conceptions of national identity (Taylor, 2004). In turn, this critique of multiculturalism in Latin America that leans on Western epistemologies (Mignolo, 2007; Quijano, 1995; Sanjinés, 2002; Walsh, 2007) has also been critiqued. Rivera Cusicanqui (2012) contends, "This [Western] canon [of critique] makes visible certain themes and sources but leaves others in the shadows" (p. 104). Rivera Cusicanqui (2012) proposes undertaking a "political economy of knowledge" that contests the "postcolonial discourse of North America" (p. 102). Hers is a response to limited approaches to examining diversity in South America. Rivera Cusicanqui (2012) posits,

> …the "geopolitics of knowledge" in the decolonial sense is a notion that is not put into practice (it rather raises a contradiction through gestures that recolonize the imaginaries and minds of intellectuals of the South)… also it is necessary to leave the sphere of the superstructures in order to analyze the economic strategies and material mechanisms that operate behind discourses. (p. 102)

Thus, this critique of postcolonial theories in Latin America, reviewed above, questions the legitimacy of canons formed in the field of postcolonial thinking in Western institutions and their relevance for Indigenous communities in the Latin American region. Calling out regional debate on postcolonial thinking, here I adopt Rivera Cusicanqui's

(2012) rationale that this debate is covering up and disregarding "internal colonialism" (p. 103), useful critique for this Bolivian case study that aims to uncover contradictions within progressive policy.

Policy studies in post-colonial Bolivia. Bolivian society has a history with coloniality, impacting intercultural relations in significant ways. Part of this history is, "a sociocultural relationship between Europeans and non-Europeans that is constantly reproduced as long as the power structures are dominated by the White Creole elites and the cultural construction of non-European peoples as 'inferior others'" (Grosfoguel, 2000, p. 368). This reproduction of power means to say that the unequal condition is recycled and reproduced across time—across different eras and paradigms, namely these three: "colonial, liberal and populist horizons" (Rivera Cusicanqui, 2012, p. 97). Rivera Cusicanqui (2012) contextualizes education policy in Bolivia--in particular approaches to diversity-- across these three vast horizons that "not only reversed the legal and constitutional orderings but also recycled old practices of exclusion and discrimination" (p. 97). Thus, the Colonial relationship in "post" modernity is long from over, and the imbalance in power between Europeans and non-Europeans continues.

Post-2000, discourses of "pluralism," "inclusion," "decolonization," and naturally, "inter/intra culturalism"are rampant across social and education reforms in Bolivia, which might highlight a shift in paradigm, particularly a change in how diversity is approached. However, the movement toward a recognition and inclusion of Indigenous languages and cultures approach does not necessarily imply a "conflict-free vision" of a language-as-resource philosophy (Hornberger, 1998), particularly in education policy processes. On the contrary, an intensification of heritage language maintenance and

cultural re-affirmation in educational and political discourse can produce resistance or "push-back" from diverse social actors against newer, sophisticated forms of oppression.

In some cases, unable to grasp how educational reform that is highly progressive, but also using prescriptive language, can serve their needs—Indigenous students in postcolonial Bolivia are defining identity differently, amid social change. As a result, different approaches are required in Bolivia in the ethnography of language policy to accurately reflect these particular nuances. "Ecological approaches" in policy studies used to, "explore the ideologies underlying multilingual language policies" (Hornberger, 2002, p. 27) are reflective of complex and often contradictory policy.

Localized approaches to studying policy, particularly in postcolonial, developing settings such as Bolivia, take into account the, "tensions, ambiguities, and paradoxes" (Hornberger, 2013, p. 111) of disparate language ideologies coming from the ground up. The revaluing of the local or bottom-up transformation of policy as an approach to studying policy processes and practices (Canagarajah, 2006; Hornberger, 2008; Johnson, 2009; Ramanathan, 2005; Valdiviezo, 2009) intersects with the two methodological tools discussed briefly below, the vertical case study and discourse analysis.

The vertical case study underscores the particular ways in which policy processes in postcolonial Bolivia merit deeper examination. The theories of policy studies that undergird the vertical case study approach includes scholarship about the linguistic aspects of localized programs (Hornberger, 1998), policy in the context of Indigenous rights (Albó, 1994, 2001; López, 2010), and policy in the context of Indigenous rights-related laws (Moya, 1998). The theories of policy studies in the field of comparative education that also undergird the vertical case study approach includes scholarship about

the goal of comparative education, which as Broadfoot (1999) states, is to "contribute to the development of a comprehensive socio-cultural perspective" (p. 26). Thus, different scholarship on policy studies coming from the fields of comparative international education and applied linguistics, undergird the vertical case study approach. To follow, the vertical case study and critical discourse analysis will be briefly discussed, with a focus on their theoretical relevance for this study.

  Vertical case study: Language-in-use across scales, places and actors. The vertical case study, as a means of analysis of educational policy, promotes "full and thorough knowledge of multiple levels of comparison within a single vertically-bounded case" (Vavrus & Bartlett, 2006, p. 95). It is important to note that while the term "vertical" in the vertical case study suggests a singular emphasis in examination, this approach also includes the equally important horizontal and transversal elements (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2014). Thus, drawing from multi-sited ethnography to examine the linkages between levels of policy analysis (Vavrus & Bartlett, 2009), the vertical case study incorporates vertical, horizontal, and transversal elements. I now turn to defining what these elements are, briefly outlining their theoretical relevance for this study.

  First, the vertical axis is defined as "simultaneous attention to and across micro-, meso-, and macro- levels, or scales, which constitute the verticality of comparison," (p. 2). The verticality of comparison in this study refers to the three levels: the local, national and international scales that make up policy processes in Bolivia. Second, the *horizontal axis* is defined as one that "compares how similar policies unfold in distinct locations that are socially produced" (Massey, 2005 in Vavrus & Bartlett, 2014, p. 2) and yet are inextricably intertwined.

The horizontality of comparison here includes three types of higher education institutions with varied adopted ideologies in their curricula, or adopting policy discourse, resisting policy discourse, and ambivalent about policy discourse. Though all adoption/resistance tactics are analyzed, emphasis is on the higher education context that shows ambivalence toward policy ideology in this study given that students are traditionally the most vulnerable social actors. Their historical position of power (or lack thereof) underscores the position students hold in modern Bolivian society: In the hierarchy of importance, typically policymakers are at the top, with professors, teachers, community leaders and college administrators in the middle, and students at the bottom.

Finally, the transversal axis emphasizes "the importance of transversal comparison, which historically situates the processes or relations under consideration and traces the creative appropriation of educational policies and practices across time and space" (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2014, p. 2). Additionally, the transversal element "reminds us to study *across and through* levels in order to explore how globalizing processes intersect and interconnect people and policies that come into focus at different scales" (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2014, p. 2).

The third element is a critical piece of analysis, particularly in the Bolivian context, where ideologies are recycled along a continuum of legitimation of inequities and promotion of equality in reform. For instance, as an outcome of the colonial project, the colonizer has created a discourse about the colonized that has served not only to legitimize the political and economic domination, but also to represent the "natural" identity of the colonized as "subaltern." These subaltern classes are living the postcolonial legacies of colonialism. In the transversality of comparison, the emphasis in

this study is on the last reform era, or post-1990, when allegedly a shift in paradigm and a rupture from the colonial legacy was established in social reform. Thus, the vertical case study approach addresses the multiple scales, places and actors that shape and interact with policy formation.

Some scholars in the field of comparative international development education are redefining policy studies by using this varied approach in novel ways. Of particular interest for this case study for comparative reasons, one such scholar values stakeholder knowledge and applies in-depth area studies, in particular within the U.S. context. Koyama (2011) identifies points of negotiation, resistance, and interpretation of the national education policy known as No Child Left Behind Policy (NCLB), using analytical methods "capable of analyzing connections between contexts and simultaneously attending to multiply situated policy activities" (p. 23). Through Actor–network theory (ANT), a parallel method to the vertical case study, Koyama (2011) draws from these complementary methods in policy studies to highlight big "D" discourses in this developed country context, including "school failure," and the "achievement gap."

Overall, Koyama's aim is to problematize the phenomenon of NCLB provisions and actions directed at resolving those schools deemed as "failing." Koyama (2011) critiques how educational policy presupposes lack of variation in consensus-building processes. Thus, a lack of examination about what building "consensus" is and what constitutes "interventions" for stated school failures have unintended consequences for social actors. Vertical case analysis in Koyama's study is used to expose how local actors perceive policy processes and, similar to this study, identifies a need for critical

examination of policy design and interpretation.

In the context of Bereday's (1964) distinction between a "problem approach" and a "total approach" to comparative education (p. 23), the vertical case study permits a type of comparison that defines boundaries more precisely. However, vertical case analysis, as a stand-alone framework for examining policy, is not a panacea. For example, the vertical case analysis does not typically include linguistic analysis. In fact, the discipline of linguistics in comparative international education research is generally absent (Vavrus & Seghers, 2010). Thus, critical inquiry of language-in-use via the approach of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is used here to undertake analysis of policy. As method and theory, this analytic tool enhances the vertical case study, as applied to the Bolivian context. I turn now to framing social actors' engagement with policy text across levels.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA): Discursive turns in policy documents across levels. Discourse analysis (DA), Van Leeuwen (2009) posited, is "the analysis of a text or type of text" (p. 145). Rogers (2011) extended the definition such that "discourses are social practices, processes, and products. Discourses are both the object of study and the theoretical device used for meaning making" (p. 6). DA, an interdisciplinary field studying language in use, is an umbrella term under which several different analytic approaches fit. However, the discourse analysis toolkit encompasses vast and diverse approaches. One tool from this toolkit, and which is central to this Bolivian case study, is the critical discourse analysis (CDA) approach.

In CDA, the critical elements of analyzing discourse are the focus. In this case study, with the analysis of policy processes in the context of social change, the elements include recontextualization (Van Leeuwen, 2009; Wodak, 2008) and the discourse-

historical approach (Wodak, 2008). In order to produce insights about how distinct levels of engagement with policy text occur within different domains (e.g. micro-, meso-, and macro-levels), and to observe how language use reproduces or resists inequality at these levels, I examine dialogue and text through a critical discourse analysis (CDA) lens.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approaches to analyzing *text* and *talk* uncover hidden, unequal relations of power in the larger social and educational context. Van Dijk (2009) defined CDA as "a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context" (p. 352). The CDA approaches used to examine text or talk are diverse; a wide variety of theoretical underpinnings of CDA reflect this diversity in approach. However, most CDA approaches examine similar issues of power, domination, and social inequality (Van Dijk, 2009). Different than non-critical approaches to discourse analysis, CDA, "includes not only a description and interpretation of discourse in context, but also offers an explanation of why and how discourses work" (Rogers, 2011a, p. 2).

The nature of language as a contextualized semiotic process speaks to the uniqueness of how language is used, for what purposes, and by whom. How social actors perceive this function is dependent on many things, which have nothing to do with public policy, but rather involve ideology and power. Parsons-Dick (2011) traced legal racialization and interdiscursivity in a small U.S. town that penned an ordinance criminalizing immigration from Mexico. The tension between federal policy and local implementation or "politics of contradiction" (Parsons-Dick, 2011) in this case is exemplified by local immigration policy and discourses of criminalization. Policy

discourse in Hazelton, PA's city ordinance "does more than implicitly evoke the incorporation regime produced by the politics of contradiction in federal law; it also creates an explicit dialogue with that law, eventually copying its language outright" (Parsons-Dick, 2011, p. 46).

For instance, the city ordinance of July 2006 identifies and defines an "illegal alien," while the September 2006 ordinance defers to (and hides under) federal law. Over time, the author observed that local immigration policy discourse transformed its interdiscursivity. The fundamental problem with the ambiguity of the local immigration policy as Parsons-Dick understood it, is that it "not only allows the Hazelton ordinance to take cover under federal law, it also creates a space of ambiguity and interpretation in which the pre-existing conflation of 'illegal alien' and 'Mexican immigrant' can function as the basis for the application of the Hazelton law" (p. 48). Thus, the ambiguity between what the federal law proposes and how immigration policy is implemented on a local level greatly undermines the legal and social impact of problematic policy on marginalized social actors.

A shift in discourse between the first and the second local immigration policy points to the notion of *change*, which "has become inherent to the study of text and discourse" (Wodak, 2005, p. 2). Additionally, interdiscursivity has a close affinity to recontextualisation because inter-discourse often implies that elements are imported from one discourse into another. Thus, the concept of recontextualization is "relevant to the analysis of social change" (Wodak, 2005, p. 2), a fundamental aspect with examination of policy processes in Bolivia.

In summary, this chapter outlined and traced relevant scholarship in which this

study is situated theoretically, which were categorized under three main themes: revitalizing heritage languages in a postcolonial society, "interculturalism" narrative to deconstruct the notion of *mestizaje,* and policy studies in "post-colonial" Bolivia. In addition, the two methods, the vertical case study and critical discourse analysis, were included in this tracing due to their important and relevant theoretical considerations.

The theoretical aims and underpinning of each theme or approach was revealed, giving instances of how these themes or approaches are significant for this case study given their contribution to the "development of a comprehensive socio-cultural perspective" (Broadfoot, 1999, p. 26). Thus, attending to the "particulars" of a global concern in its local applications (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2014; Bray & Thomas, 1995) for this case study demands a holistic research approach, couched in theories that are reflective of a fluid, changing social context. Having grounded this case study in the theoretical frameworks discussed in this chapter, now I more thoroughly discuss the methods used in this study in order to answer the four research questions in the next chapter.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Introduction

In this chapter, I will describe how the study was organized, the type of design I used in order to collect the data, what type of data was collected, and in what timeframe all of the work occurred. This chapter also discusses the setting and the participants, concluding with a brief description on how I analyzed the data. Drawing from two complementary methods, the vertical case study and discourse analysis, this study examines the "recycling" of ideologies, connecting scales, places, and actors. This study examines the particular discourses present through public document analysis, focusing on two contemporary reforms and institutional websites, as well as through one-on-one interviews and personal documents. This chapter ends with how I relate the theoretical underpinnings of these methods to my own study.

The overall aim of this chapter is to frame this study methodologically, reflecting on my own lens, through which I understand research in this context. Four questions drive this study in an attempt to answer this larger question. At the macro-level: (1) What is the global discourse around intercultural, bilingual education? a) What are the practices and ideologies maintained by international donors? b) How do they intersect with practices and ideologies at the national level? At the meso-level: (2) What is the policy discourse around diversity at the national (meso) level? At the micro-level: (3) How do local students make meaning of Law 070? And, the question that addresses the transversal element: (4) How is diversity understood by focal participants at each level? To address these questions, I adopt critical tools that explore the significance of accessing multiple perspectives. In the "horizontality of comparison," two higher education

institutions are examined: the rural private college Unidad Académica Campesina-Carmen Pampa (UAC-CP), and the urban public university Universidad Mayor de San Simón (UMSS), which houses PROEIB-Andes's *Maestria* (postgraduate) program. The "verticality of comparison" includes an analysis of three levels.

The vertical element includes analysis across the first level or the local (micro) level, examining the perspectives of four[18] rural college students in this case study. Second, the vertical element includes the national (meso) level, focusing on the perspectives of administrators from two national institutions plus two governing bodies (private and public). Lastly, the vertical element also includes the international (macro) level, examining the policies of international donor agencies[19] with education projects in Bolivia. At this level, primary sources were not accessed. Instead, discourse was examined via document analysis of institutional website mission and vision texts.

Finally, the transversal element includes analysis across the space-time continuum, or examination across *four phases of diversity recognition* (López, 1994) in relation to a chronological, linear understanding of the *four main education reform phases* in Bolivia, getting at the fourth research question. The last question, on how actors construct "diversity" across the three levels of analysis in this study (for example, within the verticality of comparison), ties together the first three research questions. Thus, examining the transversal element underscores the main issue of this study: That discourses of inclusion are paradoxically increasing the tensions between policy and

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[18] Of 13 student participants in the cohort, four focal students were selected after the data analysis phase. These students were selected after my analysis of the data since personal documentation, as well as audio and video data analyses, revealed which students were largely representative of a specific profile and held a particular perspective about policy.

[19] Eleven donor organizations with influence in Bolivian education reform processes include four multilateral banks and seven bilateral banks (see Chapter 4, macro context).

practice from the perspectives of diverse youth at the local (micro) level and from the point of view of critical voices at the national (meso) level.

Figure 1.0 below represents how vertical case analysis is being thought of here and how it is applied to this Bolivian case study. In the following section, I discuss the data collection strategies used in the "verticality," "horizontality," and "transversality" of comparison that allow closer examination into the strategies used by different actors on different scales toward new policy discourse, particularly diversity discourse.

Horizontal	UAC-CP	PROEIB-Andes at UMSS
	• Rural private college	• Urban public university

Vertical

International: four multilateral and seven bilateral donor organizations

National: two focal higher education institutions (state-affiliated and church-affiliated) and two governing bodies (public and private)

Local: cohort of 13 Education students and 4 focal students

Transversal

Four phases of diversity recognition (López, 1994), focusing on two contemporary policies, NER (1994) and Law 070 (2010): How "diversity" is defined across levels

Figure 1.0: *Vertical case study and the Bolivian case*

Data collection processes in the "verticality" and "horizontality" of comparison

The types of data collected in the vertical element occur at the three levels of analysis: micro, meso, and macro. Macro-level data collection includes analysis of global organizations' mission discourses around bilingual, intercultural education, highlighting instances where international donor organizations champion or resist national-level

discourse. Meso-level data collection includes interviews with national educational leaders from the institutional domain, including government and higher education institutions.

The types of data collected in the horizontal element occur across three different higher education institutions: a rural, semi-private university; a state-affiliated public university; and a cluster of state-sponsored, public universities. Interview data collected at the national level is enhanced by an analysis of mission and vision discourse produced by the different institutions, as well as document analysis of educational policy. The mission and vision statements of different institutions were selected based on their relevance to bilingual, intercultural education or their connection (or lack thereof) to principles and core theories in Law 070 (2010).

The last level in the vertical element is the micro-level. Micro-level data collection included weekly observations of student interactions, one-time, in-depth interviews with students, and document analysis of student work. The personal student documents include first-person accounts of events and experiences, such as peer-to-peer biographical interviews. **Four** focal students' perceptions are analyzed to highlight predominant views about educational policy discourse, particularly diversity discourses. By having focal students along with other participants illustrate and make meaning of Law 070 (2010), the vastly representative samples allowed for a closer and more detailed reading of how perceptions differ.

The focal four students are part of a cohort of 13, and all students are enrolled in the Education department, in their eighth semester, or fourth and final year of coursework. These four focal students were chosen based on ideas they presented during

student interviews, class interactions, and writing assignments, and particularly, ideas that reflected uptake or resistance to policy discourse. These students were also representative of atypical profiles, such as being language minority speakers, of nontraditional age and experience, were advanced beyond their years, or they held firm ideas about policy ideology.

At the micro-level, the dialogue between participants and researcher as well as critical reflections by participants were collected from various sources including in-depth interviews, video transcripts (where available), and other data sources such as writing assignments. The variety of data collection techniques from multiple perspectives and in different contexts produced varied findings about policy perceptions at the micro-level. The audio interview data were the main source, as opposed to the video data, as all students participated in one-on-one-interviews, but not all students participated in class discussions. In addition, personal documents such as writing assignments were the source of data for Student Profiles (see Chapter 6), but not for the data source in this chapter.

In this case study, I am not the practitioner, but a researcher invited into the classroom, a condition discussed in the previous section on Positionality, and one that will be examined in my Limitations chapter.[20] The approach described in the Positionality section is inspired by approaches that examine practical problems, or "problem-posing pedagogy" (Freire, 2002), employed in order to create feasible and appropriate solutions by the grassroots stakeholders themselves.

At the classroom level, the "problem" is defined as, how do rural college students interpret and make sense of highly political policy, in particular with respects to the

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[20] The entire data collection process, from beginning to end, lasted for four months, with about the first half of this time devoted to setting up the study and the last half devoted to carrying out the study. The first six weeks were devoted to reaching out to the UAC-CP community and fostering a belief in my commitment to listen closely to local actors.

diversity dimension? Since the student participants are future education leaders (within the Educational Leadership track), a reading of this law is necessary for them to be able to one day implement it. This study closely examines four focal students of a cohort of 13 students. Observations of student interactions, in-depth interviews, and document analysis of student work, using video[21] and audio recordings of interviews and student-produced documentation, including peer interviews, are examined in the findings section of this study. A set of interview protocol questions was given to students for this task (see Appendix B, Peer interview Protocol). Thus, the peer interview writing assignment, with its set of academic conventions and norms, produces background information on each student in a different form than that derived during researcher-student interviews.

During our one-on-one, in-depth interviews, students were asked to give their perspectives about one of seven articles in Chapters 2 and 3 of Law 070 (see Appendix C: Articles from Law 070). First, students gave a description of the specific article in their own words. Then, students gave their interpretation of what each specific article means to them, ultimately proposing implications for teaching and learning. However, before describing and interpreting the text, students had to read aloud a specific part within one of two sections,[22] which were chosen for students by the researcher at random. Students' performances of the text constitute a dimension of discourse of social practice, or a type of genre[23] within this interview context, among a community of speakers.[24] Wodak's (2008) notion of *discourse communities* applied within this dialogical experience reveals

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[21] Analysis of video footage is not applied to all focal students given the quality or relevance of some footage.
[22] Two sections were Chapter 2 (Basis, Goals and Objectives of Education) and Chapter 3 (Linguistic and Sociocultural Diversity), which were chosen by the researcher because of their relevance to discourses examined in this study.
[23] *Genre* is "…the conventionalized, more or less schematically fixed use of language associated with a particular activity" (Fairclough, 1995, in Wodak, 2008).
[24] Discourse communities are "a broadly agreed set of common public goals, through mechanisms of intercommunication among its members; through their own genres; through their own lexis; and through a suitable degree of relevant content and discursive expertise" (Wodak, 2008, p. 15).

particular communication styles, language usage, discursive repertoires, verbal interactions, and also highlights varying degrees of comfort with speaking about sociopolitical rhetoric among rural college students.

Applying this concept to our interviews, the "rules" of dialogue were described at the onset, inviting students to read and appropriate the policy text as their own. The difference between Discourse and text, Wodak (2008) contends, is that, "Discourse implies patterns and commonalities of knowledge and structures whereas a text is a specific and unique realization of a discourse" (p. 6). Drawing from this differentiation, students in this interview context are encouraged to extend mere descriptive approaches about education policy. Students are encouraged to critically interpret the text (see Interview Protocol in Appendix C), as they will be applying and disseminating policy ideas across teaching or educational leadership contexts some day.

As members of a particular social group, students are asked in the interview context to provide their perspectives through two main outlets: interviews and class discussions. The one-on-one (audio) interviews are not the only source of interview data analysis in this chapter. Class observations, through video recording (where available), supplement audio interviews. The study took place within the course *Diseño curricular abierto y educación en derechos* or Open Curriculum Design and Education Rights, in which class discussions were video recorded and later analyzed. Salient dialogue about dominant discourse in educational policy also occurred in the context of class discussions. This informal dialogue was identified through video analysis and chosen according to the interview data related to each focal student. Thus, if applicable, video analysis is interwoven with selected students' interview audio analysis. Below, the data

collection processes within the final element of analysis, the transversal element, will be discussed.

Data collection processes within the "**transversality" of comparison**

The types of data collected within the transversal element occur across comparisons of four main education reforms in Bolivia and via pre-collected data within the verticality and horizontality of comparison; the transversal element brings the two former elements together in a contextualized manner. In terms of the comparison across four main education reforms in Bolivia, these reforms were chosen for analysis because they are the four central education reforms in the country, in some cases including provisions for the inclusion of language and culture education, in either problematic or encouraging ways.

Across reform eras, however, the "ethnocultural diversity" dimension in the curriculum has been utilized as a mobilized dimension, either for inclusion or exclusion, depending on the reform era's social, political, historical, and economic context. Since a central theme in data collection processes in this Bolivian case study is a constant "back and forth" movement along the progression of social inclusion (or the "recycling" of reform ideas) through education, the transversal element is the most important analytic element in this study. In examining four central phases of educational reform in Bolivia—while attending to its global, national, and local dimensions—the transversal element is adopted because through examination across and through levels, with respect to actors' perspectives of diversity policy, patterns emerge. Bartlett and Vavrus (2014) propose that at this fourth element, the vertical case study makes an important contribution through analysis of "the complex assemblages of power that come to bear on

policy formation and appropriation across multiple sites and scales" (p. 1).

Applied to the Bolivian case study, issues of power largely shape whether "diversity" is approached, either problematically or in encouraging ways, i.e., either with a language-as-problem or language-as-resource approach (Ruiz, 1984). Issues of power also largely shape whether actors take up or resist either inclusive or exclusive policy discourse, across reform eras. Having discussed the data collection processes across levels and according to different elements of analysis, Table 1.0 illustrates the techniques used for collecting and analyzing data, shaped by the four guiding research questions.

Table 1.0: *Research Questions with Techniques for Collecting and Analyzing Data*

RQ	Techniques for collecting and analyzing data
1. What is global level discourse around intercultural, bilingual policy? a) What are practices and ideologies maintained by **international** donors? b) How do they intersect with practices and ideologies at the national level?	Comparison of mission discourses around BIE DA of donor mission statements
2. What is the policy discourse around diversity at the **national** level?	Interviews with national education leaders DA of mission or vision statements DA of policy documents
3. How do **local** students make meaning of Law 070?	Observations of student interactions DA of in-depth interviews DA of student work
4. How is diversity understood across each level?	Comparison of how four main reforms in Bolivia that address "diversity." CDA used to analyze how each level in verticality of comparison constructs the concept of "diversity"

The following tables illustrate the types of collection processes, the timeline, and the types of data collected in the study in the verticality and transversality of comparison.

Table 1.1: *Data Collection and Timeline at International (Macro) Level*

Collection Processes	Timeline	Data
Other types of texts	Ongoing	UN Declarations & Drafts, Bolivian Constitution, other treaties/global policies on BIE

Table 1.2: *Data Collection and Timeline at National (Meso) Level*

Collection Processes	Timeline	Data
Interviews	In-depth, one-on-one. Thus, each participant is interviewed once Setting: UAC-CP, PROEIB-Andes, CEE, and MoE	Transcriptions of audio recorded data
Document analysis	Ongoing	NER (1994), & Law 070 (2010)

Table 1.3: *Data Collection and Timeline at Local (Micro) Level*

Collection Processes	Timeline	Data
Observations of video recorded data	Once/week, 1 hour or approx. 10 hrs Setting: classroom at UAC-CP	Transcriptions of video recorded data (field notes) Reflection notes from observations
Interviews	In-depth summative one-on-one Thus, each student is interviewed once	Transcriptions of audio recorded data
Journals and other types of texts	Selected personal journals Selected academic assignments	Text by participants

Table 1.4: *Data Collection and Timeline Within the Transversal Element*

Collection processes	Timeline	Data
Document analysis	Ongoing	Comparison of four main reforms in Bolivia with "ethnocultural diversity."
Combination of interviews, observations, document analysis and other types of texts at three levels	Various	DA of how each level constructs "ethnocultural diversity".

The multi-leveled and multi-element data were analyzed using the vertical case study as an overall design approach. Moreover, discourse analysis tools—namely the discourse-historical and recontextualization approaches—were also used in the methodological design. The data were analyzed using these two approaches, particularly chosen for the contribution of the vertical case study and discourse analysis toward the

"development of a comprehensive socio-cultural perspective" (Broadfoot, 1999, p. 26).

Below, I discuss the "reading" on the data that I have, through my own lens as researcher

and interpreter, and the importance of being critically aware of how this study is injected

with my own position.

      Positionality. In my own reflective practice as researcher, I attempt to assess

those "unseen" areas of interpretation that, if they remain "unseen," reflect a form of

symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 1991). This approach is particularly important since this

study looks at relationships of power within unequal socioeconomic relations in the

context of educational policy. Orner (1999), contends:

> Educators concerned with changing unjust power relations must continually
> examine our assumptions about our own positions, those of our students, the
> meanings and uses of student voice, our power to call for students to speak, and
> our often-unexamined power to legitimate and perpetuate unjust relations in the
> name of student empowerment. (p. 77)

Though I'm not a traditional "practitioner" in the context of this study, I did approach the

classroom with my own set of pedagogical and social "habitus," and my own ideological

approach toward conducting research in this context.

      Thus, unpacking my position as a White-Mestiza, Graduate researcher from a

Western institution is a fundamental position critiqued in this context. Additionally, I

draw from Bourdieu's (1991) questions about social research on oppression and

resistance in order to question the privileging of Western views within a research context

of Indigenous communities. Thus, I pose two fundamental queries in my research

context: "For whom?" and, "With whom?

      As I undertook this research study to answer specific questions around the

disparities between policy and practice in Bolivia within different analytic levels,

Bourdieu's approach proved relevant. A critical stance about social research allowed me to analyze my position of power and privilege in this context. I had to consider how the impact of non-Indigenous researchers doing research within Indigenous communities is often "unmeasured" and "uncontrolled"; the methodological processes and theoretical frameworks used to approach research by the outsider and about the insider is largely unexamined in traditional academic research.

Western paradigms of research and knowledge applied to Indigenous communities are a problematic stance that recolonize and reproduce inequities in research practices (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). It is assumed that to undertake research in this context, heightened researcher awareness is important, as well as the importance of "a more critical understanding of underlying assumptions, motivations and values that inform research practices" (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999, p. 20). To extend and deepen this thinking, I re-examine traditional research approaches in the Bolivian context.

A critique of "taken for granted" research is a framework suitable for my study context given historical disparities in educational access between rural and urban dwellers, and Indigenous and non-Indigenous students. This critical framework is also important given traditional anti-constructivist approaches, limited pedagogical techniques, the dominance of teacher-centered pedagogy and "banking" education (Freire, 2005) ideology prevalent in Bolivian education, particularly in rural areas. An unexamined view of anti-constructivist pedagogy in the context of traditional, rural Bolivian education might reproduce these very inequities. Below, I describe the geographic and academic setting in which this study took place, the participants involved, as well as how data were analyzed.

Setting

　　The *Nor Yungas* region. This study takes place in the rural community of

Carmen Pampa, in the Province of Nor Yungas, in the Department of La Paz, Bolivia (see

Appendix A for map of region). Located about 70 miles from the capital city of La Paz,

Carmen Pampa is where the community college[25] and research site Unidad Académica

Campesina is located. The Nor Yungas region is situated on the eastern slope of the

Andean mountain range and is comprised of dense cloud forests, making travel (by foot,

car, bus, or bicycle) susceptible and vulnerable to "the elements," particularly during the

rainy season.

　　Although a modern highway connects Coroico to La Paz, not all towns in the

region enjoy modern infrastructure, which keeps some villages in isolation, both socially

and economically (Stockton, 2005). Given the literal and figurative "in between" space

characteristics of the Nor Yungas region, I maintain that the study site is complex and

rich for understanding *diversity* in Bolivia. Stockton (2005) proposes, "In essence, the

geopolitical makeup of the Coroico municipality reveals its sociocultural complexity: the

coming-together of multiple ethnicities, subsistence patterns, socioeconomic standings,

and languages" (p. 1).

　　The Yungas inhabitants are descended from Indigenous or Spanish hacienda

families, from pre-colonial or colonial bilingual speakers, as well as from African

descendants. The Afro-Bolivian population comes from the descendants of African slaves

first brought to Bolivia to work in the silver mines in the Department of Potosí during the

colonial era. Hundreds of thousands slaves died due to the frigid and high altitude

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[25] Though it serves the Carmen Pampa community and other communities across the region, the College is a degree-granting, five-year College associated with the Catholic University of Bolivia San Pablo. The term "community" here means literally belonging to the community. It does not imply a two-year college, like in the U.S.

climate, so some were relocated to work the Yungas hacienda plantations. This population maintains syncretic, Aymaran-Afro cultural and linguistic traditions to this day (Angola, 2003).

Given this rich and complex sociocultural and historical context, it is not surprising that language attitudes and perceptions of cultural identity are extreme and divisive among Indigenous group members in the Yungas region. Stockton (2005) posits, "The phenomena of language shift in the Coroico municipality is the product of socio-political conditions in Bolivia that have, through centuries of colonization, created hierarchies of identity, prestige, social class, and mobility" (p. 6). It is within these phenomena and this historical context that the setting for this study takes place. Thus, each student's social and academic trajectory is shaped by prevailing social conditions, which differ between places of origin. Additionally, perspectives about language, culture, and policy differ from student to student.

The sociopolitical context of the Yungas region also plays an important role in education at UAC-CP. Subsistence farming organizations (especially that of coca), through syndicated regional groups or *Cocalero* unions,[26] is very active politically. *Nor Yungas* or North Yungas (the regional site for this study), as well as *Sur Yungas* or South Yungas, encompass the traditional coca-growing zone of the valleys of La Paz.[27] Thus, due to the millennial coca crop,[28] the Yungas region represents an important political arena, carrying economic and cultural weight. UAC-CP is situated within this geographic

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[26] *Cocalero* unions are a product of the *Cocalero* movement, which honors *cocaleros* (coca leaf growers) as agents of their own development and draws them into the process of curbing the cocaine trade in order to end their role as simply passive recipients or opponents of imposed initiatives. In fact, President Evo Morales grew into power as a *cocalero* leader (Conzelman, 2007).

[27] The other two lucrative products grown here are citruses and coffee. However, coca is the most viable crop, since harvest occurs three times more often than that of other crops, and also due to its market value.

[28] Coca is an ancient crop valued in Bolivia for its medicinal and nutritional properties, as well as for its deep historical roots in Aymara and Quechua traditions. As it is also the source of cocaine, coca policy draws constant public scrutiny (Conzelman, 2007, p. 1).

region and within this sociopolitical context. To conclude this section about the geographic setting, background information about the College is presented below.

Unidad Académica Campesina-Carmen Pampa. The Unidad Académica Campesina-Carmen Pampa (UAC-CP) is a community college that offers rigorous programs of study within rural-affiliated careers. UAC-CP was,

> …founded in 1993 to bridge the educational gap that exists between Bolivia's rural poor and those with financial resources. The community college was established to educate young men and women who, for a variety of reasons, would be otherwise unable to study at the college level. ("Carmen Pampa Fund and the College," 2013).

Coupled with the benefit that scholarships cover the cost of tuition, room, and board for the most needful students, UAC-CP attracts male and female students from around the country, from the Amazon basin to the *Altiplano* (highlands) region.

The College was founded with the mission to create skilled leaders in five diverse areas—including Agronomy, Veterinary Sciences, Education, Nursing, and Eco-Tourism—while also upholding religious ideals of service to impoverished communities. Offering bachelor degrees in fields relevant to rural communities—such as public health nursing, plant and animal science, rural tourism, and education—the College has approximately 700 students. Since the College's founding, its impact on development in the region has proven far-reaching and significant.

> The mission of the UAC is to serve "the poorest of the poor" through education, research and the community outreach programs. It is fulfilling its mission by developing a new prosperity through sustainable farming, the prevention and control of debilitating and terminal diseases and the creation of enduring applied research programs in agriculture and public health. (Wagner & Rickert, 2002)

In the last two decades, UAC has made significant contributions to providing a more equitable and prosperous life for young men and women from Indigenous, rural

communities. The Carmen Pampa Fund Fact Sheet states, "Over its 20-year history, the impact of the College has been profound. Graduates have markedly improved income levels and are serving targeted rural areas; they deeply value their education and consider the College responsible for their access to new opportunities" ("Unidad Académica Campesina-Carmen Pampa," 2014).

The College has been recognized by three organizations. The Education and Health Committee of the Legislative Assembly of Bolivia (2011) gave the College a national "Meritorious Institution of the State" award for providing access to higher education and contributing to successful development. The United Nations Subcommittee for the Eradication of Poverty (2003) provided international recognition by naming UAC as "one of the world's top models for eradicating poverty" ("Recognition and Achievement," 2014). The transnational NGO Carmen Pampa Fund (CPF) has also helped to raise the visibility of this institution. In the next section, the study participants at all three levels are described, including the non-governmental organizations (NGO) and intergovernmental organizations (IGO) at the macro-level, government officials and higher education administrators or professors at the meso-level, and students at the micro-level.

Participants

According to the vertical case study, study participants also include international (macro) level actors or the international bilateral and multilateral organizations with education development projects in Bolivia. Selected information about organizations from the macro-level is described in Table 2.0, including the location of where interviews

took place (if applicable) at the time that I carried out my data collection for this study
(2013–2014).

Table 2.0: *Profile of Macro-Level Participants*

Name	Title	NGO/IGO	Location[29]
		World Bank	Washington, DC, U.S.A
		IDB	Washington, DC, U.S.A
		UNESCO	New York, NY, U.S.A
		USAID	Washington, DC, U.S.A
		UNICEF	New York, NY, U.S.A
		GTZ	Bonn, Germany
		JICA	Tokyo, Japan
		AECID	Madrid, Spain
		DANIDA	Copenhagen, Denmark
		SIDA	Stockholm, Sweden
		Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs	The Hague, Netherlands

At the national (meso) level, actors include higher education institutions and

national governing bodies (meso-level) such as the Ministry of Education (MoE) and the

Comisión Episcopal de Educación, or the Episcopal Commission for Education (CEE),

the educational arm of the Catholic Church. Selected background information on key

stakeholders from the meso-level is described in Table 2.1 at the time that I interviewed

them in 2013–2014.

Table 2.1: *Profile of Meso-Level Participants*

Name	Title	Institution	GOV	Location
Pablo	Chair/Professor	UAC-CP		Carmen Pampa, Bolivia

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[29] Interviews did not take place at the macro level. Thus, the location of each multilateral or bilateral organization refers to the location of each institution's headquarters, and is not meant to suggest that the author traveled to each locale.

John	Vice-Director	UAC-CP		Carmen Pampa, Bolivia
Ellen	Executive Director	CPF		St. Paul, MN
Oscar	Director/Professor	PROEIB-Andes		Cochabamba, Bolivia
Emilio	Director	FUNPROEIB		Cochabamba, Bolivia
Humberto	Executive Secretary	CEE		La Paz, Bolivia
Jorge	Member	IIPP	MoE	La Paz, Bolivia

(all names are pseudonyms)

The student-participants, a cohort of 13, eight-semester[30] education students, were part of a larger recruitment effort that only involved them in research design after the recruitment was done. The demographics of the 13 participants are described here in Table 2.2 at the time that I met them in the (northern hemisphere's) Fall 2013 semester or the (southern hemisphere's) Spring 2013 semester, the final semester of the year and the last year of students' undergraduate careers. The 13 students are diverse in age, gender, birthplace, and in terms of their first and second languages. Primarily, students come from rural areas and identify with an Indigenous language.

Table 2.2: *Profile of Micro-Level Participants*

Name	Age	Province/Department of birth	L1	L2
Marisol	22	Nor Yungas, La Paz	Spanish	Aymara
José Luis	40	Oropeza, Chuquisaca	Spanish	Aymara
Lourdes*	23	José Ballivián, Beni	Spanish	Leco
Miguel	27	Murillo, La Paz	Spanish	Aymara
Julio	26	Nor Yungas, La Paz	Aymara	Spanish
Eva	24	Larecaja, La Paz	Quechua	Spanish
Félix	24	La Paz, La Paz	Spanish	Aymara/Quechua

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[30] The eighth semester is the final semester of the fourth year of study in a Bachelor degree. However, the degree is not complete without a thesis component, undertaken and developed in the fifth and final year of undergraduate study.

Héctor	22	Murillo, La Paz	Spanish	N/A
Efraín	22	Caranavi, La Paz	Spanish	Quechua
Marco*	22	Franz Tamayo, La Paz	Spanish	English
Estela	22	Caranavi, La Paz	Aymara	Spanish
Eduardo *	31	Larecaja, La Paz	Aymara	Spanish
Veronica*	21	Franz Tamayo, La Paz	Spanish	Quechua

(*Focal students; all names are pseudonyms)

There are only two students who do not identify with an Indigenous language: one identifies as monolingual (Spanish) and the other identifies Spanish as his first language and a foreign language (English) as his second language. For the purposes of this study, only four students were chosen for detailed analysis. This focus is based on ideas represented during student interviews, class interactions, writing assignments, and particularly, ideas that reflect uptake or resistance to policy discourse, in particular diversity discourses.

Upon closer examination at classroom, institutional, and government levels under a critical discourse analysis lens, this study highlights disparities (and, possibly, connections) between policy and practice (e.g., policy and student recognition or indifference to notions of identity, and sense of cultural belonging). At the micro-level, I focus on how *diverse* [31] college students perceive both challenges and possibilities present in educational policy[32] in connection to their own educational and social trajectories as culturally and linguistically diverse students. I examine observations, video and audio recordings of interviews, and student-produced documentation (e.g., writing assignments).

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[31] Students mostly identify with Indigenous groups, namely Aymara or Quechua; some identify as Afro-Bolivian; and a small minority identifies as White-mestizo; UAC students represent *diverse* voices.
[32] Since implementation of Law 070 is recent (2012), students were asked to reflect on their experiences under previous policy, NER (1994) in addition to their current theoretical understandings of Law 070 (2010).

At the international (macro) level, the data collected via documentation analysis on the global institutions' involvement in Bolivian education reforms are analyzed using a discourse-historical and recontextualization approach. I also use these specific critical discourse analysis tools to analyze educational reforms in Bolivia. This study's ethnographic approach at the national level includes interviews with national policymakers and document analysis of policymakers' website mission and vision statements.

Centrally, this study identifies patterns related to topics of culture, language, and identity, tracing social change through policy documents at the national and global levels. Peripherally, through interviews and participant observations, this qualitative project might produce insights about how Indigenous youth obtain educational opportunities and the ways these paths vary according to linguistic and cultural backgrounds. To address the four research questions, Tables 3.0–3.3 (see Appendix D) illustrate how each type of data (observations, interviews, student document analysis, and policy document analysis) address each question.

Aside from addressing the four research questions, below, Tables 4.0 through 4.3 illustrate how much data were collected via observations, interviews, student and policy document analysis. The tables also illustrate how the specific data were analyzed.

Table 4.0: *RQ, Which Data Was Collected and How Data Was Analyzed (Macro-Level)*

Research question #1	How much data	How data was analyzed
What are global discourses around statements and policy documents intercultural, bilingual education? a) What are practices and ideologies maintained by international donors? b) How do they intersect with practices and ideologies at the national level?	Approx. 6+ hours visiting website statements and policy documents	Under critical DA lens, global policy and timeline of donor involvement is analyzed in relation to national policy across reform eras.

Table 4.1: *RQ, Which Data Was Collected and How Data Was Analyzed (Meso-Level)*

Research question #2	How much data	How data was analyzed
How do actors in the institutional domain construct and interpret policy?	Approx. 5 hours of audiotape	Classified under "levels" of adoption/resistance to policy
	Approx. 6+ hours visiting website statements and policy documents	Used to supplement the position national level actors hold about policy

Table 4.2: *RQ, Which Data Was Collected and How Data Was Analyzed (Micro-Level)*

Research question #3	How much data	How data was analyzed
How do local students make meaning of Law 070?	Approx. 4 hours of video footage	Salient dialogue used to supplement interview data for focal students (where available)
	Approx. 6 hours of audiotape	Classified under "types" of understandings about policy; trends and patterns in responses were identified according to types (i.e., "pragmatic")
	One writing assignment	Peer interviews supplemented the profile of each student.

Table 4.3: *RQ, Which Data Was Collected and How Data Was Analyzed (Transversal Element)*

Research question #4	How much data	How data was analyzed
How is diversity understood by the different focal participants at each level?	Four main documents	Comparison of how each of the four main reforms address idea of "diversity"
	12+ hours visiting institutional website mission and vision statements, 10+ hours of audio-tapes and approx. 4 hrs of video	CDA of how identity gets constructed across levels

Overall, the vertical case study and discourse analysis methods complement data collection and analysis strategies in my study context, emphasizing power imbalances and dominant ideological perspectives in policy processes in Bolivia, particularly across two distinct eras: post-1990 and post-2000. Additionally, the overall aim in framing this study methodologically included critical reflection on my own lens through which I understand research in this context. The theoretical underpinnings of the two methods, the vertical case study and discourse analysis, were briefly discussed in Chapter 2.

However, below, critical discourse analysis will be focused on, stressing the relevance of CDA tools for this study at the three levels of analysis.

Data analysis at the micro-meso-, and macro-levels under a CDA lens

Most kinds of critical discourse analysis (CDA) methods ask questions about "the way specific discourse structures are deployed in the reproduction of social dominance, whether they are part of a conversation or a news report or other genres and contexts" (Van Dijk, 1998, pp. 353–354). Thus, CDA is a tool to uncover unseen tensions and problematic ideas in ideological discourse, in particular the diversity discourses. Under a CDA lens, I examine these types of discourses at the micro-, meso-, and macro- levels. However, a CDA lens encompasses many tools; here I aim to discern which ones are applicable to this case study.

Since there is no universal framework in critical discourse analysis, types of CDA tools are theoretically and methodologically very diverse. Rogers (2011) notes, "Given the broadness in parameters of what constitutes discourse, one can see many different definitions of discourse—from language use, to statements that assign meanings to an institution, to social identities, relationships, practices and categories" (p. 6). Given this broadness, diverging frameworks work to address the particularities of each definition.

Examining discourse with different approaches yields important connections and findings that uncover tensions between speakers and text or speakers and talk. The two central concepts that I draw from for this study are "recontextualization" and the "discourse-historical approach," two important aspects of discourse analysis for this study, particularly when considering the postcolonial Bolivian setting. For instance, examining the legacy of colonialism in Bolivian education and certain predictors of

success, i.e. class privilege, yields recurring, troubling patterns between text and speakers. Policy text that addresses the "advantage" gap in education, more specifically, recalls a historical gap between those advantaged and those non-advantaged on the basis of ethnicity and class. Interview text reflects this history of privileging one language or another, and what this means for education.

Examining policy and interview texts under a CDA lens allows for a varied approach to examining interactions across levels of policies and practices in this postcolonial setting. Analysis of a type of "policy for schools based on the goals of economic capitalism and the logic of the market" (Malsbary, 2012, p. 184) within postcolonial Bolivia is particularly important as we see the reproduction of diversity discourses with essentialist and universalist ideologies unfold in the context of social change.

Using specific approaches from CDA scholarship and a central epistemology in this study, I will define these approaches and outline their significance for my study, providing instances where literature takes up research in similar ways. The meaning of *re*contextualization is now discussed, along with the idea of *inter*textuality. Wodak (2008) defines recontextualization as the "transfer of main arguments from one text into the next," a link established by their intertextuality. Intertextuality is defined as "the fact that all texts are linked to other texts" (p. 3).

Intertextuality (also used interchangeably with inter-discursivity) indicates that discourses are linked to each other in various ways (Wodak, 2008), a particularly important concept for examining Bolivian policy processes. In other words, when someone uses a word, it has already been uttered somewhere before. Thus, when the

person revoices the word in a new context, it is tinged with new meanings. A literary strategy, intertextuality can explain how a word, utterance, or text is related to a larger social and historical framework. A *text*, defined as "a specific and unique realization of a discourse" (Wodak, 2008, p. 6), is read in the most general sense of the word and functions in the same way as an utterance. In this vein, a *text* is linked to what has come before and what will come after.

Texts are filled with allusions, quotations, and references that point to other texts, creating an "intertextual network." This network is established through *recontextualization*, which is the process where something is extracted from the original context and inserted in a new context (Van Leeuwen, 2009). When these textual artifacts enter a new context, new meanings are signified. Therefore, looking at the prior text and the new environment are key in order to understand the new meanings that become salient, as well as the old meanings that still exist below the surface. For instance, given Bolivian policy's increased sense of importance with regard to "diversity recognition," as defined differently across two reform eras (post-1990 and post-2000), it is important to examine how these different texts talk to each other, borrow from each other, and/or shape each other's discourse.

Since Law 070 (2010) abrogated NER (1994) in 2006, a critical comparative analysis of relations of intertextuality is needed in order to uncover how power is framed and how ideology, in particular with respect to diversity, gets constructed across reform eras. Furthermore, the broader social, political and economic context situates relations of inter-textuality. The *postcolonial* context points to "the issue of historical echoes and inter-textual memory" (Döring, 2002, p. 3). Thus, relations of intertextuality, or the

borrowing of discourse across texts, promote the notion that discourses, particularly in postcolonial contexts, should be read with such relations in mind. Scholars have turned to such concepts to problematize change in policy discourse that creates an implied discursivity with another policy, one that emphasizes "language as social action" and the "sometimes un-expected meanings in interaction" (Wortham, 2008). Van Leeuwen (2009) explains recontextualization as a process of transformation of social practices, or, "socially regulated ways of doing things" (p. 6).

Van Leeuwen (2009) discusses three particular types of transformation that occur in the process of recontextualization, namely "deletion," "substitution" and "addition." Deletion refers to elements of a social practice that "…may not be represented in social practice…" where, "…all actors other than the 'learner' are deleted, and so are times, spaces and resources" (p. 150). For instance, Indigenous education in Bolivia has undergone particular transformations, from *deletion* to *substitution* (and, more recently, *addition)*. However, the most prominent transformations occur in the first two processes, *deletion* to *substitution*. Article 7 (Use of official languages and foreign languages) reads, "Education must be initiated in the mother tongue, and its use is a pedagogical necessity in all aspects of its formation" (Law 070, 2010). The *deletion* of all social actors in Article 7, particularly the students, whose conceptualization of *mother tongue* is not called into question, assumes that all students identify with an Indigenous language within a multilingual, multicultural society. This deletion problematically occurs devoid of social, political, historical, and educational context.

The *substitution* occurs when "actors, times and spaces can be transformed in discourse," (Van Leeuwen, 2009, p. 150), such as the discourse of bilingualism. Taylor

(2004) posits about NER (1994), "The *Reglamento* specifies that the curriculum is bilingual primarily in areas where students speak indigenous languages and need educational provision in a language other than Spanish" (p. 12). "Students" are abstract entities that are associated with bilingualism and specific geographic areas. This actual element (student) of an actual social practice (speaking two languages) is transformed into an actual discourse (*Reglamento* or Curriculum core), substituting one for another.

Elements such as actions or actors typical of a practice are left out because they are not deemed relevant for the purpose of a particular text. Substitution refers to "…the transformation from an actual element of an actual social practice into an element of discourse" (p. 150). This transformation is the most frequent transformation, as it is at the heart of recontextualization processes. When elements of social practices, such as actors, actions, times, or spaces are substituted, these elements can be represented in a variety of ways. Finally, *addition* refers to discourses that

> …add reactions and motives to the representation of social practices. Reactions
> are the mental processes, which, according to a given discourse, accompany
> specific actions of specific actors, for instance the way the actors feel about
> specific actions, or the way they interpret specific actions. (p. 150)

Van Leewuen's (2009) notion of additions to the representation of social practices, in the form of reactions and motives, is important in order to evaluate the impact of educational reform on largely forgotten stakeholders, students themselves. The way social actors feel about and interpret policy is not a discourse accessed or sought after, but highly important, and is the voice privileged in this study context.

Some of the transformations involved in recontextualisation can be ideologically motivated and aimed at reproducing certain forms of social domination, power abuse, and inequalities (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). For this reason, a fully "critical" account of

discourse requires a complementary approach to recontextualization. Thus, the discourse-historical-approach is used as well. Wodak (2008) posits, the discourse-historical-approach "…attempts to transcend the purely linguistic dimension and to include more or less systematically the historical, political, sociological and/or psychological dimensions in the analysis and interpretation of a specific discursive event" (p. 12).

The contextualized approach is adopted here to analyze policy at the three levels of analysis (local, national, and international) within a context of social change, from the perspectives of local and national players. A contextualized approach transcends the linguistic dimension, and is inclusive of a larger historical, political, and sociological dimension. Wodak's (2008) overall framework of a context approach forms the basis of the discourse-historical approach (1) the immediate, language or text internal co-text; (2) the intertextual and interdiscursive relationship between utterances, texts, genres and discourses; (3) the extralinguistic social/sociological variables and institutional frames of a specific context of situation (middle-range theories); and (4) the broader sociopolitical and historical contexts, to which the discursive practices are embedded in and related (macro theories) (Wodak's, 2008, p. 13).

Wodak's context-dependent framework works well for the Bolivian context, where policy and its social settings are constantly in flux. D'Emilio (1996) contends, "at times, public policies do not last longer than one governmental administration" and, more importantly, it is a place where, "cultural identity… is not a matter of consensus, and daily discrimination practices can not be changed merely by passing laws or modifying the discourse" (p. 26). Modifications of policy text in Bolivia that discount the passage of time in policy formation or ignore the subjective interpretations of this policy are an

incomplete reading. Drawing from theories of comparative knowledge, I now turn to the social, historical, and political contexts for the three levels of this study—within the micro-, meso-, and macro- contexts.

In providing the social, historical, political, and economic context at each of the three levels—local (micro), national (meso), and international (macro)—the purpose of the next three chapters is to highlight the contexts at each level to which "the [policy] discursive practices are embedded in and related" (Wodak, 2008, p. 13). The next three chapters will discuss how the main point of needing to contextualize the Bolivian case study applies to every level in the verticality, horizontality and transversality of comparison.

Chapter 4: The International Context

Introduction

In this chapter, I will discuss three central themes at the global or international level. First, I will discuss the international education development context post-1990, including global policies initiated during this time. Second, I will present a discussion of the major education development models and projects implemented by international agencies in Bolivia since the 1990s. Lastly, I will include a tracing of the most salient "top-down"[33] approaches in these projects pre- and post-1990, the latter era being the era that signals a shift in the educational reform paradigm. Though the emphasis of policy study in this dissertation occurs in the post-1990 development context, contextualization of the previous era(s) is important in order to examine contemporary reform holistically. Thus, this study draws from a critical approach to examining policy processes, arguing that in some way, traditional, "top-down" approaches from the early 20th century are still in use through contemporary reform. Through these themes, I will argue for the contextualization of international education projects in Bolivia.

Substantive overlap extends between the national and international levels, between ideologies and projects, and between policies and policymakers. At the global level, for instance, policy around bilingual intercultural education aligns (or does not align) with national politics, according to needs and interests of international donor organizations, but also according to the interests of local actors. Thus, international donor policies shape local policy processes and vice versa. The movement of influence is multi-directional; policy that does not reflect this influence is "top-down." The top-down

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[33] "Top-down" policy legislation is defined as a policy process that perpetuates social inequality (Pennycook, 2006; Ruiz, 1984; Tollefson, 1991); studies that examine the effects of these types of policies typically emphasize the hegemonic power of policies.

influence of multilateral and bilateral lending organizations has had significant impact on Bolivian education across reform eras.

As will be detailed in this chapter, we can see through the rise of national Indigenous activism post-1990s, across international and local levels, where policy has moved without a defined direction of influence, suggesting that the grassroots effort has influenced international policy, with an increased "bottom-up" movement of influence.[34] This movement undoubtedly has its roots in dynamic sociopolitical processes and complex identity construction processes (i.e., what is "Indigenous"?) in light of social change. Martin and Wilmer (2008) contextualize social changes in the region:

> Since the 1990s, the Indigenous rights movement has catapulted from resource-poor, local activists to global activists. The rise of transnational Indigenous rights movements has paralleled and interfaced with significant structural developments at the international and state-systemic level, raising questions about the interplay between global and local politics as arenas of social change. (p. 584)

Politicization of identity in the educational realm at the national level has often meant an imposition of "foreign" ideas on Bolivia. The intersection between global and local politics in the context of social change has been marked with intervention from outside interests and, many times, "top-down" approaches. This type of reform approach shapes reform processes through a set of funding issues and differing definitions of technical expertise, reminding us that social reform does not occur without vested interests. Further examination into the role of governmental or non-governmental entities in the shaping of organizational structures in postcolonial contexts is needed. Indeed, the role of foreign imposition of policy processes on Bolivia is impossible to deny:

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[34] Bottom-up initiatives are policy processes that contest hegemonic power. Studies involved in examining the effects of these types of policies study the agentive role of educators (and other types of social actors) as they interpret and implement them (Canagarajah, 2005; Freeman, 2004; Menken & García, 2010; Zavala, 2015).

international agencies have influenced Bolivian educational reform, and other reforms across the Latin American region, since the 1990s. Complementary national and global policy changes highlight the overlap between the "global" and the "local."

In the 1990s, Contreras (2003) explains,

…there was increasing awareness in the various government administrations—as manifested in their development plans—of the need to strengthen human capital in order to achieve greater levels of economic growth. Education appeared to be the best way to increase the quality of life and to improve the distribution of income, making educational reform an attractive option for achieving these goals. (p. 272)

Thus, the macro-level plays a substantive role in (re) shaping meso-level reform processes.

At the international level, the link between education reform and the rights of linguistically and culturally diverse groups is evident in global policies post-1990. These policies include: The Convention on the Rights of the Child (1990), promoting the rights of a child in relation to Indigenous languages and cultures; The International Labor Organization, ILO, Convention 169 (1990) which protects the human rights of Indigenous peoples; the initiative Education for All, EFA, (1990 and 2000), promoting access to quality education worldwide; The Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights (1996), advocating for linguistic rights; and The UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007), furthering the rights of Indigenous cultural communities.

Further examination of how local actors position themselves in the arena of social change and how they negotiate, interpret, or appropriate global policies are discussed in the following chapter, highlighting the intersection of global objectives and reforms with local, historically grown, social, cultural, and political contexts. This inter-sectionality is contextualized in this chapter in order to shed light on the tension between the global and

local (micro) politics of language-in-education. Below, I highlight major international

education development projects in Bolivia post-1990s.

Major education development models in Bolivia since 1990

There are 11 major international cooperation agencies that have played or are

playing an active role in educational development in Bolivia. Of those 11, four are

multilateral and seven are bilateral organizations, as illustrated in Table 5.0.

Table 5.0: *The Multilateral and Bilateral Organizations with Education Projects in*
Bolivia

Multilateral	Bilateral
Inter-American Development Bank (IADB)	U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID)
World Bank (WB)	German Agency for Technical Cooperation (GTZ)
United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)	Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA)
	Spanish Agency for International Cooperation (AECID)
United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)	Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA)
	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA)
	Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Of the 11 organizations, only three organizations—the WB, USAID and The

Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs—are not presently involved in Bolivian educational

reform, with some exceptions. Lopes Cardozo (2011) posits, "the World Bank is

currently, in some cases, accepted as a 'strategic ally' if they agree to finance the

Ministries' initiatives" (p. 128). USAID is not currently involved due to larger political

reasons.[35] The Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs has phased out all education projects

since 2010[36] due to "shifts in program focus" (p. 128).

Aside from these three, the eight remaining international donors continue to invest

in educational projects in Bolivia, albeit with a refocusing of alignment. The alignment of

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[35] In 2013, the US development agency (USAID) was expelled from Bolivia for allegedly seeking to undermine the leftist government and for interfering in local Indigenous organizations, an allegation that was fueled in part by clashing ideas of development.

[36] In 2010, a new approach to development cooperation included a shift from social programs to investments in economic sectors; therefore, education was no longer a priority. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is a bilateral development cooperation that covered expenditures for education through the Dutch Embassy in Bolivia.

international agencies to complement national politics has occurred since external funding is accepted with the caveat that international donors must support national political strategy in line with the MoE's ideology (Lopes Cardozo, 2011). This policy is a response to problematic partnerships of the past, but inadvertently and conversely, is also creating new contentious partnerships.

Educational development models in postcolonial countries often represent contentious partnership models that warrant close examination. It is essential to problematize how partnerships are co-constructed and how claims of partnership between international donors and local actors are made (Vavrus & Seghers, 2010) since many variables are at play and they are constantly shifting. In the Bolivian reform context, national politics shape donor involvement, conditioning donor roles in development projects. International organizations, in turn, adopt or resist national level policies, reflective of their level of support for national politics and the conditions imposed by policymakers. Conditions imposed by national level policymakers are a result of growing autonomy and a growing awareness of the pitfalls of "top-down" development historically imposed by international lending agencies.

Traditional, non-participatory development models in Bolivia or "top-down approaches" have had far-reaching impact on national level policies and local actors. However, these models are not exclusive to pre-1990 reforms. Thus far, I have talked about educational development models post-1990s, which are allegedly always "bottom-up." Now, I argue that the so-called problematic models pre-1990s have tacitly returned in contemporary models. Thus, the claim that "top-down" approaches exist only pre-1990

is inaccurate, which is a premise that I argue through a tracing of "top-down" approaches throughout different eras below.

"Top-down" approaches. In the following section, I trace the involvement of international donor agencies in Bolivia, highlighting the "top-down" approaches that have played a salient role in Bolivian education reform, highlighting problematic approaches to partnership throughout six decades, 1940–1950, 1950–1970 (inclusive of two decades), 1970–1990 (inclusive of two decades), and 1990–2000.

1940–1950. Participation in the politics of education reform in Bolivia speaks to a legacy of exclusion through initiatives that are aligned with national politics. One such initiative took place in the 1940s by Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL). SIL promoted Indigenous language instruction in Bolivia, as in many parts of the Latin American region, introducing transitional bilingual education (TBE) with the aim of facilitating transition into Spanish from an Indigenous language (López, 2010). However, this language instruction strategy had an ulterior motive, to introduce religious instruction in communities with non-religious traditions.

> SIL missionary goals coincided with the government's efforts to incorporate the indigenous peoples into Bolivian life; whereas the government pursued a monocultural policy that ignored ethnic and cultural diversity, however, the SIL engaged in a multicultural approach for the sake of effective assimilation. Despite this apparent disconnect, the SIL bilingual strategy promoted indigenous language use for effective Spanish language proficiency and in this sense coincided with the policy espoused in the 1955 reforms. (Taylor, 2004, p. 8)

The intersection between SIL and Bolivian government interests was not explicitly contentious terrain, though tensions between this donor and national ideologies existed. While their agendas differed, reform strategies were mutually agreed upon with aims to assimilate, resulting in a bilingual education model. The SIL-State partnership

model promoted "subtractive bilingualism" (Baker, 2006; Peal & Lambert, 1962),

defined as when the target or second language is learned at the expense of the first

language. "Subtractive bilingualism" paradoxically promotes monolingualism rather than

bilingualism, which is why the SIL model is considered a "weak" form of bilingualism

(Baker, 2006). Yet, this dominant assimilationist approach of the early 20th century was

not addressed until after the mid-20th century.

1950–1970. The Bolivian 1952 revolution introduced universal adult suffrage,

carried out a sweeping land reform, and promoted rural education through The Education

Decree of 1953, paradoxically perceived as "top-down" operating under an oppressive

model. From the mid-1950s to the late-1970s, national education reform stagnated,

especially in relation to bilingual, intercultural education. Reform came from above, or

not at all, establishing "top-down" approaches or "outside intervention" as normative.

1970–1990. In the early 1970s, the World Bank presented a report on the state of

Bolivian education:

> Despite sizeable budgetary allocations to education, no significant improvements
> in access and quality have occurred. Some of the reasons for the low productivity
> of expenditures have been the following:
> a. Until recently, two subsystems, one for rural, one for urban education existed
> side by side—both with heavily over centralized inefficient administrations in La
> Paz.
> b. Drop out and repeat rates are high because children are taught in Spanish and
> not their native language, because they are malnourished and often cannot walk
> the long distances to get to a school and because they are taught an irrelevant and
> overly academic curriculum which bears little relation to future employment.
> c. Most of the expenditures go to salaries of untrained teachers. Few funds are
> available for expansion of the system and quality improvements such as
> distribution of learning materials or teacher supervision. (World Bank, 1983, in
> Contreras & Talavera-Simoni, 2004, p. 37)

The WB created this report and crafted a development project in response in order

to help alleviate the effects of subpar schooling, resulting in a contract that was signed

into with the MoE in 1977. The million-dollar project,[37] which focused on Aymara communities only, had the following objectives: "(a) increase the access to education through expansion and improvement of basic and intermediate schools; (b) develop appropriate curricula, learning materials and teacher training programs; and (c) design a community education project for the non-school age population" (Contreras & Talavera-Simoni, 2004, p. 271).

With the millions of dollars loaned to the Bolivian government, the World Bank leveraged interest in (Bolivian) education processes and practices, reifying colonial power and identity through an imposition of Western conceptions of social reform. In cooperation with the Bolivian Ministry of Education (MoE), the World Bank developed poverty reduction strategies through education in the late 1970s,[38] during a time of great economic and social instability (Contreras, 2003).

During this time, multilateral banks such as the WB were critiqued for exacerbating the economic crisis through high-interest loans and untenable economic sanctions. Limited in scope and vision, this project met limited success. None of the objectives of this Andean- (and, Aymara-) centric education reform project had provisions for language and culture and no objectives deemed Indigenous identity formation as a goal and outcome of education projects, despite the fact that countries such as Bolivia, for instance, have a majority Indigenous population.

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[37] Total project costs were estimated at U.S. $21.4 million and the World Bank's loan was for US$15 million (World Bank, 1977, in Contreras & Talavera-Simoni, 2004, p. 271).
[38] The Bank's initial educational development proposal included: increasing educational access, developing educational materials and teacher-training programs and developing community education projects. Spending about $10 million (three quarters of the loan amount), and taking about 10 years to carry out (instead of the proposed four, which was due to staff inexperience and large administrative turnover), the project was concluded with relative success as defined by "… the objective of expanding and strengthening basic education by constructing, furnishing and equipping 955 classrooms, ten new lower secondary schools, a teacher training college and 287 staff houses serving a total student population of 43,000" (Contreras, 2003, p. 271).

International donors funding educational projects in Latin America, where the majority of rural, Indigenous schoolchildren are bilingual and bicultural, have had particular interest in defining what an "authentic" Indigenous person is, despite the fact that these approaches might be unethical or irrelevant to language revitalization communities. However, within global forums, debates over Indigenous rights have raised questions about authenticity. The right to self-determine, a powerful act in itself, is a key factor in creating protective legislation (Corntassel, 2003). Corntassel (2003) posits,

> … "self-identification" policies for indigenous nations have increasingly become an accepted international practice beginning in 1977, when the second general assembly of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples (WCIP) passed a resolution stating that 'only indigenous peoples could define indigenous peoples. Since that time, two of the most active global organizations promoting indigenous rights, the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations (WGIP) and the International Labor Organization (ILO), have advocated an unlimited right to "self-identification" for indigenous peoples… (p. 75)

The act of identification is an overt act of power that begs the questions, who decides what constitutes "Indigenous"? And, what is the role of language and culture in this determination?

An outcome of negotiating linguistic-cultural identity at the global level, co-constructing definitions of Indigeneity[39] (between Indigenous groups and NGO experts) have increasingly become an accepted practice (Corntassel, 2003). Moreover, the argument about identity construction points to another issue around establishing authenticity, "…failure to establish an accepted definition of indigenous peoples could lead other ethnic groups to position themselves as 'indigenous' solely to obtain expanded international legal status and protections" (Corntassel, 2003, p. 76). Aside from identity

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[39] Niezen (2003) discusses the difficulty of a lack of any single definition of *Indigeneity* in scholarly analysis. There are varied definitions of this term, according to region, beliefs, and culture.

politics issues, however, development projects in this era lacked real focus and coordination on the ground in collaboration with local players.

Education interventions in the late 1970s and early 1980s were marked by a lack of central coordination or long-term plans and a daunting economic crisis. In a WB report, Contreras and Talavera Simoni (2003) propose, "the project was hindered by the Bolivian political and economic crises of the mid-1980s, which decreased public-sector professional continuity and limited the government's ability to comply with counterpart" (p. 12). Given the country's economic challenges and basic issues with coordinating intervention plans, it is not surprising that provisions for language and culture in educational reform were largely unseen, though not always. During the 1980s, maintenance bilingualism efforts were implemented, albeit with varied levels of success.

One such project began with funding from an international donor, UNICEF, which attached itself to another similar program implemented in nearby Puno, Peru: the PEIB project. A pilot project to NER (1994), the PEIB project titled, *Proyecto de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe*, or Intercultural Bilingual Education Project, sought to advance bilingual intercultural education by supporting research, developing curriculum, implementing teacher training, and undertaking classroom evaluation in Aymara and Quechua language communities (Taylor, 2004).

Another project, the pilot project developed through cooperation between the Bolivian and Peruvian governments (the project took place on the Bolivian-Peruvian border), was funded by the German aid agency, GTZ.[40] An alternative model of development in the region, the development aims of GTZ include educational access and equity, largely focused on language. The PEIB project, supported by UNICEF, and the

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[40] The GTZ has recently become GIZ (Gesellschaft fur Internationale Zusammenarbeit) (von Gleich, 2010).

GTZ-funded educational projects are exceptions to an otherwise "top-down" dominant era in education.

Given the economic crises of the 1980s in Bolivia, over reliance on foreign funding and technical expertise with aims to further education became inevitable. This precarious position gave rise to education reform projects that were largely irrelevant and meaningless for the Indigenous population whose "Conditions of poverty … are related to the peculiar educational situation and educational backwardness found in indigenous areas" (López & Küper, 2000, p. 21). A part of the WB's "structural adjustment"[41] mission, Bolivia, as with many countries in Latin America in the mid- to late-1980s, accrued massive debt and increased foreign dependency (Klein, 2007).

Following the massive debt crisis of the 1980s in the Latin American region, many countries sacrificed educational quality[42] over educational expansion (Navarro, Carnoy, & Castro, 1999). Although access to education (i.e., expanding enrollment) and quality of instruction (i.e., through building of teacher and administration capacity and improving delivery of curriculum) are not mutually exclusive aims, they have often occurred in isolation from each other in the region, especially amid economic crisis. Arguing for "reform" that is inclusive of both types, Carnoy (2007) affirms, "making such [educational quality] improvements is not just a matter of decentralizing educational delivery or giving incentives to poor families to send their children to school" (p. 105).

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[41] A concept that "packaged together" micro and macro economic reforms. Klein (2007) maintains, "*Structural adjustment was sold as the process that countries needed to undergo in order to save their economies from the crisis*" (emphasis in original) (p. 164).
[42] It is assumed here that "quality" is synonymous with access to educational coverage. Conversely, "access" is generally associated here with multilingual and intercultural education in diverse, pluricultural/plurilingual regions (e.g., not just increase in school buildings or infrastructure, but relevant and meaningful teacher preparation, curriculum design and administrative support that promotes multilingual and intercultural education).

Decentralization, seen as a solution to the problem of economic decline, was initiated in Bolivia via "top-down" approaches in education, which was met by contestation[43] from localities. By the 1990s, there was an impasse between local actors.

> A long history of top-down decision making was reflected when teachers were largely excluded, parents were not consulted, and unions treated roughly. Moreover, they speak to a legacy of failing to take conditions faced by teachers seriously, not encouraging politicians to identify quality education as a good to be delivered to constituents, and not using information more effectively to build constituencies of support. (Grindle, 2004, p. 205)

"Best practices" in national politics during this era were subject to "the vagaries of mobilized interests, institutional biases, and reformer strategies" (Grindle, 2004, p. 205). Thus, the reform era that followed, 1990–2000, is normally thought of as a paradigm shift, an attempt to reverse the effects of "top-down" approaches to educational reform, a belief that is argued in reviewing the era.

1990–2010. Earning its name during the 1990s as the "donor darling," Bolivia once again sought external funding from the WB in 1994 to fund the newly proposed NER (1994) education reform. In 1991, the taskforce *Equipo Técnico de Apoyo a la Reforma Educativa* (ETARE),[44] comprised of highly-qualified Bolivian experts and World Bank specialists, was established outside of the Ministry of Education.[45] The formation of this national taskforce was a response to the criticized decision to put national education reform largely in the hands of an international lending institution. World Bank officials met ETARE's project proposal with mistrust and skepticism. A 2003 interview with World Bank Task Manager Constance Corbett reflects the WB's

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[43] Grassroots players throughout times of economic crises (and, more recently, times of economic growth in Bolivia) have contested or adopted education policy, as will be discussed in Chapter 7.

[44] In English: the Technical Taskforce in Support of the National Education Reform. Initiated during the government of Jaime Paz Zamora (1989–1993). Its unique position, with the funding and freedom necessary to design education reform proposal, was met with resistance by MoE officials, evidenced by the Ministry's mobilization of a parallel reform design mechanism (Contreras & Talavera Simoni, 2003). NER (1994) came out of the Ministry of Planning.

skepticism toward Bolivian educational development in general and bilingual education

in particular:

> Was there skepticism? Yes. Some of it arose simply from doubt about what was meant by bilingual education. What were the specific proposed interventions? It sounded to a lot of people in the World Bank and other donors (IADB and bilateral donors) as if it was a romantic notion that the indigenous languages should be celebrated and preserved. A number of critics had experience with and views on bilingual education. (Corbett interview, 2003, in Contreras & Talavera Simoni, 2003, p. 14)

After a series of fundamental organizational and philosophical disagreements[46]

between donor and taskforce, as well as internal disagreements between teachers' unions,

local Indigenous organizations, and international Indigenous organizations, as well as

dissension from key stakeholder National Education Council (NEC),[47] ETARE's

proposal stagnated. The skepticism from international lending institutions to carry out

bilingual intercultural reform, the policy's undeniable connection to Western

conceptualizations of social reform, and dependence on foreign funding all proved fatal.

López (2010) concedes,

> Having been part of a severely questioned economic neoliberal government scheme and having received international funding for its design and implementation, mainly from the World Bank and IDB, the Reform's ill-fated association with neoliberalism first brought IBE developments to a stand-still and later determined its derailment. (p. 26)

The WB is associated with conventional top-down, neoliberal approaches to

development in Bolivia during this era. This perception endures despite the fact that in

1999, the World Bank introduced a new approach to their relations with donor countries,

seeking to "empower governments to set their development priorities and encourage

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[46] World Bank interests focusing on administrative and institutional issues and ETARE leadership focusing on curricular and pedagogical changes, as well as disagreement on *how* to introduce bilingual education stalled progress (Contreras & Talavera Simoni, 2003).
[47] In 1993, at the end of the Paz Zamora Administration, the MoE created the National Education Council (NEC), with wide corporate participation of teachers, parents, the Catholic Church, and universities (Contreras & Talavera-Simoni, 2003).

donors to align their assistance around a country's priorities, rather than their own"

(Staffs of the International Monetary Fund & World Bank, 2005).

The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) is also associated with conventional top-down, neoliberal approaches to development in Bolivia. Post-1990s, USAID strategized aid effectiveness for strengthening basic education systems (Chapman & Quijada, 2009), including in Bolivia, where provisions for language and culture were considered in aid effectiveness. In spite of this shift in strategy focus, USAID's strategies in Bolivia, along with the WB's, were still perceived as a neoliberal imposition. Poverty reduction strategies by mainstream organizations have been criticized for not leading to a truly "participatory development process, in which country ownership is central" (Oxfam International, 2005). Critique of mainstream organizations, such as the WB and USAID, persist given Bolivia's politicized reform context.

The history of these organizations as working politically against economic crisis and political turmoil are partly why tensions have endured; international development projects in Bolivian reforms are riddled with tensions. Constraints and supports have shaped reform processes, coming from the direction of international agencies, but also from the direction of national and transnational institutions, as well as from micro-level stakeholders, suggesting interdependence across micro-, meso-, and macro-levels within reform processes. Questions critiquing curriculum design such as, "Who designs curriculum?" or "What is taught?" and "How is it taught?" point to particular interests in educational reform that have nothing to do with educational management or finance, yet shape and constrain reform processes and practices (Navarro, Carnoy, & Castro, 1999), particularly in the last two decades (approximately) in the context of social change.

Chapter 5: The National Context

Introduction

The institutional domain is characterized by national and transnational involvement in educational reform, making the separation of meso- and macro-levels uneven and hard to define. This chapter primarily focuses on providing context for the institutional domain's role in policy processes, tracing the dominant discourse as it moves seamlessly across national higher education institutions and national education governing bodies. In this chapter, the context for the national (meso) level is discussed within the verticality and horizontality, as well as the transversality, of comparison. The context for the transversality of comparison is included in this chapter as the transversal element is situated within a national context.

At the national level, the verticality, horizontality, and transversality of comparison include various social actors. Local "actors" include institutions within the horizontal element and at the meso-level of analysis in vertical comparison, as well as policies, analyzed within a comprehensive heuristic or within the transversal element. Specifically, social actors include professors, college administrators, and government officials, across two higher education institutions. Social actors also include two governing bodies from the public sector or the Ministry of Education (MoE), and from the private sector or the Episcopal Commission for Education (CEE), the educational branch of the Catholic Church.

As stated in the previous chapter, in providing the social, historical, political, and economic context at each level, the purpose is to highlight the contexts at all three levels in which "the [policy] discursive practices are embedded in and related" (Wodak, 2008,

p. 13). However, it is the national context that will be the main focus of this chapter. Before discussion of the overall context at the national level, however, the postcolonial context for higher education in Bolivia is discussed below.

Higher education in "postcolonial" Bolivia

Current political processes of decolonization have important implications for educational reform that necessitate deeper examination at the higher education level. Universities are part of the "neoliberal imaginary" that shape discourses in education (Rizvi & Lingard, 2009a), promoting an ideology of the "freedom" to "choose" a profession and privileging the ideology of "employable" or "marketable" skills. In neoliberal economies, these places aim to shape a multi-tasking and well-educated workforce for the global economy (in a shift from nation-state building ideologies) (Cabalín, 2012). Since epistemological decolonization implies deconstructing hegemonic theories of knowledge, a turn toward neoliberal tendencies in education has contradictory implications for the Bolivian educational system, especially at the university level, in the midst of profound social and political change.

Thus, the struggle to "roll back the educational reforms enacted by a neoliberal economy and reclaim schooling as a space for democratic expression and true human flourishing" (Malsbary, 2012, p. 189) is not just a stuggle characteristic of the 1990s, but also post-2000s. The struggle to reclaim schooling is a phase in continuous exploration in postcolonial Bolivia, despite so-called progressive reform. Burman (2012) paints a contradictory picture within contemporary Bolivian political discourse:

> In official discourse the government has proved a notable capacity of semantic and political stretching of the concept "decolonization." For instance, it may refer to "development," "industrialization," "modernization," "patriotism," "nationalization," and "economic growth," but it may also denote a forthright

critique against, and political measures to respond to, imperialism, capitalism, neoliberalism, racism, sexism, developmentalism, ecological depredation, and (in the area of knowledge production and education) eurocentrism and the overestimation of any tradition of thought coming from the North and the concomitant inferiorization of any indigenous tradition of thought. (p. 102)

As Bolivia's new approach to development suggests a move away from neoliberal tendencies, allegedly shaping the state's role as a neutral actor, it is important to examine the state's new role in education, analyzing what political discourse actually means. Debating the alleged "post-neoliberal" turn in Latin America, Webber (2010) posits, "fantasies aside, it is reconstituted neoliberalism in Bolivia under Morales… the new theory [of the state's role in development] is a reconstituted neo-liberalism… under the guise of neo-structuralism." (p. 1). Neostructuralism, or the notion of an expanded social service sector, is defined in opposition to neoliberalism. It is also defined as privatization and the corresponding promotion of cuts to the public sector. It is in this contradictory and contentious political, economic, and social climate that education policy is being played out.

Neoliberalism continues as a dominant stance in education, despite the current administration's rhetorical embrace of decolonization, a testament to this government's "capacity of semantic and political stretching" (Burman, 2012). Given this contradiction in ideology, higher education is a good place to question or resist colonizing, neoliberal, or "reconstituted" (Webber, 2010) neoliberal tendencies in education. Neoliberalism, introduced at the onset of the first official reform in Bolivia, has been explicitly supported by education reforms since the 1900s. Since the 2000s, a century after Bolivia's first education reform, development models from social and educational

reforms have been criticized for attempting to support "reconstituted neoliberalism"[48]

(Webber, 2010) under the guise of, ironically, "epistemic" and "cultural" decolonization.

Decolonization-in-education or "epistemic" decolonization is defined here as development related to subjective ideas, such as citizenship, Indigenous knowledges, sovereignty, language, culture, identity, power, religion, ethnicity, race, gender, and class—as these ideas interact with the social, geopolitical, cultural, linguistic, ecological, and economic contexts of particular education institutions and communities. However, when these ideas become solely discursive endeavors, contradictions in the restructuring of the Bolivian education system surface. These contradictions undermine the role of education as a major vehicle for social change and seriously discredit the "radical trajectory of the government in its first term" (Webber, 2010, p. 1); ideologies and movements are part and parcel of transformative and truly "revolutionary" education. Universities are fertile terrain for philosophical debate about the relevance of these ideas within a postcolonial setting.

Under President Evo Morales's development model (in what is now his third term as President, ideologically much less radical), the impetus to "advance the 'systemic competitiveness' of the country as it inserts itself ever more deeply into international markets" is a larger focus and priority than "the revolutionary transformation of the country's state, society, and economy" (Webber, 2010, p. 1) with education reform as a "key remedy" (Lopes Cardozo, 2013) in this endeavor. This perception of education as a tool for Indigenous emancipation is as present in the Bolivian imaginary as the perception

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[48] "Reconstituted neoliberalism" or "neostructuralism" is "…the state's role in reproducing the conditions for accumulation and enabling the generation of profits for private capital is concealed, as is its repressive role in policing the inevitable class conflicts, struggles, and explosions of resistance that occur in response to the exploitation, alienation, and dispossession inherent to capitalist society. In reality, the state maintains capitalist order and seeks to regulate its social contradictions, and it does so in the economic and political interests of the ruling class" (Webber, 2010, p. 1).

of Bolivian education being a tool for colonial assimilation.

The ways in which educational realms are conceived as part and parcel of transformative social justice movements in Bolivia has its roots in the pioneering Indigenous education initiative, *Escuela Ayllu de Warisata*,[49] referenced in Chapter 4. Since the Warisata initiative of the 1930s, new higher education initiatives that espouse *Escuela Ayllu* ideology have sprung up, particularly in rural areas. The re-vamped Ministry of Education espouses similar theoretical frameworks espoused by *Escuela Ayllu*[50], such as "socioproductive" and "communitarian" education and "decolonization" in education, the three "pillars" upon which Law 070 rests (Drange, 2011). This reorientation in education has opened doors to formerly marginalized groups.

The epistemological and ideological reorientation in education leads to the contextualization of a specific area of focus of this Bolivian case study within the meso-level in the horizontality of comparison: a cluster of state-sponsored higher education institutions. Figure 2.0 identifies all of the meso-level actors included in this study, including a cluster of state-sponsored universities, a rural semi-private college, and an urban, state-affiliated university. However, the section below focuses on the contextualization of a focus group: the Cluster of state-sponsored universities.

| Cluster of state-sponsored universities | Rural, semi-private college, **Unidad Académica Campesina-Carmen Pampa** | Urban, state-affiliated university, **Universidad Mayor de San Simón (UMSS)** |
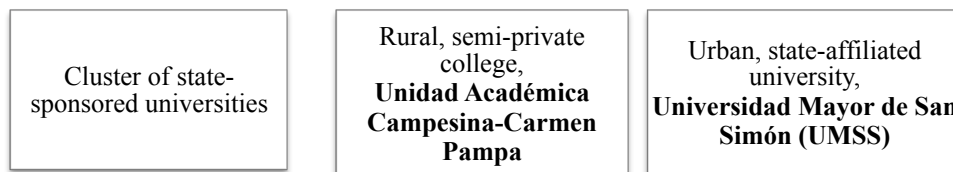
Figure 2.0: *Horizontal element: Focal higher education contexts at the meso-level*

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[49] On August 2, 1931, *Escuela Ayllu* (meaning *form of family community* in Aymara) was founded in Warisata, Bolivia. "The school took as its point of departure the indigenous sociopolitical and economic realities of the era and was soon immersed in a severe questioning of the colonial character of 20th century Bolivian society and aimed at liberating 'el indio'" (Burman, 2012, p, 113).
[50] The namesakes of Law 070 (2010) are Avelino Siñani and Elizardo Pérez, co-founders of *Escuela Ayllu.*

Cluster of state-sponsored universities

In 2008, on the 77th anniversary of the founding of *Escuela Ayllu*, *Universidad Indígena Tupak Katari*,[51] a state-controlled Indigenous university was symbolically opened in Warisata with President Evo Morales, Bolivia's first Indigenous president, present at the opening to mark the event. This symbolic event marked the beginning of a new educational proposal, one that showcases the project of decolonizing higher education. Other Aymara initiatives promoting Indigenous education include *Instituto Tecnológico y de Investigación Andino* (*Inti Andino*) founded in the *Altiplano* (high plateau area in the Andes), in the province of Gualberto Villarroel. As part of the *Indianista-Katarista* movement,[52] and adopting ethnopolitical ideology, the curriculum at Inti Andino is infused with subjects such as "Andean cosmology, Andean philosophy, Andean ecology, indigenous and communitarian rights, and 'traditional' Andean agronomy" (Burman, 2012, p. 113).

Universidad Indígena Tawantinsuyu[53] (UTA) was founded in the Andean village of Laja, but is currently located in El Alto. Founded in in the late 1990s, UTA ideology and curriculum proposes:

> …programs such as Andean Theology and Philosophy, Indigenous Rights, Tourism, Aymara Linguistics and History. Though some of these programs may seem to be quite "conventional", they all aim at having "indigenous traditions of thought" as their fundamental point of departure, and not as some culturalist topping on a conventional academic curriculum. Moreover, not only Aymara scholars of more or less conventional academic backgrounds teach at UTA, activists and shamans are also invited to share their experiences in the lecture hall. UTA is therefore a quite unconventional university. (Burman, 2012, p. 113)

Another state-sponsored university, *Universidad Pública de El Alto* (UPEA) is set

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[51] Tupac Katari was leader of the Indigenous people in their fight against the colonialism of the Spanish Empire in the early 1780s.
[52] *Indianismo* and *katarismo* are ethnopolitical ideologies that represent the last decades of indigenous mobilizations and struggles in the Bolivian Andes (Burman, 2012, p. 104).
[53] *Tiwantinsuyu* means "Inca Empire," the largest empire in pre-Columbian America.

in El Alto, the Indigenous urban center located outside the capital colonial city of La Paz. UPEA represents the *Indianista-Katarista* agenda, i.e., "one of the most massive mobilizations for creating something 'proper' in the field of higher education" (Burman, 2012, p, 112).

Founded in the 1990s, UPEA was opened based on massive popular and Indigenous demands for more culturally relevant higher education. The aforementioned examples of higher education settings imbued with a pro-Indigenous ideology have developed within the *Indianista-Katarista* movement, which has been historically dominant in the Andean region, and amid larger Indigenous rights movements at global levels. However, the lowland Indigenous and Afro-Bolivian groups have largely been exempt from the conversation about socially-inclusive education, highlighting a gap in the *Indianista-Katarista* agenda in education or in the wider policies about culturally relevant education.

Having described the context for state-sponsored higher education institutions in the Andean region of Bolivia, discussing institutions that support the new epistemological and ideological direction that education reform is taking post-2000, I now continue the horizontality of comparison. Extending analysis of "decolonization" discourse to the rest of the case study at two different higher education institutions: (1) a rural, private college UAC-CP, and (2) its urban public counterpart, UMSS, these cases are contextualized and examined below.

Two higher education cases

Unidad Académica Campesina-Carmen Pampa (UAC-CP). Unidad Académica Campesina, Carmen Pampa (UAC-CP) or the College, is located in a small, rural

community with high poverty index. Thus, the College's central mission proposes alleviation of poverty through education, aligning with the common premise of a universal right to education.

A reflection of global discourse, such as Article 26 of the UN's The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), the College's mission is couched in this philosophy. Built upon this idea, supported by different international donors, students with financial need receive scholarships (which includes most). These scholarships fund room and board stipends, materials and fees, as well access to opportunities for social capital. As a result of attending a well-supported higher education institution, access to professional and social networking opportunities is available to students.

The College's connection to the Catholic Church has shaped education in some ways, via curricular revisions. UAC is a private college associated with *Universidad Católica Boliviana San Pablo* or the Catholic University of Bolivia, San Pablo. UAC-CP is a combination of public/private, and fully recognized by the Ministry of Education as a degree-granting institution. Despite the 2009 Constitution designating Bolivia as a newly secular state, religious affiliation with the associated Christian values that UAC was founded on, remain strongly rooted. Steeped in a system of core, Christian beliefs, UAC ideology and pedagogy are evidently influenced by religion, via catechism classes and religious beliefs embedded in the college's core curriculum. In the following section, the context for the transnational NGO, Carmen Pampa Fund (CPF), is briefly discussed.

Unidad Académica Campesina-Carmen Pampa is supported administratively by the Diocese of Coroico and supported academically by the Catholic University of Bolivia. Financially, the U.S.-based NGO Carmen Pampa Fund (CPF), through

donations, and through student family contributions, supports UAC-CP. Based on the

2014 budget, the breakdown of sources of income for UAC is as follows: student-

generated income (50%), Carmen Pampa Fund donations (35%), and other donations

(14%)[54] (S. Mechtenberg, personal communication, June 2014).

Carmen Pampa Fund (CPF) is a 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization based in St.

Paul, MN, founded in 1999 with the purpose of supporting Unidad Académica

Campesina through "…human and financial resources to assist with the growth and

development of rural youth" ("History & Mission," n.d.). The operating costs of the

College are largely paid via international support, including U.S. and European donors.

"Financial support from Carmen Pampa Fund primarily helps pay for general operating

costs at the College—faculty and staff salaries, food cooperative, Internet and student

scholarships" (http://www.razoo.com/story/Carmen-Pampa-Fund). UAC founder Sister

Damon Nolan, in cooperation with community leaders, established the College in 1993 in

order to bring higher education and more career opportunities to the region. Since 2004,

CPF presence at UAC has faced traction and resistance, potentially due to politicization

of U.S.-based institutions "developing" Indigenous communities within changing

sociopolitical processes since 2005.[55]

Historically, multiple local, national, and transnational stakeholders founded the

College. UAC-CP began as a "joint effort between the Catholic University of Bolivia in

La Paz, the Missionary Franciscan Sisters of the Immaculate Conception (MFIC), the

Diocese of Coroico, Bolivia, and the sub-central Villa Nilo–a local governing body of the

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[54] Not considered an exact number since "special projects" are also included which vary according to grant success (S. Mechtenberg, personal communication, June 2014).
[55] At the national level, in 2013, Evo Morales expelled the U.S. development agency (USAID) from Bolivia for allegedly seeking to undermine his leftist government and interfering in local Indigenous organizations. In 2008, Morales also expelled the U.S. ambassador for allegedly aiding the opposition.

indigenous people of Nor Yungas, Bolivia" ("History, Mission & Vision," n.d.). This collaboration points to a larger trend within the field of educational development in Bolivia post-1990s, where development projects needed either private or international backing to happen at all, despite political or ideological differences.

It is in this development and economic context in which the UAC-CP/CPF partnership began. It is also in the global context of a new "social contract" paradigm in which this partnership began. Edwards, Hulme, and Wallace (2011) characterize this larger paradigm change as a

> …move from "development-as-delivery" to "development-as-leverage"; new relationships with corporations, elements of states, the military, international institutions and other groups in civil society; and different capacities to mediate these links. When relationships and interests become more complex and diffuse, clear accountability procedures are paramount. (p. 1)

Thus, the UAC-CP/CPF partnership has emerged out of new "social contracts" between citizens of different organized societies and "new structures of authority at different levels of the world system" (Edwards, Hulme, & Wallace, 2011, p. 1). Yet, this higher education and NGO partnership has also emerged out of a local context where social activism among disenfranchised groups has addressed their realities and helped to challenge exclusionary systems of power that have disempowered Indigenous communities since the colonial era. These local and global contexts for partnership have shaped the relationship between UAC-CP and CPF, producing tensions, but also possibilities for educational development.

In the following section, Universidad Mayor de San Simón (UMSS), with a focus on the postgraduate program, PROEIB-Andes, is introduced and contextualized as the third actor in the horizontality of comparison.

Universidad Mayor de San Simón (UMSS); (Masters) Program (*PROEIB-

Andes). The *Programa de Formación en Educación Intercultural Bilingüe para los*

países Andinos or Program for Professional Development in Bilingual Intercultural

Education for the Andean Countries (PROEIB-Andes) is housed within state university,

Universidad Mayor San Simon (UMSS).[56] PROEIB-Andes is a postgraduate program in a

public, higher education institution set in Cochabamba, an urban center in Bolivia. At its

curriculum core and at the center of this institution's mission is bilingual intercultural

education (BIE). The PROEIB *Maestría* or Master's program in BIE,

> …is a consortium effort sponsored by Indigenous organizations, universities, and
> ministries of education in six South American countries, with additional
> international funding from German Technical Assistance (GTZ), UNICEF,
> UNESCO, the World Bank, and others. Impelled by the vision and energy of
> Peruvian sociolinguist Luis Enrique López, PROEIB Andes and especially its
> master's program have opened up spaces for Indigenous rights and Indigenous
> education surpassing even those initially envisioned in the Bolivian reform.
> (Hornberger, 2009, p. 2)

Through the postgraduate program, Indigenous education is conceptualized as

both local and global, re-defining "development" from the perspectives of Indigenous

groups. Drawing from this alternative notion of development, BIE is conceptualized as a

new paradigm in educational development within Indigenous societies. The *Maestria*

program's mission attempts to,

> … contribute to an understanding of education as a connection between tradition
> and the future of Indigenous peoples, taking into consideration the context in
> which the lives (of Indigenous peoples) develop and the learning needs that derive
> from this specific context. ("Academic Program," n.d.)

Maestría students fit a certain profile, including having similar linguistic, cultural,

and educational backgrounds.

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[56] The Postgraduate Department at PROEIB Andes is dependent on the Deanship of the Faculty of Humanities and
Education at University of San Simón, UMSS.

The *Maestría* program is intended for Indigenous and non-Indigenous professionals who work in educational programs in zones and communities that are culturally and linguistically diverse. However, fluency in an Indigenous language is a pre-requisite for professionals—who hail from Bolivia or anywhere in the Latin America region—since, it is assumed, *Maestría* professionals work with Indigenous populations. Additionally, *Maestría* students "are transnational in the usual sense of being immigrants who maintain links and ties with their country of origin while they study and reside in Cochabamba" (Hornberger & Swinehart, 2012, p. 503).

> Alums find work in a plethora of pro-Indigenous educational institutions and community organizations, a testament to their commitment to Indigenous mobilization. Typically, graduates find work as administrators, practitioners and researchers within teacher preparation programs, ministries of education, national Indigenous organizations, international institutions, and within local Indigenous community organizations from their own region. ("Academic Program," n.d.)

Founded in 1996, the Department of Postgraduate studies at PROEIB-ANDES aims to support regional processes of the development of (Indigenous) human resources, including programs and research projects that support local BIE curricula.

Though this department is housed within UMSS and receives support administratively and academically from this local institution, it does not depend financially on UMSS. Through long-term support from and cooperation with GTZ, PROEIB has been a leader in Indigenous teacher preparation across the Andes. However, after 12 years, GTZ ended its formal partnership with PROEIB Andes. The GTZ ended its partnership with PROEIB-Andes because the political situation in Bolivia has changed and, paradoxically, the Ministry of Education has not given support to PROEIB-Andes's BIE program (Cortina, 2010). In 2006, a new foundation was started to take over where GTZ left off. Below, I discuss the context of the PROEIB Foundation, designed to

strengthen BIE and all other educational modalities for Indigenous communities, whose growing needs and demands for access to quality education are occurring in the context of greater Indigenous political participation.

Fundación Programa de Formación en Educación Intercultural Bilingüe or The Foundation for Education in Multilingual and Pluricultural Contexts (FUNPROEIB Andes) is a private, nonprofit institution of Latin American coverage based in the city of Cochabamba, Bolivia. Described as a foundation for education in multilingual and pluricultural contexts, FUNPROEIB Andes is an international, nonprofit civil organization, designed to

> … develop regional actions and projects designated for the strengthening of bilingual intercultural education, and other educational modalities thought from, with and for Indigenous peoples. ("*Misión*", or "Mission," n.d.)

The Foundation's work reaches multiethnic, pluricultural, and multilingual contexts in the Latin American and Caribbean region through specific projects on issues of culture, language, educational leadership, and curricular processes in the educational realm across diverse communities.

Working closely with Indigenous organizations, teachers, and students, FUNPROEIB Andes embraces concepts of "decolonization," "inclusion," and "pluralism," but not solely at the discourse level. Rather, these ideas are applied and embedded within the broader social and education projects it supports. FUNPROEIB Andes's anti-political identity within changing sociopolitical processes in education reform positions the Foundation, and its *Maestria* program at UMSS, in a uniquely autonomous but politically precarious position—on the periphery of influence from political and religious organizations. Below, the stakeholders who are situated at the

center of influence, or the two governing bodies in the private and public sector, CEE and the MoE, respectively, are discussed.

Governing bodies in the private and public sector

Different actors in Bolivian education reform—government ministries, the Catholic Church, teachers' unions, Indigenous organizations, multilateral lending institutions, as well as transnational NGOs—have long held interest in educational development, but paradoxically work in relative isolation from one another to promote a similar goal of social change. Grindle (2004) contends that since the 1990s, these groups worked in absence of mobilized support from these different groups, and yet, "…found social bases of support only after the reforms had been put in practice and were producing benefits for governors, ministers, school directors, local communities, or others" (p. 203). Hence, the politicization or "religification" of education reform has presented the greatest challenge *and* the greatest possibility for promoting social change.

The road to democracy and "quality" bilingual education in particular has been uneven and paved with challenges. Luykx (2011) contends, "prior to the 1980s, Bolivia's political class had little interest in promoting bilingual education or indigenous cultures, and few indigenous communities had the resources to undertake such projects" (p. 144). Through democratization of education processes, a number of social reforms in the late 1980s/early 1990s, including educational reform with provisions for Indigenous language instruction, took place. However, despite a rising interest in bilingual education in the decade of the 1980s, the state failed to implement bilingual education reforms in the face of economic crisis peaking in the 1980s (including a hyperinflation during 1984-85). Below, I trace the involvement of national-level players in Bolivian education reform

processes, highlighting the challenges and possibilities that "bottom-up" approaches present, traditionally associated with educational development projects post-1990. Yet, as the tracing of these approaches suggest, "bottom-up" approaches were also present in Bolivian education pre-1990s, as early as at the turn of the century, highlighting the trend in "recycling" of past ideologies in Bolivian education.

"Bottom-up" approaches

The foremost "bottom-up" education development approach in Bolivia is *Escuela Ayllu* in Andean Warisata, founded in 1937. The clandestine bilingual Indigenous teacher preparation program acted pragmatically and politically out of defiance within an exclusionary system (López, 1994) in the context of nation-state building ideology. This short-lived program has most recently gained traction in current education policy, Law 070 (2010), also known as Law Avelino Siñani-Elizardo Pérez, or the namesakes of the founders of the Warisata School, as discussed previously. Other grassroots initiatives also deserve mention in the tracing of bottom-up approaches in Bolivian education.

The *Consejos Educativos de Pueblos Originarios* or Indigenous Peoples' Educational Councils (CEPOs) is another example of effective grassroots movements championing education reform through greater political participation. The CEPOs are the *brazo técnico* (technical branch) of more politically-minded Indigenous organizations and are funded by private and international donors (Sichra, 2004). Members of the CEPOs, which are established by law, are appointed by Indigenous organizations through public elections and have been leaders in education reform processes that promote BIE. Sichra (2004) explains, "While they take the appeals of their regions to higher centralized levels, they have a leading role in generating and proposing new curricular approaches that take

into account local indigenous knowledge and also indigenous ways of learning and teaching" (p. 9). Additionally, these councils serve as liaisons, serving in a community leadership role but also shaping political processes on a national level.

Other grassroots stakeholders shaping education reform processes from the ground-up that merit mention—though not included in this study—are teachers' unions. Historically, the interplay between teachers' unions and the state (through the Ministry of Education) has dominated the realm of educational policy. Paradoxically, the period between 1930 through 1947, a time famous for assimilatory and exclusionary approaches to education reform, are often considered the "golden years" of reform. This era was idealized given that there was a genuine effort to free education from all political and religious influence through struggles to establish a single nondenominational public school system, but neither union members nor church officials were the central actors in this struggle.

Since the 1952 Bolivian Revolution, which promoted the centralization of the educational system (including the initiation of a centralized teacher preparation program), teachers' unions have almost exclusively participated in running the Ministry of Education (Contreras & Talavera-Simoni, 2004). Contreras and Talavera-Simoni (2004) explain:

> Under *co-gestión* (worker participation), unions determined appointments [from] the director general down. Thus, the code legitimated a reciprocity pact between the state and teachers' unions. (p. 266)

Thus, "the influence of political parties and teachers' unions on education policy increased markedly after the 1950s" (Contreras & Talavera-Simoni, 2004, p. 21).

Together with the Catholic Church, Indigenous organizations and teachers' unions have shaped education reform processes and practices as much as international agencies. In discourse at least, "top-down" reform strategies of the past are no longer relevant or acceptable by state standards and "bottom-up" approaches are considered the acceptable and laudable approach to partnership.

In the new millennium, "…to be successful, reformers might need to learn more about how to engage citizen interest, allow for more participation, and build support coalitions in advance of their activities" (Grindle, 2004, p. 206). "Bottom-up" reform strategies were indeed upheld post-1990s. An example of standards imposed by the State is the 1995 Bolivian Constitution, which coincided with education reform, NER (1994). The 1995 Constitution regulated "popular participation" in Bolivia, known more widely as "sociopolitical autonomy." In education reform, "popular participation" was an important conceptual pillar in the 1990s, one that suggested an approximation toward political autonomy for Indigenous groups. Thus, it was symbolic that the 1994 amendment to the Constitution (approved in 1995, after 27 years of no change) occurred the same year as the passing of National Education Reform (1994) (Taylor, 2004). Although "The Constitution does not explicitly address language policy or language in education, yet it reflects a broad, if not deep, change in linguistic ideology" (Taylor, 2004, p. 14).

However, the discursive turns in the 1995 Constitution around identity reveal contradictions and tensions; the 1995 Constitution "…reveals the perpetuation of a narrow conceptualization of the relationship between culture, ethnicity and class" (Taylor, 2004, p. 15). Thus, post-1990s, what is central to "national" identity according to

this document is not ethnicity and race, but class. Taylor (2004) contends, "Article 1 of the constitution recognizes Bolivia as multiethnic and pluricultural, and like the 1994 educational reforms reveals a shift away from *mestizante*[57] rhetoric. Nevertheless, there is no separate constitutional section which addresses issues related to indigenous peoples" (p. 15).

Still, despite these contradictions, the early 1990s represented a shift in ideology from assimilationist to counter-hegemonic, with education reform reflecting these changes. Aymaran anthropologist Jiménez-Quispe (2014) contends that the 1994 reform invariably "strengthened public education by increasing educational expenditures, modernizing the Ministry of Education, developing and distributing books and school supplies, and increasing parent involvement" (p. 177), unprecedented achievements before 1990. In spite of democratic reforms such as NER (1994), deep inequities among various social and cultural groups pervaded and a legitimation of the democratic system was lacking (Jiménez-Quispe, 2014).

Stemming from criticisms about interculturalism rhetoric[58] in education reform, questions were raised about the political intentions of reformists. A decade or so after NER (1994) was first introduced, in 2010, the Ministry of Education, at the request of Indigenous groups and social sectors, designed a new curriculum. Once again, education reform echoed broader social changes, as reflected in legal mandate, the 2009 Constitution. The 2009 Bolivian Constitution coincided with education reform, Law Avelino Siñani Elizardo Pérez, AKA Law 070, which was approved a year later.

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[57] Homogenizing discourse that erases and supposedly transcends old issues between ethnicities.
[58] This critique "…refers to the curricular relation that develops between the indigenous society's knowledge and values, or those appropriated by the latter, and those that are unknown or alien. In this regard, a dialogue is sought, as well as permanent complementarity between the traditional culture and the western one, with a view to satisfying the needs of the indigenous population…" (López & Küper, 2000, p. 31). This rhetoric promotes "othering" of indigenous identity and puts the onus on Indigenous groups to learn about dominant culture (but not vice versa).

The 2009 Constitution draws from the premise that, "We leave the republican, colonial and neoliberal State in the past" ("*Preámbulo*," or Preamble, 2009). Article 3 states, "The Bolivian nation is made up of all the Bolivians, nations and native indigenous *campesino*[59] peoples, and intercultural and Afro-Bolivian[60] communities that together comprise the Bolivian people" ("*Bases fundamentales del Estado,*" or "Fundamental bases of the state," 2009).

This discursive turn is a departure from traditional monolingual and monocultural conceptualizations of identity and echoes global discourses of quality Education for all.[61] Lópes Cardozo (2011) contends that Law 070 (2010) promotes "a decolonised, inter- and intra-cultural, productive and communitarian education system, an approach that is unprecedented" (p. 6). Considered by some as either a vast or a mild improvement from prior education development projects, the 1990s reform era awkwardly moved Bolivian education into the future.

More recently, the 2000s education reform era has catapulted Bolivians into the educational future, albeit not without significant tensions between policies and philosophies held by promoters of indigenous rights and the current pro-Indigenous administration, the *Movimiento al Socialismo* (MAS) or Movement Towards Socialism. In this post-modern era we are living in, critics of the MAS administration, or radical left Indigenous leaders, paradoxically raise some of the same issues with policy that former radical-left leaders raised post-1990s.

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[59] Peasant farmer

[60] The 2009 Constitution marks the first time the Afro-Bolivian identity is considered and included within legislation.

[61] Global movement led by UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) aiming to meet learning needs of all children, youth and adults by 2015. Goals include universal primary education and gender parity in education (www.wikipedia.com) Bolivia's constitutional and legal mandate works towards "building and improving the plurinational education systems with the participation of Bolivians, as a pillar of the development of a new society" (www.unesco.org).

> Rather than waiting for transformative change to come from on high in the form of state officials aligned with the MAS, in this view, agency is rooted in the struggles and capacities of the exploited and oppressed themselves, working independently from the MAS. (Webber, 2009, p. 9)

Overall, the challenges and possibilities that "bottom-up" approaches to education reform in Bolivia reveal that the democratization process and the path to transformative education is slow and unsteady, and also rooted in wider debates about global capitalism.

In the following section, I introduce and provide the context for the two governing bodies and central policy-makers in the educational realm, the Bolivian Ministry of Education (MoE) and the educational arm of the Catholic Church in Bolivia, the Episcopal Commission for Education (CEE); they are the remaining actors that make up the meso-level in this study.

Bolivian Ministry of Education (MoE). The Bolivian Ministry of Education (MoE) is a powerful political actor with an increasingly important role in education reform through Law 070 (2010). MoE's mission discourse proposes to, "design, implement and execute politics of inclusive, equitable, plurlingual, scientific, technical-technological, quality, and participatory education strategies on the basis of a territorial, communitarian-productive and decolonizing Plurinational education system." A Vision statement that states follows this statement states,

> The Ministry of Education ensures a quality *education for all*, through a productive and communitarian education with sociocultural relevance, contributing to building a just society, and a balanced and harmonious relationship with nature that supports the plurinational state, to "Live Well" (*Vivir Bien*) through strengthening educational management. (*Ministerio de Educación de Bolivia*, Bolivian Ministry of Education, 2014)

The General Administration for University Higher Education is housed within the Viceministry of Higher Education and Professional Development, one of three

Viceministries, hierarchically the third most important viceministry after the Viceministry of Regular Education and the Viceministry of Alternative and Special Education ("Hierarchical structure," n.d.).

The growing role of the State in education reform has presented challenges, including local misgivings and (re) interpretations with this "home-grown" policy. Pablo, the Education Department Chair at UAC-CP, states, "The law regarding its implementation is ineffective, at least until now, at a higher education level." Pablo adds, "According to Law 070, all higher education institutions must abide by what the Law states, but there is no supervision to monitor how it is being implemented, or at least [the supervision] is not visible" (P. Limachi, personal communication, December 2013). Thus, the invisible presence of the state is made visible through dissemination of policy's pillar concepts, but not because the State has presented and supported how policy will be implemented across higher education institutions in rural and urban areas.

Carrying out education projects at this level and seeing them through is not a top priority of the State right now, thus, policy is implicitly disseminated by political ideology that is embedded in all social reforms. Explicitly, as Pablo illustrates, there is no direction or support about how to understand or apply education policy across higher education institutions. The Department Chair alludes to control and power exerted by the State, proposing, "Any observation that is made—or any announcements that are made— are via the press, whether it be statements made by the Minister or any vice ministers, whichever is appropriate…" (P. Limachi, personal communication, December 2013). Thus, the invisibility of the MoE on certain college campuses only confounds challenges with interpreting elusive concepts proposed by Law 070 (2010).

From the perspective of the State, however, the MoE aims to help audiences

interpret ideas of Law 070 and disseminate these ideas to the public in an attempt to be

less elusive and more open to bridging stakeholder interpretation with policymaker

intention. One such project began in 2011, titled, "100 years of education in Bolivia."

The state-level *Programa de Investigación Estratégica en Bolivia* or the Strategic

Investigation Program in Bolivia (PIEB) aimed to generate research that would contribute

to a growing body of research in the field of education (Yapu, 2012), promoting

extensive dissemination about challenges, difficulties, and solutions to those problems

arising out of new education reform. Although the PIEB works separately from the MoE,

it works in support of education policy processes. Since 2010, the MoE, through the

Instituto de Investigaciones Pedagógicas Plurinacional or Plurinational Institute for

Educational Research (IIPP), along with another educational research organization titled,

Centro Boliviano de Investigación y Acción Educativas or Bolivian Centre for

Educational Research and Action[62] (CEBIAE), and with the support of the Royal Danish

Embassy, together have aimed to bridge the communication gap between practitioners,

policymakers, and researchers alike working with Law 070 (Sandoval & Samanamud,

2012). Though these initiatives are worthwhile, it is troubling that the research does not

reach the grassroots actors, such as the Education Department Chair at UAC-CP.

Jorge, a senior researcher at IIPP believes in the importance of disseminating

research about Law 070's philosophical stance, since, he believes, the time to clarify

concepts is now, while the time to implement take place at a later stage. He proposes,

"…many things that still have not worked is because of all the effort and concentration

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[62] The Bolivian Centre for Educational Research and Action (CEBIAE) is an institution of social, Christian, and ecumenical development, a pioneer in the field of education in Bolivia, founded in 1976. The Board of Directors is made up of representatives of the Catholic, Methodist, and Lutheran churches (cebiae.edu.bo/nosotros).

on clarifying things…this will help jumpstart the proposed curriculum and that is the time we are in" (J. Ramos, personal communication, August 2014). Promoting deep reflection and close analysis of philosophical ideas, Jorge could be idealizing Law 070 discourse, and missing key opportunities for stakeholder interaction. Through this emphasis on clarifying key concepts, the MoE is possibly deflecting dialogue and by focusing on theoretical proposals only, making the evaluation of key implementation strategies a secondary focus. Below, the private governing body, the CEE, is introduced and contextualized.

Episcopal Commission for Education *(CEE).* The *Comisión Episcopal de Educación* (CEE) is the educational arm of the Catholic Church in Bolivia. The CEE is the educational branch of the *Conferencia Episcopal Boliviana* or Bolivian Episcopal[63] Conference (CEB).[64] The CEE, "represents, coordinates, and supports the educational services that the Catholic Church of Bolivia offers, including Regular Education, Alternative Education, Superior University Education, and non-University Education" ("*Antecedentes*," or "Background," 2014).

Additionally, the CEE develops research initiatives around national education issues. In an agreement with the MoE, the Commission has 402 *Unidades Educativas*[65] or Education Units (UEs) under its administration*,* located across Bolivia's nine Departments. The CEE manages these schools in collaboration with 6,332 teachers and 139,878 students across the entire country. In addition, the CEE administers the three

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[63] The Episcopal Church describes itself as being both "Protestant and Catholic." The Latin American Episcopal Council (Spanish: *Consejo Episcopal Latinoamericano*), better known as CELAM, is a council of the Roman Catholic bishops of Latin America, created in 1955 (www.wikipedia.com).
[64] "CEB's highest authority is the plenary assembly of bishops, acting through the Permanent Council of Bishops, which coordinates the activities of Catholic Church and implements the decisions of the Plenary Assembly and the Secretary General who is the organ of information and coordination of activities national character of the CEB." (wikipedia.com)
[65] Education Units are defined as primary or secondary institutions.

national Catholic higher education institutions: the Catholic University of Bolivia San

Pablo, or *Universidad Católica Boliviana San Pablo* (UCB)—under which UAC-CP is

included as an affiliate institution; the Salesian University of Bolivia or *Universidad*

Salesiana de Bolivia; and the La Salle University of Bolivia or *Universidad La Salle en*

Bolivia ("*Cobertura*," or "Coverage," 2014).

Since the 1980s, the CEE has promoted and developed biliteracy campaigns and

other experimental projects in Bolivia, notably the *Proyecto Texto Rural Bilingüe*

(P.TRB) or the Rural Bilingual Text Project, which promoted heritage language

maintenance efforts via a bottom-up model of development (Taylor, 2004), a model

contextualized in the previous section. Thus, at times, the CEE has positioned itself

politically and ideologically against international, "top-down" initiatives to reform

Bolivian education, as discussed in Chapter 4. An additional example introduced in an

earlier section includes members of the Catholic Church in Bolivia becoming a powerful

ally to the teachers' unions and the MoE, proposing a parallel reform initiative to World

Bank-funded NER (1994), and, in so doing, forging important allies with grassroots

stakeholders.

Grindle (2004) contends that alternative proposals from the Church and other

reformists were well intentioned but unsuccessful. Grindle (2004) further contends that

proposal by grassroots stakeholders, including the CEE,

> …were undertaken with widespread consultation and consensus building.
> Nevertheless, they generated documents that were long on eloquent commitments
> and very short on specific actions to improve education. It is not clear that
> alternative approaches to policy reform would have produced greater change. (p.
> 205)

However unsuccessful these alternative initiatives have been, the perception by grassroots stakeholders has consistently been that the CEE is aligned with "bottom-up approaches."

Aligned with this perception, the Commission's aim is to, "make education accessible to all sectors of society, serving the most marginalized, namely Indigenous groups; male, female, young, and old; and those with special needs (e.g., mental or physical disabilities) in urban and rural areas ("*Servicios*" or "Services," 2014). Underlying these services is CEE's specific proposal, which is imbued with a discursive turn characteristic of quality Education for All that resonates with discourse from NER (1994).

A broad declaration of purposes and aims of education, CEE's discourse also parallels general changes in Law 070. Thus, the CEE has ideologically aligned reform proposals with that of the two reform eras focused on in this study and the two reform paradigms each era represents, and yet, general consensus is that the CEE adopts "bottom-up" approaches to reform. This paradox is further analyzed in Chapter 7.

I now turn to the last section of meso-level contextualization, tracing the major reform movements in Bolivia, as part of the transversality of comparison, according to the vertical case study. Situated figuratively and literally between descriptions of the meso and macro contexts in this analysis, I turn now to describing the transversal element in the Bolivian case study.

Having introduced and contextualized the actors that make up the horizontality of comparison, and within the meso-level in the verticality of comparison, I now turn to

describing and contextualizing the remaining element in vertical case study, the transversal element.

Transversal element

Cycles of education reform overlap in apparently random ways in the Bolivian context. The "recycling" of ideologies and implementation strategies over space and time suggests that *re*form in Bolivia is a multidirectional movement that does not entail a uniform progression, but rather progresses forward and backward simultaneously along the social change continuum, according to sociopolitical influences. This movement is described and contextualized in this section, implying that the back and forth movement has several implications for practice, theory, and policy. In examining four central phases of educational reform in Bolivia while attending to its global, national, and local dimensions, the transversal element is adopted here, according to the vertical case study. Bartlett and Vavrus (2014) propose that this fourth element constitutes "the complex assemblages of power that come to bear on policy formation and appropriation across multiple sites and scales" (p. 1).

Social processes and structures give rise to the production of policy texts, and groups or individuals create meanings in their interactions with these texts (Fairclough & Kress, 1993). Thus, dynamics of power underlie these interactions, shaping perceptions and beliefs significantly. Wodak (2005) adds, "Power relations are a struggle over interests, which are exercised, reflected, maintained and resisted through a variety of modalities, extents and degrees of explicitness" (p. 3). Applying this element of analysis to educational reform in Bolivia, the focus is on how power is taken up or resisted by social actors in the arena of social change, across national scales, through discourses of

decolonization or interculturalism for all.[66]

Below, the transversal element is discussed by comparing two approaches: one is a nonlinear approach to examining education reform in Bolivia, or *four phases of diversity recognition,* and the second is a linear approach, or *four main educational reforms in Bolivia*. By employing different approaches or heuristic devices to analyzing education reform in Bolivia, the "recycling" of ideologies and the back-and-forth movement along the social change continuum are emphasized. In truth, there are any number of ways of analyzing Bolivian education reform across eras, reflective of the diversity of ideologies and implementation strategies used for reforming Bolivian education.

An overview of the *four phases of diversity recognition* in Bolivia. A fitting way of conceptualizing education reform cycles and the role power plays within policy text formation in Bolivia, the transversality of comparison draws from López's (1994) four phases of diversity recognition, a framework that suggests broad themes of change that move in a nonlinear fashion, echoing the "recycling" of ideas in Bolivian reform introduced above. This conceptualization opposes the traditional, sequential delineation of changes within educational systems. Sequential delineation of changes would, for instance, measure reform progress rigidly, assuming that change occurs over a temporal space and largely devoid of contextual historical, economic, and social factors. Thus,

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[66] The 2009 Constitution states the objective of education as, "…democratic, participative, community-centered, decolonizing, and 'intracultural, intercultural and multilingual throughout the entire educational system'" (Congreso Nacional, 2009, in Drange, 2011, p. 30). The definition of inter/intra culturality has been debated according to differing conceptualizations of identity (Arrueta & Avery, 2012). López and Küper (2000) define the perspective of *interculturality for all* as, "…in contrast to the historically intercultural attitude of the indigenous populations, resulting from their own subjection and from their need to survive in a still adverse context, the dominant classes in Latin America have been characterized more by an exclusionary vocation, hostile towards diversity, particularly when this pertained to oppressed/disadvantaged populations and cultures like the indigenous peoples" (p. 6). The authors contend that to change dominant sectors of Latin America, "…it is imperative to search for or create mechanisms in the education systems that contribute to a profound change in thinking [by the dominant sector]" (p. 6).

phases of diversity recognition provide a holistic framework to analyze the query, "how can educational provision address diversity and how can diversity shape the nation" (Contreras, 1999) in Bolivia?

Framed as an ontological framework for examining diversity in Bolivian social and educational systems, López (1994) in Taylor (2004) defines the four/five phases as: (1) indigenous presence in the Western school; (2) post-revolutionary attempts at simplifying sociocultural complexity; (3) the rediscovery of a pluricultural reality; (4) and the recognition of diversity as a resource; with arguably a fifth and contemporary stage that begins with (5) the implementation of the 1994 Education Reforms (p. 2). This framework is necessary since diversity within the Bolivian context assumes that the traditional education system is designed to exclude some and/or privilege others.

Thus, López's (1994) four phases of diversity recognition heuristic allows examination of power differentials in the educational and social system. This heuristic underlines a tension between Eurocentric epistemologies and a pluralistic, "postcolonial" society, highlighting the impact of this imposition on reform processes. The transversality of comparison also presents a paradigmatic tension in this context. Taylor (2004) cautions:

> Language in education policy developments in Bolivia over the past decade, therefore, should not be celebrated as the culmination of a progressive sequence but rather evaluated with cautious optimism as a current, pluralist approach to the never-ending effort to achieve unity in diversity. (p. 2)

Thus, to continue situating the transversal process, and for comparative purposes, I now turn to describing, examining, and contextualizing the philosophical antithesis of a critical heuristic. Below, as a point of comparison, I trace educational reforms in a traditionally linear or chronological form.

An overview of the four main educational reforms in Bolivia. Designed to contrast López's (1994) four phases of diversity recognition, the subsequent identification and discussion of four main educational reforms in Bolivia represents a traditional view of how educational systems have changed over time. By using this sequential and logical tracing or framing of educational reforms, my aim is to also highlight, albeit differently, how power relationships move and shape educational discourse. The greater social and political tensions between different approaches to examining diversity are examined within different approaches. The different approaches include overt/covert, explicit/tacit, and oppressive/anti-oppressive ways to discussing and examining language, culture, and identity on a macro level.

The systematic recognition of Spanish as the national language and ensuing social pressure to assimilate to Western culture and Western "ways of knowing" does not actually "reform" the traditional educational system, although it has been the most pervasive and dominant ideology. On the contrary, this "anti-reform" reinforces the status quo, with its rejection of diversity through nation-building ideology. Attempts to "unify" nation-states through language policy pose particular ideological and implementational challenges or tensions for postcolonial societies (Spolsky, 2012), particularly for those that are multilingual and multicultural, such as Bolivia. The dominant ideology present in this "anti-reform" weaves consistently in and out of Bolivian educational history, which I outline in this section. The four main educational reforms presented here are organized into four main reform eras: *1900–1950, 1950–1955, 1955–1960, and 1990–*. Although other, less salient reforms receive mention in the following discussion, they are nonetheless not included within the four main educational reforms framework.

1900–1950. In 1905, the first official reform came in the form of the

establishment of a national education system that sought to initiate universal, compulsory

primary education, a response to high "illiteracy" rates among Indigenous youth (Taylor,

2004), a problematic stance since "literacy" was defined as "Spanish-speaking" only.

Lopes Cardozo (2011) contends:

> In 1905 an endeavor was made to establish a nation wide and centralised
> education system; the 1905 law promoted teacher training, a primary and
> secondary curriculum, commercial and technical education and education
> availabilities for girls and indigenous people. (p. 82)

Though an improvement, through this initiative there were no provisions made for

language or cultural differences. On December 11th, 1905, President Ismael Montes

passed educational reform that centralized Bolivian education in an effort to "eliminate

the ad hoc nature of schools in rural (and primarily indigenous) communities that

developed a system of specially selected itinerant teachers who would divide their time

between different areas" (Taylor, 2004, p. 5). However, this system still was not designed

with local perspectives or community participation in mind. Taylor (2004) contends:

> In education, the state adopted a multicultural approach in which indigenous
> culture and language were obstacles to national development to be overcome
> through castellanización. (p. 5)

Despite the *castellanización* efforts of the early 20th century, Indigenous rights

advocacy efforts and a rising awareness of marginalization became widespread in the

Latin American context (López, 2001) and in Bolivia in particular. On August 2nd, 1931,

which would later be known as *Día del Campesino* (National Day of the Indian), the

insurgent, educator-activists Avelino Siñani and Elizardo Pérez founded the rural school,

Escuela Warisata. The *Instituto Normal*, or Teacher-training Institute, emerged from the

underground, in resistance to oppressive policies, as introduced in Chapter 5.

Lopes Cardozo (2011) posits, "The indigenous population viewed literacy teaching as an important step towards their liberation and they also wanted to reproduce the traditional *ayllu* system, which was based on collective agriculture and kinship relations" (p. 83). Rejecting the European model of education, *Warisata* created a new model of education, building on "productive education," which also happens to be one of the tenets of Law 070, *Law Avelino Siñani-Elizardo Pérez* (2010), as discussed later in this section. Zibechi (2010) explains the *Escuela Warisata* curriculum:

> It was a textless education that combined work with learning, like the Andean pedagogy based on "learning by doing" and on ancestral communal organization, very different from modern instrumental and scientific rationality. The teachers were familiar with the rural environment; their main activity was not the classroom, but rather gardening, cultivating, building, brick making, etc. (p. 318)

The Warisata model was the first attempt at intercultural education management (López, 2010), which was too threatening to the status quo; this school was forcibly closed down in 1939. Contreras (1999) in Taylor (2004) contends:

> The Ministry of Education initially approved the project; however, in the aftermath of the lost war with Paraguay (1932–1935) the government was no longer willing to allow the development of local authority, especially when it conflicted with its policy of cultural assimilation…" (p. 5)

Despite it being short-lived, the Warista model or *ayllu* system established an early form of intercultural education that today forms the basis of contemporary education reform, a reform that is discussed in detail later in this section. The tensions evident between opposing models (e.g., between *Warista* and *castellanización*) are recurring tensions throughout Bolivian education reform eras.

1950–1955. The second major reform occurred in 1952, the year of the National Revolution, led by President Victor Paz Estenssoro. The Education Decree of 1953 came out of this massive social reform movement, advancing land reform in particular. This

Marxist revolution that advanced a populist and democratic agenda also problematically

sought to acculturate Indigenous populations. From the 1952 Education Decree, the

campesino[67] education system, known as *Educación Fundamental Campesina* was born.

This decree paradoxically sought to transform Indigenous peoples into consumers of a

market economy, but not as engaged leaders for the empowerment of their own

communities.

> Taylor (2004) proposes,
>
> Estenssoro argued that a change in the relationship between the social classes
> required a new kind of education, and that since Bolivia was in the hands of
> workers, *campesinos*, and the middle class, education had to respond to the needs
> of these different classes. (p. 5)
>
> The reform paradoxically reproduced (socioeconomic) inequities. Taylor (2004)

adds, "The revolution recast diversity in terms of class rather than of ethnicity, culture or

language" (p. 6) and by extension, reified static, deterministic notions of identity. The

1952 revolution marked universal human rights granted across gender, ethnicity, and

social class. Drange (2011) contends, "…for the first time in Bolivian history—every

inhabitant was granted citizens' rights including the right to education" (p. 31).

However, the post-revolution era is not to be seen as a progression of human

rights advocacy through the educational system, and, notably absent from the post-

revolution reform era was the official inclusion of Indigenous language, culture and

worldviews in education. The post-1952 revolutionary paradigm problematically

identified the Indigenous language speaker as "other," evident in educational policy that

focused on social class and geographic difference as a way of addressing diversity.

1955–1960. The third reform, *Código de la Educación Boliviana* (Bolivian

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[67] Translates to "peasant farmer" or someone who lives in a rural area, and, *de facto* indigenous population (present
author's translation).

Education Code), was established in 1955. Taylor (2004) describes the 1955 policy as "overwhelmingly monocultural in its ideological approach," (p. 6) largely devoid of complex notions of sociocultural diversity. This era also marks a time in which identity formation and "the molding of the of *el nuevo hombre boliviano*[68] rested on a *mestizante*[69] ideology which blanketed the whole population as ethnically mixed and thereby nullified the variables of culture and language" (López, 1994a in Taylor, 2004, p. 6). Furthermore, *Código* (1955) made clear the distinction between indigenous education and non-indigenous education, identifying perceived contrasting needs by reformers between rural and urban students.

This perception reproduced inequities and further stigmatized Indigenous groups based on ontological assumptions about the "other." Additionally, this decree did not make any provisions for language or cultural background or local varieties of knowledge. Taylor (2004) contends,

> Although the rural and urban sectors differed dramatically in the cultural makeup of their inhabitants, the reformers did not frame the distinction on ethnicity or language. Instead, they distinguished the sectors on the basis of geography, production and consumption habits, and familiarity with what the Revolution considered to be national culture. (p. 7)

Plaza (1998) argues, the "monocultural concept of national identity" (as cited in Taylor, 2004, p. 7), evident in pre and post-Revolution educational reform discourse, was not altered by the expansion of access to education. In fact, the Código (1955) altogether bypassed topics of language, culture, and identity, instead injecting construction of "national culture" with subjective and problematic language.

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[68] Translates to "the new Bolivian man," a gendered and class-specific identity (present author's translation).
[69] Translates to "a hybridity of ethnicities/cultures, primarily European and Indigenous." This is a problematic label that glosses over differences within "non-Indigenous" and "Indigenous" identities and essentializes differences across gender, ethnicity, or class. This label is also problematic in that it assumes a neutral stance and harmonious relationship (present author's translation).

Throughout the era of roughly 1960–1990, dictatorships and "transition governments" governed Bolivia. In the space of about 30 years, education reformers, de Vries (1988) claims, "sought to fuse the urban and rural education systems into a single system for formal elementary education, with a national curriculum" (as cited in Taylor, 2004, p. 7). However, to the detriment of *diverse*[70] students, this debate over whether to unify the two systems or not, replaced the discussion about "the interrelationship between linguistic and educational policies" (de Vries, 1988, in Taylor, 2004, p. 7), a fragile and critically important relationship.

1990–. The fourth main reform, the National Education Reform of 1994, also known as Law 1565, marked a pivotal time in educational reform history in Bolivia. This reform, for the first time, provided a systematic inclusion of native languages and cultures education, as well as enforced a rupture with traditional and prescriptive education (López, 2010; Taylor, 2004). In this reform, the educational system was restructured, and the notion of "popular participation" (decentralization) was introduced. *Educación Intercultural Bilingüe* (EIB[71]) reform in Bolivia proposes two facets at its ideological axes: intercultural education and a type of sociopolitical autonomy known in Bolivia as popular participation (Drange, 2011). This latter concept was known more widely in the region as grassroots activism (Walsh, Garcia Linera, & Mignolo, 2006) and globally known as "revaluing the local" or "bottom-up transformation of policy" (Canagarajah, 2006; Hornberger, 2008; Johnson, 2009; Ramanathan, 2005; Valdiviezo, 2009).

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[70] Author's use of "diverse' student is same as in literature: the Indigenous language-speaking student which assumes a multilingual and multicultural identity.
[71] In Bolivia, and in the remainder of this paper, bilingual and intercultural education is known as EIB (Educación Intercultural Bilingüe).

Intercultural education comes from Latin America and Europe, or as it is known in North America, multicultural education (Banks, 2006; Grant, 2009; Sleeter, 1996). A critical view of both types separates them from more superficial interpretations of pluralism in education. Envisioned as a reformulation of "top-down" education development, EIB reflects a global paradigm shift to participatory, bottom-up approaches (Vavrus & Seghers, 2010). Samaniego (2004) in López and Sichra (2008) contends,

> By regarding indigenous populations as an integral part of the state and promoting their social and political participation, advances have been made against social exclusion thereby triggering an ideological relocation of linguistic and cultural diversity that has an impact on every citizen of a multiethnic society. (p. 10)

Paying more attention to Indigenous worldviews and epistemologies, educational reform in Latin America in the 1990s is marked by "intercultural education for all—influenced by the demands of education for all and establishing links between education and the strengthening of democracy" (López & Sichra, 2008, p. 4).

Described by López and Sichra (2008) as a type of pedagogy with an inherent "liberating spirit" (p. 9) that promotes educational democratization, EIB discourse and practices are nonetheless not without limitations and contradictions, which are discussed in Chapter 7. Repealing the provisions of *Código*, NER (1994) sought to unite the education system (e.g., no longer one rural and one urban education) but more importantly, it sought to establish interculturality as "an *eje transversal*[72] or *vertebrador*[73] of the entire education system" (Moya, 1998; Anaya, 2002a in Taylor, 2004, p. 10). NER (1994) is important because it marks the first occurrence in Bolivian educational reform where pluralism discourse prevails.

Moya (1998) contends, "there is now a policy basis for both horizontal (between

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[72] Translates to: *transversal axis* (author's translation).
[73] Translates to: *vertebrae* (author's translation).

different regions of the country, both rural and urban) and vertical (between educational levels) development of EIB in the Bolivian education system" (as cited in Taylor, 2004, p. 13). Eighteen years after NER's implementation in 1996, and roughly 25 years after EIB in Bolivia was first introduced in 1989, education reform has attained success, albeit modest in some areas and non-uniformly in most. As the period of implementation time of NER ended, perils and promises of this reform era weave throughout the next period of reform movement, post-2000.

Though the post-2000 reform era is distinct in many ways from the post-1990 era, differences between these two laws/reforms are not demarcated *enough* to unequivocally suggest a different paradigm. However, for purposes of comparison across reform eras, Law 070 (2010) is not seen as a continuation of NER (1994) in this transversality of comparison, but as its own distinct era. Political contention about whether NER (1994) was appropriate or relevant threatened its success, but questions of relevance are also stalling the progress of its successor, Law 070 (2010). In a symbolic move, only one year after the MAS (Movement to Socialism) party was elected to government in 2005, the MAS repealed Law 1565 and replaced it with Law 070[74] in 2006, on the basis of ideological opposition. Law 070 also supports bilingual education, albeit through an unclear model of education, since the central focus is not on language.

Instead, "The new Bolivian regime's idea of the purpose of education is clearly linked to the notions of interculturality and social justice" (Lopes Cardozo, 2013, p. 23). The theoretical framework of Law 070 "rests upon three pillars: decolonisation, community involvement and productivity" (Drange, 2011, p. 33). "Decolonization," Drange (2011) posits, attempts "to underline the thoughts, knowledge and technology of

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[74] Law 070 was proposed and accepted by Congress in 2010, but began implementation in 2012.

the cultures of Amerindian societies…" and is "…in accordance with the new Constitution that education is to be intracultural, intercultural and multilingual but is based on a communitarian multicultural ideology more than on intercultural relations" (pp. 33–34).

The second pillar, community involvement, highlights the belief that "…the Andean way of decision-making: to maintain balance and harmony, agreement is arrived at by consensus, not by voting" (Drange, 2011, p. 34). Finally, "productivity," the third pillar, states that, "Education is oriented towards guaranteeing the process of producing, conserving, managing and protecting natural resources" (Drange, 2011, p. 34). Law 070 is ideologically driven, signaling a refocusing of priorities, which are in turn reflective of a power shift in national politics and a paradigm shift in global policies. Having introduced and contextualized the transversal element, below I discuss the context for the micro-level, the final level of analysis, within the verticality of comparison.

Chapter 6: The Local Context

Introduction

The micro-level context for this study includes a cohort of fourth-year Education students attending rural college, Unidad Académica Campesina-Carmen Pampa (UAC-CP).[75] They are all enrolled in the course, *Diseño curricular abierto y educación en derechos*, or Open curriculum design and education rights, a course required for all education majors in their culminating year of study. Looking at the contextualization and localization of this case study at the micro-level, this chapter includes background information about the entire cohort of student participants and the context for the course in which the study took place, also known as the "unit of analysis." This micro-level contextualization is the focus of this chapter.

Despite the fact that the cohort of 13 students represents a cross-section of ethnicities, languages, gender and socioeconomic backgrounds, there are also some commonalities between them, including the fact that students' ties to Indigenous language and culture is rife with complex feelings and perceptions given hegemonic discourses of power associated with Spanish language identity in the Bolivian education context. Thus, this chapter aims to paint a nuanced picture of rural, Bolivian youth in order to contextualize the findings of how rural college students make meaning of educational policy.

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[75] At the time of this study, all students are in their fourth year of the Education program, in the Educational Administration track, in their eighth and final semester of coursework. The fifth year, a mandatory requirement for undergraduate degree in Bolivia, is dedicated to thesis design, implementation, and presentation, with mandatory course attendance in two thesis seminar classes only. However, in their eight semesters of study, some students are already preparing thesis work within the course, *Fundamentación de Propuesta I*, or Rationale for Proposal I. Students in this cohort do not necessarily have a topic decided on at the time of the study, but are in the process of developing and researching ideas.

From the cohort of 13 students, four focal students were chosen after collecting data, at the time of data analysis. A representative sample of students was chosen based on three central criteria: their type of outlook, their positions on diversity, and divergent perspectives on language policy. In the next section, the context of the cohort of 13 College students is discussed.

Context of UAC-CP students' academic and social trajectories

Generally, students who attend the college UAC-CP have overcome extremely high obstacles to attain higher education, including long travel time to school, lack of resources, and subpar schooling within the Bolivian rural education system; their attendance is a testament to their ability and perseverance. "Subpar schooling" is defined here not only as the conditions described above, but also as a lack of bilingual education, or exposure to poor bilingual education models, at best.

Given students' varied cultural and linguistic backgrounds, with most students identifying with an Indigenous group, but some also identifying as Afro-Bolivian, and with a small minority identifying as White-mestizo, UAC-CP students represent diverse voices. Geographically, UAC-CP students represent a cross-section of Indigenous communities, spanning from the Andean plateau to the Amazon basin (see Appendix A for map of participant students' place of origin). Students come from a variety of academic backgrounds, enroll in various fields of study that suit their academic interests, and align with the College's mission[76] to prepare for a more secured economic future.

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[76] The College's mission to create skilled leaders in five diverse areas, including Agronomy Sciences, Veterinary Sciences, Education, Nursing, and Eco-Tourism, emphasizes majors relevant to agrarian livelihoods in a way that is culturally responsive to students' social realities. Upon successful completion of a five-year undergraduate program and a culminating thesis, UAC students are expected to serve their own communities with sustainable social and scientific projects. Thus, a dual-centered mission aims to alleviate poverty in the region through educational development.

Students attending the College come from under-resourced communities and the reality is that many need to work throughout primary and secondary school in order to contribute to the family income. Thus, scholarships are critical for attendance at the higher education level. In the Nor Yungas area, for instance, prohibitive, basic costs (e.g., cost of registration, books, supplies, and living expenses) determine whether students who come from rural, working families can attend college or not.

"Average annual income for families is about $2,000 per year. However, some students who study at the College come from subsistence farming families that earn as a little as $1 a day" ("Bolivian context," n.d.). One such student, profiled by Satterlee (2012), is Agronomy Sciences alum, René Villca, executive director of a honey processing association.[77]

> He grew up in Charazani in an indigenous Quechua family, with his four siblings, and parents who never had the opportunity to go to school. His father did not contribute to the family, and his mother earned the equivalent of less than one dollar per day. His mother encouraged her children to pursue education, and with her moral support he graduated from high school. Villca later became the first person in their family to enroll in college. With two scholarships from Catholic missionaries, he was able to pursue a degree in agronomy at the UAC-CP. (p. 20)

Satterlee's (2012) rendering of Villca illustrates the realities of rural poor families, underscoring the empowerment processes that education can nurture.

Veronica, who is a participant in this study and one of the four focal students, has similarly overcome several economic, as well as geographic obstacles to obtain a higher education. Veronica left her rural town of San Fermín in the Province of Franz Tamayo, located in northern Bolivia near the Peruvian border (see Appendix A) to attend high school in the "nearby" town of Apolo.

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[77] "FUNDACOM was founded in 2005 by a group UAC-CP graduates who continue to manage the budding enterprise. Five out of six of [Villca's] current employees are UAC-CP alumni, and Villca manages the intake and processing of honey from many small, rural indigenous farmers from across the entire region" (Satterlee, 2012, p. 20).

At a young age, she moved away from home, given that her hometown provided no educational opportunities past the eighth grade, a reality for many UAC students. During school vacations, Veronica preferred making the four-to-five day trek home (by foot) to see her family, rather than stay in Apolo. Long travel time, (often by foot) between home and school is a common experience for many UAC-CP students.

Since starting College in Carmen Pampa in 2008, a community considerably farther away from her home, Veronica has made the long trek again.

> When she travels home to visit her family during summer and winter breaks, the two day trip home takes her through the capital city of La Paz, over Bolivia's high plain, across part of Lake Titicaca, and past the border into Peru. One of the final legs of her journey home takes Veronica across a river back into Bolivia on a balsa boat. From there, she walks even farther before reaching her family's home. (Mechtenberg, 2014, para. 2)

Ironically, this longer route is the better and safer option, since an alternative route home for Veronica includes, "…a 17 hour ride on a bus from La Paz to the town of Apolo," but this way home requires that she "…walk for 4–5 days through the jungle," where, come nighttime, she would "…just lay down in the middle of nowhere…and sleep until the sun came up" (Mechtenberg, 2014, para. 3).

Since the capital city, where public, tuition-free universities are found, is closer to home than Carmen Pampa, one inevitably questions Veronica's choice to go to such extremes. However, even public universities in the city are unaffordable for rural Bolivian families due to the cost of attendance, the lack of dormitories and/or a living stipend, and given the commensurate higher cost of living. The areas of study in urban universities also do not address the realities of rural populations. Thus, relevance of fields of study offered at UAC-CP make the College an attractive "option" for many rural students and the availability of scholarships make the College the *only* option for some.

There are two central reasons why the College has experienced tremendous growth. Funding for scholarships is one reason why the College has experienced tremendous growth since 1994. Since its first class, with 54 students, UAC has grown exponentially, "Today, nearly 700 students are enrolled for classes and theses work in one of the College's five academic departments. The College has more than 400 graduates and approximately 150 thesis students" ("History, Mission & Vision," n.p.).

Increased opportunities for education closing the gender gap is another reason why the College has experienced such growth. Women are increasingly visible at the College, suggesting that the College offers a place where rural girls can pursue studies, attain higher education, and participate in empowerment processes. "Fifty-three percent of UAC-CP graduates are women—a phenomenal achievement, considering the high school graduation rate for women in rural Bolivia is staggeringly low ("History, Mission & Vision," n.p.).

For all these reasons, UAC-CP is a good place to examine perceptions of Indigenous youth on multilingual, intercultural educational policy, and to shed some light on policy discourse, such as the concept of "pluralism," and how it is applied to education. Contextualizing students' academic trajectories and experiences with higher education, and schooling in general, yields important evidence about the reproduction of inequities in educational democratization processes and policy formation. Below, the individual voices of the cohort of students taking the course, *Diseño curricular abierto y educación en derechos*, or Open curriculum design and education rights, are contextualized in order to highlight the disparities and commonalities among them.

Student Profiles[78]

The "unit of analysis" at the micro-level is a group of focal students within the Education Department at UAC-CP. At the time of this study, all students are in their fourth year of the Education program, in the Educational Administration track, in their eighth and final semester of coursework. The cohort is made up of eight male and five female students, with the average age being 25. Student's place of origin, as well as linguistic background, is diverse. The profiles of each student aim to give a sense of each student's background and position on policy concepts, including "decolonization," "inter-culturalism," and other concepts present in Law 070. The positions, gathered from interviews and student-produced documentation, suggest that students have internalized policy discourse. A common thread between all students is that they are in some way thinking or talking about policy, linking policy ideas with their everyday lives.

Below is a tracing of each student's perspective on the concept of "pluralism," linked to his or her own linguistic and cultural identity. This tracing occurs in the context of his or her own educational background, and his or her understanding of policy ideas, information gathered from the assignment, Peer interviews. This particular assignment took place at the end of the course, during week six. At this time, students had been introduced to key ideas in this study, including identity, multicultural education, and Bolivian education reforms, topics listed in Table 6.0 under "Essential question(s)." Table 6.0 illustrates lessons and topics taught each week, including the essential questions asked and the weekly pre-lesson activities.

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[78] This following section supplements the demographic information given in Chapter 1, providing a general narrative about eighth semester Education students and their educational and social trajectories. Within data collection processes, types of (student-produced) texts collected and analyzed include selected academic assignments, such as Peer interviews. The Student Profiles section includes information taken from a peer interview assignment, in which students were asked to carry out interviews of a classmate, following an interview protocol (See Appendix B).

Table 6.0: *Lesson Title, Essential Question(s), and Weekly Pre-Lesson Activity*

Week	Title of lesson	Essential question(s)	Pre-lesson activity
1	Census 2012	What is identity?	"Examining mestizo identity"
2	Anti-oppressive pedagogy	What is ideology?	"Examining power"
3	Bi-multilingualism in Bolivia and LA region	What is bi-multilingual education?	"Language submersion"
4[79]	N/A	N/A	N/A
5	History of Bolivian education reform and Law 070	Whom does education reform serve? and How does Law 070 address 'diversity'?	"Examining privilege and difference"
6	*Pluralism* and *Inclusion*	What does 'diversity' look like in my life?	"Interviewing classmates"

The style of class discussion was modeled and taught, in order to ensure clarity about the aims of discussing specific topics. In particular, discussion was used to: consider topics from a variety of perspectives, to explore new topics, to try to convince others of a personally-held point of view, to play "devil's advocate" for a position not personally supported, and to foment whole-group discussions through which shy students would prefer to listen to others, thus, taking ownership of their passivity.

It is my belief that by clearly modeling discussion of issues and topics, and through interactive activities that aimed to decenter oppressive pedagogical teaching strategies (i.e., the "banking" approach[80]), students were better positioned and more prepared to speak openly and confidently, or to stay quiet if that was their choice.

Marisol (December, 2013). Marisol studied at primary school *Unidad Educativa*

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[79] Since week four's class was canceled, week four and five are condensed into week five.
[80] "Education thus becomes an act of depositing, in which the students are the depositories and the teacher is the depositor. Instead of communicating, the teacher issues communiqués and makes deposits, which the students patiently receive, memorize, and repeat. This is the 'banking' concept of education, in which the scope of action allowed to the students extends only as far as receiving, filing, and storing the deposits" (Freire, 2005, p. 257). This "banking" approach is common in traditional Bolivian education.

Rose María G de Barrientos (Education Unit, Rose Maria G. Barrientos) in the Province

of Nor Yungas, where she remembers children from different [Indigenous] cultures

speaking many different languages. She characterizes the instruction she received at her

school as *significativo y eficiente* ("significant" and "efficient"), and describes the

interactions between teachers and students as *eficiente* ("efficient"). She continued her

secondary schooling in her own community, at *Unidad Educativa Mariscal Andrés de*

Santa Cruz (Education Unit, Mariscal Andres de Santa Cruz), where she remembers

being *una estudiante muy destacada* ("a highly competent student") *que le gustaba*

compartir todo lo que aprendía (who "liked to share all the knowledge she gained").

(Félix's interview of Marisol, December 2013).

Marisol particularly remembers how she liked to learn her L2 (second language),

Aymara. Marisol remembers that she also spoke, wrote, and read in Spanish

correctamanete ("correctly") and she adds that she read [Spanish] *de una manera muy*

eficiente cosa que se puede entender ("efficiently or in a way that one could understand

her"). The second language she identifies with is Aymara, *a ella le gustaba hablar su*

lengua ("she liked to speak her language") (Félix's interview of Marisol, December

2013), but claims that *tenía una dificultad, no podía escribir, pero si podía leer algunos*

textos de aymara aunque no muy bien ("she had a difficulty, which was that she could not

write, but she could read some texts in Aymara, although not very well") (Félix's

interview of Marisol, December 2013).

For Marisol, the concept of "pluralism" is linked to her own language and cultural

identification. Marisol contends that she would like to *revalorizar las cosas que ha*

perdido su cultura ("to revalorize those things lost from her culture") (Félix, December,

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2013). Marisol adds that she would like to see this adoption of valuable facets of her community and culture, but also alludes to social problems in her own community, such as the impact of a devalued community. She stresses the importance of, *tomando en cuenta los valores de la nueva generación para así poder tener una vida digna sin violencia ni maltrato físicos psicológico en su vida posterior* ("taking into account the values held by the next generation, so that they are able to have a dignified life without violence, physical or psychological abuse") (Félix's interview of Marisol, December 2013).

With this last description of "plurlalism," Marisol insightfully links domestic abuse and trauma to the idea of respect for differences. However, Marisol does not explicitly apply the concept of "pluralism" to the educational or social sphere, implying no concrete disconnection between theory and practice.

José Luis (December, 2013). José Luis's first language is Spanish, which he maintains that *habla, escribe y lee bien* ("he speaks, writes, and reads well") (Lourdes's interview of José Luis, December, 2013). He doesn't write or read Aymara, but he claims that, *habla bien el Aymara* ("he speaks Aymara well") (Lourdes, December 2013).

Receiving his high school degree in 1991, José Luis is the oldest student in the class at 40 years old. He attended primary school at *UE Carmen Mealla* (Educational Unit, Carmen Mealla) in the Department of Tarija and graduated secondary school from private catholic school, *Don Bosco*, in the same place. He defines "pluralism" broadly:

> *El pluralismo es una variedad y se encuentra en la sociedad, además se aplica el concepto del pluralismo y respeto a la diversidad en la educación recientemente con la nueva ley porque recién se dio la participación a otras personas. Por lo tanto, los/las maestros/as pueden promover el respeto a la diversidad en la clase mediante reflexiones, intercambio de experiencias y respeto mutuo.*

Pluralism is a variety found in society. In addition, [the concept of pluralism] and respect for diversity are recently applied to education with the new law because new groups/peoples have recently been given participation rights. Therefore, teachers can promote respect for diversity in the classroom through reflections, exchange of experiences and mutual respect. (Lourdes's interview of José Luis, December, 2013)

Thus, although José-Luis cannot define "pluralism" with great detail or clearly, as he affirms, his personal experiences taught him that giving participation rights (as Law 070 proposes) to a historically marginalized group has to yield better educational practices.

Lourdes (December, 2013). Lourdes's interviewer, José Luis, surmises, *es algo tímida al principio de un diálogo, pero una vez que abre su boca nadie logra cerrarla.* ("She is somewhat timid at the start of the dialogue, but once she opens her mouth, no one is able to stop her") (José Luis's interview of Lourdes, December, 2013). Born in the Department of Beni, Lourdes identifies Spanish as her first language, which*, lo habla bien, escribe muy bien y lee bien* ("she says she speaks, reads, and writes very well") (José Luis, December 2013). José Luis adds, "Since I know her, I know she speaks another language, but she is afraid to say it, which is, the language, Leco."

Lourdes's interviewer oberves,

Como la conozco sé que habla otro idioma, pero tiene miedo decirlo, y es el idioma leco, ella sabrá porque no quiere nombrarlo y es que en la sociedad en la que nos tocó vivir, hablar el idioma de nuestros ancestros estuvo prohibido por muchos años por el Estado y también por nuestros propios padres, era algo que nos causaba vergüenza.

Since I know her, I know she speaks another language, but she is afraid to name it, and it is the Leco language. She would know why she will not name it, and it is because in the society that we live in, speaking the language of our ancestors was prohibited by the State for many years, and also by our parents, so it was something that caused us embarrassment (José Luis, December 2013)

Lourdes attended the primary school called *El Palmar*, where Spanish, the

medium of instruction, was re-enforced and privileged. For secondary school, Lourdes

had to migrate to another town, *Rio Colorado*, where she attended the secondary school

by the same name. Lourdes graduated in 2009, and *fué un evento inolvidable para ella*

("it was an unforgettable event for her") (José Luis, December 2013). "Pluralism," José-

Luis adds, is *un término de fácil definición pero de difícil entendimiento* ("a term that is

easily defined but uneasily understood") (December 2013).

Lourdes contends that "pluralism" is *donde todos nosotros debemos integrarnos y

relacionarnos y se encuentra en la sociedad* ("where we should all integrate and relate to

one another, but it is found in society") (José Luis's interview of Lourdes, December,

2013). Asked if this concept applies to the educational domain, Lourdes responded, *no

mucho, porque hay algunas personas que no tienen respeto a la naturaleza y no toman

conciencia* ("Not much because there are people that do not respect the environment and

they are not conscientious") (José Luis's interview of Lourdes, December, 2013). At this

point during the interview, José Luis picks up on her meaning, and interprets,

> *Lourdes entendió que cuando se habla de pluralismo, no sólo se refiere al
> término a la diversidad en cuanto a personas o maneras de pensar, sino que
> incluyó al medio ambiente diverso, como indicando que si en la naturaleza
> encontramos diversidad y esta vive en armonía, cómo nosotros como seres
> humanos no podemos hacer lo mismo?*

> Lourdes understood that when referring to the concept "pluralism," the meaning
> does not just refer to diversity of people or diverse ways of thinking, but she also
> included diversity within the environment. She assumes that if we can identify
> and recognize environmental diversity as living in harmony, why can we humans
> not do the same? (José Luis, December 2013).

Lourdes adds that the way to promote respect for diversity in the classroom is

mediante la reflexiones en clase y exposiciones fuera de clase y en la práctica ("through

reflective study in the classroom, presentations outside the classroom, and in everyday practice") (José Luis's interview of Lourdes, December, 2013).

Miguel (December, 2013). Miguel was born in the colonial capital city of La Paz. Miguel's first language is Spanish, and, *afirma que el habla, escribe y lee bien* ("he affirms that he speaks, reads, and writes [Spanish] well") (Eduardo's interview of Miguel, December, 2013). His second language is Aymara, which his interviewer, Eduardo claims, *afirma que no habla, ni escribe y ni lee pero entiende lo que hablan y no pueden hablar* ("he affirms that he does not speak, read, or write, but that he understands [Aymara] when spoken to"), although Miguel maintains that he cannot respond in this Indigenous language (Eduardo, December, 2013).

Miguel attended primary school, *UE Simón Rodriguez* (Educational Unit, Simón Rodriguez) in La Paz, and obtained his high school degree in 2004 from the secondary school by the same name. According to Miguel, "pluralism" is *la multicultural de Bolivia y se encuentra en todo el país* ("the multiculturalism of Bolivia and it is found everywhere in the country"). He also affirms, *Se aplica el concepto de pluralism, actualmente si se aplica por la nueva Ley de la educación* ("The concept of 'pluralism' is applied, it is currently being applied because of the new Education Law") (Eduardo's interview of Miguel, December, 2013).

Miguel proposes, *Los maestro pueden promover el respeto a la diversidad en la clase, siempre y cuando conociendo las culturas, la identidad y llevando la practica al contexto* ("Teachers can promote respect for diversity in the classroom, in so far as teachers know about the culture, and identity and by taking practice into its context") (Eduardo's interview of Miguel, December, 2013).

Julio (December, 2013). Julio was born in nearby community, *San Pedro de la Loma*, in the province of Nor Yungas. He attended both primary and secondary schools at *UE San Pedro* (Educational Unit, San Pedro), graduating from high school in 2005. Julio's first language is Aymara, *habla [Aymara] y habla, escribe y lee bien* ("he speaks, writes, and reads [Aymara] well") (Eva's interview of Julio, December, 2013). His second language is Spanish, *también habla, escribe y lee bien,* ("which he also speaks, writes, and reads well") (Eva's interview of Julio, December, 2013). For Julio, "pluralism," or*, el tipo que existe en Bolivia, son los 36 pueblos originarios* ("'Pluralism' or the [type of] 'pluralism' that exists in Bolivia, are the 36 ethnic groups") (Eva's interview of Julio, December, 2013). Julio defines the "pluralism" concept as, *una diversidad de idiomas, culturas y de danzas autóctonas* ("a diversity of languages, cultures, and autochthonous dances") (Eva's interview of Julio, December, 2013).

Julio maintains, *en Bolivia, el pluralism existe en todas partes* ("In Bolivia, [pluralism] is everywhere"). He goes on to contextualize this phenomenon, with, *recientemente con esta nueva Ley, hay más énfasis en éste concepto* ("recently with this new Law [Law 070], there is more emphasis on this concept") (Julio, December, 2013). Julio surmises*, antes, había mucha discriminación* ("before, there was too much discrimination"). Thus, he thinks that "pluralism" can and should be applied in the classroom, with a caveat, *depende de cada persona…puede depender de la metodología de cada professor*/a ("it depends on each person…it can be according to each teacher's methodology") Asked to provide examples, Julio hesitates and proposes, *escojer grupos diversos [de cada grupo étnico] y hacer que traigan comida y trajes típicos* ("choose groups [representing each ethnic group] and have them bring traditional dress and food").

The idea behind teaching "pluralism" in this way is *vivir el intercultualismo porque todo [en la práctica] es interdisciplinario* ("to live interculturalism since everything [in practice] is inter-disciplinary") (Eva's interview of Julio, December, 2013).

Eva (December, 2013). Eva was born near a mining town, where *la mayoría de las personas se dedican a la minería* ("the majority of people dedicate their livelihoods to mining") (Julio's interview of Eva, December, 2013). Eva's first language is Quechua, and she maintains that she speaks it *no muy bien* ("not very well") *pero entiende cuando le hablan* ("she understands when she is spoken to" [in Quechua]). (Julio's interview of Eva, December, 2013).

Eva's second language, Spanish, is a language that she speaks *muy bien* ("very well") because, she claims, *desde su niñez le inculcaron en la escuela de hablar el castellano dejando de lado su idioma nativo* ("since her childhood, this is the language that was inculcated in her at school, urging her leaving aside her native language") (Julio's interview of Eva, December, 2013). Eva's self-reporting on her linguistic proficiency in Spanish and Quechua reveals typical language attitudes in a postcolonial context; she left her own language behind at the behest of her family and her community at large, feeling the pressure to assimilate. Yet, on some level, Eva's understanding of her native language points to a contradiction in this postcolonial context: Eva's communication among community members is in Quechua only.

Eva attended primary school, *UE Nueva Esperanza* (Educational Unit, Nueva Esperanza), located in her hometown, and attended secondary school, *Escuela Nacional Guanay* (National School of Guanay), which she graduated from in 2007. Eva claims she

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was *una de las mejores estudiante demostrando tener una buena calificación* ("one of the best students, achieving high grades") and, after finishing her successful secondary studies, she continued on, *a la universidad a continuar su estudios superiores* ("to the university [UAC] to continue her higher education") (Julio's interview of Eva, December, 2013).

For Eva, "pluralism" is *todo aquello que esta regida en nuestra Bolivia en la cotidianidad, las etnias, las formas de pensar las culturas, las costumbres, los saberes, etc.* ("everything that is contained in Bolivia in everyday life, within ethnic groups, different cultural groups' ways of thinking, customs, 'knowledges,' etc.") (Eva, December, 2013). "Pluralism," Eva proposes, *está en la educación y también incluye el respeto porque hoy con la nueva ley 070 da mucho énfasis en lo que es el respeto a la diversidad, también la educación inclusiva* ("is found in education and it includes respect because today with the new Law 070, the emphasis is on respecting diversity, and also on inclusive education") (Eva, December, 2013).

"Teachers," she maintains, can *promover el respeto a la diversidad poniendo en practican planteando nuevas cosas para llevar adelante el respeto a la diversidad* ("promote respect for diversity by putting into practice and proposing new things to promote respect for diversity") (Julio's interview of Eva, December, 2013).

Félix (December, 2013). Félix was raised in the colonial capital city of La Paz, but paradoxically identifies as trilingual in two Indigenous languages (Aymara and Quechua) *and* Spanish. Although he valorizes Indigenous languages, his low proficiency in Indigenous languages suggests that his language attitude offsets mediocre schooling in the minoritized languages. In other words, Félix's pride in being trilingual contradicts the

assimilatory environment typical of most schools, particularly in urban areas.

In his case, Felix's pride and positive feelings around his Indigenous heritage become the focus of his identity as opposed to negative associations of the Indigenous identity imposed through colonial schooling. Félix attended primary school *UE Genoveva Rios* (Educational Unit, Genoveva Rios) and graduated from secondary school *Colegio Mixto 2 de Agosto*[81] (Co-ed School August 2nd) in 2006. Félix identifies Spanish as his first language, *que habla, lee y escribe muy bien,* ("which he speaks, reads, and writes very well"). He identifies his second language as Aymara, *que habla y escribe no muy bien, y no lee para nada* ("which he claims he speaks and writes not very well, and does not read at all"). His third language, Quechua, *no habla muy bien y no escribe ni lee [en Quchua]* ("he speaks it not very well, and does not write and read at all [in Quechua]") (Marisol's interview of Félix, December, 2013).

Félix contends that the concept of "pluralism" *se relaciona a la globalización de diferentes cultural, idiomas, valores y tradiciones* ("relates to the globalization of different cultures, languages, values, and traditions") (Félix, December, 2013). He defines the concept as, *viviendo en la igualdad, sin distinciones de clase social* ("Living in equality, without social class distinctions"). "Pluralism," Félix continues, can be found, *en contextos sociales, por ejemplo en la Universidad,* ("In social contexts, for example, at the university") (Marisol's interview of Félix, December, 2013).

Félix argues, in contrast to all his peers, that the concept of "pluralism," *no se aplica mucho* ("is not applied much"). According to Félix, *hay textos, pero se ha puesto en práctica* ("There are texts, but they have not been put into practice"). Félix believes

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[81] *2 de agosto*, 1937 or August 2nd has significance for Indigenous education. It marks the date of the founding of the first Indigenous teacher-preparation institute, *Escuela Ayllu*, in Warisata. August 2nd is now known as Indigenous Day.

that this is due to, *nuestra sociedad no permite que [el pluralismo] se ponga en práctica* ("Our very society does not allow it [pluralism] to be put into practice") (Félix, December, 2013).

Félix critiques Bolivian society, *siempre estamos dependiendo de los demás. El gobierno pasa leyes, pero en la realidad [voz se apaga]. Hasta cambiar las actitudes es muy difícil* ("We are always depending on others. The government passes laws, but the reality [voice trails off]. Even changing attitudes is very hard") Félix finishes with a recommendation to education reformists for applying the concept of "pluralism" in education: *El gobierno necesita más personal para implementar la Ley* ("The government needs more personnel to implement the Law") (Félix, December, 2013).

Félix advises that to promote respect for diversity in the classroom, teachers should, *Inculcar los valores de cada grupo, no tartar de bajar el auto-estima de cada estudiante, y socializer a todo estudiante sin hacer distinciones de clase social* ("Inculcate the values of each group… not try to lower the self-esteem of the student, and socialize all students without making social class distinctions") (Marisol's interview of Félix, December, 2013).

Héctor[82] **(December, 2013)**. Héctor was born in the urban Indigenous center of El Alto, where he attended primary Catholic school *UE San Luis Gonzaga* (Educational Unit, San Luis Gonzaga). However, he attended secondary school, *UE Carlos Crespo* (Educational Unit, Carlos Crespo), which he graduated from in 2008, in rural Guanay. Héctor identifies Spanish as his first language, which he claims, *habla y escribe bien y*

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[82] The author personally interviewed Héctor, as opposed to one of his peers, given the odd number of students (13) in the peer interview assignment. Héctor did not self-identify an Indigenous language as his second language which is possibly due to researcher/participant dynamics of discomfort or shyness. Or, very possible, he did not receive instruction in any ILs in his home or at school.

lee muy bien ("speaks and writes well, and reads very well").

However, Héctor *no habla, lee ni escribe en cualquier lengua originaria* ("doesn't speak, read or write in any Indigenous language") (Martina's interview of Héctor, December, 2013). Héctor maintains that "pluralism" is found *en todo el país* ("across the whole country"). He defines the concept as, *considerando a todos* ("taking everyone into consideration"). Héctor believes that "pluralism" is applied to the educational realm today, *porque todos ahora tienen acceso a la educación* ("because everyone now has access to education"), yet, he contends, this was not always the case, *si es por el nombre de familia, el idioma o el color de piel, antes había mucha discriminación* ("If it was because of family name, language or skin color, before there was a lot of discrimination") (Martina's interview of Héctor, December, 2013).

Asked how can teachers promote respect for diversity in the classroom, Héctor revealed a different conception of diversity, one related to variation in learning styles. He concluded, *siempre hay estudiantes tímidos, así que el método de enseñanza es importante; algo más didáctico para que todos los estudiantes puedan crecer con confianza* ("there are always shy students, so the method of teaching is important, something more didactic so that all students can grow in confidence") (Martina's interview of Héctor, December, 2013).

Efraín (December, 2013). Efraín was born in the rural town of Caranavi. He attended *UE Carura* (Educational Unit Carura) at the primary level in nearby town of Carura. He attended *Colegio Técnico Mixto Carura* (Co-ed Technical School Carura) at the secondary level in the same town, graduating in 2006. Efraín identifies Spanish as his first language, claiming *hablo y escirbo bien y leo muy bien* ("I speak and write well and

read very well"). He identifies Quechua as his second language, which he says, *no hablo muy bien y no leo ni excribo para nada [Quechua]* ("he doesn't speak very well and does not write or read at all" [in Quechua]) (Veronica's interview of Efraín, December, 2013).

Efraín describes "pluralism" as, *la variedad de idiomas que se escucha en las escuelas* ("the variety of languages we hear in schools"). He contends that "pluralism," and the respect for diversity, is only present, *como dice la Ley* ("as it is stated in the Law"). However, he says, *en realidad, no está presente porque tal ves hay vergüenza de hablar el idioma Indígena* ("in reality, no, it is not present because maybe there is embarrassment about speaking the native language") (Efraín, December, 2013).

Efraín thinks that teachers can promote respect for diversity in the classroom by, *enseñando respeto hacía las opiniones de cada estudiante* ("teaching respect for opinions held by each student"). His advice seemingly comes from his own personal observations and negative schooling experiences: *si tratamos de hablar en nuestros idiomas [Indígenas], otros se hacen la burla de nosotros* ("if we try and talk in our [Indigenous] languages in school, others make fun of us") (Veronica's interview of Efraín, December, 2013). Efraín's negative experience with speaking Indigenous languages, particularly in schools, is not unique to rural area schools, as we can see in Marco's profile below.

Marco (December, 2013). Marco was born in the rural province of Franz Tamayo, in the town of Apolo, but grew up in El Alto, an urban Indigenous center located outside the capital colonial city of La Paz. He also grew up in La Paz, in a marginalized neighborhood. Perhaps given his urban upbringing, he identifies Spanish as his first language, and, *domina bien éste idioma* ("he is proficient in this language"). He identifies his second language as English. He claims that, *habla correctamente, su*

escritura aún esta en proceso ya que no lo domina bien, y lee adecuadamente…éste

idioma lo domina excelentemente ("he speaks English correctly, his writing is still in

process since he is not proficient in it and he reads adequately… this language [English]

he is excellently proficient in") (Estela's interview of Marco, December, 2013).

Marco studied at primary Catholic school *UE Padre Luis Espinal Camps Fe y*

Alegría (Educational Unit, Padre Espinal Camps Fe y Alegría) in the city of El Alto,[83]

and *Colegio Ave Maria* (Ave Maria School) secondary school, located in the city of La

Paz. He defines "pluralism" as *la diversidad de lenguas* ("diversity of languages").

Marco adds, *hoy en la actualidad si se esta aplicando el pluralismo en la educacion*

porque cada estudiante debe y tiene que adaptarse al contexto que lo rodea aceptando y

sin discriminar a nadie ("today, 'pluralism' is being applied in education because every

student must and has to adapt to the context that surrounds him/her, accept it, without

discriminating anyone") (Estela's interview of Marco, December, 2013).

Marco adds, *los maestros/as pueden promover el respeto a la diversidad en la*

clase respetando las diversas culturas, haciendo cumplir sus derechos y obligaciones de

cada estudiante ("teachers can promote respect for diversity in the classroom by

respecting diverse cultures, making sure all students' rights and responsibilities are

respected") (Marco, December, 2013).

Estela (December, 2013). Estela was born in rural Caranavi, where she attended

primary and secondary school, *UE Vida y Verdad* (Educational Unit, Vida y Verdad)*,*

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[83] Inhabitants of La Paz differentiate between the capital city and the periphery city, El Alto. Considered an independent city with its own Mayor and City Hall, inhabitants of El Alto often do not differentiate between cities, signaling a stigma attached to Indigenous urban center, El Alto, and social class status attached to colonial urban city, La Paz. Once considered merely a suburb of La Paz, El Alto today is one of the country's fastest-growing cities and a major economic center; the population of El Alto in 2011 was 974,754 (INE, Bolivia, 2012). El Alto's demographic is largely Aymara and its role in national politics of growing importance. The urban population boom of El Alto has also been riddled with social tensions.

which she graduated from in 2009. According to Estela, "pluralism" is *la inclusion en todas las areas: el género, la cultura, el idioma, y en la sociedad en general* ("inclusion in all areas; gender, culture, language, and in society in general") (Marco's interview of Estela, December, 2013).

Estela agrees that "pluralism" is being applied *como Ley, no en todas, pero en algunas escuelas* ("as a Law, not in all, but in some schools") (Estela, December, 2013). For instance, she thinks of her own town, Caranavi, *donde se aplica el concepto de pluralismo y donde el respeto hacia valores diferentes y hacia los otros se están enseñando* ("where it was applied [pluralism concept] and where respect for different values and for others are taught") Asked how she thinks teachers can promote respect for diversity in the classroom, she advises, *haciendo cumplir el respeto hacia los derechos de los demás, sin discriminación y con respeto hacia cada persona* ("by enforcing respect for others' rights, without discrimination, and respecting each person") (Estela, December, 2013)

Eduardo (December, 2013). Eduardo is another nontraditional student. He is 31 and an ordained Catholic priest. A native of a small village near Sorata, Eduardo hails from Ilabaya, which is located in a valley near the Andean mountain range. Eduardo's first language is Aymara, *en la primera etapa de su vida aprendió a hablar aimara ya que sus padres y familia practicaba más éste dialecto. Lo habla relativamente bien, pero en la lecto escritura tiene dificultades leves* ("in the first stage of his life, he learned the language from his parents and family, who spoke this dialect. He speaks it relatively well, but has mild difficulties in writing and reading") (Miguel's interview of Eduardo, December, 2013).

The second language Eduardo learned to speak was Spanish, and, *lo hace fluidamente aunque afirma que lo hace relativamente bien, y su lecto escritura del castellano es estándar* ("he does it fluently although he affirms that he does it relatively well, although his reading and writing proficiency in Spanish is standard") (Miguel's interview of Eduardo, December, 2013).

Eduardo attended primary school, *UE Ilabaya* (Educational Unit Ilabaya) in his hometown, and then attended the secondary school, Colegio Juan XXIII (School Juan XXIII) in the nearby larger town of Sorata. Eduardo graduated High School in 2000. He defines "pluralism" as *la diversidad de cultural, lenguas entre otros dentro del territorio nacional* ("the cultural and linguistic diversity (among others), within the national territory") (Eduardo, December, 2013). Eduardo affirms that the concept of "pluralism" and respect for diversity in the educational domain *no se aplica en un 100% esto debido a la falta de conocimiento a fondo el 'pluralismo'* ("it is not applied 100% due to the lack of understanding about 'pluralism'")

Eduardo also owes the lack of application of the concept *por la carencia de talleres, cursos, seminarios, entre otros eventos de capacitación con respecto a la temática* ("due to a lack of workshops, courses, colloquiums, among other professional development events, in respect to the theme") (Eduardo, December, 2013). Eduardo recommends that the first promoters of diversity should be teachers, *como ejemplo, para luego con esa moral incentivar y exigir a los estudiantes que recuperen su identidad cultural* ("as an example, so that with that sense of morality, motivate and demand students to recuperate their cultural identity") (Miguel's interview of Eduardo, December, 2013).

Veronica[84] **(December, 2013)**. Veronica, as introduced earlier in the chapter, was born in rural San Fermín, near the town of Apolo, in the Province of Franz Tamayo, where she attended primary school *UE José Manuel Pando* (Educational Unit, José Manuel Pando). For secondary school, she moved to Carmen Pampa, where she attended *UE San Francisco Xavier* (Educational Unit, San Francisco Xavier), and graduated from this institution in 2008. She lived in this community, along with other students coming from outside the area, a testament to her commitment to schooling and her family's valuing of education. She identifies Spanish as her first language, *que lee, habla y escribe bien* ("which she speaks, writes, and reads well") (Efraín's interview of Veronica, December, 2013). On the other hand, her second language, Quechua, *habla, lee y escribe no muy bien* ("she speaks, reads, and writes not very well"), which contradicts the proficiency in Quechua she summoned and was hired on the basis of, while carrying out research work for a local NGO.

Veronica contends that "pluralism," is *variedad* ("variety") but it is also defined *dependiendo del contexto* ("depending on the context"). She contends that "pluralism" relates to *tradiciones y culturas y se encuentra en todas las areas* ("traditions and cultures and is found in all areas") (Veronica, December, 2013). She agrees that "pluralism," as a concept, is now being applied to the educational sphere. In many places, she contends, *la madre naturaleza, y también personas de otras culturas son más respetadas. La otra parte, el concepto de la 'inclusión' de las habilidades y las aptitudes, eso se ve ahora* ("mother nature, as well as people from other cultures are more respected now. The other part, the concept of 'inclusion' of abilities and attitudes, you see that

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[84] Veronica applied for (and was accepted to) a 10-month long teaching exchange program through Amity Institute to study English while working as a teacher's aide at Adams Immersion School in St. Paul, MN. All costs of travel, visa applications, and living costs are being offset by CPF.

more now").

In fact, Veronica firmly believes that the concept IS applied in schools. *Antes, no había mucha inclusion* ("Before, there was not much inclusion") (Veronica, December, 2013). She contends that teachers can promote respect by,

> *...tratando a todos con igualdad en general respetando las diferentes formas de aprendizaje, diferentes actitudes, formas de hablar, diferentes formas de vestir… dando más atención a los más necesitados porque no somos todos iguales. Sin embargo, no es fácil para profesores.*

> …treating everyone equally in general by respecting different ways of learning, different attitudes, ways of speaking, different dress… giving more attention to those most necessitated since we are not all the same. However, it is very difficult for teachers (Efraín's interview of Veronica, December, 2013).

Overall, this cohort of rural college students mostly identify with an Indigenous language and culture, yet their awareness and interest levels with critical issues in contemporary education policy vary widely. Understandably, students' linguistic and cultural identity formation predates this study and reaches much further than the confines of this study's purpose and scope. Through self-guided reflection and activities that nurture critical thinking, here students are being encouraged to negotiate their own identity as Indigenous language speakers in an academic setting.

The profiles present a glimpse into each student's ideologies about language, culture, and identity within this particular research study, including language attitudes that reveal feelings of pride or embarrassment and colonized or decolonized ways of thinking. These ways of thinking point to larger social issues of discriminatory policies and devalorization of Indigenous cultures in society and through education. Embedded in these profiles—and in more data presented within following chapters—is the implication that Indigenous students resist or open up dialogue about issues raised by educational

policy, depending on how they position themselves as Indigenous youth within this academic setting and this study context. Having described the study participants, I next describe the context for the course in which this micro-level study is situated.

Diseño curricular abierto y educación en derechos

The course, *Diseño curricular abierto y educación en derechos,* Open curriculum design and education rights, forms part of the micro-level context within this vertical case study. The course is offered within the specialized track, Educational Administration, aiming to prepare future educational leaders. This formative course is taking place in the context of new educational law, Law 070, which in theory is applied to all levels of education, including higher education:

> It [course] aims to develop in combination the knowledges, technologies, actions and experiences in the construction of the open curricular design, taking into account the characteristics, particularities and identity of every social context and, concomitantly, with the larger educational goals and aspirations of the actual educational system of the Estado Plurinacional. ("*Competencia de la Materia,*" or "Course Syllabus," n.d.)

The rationale for the theoretical framework of this course is derived from a "new formative model that requires greater awareness about thinking, feeling and the development of abstraction and of the diverse aspects of personality." The rationale addresses the importance of an "integral" education, referencing Gardner's (2011) Multiple intelligences and drawing from Delors's (1996) four pillars of basic education: learning to know, learning to do, learning to be, and learning to interact with others ("*Programa de Asignatura,*" or "Syllabus," n.d.). Additionally, the course's rationale includes how its theoretical framework should be applied broadly.

> …the importance with which the Education Sciences professional must possess the knowledge and mastery over this important topic because in the understanding of the Open Curriculum design and Education rights, without a doubt he/she is

able to effect change. ("*Programa de Asignatura*," or "Syllabus," n.d.)

The Course syllabus gives a clear demarcation about the larger aims and goals of the course, but more specific descriptions as to how these aims are implemented is absent or unclear.[85] For instance, the "minimum content" or "units of study" are outlined briefly and without any specific details. While I was carrying out research in the Spring 2013 semester, the unit of study covered was Unit 11, Human Rights Education.

The unit's curricular aims are described as, "Moments of elaboration, alternative solutions, and Evaluation [of Human Rights Ed.]" through Human Rights pedagogy. The theoretical framework for Human Rights pedagogy is described as, "departing from the paradigm of critical, problematizing pedagogy conceptualized within everyday life." The overall purpose of this learning unit is to conceptualize, describe, and explain the general framework for an examination of Human Rights education. The proposed methodology, according to the Syllabus, consists of "dynamic animation," "introduction to the unit," "circulating groups technique," and "elaboration of individual summary."

Evaluation, as defined by the syllabus, includes Group Exposition derived from "circulating groups technique," and a Presentation of Summary paper. I observed that the proposed practice remained theoretical, thus emphasizing teacher-centered pedagogy. This research study occurred within this course and its overall curricular and pedagogical focus. I conducted research in the last hour of the course, once a week, for six weeks. While the topics covered in this course were similar in sentiment and sometimes, similar curricularly, the instructional aims and methods of my research study were different.

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[85] My focus in this study is not evaluative—of the teacher, or the curriculum—so I'm not emphasizing problematic teaching strategies or curricular limitations in this section. However, I argue that the abstract language of the curriculum, loaded with ambiguities, in combination with anti-constructivist teaching techniques, reproduce inequities in education, and limits access to "quality" education.

The aim of this study at the micro-level was to interact with students in order to get to know them (and vice versa). I did this by applying concepts of constructivist[86] pedagogy that seek to de-center traditional mechanisms of teaching and learning, for instance, through the promotion of experiential learning, instead of rote and memorization (Piaget, 1950). Applying didactic activities at the start of each class, I sought to de-settle traditional instructional approaches. The activities aimed to get students to move physically and interact with one another in student-centered ways. Every week, following the activity, I presented a lesson about diverse topics, followed by class discussion and group work. The purpose was to spark discussion around sociopolitical topics and critical issues in education, but within a low-stakes setting. By not carrying out formal evaluations, and by ensuring confidentiality at the onset, this type of research climate was further nurtured.

The micro-context encompasses both the academic world of the students (as defined by one course, Open Curriculum Design and Education Rights), and of course, through the students themselves. Their perceptions about topics covered in our weekly sessions developed according to many factors, including perceptions of the pedagogical techniques used, students' willingness to share their views, perceptions about the researcher, interest level in various topics, and perceptions about the relevance between topics discussed and students' own lives. Since this group's interactions and perceptions were key, a firm but open dialogic relationship with each other and with the researcher needed to be nurtured at the onset.

In Chapters 4, 5, and 6, I provided the context for the micro-, meso-, and macro-

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[86] Constructivist pedagogy is defined as "a theory of knowledge that argues that humans generate knowledge and meaning from an interaction between their experiences and their ideas" (www.wikipedia.com).

levels, which are arguably three contentious labels of analysis, critiqued for being less than discrete. Agha (2007) contends, "Instead of focusing only on speech events, or simply connecting micro level events to macro level structures, we must investigate the many scales of social organization relevant to understanding language in use" (as cited in Wortham, 2012, p. 132). Thus, the three levels of analysis within the verticality of comparison were contextualized, as well as the horizontality of comparison and the unifying element, the transversal element, was also introduced and contextualized for this case study.

Having contextualized all three levels (local, national, and international), thus providing a wider social, political, historical, and economic contexts, I now turn to the analysis and discussion chapters. Below, data collected at the micro-level are analyzed. Specifically, data collected at the meso- and macro-levels of analysis are examined using discourse analysis tools in order to closely trace the movement of policy discourse, offering analysis of how this movement is taken up or resisted by local or global actors, highlighting the tensions or possibilities between policy and practice.

Chapter 7: Findings: Policy Uptake or Resistance Across Scales, Places and Actors, Highlighting the Diversity Dimension

Introduction

This chapter focuses on the movement of policy discourse across various levels in the "verticality of comparison" (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2014, p. 2). Thus, movement of policy is analyzed at the micro (local), meso (national), at the macro (international) level, as well as in the "transversality of comparison" (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2014). By examining how "…different strategies are developed by various actors and at different scales to enforce or resist the new discourse and related policy initiatives" (Lopes Cardozo, 2011, p. 134), I attempt to illustrate how the various strategies are conceived and employed, in particular with respect to the discourse of diversity.

Moreover, in the "transversality" of comparison, I attempt to examine how those who implement policy and those who make policy help to produce understandings of specific discourses around diversity. Drawing descriptively from three theories, namely postcolonial policy studies, revitalization of heritage languages in a postcolonial society, and critique of the dominant approaches to diversity, I analyze each actor's role in this relationship. Additionally, drawing from the methodological tools the vertical case study and discourse analysis that were introduced earlier, this chapter analyzes and traces the movement of specific discourse(s) across the three levels. In summary, tracing the movement of diversity discourse(s) across multiple levels helps to understand the impact of policy on local actors, and the particulars of a global concern in its local applications (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2014).

The findings at each level of analysis are presented in this chapter and subsequently discussed in the chapter that follows. In this chapter, the findings are

organized by level and according to the four research questions. Turning now to analysis of policy discourse around bilingual, intercultural education at the macro-level, I focus on the most recent education reforms in Bolivia in relationship to donor involvement, which works in relationship to global policy.

Findings at the macro-level will be interpreted with respect to two questions, drawing from the theories that underpin them, such as language revitalization in postcolonial contexts and postcolonial policy studies. First, I address the research questions, "What is the specific global discourse around intercultural, bi-multilingual education?" a) "What are practices and ideologies maintained by international donors?" and b) "How do they intersect with practices and ideologies at the national level?" Second, in order to examine how policy-makers help to produce understandings of specific discourses around *diversity,* I address the fourth research question applied to the macro-level: "How is diversity understood at the global (macro) level?"

Macro level: Global Discourse around Bilingual, Intercultural Education (BIE)

What is the global discourse around BIE? Since national policy processes in Bolivia have occurred within a larger, international development context, and since the NGO context has derived ideologies from global landmark policies, it is key to identify what these global policies are in order to situate national policies across reform eras (see Appendix F; Fig. 2.1).

These landmark policies include: the Convention on the Rights of the Child, CRC (1990); International Labor Organization (ILO) Convention 169 (1990); Education for All (EFA); Jomtien and Dakar (1990 and 2000, respectively); the Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights (1996); and the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples

(2007). The topics of these conventions include the rights of children, the rights of Indigenous peoples, access to quality education, linguistic rights, and the valorization of Indigenous peoples by instituting mechanisms that curb their human rights violations.

Findings at the macro-level reveal a clustering of global conventions and treaties that occurred in the decade of the 1990s, as opposed to the decade of the 2000s. This clustering of global policies occurs in relation to a surge in democratization policies at the national level, at the onset of NER (1994). In the 2000s, there are fewer though equally critical global policies that cluster around the time of Law 070 (2010), such as EFA, Dakar, and the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Both surges reflect the changing image of Bolivia before the global development community and within institution-building processes since the 20th century, important changes that suggest a paradigm shift in education reform in tandem with growing social and Indigenous movements.

This shift that is helped through the joining of international entities with reform strategies at the national level signals a seamless alignment between national and global policies. However, the variation between how each reformer across reform eras aligns with global policy is largely dependent on the type of donor involvement (e.g., emphasis on ideological or technical aspect), since international and global policies are so intertwined. Findings suggest that assumptions about the postcolonial condition reveal problematic development projects and approaches during the 20th century. Gramsci (1996) emphasizes the disparate roles of social actors in postcolonial settings and the ways these roles shape social privilege.

The variation in perceptions of donor involvement exists primarily due to economic and political autonomy at the national level across eras, which is directly impacted by changes in global political and economic realities. Thus, the type of donor relationship that exists with national-level politics is impacted by macro-level policies and situated within a changing global context.

An outcome of problematic reform approaches is the notion of "internal colonialism" (Rivera Cusicanqui, 2012; Tuck & Yang, 2012), where the role of Indigenous social actors in education is being privileged, yet uneven access to quality education is still paradoxically rampant. The "advantage gap," discussed in Chapter 1, is still as real for Indigenous, rural students as it was at the turn of the 20th century. This recurring and pervasive gap highlights structural political and economic inequalities between regions, across social class and linguistic and cultural backgrounds, despite different ideologies being promoted through education reform in the decade of the 1990s versus 2000s.

Ideologies and practices in the Bolivian education system, in the context of fluctuating state-level politics have changed across distinct eras and in relationship to international donor discourses around intercultural, bilingual education. The policy processes and practices at the macro level are made up of the policies and practices of the policymaking organizations (e.g., multilateral or bilateral lending organizations.) The dominant discourses across two contemporary reform eras in Bolivia are undoubtedly shaped by donor discourse, in the context of social change. Moreover, donor discourse is shaped by global discourse around "educational quality" and "human rights." D'Emilio (1996) discusses important advances in minority rights through education and Indigenous

movements in Bolivia post 1990:

> In both the official discourse and the legal corpus, Bolivia has made important advances in recognizing indigenous rights, as well as the rights of children and women. Regarding indigenous rights, Bolivia was among the first countries to ratify the International Labor Organization (ILO) Convention Concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries, known as ILO Convention 169, in 1989. In addition, Bolivia has promoted dialogue on the Indigenous Decade and the Iberian American Indigenous Fund, and in recent years has increased indigenous participation in public administration. (p. 25)

Thus, the increase in democratization processes and promotion of indigenous rights that began in early 1990s continued into the 2000s; however, the discourse emphasis has changed to reflect the politicization of education reform.

In summary, the findings for the first question at the macro-level reveals contradictory findings across reform eras, but also within eras. The global discourse around intercultural, bi-multilingual education reveals that all donor organizations with a continuing presence in Bolivia hold similar education development ideologies— ideologies that complement national politics, namely BIE big "D" discourse. Conversely, this discourse aligns with global policies and discourses of "education for all" or "rights of Indigenous peoples." Yet, in Bolivia, we see that the change in emphasis in the discourse around education reform era fluctuates in tandem with regional political or economic factors, and in the context of structural factors, which will be discussed in the following meso-level section.

Alignment with national politics is not an uncommon donor strategy, pointing to the intersection between government and development partner. However, alignment with national politics also entails alignment with different reform paradigms in Bolivia. While donor alignment with local reform initiatives post-1990 and post-2000 suggests a shift toward promoting practices that aim to improve the effectiveness of local governance and

decentralization operations, the foci is different. Post-1990, the policy discourse

emphasizes economic matters while post-2000 the emphasis is on political matters.[87]

Although each reform signals a different reform paradigm, as the next section of

analysis at the meso-level delineates, contradictory stances on bilingual, intercultural

education at the national level shape and construct policy in competing ways. Having

addressed what is global bilingual, intercultural education, and the influences of existing

global educational discourse across two reform eras, I now turn to answering the

remaining sections of the first research question.

***What are the practices and ideologies maintained by international donors? And,
how do they intersect with practices and ideologies at the national level?*** The findings

with respect to these two related questions illustrate how broader political contexts shape,

constrict, or, in some cases, take up educational policy. The findings for these questions

reveal that most multilateral banks have withdrawn assistance from Bolivian education

reform initiatives, with some exceptions, and yet bilateral banks have largely maintained

assistance. This has relied largely on how national politics have played out and on the

ideology of international donors. In this section, I will be discussing the specific ways

that these organizations took up or are taking up this global discourse, under a theoretical

lens of postcolonial policy studies.

Since 1990 in Bolivia, public perception of international donors representing

"foreign imposition" has been rampant. The policies these multilateral donors imposed in

the decade of the 1990s included harsh austerity terms within structural adjustment

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[87] Drawing from analysis of donor agency mission statements (see Appendix E), donor involvement across reform eras (see Appendix F; Figure 2.2), and from analysis of relevant global policies proposed during these eras (see Appendix F; Figure 2.1), post-2000 donor involvement is characterized as adaptive to the needs of national policies, with adoption being of a political nature. This characterization is compared to post-1990 donor involvement that is described commonly as a forceful shaping of national policies, with the focus of adoption being of an economic nature.

programs that severely impacted the quality and access to education. Thus, it is not inconceivable that multilateral banks such as the World Bank and the IADB ceased to play a significant financial role in the education sector in Bolivia since 2000, an era characterized by political and economic autonomy, and so-called "decolonization" strategies, particularly through education.

Post-1990, the principal problem in Bolivian education was identified as being the existence of mechanisms of discrimination and exclusion in the educational system, as opposed to the traditional deficiency approach toward the historically large presence of multiple identities and languages found in the Bolivian classroom. Since the 20th century, educational interventions by the state—first through NER (1994), and later by Law 070 (2010)—attempted to address these mechanisms. Despite these well-intentioned interventions, during the late 20th century, language planning and policy—in a country that received so much aid (in donations and loans) as Bolivia did—was invariably infused with the ideologies of international agencies, which in turn were heavily influenced by the global discourse around BIE.

Since 1990, 11 major international cooperation agencies have played (and, in some cases, are still playing) an active role in educational development in Bolivia, each making provisions for BIE in their mission statements (see Appendix E). These donors' mission statements around BIE represent a renewed focus on new opportunities for recuperating and reaffirming indigenous identity, a response to alienating, top-down approaches to education development pre-1990. Of the 11 agencies that have played or are still playing a role in educational development projects in Bolivia, four are multilateral organizations and seven are bilateral. All 11 international donors have played

a pivotal role in reform processes across contemporary reform eras in Bolivia, with overlap occurring between donor and national political ideology, made apparent through interconnection of discourses across global and national levels.

As mentioned in the previous section on existing global discourses in education post-1990s, a corpus of so-called global, capital "D" discourses (Fairclough, 2010) and ideologies were promoted during this era, including the rights of children, rights of Indigenous peoples, access to quality education, linguistic rights, and the valorization of heritage cultures. The mission discourses from various donors reflect this global trend. However, international donor discourse fluctuates in ideology and, thus, varies in its alignment with policy.

During the 2000s, in the context of a modest "surge" of global policies occurring in the backdrop of Law 070 (2010), international education development models have promoted new and different development discourse. This type of discourse suggests a

> …redistribution of power from the domestic and foreign stakeholders who normally formulate development policy in heavily indebted countries to marginalized communities traditionally excluded from the policy process. (Vavrus & Seghers, 2010, p. 78)

The changing discourse in education reform models nationally occurs in tandem with the changing image of Bolivia before the global development community. Thus, substantive changes within institution-building processes in Bolivia have suggested a paradigm shift in national education reform.

In summary, so-called capital "D" discourses (Fairclough, 2010) or ideologies at the global level around bilingual, intercultural education (BIE) in postcolonial Bolivia have paradoxically proven both influential and detrimental. Problematic development projects with assumptions about the postcolonial condition merits deeper examination.

Wider discourses supporting Indigenous peoples with the right and access to quality

education (inclusive of linguistic rights) that intersect with education development

initiatives from donor agencies that demonstrate alignment (or lack thereof) with national

politics also raise important points from which to draw key implications.

The latter position described has proven too dependent on politics, rendering

education development and poverty reduction initiatives mere instruments of power,

where civil society is but a puppet of forceful governments, bending at will. This picture

of the role of NGOs stands in contrast to the intended role of NGOs, lauded for their

strengths as,

> …innovative and grassroots driven organisations with the desire and capacity to
> pursue participatory and people centred forms of development and to fill gaps left
> by the failure of states across the developing world in meeting the needs of their
> poorest citizens. (Banks & Hulme, 2012, p. 2)

Thus, policies at the international level offer promising opportunities to interact with

national level policymakers, co-constructing educational development projects that are

not developed at the expense of the most necessitated citizens, and not developed for

political gain to advance the position of donor agencies on the global scene, but, rather,

developed with the interest of language minorities and Indigenous peoples in mind.

Findings for the research question, "How do they [practices and ideologies

maintained by international donors] intersect with practices and ideologies at the national

level?" as analyzed above, illuminate the specific ways political or economic contexts

shape and, in some cases, constrict or support national educational policy. However, this

shaping is also occurring the other way around, and we see evidence of national level

"push-back" in the following section on meso-level findings. Below, I analyze the final

question applied to this level, addressing the diversity dimension at the macro-level.

How is diversity approached by global institutions and international donor

agencies at the macro- level? To address the fourth question at the international (macro)

level, I focus on non-empirical findings since I did not collect data at this level. Instead, I

focus on three central texts at the global level. First, I examine global policy text, The

Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights (1996), the cornerstone policy furthering the

rights of endangered or heritage language speakers worldwide. Second, I examine

emergent paradigms in the 21st century that promote diversity of language and culture, as

well as equal rights, such as "biocultural diversity" and "quality of life." Finally, I

examine the particular donor agency discourse around diversity in the context of Bolivian

education reform from aid organizations, such as the Japan International Cooperation

Agency (JICA) and the Danish Development Cooperation (DANIDA). The first and

second texts are situated in a post-1990 diversity discourse context, whereas the third

grouping of texts are situated in a post-2000 paradigm of educational reform, particularly

with respect to the diversity dimension.

Drawing from central theory, language revitalization in postcolonial contexts, I

underscore the neoliberal trend in promoting respect for diversity. This trend operates in a

way that paradoxically reproduces the existing class hierarchies of power through global

emphasis on economic and political interest in local education development. For instance,

UNESCO's Universal Declaration on Linguistic Rights (1996) is a consequence of global

defense of cultural diversity ignited by interests of the state and the global market, both

mobilized for a common objective. The Declaration, the "most significant attempt to

internationally codify treatment of languages" (Moormann-Kimáková, 2015, p. 2), builds

off several global policy documents that promote equal rights and protection, including

the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) of 1948.[88]

The latter document, the document under analysis here, supports the language-as-right (Ruiz, 1984) paradigm, pronouncing its alignment with ideological discourse of linguistic and cultural diversity. The Declaration proposes certain inalienable personal rights, such as:

> the right to be recognized as a member of a language community; the right to the use of one's own language both in private and in public; the right to the use of one's own name;

> the right to interrelate and associate with other members of one's language community of origin;

> the right to maintain and develop one's own culture (Article 3, Preliminary Title, *Concepts,* The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1996, p. 4).

Though these are worthy goals and rights to live and govern by, the Declaration raises questions about language use in a globalized and postcolonial context: what, if any, is the "optimal language regime" (Moormann-Kimáková, 2015, p. 6) for a multilingual setting? The assumption that the existence of an "optimal" language regime is possible worldwide points to politics of language and the hegemony of a global lingua franca. Ricento (2014) examines inequalities between global and local languages, criticizing the adoption of a language rights paradigm in low-income countries surmising, "they are difficult to implement as a result of the legacy of colonialism, coupled with the effects of transnational economic forces" (p. 41).

In the early 1990s, this condition of inequality was exacerbated by globalizing forces, and reinforced by dominant narratives of "biocultural diversity" in a linguistic and

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[88] In turn, the International Labour Organization (ILO) policy concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries (1989) builds off the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1996), highlighting interdiscursivity between texts.

cultural context, as well as through homogenizing discourse of "quality" in an education context. The two emergent paradigms in the late 20th century that promote diversity of language and culture and equal rights are examined below.

In global capitalism, the emerging trope of "linguistic rights," established a relationship between linguistic and cultural diversity and biodiversity. This link at the beginning of the 1990s was established and promoted in the newly created interdisciplinary field, "biocultural diversity" (Harmon, 1996; Maffi, 2002; Oviedo et al., 2000; Skutnabb-Kangas, & Phillipson, 2000). However, this trope was viewed by its critics as a continuation or as an extension of the global market's approach to multiculturalism. Through identification of a new field of study that emerged from globalization, leading to language revitalization themes that promoted diversity as a mobilized form of social inclusion, multiculturalism problematically became commodified and essentialized. Digging a bit deeper, however, the underlying language ideologies within these themes actually revealed broader discourses of language, identity, and power.

Another example of uncovered power inbalances in homogenizing discourse lies in the global discourse of "quality of life," as defined within the international Millennium Development Goals (MDG). Goal two of the MDG, "to achieve universal primary education" (www.un.org), is a goal that directly relates to access and quality in education for those most vulnerable, which in Bolivia translates to rural Indigenous students. Thus, for international donors with education projects in Bolivia, this difference in access means allocating resources to promoting "quality" education for Indigenous students, with wide interpretations by local stakeholders and policymakers about how these

projects are designed and implemented.

Finally, the particular donor agency discourse around diversity in the context of Bolivian education reform from aid organizations is examined in this section, revealing contradictions between ideologies in education projects in Bolivia, in particular with respect to the diversity dimension, as conceived by international donor agencies. For example, on the one hand, DANIDA's central aim to "promote basic education, bilingual education and technical education relevant to the labour market," (www.um.dk) is explicit evidence that the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affair's ideological position is aligned with a market emphasis in education.

On the other hand, JICA's central aim includes capital "D" discourse of bilingual, intercultural education (BIE), and a focus on addressing diversity in education, which the Japanese agency deems "high quality," doesn't show evidence, at least not explicitly, that JICA's position is aligned with market ideology in education (see Appendix E, International donor discourse on BIE). Thus, divergent ideologies, explicitly or implicitly focusing on the global market's ideological approach to "multiculturalism" and tacitly or overtly approaching diversity through BIE and "quality" education, reflect varied philosophical and practical approaches.

Post-2000, a complex relationship between donor and national governments is reflected through increasing government ownership, and the promotion of donor alignment and coordination with national players. However, varied understandings of what promotion of diversity means points to various outcomes, such as government monopoly over diversity initiatives, with donors bending at will to political ideology. Paradoxically, in this reform era context, a capitalist system of accumulation is being

promoted, albeit implicitly, while the promotion of anti-capitalist ideology is also (explicitly) promoted. Thus, there is a push and pull force between these opposing ideologies in contemporary reform, creating tensions between policy and practice, between reformers and policy implementers.

Ultimately, this polarizing force opens up space for the reproduction of the colonial structures of oppression (Rivera Cusicanqui, 2012), and closes off, or severely limits, "agentive spaces" (Hornberger, 2009) for diverse and marginalized social actors. At this macro-level, analysis focuses on the "tensions, ambiguities, and paradoxes" (Hornberger, 2013, p. 111) of disparate language ideologies, while the "spill-over" effect of these ideologies onto national and local players highlights the importance of examining language policy using a contextualized discourse analytic approach.

Having described results of data presented at the macro-level of analysis, contextualizing national policy discourses, particularly the diversity dimension, within a wider, international context, now I turn to examination of perceptions of local actors, as policy "moves" across the national (meso) level, also highlighting the diversity dimension. Thus, two questions are addressed below: "What is the policy discourse around diversity at the national (meso) level?" And, "How is diversity in education approached at this level by a higher education administrator, as well as a church and a ministry official?"

Meso level: Movement of Educational Policy Discourse at the National Level

Drawing from the notion that "decolonization is not a metaphor" (Tuck & Yang, 2012), this analysis extends the unsettling theme, which will be defined here and used as a conceptual framework. A pillar concept of Law 070 (2010), "decolonization," proposes

revolutionizing education through "decolonial" approaches to education. Embedded in the concept of "decolonial" approaches is the idea of introducing diversity in schools through the "interculturaism" and "productive" and "communitarian" education. However, education policy Law 070 too easily and superficially adopts "decolonization" at its ideological axis, proving that, in this settler-colonial context, "decolonization" is merely a metaphor.

Tuck and Yang (2012) propose that "the easy absorption, adoption, and transposing of decolonization is yet another form of settler appropriation" (p. 3). The outcome of such an approximation, Tuck and Yang (2012) suggest, is that an easy absorption of decolonization, "allows people to equivocate these contradictory decolonial desires because it turns decolonization into an empty signifier to be filled by any track towards liberation" (p. 7). Furthering critique of postcolonial thinking embedded in this decolonization critique is the notion of "internal colonialism" (Rivera Cusicanqui, 2012; Tuck & Yang, 2012), which is defined as an "arboreal structure articulated within the centers of power" (Rivera Cusicanqui, 2012, p. 101). The contention lies in the internal articulation of this power in ways that reproduce external domination.

Analysis at the national level extends the unsettling theme of "decolonization is not a metaphor" within "postcolonial" Bolivia by examining what the discourse is, analyzed comparatively across two reform eras. However, since the meso level includes many local actors, it is crucial to understand who they are first (see Figure 5.0).
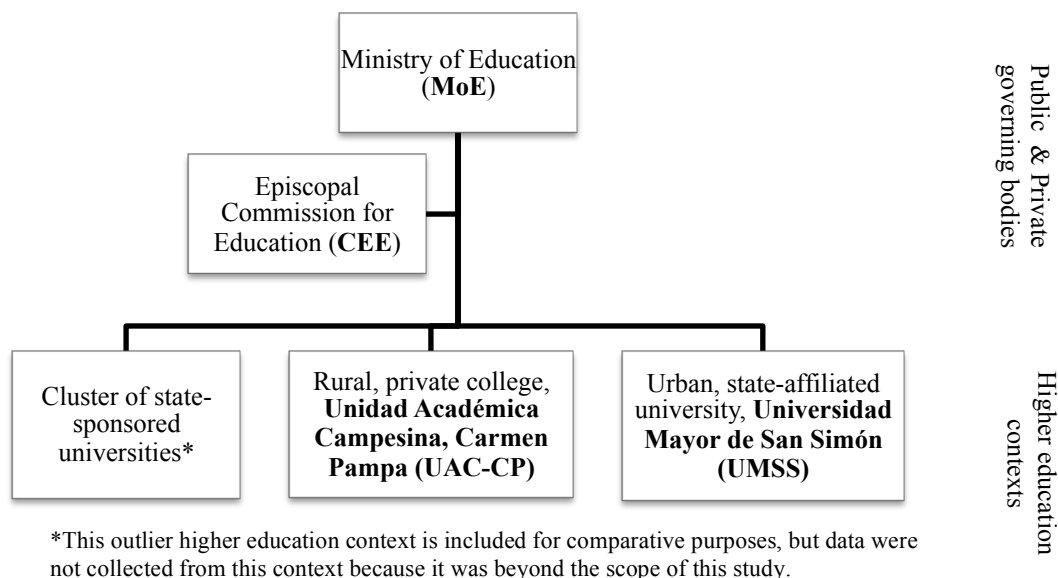
Figure 5.0: *Local actors (policymakers and policy implementers) at the national level*

At the top of the hierarchy in Figure 5.0 is the central policymaker, the MoE, followed by the second most important policymaker, the CEE, or the educational arm of the Catholic Church. Located below the MoE and the CEE are the policy implementers, or three higher education contexts. Having introduced the meso-level players and the conceptual underpinnings employed in analysis at the meso-level, I now address the second question in this study, "What is policy discourse about diversity at the national (meso) level?"

What is the policy discourse around diversity at the meso- level? In this next section, policy discourse across public and private governing institutions, and across higher education contexts in Bolivia, are examined. In particular, how policy discourse creates or negates "agentive spaces" (Hornberger, 2009) for multilingual and intercultural education—as conceived and performed by critical voices at the meso (national) level.

In this section, two complementary and central concepts in Law 070 (2010) and

NER (1994) are analyzed: "decolonization" and "inclusion." Ideological reshaping is proposed to take place in education across two distinct but complementary reform eras, through these concepts of "decolonization" and "inclusion." Analyzing ideologies across two reform eras is part of a *transversality of comparison*, underscoring the commonalities and differences between the two policies that represent divergent ideas in multilingual, intercultural education reform to highlight gaps and inconsistencies in policy. For example, despite the fact that "decolonization" discourse is being positioned as an ideological rupture from the past, both policies present contradictions and tensions between policy and practice. Law 070 (2010) fails to adopt implementation strategies and meaningful spaces for "decolonization" within schools, while NER's (1994) "inclusion" discourse is defined ambiguously and narrowly, promoting essentialization of the "other."

The concept of social and cultural *"inclusion"* centers on incorporating marginalized groups through language-in-education and the revaluing of minoritized culture in education, which NER (1994) and Law 070 (2010) both support. By promoting actions that eliminate discrimination or other forms of intolerance and rejection in education, the Ministry of Education (MoE), through these two policies, support social inclusion in education. However, social inclusion discourses are different across policies. Drawing from policy text (see Table 7.0), I outline the main differences and similarities between two discourses constructed by the MoE, (e.g., "inclusion" and "decolonization,") across policies.

Table 7.0: *Comparison of "Inclusion" and "Decolonization" Across Policies*
Translated by author from the original (see Appendix G)

National Education Reform (1994)	Law 070 (2010)
Title 1: Education in Bolivia, Only Chapter: Bases and Objectives of Education; Article 2, #3	Chapter 2: Bases, Aims and Objectives of Education; Article 3: Foundations of Educ, #1

01 Promotes the practice of human values and	It is decolonizing, liberating, revolutionary
02 ethical standards universally recognized, as well	anti-imperialist, depatriarchalizing, and
03 as our own cultures, fostering accountability in	transformative of economic and social
04 making personal decisions, the development of	structures; oriented to the cultural
05 critical thinking, respect for and human rights,	reaffirmation of Indigenous nations and native
06 preparing for a biological sexuality ethically sound,	Indigenous peoples, intercultural and Afro-
07 as the basis for a responsible family life, a sense of	Bolivian communities, in the construction of
08 duty and willingness to democratic life, strengthening	the Plurinational State and of Living Well.
09 the social consciousness of personhood and belonging	
10 to the community.	

Discourses of "decolonization" are associated with Law 070. The bases, aims, and objectives of education (lines 1–2, Table 7.0) state, "It is decolonizing, liberating, revolutionary, anti-imperialist, depatriarchalizing, etc." This text presents the purposes of "decolonization" (lines 3–4, Table 7.0) as being "transformative of economic and social structures," which also assumes the educational structure. In addition, the intended audience of this policy text is named as being "oriented to the cultural reaffirmation of Indigenous nations and native Indigenous peoples, intercultural and Afro-Bolivian communities" (lines 4–7, Table 7.0).

These three categories of ethnocultural groups in Bolivia, such as Indigenous peoples, "intercultural," and Afro-Bolivian communities, represent varying identities, which are labeled ambiguously or clearly. "Native Indigenous peoples" and "Indigenous nations" (lines 5–6, Table 7.0) include a broad set of parameters of ethnocultural identity, ambiguously indicative of a diverse group. "Afro-Bolivian" is clearly indicative of one ethnocultural group. "Intercultural," on the other hand, is the only identity that is not defined. Does "intercultural" mean "mestizo" or "white" or something else?

NER's (1994) Bases and objectives of education speak to the "humanistic education" approach, which aims to prepare students with critical thinking and evidence-based inquiry traditions (rationalism, empiricism, etc.), but also seeks engagement of the

"whole" person. The approach's objective is to foster a student's feeling life, their social capacities, as well as artistic and practical skills. The "humanistic education" approach is illustrated through terms such as "human values," "ethical standards," "accountability in making personal decisions," "respect for human rights," "preparing for biological sexuality," "sense of duty and willingness to democratic life," and "belonging to the community" (lines 5–10, Table 7.0). NER (1994) defines the "humanistic education" approach by promoting ethics, values, critical thinking, and family planning, among other "inclusive" processes and practices.

However, "inclusion," as a principle or approach, is never explicitly stated in NER. The "inclusion" approach is implied with the statement, "promotes the practice of human values and ethical standards" (lines 1-2, Table 7.0), with the caveat, "universally recognized." This caveat is ambiguous, since "universal" suggests uniformity of thought and tradition, a notion that "inclusion" (in the social sense) does not assume. Also, "belonging to the community" (lines 9–10, Table 7.0) could be read in various ways.

Whose community is suggested here? If "belonging" is defined as assimilation, then this is not an "inclusive" or "decolonizing" approach at all. Thus, the ambiguity of language in policy text excerpts illustrated above, with the examples provided in Law 070 (2010) and NER (1994), highlights tacit and explicit approaches to social inclusion, with unintended consequences for stakeholders. It is in this policy discourse context that the question of uptake or resistance to policy by higher education institutions is described. To organize these findings, three groupings or patterns in responses were found: "resistant," "ambivalent," or "receptive."

Below, the Figure 5.1 illustrates the direction of policy text movement across

three higher education contexts, moving from "resistant" to "ambivalent" to "receptive" of policy discourse, but it does not suggest a logical progression in responses to policy.

Resistant: UMSS; PROEIB-Andes	Ambivalent: UAC-CP	Receptive: State-sponsored universities
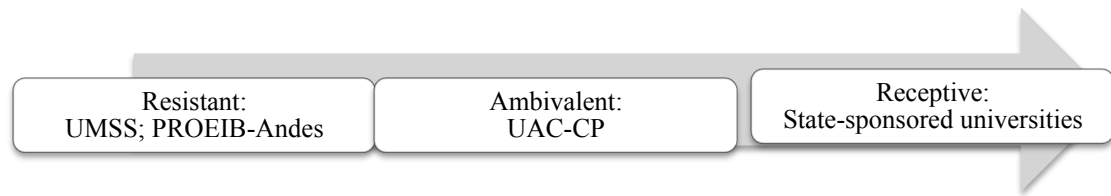
Figure 5.1: *Making sense of Law 070 across three higher education contexts*

Figure 5.1 illustrates the level of adoption of policy that each institution takes, from "resistance" on one end, to full "adoption" on the opposite end, to falling somewhere in between, representing an "ambivalent" position. The progression in meaning-making processes does not suggest a hierarchical relationship; each position is equal to each other. The stand-alone positions illustrated in Figure 5.1 do not entirely represent existing complex relationships between positions.

Overall, participants at the higher education level hold their positions within the three examples firmly, with one exception. This paradox between firmly-held positions and wavering, shifting positions is evidence of the creative spaces made by policy implementers. Perceptions by participants at the institutional level might open or close up agentive spaces (Hornberger, 2009), reflective of political and ideological alignment with policy. Results show that the participants' positions are held firmly, except for the "ambivalent" stance held by actors at UAC-CP, which is not an uncommon response held by local actors. As data illustrate, these three positions hold contradictions and multiple competing responses to Law 070.

In the following section, I will address the fourth question, drawing from central theories in postcolonial policy themes described above. At the national level, local actors'

resistance or uptake of the Law suggests that "internal colonialism in terms of knowledge-power" (Rivera Cusicanqui, 2012, p. 104) is reproducing hegemonic discourse, especially around diversity. Thus, I draw from themes in postcolonial policy studies as the central theory. The fourth question, applied to the meso level of analysis, or "How is diversity understood across the meso level?" is addressed below, from the perspective of local players, including the policymaker (e.g., the MoE and the CEE) and the policy implementer (e.g., two higher education institutions).

How is diversity understood at the meso-level? The ways that diversity is conceptualized at the meso-level are discussed below from the perspective of three local players. To begin the discussion, I examine how the most important policymaker, the Ministry of Education (MoE), defines diversity. Second, the ways that the Episcopal Commission for Education (CEE) conceptualizes diversity are examined. Finally, the ways that the higher education sector at two insitutions approach diversity are discussed. The two institutions include a private, rural college, UAC-CP, and its urban, public counterpart, PROEIB-Andes; both are discussed in the "horizontality of comparison."

The Bolivian Ministry of Education (MoE). To begin with, I examine two central policy discourses proposed by the MoE: "pluralism" from Law 070 (2010) and "diversity" from NER (1994), troubling how national policies define and use these concepts, thus troubling how the MoE approaches diversity in education. The comparison of how diversity is approached across two national policies primarily sheds light on how problematic approaches to socially-inclusive education persists, but also implies possibilities and strides made across policy eras.

To illustrate the contradictory repsonses to approaching diversity, I analyze the

language in education policy itself, supporting the idea of "ecological approaches" in policy studies that are used to, "explore the ideologies underlying multilingual language policies" (Hornberger, 2002, p. 27). Moreover, these policies create or negate "agentive spaces" (Hornberger, 2009) for multilingual education that are being conceived and performed by critical voices at the meso level.

For instance, the language around "diversity" in NER (1994) is not intended to be neutral, and thus the policymaker's understanding of this concept is clear and intentional, promoting meaningful and efficient adoption of policy. On the contrary, the language around "pluralism" in Law 070 is fuzzy and undefined, promoting resistance to policy among frustrated implementers. Thus, distinguishing what concepts mean as diversity rhetoric gets constructed, with overt or covert approaches to diversity, highlights how policy discourse shapes degree of stakeholder adoption of policy.

The dominant discourses of "diversity" and "pluralism" are complex notions in policy that produce multiple interpretations by those it is intended to benefit. How social actors perceive policy versus how policymakers intend policy discourses to be interpreted is further examined here and throughout this chapter as well. "Diversity" and "pluralism" are related concepts that are grouped together here because of their similar meanings and purposes, and their multiple meanings to different people.

"Pluralism" can be seen as an outcome of or is in engagement with "diversity," defined as a point of difference. However, both discourses are also starkly different in ideology across reform eras (see Table 7.1). To follow, diversity discourses across reform eras are analyzed through document analysis and through a stakeholder interview.

Table 7.1: *Comparison of "Diversity" and "Pluralism" Across Policies*
Translated by author from the original (see Appendix G)

National Education Reform (1994)	Law 070 (2010)
Title 1: Education in Bolivia, Only Chapter: Bases and Objectives of Education; Article 1, #5–6	Title I: Philosophical and Political Framework of Bolivian education, #5–6

11 *It is intercultural and bilingual, because it assumes* 12 *the cultural diversity of the country in an atmosphere* 13 *of respect among all Bolivians, men and women* 14	*It is unitary, public, universal, democratic,* *participatory, communitarian, decolonizing* *and of quality*
15 *It is the right and duty of every Bolivian, because* 16 *it is organized and developed with participation of the* 17 *whole society without restriction or discrimination of* 18 *race, culture, region, social, physical, mental,* 19 *sensory status, gender, creed or age.*	*It is intracultural, intercultural and* *multilingual throughout the education system*

"Pluralism" is the theory of society as having several autonomous but interdependent groups that share equal power. Connecting this idea to "diversity," assumes a "diversity" of social and cultural backgrounds, which is definitely present in the Bolivian education system, as promoted in Law 070. Law 070 (2010) promotes "intracultural, intercultural and multilingual" education (lines 15–16, Table 7.1), with a clear non-neutral stance. The ideological focus of Law 070 does not assume neutrality in its understanding of the concepts of diversity and pluralism. Below, two articles in the Law's Philosophical and political framework of education chapter are examined.

Law 070 (2010) paradoxically assumes neutrality in diversity discourse, under the section titled, "The philosophical and political framework of education." Despite the fact that the so-called progressive conceptual underpinnings of Law 070 (e.g., "participatory," "communitarian," and "decolonizing") share conceptual aims and are in solidarity with new Indigenous rights movements in Bolivia and across Latin America, Law 070 assumes a certain type of ethnocultural identification with Indigenous audiences. Law 070 references and targets a traditionally "Indigenous" audience, yet it has excluded the large segment of the population that identifies as "mixed-race" or Mestizo, with wide and varied understandings of what this social construction means.

NER (1994) references Bilingual Intercultural Education (BIE) as, "intercultural and bilingual…" yet the absence of "bilingual" in Law 070 (2010) is noticeable. "Bilingual" assumes a bicultural and mixed-race population in this context, whereas "multilingual," in this context, assumes a monolithic representation of diversity, where different ethnic groups never mix or share linguistic and cultural traits. The discursive turns in policy text are reflective of competing repsonses to approaching diversity in education, depending on the state's ideology. Thus, localized approaches to studying policy, particularly in Bolivia, are critical to highlight the "tensions, ambiguities, and paradoxes" (Hornberger, 2013, p. 111) of disparate language ideologies coming from the ground up, but also from top-down, as bottom-up policy approaches and unproblematic language ideologies are not mutually exclusive.

NER (1994) identified its aim with its own brand of pluralism or diversity discourse (Lines 16–19, Table 7.1) as: "organized and developed with participation of the whole society without restriction or discrimination of race, culture, region, social, physical, mental, sensory status, gender, creed or age." This difference in defining concepts points to different ideological emphases, but also points to types of language structures employed by two ideologically different policy texts. NER (1994) was also designed and constructed in a "participatory" way, albeit differently than Law 070 (2010) which counted on varied actors' input (e.g., not only teachers, but all social, economic and political sectors that deal with education). NER (1994) counted on the role of teachers, but church officials and indigenous council leaders were minor compared to involvement of international lending organizations through a transnational taskforce.

Through discussion of the concepts "pluralism" and "diversity," it is evident how political and ideological discourses are constructed differently across reform eras, in contradictory and competing ways. The explicit and tacit approaches to approaching "diversity" in education is illustrated below through an interview with the MoE official, Jorge, the Director of the *Instituto de Investigaciones Pedagógicas Plurinacional* (IIPP) or Plurinational Education Research Institute. He grappled with incongruous notions in policy, highlighting tensions between policy ideas and their relevance for diverse youth.

Excerpt 1: *Jorge; member Plurinational Education Research Institute, August, 2014*

	Original	
01	Martina	¿Cómo tienen previsto "enganchar" al público; como los estudiantes, o los profes, la
02		comunidad etc., con estos conceptos—ya sea socio productivo, intra/intercultural,
03		descolonizador, comunitario, productivo, porque hay muchas perspectivas e
04		interpretaciones de estos conceptos por parte del publico, no?
05	Jorge	Es un momento donde, claro, esto que es recuperación de saberes, descolonización,
06		potenciamiento de las lenguas indígenas—probablemente no tenga una recepción tan
07		adecuada en niños y jóvenes que están viviendo otro tipo de procesos de socialización,
08		otro tipo de acercamiento a la tecnología o otro tipo de código [social], etc
	English translation	
01	Martina	What is the [Ministry's] plan to engage the public, such as students, the teachers, or the
02		community with these concepts, such as socio productive education, intra/intercultural,
03		decolonization, and communitarian education? Because there are many perspectives and
04		interpretations of these concepts by various stakeholders, right?
05	Jorge	It is a moment where, of course, this that is the the recuperation of knowledges,
06		decolonization, potentializing Indigenous languages—it probably doesn't have as adequate
07		a reception in children and adolescents that are living other types of socialization processes
08		or another type of closeness to technology, or another type of [social] code, etc.

For instance, Jorge grappled with how "decolonization" in education, through emphasis on Indigenous worldviews and languages, and a cognizant decentering of Western espistemologies, probably doesn't have the same intended benefit for Indigenous students (lines 5–7, Excerpt 1) as the MoE assumes. This assumption, Jorge critiques, doesn't account for different educational, social, and technological experiences held and privileged by these students (lines 7–8, Excerpt 1). Thus, Jorge's reflection on divergent ideas about "diversity" (e.g., Indigenous students' valuing of technical and marketable

skills in a global context over the MoE's valuing of linguistic, cultural and philosophical skills in a colonial context) underscores the tension between policy and practice.

The Episcopal Commission for Education (CEE). The other policymaker, the CEE, as represented by the CEE's Executive Director, Humberto, understands diversity in accordance with Law 070 in problematic and contentious ways. Humberto contended that *students at rural colleges* [interchangeable with *Indigenous students*] should develop within Law 070 (2010) according to their own identities [as Indigenous peoples] within globalizing times, or as "Aymara of the 21st and 22nd centuries" (Line 3, Excerpt 1), using celebratory and dominant narratives of globalization. These narratives are problematic because they assume homogeneity across developing countries and within specific regions (Tikly, 2001). In Excerpt 1, Humberto revealed his ideal of the "new" Bolivian identity of an Aymara person, equating this person with "modern" (Lines 3–6).

Excerpt 1: *Humberto, CEE Executive Director, December 2013*

	Original	
01	Martina	¿La ley habla de reconocer los conocimientos propios y universales. Cómo se deben
02		desenvolver las unidades académicas y universidades dentro de esta propuesta?
03	Humberto	Claro, tienen [los estuidantes] que ser aymaras del siglo XXI, del siglo XXII. Entonces,
04		encontrar la identidad en este nuevo tiempo, porque la cultura viva es la cultura que se
05		transforma, la cultura que se adapta. ¿No? Y hay que ser ciudadanos del siglo XXI con
06		identidad propia. ¿No?
	English translation	
01	Martina	The law speaks of recognizing local and universal knowledges. How should rural colleges
02		and other universities develop within this proposal?
03	Humberto	Sure, they [college students] have to be Aymara of the XXI and the XXII century. So,
04		finding an identity in this new era, because the living culture is the culture that transforms,
05		the culture that adapts, right? And, you have to be a citizen of the 21st century with your
06		own identity, right?

This identity, he contends, is malleable, both "adapting" and "transforming" (lines 4–5, Excerpt 1) to social change. While Humberto's association of an Aymara person as "modern" (and not stereotypically "backward") is laudable and resistant of engrained assumptions about the "other," paradoxically his definition of "Indigenous" and

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"modern" is limited. Humberto's identity discourse feels rigid, reifying the idea of a "unified, rational self" (Freitas et al., 1997), rather than a more nuanced conceptualization of identity. In Excerpt 2, Humberto added, "I hope they find it [new identity]" (line 1), revealing a tension with his views.

Excerpt 2: *Humberto, CEE Executive Director, December 2013*

	Original
01	Ojalá lo consigan, pero, todo en el país parece favorecer a eso, no? Ser feliz a la boliviana.
02	Claro—eso, cinco estrellas a la boliviana, no una estrella, no? Es eso, ¿no? No, pues, por
03	eso—y, yo lo que digo es, la iglesia católica tiene que implementar la ley Avelino y hacer
04	un Avelino Siñani de cinco estrellas
	English translation
01	I hope they [students] find it [new identity], but everything in the country seems to favor
02	that, right? Being happy, Bolivian-style. Sure, that—five stars Bolivian-style, not one star,
03	right? That is it, right? Not, then why, and what I'm saying is, the Catholic Church has to
04	implement the Law and make Law Avelino Siñani five stars.

Social change, according to Humberto, seems to "favor" the "new Bolivian" identity (Line 1, Excerpt 2), easing anxiety around the unpredictability of social change. The trendy "new Bolivian" discourse is supported by a capitalist approach to educational development, a discourse which deflects uneasiness or tensions about how identity develops and is sustained over time. Humberto even commodified the "new Bolivian" identity by attributing a market value to education. He adopts a rating or evaluation system, proposing rating identity with attached "stars," along a five-point scale (Line 2, Excerpt 2).

Humberto measures what it means to be a "happy" Bolivian, which gets conflated with "consumer" and, it is assumed, with being a "good capitalist." Here, Humberto reproduces the dominant discourse of development and problematic approaches to diversity as being linked to economic, not academic or social value. As such, he uses a problematic metaphor of education by comparing the education system to hotel industry with its service ratings, and compares Indigenous students with hotel guests. He equates a

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greater number of stars to indicate greater luxury or better "quality" education, in particular multicultural education.

With this metaphor, the Director of the CEE assumes diversity is a flattened representation of a group of students that can (and should) be commodified; however, this discourse is not unusual. Humberto's identity discourse, with its attached rating system, speaks to another social actor's "text": a student's interview excerpt (see next section of this chapter for analysis of Marco's complete text). Thus, Humberto asserts the market value of education, aligning the Church's curricular aims and ideology with the MoE's objectives of developing consumers of a market economy (Taylor, 2004), evidence of the politicization (and religification) of education reform.

In summary, Humberto's ideology suggests alignment with those precepts of Law 070 that propose formation of a "new Bolivian," (read: a globalized Indigenous citizen), yet he also has limited understandings of what being Indigenous means or how complex identity formation is. Thus, there is a tension in Humberto's discourse between "neoliberal" versus "anti-neoliberal" approaches to education (e.g., market versus non-market based), and between "critical" multiculturalism versus "symbolic" diversity ideologies.

Unidad Académica Campesina-Carmen Pampa (UAC-CP). Turning now to one of the two focal higher education insitutions at the meso level, UAC-CP, I address the question of how is diversity understood, as applied to this institution. The UAC-CP student profile is connected to socioeconomic status and, by default, to the students' linguistic and cultural backgrounds; most of UAC-CP's students are of Indigenous heritage, though many students do not self-identify as Indigenous. However, UAC-CP's

mission discourse is evidently less neutral and more closely aligned with NER's humanistic educational approach, or with Law 070's technical-humanistic education approach. Economic development, central to the College's vision, is a greater focus than the vision of promoting community service and improving social justice.

Although UAC-CP is not currently adopting Law 070 curricularly, it is adopting notions of this reform paradigm. Thus, how different ideologies are positioned within UAC's educational aims parallel Law 070 rhetoric, as they have done in the past. UAC-CP's contradictory educational and religious discourse is focused on creating skilled workers in service of God *and* as critical thinkers that value transformative education. UAC-CP is not positioned as a state-sponsored Indigenous university that espouses pro-Indigenous ideology, or as a public university that contests and resists state-level rhetoric in education; the College informally supports ideological principles of *both* paradigms.

Given real political pressures to align with state ideology, UAC-CP might be suffering an identity crisis as an institution. In Excerpt 1, the College's Director, John, seemed to waver in his perception about applying policy to this rural college.

Excerpt 1: *John, UAC-CP Director, December 2013*

		Original
01	John	Administratively, we believe that eventually the Ministry of Education will ask our
02		professors and probably also our administrators to do some kind of training so that
03		we are *empapados* or what is the word, more kind of, *submerged* in the whole idea
04		that is the foundation for Avelino Siñani Elizardo Pérez…Yeah 'cause it is—I think
05		it is a great, I think it is a great thing… I mean it [ideology] can also be taken to an
06		extreme.

Foreshadowing a growing MoE presence, he offered his opinion cautiously. Rethinking his response in light of social change in Bolivia, he sided with policy ideology, but then also added in retrospect, "it [ideology] can also be taken to an extreme" (lines 5–6, Excerpt 1). Referencing a visit to the College by faculty and staff

from a state-sponsored University,[89] John first offered the downside of political ideology,

paradoxically followed by the promotion and a valuing of ideological education.

Excerpt 2: *John, UAC-CP Director, December 2013*

		Original
01	John	Obviously, also, we create myths to describe who we are and where we came from
02		but I do not think that is a useful myth for Bolivia right now. And there is a danger of
03		swinging too far that way…but I think in the past we have swung too close to these
04		ideals that colonial based education is somehow superior to Indigenous or more
05		Bolivian-oriented education because obviously also cultures are not monoliths; they
06		are constantly shifting and changing and evolving.

John's first assertions that leftist ideology in education is "not a useful myth for

Bolivia right now" or that "there is a danger in swinging too far that way" (Lines 2–3,

Excerpt 2) are canceled by his second assertion about ideology of diversity. He states, "I

think in the past we have swung too close to these ideals that colonial-based education is

somehow superior to Indigenous or more Bolivian-centered education" (Lines 3–5,

Excerpt 2). The assimilatory approaches in education that John references are particularly

evident in the official language of instruction in postcolonial Bolivian schools, where

language of instruction is used as an instrument of power, in explicit and implicit ways

(Benson, 2004; Contreras, & Talavera-Simoni, 2003; Luykx, 1999). However, in a

globalized era, the same assimilatory approaches reinforce each other in over or covert

ways (Hornberger & López, 1998; Regalsky & Laurie, 2007; Taylor, 2004), an issue not

emphasized by John.

Rather, John focuses on how subjective and complex the diversity dimension is.

John contends, "…obviously also cultures are not monoliths; they are constantly shifting

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[89] State-sponsored, five-year, bachelor-degree granting, teacher-training institute/university, *Instituto Superior de Formación de Maestros*, Superior Teacher Training Institute, in Santiago de Huata (in *Altiplano* or high plateau region) made a campus visit to UAC-CP. Presenters included faculty who talked about how this institution had implemented Law 070 into their curriculum. The lecture was held for all students, faculty, and staff from the Education Department at UAC-CP, as well as any interested others (author included). The Education Department organized the lecture and visit.

and changing and evolving" (Lines 5–6, Excerpt 2). John's reflection about identity

highlights Freitas et al.'s (1997) disturbing of rigid characterization of identity formation,

proposing instead the need to negotiate border spaces that lead to looser and more

nuanced conceptualizations of identity. Thus, drawing from this theory, students'

identities at UAC-CP resist the idea of a "unified, rational self" (Freitas et al., 1997).

Church-affiliated UAC-CP is an exception to the private institution profile in that

the geographic location of UAC-CP (rural Bolivia) automatically assumes an Indigenous

population. This institution is an exception to private institutions in many regards, and the

implementation of policy at this site is likely to be equally exceptional. The ambivalence

that John presents shows evidence of a lack of definition about how to best approach

diversity at the College. In the "horizontality of comparison" below, I address the

question of how diversity is approached at Universidad Mayor San Simón (UMSS), an

urban and state-affiliated university.

PROEIB-Andes at Universidad Mayor San Simón (UMSS). The focal program of

study is the postgraduate *Maestría* program at PROEIB-Andes, housed at state-affiliated

university, Universidad Mayor San Simón (UMSS.) As will be discussed, despite the

institution's resistance to politicization of education policy, PROEIB-Andes has taken up

pillar concepts from Law 070 (2010), albeit under a different name.

Arguably, policy's central ideas are nothing new to the flagship institution. In

Figure 6.0 are PROEIB-Andes's Objectives, text designed to define the organization's

curricular and ideological purposes, written with intended audiences in mind at national

and international levels.

01   The development of competencies that permit transformative performance in practice and in real
02   multicultural contexts. In this way, the following methodological approaches are proposed: the
03   constitution of communities of mutual learning, an epistemological re-focus, and building

Figure 6.0: *"Program Objectives," PROEIB-Andes, n.d.*

The Indigenous education program aims to promote "transformative practice" within "real multicultural contexts," (lines 1–2, Figure 6.0), highlighting the institution's ideological stance. The language of PROEIB-Andes's aims echoes Law 070's (2010) pillar concepts of "communitarian" and "productive" education, albeit expressed as "methodological approaches" of "communities of mutual learning." Additionally, the institution's language echoes Law 070's "decolonization" and "interculturalism" discourse with, "epistemological re-focus" (line 3, Figure 8.1) and the aim of "building knowledge from a plural approach, and sensitivity to diversity" (line 4, Figure 6.0).

PROEIB-Andes's postgraduate program[90] implements these concepts through the development of two areas of professional development: specialization courses in BIE[91] and the Indigenous Educational Administration Program, which works in close proximity with Indigenous organizations.

The postgraduate program works closely in particular with the *Consejos Educativos de Pueblos Originarios de Bolivia* (CEPOs).[92] Asked to give his impressions of Law 070 (2010), Oscar, the Director of PROEIB-Andes, offered his critique, revealing major reservations. Specifically, he addressed how policy discourse problematically essentializes the "Indigenous" person.

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[90] PROEIB-Andes programs are financially supported by *La Fundación para la Educación en Contextos de Multilingüismo y Pluriculturalidad* (FUNPROEIB) or The Foundation for Education in Multilingual and Pluricultural Contexts, the NGO that funds the PROEIB-Andes *Maestría* program. The *Maestría* or postgraduate program is housed within *Universidad Mayor de San Simón* (UMSS), the primary public, state-funded institution in Cochabamba, Bolivia.
[91] Courses are offered in a joint effort between PROEIB-ANDES and Universidad Indígena Intercultural (UII), or Intercultural Indigenous University, a GTZ-funded pan-Indigenous University with campuses in Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Guatemala, Mexico, Nicaragua, and Peru. The headquarters are located at UMSS.
[92] Educational Councils of the Original Peoples of Bolivia is an organization created to strengthen the social participation base in Bolivian education, including concerns about teacher preparation and at the structural level, within the context of BIE (Arrueta and Avery, 2012).

Excerpt 1: *Oscar, PROEIB-Andes, Maestría Program Director, December 2013*

		Original
01	Martina	Cuál es tu lectura de la nueva Ley?
02	Oscar	Yo creo que la ley ha sido pensada de un modo bastante arcaico. Pese a que lo que dice:
03		proclive a lo que es el desarrollo mundial y todo eso, pero la forma, digamos, su espíritu
04		es bastante arcaico.
05	Martina	Por qué?
06	Oscar	Hay una nueva corriente de estudio, sobre esto de la "negociación de identidad." Resulta
07		que mucha gente [Indígena] tiene un acceso a la tecnología informática ¿no? Y tiene que
08		negociar, es realmente a través de una plática que no está mediada ni por el profesor, ni la
09		escuela, ni por nada, ¿no?—Es más o menos una especie de—iniciativa propia para ellos
10		ver un desafío que tienen.
		English translation
01	Martina	What is your reading of the new Law?
02	Oscar	I think that the Law has been thought of in a very archaic way. Despite what it says: prone
03		to what is world development and all that, but the form, let's say, in spirit, it's very archaic.
04	Martina	Why?
05	Oscar	There is current study about this that is "negotiation of identity." It turns out that many
06		[Indigenous] people have access to information technology, right? And, he/she has to
07		negotiate it. It is really through a type of rhetoric that is mediated, not by the teacher, not
08		by school, not by anything, right? It is more or less a type of—self-initiative for them to see
09		the challenges that they have.

Exploring Oscar's perspective on how diversity is approached in policy versus in practice within the *Maestría* postgraduate program at UMSS, the following findings illustrate the state-affiliated institution's position. This position is characterized as "resistant" to Law 070, specifically with ideas about how to best approach diversity. For instance, Oscar reflects on the relevance of policy, in particular the policy's limited approach to diversity, whereby policy (re) essentializes the Indigenous identity (Osuna, 2010). Oscar deems the policy's approach to diversity "archaic" (line 2, Excerpt 1), despite the so-called progressive rhetoric it embraces.

Oscar argues that existing tensions between policy ideas and on-the-ground realities reflects a failing policy. Drawing from "internal colonialism in terms of knowledge-power" (Rivera Cusicanqui, 2012, p. 104), Oscar's critique of re-essentialization of identity in its "archaic" nature focuses on Law 070's reproduction of hegemonic discourse, especially around diversity. Oscar's critique is situated in

postcolonial policy studies and deconstructing dominant diversity narratives. In postcolonial Bolivia, subordinate classes are not only subjected to "internal colonialism," or colonialism within the same culture, but also within an entire world-system. Rejecting this "double erasure," Oscar attempted to capture a more nuanced picture of what it means to be "Indigenous," couching his critique in studies of "negotiation of identity" (Lines 6–9, Excerpt 1).

Oscar proposes that students currently carry out the negotiation process between disparate ideologies in varying ways, a reality that, he contends, current policy is discounting. The policy, Oscar implies, discounts an important place of "hybridity," couched by Bhabha (1994) and others as closing off a "space of translation" (p. 25) within identity processes. However, the "hybridity" concept is not without contradictions and tensions. Conversely, others critique the hybridity concept as not challenging dominant cultural concepts enough. In the Bolivian context, *the* marker of identity, or "mestizaje" has multiple and competing interpretations. Sanjinés (2002) posits, "*mestizaje* attempts to impose a homogeneous order upon a totality whose internal coherence is built vertically by the structures of power" (p. 39), yet the *mestizante/anti-mestizante* binary is seen by some as problematic. Rivera Cusicanqui's (2012) rationale is that this debate is covering up and disregarding "internal colonialism" (p. 103). Yet, at the same time, she promotes "the logic of the included third" (Rivera Cusicanqui, 2012, p. 105), highlighting the complexity of this debate.

Oscar's position on policy's approach to diversity reveals contradictory and competing positions, reflective of competing schools of thought about linguistic and cultural identity in this context. While his position is couched in the hybridity theory and

anti-mestizante rhetoric, Oscar also draws from research into negotiation of identity in multilingual contexts. This body of scholarship emphasizes the impact of mediation on identity negotiation, or how experience comes to be embodied and articulated in the identity-formation processes. Thus, Oscar's position on how to approach diversity in education is not solidly formed, highlighting the tension between diversity rhetoric and putting this ideal into practice. His position also illustrates how little is known at the meso-level about the processes whereby student's experiences become, or fail to become, valued as sources of education-related knowledge.

In summary, the discourses present around diversity as constructed by the Ministry of Education (MoE), the Episcopal Commission for Education (CEE), and the two higher education contexts (in the "transversality of comparison") paints a complex picture. Approaches to diversity are not clear or unproblematic, despite well-intentioned policies and so-called progressive rhetoric. What is missing in the approaches to diversity is the discussion on power and identity, inherent to the discussion on the role of diversity in education at the meso-level. Having presented results of data analysis at both the macro- and meso-levels of analysis, contextualizing the wider levels of this case study, I turn now to examination of data at the last level of analysis, the micro-level, or when students reveal their own perceptions about contemporary education policy. Below, I address two central questions, "How do students make meaning of Law 070?" And, "How is diversity understood at the micro level?"

Micro-level: Students Make Meaning of Law 070

How do students make meaning of Law 070? As the cohort of students in this study come from the Education department, where specific coursework promotes an

understanding of the Law, findings at the micro-level fell under the umbrella theme of "Informed understandings of the Law." Findings were further subdivided into three subheadings, which were reflective of trends and patterns in discourse.

The patterns in responses were organized according to type of perception, including *practical* (e.g., learning an Indigenous language solely for job attainment purposes), *valuable* (e.g., valuing an Indigenous language in its own right), or as posing *advantages and disadvantages* (e.g., questioning the paradox of rescuing "ancestral" traditions in light of globalization). Thus, three main perspectives or positions that participants take are identified as: Pragmatic value of the Law, Valorization of culture with the Law, and Critical take of Law, or, any combination of these three positions. Figure 7.0 illustrates how these positions occur on a spectrum, suggesting that these positions are not static.

Resistant: Critical take of the Law	Ambivalent: Pragmatic value of the Law	Receptive: Valorization of culture with the Law
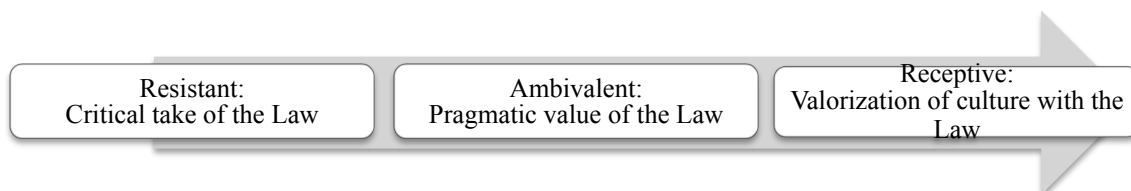
Figure 7.0: *Students make meaning of policy*

In reality, most students hold a combination of these positions about policy discourse, varying over time and across discussion contexts. The changes in perceptions about policy occur according to several factors, including students' social and educational backgrounds, interest in policy topics, the discussion context, and the perceived relevance of policy to students' own lives.

The continuum in Figure 7.0 illustrates the direction of movement, from left to right, moving from "critical take" to "pragmatic value" to "valorization of culture" with

policy, suggesting logical progression, yet it should not be read in this way. The continuum illustrates the level of adoption of policy that each student takes, from "resistant" to "receptive," to somewhere in between, or "ambivalent." Thus, a "critical take" suggests resistance, a "pragmatic value" suggests ambivalence, and "valorization of culture" with the Law suggests adoption of or as being in alignment with policy.

Additionally, the progression in meaning-making processes does not suggest a hierarchical relationship; each position is equal to the other. The stand-alone positions illustrated in Figure 7.0 do not represent the existing complex and interdependent relationship between positions; however, this representation serves to think about these positions and identify what they are. Evident in the data collected at the micro-level in the "discourse communities" (Wodak, 2008) present in our dialogic interviews, students do not hold their positions firmly, which is not surprising. The field of discourse analysis shows empirical evidence on the ways that people take up varied positions and stances variably across contexts and circumstances. Thus, it is not unexpected that the movement of students' perceptions, reflective of shifting identities or varying understandings of policy text, occurs on a spectrum, represented in Figure 7.0 with an ongoing line. Since responses and contexts are in flux, this study concerns itself with capturing the type of movement of perspectives about policy discourse, highlighting commonalities or differences across cases studied.

Below, three or more types of student-held positions about policy are illustrated with four case studies in order to address the third question. The case studies illustrate the perspectives of four diverse focal students: that of Lourdes, Veronica, Eduardo, and Marco. These four cases were chosen after the data collection and analysis phases.

Analysis of personal documentation (e.g., peer-written interviews, referenced in the Student Profiles section in Chapter 6), as well as audio and video[93] data analyses all revealed important information. For instance, data revealed that focal student Lourdes was largely representative of a specific linguistic and cultural profile (e.g., Amazonian Indigenous identity), but also held a particular perspective about policy (e.g., non-critical). Thus, a diversity of opinions held by students from varied backgrounds is emphasized in selecting participants. Below, the data sources referenced to support each case largely comes from interview text, but in some cases, also from class discussions.

Lourdes: Pragmatic value of the Law and Valorization of culture with the Law. Lourdes was the only Leco speaker in the cohort of bi-multilingual speakers. She was quiet and shy in class, but approached our dialogue with firm resolve. During our interview, she exuded ease and confidence in this context, asking for clarifications of the researcher's questions as needed. I posed an uneasy question to Lourdes about Law 070: how to reconcile the promotion of two disparate ideas in policy: "universal" *and* "local" knowledges.

Excerpt 1: *Lourdes, December 2013*

	Original	
	Original	
01	Martina	¿Crees que en alguna forma se complementan los conocimientos universales y propios?
02		¿Porqué?
03	Lourdes	De alguna forma quizás se complementan, pero de igual manera tendríamos que hablar de
04		igualdad, de oportunidades, y el equilibrio con la naturaleza que debe haber, que hay en el
05		contexto boliviano, tendría que llegar a ser.
	English translation	
01	Martina	Do you think universal and local knowledges are complementary? Why?
02	Lourdes	In some ways perhaps they complement one another but in some ways we still have to
03		talk about equality, opportunities, and the equilibrium with nature that there has to be, that
04		there is in the Bolivian context that there should eventually be.

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[93] Video data is included where available. In some cases (e.g., with Eduardo and Lourdes), the text produced by participants was limited or not available, so other sources (e.g., interview text) are the only data source. In other cases, (e.g., with Veronica and Marco) video transcription, in addition to interview data are available as these students participated publicly.

In Excerpt 1, Lourdes interpreted "complementary" as "receiving equal treatment" (e.g., attributing the same importance to local and universal knowledges in the curriculum). She stated, "In some ways perhaps they complement one another but in some ways we still have to talk about equality, opportunities, and the equilibrium with nature…" (Lines 2–3, Excerpt 1). According to her interpretation, Lourdes believed that at this point in time, things are not yet "complementary" (or "equal" in her interpretation of my question). Her use of the auxiliary word, *should*, implied that she perceived a certain tension between policy and practice.

Lourdes's interpretation of my question, despite her confusion, produced a type of understanding of the Law that aligns with two types of discourse: Pragmatic value of the Law and Valorization of culture with the Law. The intersection of the two suggests a limited understanding of how language and culture-in-education can be applied, and it points to her discomfort about talking about her own cultural and linguistic background. Additionally, her (re) esssentialized understandings of what "culture" means also points to limited understandings of pillar concept, "interculturalism."

Excerpt 2: *Lourdes, December 2013*

	Original	
01	Martina	¿Se puede implementar estos dos conceptos en las escuelas? ¿Cómo?
02	Lourdes	Yo creo que sí porque siempre allá donde vivía se manejaban en las escuelas esto de lo
03		que son las plantas medicinales, se aplican en las escuelas, en las escuelitas del área rural,
04		porque no hay tanto acceso a la salud, poco acceso a la educación.
	English Translation	
01	Martina	Can these two concepts be implemented in school? How?
02	Lourdes	I think so because always over there where I lived this topic of medicinal plants was
03		approached in schools, they are [local knolwedges] applied in little rural area schools
04		because there is not so much access to health, little access to education.

In lines 2–3 (Excerpt 2), Lourdes defined "local" knowledges as the field of "alternative medicine." It is this particular contribution to knowledge making that supported her understanding of what "equitable education" meant. However, limiting the

concept of "local" knowledges to equal knowledge about "alternative medicine" only is an essentialization of the concept, a limitation of "local" knowledges, and of "culture" in general, pointing to a limitation with policy text itself. According to Lourdes, through adoption of alternative knowledges in education, "development" in Bolivia is possible.

Lourdes began the interview with an understanding of "local" knowledges as subaltern and "universal" knowledges as hegemonic. As she grappled with my question about these two being "complementary" (again, interpreted as "equal"), she also struggled to make this specific article in Law 070 relatable and practical. When I asked her specifically how she saw these disparate concepts applied to the classroom, Lourdes identified "local" versus "universal" knowledges as important and relevant ideas. However, Lourdes did not give concrete examples of how to implement them at the classroom level. By the end of the interview, she positioned the promotion of "local/Bolivian" knowledges (e.g., traditional medicinal knowledge) at the center, instead of on the periphery. Eventually, Lourdes positions traditionally subaltern voices at the center, proposing that the Bolivian education model could even be exported: "expanded to all other countries" (Line 2, Excerpt 3).

Excerpt 3: *Lourdes, December 2013*

	Original	
01	Lourdes	Por eso, ya recientemente lo que se ha dado de la Ley 070 que es muy importante y
02		relevante que se dé para toda Bolivia. Y también se puede expandir a todos los países.
	English Translation	
01	Lourdes	That is why recently, what has emerged from Law 070, which is very important and
02		relevant to emerge for all of Bolivia. And it can be expanded to all other countries.

Lourdes attributes Pragmatic value with the Law, in combination with Valorization of culture with the Law, as far as her position about policy ideas. This twofold position indicates that, while Lourdes acknowledges the importance, for instance,

of rescuing "local" knowledges and revaluing Indigenous cultures and languages sabotage and in education as a sound practice in and of itself, she also attributes practical reasons for this revaluing. The "combination" positioning is very common, as students are negotiating their identities in a space of tension and contention, and in the context of the "transition to adulthood" (Arnett, 2000) stage of development, while interpreting and internalizing ideological precepts of the Law.

In summary, Lourdes represents the stigmatized Indigenous language speaker point of view. As a female Leco speaker, Lourdes accepts her minoritized position for various reasons, including the very real discrimination that exists in a college setting that is Spanish-dominant. Lourdes reveals through her interview that she doesn't want to be identified publicly as a Leco speaker. It is only after time and through a constant nurturing of the researcher-participant relationship, emphasizing the confidential nature of the study that Lourdes opens up. Below, Veronica, the other female focal student, also illustrates a "combination" position. However, contrary to Lourdes, Veronica represents a more dominant Indigenous language. As Quechua, her ethnic and ideological identity shapes how Veronica questions and thinks about language policy.

Veronica: Critical take of the Law. Veronica adopts a critical position. She embodies the self-determined and confident young female student. Veronica's position about the Law includes her practical reasoning for including culture and language in policy, but also includes a critical take on the Law, weighing the positives and negatives of what it means.

Veronica is 21 and working on her capstone project. From her cohort, she is the only one at this final stage, demonstrating maturity beyond her years. Veronica is

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determined to finish her studies in a timely way since she has big plans for her future, despite the challenges she has faced. Her short-term plans, upon completing the semester and all coursework, include applying for a scholarship to undertake a 10-month long teaching exchange program in the U.S.[94] Veronica envisions more for her future; she aspires to continue higher education (e.g., a Master's degree) and a career as an educational leader. Her practical experiences with language and culture combined with her high motivation within an academic setting impact her position towards policy.

In Excerpt 1, drawing from interview and video transcription excerpts, Veronica's position on pillar concepts in Law 070 is discussed. Given Veronica's professional and personal interests with intercultural competency, I sought her perspective on the pillar concepts "inter" and "intra-culturalism," as defined by Law 070 (see Appendix C, Ch.3, Art. 6). From the onset, Veronica started with a contradiction: she agreed that both concepts are important to Bolivian education, but also irrelevant at the same time. She stated, "I think that of course they are important… but as I was telling you, they are not very relevant concepts" (Lines 3–6, Excerpt 1), a contradiction she then followed up with an explanation.

Excerpt 1: *Veronica, December 2013*

	Original	
	Original	
01	Martina	¿Tú crees que los conceptos de inter-intra culturalismo son importantes para el sistema
02		socio-educativo boliviano? ¿Por qué?
03	Veronica	Yo pienso que claro son importantes, solo que a mí no me parece una forma de que ya
04		eso es nuevo, sino que anteriormente solo iba a practicar, Entonces sí son muy
05		importantes, tomados tal vez más tomarlos más a pecho esos dos conceptos, y a partir de
06		ellos practicar. Pero como le decía, no son conceptos relevantes.
	English translation	
01	Martina	Do you think the concepts of inter-intra culturality are important for the Bolivian socio-
02		educational system? Why?
03	Veronica	I think that of course they are important, but I do not think that that form of which is
04		something new, but previously it was only going to practice. So, yes, they are very

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[94] About six months after this interview, Veronica obtained the scholarship through Carmen Pampa Fund and is traveling to the U.S. in 2014 to study English while working as a teacher's aide at Adams Immersion School in St. Paul, MN for the duration of one year. The program is organized through Amity Institute.

| 05 | important, taken maybe more—to take them more to heart those two concepts, and from |
| 06 | them practice. But as I was telling you, they are not very relevant concepts. |

In Veronica's Excerpt 1, Veronica contradicted herself because of the critical position she held about the role of these pillar concepts in Bolivian education. Although she firmly believed that "inter" and "intra-culturalism" are important concepts in this context, she stressed a caveat: the two concepts are more relevant if "taken to heart" (line 4, Excerpt 1). I asked her to clarify what she meant with this caveat. Veronica explained further with a comparison of education reform eras. To illustrate what she meant by "relevance" or "irrelevance" of the concepts, she divided policy into binary cases, or two "times:" pre- and post-Law 070 (2010).

In the next interview excerpt, Veronica differentiated between a time when "inter" and "intraculturalism" were performed or "lived," (Line 2, Excerpt 2) versus when the two complementary concepts are found mostly in policy or "in writing" (Line 3, Excerpt 2). The performance paradigm, she implied, was enacted through everyday interactions at the educational level. Paradoxically, during the "lived" time, or the NER (1994) era, she proposed that these concepts were *not* reflected in policy. Conversely, during more recent times, or during the Law 070 (2010) era, Veronica posits that pillar concepts "inter-" and "intra-culturalism" *are* being reflected in policy (Lines 4–5, Excerpt 2), but not being performed or "lived."

In Excerpt 2, Veronica alludes to a tension within policy itself: the problematic condition of policy rigidity, or when social processes become merely rhetorical—in her words, "*en libro*" (Line 4). This rigidity, Veronica implies, limits the movement of policy ideas during the construction, dissemination, and interpretation of policy, thus, turning them irrelevant.

Excerpt 2: *Veronica, December 2013*

Original		
01	Martina	¿Por qué no te parecen relevantes?
02	Veronica	Se han vivido, se está viviendo, solo que no lo hemos podido reconocer, solo que no se
03		ha plasmado como digamos escribiendo, digamos "Esto es, esto es." Se está
04		reconociendo claro, en libro, ¿no?, es lo que más veo allí que se habla.
English translation		
01	Martina	Why are they not relevant?
02	Veronica	They have been lived, they are being lived, but it is just that we haven not been able to
03		recognize them, just that they have not been reflected like, let's say, in writing. "This is
04		it; this is it." It is being recognized, of course, in book, right? It is there when I see
05		most that it is talked about.

In Veronica's Excerpt 2, "*en libro*" or "in book" (Line 4) is understood in

Veronica's lexicon as text that is being read and interpreted, but also as text that is being

understood beyond mere "policy text." It is also being read as Discourse, as in the so-

called capital "D" Discourses (Fairclough, 2010). According to Veronica, Law 070

(2010) cements ideological pillar concepts such as "decolonization" (as will be discussed

further in this section) and "interculturalism" (as discussed previously). Conversely,

Veronica implies that NER (1994) puts into practice (albeit to some degree) the central

ideological precepts. The binary way of understanding Bolivian education policy across

eras that Veronica presents is common. Moreover, this binary reflects particular

"ideological political intentions" that are undoubtedly "embedded in a context of

inequality, discrimination, tensions and mistrust" (Lopes Cardozo, 2011, p. 23) across

reform eras.

In interview Excerpt 3, Veronica asserted that it is possible that the pillar concept,

"intra" and "interculturalism," can be applied to the classroom, but she claimed, "I could

not tell you how" (Line 2). Veronica struggled to give details of how to operationalize the

concepts, eventually proposing "cultural exchange" between cultures (Line 4, Excerpt 3)

as an instance of practical application.

In particular, Veronica proposed the example of "…travelling, let's say, from one place that is 'flat' to one that is tropical; from La Paz to Santa Cruz, or from Santa Cruz to La Paz, like that; see the ways of living" (Lines 5–7, Excerpt 3). Veronica proposed, "travel with formative objectives" (Line 9, Excerpt 3), as a way of operationalizing the two concepts. Developing the idea further she adds enthusiastically, "…which maybe could mean living there" (Line 9, Excerpt 3).

Excerpt 3: *Veronica, December 2013*

Original		
01	Martina	¿Se pueden implementar estos conceptos tu crees en el sistema educativo? ¿Cómo?
02	Veronica	Sí, sí se puede implementar. No sabría decir cómo, pero tal vez serían de una forma
03		digamos de interactuar tal vez. Si bien hablamos de intraculturalidad, dentro de las
04		unidades educativas no se viaja mucho; entonces se podría hacer intercambio de
05		conocimientos, incluso de saber en este caso viajando digamos de una parte así planita
06		a una tropical; de La Paz a Santa Cruz, o de Santa Cruz a La Paz, así; y ver las formas
07		de vivencia. Tal vez eso sería digamos implementar viajes.
08	Martina	¿Sí? ¿Cómo?
09	Veronica	Viajes con objetivos formativos, que tal vez se podría vivir ahí [voz se disminuye]
10	Martina	¿Es difícil definirlo?
11	Veronica	Uh huh. Tienes que vivirlo.
English translation		
01	Martina	Are these concepts able to be implemented, you think, in the educational system? How?
02	Veronica	Yes, yes, they can be implemented. I could not tell you how, but maybe it would be in a
03		way, let's say, of interacting maybe. While we talk about intraculturalism, within
04		public schools, travel does not occur much; then an exchange of knowledges could be
05		done, even to know in this case, travelling, let's say, from one place that is "flat" to one
06		that is tropical; from La Paz to Santa Cruz, or from Santa Cruz to La Paz, like that; and
07		see the ways of living. Maybe that would be it, let's say, implementing travel.
08	Martina	Yes? How?
09	Veronica	Travel with formative objectives, which maybe could mean living there [trailing off]
10	Martina	Is it difficult to define?
11	Veronica	Uh huh. You have to live it.

Her voice trailed off at this moment, implying uneasiness with the notion of practical application of "inter" and "intraculturalism," an issue critiqued by scholars aiming to desettle dominant approaches to diversity in education (see discussion about Veronica's understanding of diversity further below for more analysis). In Excerpt 3, Veronica's reading of policy text demonstrates her skeptical and critical stance about ambiguously worded policy, alluding to its problematic approaches to diversity.

Veronica implied that these concepts are not easily or earnestly applied in the classroom or on a societal level (line 11, Excerpt 3). In addition, when asked how the highly contested notion of "decolonization" can be applied to the classroom, Veronica pushed back, within a class discussion context.

Video transcription, Excerpt 1: *Veronica, November 2013*

Original		
01	Martina	¿Se puede aplicar el concepto de la "descolonización" al aula?
02	Veronica	Hablar del concepto de la "descolonización" es hablar de ir hacia atrás. La malla
03		curricular debería incluír un campo que es más físico… pensat abiertamente y
04		criticamente y vivir en el momento…
English translation		
01	Martina	Can the concept of "decolonization" be applied to the classroom?
02	Veronica	Talk of decolonization is talk of going backwards. The curriculum should include a
03		field that is more physical... to think openly and critically and live in the moment…

In video transcription Excerpt 1, Veronica's critique of "decolonization" rhetoric in education points to wider critiques about "decolonization" being problematically equated with "progress." According to Veronica, "talk of decolonization is talk of going backwards," and "The curriculum should include a field that is more physical... to think openly and critically and live in the moment" (Lines 2–3, Video transcription, Excerpt 1). As discussed in Chapter 2, Tuck and Yang (2012) call for a critical adoption of the popular wave of "decolonization" to the educational sphere, claiming that the concept is "not a metaphor." This call succinctly underscores the issue presented by Veronica in her critique of "decolonization" discourse.

Veronica's proposal, "To think openly and critically and live in the moment," (Line 4, Video transcription, Excerpt 1), speaks to the importance of fostering critical thinking, using education to nurture critical thinkers, life-long learners, and responsible citizens. Thus, Veronica's critique supports the call to critically adopt the concept of

"decolonization" in education, a position that is adopted in light of her own identity and personal context.

Veronica's stance, in comparison to Lourdes's, positions Veronica in a place of privilege. Veronica, as discussed earlier, is a female with a majority Quechua language speaker perspective.[95] Additionally, she shows great self-determination and vision, evident in her vast accomplishments—at such a young age and despite great social and economic challenges (see Student profiles in Chapter 6 for detailed discussion of these challenges). The combination of a strong, resilient character and her higher status Quechua position contribute to Veronica's critical perspective, which she positions in combination with a pragmatic stance.

Veronica's critical weighing of policy denotes ownership and contestation of policy's pillar concepts that she perceives to be important principles as applied to education. However, she also hedges her own self-efficacy and identity as an Indigenous person with regards to her beliefs about policy discourse and the applicability of pillar concept of "decolonization." For this reason, her stance is a critical approach, or a Critical take with the Law position. Below, one of the male focal students, Eduardo, has a more straightforward, yet more nuanced response to policy discourses. His position emphasizes Valorization of Culture with respect to policy, yet hints at a "combination" response to policy discourse.

Eduardo: Valorization of culture with the Law and Critical take with the Law. Eduardo is one of two nontraditional students of the cohort. At age 31, Eduardo is an ordained Catholic priest, pursuing a dual career in the fields of Education and Divinity.

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[95] Quechua language speakers are more high status than Leco speakers, evident in political power held by the national and transnational community of Quechua speakers (i.e., across various locations in Bolivia, and across the Andean region).

Below, Eduardo gives his perspective on pillar concepts of Law 070, particularly the

concept "decolonization," based on his experiences working with local communities.

According to Eduardo, a "decolonized" curriculum is defined as promoting

"quality" education, and claimed the revalorization of language and culture at the societal

level as the greatest evaluation of these skills. He stated, "…if I know that they

[community members] are making an effort to learn their mother tongue, then there we

would also see what it truly is as it applies to this law; there we would also see what is

quality" (Lines 1–4, Excerpt 1). Eduardo implies that individual efforts made to speak an

Indigenous language at the societal level, more so than at the educational level, marks

ture language maintenance. Thus, Eduardo's definition of "quality" education is the

formal and equal adoption of linguistic and cultural revalorization in the educational

sphere and in society at-large.

Excerpt 1: *Eduardo, December 2013*

	Original	
01	Eduardo	Hay algunos, dicen que es cultura aymara, pero no saben hablar aymara. Entonces, si se
02		que ellos se esfuerzan por decir para aprender lengua materna, entonces ahí también
03		veríamos lo que es verdaderamente se aplica esta ley, ahí también se vería lo que es la
04		calidad.
	English translation	
01	Eduardo	There are some, they say what Aymara culture is, but they do not know how to speak
02		Aymara. Then, if I know that they are making an effort to learn their mother tongue,
03		then there we would also see what it truly is as it applies to this law; there we would
04		also see what is quality.

In Excerpt 2, I further pressed Eduardo for more analysis, asking him if this type

of "quality" education applies to rural and urban contexts. Eduardo agreed that quality

education should be promoted across the urban/rural divide, which has not historically

been the case, but he did not extend his affirmation (Line 3).

Excerpt 2: *Eduardo, December 2013*

	Original	
01	Martina	Evaluar la calidad lingüísticamente se puede implementar de varias formas. ¿Y la calidad

02		socio-cultural se puede evaluar también?
03	Eduardo	Sí se puede, porque hay una palabrita que es ésta… que tanto, tanto discuten lo que se
04		llama, no me acuerdo ahorita—*descolonización* y todo aquello, ¿no? Entonces, la parte
05		cultural entonces, ahí es lo que más habla de valorizar, retomando la meta de aquellos
06		valores o aquellas creencias, tradiciones que tenían nuestros abuelos, nuestros ante-
07		pasados; entonces sí es que una comunidad, un pueblo, retomaría o recuperaría estas
08		costumbres o tradiciones, pues ahí sería—ahí se puede ver si es que verdaderamente ahí
09		está recuperado, que es la calidad.
	English translation	
01	Martina	Evaluating linguistic education quality can be implemented in various ways. Can socio-
02		cultural quality also be evaluated?
03	Eduardo	Yes, it can. Because there is this little word that is this…That is discussed so much, it is
04		called, I do not remember right now—*decolonization* and all that, right? Then, the
05		cultural part, that is where valorization is mostly found, returning to the goal of those
06		values or those beliefs, traditions that our grandparents had, our ancestors; then if a
07		community, a people, they would resume or recover these customs or traditions, because
08		there would be—that is when you would see if it is really there it is recuperated, what is
09		considered quality

Instead, Eduardo (re) validated what policy text centrally promotes, or a "decolonizing" education that promotes "interculturalism" (lines 4–8, Excerpt 2). Eduardo offered no critique of this rhetoric or discussion about what it means. His blanket repetition of policy rhetoric signaled agreement with policy's definitions of "decolonization" and "interculturalism" in education. In addition to explicitly supporting these ideas, Eduardo's frequent use of other cultural revalorization concepts, such as "ancestors," "grandparents," "customs," and "recuperate" all seemed to echo the cultural sentiment of Law 070, affirming his position of Valorization of culture with the Law.

Eduardo's perspective of policy text is positive and in agreement with his values. Particularly, he sees educational "quality" as being equated with linguistic and cultural revalorization, which reflects his own stance on culture and language of origin. Eduardo identifies proudly as Aymara and, thus, believes policy that promotes revalorization of Indigenous languages and cultures is important and significant. However, through different interview text, or video transcription text, Eduardo questioned the challenges present in policy discourse.

Video Transcription, Excerpt 3: *Eduardo, November 2013*

Original		
01	Martina	¿Se puede aplicar el concepto de la "descolonización" al aula?
02	Eduardo	La "descolonización" es difícil de implementar porque no se está definiendo así de
03		una manera igual.
English translation		
01	Martina	Can the concept of "decolonization" be applied to the classroom?
02	Eduardo	"Decolonization" is difficult ro implement because it is not being defined like that in
03		an equal way.

Video transcription Excerpt 3, together with his comments in the one-on-one interview context, illustrates Eduardo's critical stance about policy. He hedges his overall positive position about policy, proposing that policy discourse of "decolonization" is "not being defined like that in an equal way" (Lines 2–3, Video transcription, Excerpt 3), presumably in the way that policy is intended to be defined, or where it is intended to be applied (e.g., in the rural communities and classrooms where he works.) Paradoxically, this stance is declared in an interview context, juxtaposing his stance revalorizing culture and language with the Law, declared also in the on-on-one interview context.

The disparate views that Eduardo holds, both critical and valorizing of culture with the Law—across one dialogic situation—points to the complex, co-construction of meaning. Eduardo's reluctance to speak openly and critically before his peers, which is contrary to his willingness to open up during our one-on-one interview context, highlights the tensions and contradictions about identity formation within this group of participants. In particular, Eduardo's movement along the continuum of responses (from receptive to resistant toward policy discourse) signals that that identity is a discursive construction revealed in narratives, and it is provisional and negotiated with others (Wodak & Krzyzanowski, 2008), or, in Eduardo's case, negotiated with himself and with the interviewer.

In summary, Eduardo's position is mainly non-critical, given his pronounced

promotion of Indigenous languages in education and in society at-large. Thus, Eduardo represents the position valorization of culture with the Law. Yet, his evolving position is in response to different topic contexts—from the topic of "quality" education to the topic of "decolonization" in education. His position is also in response to discussant context— from group discussions to one-on-one interview, reflective of the type of learner he is.

Much like Lourdes, Eduardo is shy and doesn't participate in large group discussions. However, he seems to open up during the one-on-one interview context, giving thoughtful and nuanced insights around contradictory policy discourse. Conversely, unlike Eduardo, Marco—who hedges about policy discourse for other reasons—is comfortable speaking in public discussion contexts, explaining why data come from various sources for him.

Marco: Pragmatic value and Critical take of the Law. Marco clearly espoused the practical value of learning Indigenous languages. However, he also espoused a critical position, despite the fact that this position was dependent on discussant context. In the context of our one-on-one interview, Marco talked about Law 070 in an outright critical manner. From the onset, he disagreed with the policy text he was asked to read about revalorizing Indigenous languages, resisting policy concepts that he perceived as "backwards." However, in the class discussion context, Marco adopted a less resistant, and slightly more receptive approach to policy discourse. Below, both stances will be discussed, highlighting how discussant and discussion context mitigate and shape perspectives about policy.

In Excerpt 1, taken from the one-on-one interview context, Marco was not fundamentally convinced with policy's proposal to revalorize [Indigenous] culture and

language. He stated, "…for me, it is like returning to the past" (Line 2). Furthermore,

Marco adopted a distinct discourse about "progress," launching into a description of what

development in Bolivia should be from an economic perspective, highlighting the stance

of Pragmatic value with the Law. Marco made a call for traditional development, stating,

"let us progress as Bolivians" (Line 3, Excerpt 1), proposing that this progress occur in

order "to belong to the G8, let's say, the powerful countries worldwide" (Lines 4–5,

Excerpt 1).

Excerpt 1: *Marco, December 2013*

		Original
01	Martina	¿Por qué no te convence la revalorización de idiomas y culturas Indigenas, en la Ley 070?
02	Marco	Porque es como para mí volver a lo antes. Para mí es eso. En vez de que vayamos hacia
03		el futuro, progresemos como bolivianos, o como el país de Bolivia, por lo que sea, vamos
04		volviendo a lo de antes. Entonces, cómo queremos que Bolivia sea digamos que
05		pertenezca a los G8 digamos, a las potencias que está en todo el mundo, Alemania,
06		Francia y todo eso. O por lo menos pertenecer—no ser el país más—somos el país más –
07		el segundo después de Haití, si no me equivoco, o el tercero, que es el más pobre.
		English translation
01	Martina	Why are you not convinced about the revalorization of ILs and cultures in Law 070?
02	Marco	Because for me it is like returning to the past. For me it is that. Instead of us moving
03		towards the future, let us progress as Bolivians, or as the country of Bolivia, so it is, we
04		keep returning to the past. So, how can we want that Bolivia be, let's say, to belong to the
05		G8, let's say, the powerful countries worldwide, Germany, France, and all that. Or at least
06		belong not be the country that is most—we are the most—the second, after Haiti, if I am
07		not mistaken, or the third, poorest.

In Excerpt 1, Marco categorizes "progress" as Bolivia's rating in the poverty gap

index,[96] used to measure the intensity of poverty. Implicitly, Marco references global

measurements of poverty, namely the Human Development Index (HDI),[97] in which

Bolivia traditionally ranks the second lowest for the region (second only to Haiti). Not

only is this poverty rhetoric outdated and engrained in a 1990s neoliberal tradition of

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[96] Defined as the average poverty gap in the population as a proportion of the poverty line. The poverty threshold is defined as the minimum level of income deemed adequate in a particular country. This number has traditionally been about $1/day, which applies to Bolivia (wikipedia.com).
[97] The Human Development Index (HDI) is a comparative measure of life expectancy, literacy, education, and standards of living for regions worldwide. Countries fall into four broad categories of development: very high (for developed countries), high and medium (for developing countries), and low (for least developing countries) (United Nations Development Programme, UNDP, 1990).

non-democratic approaches to partnership (Klein, 2007), but also Marco's market-based rhetoric is reminiscent of a local policymaker's position, Humberto (discussed earlier in the meso-level analysis).

The Director of the CEE extolls similar rhetoric in his interview text (see the meso-level analysis for detailed discussion). Indeed, both texts speak to each other in a way that defines discourse of empowerment as being linked to economics—not educational or social development.

Moreover, in the interview material from Excerpt 2, Marco clarified that the focus of education reform should be on "progress" (lines 1–5), emphasizing Western science and technology as preferred tools to carry out this kind of progress.

Excerpt 2: *Marco, December 2013*

Original		
01	Marco	Deberíamos de seguir adelante con—vivir de la tecnología. Para mí es eso, la tecnología
02		y la educación para mí me parecen puntos para—yo, yo tengo esa opinión de mí, de que
03		la tecnología y la educación van juntos para buscar un progreso. Si tú vas a recibir
04		educación, entonces vas a ponerla en práctica y vas a hacer que tus demás estudiantes
05		progresen, y hagan progresar su país. Para mi es eso.
English translation		
01	Marco	We should go forward with—live from technology. For me it is that, technology and
02		education points seem to me to—I, I have that personal opinion, that the technology and
03		education go together to seek progress. If you are going to get an education, then you will
04		implement it and you will make your fellow students progress, and make progress in their
05		country. For me it is that.

However, Marco's interpretations of policy text and his affirmation of development as economic-based were interrupted by a small but important recognition about revalorizing language and culture (and implicitly of local values and epistemologies), though not for the sake of revalorization. He stated, "I mean, let us not put aside the respect and values," later adding a caveat, "But keep working toward progress" (Lines 2–3, Excerpt 3).

Excerpt 3: *Marco, December 2013*

	Original	
01	Marco	Entonces, estamos volviendo a lo de antes, de valorizar lo que era antes, por ejemplo en,
02		osea, no dejemos dejar de lado el respeto y los valores, pero seguir trabajando hacia el
03		progreso
	English translation	
01	Marco	So, we are returning to the past, to valuing what was before, to value what was before, for
02		example in, I mean, let us not put aside the respect and values, but keep working toward
03		progress.

Marcos's textual reading during our one-on-one interview was largely done from a critical stance, positioning himself at a distance from his peers. During the class discussion context, however, Marco voiced a particular reading of policy text.

In this second reading, revalorization of ancestral languages—while not helping to achieve the progress Marco clearly deemed important—he also considers "of value," albeit instrumental value[98] (see next section for more analysis of how Marco understands "diversity"). Marcos' competing responses suggest again that identity is a discursive construction revealed in narratives and is provisional and negotiated with others (Wodak & Krzyzanowski, 2008). Moreover, in the public discussion context (as opposed to private, one-on-one interviews), Marco affirmed his "Indigenous" (Aymara-Quechua) identity through his validation of "Bolivian/local" knowledges.

In video transcription Excerpt 1, Marco compares medical knowledge practiced in "the City" (not exclusively relegated to use in the City) and "the field of traditional medicine" (practiced exclusively in rural areas), proposing that the "knowledge of *our* parents and grandparents" is "useful" (Lines 2–3). Interestingly, Marco does not talk about Western science also impacting rural areas, missing analysis that at the College, science education (e.g. in areas such as Nursing) is largely Western-based. Furthermore,

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[98] Instrumental value (or extrinsic value, contributory value) is defined here as: "the value of objects, both physical objects and abstract objects, not as ends-in-themselves, but as means of achieving something else. It is often contrasted with items of intrinsic value (wikipedia.com).

he uses the possessive adjective "our" to describe grandparents or ancestors living in rural areas. Here, he clearly asserts his Indigenous identity and demonstrates receptivity with policy's revalorization of culture.

Video transcription, Excerpt 1: *Marco, November 2013*

Original		
01	Marco	Dependemos del campo de medicina tradicional en áreas rurales, pero en la ciudad,
02		digamos, el hecho que…dependemos mucho de farmacias y píldoras…En ves, aquí [área
03		rural] a través de los conocimientos de nuestros padres y abuelos, tenemos otros
04		conocimientos, lo cual es útil.
English translation		
01	Marco	We depend on the field of traditional medicine in rural areas, but, in the City, let's say, the
02		fact that…we depend a lot of pharmacies and pills…Instead, here, through the knowledge
03		of our parents and grandparents, we have other knowledges, which is useful.

In video transcription, Excerpt 1, Marco is clearly positioning himself with rhetoric of revalorization of culture with the Law. In this public moment during the class discussion context, Marco positions Western medical knowledge as equal—or even inferior to—local, traditional knowledges, which contradicts his market-based education rhetoric expressed in the one-on-one interview context. Marco's "double positioning" in adopting this "combination" approach towards policy ideology echoes the other focal students' evolving stances.

Marco's "double positioning" also underlines the importance of the discussion context and type of audience in each context. Despite Marco's predominantly resistant stance, his moment of receptivity of Law 070 legitimates the symbolic hegemony of Indigenous worldviews and languages (Tsui & Tollefson, 2004) in a historically oppressive and discriminatory postcolonial context. Marco's moment of receptivity also reflects his privileged position as a Spanish-dominant, city-raised individual who has abandoned his parents' first languages of Aymara (father) and Quechua (mother). Thus, Marco's moment of receptivity is important because it contests, albeit in a public

discussion context, (Spanish) language legitimacy and usurps engrained beliefs about the "other." Moreover, Marco's moment of receptivity pointedly illuminates his hybrid identity. Marco identifies proudly as *mestizo*, which does not imply, but could suggest, identification as *q'ara*.[99] This latter identity is often derogative, bestowed on those that do not recognize a fully double origin.

After analyzing the positions and perspectives of four diverse focal students about policy Law 070 (2010), a "plurality of discourses" (Van Leewuen, 2008) is apparent across student views (even within each student's case, in some instances). The moments of resistance, ambivalence, receptivity and/or a combination of these positions in students' perspectives reflect a tension (and, perhaps, a sense of possibility) with an important goal of Law 070—to reaffirm true [cultural] identity, an elusive but important challenge. As the aforementioned "plurality of discourses" suggests, and drawing from postcolonial policy studies, Hornberger (2009) proposes "…local contents are multiple and diverse, continuously evolving and negotiated, contested and hybrid, riddled with internal contradictions" (p. 12). Thus, cultural identity is shaped, in this study context, by discussant and discussion contexts.

Looking at one-on-one interview data and data collected via video transcriptions (where available) across focal students, it is clear that there is always an ongoing process of discursive change, but it is also apparent that this process is not straight-forward or the same for each student, across the type of policy text examined. For instance, "critical" reading of policy ideas (e.g. "decolonization") is defined as responding with one's own set of arguments and examples to a set of settled and normative ideas. However, each

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[99] *Q'ara* is an Aymara word that means to be "culturally stripped and usurped by others" (Rivera Cusicanqui, 2012, p. 105).

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student, across gender, age, ethnicity and educational background, will approach policy text differently, and, thus, deconstructing ideas, such as "decolonization," may look differently. Marco and Veronica define "crtical reading" differently, given their particular lenses. While Marco reads policy text through a lens of the privileged, male Spanish-speaker living in the city, Veronica reads policy discourse through the lens of a [relatively] privileged, female Quechua-speaker living in a rural area. Thus, while both students perform critique, they do so to different degrees and with different ideological purposes.

Despite their different lenses, performing critique for Veronica is as natural for her as for her male counterpart, Marco. Thus, in this instance, there was more variation in data sources (e.g., interview *and* class discussion contexts). Yet, despite this similarity, each defines "critique" differently, based on each student's social and educational backgrounds. Thus, the identities Marco and Veronica have constructed are on the basis of ideologies that "envision and enact links of language to group and personal identity" (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994, p. 55).

In summary, across student perspectives, three main themes were identified: (1) Pragmatic value of the Law; (2) Valorization of culture with the Law; (3) Critical take of Law, or, more frequently, any combination of these positions. Thus, these positions interacted in a type of relationship where, "…various discourses can coexist, compete, reinforce or subvert each other and even become entangled within the same text" (De Rycker, 2014, p. 51). Additionally, "plurality of discourses" suggests that broader policy themes might be interpreted differently, depending on discussant contexts and across student difference, such as linguistic, cultural, social class, and gender backgrounds.

The diversity in students' learning styles and their personal dispositions or sense of self-efficacy also plays a role in interpreting policy text. Indeed, students can voice different discourses or stances depending on various internal and external factors, showing that student's discourses are tangled up in one policy text. Having addressed the third question about how the four focal students—Lourdes, Veronica, Eduardo, and Marco—make meaning of Law 070, I now turn now to the fourth question, as applied to the local (micro) level of analysis: "How is diversity understood at the local level?"

How is diversity understood at the micro-level? If students are expected to someday implement curriculum in their role as future educational leaders, optimally, a clearer reading of policy ideas and direct relevance with ideas present in policy, in particular ideas about diversity, is necessary. In this case study, student-held perspectives about the diversity dimension in Law 070 (2010) are sought in order to identify what the gaps in policy are, from the perspective of the intended beneficiaries of this Law.

Lourdes. After responding to one set of questions about a section of Law 070 with enthusiasm, Lourdes demanded more questions. At her behest, and not wanting to discourage enthusiasm for dialogue, I asked questions about a different aspect of policy text: the rhetoric of diversity. Drawing from text in the one-on-one interview context, Lourdes positions herself in a minority speaker role coming from a lesser-known context in the Amazonian region in the Department of Beni. Although her first language is Leco,[100] Lourdes did not include this information in the interview, even when prompted by the interviewer. I tried to clarify with Lourdes what her linguistic and cultural identification was, but her unclear answer revealed discomfort with the topic of identity.

In Excerpt 4, Lourdes skirts the question about her ethnicity, responding vaguely,

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[100] Leco is a language spoken by approximately 4,180 speakers in the Amazonian region (López, 2006).

"More than anything, there exist Guaranis, Chimanes, Tacanas…" (Line 2, Excerpt 4). With this response, she affirms her (non) identity, as she puts distance between her and "other" Amazonian communities or lowland Indigenous ethnicities. After asking Lourdes where she is from geographically, she answered squarely, "Beni." Thus, she gave legitimacy to her identity as a lowland Indigenous person, but also left unanswered the question of which specific ethnic group she belonged to (see Appendix A, Map 1.3: Indigenous peoples of Bolivia).

Excerpt 4: *Lourdes, December 2013*

	Original	
01	Martina	¿A cuál comunidad perteneces?
02	Lourdes	Más que nada, existen Guaraníes, Chimanes, Tacanas…
03	Martina	¿De dónde eres tú?
04	Lourdes	Del Beni.
	English Translation	
01	Martina	What community do you belong to?
02	Lourdes	More than anything, there exist Guaranís[101], Chimanes[102], Tacanas[103]…
03	Martina	Where do you come from?
04	Lourdes	From Beni.

Lourdes's hesitation to talk about her own personal experiences as a Leco speaker is not uncommon among Indigenous youth. In fact, feelings of shame and embarrassment about speaking the first language, or identifying with Indigenous culture in general, are common feelings for Indigenous youth that live between two cultures that represent opposing worldviews. Indigenous youth are constantly negotiating identity between dominant and traditional cultures, and often resist limited labels of authenticity. Thus, speaking about a "forbidden" identity among others that hold more accepted or traditional identities, relatively speaking, is difficult for students like Lourdes, reflected in her guarded conversation. Lourdes's guarded position was only expressed when we talked

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[101] Guaraní is a language spoken by about 90,000 speakers in the Chaco (dry lowlands) region (López, 2006).

[102] Tsimane (of the Chimán group) is a language spoken by 8,600 speakers in the Amazonia region (López, 2006).

[103] Tacana is a language spoken by 5,500 speakers in the Amazonia region (López, 2006).

one-on-one; however, she never expressed this publicly during class discussions.

Lourdes's case exemplifies how speaking (or not speaking) in a classroom setting among peers happens according to the discursive construction revealed in narratives, which is provisional and negotiated with others (Wodak & Krzyzanowski, 2008). Moreover, this case exemplifies how "participants in education are differentially positioned with respect to the legitimate language(s) of the classroom or of other educational sites" (Martin-Jones & Heller, 1996, p. 6). Lourdes faced obstacles as an Indigenous speaker on the double margin that positioned her differently than her Andean language counterparts. Thus, in the context of dialogical interviews, hidden unequal relations of power in the larger social and educational contexts (Van Dijk, 2009) are uncovered and unsettled.

Lourdes's status as a minortized language speaker in the context of a linguistically diverse country such as Bolivia points to issues of linguistic ideology, and in particular "…the privileging of certain local phonological systems to the exclusion of others on the basis of acquired and consolidated prestige over time" (Tufi, 2013, p. 152). This privileging impacts the perception of one language as "superior" in relation to another, "inferior" language, promoting the situation of diglossia.[104] Lourdes's shyness and resistance to speaking publicly further compounds the condition of invisibility.

In contrast, Veronica is less guarded and talks confidently in the context of public class discussions. Veronica is an example of a majority Indigenous language speaker who culturally and linguistically straddles between Andean culture/language and dominant

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[104] Ferguson (1959) defines diglossia as: "a relatively stable language situation, in addition to primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes, but is not used by any section of the community for ordinary conversation" (p. 435).

Spanish/Western culture/language, highlighting her own subjectivity in identity

formation. Since diglossia depends on the context to establish language dominance, in the

next section, Veronica demonstrates that her perceptions of her first language are in fact

impacted by language status (e.g., status attributed to rural versus urban Quechua and

Quechua to Spanish).

Veronica. Veronica's identification with Quechua as her first language is folded

into her conversation about her practical experiences with multilingualism and

interculturalism. Drawing from excerpts from our one-on-one interview context,

Veronica gave an example of how diversity impacts her personally, when she discussed a

work trip to the city of Cochabamba for an NGO project that she was involved with at the

time of this interview. She stated, "When you travel places, you are always learning," and

"I traveled to Cochabamba for work reasons and they [Quechua cultures] were very

different there" (Lines 2–4, Excerpt 4). I asked her to explain further, and she responded,

"So, there is Quechua in Cochabamba, Quechua in Apolo… Quechua is different

depending on where you live" (Lines 7–8, Excerpt, 4). Veronica understands that

varieties of Quechua language exist, dependent on context.

Veronica is also observant of how linguistic standardization plays out on the

ground in a work context within a national NGO. In this context, she implicitly observes

how the reproduction of power is legitimized through language ideology and carried out

through different discursive pratices (Bourdieu, 1991), such as interviewing and

surveying stakeholders. This implication is important because it underscores the dangers

of language and education as "particularly effective tools of hegemony because they

naturalize relations of power" (Martin-Jones & Heller, 1996, p. 5). In Excerpt 1, Veronica

emphasized the learning curve at her new job, but also the role of her first language within this specific experience.

What is striking about this text is that Veronica knows that she is more skilled at speaking Quechua than her peers in this context, but she doubts her own language proficiency: "Well, it [her Quechua dialect] served me well, but maybe I don't know how to speak well, but my peers did not speak it at all. I had to recall how to speak because, well, I do not know it [her Quechua dialect] well" (Lines 9–11, Excerpt 4).

Excerpt 4: *Veronica, December 2013*

		Original
01	Martina	¿Qué es la diversidad en tu vida?
02	Veronica	Cuando uno va de viaje, uno siempre está aprendiendo… incluso yo, la semana pasada,
03		yo no estaba en clase porque viajé a Cochabamba por razones de trabajo y ellos [las
04		culturas quechua] eran muy diferentes allí.
05	Martina	¿Por qué?
06	Veronica	Incluso el quechua hablado es diferente, yo hablo de manera diferente. Incluso allí casi
07		no se ve, [normalización lingüística] por lo que no es el quechua en Cochabamba, el
08		quechua en Apolo ... el quechua es diferente dependiendo de donde usted vive. Yo no
09		sabía cómo comunicarme. Bueno, [su dialecto quechua] me sirvió de mucho. Tal vez
10		yo no sé hablar bien, pero mis compañeros no saben para nada. Tuve que hablar y tuve
11		que recordar cómo hablar porque, bueno, no sé [quechua] así de bien. Uno trata a
12		veces de entender, pero es un poco, quiero decir, me sentí un poco, así—como si yo no
13		tenía mucha capacidad para estar allí ... pero tenía que demostrar lo que sabía, lo que
14		tenía que hacer, para conseguir un buen producto, también.
		English translation
01	Martina	What does diversity in your life look like?
02	Veronica	When you travel places, you are always learning…including me, last week, I was not in
03		class because I traveled to Cochabamba for work reasons[105] and they [Quechua cultures]
04		were very different there.
05	Martina	Why?
06	Veronica	Even the Quechua spoken there is different, and I speak differently. Even there you
07		hardly see it [linguistic standardization]. So, there is Quechua in Cochabamba, Quechua
08		in Apolo[106]… Quechua is different depending on where you live. I did not know how to
09		communicate. Well, it [Quechua dialect] served me well, but maybe I do not know how
10		to speak well, but my peers did not speak at all. I had to talk for them and I had to recall
11		how to speak because, well, I do not know it [Quechua] well. One tries sometimes to
12		understand, but it is a little, I mean, I felt a little, well—like I did not have much
13		capacity to be there… but I *had*[107] to demonstrate what I knew, what I had to do, in
14		order to get a good product, too.

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[105] Veronica did directed research work for an NGO, *La Fundación para el Desarrollo Productivo y Financiero*, The Foundation for Productive and Financial Development (PROFIN), on the topic of financing education in Quechua communities.

[106] Apolo, Veronica's hometown, is located 478 miles from the city of Cochambamba.

[107] Emphasis in original.

In interview Excerpt 4, Veronica's recounts how her particular job experience forced her to reevaluate her own linguistic proficiency and forced her to question her own intercultural competency. At times, she hedged and countered her knowledge of Quechua with deprecating self-doubt. Paradoxically, Veronica's high confidence in "the product" (e.g., her job performance) contradicts her low self-efficacy as a Quechua speaker. The interviews and surveys that Veronica conducted during her work research project[108] in surveying monolingual Quechua speakers were conducted in Quechua with no assistance. Thus, her bilingual and intercultural abilities proved essential for her, not to mention it was a memorable personal experience. Veronica's self-perception and self-awareness is implicitly but importantly connected to her perception of culture.

It was in the context of travel, and through contact with urban Quechua speakers that Veronica offered comparative discussion of diversity and the pillar concept "interculturalism," from her perspective as a female, rural Quechua-speaker. Another majority Indigenous language speaker, Eduardo, shaped his identity—as a priest and an educator—with his Andean heritage at the forefront. This is most likely due to the privileged position Aymara holds within Indigenous groups in Bolivia. To follow, Eduardo's perspective on how diversity should be approached is illustrated.

Eduardo. Eduardo is a fluent Aymara speaker, first learning Aymara from his parents and grandparents. He contends that he alternates between Spanish and Aymara, switching between both languages and codes to adjust to where he is located culturally and geographically. In our interview context, however, given my inability to speak Aymara, he speaks in Spanish only, referencing his knowledge of and connection to Aymara intermittently. Drawing from our discussion on diversity in the one-on-one

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[108] Veronica is wisely combining data collected during this project with data collected for her own thesis project.

interview context, Eduardo proudly emphasizes his Aymara identity in Excerpt 3.

Excerpt 3: *Eduardo, December 2013*

	Original	
01	Eduardo	Yo me pongo en el lugar de la gente que vive allá por que hay gente que realmente no
02		saben hablar [Aymara], hablan en español, pero como yo sé hablar en Aymara, empiezo
03		a hablar con ellos en Aymara. Ellos no responderan en Aymara, entonces, es, eso es...
04		En mi pueblo, cuando yo empiezo a hablar en español, la gente me va decir, "se ha ido a
05		estudiar y ahora ni siquiera quiere hablar Aymara!" Tengo cuidado, me pongo en su
06		lugar y hablo en Aymara.
	English translation	
01	Eduardo	I put myself in the place of people that live over there[109] because there are people that
02		really do not speak it [Aymara], they speak what is Spanish, but since I know how to
03		speak Aymara, I start speaking to them [Aymara speakers] in Aymara. They will not
04		respond in Aymara. So, that is, that is… In my community, when I start speaking in
05		are going to respond, "He has left to study and now he does not even want to speak
06		Aymara!" I'm careful, and I put myself in their place and speak in Aymara.

In Excerpt 3, Eduardo compares his language use according to context. He is adaptable to different contexts, stating, "I put myself in the place of people that live over there… [in urban area]" (Line 1, Excerpt 3). Eduardo speaks strictly in Aymara within his rural community, especially among elders. He talks empathetically about urban dwellers who have experienced language lost or shifted. However, he also empathizes with and adapts to the "rural" dweller who is monolingual, stating, "I'm careful, and I put myself in their place and speak in Aymara" (Line 6, Excerpt 3). Thus, Eduardo recognizes that context plays a role in language use, reflective of larger ideological struggles related to language, identity and power.

Eduardo's recognition points to one of many "discursive means of negotiating legitimacy and power" (Martin-Jones & Heller, 1996), particularly in the community context. His preoccupation about the community's role in revalorizing Indigenous languages and local culture surfaces repeatedly, reflecting his role as a parish member and priest serving a local community, thus (re) affirming his cultural identification.

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[109] He assumes an urban center like La Paz.

Excerpt 4: *Eduardo, December 2013*

	Original	
01	Martina	Cuándo habla en su primer idioma?
02	Eduardo	Cuando viajo a comunidades, es mejor cuando la gente entiende en su propio idioma.
03		Algunos ancianos hablan español, pero no perfectamente, hablan con dificultades… Es
04		mejor cuando les hablas en su primer idioma, no ves?
	English translation	
01	Martina	When do you speak in your first language?
02		When I travel to communities, it is better when people understand in their own language.
03		Some elders speak Spanish, but not perfectly, they speak with difficulties… It is better
04		when you speak to them in their own language, right?

In Excerpt 4, Eduardo states, "It is better when you speak to them [community members] in their own language, right?" (Lines 3–4). His tag question "right?" mitigates his stance about Aymara language, highlighting the types of discursive practices of (often bilingual) local speakers that are "very clearly oriented to the dominant language" (Martin-Jones & Heller, 1996, p. 9). Eduardo recognizes that minoritized language speakers are likely to speak the dominant language, implying that this is an issue not taken up in local communities such as his. However, he also talks about language loss in way that demonstrates an understanding of historical processes, such as colonialism, postcolonialism, and globalization, which shape this condition.

In Excerpt 5, Eduardo rethinks criticism of Aymara-speaking groups, as he changes his tone when talking about individuals who have assimilated and lost their ancestor's language. He states, "We have to support them to keep living those customs and traditions that are our grandparent's, that our ancestors had" (Lines 1–2, Excerpt 5).

Excerpt 5: *Eduardo, December 2013*

	Original	
01	Eduardo	Tenemos que apoyarles [miembros de la comunidad] para que sigan viviendo
02		esas costumbres y esas tradiciones que nuestros abuelos, nuestros antepasados tenían—
03		que, hoy en día, en algunas comunidades se están manteniendo vivas esas tradiciones,
04		mientras que en otras, han sido abandonadas. Eso tampoco está bien. Tenemos que
05		seguir haciendo, seguir viviendo de esas tradiciones, culturas que tenían nuestros
06		ancestros.
	English translation	
01	Eduardo	We have to support them [community members] to keep living those customs and

02		traditions that are our grandparent's, that our ancestors had, which today, in some
03		communities they are keeping alive those traditions, while in others, they have been
04		abandoned, too. That is not good, either. We have to keep doing, keep living from those
05		traditions, cultures that our ancestors had.

Eduardo firmly believes in preserving heritage languages and cultures in the community context. Applied to the classroom context, however, his stance becomes defensive about language use and policy discourse. In Excerpt 6, when asked if he practices Aymara at the College, he quips, "I speak it, don't I?" When I press on about access to other speakers, he adds with disappointment, "Not everyone knows how to speak either, but with the person who knows, I speak to them" (Lines 4–5, Excerpt 6).

Excerpt 6: *Eduardo, December 2013*

	Original	
01	Martina	Has mantenido tus tradiciones lingüísticas y culturales en la UAC?
02	Eduardo	Hablo [Aymara], no?
03	Martina	Es fácil mantenerlo?
04	Eduardo	No siempre. No todos saben hablar tampoco, pero con la persona que sabe, yo les hablo
	English translation	
01	Martina	Have you kept your linguistic and cultural traditions while at the College?
02	Eduardo	I speak it, don't I?
03	Martina	Is it easy to keep it?
04	Eduardo	Not always. Not everyone knows how to speak either, but with the person who knows, I
05		speak to them.

Eduardo's experiences as a community priest, in particular talking to elders from rural communities who have experienced discrimination and racism, based on ethnic, cultural, and linguistic difference—Eduardo holds a unique perspective. Thus, his position on policy discourse is shaped by his community experiences with the concept of "interculturalism." However, Eduardo does not give any indication of examined tensions with the disparate struggles or ideologies that each institutional structure he works in (e.g., the Church or institutions in the educational sphere) represents.

The one-on-one interview context with Eduardo illuminates the ways that policy might open or close up agentive spaces (Hornberger, 2009). Through the discursive

practice of interviewing, the interest of "local" players (e.g., students) on policy discourse of "interculturalism" or multilingual educational practices and ideologies subverts power structures that reify the dominance of the Spanish language and European worldviews. While this particular case clearly does not exemplify a critical or pragmatic stance, this case does not strictly exemplify a valorization of culture with the Law perspective, either.

Eduardo's approach to diversity in the curriculum is unclear and his stance on maintaining native language and culture is riddled with tensions, as exemplified by his disappointment about not being able to freely speak his native Aymara at the College. However, his approach to diversity in the community is clear; his stance about diversity in this context underscores valuing forms of cultural and linguistic capital. Thus, in the interview context, Eduardo implies contestation to applying diversity in the curriculum, but not on the basis of ideology, rather on the basis of personality differences. In a classroom, different behaviors, dispositions and attitudes may influence adoption or resistance to the diversity dimension in policy, whereas in the local [rural] community, at a societal level, the diversity dimension is a highly valued resource with likelihood of adoption. In this respect, Marco, the other male focal student, differs fundamentally.

Marco. Marco is the only student who not only did not identify with an Indigenous language, he instead identified with a foreign language (English) as his second language. Although he recognized that his proficiency in this foreign language is low, he clearly identified with what "English-speaker" represents to him. His identification is perhaps a sign of his rejection of his Indigenous heritage, or perhaps a sign of resistance to discursive essentializing of "Indigenous" identity within contemporary Bolivian society. Born in a rural town, but having grown up in Villa

Fatima, a neighborhood on the periphery of La Paz and close to the *tranca de Urujara*,[110] Marco was keenly aware of borders, both conceptual and real. Marco remembered his schooling with respect to diversity as linked to language.

Drawing from interview data, in the following excerpts, Marco discusses his understanding of diversity. In these excerpts, he talks keenly about learning English and Chinese, two so-called *linguae francae* of the business world. In this way, Marco contributes, albeit unwittingly, to "the (re) production of hegemonic relations through their bilingual or monolingual discursive practices" (Martin-Jones & Heller, 1996, p. 4). He states, "…right now English is the universal language, that can be spoken everywhere… I also heard that that language will be Japanese…" (Lines 3–5, Excerpt 4).

Excerpt 4: *Marco, December 2013*

	Original	
01	Martina	Se enseñó la diversidad en su escuela?
02	Marco	Cuando yo estaba en la escuela, tenía un professor que decía que aprender el ingles es
03		como tener una llave para abrir una puerta a un camino que recorre todo el mundo por
04		que ahora el inglés es el idioma universal, que se puede hablar en todas partes...
05		También escuché que ese idioma será el japonés…
	English translation	
01	Martina	Was diversity taught in your school?
02	Marco	When I was in school, I had a teacher who would say that learning English is like
03		having a key to open a door that opens a path throughout the world because right now
04		English is the universal language, that can be spoken everywhere…. I also heard that
05		that language will be Japanese…

Considering the growing importance of Chinese relations in Bolivian society,[111] and that in global business the Chinese language carries greater legitimacy, I asked for clarification in the excerpt below. "Do you mean *Chinese*?" I asked. He excitedly agreed and stated, "…it is going to be the universal language." He added, "I do not agree with

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[110] *Tranca de Urujara* (Urujara toll booth) is a police post and toll booth leaving La Paz city and entering the road leading to the Yungas region.
[111] Growing China-Bolivia relations center around economic investment in Bolivia's natural resources and primary commodities. Chinese language promotion is a secondary aim. China's recent investment, a Bolivian-owned satellite with Chinese support in technology and funds, suggests a strengthening but dependent relationship. "To finance Tupac Katari, Bolivia took out a 300 million dollar loan from the Chinese Development Bank, which the government claims will be repaid by satellite revenues within 15 years" (Cappaert & Lewis, 2014, p. 1).

the law [Law 070] that says that, let's say, all professionals have to speak an Indigenous

language, Spanish, and a foreign language" (Lines 2–5, Excerpt 5).

Excerpt 5: *Marco, December 2013*

	Original	
01	Martina	Quieres decir el chino?
02	Marco	El chino! Eso es lo que escuché, que el <u>chino</u> será el nuevo idioma universal. Bueno,
03		yo estoy de acuerdo con eso, y de alguna manera, también no estoy de acuerdo con la
04		ley [Ley 070] que dice, digamos, todos los profesionales tienen que hablar un idioma
05		Indígena, español y un idioma extranjero.
	English translation	
01	Martina	Do you mean Chinese?
02	Marco	Chinese! That is what I heard, <u>Chinese</u> and that it is going to be the universal language.
03		Well, I agree with that, and in a way also, I do not agree with the law [Law 070] that
04		says that, let's say[112], all professionals have to speak an Indigenous language, Spanish,
05		and a foreign language.

Sensing contradiction, I pressed for more clarification in Excerpt 6. Marco

proposed, "…you should place more emphasis on speaking, let's say, a foreign language

because you search for your progress" (Lines 2–3, Excerpt 6). Here, Marco equates

"progress" with learning a foreign language (e.g., English), highlighting the ongoing

process of Western cultural hegemony and neocolonization, carried out worldwide

through educational institutions (Makhdoom, 2014).

Excerpt 6: *Marco, December 2013*

	Original	
01	Martina	Por qué no?
02	Marco	Por que no se debería dar más énfasis en hablar, digamos, un idioma extranjero por que
03		uno busca su progreso. Si, digamos, tu plan es encerrarte aquí en Bolivia, o trabajar en
04		comunidades aquí, sí, tu enfoque debería estar en profundizar ese conocimiento; si
05		sabes hablar Aymara, toma clases; si sabes hablar Quechua, toma clases en Quechua...
	English translation	
01	Martina	Why not?
02	Marco	Because you should place more emphasis on speaking, let's say, a foreign language
03		because you search for your progress. If, let's say, you plan on closing yourself off
04		here in Bolivia, or work in communities here, yes, you should focus on deepening your
05		knowledge; if you know how to speak Aymara, take classes, if you know how to speak
06		Quechua, take Quechua…

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[112] In Spanish, "digamos," or "let's say," in English, is a common hedging term in Bolivian Spanish. I chose not to change the contraction to a standard expression using two words (i.e., "let us" versus let's) in order to convey and keep the slang quality of the expression.

In the Bolivian case, English and Chinese could be supplanting Spanish as the language of the colonizer, assuming that trilingual education is not just promoted politically, but also supported in education. Examining trilingual education is especially critical in light of normative language revitalization processes in Bolivia, and the need to unpack and "rewrite" traditional narratives of language revitalization themes. Marco's struggle with language is about legitimation. For him, dominant languages, such as Chinese and English, hold higher relative status than Spanish and higher status than Quechua or Aymara.

In Excerpt 6, Marco states, "If, let's say, you plan on closing yourself off here in Bolivia, or work in communities here, yes, you should focus on deepening your knowledge; if you know how to speak Aymara, take classes, if you know how to speak Quechua, take Quechua…" (Lines 3–6). His proposal to deepen knowledge of Aymara or Quechua comes with a caveat—do so *only* if planning to "close yourself off" in Bolivia. Conversely, his proposal discussed earlier to "place more emphasis on speaking, let's say, a foreign language" is tied to a "search for your progress" (Lines 2–3, Excerpt 6), highlighting the attributed high or low status.

In Excerpt 6, Marco's caveat illuminates the functional domains in language planning, following Stewart's (1972) list of functions that a language may serve educationally or societally. The two main functional domains of relevance here are the *provincial* and *capital* functions, or "of a province or region within the country" and "used in or around the national capital," respectively (Stewart, 1972, pp. 540–541). These functions, therefore, impact the status of Aymara and Quechua, as well as that of English and Chinese. In this case, Spanish is supplanted by the neocolonial foreign languages, not

supplemented by them, thus, perpetuating the cultural hegemony of Eurocentric

ideologies as apparently neutral and objective "voices" of "commonsense" (Gramsci,

1996).

In Excerpt 7, Marco's position rests on a set of assumptions regarding the nature

of discourse about languages, treating language and culture in economic terms (Duchene

& Heller, 2011). I ask him if language learning is dependent on the labor market and he

agreed, saying, "It does, and, it depends on yourself because you realize what concrete

aspirations you have. What you want to reach, or how, and what you're going to do when

you leave here" (Lines 2–3, Excerpt 7). Marco's discourse of empowerment as linked to

language learning highlights his pragmatic stance.

Excerpt 7: *Marco, December 2013*

	Original	
01	Martina	Entonces el aprender un idioma depende del mercado laboral?
02	Marco	Está, sí, y también depende de ti mismo por que tu realizes que aspiraciones concretas
03		tienes. Que quieres alcanzar, o como, y qué vas a hacer cuando salgas de aquí.
	English translation	
01	Martina	Is language learning then contingent on the job market?
02	Marco	It is, and also it depends on yourself because you realize what concrete aspirations you
03		have. What you want to reach, or how, and what you're going to do when you leave
04		here

To summarize the findings at the micro-level, the underlying theme of policy

discourse that is viewed as an expression of social power (Ball, 1990 in Vavrus &

Seghers, 2010) reflecting and privileging particular forms of knowing, weaves through

the one-on-one interviews. Drawing from theories in postcolonial policy studies,

revitalization of heritage languages in a postcolonial society, and critique of the *mestizaje*

ideal, the analysis of findings at the micro-level illuminate the tensions and possibilities

between policy and how it is being understood by its grassroots implementers. In

particular, my analysis of the findings centers on how diversity is being understood by local actors. Having examined the findings at all three levels, I now summarize these findings collectively.

In summary, this chapter traced the dominant findings collected at the three levels of analysis—micro, meso, and macro—in response to the four research questions. At the local (micro) level, the findings included common themes and patterns regarding students' perceptions about policy Law 070 (2010), such as the Pragmatic value of the Law, Valorization of culture with the Law, and Critical take of Law, or, any combination of these three positions. In particular, the findings revealed how policy's diversity dimension is understood by students in myriad, and sometimes, competing, ways. Findings show that students can voice different discourses or stances depending on the discussion and discussant context, as well as according to the student's own social and educational background, showing that students' discourses are tangled up in one policy text. The focal students' understandings of diversity in Law 070 (2010) illustrate how language, power and ideology intersect.

Lourdes, as the only Leco speaker, understands diversity as a mobilized form of inclusion in essential and stereotypical ways, which might be a reflection of her position as a lower prestige Indigenous language speaker. Thus, Lourdes does not adopt a critical stance towards policy approaches to diversity in education. In her interview text, as well as in policy text, the tendency to flatten the Bolivian identity in education is evident, and yet Lourdes does not prominently support the pillar concepts in Law 070. This lack of critique in current policy that (re) essentializes identity demands examination of how "diverse" voices that come from distinct languages and worldviews, even those coming

from the same ethnic or linguistic group, get constructed. Drawing from the language-as-resource philosophy (Hornberger, 1998), real diversity (as opposed to "symbolic" diversity) is valued and promoted, emphasizing the complex construction of identity

Another case, Eduardo, illustrates how students' own construction of identity as related to language and culture point to larger issues of power and identity. Drawing from the language-as-resource orientation (Ruiz, 1984), within a linguistic human rights paradigm (Maffi, 2002; Romero-Little et al., 2007; Skutnabb-Kangas, & Phillipson, 2000; UNESCO, 1953), this case brings awareness to the importance of conservation of biological and cultural diversity. However, this case also highlights the importance of reorienting and refocusing the mentioned paradigm towards critique of ongoing ideological struggles in particular contexts and the tensions created by these struggles (Heller & Duchêne, 2007). Despite the fact that Eduardo was largely supportive of pluralism discourse in policy, he critiqued the pillar concept of "decolonization," underscoring the need to trouble a set of assumptions regarding the nature of discourse about languages and cultures.

At the national (meso) level, perceptions of participants at the institutional level, reflective of political and ideological alignment with policy, might open or close up agentive spaces (Hornberger, 2009). The national level participants' positions are firmly held, except for the "ambivalent" stance, or that of the higher education institution, UAC-CP. However, as I show, these positions hold contradictions and multiple competing responses to Law 070. This meso-level analysis also extends the unsettling theme by examining how governing bodies or policymakers construct and disseminate policy, across two contemporary reform eras.

The two contemporary reform eras are situated in education reform in a postcolonial, developing context. The meso-level results above remind us how globalization and colonialism, two conditions representing different temporal-spaces, but proposing similar assimilatory approaches, reinforce each other in a postcolonial education system, by using the language of instruction as an instrument of power, in explicit and implicit ways (Benson, 2004; Contreras & Talavera-Simoni, 2003; Hornberger & López, 1998; Luykx, 1999; Regalsky & Laurie, 2007; Taylor, 2004). The contemporary reforms NER, 1994 and Law 070, 2010, have promoted multilingual, intercultural education in divergent ways. However, both provide encouraging *and* disquieting approaches to diversity since 1990. Examining how policy is constructed, disseminated and interpreted by meso-level players in the context of globalization is key.

The macro-level findings help situate the findings at the meso- and micro-levels. However, no primary data sources were accessed for this purpose. At the international (macro) level, through document analysis of international agencies' mission and vision discourses as well as through analysis of a timeline of global policies in relation to donor involvement and national-level policies, two distinct findings emerge: (1) international donor involvement and global policy post-1990 ran parallel to a surge in democratization policies at the national level, at the onset of NER (1994) and (2) national policy, Law 070 (2010) and donor ideology post-2000 have shown strict alignment or non-alignment in political ideology; this occurs as a result of exigencies and new requirements of traditionally "top-down" international involvement, and the demands made from a newly formed state.

Drawing from the vertical case study, results at the macro-level underscore the particular ways in which this Bolivian case study contributes to the study of global educational policies. For instance, international-level approaches to education development have often been "top-down" and thus, viewed with mistrust. In light of recent social and political change, Bolivian education reformers have reoriented the ways in which local social actors view education development, in particular how diversity is approached in education. The reorientation includes proposing local solutions to local problems, and marking a fundamental shift away from the exploitative or problematic development projects of the past.

At the international level, it is impossible to negate those big "D" discourses of socially inclusive education models have greatly influenced Bolivian contemporary education reform. Thus, these discourses of education at the global level are not just problematic for national policies—they are also beneficial. To examine participatory and non-participatory approaches to education reform, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approaches offer useful tools for analyzing *text* and *talk*, thus uncovering hidden, unequal relations of power in the larger social and educational context (Van Dijk, 2009). This approach is especially apt in the Bolivian case where issues of power, domination and social inequality persist despite educational development advances.

Having discussed the results at the micro-, meso-, and macro-levels, from the perspective of focal participants, I now describe and discuss the findings in greater detail across the three levels of examination. The discussion includes how this study advances the field and how my findings connect to current theory in the field.

Chapter 8: Discussion

In this chapter, findings at the international (macro), national (meso) and local (micro) levels of analysis presented in Chapter 7 are linked back to the literature discussed at the beginning of the dissertation. In this chapter, the findings help to explain the theoretical constructs reviewed earlier and to fill gaps in the literature. The main findings will be discussed in this chapter for each level. At the macro-level, findings reveal that the international development approach is still top-down, which can further alienate disenfranchised, local actors, and particularly diverse students. However, adoption of dominant discourses and institutions of the western hemisphere is now viewed more critically from the national level, and thus, international alignment with national politics is more necessary than before.

At the meso-level, those who construct and implement policy, i.e., state and church officials or administrators across higher education institutions, respectively, reveal contradictory and multiple competing responses to policy, in particular to the diversity dimension. Finally, at the micro-level, the findings revealed common themes and patterns regarding students' perceptions about policy Law 070 (2010), and in particular towards the diversity dimension, which changed depending on the discussion and discussant context, as well as the student's own cultural, linguistic and educational background.

These different findings at each level underscores how interconnected and interdependent the "levels" or "scales" are as linkages between local, national and international levels of policy analysis reveal through the vertical case study (Vavrus & Bartlett, 2009). This dynamic relationship between scales defies the presupposition behind easy, micro-macro connections from an empirical study stance (Turner, 2013), an

assumption made in response to the gap in the literature about postcolonial policy studies in Bolivia. Turner (2013) proposes:

> …we make the theoretical linkages by seeing how the outcome of these forces—corporate and categoric units at the meso level and institutional systems at the macro level—load the values of the forces operating at the level below them. Such linkages are made by seeing how the specific properties of structures at either the meso or macro levels will influence the forces at the next level down. (p. 28)

Drawing from this view about theorizing models and using multileveled analysis, this chapter discusses the findings at each level, with consideration for the types of linkages occurring between them in a postcolonial setting such as Bolivia. The national (meso) and macro-levels are undeniably connected, with promising and problematic examples of partnerships occurring across two "postcolonial," contemporary reform eras, post-1990 and post-2000. By tracing the involvement of international development initiatives in education pre- and post-1990 in previous chapters, analysis shows that the 1990s do not mark a definite and lasting change in paradigm, highlighting the importance of examining policy movement in its sociopolitical and historical context (Wodak, 2008). Findings at the local (micro) level of analysis in Chapter 7 also reveal interconnectedness with and within the other two levels.

The paths of influence between two or more levels remind us to abandon "universalist" and "essentialist" models of analysis in favor of a holistic, and intersectionalist analysis. Below, I adopt this approach to discuss the specific findings at each level of analysis, emphasizing their paths of influence. This methodological approach aims to address how "a property at one level will change the valences for a force at another level" (Turner, 2013, p. 28), a goal that underscores how in particular the diversity dimension cuts across levels, scales, and actors.

Macro level: Global Discourse Around Bilingual, Intercultural Education

At the macro-level, the dynamic between global institutions, donor agencies and the Bolivian national government highlights the complex relationship between "diversity policies" with respect to conceptions of national identity (Taylor, 2004). The international aid landscape and the global discourse around "diversity" in education reveal approaches that demand examination. Post-1990s, the global market's push towards the marketization of education is reflected in the neoliberal trend of promoting "respect for diversity," aided by the increased role of global and international education development agencies, understood to be largely economic in emphasis.

At the international level, BIE discourse has been taken up by all donor agencies in response to the global discourse valuing diversity in education. As an example of overlap of influence between levels, we see how the ideas of pluralism and diversity produced at the international level get consumed and reproduced at the national level. Responding to ideas and theories in the field of postcolonial thinking originating in the West, Rivera Cusicanqui (2012) proposes that these dominant ideas "are transformed into tributaries in major waves of thought" (p. 104), thus becoming seminal, instituted ideas that shape academic discourse in the non-Western world. It is implied, then, that international academies or agencies, influenced by Western academic work, "export" dominant ideas into national politics. This transformation occurring simultaneously between levels is not unlike Appadurai's (1990) intensified "flows" of people, things and ideas across "scales," brought on and intensified by globalization. With respects to pluralism in education in Bolivia, the transformation of Bolivian education has been impacted by international agencies in the context of globalizing forces.

Since the 1990s, various NGO's philosophies on diversity in education, in particular BIE discourse, have become a "major wave of thought" in education, provoking both resistance and support by national governments, as ideology is tied to funding and technical assistance. Historically, since the 1970s, "levels of funding for NGO programmes in service delivery and advocacy work have increased" (Banks & Hulme, 2012, p. 2) across developing country contexts, in response to "states [across the developing world] with limited finances and riddled by poor governance and corruption" (Banks & Hulme, 2012, p. 3). In Bolivia, foreign intervention implied that the state, which was normally the central provider of services and development strategies, had adopted exclusionary approaches to education development that only exacerbated the "advantage" gap.

In some cases, international donor-funded programs have helped mitigate the challenges of a developing state while in other cases the programs have exacerbated these challenges. In the case of Bolivia, both situations are apt to describe education reform and the impact of international donor agencies. The discussion of findings at the macro-level below illuminates these situations. To situate the discussion of findings at the macro-level, I draw from the theories reviewed in Chapter 2, such as a critique of hegemonic discourses in "postcolonial" policy studies and, in particular, language revitalization themes or discourses that are problematically applied to postcolonial settings.

For instance, the trope of "biocultural" diversity is an outcome of the market trend in a global education arena. Defined as the intersection between humankind *and* nature, between cultural pluralism *and* ecological integrity, proponents of "biocultural" diversity contend that the creation of a field of study brings awareness to the conservation of

biological and cultural diversity. However, this type of initiative has not been without its critics and critiques. Heller and Duchêne (2007) propose that this approach with respect to culture rests on a set of assumptions regarding the nature of discourse about languages.

Scholars have critiqued the space language holds in a poltical and social context, proposing that the "biocultural" trope problematically represents language as an "organic whole" that needs defending against attack, rather than focusing on ongoing ideological struggles in particular contexts and the tensions created by these struggles (Heller & Duchêne, 2007). Applied to a developing, postcolonial context, such as Bolivia, this conservation ideal has not advanced the plight of most vulnerable actors. As findings suggest, alignment between NGOs and the state problematically imply a "symbiotic relationship" (without either institution detailing what this means), which runs the risk of pushing aside the interests of those most vulnerable. Additionally, the aim of achieving a symbiotic relationship within specific "globalization narratives" (Tikly, 2001) is problematic because it assumes homogeneity across developing countries and within specific regions. Thus, deeper examination across scales, places and actors demands analysis of discourses of power at the global level.

Into the 2000s, however, a new approach to education development emerged, where NGOs moved beyond "growth-based neoliberalism" and into "greater consultation between donors and recipients" (Banks & Hulme, 2012, p. 5). In Bolivia, international development initiatives started to reflect a type of "people-centered," "rights-based," and "grassroots-driven" approaches (Banks & Hulme, 2012, p. 6) during this era. However, in this era of contemporary "accelerated globalization" (Pieterse, 2000), we begin to see the reproduction of problematic narratives once again.

Globalization narratives from the Western canon traditionally imply a hegemonic position unfairly positioning "…historically marginalized parts of the world at the center, rather than at the periphery of the education and globalization debate" (Tikly, 2001, p. 152). In both developed and developing contexts, the political rhetoric around globalization has typically been tainted by a sense of romanticism and idealism. Popular rhetoric extolling the virtues and possibilities of a "flattened" world, made possible by instantaneous global communication and mass transportation (Rizvi & Lingard, 2000) fueled this perception. An anesthetizing effect produced on the imaginaries of social actors invariably promoted a censoring effect on different types of "narratives of globalization." Discussion of the central findings at the macro-level involves troubling these "narratives of globalization," particularly with respect to the diversity dimension, across two contemporary eras, post-1990 and post-2000.

At the macro-level, findings suggest that the post-2000 paradigm of progressive reforms and approaches to diversity are not without its tensions. For instance, the bilateral donor agency Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) promotes capital "D" discourse on Bilingual Intercultural Education (BIE), equated with "high quality" education and applied to "all levels, and in all modalities of the system.[113]" Through its mission statement on BIE-affiliated projects in Bolivia, JICA implicitly references Law 070 and the importance of state ideology on education. JICA's mission discourse also implicitly references NER (1994) through mentioning the application of "high quality" education, as related to "best practices" through specific pedagogical techniques (i.e., anti-constructivist approaches). Thus, JICA represents an international donor that aligns

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[113] Law 070 (2010) proposes intercultural, bilingual education at all levels of education (first grade through college), unlike NER (1994), which only focused on the primary level.

itself with national politics, remaining relevant as an investor in Bolivian education.

Conversely, this alignment may also produce tensions with the state's new image as a self-sufficient governing body, highlighting a contradiction within the "Bolivian" identity. Moreover, in spite of a paradigm shift in education reform processes that Law 070 promotes, what these ideological shifts mean for continuing international investment in national education policy remains unclear. It would seem, from examination of different donor strategies and their alignment with national education policy (or lack thereof) that international donor involvement and nationalistic tendencies in education reform take contradictory stances, signaling mutually exclusive approaches to education reform. Thus, this study examines uncontested linkages between proclaimed "Bolivian" education and "foreign-influenced" education, in the context of social change.

This critique of global and national discourses—and the intersection between them—is relevant for research within contemporary Bolivia, where ideology permeates reform. Furthermore, in a research and education context where political and social acts hold symbolic meanings (e.g., the country's name has changed to reflect the nation's diverse status),[114] it is important to remain critical of these highly symbolic acts and discursive shifts that are occurring since these acts alienate the policies and ideas of the most disenfranchised. Thus, this discussion at the macro-level fills a gap for social and educational research in this context.

Having discussed findings at the macro-level and having connected these findings to theory work discussed and reviewed earlier in this dissertation, underscoring particular ways this discussion can advance the field of postcolonial policy studies and finding

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[114] Formerly a Nation in the traditional, Republican sense (*República de Bolivia*), the new 2009 Constitution officially supports the nation's diverse cultural identity (challenging previously held beliefs about "nation building"), reflected in the [country's] name change to *El Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia* (The Plurinational State of Bolivia).

relevant language revitalization themes for Bolivian education—in particular to how diversity is approached—I now turn to discussion of the findings at the meso-level.

Meso-level: Movement of Educational Policy Discourse at the National Level

In this section, I discuss the relevance of the results at the national (meso) level, connecting these findings to theory work discussed and reviewed earlier in this dissertation. I discuss these results; underscoring particular ways this discussion can advance the field of postcolonial policy studies and inter/intraculturalism theory, with a focus on desettling dominant approaches to socially inclusive education in Bolivia. As discussed above, a substantial overlap exists between the national and international levels, between ideologies and projects, and between policies and policymakers.

At the national level, the state has explicitly stated its expectation about alignment of international agencies with national politics. External funding is accepted with the caveat that international donors support the national political strategy in line with the MoE's ideology (Lopes Cardozo, 2011), including re-envisioning multilingual and intercultural education. Problematically, however, many international initiatives in education only symbolically employ BIE discourse in their policies and practices, as discussed in the macro-level discussion section above. Given the risk of *essentialism*, with respects to symbolic multicultural approaches in education, comparison of policy processes across national reform eras is stressed in this meso-level discussion.

Language officialization in the Bolivian context, for instance, must be examined in the context of other reform-related processes (Taylor, 2004). Thus, a qualitative research approach promoting "full and thorough knowledge of multiple levels of comparison within a single vertically-bounded case" (Vavrus & Bartlett, 2006, p. 95) is

necessary and apt for this context.

Officially, national legislation such as the 2009 Constitution and Law 070 (2010) supports the nation's diverse cultural identity. However, across reform eras, through numerous attempts to "recognize diversity," Bolivian contemporary (social, educational, etc.) reform has been to either propose redundant ideas or offer nothing new at all. Rivera Cusicanqui (2012) posits,

> Today, the rhetoric of equality and citizenship is converted into a caricature that includes not only tacit political and cultural privileges but also notions of common sense that make incongruities tolerable and allow for the reproduction of the colonial structures of oppression. (p. 97)

To the detriment of those marginalized, a cursory way of approaching critical social issues in education reform, with policy that includes loaded or undefined terms (e.g., "decolonization") actually negates "agentive spaces" (Hornberger, 2009) for multilingual and intercultural education—as conceived and performed by critical voices at the meso-level. Oscar, the Director of the *Maestría* program at PROEIB-Andes, whom we met in Chapter 7, is one such voice.

Additionally, examining and comparing contemporary policies under a discourse analysis lens reveals findings about NER (1994) and Law 070's (2010) ideologies, (also discussed in Chapter 7). For instance, Law 070's concept of "pluralism," with its alleged "revolutionary" contribution to inclusive education, reveals many contradictions. Extolling the virtues of "revolutionary" and "liberating" education, the type of education that Law 070 serves to promote relies on an "equitable" system, allegedly in contrast to the previous reform, NER (1994). This allegation is contradicted and undermined by the promotion of "liberating" ideals, not just in the social sense but also (actually, more so) in the economic sense.

Considering that the neoliberal, market-based emphasis on education was the reason for NER's (1994) fallout—one that invited severe criticism from contemporary reformers—the social and economic intent of Law 070 (2010) is fully contradictory. Of greatest concern, it overlooks the perceptions of those most disadvantaged. Thus, in the way(s) that the governing bodies are constructing policy, without input from stakeholder perspective and with a limited critical stance, so-called progressive policy is reproducing inequities and dangerously turning decolonization into "just a metaphor" (Tuck and Yang, 2012). Contradictory ideology within the same policy points to a particular tension: educational development is being equated with economic progress, while at the same time, equated with humanistic principles. This tension exists in how Law 070 (2010) is mobilizing resources, depending on what element of policy is defined as a priority (e.g., productive, technical education).

Indeed, the larger contention playing itself out in Bolivian education today is between the promotion of neoliberal versus "anti-neoliberal" ideologies. Scholars contend that the mainstream "neoliberal imaginary" is defined as viewing the capitalist global economy as a solution to socioeconomic and educational inequalities (Rivzi & Lingard, 2010), but problematically not as a cause of deep structures of exclusion and discrimination in developing, postcolonial contexts such as Bolivia. Drawing from theory work in the field of postcolonial policy studies, this section on discussion of the results at the national (meso) level analyzes the Bolivian case study, in particular market-based approaches to education, and the essentialization of the Indigenous identity.

Furthering the critique of dominant narratives about the market value of education, this critique is especially necessary for a country like Bolivia, where education

reform is intended for Indigenous students only, yet most Indigenous youth are still not receiving a "quality" education.

Additionally, drawing from theory work about the *mestizaje* critique, and desettling dominant narratives about diversity, this discussion of the results at the national (meso) level analyzes the Bolivian case study with respects to essentialized understandings of diversity (Osuna, 2010). These limited understandings reflected in contemporary education policy don't represent the reality that Indigenous cultures are dynamic, and their members diverse. Instead, policy reflects (re) essentialized understandings that cancel and reduce a diverse identity to mere stereotypes. One such essentialized understanding is the *mestizo* identity.

Historically, education policy has been proposed for implementation at rural and some (public) urban schools (as opposed to private urban schools), suggesting an engrained exclusionary narrative that privileges the urban, Spanish-speaking, White-mestizo student. This narrative underscores the "homogenizing colonial project" (Valdiviezo, 2013, p. 15) and the role of this project on the *mestizaje* metanarrative of identity. Across education reform eras, the metanarrative overtly or covertly plays a role.

On the one hand, NER (1994) normalized the language of power, Spanish, through a transitional bilingual program (López, 2009), focusing on rural, Indigenous students at the primary level. On the other hand, Law 070 (2010) normalizes Indigenous and foreign languages through trilingual education (Hornberger, 2009), focusing on rural/urban Indigenous and urban non-Indigenous students at primary to College levels. The trilingual education model with instruction in an international language, a local lingua franca or dominant local language, plus the local Indigenous language—recalls

UNESCO's United Nations Human Development Report (2004), entitled "Cultural Liberty in Today's Diverse World."

According to this latter document, states worldwide contain multilingual and multicultural societies, encouraging the adoption of linguistic policies by the state. However, there is no specific designation of what multilingual education on the local level may look like. Not surprisingly, neither of the two contemporary Bolivian policies mentioned above examine or have examined the impact of social exclusion on local actors, particularly those most disadvantaged, i.e., multilingual and multicultural social actors.

To understand diversity and what it means for all Bolivians, a wider examination is needed. Drawing from social justice theory work within postcolonial settings, analysis of how historically advantaged populations experience education differently, in which different populations hold a different reading of "social justice" discourse, is necessary. Gramsci (1996) emphasized the disparate roles of social actors in postcolonial settings and the ways these roles shape social privilege. This discussion emphasizes the role of access to quality education across the rural/urban divide.

Pluralism must be understood not as diversity alone, but as an energetic engagement with diversity. In more recent times in Bolivia, diversity may be considered a given, but pluralism is not; the latter should be understood as a hard-fought achievement. Moreover, mere diversity without real encounters and intercultural relationships across social classes and ethnic differences (e.g., achievement of pluralism) will only yield increasing tensions in Bolivian society and in the educational system.

Given that the ruling classes are better connected with other global ruling classes

than the subordinate classes, subordinate classes are subjected not only to "internal colonialism," or colonialism within the same culture, but also within an entire world-system. The impact of this lack of access combined with subjectivity is neither being studied nor considered. Thus, the notions of a "revolutionary" education, and "decolonizing" curricula, as proposed by Law 070 (2010), are met with skepticism at best, or outright rejection at worst, by those historically disadvantaged in the social and political systems.

Having discussed findings at the macro- and meso-levels, having connected these findings to theory work discussed and reviewed earlier in this dissertation, and having underscored the particular ways this discussion can advance the fields of postcolonial policy studies and critical multicultural scholarship, I now turn to a discussion of the findings at the final level of analysis, the local, (micro) level.

Micro level: Students Make Meaning of Law 070

The final level of analysis, or the local (micro) level, illustrates the mismatch between policy and practice on an individual basis. Hornberger (2009) cautions, "Local actors may open up—or close down—agentive spaces for multilingual education as they implement, interpret, and perhaps resist policy initiatives" (p. 199). Following this theoretical proposition, this discussion examines how local actors at a rural, Bolivian college conceive "agentive spaces" for multilingual and intercultural education. By and large, students conceive these spaces in ways as widely divergent as student's social and educational backgrounds are diverse.

Since an unintended consequence of the "education revolution" at the national level includes increasing the inequality or "advantage" gap, as well as promoting the (re)

essentialization of indigenous cultures (Osuna, 2013), tapping the perspectives of the "youngest policymakers" (McCarty, Romero-Little, Warhol, & Zepeda, 2009) is timely and relevant. In this discussion at the micro-level, the focus is on how local actors make meaning of intercultural, bilingual education policy amidst social change, highlighting the perspective of largely forgotten stakeholders on the dimension of diversity. Thus, the focus of dialogue with students is on the complex relationship of "diversity policies" and conceptions of national identity (Taylor, 2004), as understood by the students themselves.

A legacy of the colonial project, an unequal balance of power between practitioner and student and an entrenched and historically anti-constructivist approach to education in Bolivia (Contreras & Talavera-Simoni, 2003; Delany-Barmann, 2009; Lopes Cardozo, 2013) limit "agentive spaces" for rural college students. To remedy this inequality, and with the aim to democratize, social inclusion discourse has permeated education reform since the 1990s. However, "false inclusion" (Rivera Cusicanqui, 2012, p. 97) can dangerously recolonize and reproduce inequities in the social and educational systems. It is a central aim of this study to describe stakeholders' perspectives at the micro-level, not a commonly sought-after perspective. Thus, the discussion of results at the local (micro) level fills this gap in the research, with important implications for research, policy, and practice.

Drawing from critical discourse analysis methods to analyze the four focal student's perceptions of policy text, I focus on how students understand the diversity dimension in policy text within both group and one-on-one interview settings. Wodak (2008) differentiates between "discourse" and "text" in this way: "Discourse implies patterns and commonalities of knowledge and structures whereas a text is a specific and

unique realization of a discourse" (p. 6). Therefore, from the interview data collected about each student's understandings about diversity in policy (e.g., "de-colonization," "inter/intraculturalism," and "pluralism" discourses), trends and patterns in responses were identified and classified: those results will now be discussed.

The three main perspectives or positions that participants take were identified into three main subheadings: (1) Pragmatic value of the Law (2) Valorization of culture with the Law (3) Critical take of Law, or, any combination of these three positions. The first position, Pragmatic value with the Law, attributes meaning to policy discourse (e.g. "interculturalism" discourse) based on its pragmatic value. In other words, the practical goal of promoting interculturalism in education, and promoting a desire for democratization and unification of society through culture in education is the main driver behind this position. Next, the second position, Valorization of culture with the Law, is characterized by promoting interculturalism discourse as a [cultural, societal or educationl] resource with value, promoting this focus for the sake of valorizing. Lastly, the third position, Critical take of the Law, promotes the idea that policy ideas such as interculturalism are not ideologically neutral and, thus, not without complications (Ricento, 2000a).

These three positions were constructed through language-in-use, as revealed through data collected from the student interviews. Thus, the communicative repertoires of social actors as perceived by the language user are used to examine how these interlocutors take up or resist policy discourse. However, examination of these trends and how "language users deploy linguistic resources to accomplish social action and practice" (Wortham, 2008, p. 38) are not the sole focus of analysis at the micro-level. Examination

at the local level also "presupposes broader ideologies and practices" (Wortham, 2012, p. 129).

Drawing from the stance that language is a reflection of ideology, and utilizing an approach that Wortham (2012) contends is "attending to more widely circulating, often institutionally anchored models of the social world" (p. 129), I made the following examination of a focal student, Lourdes, and her language-in-use. For instance, Lourdes's feelings of embarrassment about speaking her first language, Leco, points to a historically exclusionary education system in Bolivia, where Indigenous students must always assimilate to the dominant language (Spanish) and culture, but not vice versa for non-Indigenous students. Indeed, the pressure on Indigenous students to assimilate accounts for many disparate, ill-conceived and stigmatized constructions of identity.

Lourdes is not unique or alone in her feelings; her internalized oppression is a common outcome of exclusionary policies in education. Thus, Lourdes's ideology is not just about language, but is reflective of ideologies that "envision and enact links of language to group and personal identity" (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994, p. 55). While simultaneously experiencing feelings of shame about her Indigenous heritage, Lourdes feels ambivalence about policy text that positions Indigenous language and culture at the center, as opposed to the traditional periphery. Thus, the "institutionally-anchored model" of how Indigenous languages are perceived in comparison to the dominant and hegemonic language in Bolivia, plays a role in Lourdes's essentializing narrative.

In addition, the dominant language in Lourdes's social and academic world (Spanish) is "the product of linguistic ideology, and in particular one which privileges certain local phonological systems to the exclusion of others on the basis of acquired and

consolidated prestige over time" (Tufi, 2013, p. 152). Thus, linguistic and cultural

hegemonic ideologies have played a role in Lourdes's language attitudes and ideologies.

Aside from Lourdes's language attitudes, however, a theme from her interview data

included her perspective of Law 070 (2010). Her "combination" stance in response to

policy ideas includes Pragmatic value with the Law, and Valorization of culture with the

Law. This twofold position indicates that, while Lourdes acknowledges the importance

of rescuing "local" knowledges and revaluing Indigenous cultures and languages as a

sound practice in and of itself, she also attributes practical reasons for this revaluing.

Thus, Lourdes's discourses fall under the theme of two different positions, pointing to the

"plurality of discourses" (Van Leewuen, 2008) present in particular when examining

contentious and challenging policy discourses.

Lourdes's discourses about policy are not classified as critical. One reason for this

is the very real discrimination experienced among her Indigenous peers, within a college

setting that is Spanish-dominant and Andean-centric. Thus, Lourdes's revealing through

her interview that she doesn't want to be identified publicly as a Leco speaker is a signal

that she is feeling discrimination as a lowland Indigenous group member. Her language

attitude reflects the marked state of flux of dispositions and attitudes towards language, in

the context of social change. Deeply entrenched and well-seated, attitudes towards

language and culture are ambiguous and arbitrary, contextualized within sociopolitical

processes and across ethnicity, linguistic, and socioeconomic barriers.

Drawing from theories critiquing policy studies that discount the contextualized

examination of the particulars of a global concern in its local applications (Bartlett &

Vavrus, 2014; Bray & Thomas, 1995), I undertake discussion of analysis results at the

local (micro) level. In addition, using critical inquiry as a framework to undertake a

linguistic analysis of policy, a discipline not usually examined in comparative

international education studies (Vavrus & Seghers, 2010), this study enhances the

examination of policy processes in a postcolonial context, filling a gap in this regard.

To critically frame discursive turns in policy processes from the local actor's

perspective, I drew from critical discourse analysis as my method for discussion. A

contextualized semiotic process speaks to the uniqueness of how language is used, for

what purposes, and by whom (Van Dijk, 1998) —as well as how social actors perceive

this function—is dependent on many things, including ideology and power. Thus,

Lourdes's framing of diversity concepts such as "local/Bolivian" versus

"universal/Western" knowledges in policy get tangled up with discourse about her

community's valorization of "local" knowledge (e.g., medicinal) and with discourse

about her own personal experiences a minoritized language speaker.

Lourdes's condition speaks to the lack of power and exclusion largely felt by

Indigenous groups—especially those from the double marginalized Eastern lowland

region of Bolivia—since the colonial era. Rivera Cusicanqui (2012) posits, "Since the

nineteenth century, liberal and modernizing reforms in Bolivia have given rise to a

practice of conditional inclusion, a 'mitigated and second class' citizenship" (p. 97).

Lourdes's position reflects an experience with "conditional" inclusion, evident in the

symbolic revalorization of Indigenous languages and cultures in her own lifetime, which

highlights the need to trouble the "conflict-free vision of language as resource"

(Hornberger, 1998). Thus, this discussion implies that there is a need for qualitatively

studying the impact of discursive shifts in diversity policy within one or a group of

students.

Having discussed central results at all three levels of analysis—the local (micro), national (meso) and international (macro) —situating the discussions within theories and conceptual underpinnings reviewed earlier, and implying how these findings advance policy studies in a postcolonial context, I now turn to my conclusions for this dissertation study. In the next, concluding chapter, I also include implications for policy, practice and theory, as well as the limitations and significance of my study.

Chapter 9: Conclusions

Analysis of how "a property at one level will change the valences for a force at another level" (Turner, 2013, p. 28) is applied to this study. For instance, this Bolivian vertical case study demonstrates how the global cultural and economic systems (as represented for instance by international policies and treaties) used to sustain power at the macro level impact the way meso level actors conceive of and enact ideology at the national level. Conversely, the ideological changes in cultural and economic systems at the meso level impact how micro level actors interpret policy ideas (e.g. the UN Declaration of Linguistic Rights) at the local level. The national institutions and its cultural meaning systems, such as the MoE and educational policy, transmit patterns of behavior and ideas over time and space. However, the movement of the 'forces' (e.g the policy ideas regarding revalorization of Indigenous languages and promoting an equal and inclusive society) at the micro level can also impact how systems at the meso level are constructed and disseminated. Through a vertical case study lens, this study aims to close a theoretical gap between the macro-micro divide, promoting the premise that distinct theories cannot adequately explain diverse levels of reality.

This study also highlights how these diverse levels interact, in tension with or in contradiction to each other. For example, with a political resurgence "from the bottom up" through Indigenous groups promoting human rights and access to quality education, in the context of social change, the effects of this ideology may be met with acceptance or resistance, depending on the individual and the social or political context. This study focuses on this interaction by accentuating, "the mechanisms by which micro processes can affect the meso and macro, as well as the conditions under which these mechanisms

are likely to be activated" (Turner, 2013, p. 25). Myriad responses to policy at various levels reflect complex power dynamics in the way(s) that policies are consumed, interpreted and disseminated. Thus, "…different strategies are developed by various actors and at different scales to enforce or resist the new discourse and related policy initiatives (Lopes Cardozo, 2011, p. 134) particularly the diversity dimensions in policy.

At the micro-level, through this study, I primarily bring to light the perceptions, feelings and interpretations that four focal Bolivian, rural, college students shared with me, in particular around cultural and linguistic identity, through analysis of policy discourses. In my study at the micro-level, I conducted lessons and did activities during class time, revealing contradictory yet illuminating views around policy discourses, such as diversity in education. The discussions and conversations that took place inside (or outside) class time during the twelve weeks that I spent at *Unidad Académica Campesina*--together add to the understanding of how local actors understand and employ policy ideas. The local views presented here are important in order to promote student voice and agency in the context of specific ideology (i.e. a history of inferiorization of Indigenous languages and worldviews, especially in education). Without rich description about local voices, hierarchical ideology in Bolivian education is carried in the minds of young people over time, eventually becoming the norm in the classroom and in society at-large.

Interviews at the meso-level were also carefully selected to reveal particular insights and excerpts that reflected the sentiment of Law 070 in the institutional domain. The ideological stances held about educational policy by policymakers at two institutions, the MoE and the CEE, as well as at higher education institutions or through the lens of

NGO representatives, were carefully examined as part of a collective but diverse group, the institutional domain or the meso-level. Although interviews were not carried out with social actors at the macro-level, the mission discourses from various global organizations were included here to situate and compare ideology in policies across national and international levels.

In this conclusion, I first summarize the findings of the four research questions. Next, I focus on the implications and limitations of this study. Finally, I make suggestions for future research and explain how this study contributes in theory and in policy to the field of educational research, in general, and to Bolivian education policy studies, in particular. In this exploratory study, I drew on the vertical case study and discourse analysis to understand the meaning-making of educational policy at various levels: local, national, and international. By examining policy processes at various levels, and across space and time, vertical case analysis traces the movement of policy (Vavrus & Bartlett, 2006).

Through this lens, I identify particular moments of tension between policy and practice, highlighting moments when social actors either champion or resist policy. With this platform, students were given an opportunity to voice their feelings, perspectives and interpretations of educational policy. Students interacted in the context of this discourse community, in which they co-constructed their social, scholarly and professional identities.

In the interviews at the meso-level, social actors also constructed their professional and academic identities, which are supported by institutional mission statements and vision discourse. Overall, through interviews of students, national leaders,

practitioners, and administrators; through document analysis of national policies; and through examination of mission discourses from the institutional domain, as well as at a global institutional level, the following research questions were addressed: (1) What is the global discourse around intercultural, bi-multilingual education? a) What are practices and ideologies maintained by international donors? b) How do they intersect with practices and ideologies at the national level? (2) What is the policy discourse around diversity at the national (meso) level? (3) How do students make meaning of Law 070? Below, the discussions for the findings at the macro-, meso-, and micro-levels are reiterated, allowing me to make concluding remarks and suggest possible future directions for this study. And, finally, with respect to the transversal element, (4) How is diversity understood by the different focal participants across each level?

Structural Power Dynamics at the International Level

At the macro-level, complex power dynamics are reflected in the presence of multilateral and bilateral lending banks or donor organizations in national development projects. Their alignment (or misalignment) with national education reform occurs parallel to national-level politics, amid a broader global context. International lending organizations either take up or resist national-level policies, but this positioning does not occur in the same way as for micro- and meso-level actors. If the donor does not support national-level politics and the conditions imposed by policymakers on the donor organization, the organization implicitly resists policy by withdrawing support, potentially phasing out all development projects. As illustrated in Chapter 7, international donor involvement and global policy processes occur within a national reform era context.

The binary of resistance versus adoption of policy discourse at the macro-level, examined within, "the broader socio-political and historical contexts, to which the discursive practices are embedded in and related (macro theories)" (Wodak, 2008, p. 13) reveals a predictable set of positions. Predictable positions taken by global organizations can vary according to donor interest and the national political climate; thus variation in how these positions are taken does exist. However, predictable stances at the macro-level are: aligned with multilingual, intercultural education or not.

From a national level perspective, alignment (or lack thereof) with BIE discourse is not the central issue. In fact, examination of discourse from the donors' educational mission statements reveals that all multilateral and bilateral donor organizations are aligned with BIE discourse, so a "spectrum" is not applicable here as a heuristic device. The central issue, in today's education reform context, is whether or not global lenders align their development agendas with educational development ideology espoused by the MoE, and in what ways do they intersect?

Given a history of "top-down" approaches with international development programs in Bolivia, all practices and policies by donor agencies are not naturally untrustworthy, yet the notion that foreign investment is naturally legitimate is also problematic. A balanced perspective about donor involvement in education development in Bolivia is ideal, but given the complex history of education reform in Bolivia, critical and deeper inquiry into the impact of international donor interest in Bolivian education reform is needed. Having made concluding remarks and possible future directions for this study at the macro-level, conclusions addressing the second research question are explained below.

Policy Construction and Interpretation at the National Level

A comparison across meso-level higher education contexts reveals a spectrum of discourse tactics for the adoption of policy discourse tactics, from resistance, to uptake, to somewhere in between. Within the meso-level, higher education institutions, as well as public and private governing entities are included in the analysis, offering a multi-leveled perspective of the meso-level. This perspective points to the complex picture at this level, highlighting a "plurality of discourses" between government and church officials, as well as institutional administrators. The plurality of perspectives and the varied interests present at this level point to a spectrum of policy rejection and/or adoption tactics. For instance, rural college UAC is positioned in the middle of the adoption of discourse spectrum across higher education institutions.

The other two higher education institutions position themselves as anti- or pro-establishment, or PROEIB-Andes at UMSS and state-sponsored institutions, respectively. The description of positioning of PROEIB-Andes and UAC-CP on this spectrum of discourse adoption/rejection draws from interview text as well as from institutional mission and vision discourses. Given the ambiguous and precarious position UAC holds, and given the early stages of Law 070 implementation, it remains unclear what the role of the MoE is with regard to shaping curricular revisions at the College at the meso-level. To date, MoE officials have never set foot in UAC with the purpose of evaluating or recommending the alignment of local curricula with national policy. However, in time, the MoE will do just that, and the recommendations made at a rural, private college might well be different than for other higher education institutions, particularly public higher education institutions found in urban or rural areas.

Pablo, the UAC Education Chair, believes that for the UAC context, particularly

in the Education department, the Law is limiting. He proposes,

> *Dice a los estudiantes: "Nunca podrás ser maestro en el aula a nivel primaria, secundaria, o a cualquier nivel." Si, podrán trabajar como consultores y técnicos, pero más que nada en tres niveles: en el nivel de Administración, Educación Alternativa, y Educación Especial. Por qué es esto? Bueno, la ley es clara en este respeto; el gobierno es el único—bueno el Estado debería decir, el Estado el único que tiene la prerrogativa de entrenar a los maestros a todos estos niveles—y eso no va a cambiar.*

> It [the Law] says [to UAC students]: "You will never be able to be classroom teachers in primary, secondary or whatever level." Yes, they will be able to work as consultants and technicians, but mainly on three levels: in the Administration, Alternative Education, and Special Education [levels]. Why is that? Well, the law is clear in this regard; the government is the only—well, the State I should say, the State is the only one who has the prerogative to train teachers for all these levels—and that will not change (P. Limachi, personal communication, December 2013)

Given this highly prescriptive model for education at the higher education level,

there is little ideological or practical "wiggle" room to implement curricula that is

reflective of broader academic conceptualizations and wider perspectives about social

identity for the future of degree-granting institutions. In the context of changing

sociopolitical processes, namely a shift from neoliberalism to "anti-neoliberalism" at the

local and state levels, local leadership is significant. A shifting weight of power between

stakeholders, moving from emphasis on international NGO interests to local Catholic

Church interests, is possibly reflective of anti−capitalist struggles at larger levels. It is

also reflective of a purported departure from capitalism's Eurocentric knowledges and

Western spiritual traditions. This departure is evident in anti-systemic, pro-lay state,

Indigenous ideology that intends to respond to changing institutional frameworks brought

on by democratization and decentralization. Accessing and seeking stakeholder

perspective is a necessary tactic for reformists of Law 070 if education reform issues are

to be resolved within a reasonable timeframe.

Six years after it was proposed, Law 070 was finally implemented. However, since 2012, little has been done to evaluate, understand and enhance distinct and progressive notions that present implementational challenges in the classroom. Arrueta and Avery (2012) maintain that a particular problem with Law 070 includes that, "…implementation practices have shifted from arenas of pedagogical reflection, based on concrete teaching and learning experience, to arenas where debate may be more informed by rhetoric than by practical considerations" (p. 428).

Debates about "inclusive" education in Bolivia are central to the successful implementation of Law 070; dialogue about the philosophical and pragmatic considerations of provisions for addressing diversity in the educational system should therefore be included in policy processes, as policy is being mediated, interpreted and resisted by those having to apply policy in real situations. Lopes Cardozo (2011), proposes, "The decolonial project is unwanted by some, as it is seen as an imposition into their lives, and since impositions could be considered colonial tactics, the design process and prospects for implementation of the reform, or the ASEP [Law 070] reform ontology, could be considered the same way" (p. 131). Since current education projects are all MoE-initiated, it is likely that reform processes are taking on a different shape.

Uptake of this progressive reform among different social actors is by no means a foregone conclusion (Hornberger, 2009). For instance, dynamic, intergroup approaches in pedagogical techniques proposed in Law 070 are aimed at providing Indigenous students with emancipatory, intellectual tools. One of these conceptual "tools" is the concept of Indigenous "decolonization," defined as being an epistemological shift, allowing new

forms of knowledge to evolve and be recognized (Rivera Cusicanqui, 2012; Ticona, 2006). Yet, even ministry officials consent to confusion around the pillars of Law 070, and, as MoE official, Jorge puts it, "a polyphony of voices and interpretations" surround new directions in Law 070. This might suggest a fundamental problem, not with the ideology itself, but with policy ontology and how to operationalization discourse.

De Rycker (2014) contends, "...there may be several but coexisting ways of both knowing and representing the same 'object' of knowledge" (p. 51), a possibility that opens up room for multiple interpretations of discourse. For instance, social actors within the same level might mediate "decolonization" differently; parents might perceive heritage language instruction as an imposition (and a new hegemonic discourse), while teachers might see revalorization of Indigenous languages as part and parcel to an empowerment processes. Politicization of Law 070 has restricted actors from engaging in and interpreting policy text discourse, when, ironically, these are the very perspectives that need to be accessed.

The widespread dissemination of the ideas behind MoE-designed policy is social practice unto itself. Social practices, or "socially regulated ways of doing things" (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 6) can be analyzed multimodally in terms of all eight elements, which make up the "structure" of the social practice.[115] Across reform eras, all eight elements make up the social practice of educational policy that results in varying ways that policy is constructed, interpreted, and disseminated. The findings addressing the third research question are explained below.

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[115]The eight social practices are: (1) actions that make up the practice (2) participants involved (3) performance modes or "stage directions" as to how to carry out a particular action in the practice) (4) presentation styles[115] (5) times (6) locations (7) resources (tools and materials), and (8) eligibility conditions (what qualifies a person, an object, a location, etc. to play their role in the practice) (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 6).

Engaging or Disengaging with Policy Discourse on a Personal Level

This study illustrates that a "plurality of discourses" permeate the meaning-making of education policy across age, gender, linguistic/cultural and ethnic differences in this focal group of rural, Indigenous, college students. First language of students, place of origin (rural or urban), what access to education students had, and the set of particular schooling experiences each student had—all of these factors played a role in how students made meaning of educational policy through interviews and in class discussions.

While most studies do not focus on the particular realities of rural, college students, in the schooling experiences and the perceptions of policy that these actors hold, this study fills the gap. This study reveals how Indigenous youth claim to have critical stances towards educational policy and view issues of identity as pertinent and complex. The varying student views about policy shapes how students make meaning about policy—either resisting or adopting policy discourse, in particular the diversity dimension. This variation on views or "plurality of discourses" can be viewed on a spectrum of "adoption/resistance," implying that the possibility of a combination of these views exists.

For the students holding a critical stance, the meaning of educational policy was constructed through a contextualized lens that includes consideration for educational backgrounds and their own linguistic and cultural identities. For Veronica and Marco, their place of origin (a rural town and an urban center, respectively) played a defining role in their access to schooling; but despite this, both are equally positioned to pursue successful careers. While Veronica grew up in a rural town with no educational opportunity past primary level, her parents believed in the importance of education, and

thus, she was sent to live at a public boarding high school in a larger town nearby.

Veronica's own connection to her family of origin and her linguistic/cultural identity appears strong, as evidenced in her professional interaction with Quechua community members during interviews she gave as part of her internship. Speaking to Quechua elders in the urban center of Cochabamba tested Veronica's abilities to communicate and interact in a culturally relevant way, constructing her identity as a bilingual and bicultural person. On the other end of the spectrum is Marco's construction of identity.

Although Marco was born in a rural area, he grew up in El Alto and La Paz, with access to private catholic schooling for his secondary education, which afforded him many opportunities others in his cohort might not have had (e.g., English instruction). Still, assuming Marco's parents also considered education of primary importance, thus moving to the city where more educational and economic opportunities exist, both Marco and Veronica had an advantage over their peers: parents that valorize education, and perhaps viewed it as a tool for empowerment and advancement. Marco's own linguistic and cultural identity is not strong, given his assimilatory stance towards language and culture. He credits his parents for teaching him some Spanish, though with difficulty, since they are each largely monolingual in their own languages (Aymara and Quechua). Marco's own Aymara and Quechua, however, are limited, showing only some proficiency with oral skills; yet he clearly identifies with the dominant Spanish language.

Marco adopts a syncretic, urban cultural identity that looks to Western ideals of culture for inspiration and privileges via a globalized language (e.g., English). This cultural and linguistic identity, often mislabeled "mestizo," is also an ambiguous

ethnotype. In this context, Marco constructs his identity as an "unbalanced" bilingual (Baker, 2006). For students with a less critical (to non-critical) approach, the meaning of educational policy was made similarly made through an understanding of access to schooling, place of origin and linguistic and cultural background. Eduardo grew up in a small rural town, continuously travelling back and forth between the "City" and the "Province," both for his higher education and for his missionary role as a priest.

Eduardo, as an ordained, 30-year-old priest, has lived in many far-flung, rural, monolingual communities in which he was able to interact with community members because of his Aymara language proficiency as cultural insider. Eduardo clearly identifies with the Aymara community, speaking the language fluently and knowing in what social situations to use it and for varied communicative purposes. This linguistic code switching and switching between cultural norms is also due in part to his age, experience, and, it is assumed, a heightened sense of awareness. Valorizing Aymara culture with the law, Eduardo constructs his identity as a bilingual, bicultural person who is proud of his Indigenous ancestry, with strong ties to his community of origin. However, not all students have a well-defined sense of identity. Feeling embarrassed of her Indigenous background and viewing her heritage language as a deficiency, as opposed to a benefit, Lourdes is one of those students.

Lourdes also grew up in a small, rural town, although she only traveled far from home, which meant taking her a step closer to the City, once she began college. Her geographic and cultural displacement began with higher education, about four or five years ago. At the college, Lourdes might not have had adequate linguistic support or have received a culturally relevant education, given that she does not claim her identity as a

Leco speaker from Beni. She ignores this aspect of her identity, constructing a mythical, essentialized Indigenous identity that does not demand her to examine her own background. Growing up in the Amazonian region, Lourdes cannot claim a syncretic urban identity, like Marco. Lourdes did not have enough exposure from the dominant language, Spanish, much less a foreign language, such as English, and little exposure to the dominant, Westernized culture.

Growing up in a far-flung Amazonian community, Lourdes's view of education policy that valorizes heritage culture and language is largely non-critical. Her view of culture is also essentialist in that she defines culture-in-education narrowly, defining "local" knowledge singularly as "alternative medicine." Thus, not identifying this essentialization aspect in Law 070 as problematic is expected from her perspective. Lourdes's singular view of "local" knowledge is through her own lens as a Leco speaker from a region that valorizes respect for and knowledge of the environment above all other knowledges. Therefore, Lourdes's engagement with the law is twofold: pragmatic and valorizing of culture.

In conclusion, through the lens of multi-sited ethnography and discourse analysis, I identified particular moments of tension between policy and practice, highlighting moments when social actors either champion or resist policy. The four questions aim to unpack policy constructs from the perspectives of local actors. Additionally, at the meso level, the questions aimed to elicit the perspective of national-level policymakers, as their view on how policy gets constructed are helpful and meaningful, in pursuit of contextualizing the student view. Below, I consider the implications of these findings and key discussion questions for practice, policy, and theory going forward.

Implications

This study has implications for theory, practice, and policy, but mainly for theory and policy. Theoretically, it illustrates the importance of considering the perspectives of Indigenous, multilingual, rural college students on national educational policy, situated within national and global discourses around intercultural, bilingual education. These discourses have commonly been unproblematized and local actors have been left to their own devices to unpack the loaded and ambiguous language of BIE-influenced policy.

Further, academic research needs to understand that local and national-level social actors' perspectives are highly variable and influenced by myriad social, political and economic factors. Studies have shown that analysis of depoliticized education requires a multileveled approach (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2014; Bray and Thomas, 1995). Thus, a more holistic or comprehensive model of research assumes that an understanding of a unit of study's (i.e., the local actor's) social environment or context is essential for an overall understanding of what is observed.

Fairbrother (2003) has shown that state hegemony in political education has impacted students in unintended, but often-detrimental ways in Hong Kong. He argues that, in response to this hegemonic force, student resistance to political education in Hong Kong is meaningfully construed, offering important insights and implications. Drawing from this Chinese case study, a dismissal of local and national social actors' perspectives of Bolivian national policy problematically excludes an important view from key stakeholders, and ignores how meaning is constructed at a micro-level. In addition, research in Bolivia must consider the impact that national policies have on grassroots social actors and the effect that politicization of policy has on these vulnerable

stakeholders who already assume that policy is not designed with their interests in mind, a problematic assumption in Bolivia (Benson, 2004; D'Emilio, 1996) that reproduces hegemonic discourse.

Research on the field of educational policy in Bolivia must incorporate different approaches to examining entire policy processes, including a comprehensive framework at different levels of analysis. In this context, vertical case analysis allows for the "theoretical relevance" and "methodological clarity" needed to trace the movement of policy (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2014, p. 1). In Bolivia, positivist and "post-positivist" philosophies are popular approaches in social science research and in the field of educational policy. This approach for examining policy in postcolonial and developing contexts is no longer apt or relevant. In Bolivia, using exclusively positivist research traditions reproduces the social inequities of the colonial project, producing a "double erasure" of marginalized voices. Instead, newer, qualitative-based approaches with their attached theories, methods, and evaluation strategies are illustrative and, thus, more apt for this context.

Ricento (2000b) described emerging proposals for study of the field of language policy and planning: "It seems that the key variable which separates the older positivistic/ technicist approaches from the newer critical/postmodern ones is agency, that is, the role(s) of individuals and collectivities in the processes of language use, attitudes, and ultimately policies" (p. 208). It is worth noting that Ricento (2000b) defines the terms "agency" and "postmodern" according to Western standards, signaling perhaps that the shift in philosophies is one that is perceptible in Western research traditions only. In Bolivian research traditions, particularly in social sciences research, this shift has not yet

occurred. However, drawing from reasonably informed inferences, one implication of this study is to advocate for the use of non-positivist theoretical frameworks and methodological tools, given the specific research context and local culture. Additionally, an implication of working in this research context is the necessary flexibility in carrying out research in "postcolonial" settings.

The required flexibility also includes how research design, data collection and data analysis are undertaken, as elements of these phases sometimes occur simultaneously. In this context, research focuses on other things: "Culture, meanings and processes are emphasized, rather than variables, outcomes and products" (Crossley & Vuillamy, 1997, p. 6). An unpopular approach in Bolivia, a non-positivistic research tradition nonetheless would be extremely apt for educational policy studies. FUNPROEIB Andes Director Emilio describes his experience with educational research in Bolivia at the higher education level to support this idea:

> *En el rubro de la investigación, la educación universitaria siempre ha enfatizado el positivismo cuantitativo, inlcuso en las ciencias sociales. Es un reto para educadores usar la etnografía, usar un abordaje cualitativo…Yo fuí entrenado como professor, y estudié la pedagogía, pero me enseñaron Estadística I, II…La investigación se enseñó, si, pero no en la tradición cualitativa…Cuando es precisamente este campo y área de conocimientos que requieren un abordaje más cualitativo.*

> In research, university education has always been emphasizing quantitative positivism, including in the social sciences. It is a challenge for educators to use ethnography, to use a qualitative approach...I was trained as a teacher, and studied pedagogy, but I was taught Statistics I, II… Research was taught, yes, but not the qualitative tradition…when it is precisely this field of knowledge that requires a more qualitative approach (E. García, personal communication, December 2013).

The non-positivist tradition that is the central framework of this study—i.e.*,* vertical case analysis—allows for examination of the "…complex assemblages of power

that come to bear on policy formation and appropriation across multiple sites and scales…" (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2014, p. 1), which resonates well with policy processes in Bolivia given the political nature of education reform in this country. National politics shape research impact on policy processes, furthering educational inequities. Thus, this study has wide implications, in particular for policy.

In policy, this study asks policymakers to understand Indigenous students as complex beings negotiating identity in the face of social change. Policymakers must also understand that *now* is the time to hear the voice of students about their understandings of educational policy, and not at a later, hypothetical "second" time of implementation. Empirical evidence on stakeholders' perspectives of educational policy across levels and reform eras reveals a dominant sentiment, which includes concern for the widening gap between policy and practice.

Despite the aspiration of officials from the MoE, through Law 070, to achieve an ideal form of education, policy is largely contradictory and has not resolved some of the major curricular dilemmas and ideological tensions in NER (1994) (Arrueta & Avery, 2012). For instance, the "decolonization" concept proves difficult to implement and operationalize. Speaking to North American education contexts, Tuck and Yang (2012) deconstruct the "decolonizing" concept in education and call for critique of this discourse. Tuck and Yang (2012) posit,

> The easy adoption of decolonizing discourse by educational advocacy and scholarship, evidenced by the increasing number of calls to "decolonize our schools," or use "decolonizing methods," or, "decolonize student thinking", turns decolonization into a metaphor. (p. 1)

Although decolonial struggles in Bolivia are identified and defined by Indigenous educational researchers and scholars, along with reformists and state-level employees at

large, there is still a need for critical reform. It is imperative that reformists do not ignore the intertextuality between discursive texts across reform eras. Contemporary reformists must be cautious to avoid oversimplification of valuable concepts through (mis-) use of hyper-rhetorical policy. The "metaphorization" of valuable concepts can be avoided through deconstruction of discourse. Unfortunately, critiquing discourse is viewed in a polarizing way—either viewed by many as intimidating and a prerogative of power, or—on the contrary, perceived by some as untenable justifications used by a weak and failing state. Either perception is extreme and does not do the process of critique justice.

Unpacking rhetoric does not imply tidy conceptualizations or neat conclusions. On the contrary, deconstruction of discourse generates more questions and urges deeper inquiry. Policy discourse should not fall along political or religious lines or according to special interests. Instead, policy should promote the use of a critical stance with consideration for the most vulnerable stakeholders. Policymakers *must* consider the implications of policy processes on social actors. Conversely, policy that is not informed by the stakeholders is not serving the best interest of the stakeholder. Rather, policy is being constructed and disseminated at the *expense* of the stakeholder.

As discussed in a previous chapter, the transversal element[116] of analysis reveals that cycles of Bolivian education reform overlap continuously in terms of pedagogy and ideology, without clear purpose or intention. This type of "recycling" approach to reform processes and practices points to a lack of a evaluation system, and to the hyper-politicization of educational policy, impacting already marginalized and vulnerable social actors. Considering how research informs practice and policy, Rizvi and Lingard's (2013)

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[116] "…historically situates the processes or relations under consideration and traces the creative appropriation of educational policies and practices across time and space" (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2014 p. 2).

iterative policy production and implementation processes model could be a useful

approach to examining reform processes in Bolivia. The cyclical concept promotes a

useful perspective related to an aspect of policy movement studied here.

Limitations of Study

This study has a few limitations. First of all, although four focal participants

illustrated the "plurality of discourses" concept—which were examined on a spectrum of

adoption/resistance approaches to policy discourse—I did not include more examples of

students that embodied this concept.

Through vertical case analysis, I chose to limit the number of participants for each

level, choosing only "representative" samples, particularly at the micro-level.

Additionally, the samples of policy text of the interview and class discussion contexts

were chosen by the author specifically to elicit critical responses and strong feelings from

students, according to their relevance to the subject of language and culture-in-education.

However, the texts chosen for each specific student to read and respond to during the

interview context were chosen at random. Overall, the use of a sampling of

'representative' texts and 'focal' students has simultaneously produced a small sampling

of responses. However, this limited sample is not necessarily determinant or broadly

representative of all Indigenous youth or all Bolivian, rural, college students.

Nonetheless, studies show that regardless of a small sample size, cases rich in

information can be identified and studied, particularly those cases with unique variations

from one experience to another (Patton & Westby, 1992), as was the case here.

As the research questions indicate, in this study a determined set of participants at

each level were not identified so I do not aim to presuppose or predetermine certain

groups of participants within each level, allowing an openness to findings, an approach espoused by chosen methodological tools. This is, however, a finding that needs consideration in future research. In addition, this study was not able to observe the four focal students in a broader context, such as at home, in other classes, or during extra extra-curricular activities, within different discourse communities (Wodak, 2008).

The finding of a representative sample of students, based on their type of outlooks, positions and perspectives on educational policy discourse came at the end of the data analysis phase, when I was no longer at my research site and participants had graduated and left the site. Therefore, member checking and deeper examination of these issues was not possible. Future research must include examining these issues deeply across differences in student social, economic and academic backgrounds. Further, this study aimed to understand the perspectives of students and administrators at rural college UAC-CP, as they shared their experiences and insights with me.

To undertake this study at the micro-level, understanding the college community and the community of Carmen Pampa at large was a priority. Since the first six weeks of the entire study were devoted to setting up the study, I used this time to talk to community members, including local storeowners, schoolteachers, parents, and college staff at large. Given that the College is a community college, with strong social, political and economic ties with the local community, my aim was to nurture relationships, and build personal ties, not just with the students and faculty at UAC, but with other community members. This also allowed me to better understand as researcher what the implications were of doing research in a rural community.

Although I can empathize and glean from the dialogue with participants'

information about what it is like to grow up in a rural community, as well as glean what it is like to experience limited or poor schooling during my short stay, my understanding is limited. A basic understanding of the social, economic and academic context of rural, Indigenous students enabled me to have a slightly more informed and sensitized outlook. I was not able to gain access to all relevant community members (e.g., local governing officials, school directors, teachers, family and friends of focal students) so my understanding was limited to a window of time and space in which the focal students were living at this boarding college.

Additionally, my role as a "visiting researcher," as opposed to a local practitioner conducting action-research, allowed for a limited understanding. Action-research works to decenter traditional ethnographic research, particularly in intercultural contexts, and can "promote the process of self-actualization and reflexivity that is necessary for fostering engaged pedagogy" (Mutua & Swadener, 2004, p. 102). Given the scope, time and practical limitations of my study, I did not employ action-research methodologies; however, I did strive to decenter my settled expectations and subjectivities, addressing these positions in the section titled, "Positionality." Undoubtedly, my limited experience with existing classroom dynamics between the course professor and his students, as well as between students, coupled with varied researcher-participant dynamics, shaped my research experience in this rural, higher education context, and within the tradition of qualitative research in Bolivia.

At the outset, there is a limitation to my critique of decontextualized educational research in Bolivia. By analyzing policy discourses across local, national and global levels, as well as across space and time, I'm not implying that localized, comparative,

non-positivistic approaches, such as the vertical case study, are the only research tool. This study, set within social, economic, and political change, attempts to reconcile "colonizing" or "globalizing" discourses on Bolivian education reform and to localize and contextualize educational reform with a decolonizing agenda. In highlighting tensions and possibilities in policy discourse, as perceived by social actors, non-positivist research approaches are generally more relevant; vertical case analysis is but one example.

Significance of study

Future educational research must understand the paradoxical situation within Bolivian education reform, where decolonization initiatives coexist with assimilationist approaches. And where "neoliberal" approaches to multicultural education co-exist with "anti-neoliberal" approaches. Future research must include Indigenous youths' voices, at every level of education, but particularly at the tertiary level, since higher education has become this administration's symbol of embracing "decolonization" in education. Mandepora (2011) proposes: "Along with demands for territory and self-determination to redress their historic marginality, the indigenous peoples' push for higher education has found traction with the election of Evo Morales" (p.68).

This traction has largely been touted yet underexamined despite the fact that the decolonial strategies in place across higher education institutions are uneven and inconsistent. Thus, highlighting the perspective of Indigenous college students and other critical voices at the meso-level, across the urban and rural divide, addresses the need to push decolonial thinking to go beyond mere revaluing of alternative knowledges, including revaluing linguistic and cultural perspectives. Tapping into divergent voices also pushes a greater understanding of "decolonization," across all higher education

institutions, and not just state-sponsored institutions. This study addresses this additional gap in the literature.

This study also explores the void in scholarship where student voices are concerned. Most regional studies that focused on educational policy perspectives and policy impact on stakeholders focused on teachers or meso-level social actors (Lopes Cardozo, 2011; Valdiviezo, 2013; Delany-Barmann, 2009). Thus, scholars have traditionally omitted the perspectives and realities of students in the rural Indigenous context, a stakeholder group that is fundamental to evaluating policy impact.

Students' voices merit close attention since uptake or resistance to policy—in particular the diversity dimension—shapes teaching and learning, as well as social development. This study is an attempt to view how the social and linguistic divide evident in Bolivia between Indigenous and non-Indigenous students—is resisted, co-opted, and framed around a higher education context by rural Indigenous students. This study attempts to examine the perceived role of language education policy in this space of tension. Additionally, this study views how globalization and colonialism, two conditions representing different temporal-spaces but proposing similar (cultural and linguistic) assimilatory approaches, reinforce each other in a postcolonial education system. These approaches use the language of instruction as an instrument of power, in explicit and implicit ways.

Unlike past research, this study takes a contextualized approach to examining bi-multilingual, intercultural education in Bolivia in its local, national, and global dimensions. Significantly, this study takes into account the wider historical, political and social spaces that multilingual, intercultural educational policy occupies within Bolivian

society. The Bolivian educational system is rooted in a system of inequity and

polarization with stakeholders holding myriad perspectives about educational policy.

Given the unequal system of power and historic disparities between powerful and

non-powerful actors, accessing and mining stakeholder perspective has largely been

ignored. In this way, this present work explores what those perspectives and micro-

discourses are in exploring how educational policy either opens up or closes

implementational spaces (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007) for rural college students.

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Appendices
Appendix A: Maps, Tables and Photo
Map 1.0: *South America*
Source: Sichra (2004)

Map 1.1: *Bolivia*
Source: United Nations (2004)

Insert: Country of Bolivia (in black)

Map 1.2: *Department of La Paz, Bolivia*
Source: www.mapsofworld.com (2014)

Insert: Department of La Paz (in red)

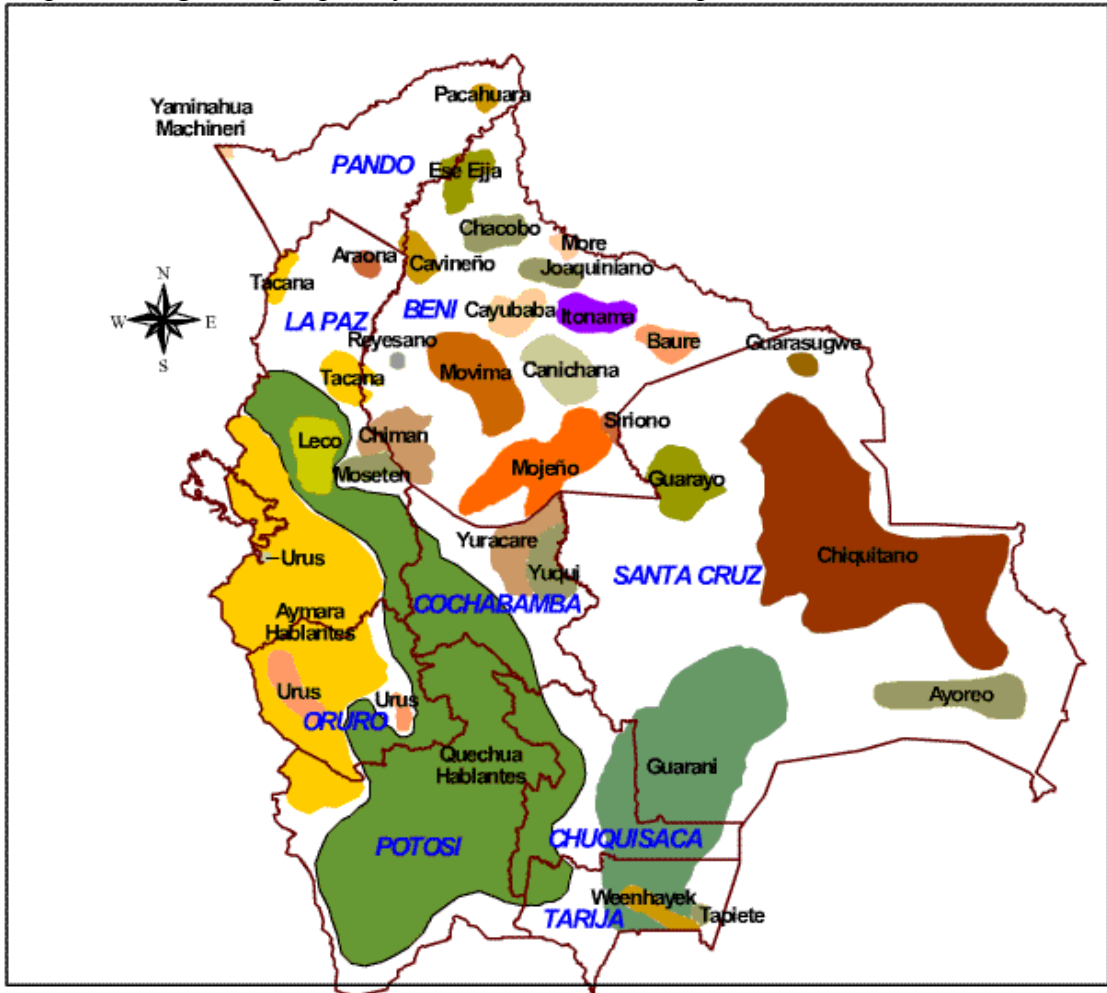Nor Yungas province: site of Unidad Académica
Campesina-Carmen Pampa (UAC-CP)

Photo 1.0: *Nor Yungas region, Department of La Paz*   Source: Author (2013)
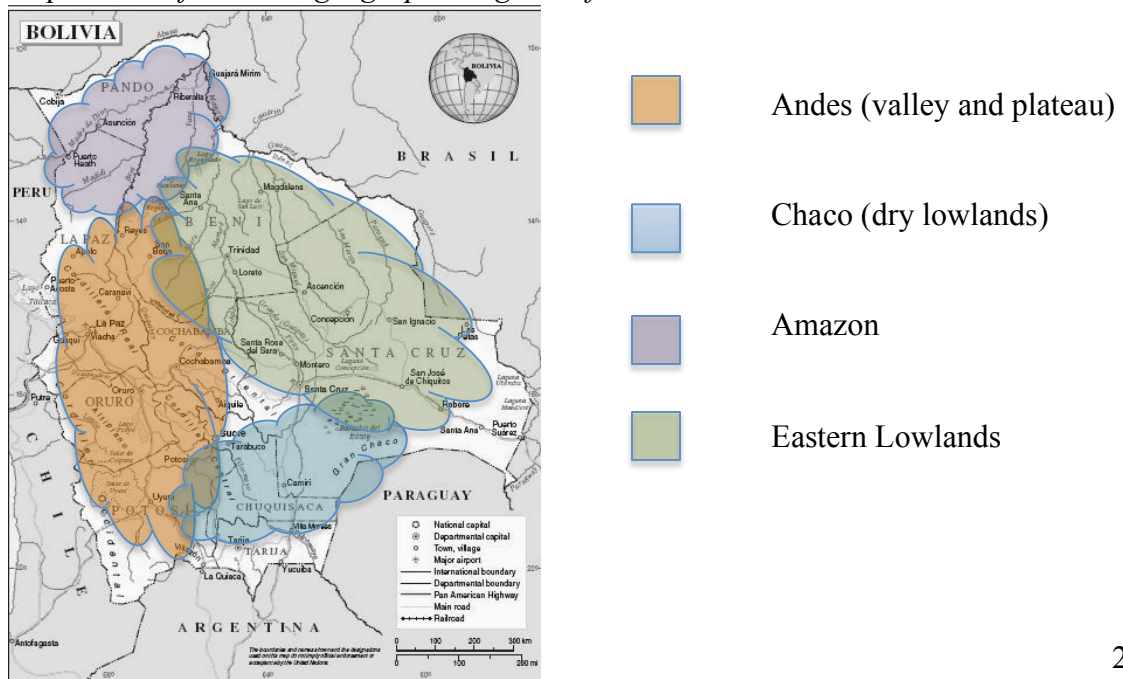

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Map 1.3: *Indigenous peoples of Bolivia across nine departments*   Source: López (2006)


Map 1.4: *The four main geographic regions of Bolivia*

Andes (valley and plateau)

Chaco (dry lowlands)

Amazon

Eastern Lowlands

Source: UN (2004)

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Table 8.0: *Indigenous Peoples and Their Languages in Bolivia*

Region	People	Language	Population
Andes (valley and high plateau)	Aymara	Aymara	1,600,000
	Quechua	Quechua	2,500,000
	Uru	Uru	1,200
Chaco (dry low lands)	Guaraní	Guaraní	90,000
	Tapiete	Tapiete	41
	Weenhayek	Weenhayek	1,800
Eastern lowlands	Ayoreo	Ayoreode	1,240
	Chiquitano	Bisiro	196,000
	Guarayo	Guarayu	11,950
Amazonia	Araona	Araona	160
	Baure	Baure	885
	Canichana	Canichana	400
	Cavineño	Cavineño	1,680
	Cayuvaba	Cayuvaba	790
	Chácobo	Chácobo	520
	Esse Eja	Esse Eja	730
	Chimán	Tsimane	8,600
	Guarasugwe	Guarasugwe	15
	Itonama	Itonama	2790
	Joaquiniano	Joaquiniano	300
	Leco	Leco	4,180
	Machineri	Machineri	30
	Maropa (reyesano)	Maropa	4,920
	Moxeño-Ignaciano	Moxeño	2,000
	Moxeño-Javierano	Moxeño	300
	Moxeño-Loretano	Moxeño	2,200
	Moxeño-Trinitario	Moxeño	30,000
	Moré	Moré	65
	Mosetén	Mosetén	1,590
	Movima	Movima	12,230
	Pacahuara	Pacahuara	45
	Sirionó	Sirionó	500
	Tacana	Tacana	5,500
	Yaminahua	Yaminawa	95
	Yuki	Yuki	210
	Yuracaré	Yurakare	2,830
No specification			55,180

Source: López (2006)

Map 1.5: *Focal and non-focal students' place of origin across three departments: La Paz, Chuquisaca and Beni, Bolivia*

Key:

Capital city, La Paz ★
UAC, Carmen Pampa ✪
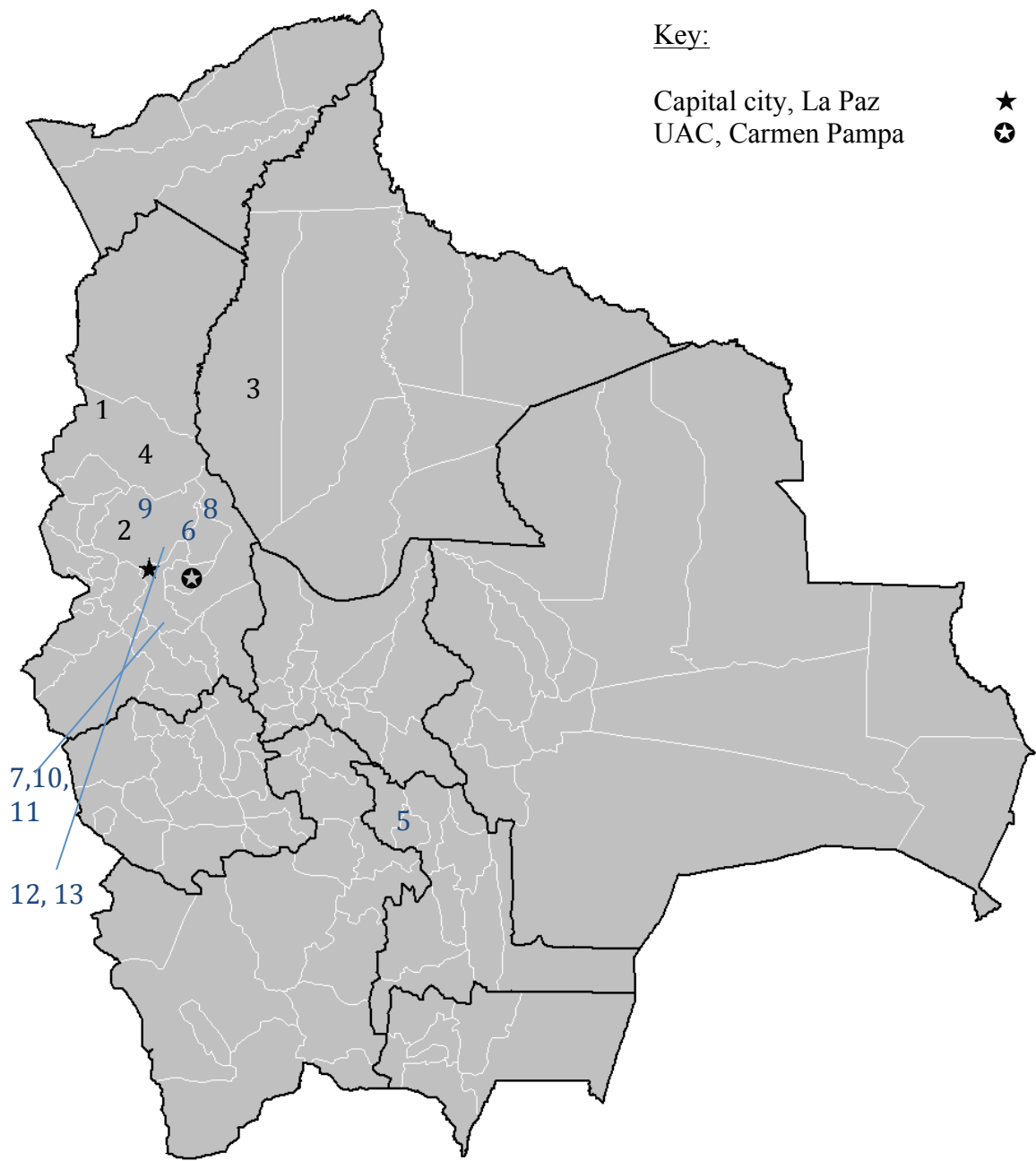
FOCAL

NON-FOCAL

1. Veronica
2. Eduardo
3. Lourdes
4. Marco
5. José Luis
6. Marisol
7. Miguel

8. Julio
9. Eva
10. Félix

11. Héctor
12. Efraín
13. Estela

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Appendix B: Interview Protocol (*Original)*

Cap.	Categoría	Art.	Sub Categoría	#	Preguntas sobre artículo en la ley
2	Bases, fines y objetivos de la educación	3	Bases	1	a) ¿Qué significa? b) ¿Es importante la pedagogía anti-opresiva en la educación? Porqué? o ¿Porqué no? c) ¿Se puede implementar? ¿Cómo?
		3	Bases	7	a) ¿Qué es la discriminación? b) ¿Cómo percibes tú que la inclusión debe implementarse en la educación boliviana? c) ¿Se puede implementar? ¿Cómo?
		3	Bases	8	a) ¿Cómo se debe respetar y valor el idioma y la cultura de cada estudiante en la clase boliviana? ¿Porqué? b) ¿Se puede implementar? ¿Cómo?
		4	Fines	4	¿Qué es la 'pluralidad' y que son los 'conocimientos universales'? ¿Que son los conocimientos y las identidades 'propios'/as? b) ¿Crees que los dos conceptos se complementan? ¿Porqué? o ¿Porqué no? c) ¿Se pueden implementar los dos conceptos de Desarrollo en las escuelas bolivianas? ¿Cómo?
		5	Objetivos	1	a) ¿Qué es el 'desarrollo integral'? ¿Es importante éste objetivo?¿Porqué? o ¿Porqué no? b) ¿Se puede implementar esta formación? ¿Cómo?
		5	Objetivos	18	a) ¿Qué es la 'calidad educativa'? ¿Se puede medir? ¿Porqué? o ¿Porqué no? b) ¿Se puede implementar parámetros que midan la calidad educativa 'que respondan a la diversidad sociocultural y lingüística' boliviana? ¿Porqué? o ¿Porqué no? ¿Cómo?
3	Diversidad Sociocultural y Lingüística	6	Intraculturalidad Interculturalidad	12	a) ¿Define qué es la Intra y la Inter-culturalidad? b) ¿Son conceptos importantes para el sistema socio-educativo boliviano? ¿Porqué? o ¿Porqué no? c) ¿Se pueden implementar? ¿Cómo?

Appendix B: Interview Protocol *(Translation)*

Chapter	Category	Article	Sub Category	#	Questions about Article in Law
2	Foundations, purposes, objectives of Education	3	Foundations	1	a) What does the statement mean? b) Is anti-oppression pedagogy an important element of education? Why or why not? c) Can it be implemented? How?
		3	Foundations	7	a) What is discrimination? b) How do you think inclusion can be implemented in the Bolivian education system?
		3	Foundations	8	a) How should every Bolivian's language and culture be respected in the classroom? b) Can it be implemented? How?
		4	Purposes	4	a) What is diversity and/or plurality? b) What is 'universal' knowledge? What is personal knowledge and identity? c) Do you think that these two latter concepts complement each other? Why or why not? d) Do you think that these two concepts of development could be implemented in Bolivian schools? How?
		5	Objectives	1	a) What is integral development? Is this objective important? Why or why not? b) Do you think this kind of training could be implemented? How?
		5	Objectives	18	a) What is "educational quality"? Can it be measured? Why or why not? b) Can parameters be implemented that measure educational quality and reflect socio-cultural and linguistic diversity? Why or why not?
3	Socio-cultural and linguistic diversity	6	Intraculturality interculturality	12	a) Define intra and interculturality? b) Are these important concepts for the Bolivian socio-education system? Why? c) Can they be implemented? How?

Appendix B: Peer Interview Protocol *(Original)*

Nombre de entrevistador/a:_____ Fecha: _____

<center>Guía de preguntas: Entrevistando a un(a) colega</center>

Favor llenar ésta parte con datos **de tu colega**:
A: Información básica

Nombre y apellido:		Edad:	Género:
	_____	**_____**	F/M
Lugar de nacimiento:	**_____**		

B: Idiomas
Si contestaste *"Sí"*...Evalúa:

Tu primer idioma:		¿hablas? ¿escribes? ¿lees?	No □ No □ No □	Sí □ Sí □ Sí □	1 □ 2□ 3□ 4□ 1 □ 2□ 3□ 4□ 1 □ 2□ 3□ 4□	1= muy bien 2= bien 3= poco 4= nada
Tu segundo idioma:		¿hablas? ¿escribes? ¿lees?	No □ No □ No □	Sí □ Sí □ Sí □	1 □ 2□ 3□ 4□ 1 □ 2□ 3□ 4□ 1 □ 2□ 3□ 4□	1= muy bien 2= bien 3= poco 4= nada

C: Educación

¿Te recibiste de bachiller? Sí □ No □ ¿En qué fecha?		
Nombre de escuela primaria:		Lugar:
Nombre de escuela secundaria:		Lugar:

1. ¿Qué es el "pluralismo"? ¿Dónde se encuentra?

2. ¿Se aplican los conceptos del "pluralismo" y la "diversidad" en la educación? ¿Porqué?

3. ¿Cómo los/las maestros/as pueden promover el respeto a la diversidad en el aula?

Appendix B: Peer Interview Protocol *(Translation)*

Name of the interviewer:_____ Date: _____

Question Guide: Interviewing a classmate

Please fill out this section with data about **your classmate**:

A: Basic information

First and Last name:		Age:	Sex:
	_____	_____	F/M
Place of birth:	_____		

B: Languages

Evaluate: Do you_____in your first or second language*? How well?*

Your first language:		speak?	No □	Yes □	1 □ 2□ 3□ 4□	1= very well
		write?	No □	Yes □	1 □ 2□ 3□ 4□	2= well
		read?	No □	Yes □	1 □ 2□ 3□ 4□	3= not well
						4= not at all
Your second language:		speak?	No □	Yes □	1 □ 2□ 3□ 4□	1= very well
		write?	No □	Yes □	1 □ 2□ 3□ 4□	2= well
		read	No □	Yes □	1 □ 2□ 3□ 4□	3= not well
						4= not at all

C: Educación

Did you obtain your High School Diploma? Yes □ No □ What date?		
Name of primary school:		Location:
Name of secondary school:		Location:

1. What is "pluralism"? Where is it found?

2. Are the concepts of "pluralism" and *"diversity"* applicable to education? Why?

3. How can teachers promote respect for diversity in the classroom?

Appendix C: Law 070 Articles *(Original)*

Cap 2, Categoría Bases, fines y objetivos de la educación, Articulo 3, Sub categoría Bases, #1
Es descolonizadora, liberadora, revolucionaria, antiimperialista, despatriarcalizadora y transformadora de las estructuras económicas y sociales; orientada a la reafirmación cultural de las naciones y pueblos indígena originario campesinos, las comunidades interculturales y afrobolivianas en la construcción del Estado Plurinacional y el Vivir Bien.

Cap 2, Categoría Bases, fines y objetivos de la educación, Articulo 3, Sub categoría Bases, #7
Es inclusiva, asumiendo la diversidad de los grupos poblacionales y personas que habitan el país, ofrece una educación oportuna y pertinente a las necesidades, expectativas e intereses de todas y todos los habitantes del Estado Plurinacional, con igualdad de oportunidades y equiparación de condiciones, sin discriminación alguna según el Artículo 14 de la Constitución Política del Estado

Cap 2, Categoría Bases, fines y objetivos de la educación, Articulo 3, Sub categoría Bases, #8
Es intracultural, intercultural, y plurilingüe en todo el sistema educativo, desde el potenciamiento de los saberes, conocimientos e idioma de las naciones y pueblos indígenas, originarios campesinos, de las comunidades interculturales y afrobolivianos. Promueve la interrelación y convivencia con igualdad de oportunidades para todos y todas, a través de la valoración y respeto recíproco entre culturas.

Cap 2, Categoría Bases, fines y objetivos de la educación, Articulo 4, Sub categoría Fines, #4
Fortalecer el desarrollo de la interculturalidad y el plurilingüismo, y la formación y la realización plena de los bolivianos y bolivianas para una sociedad de vivir bien, contribuyendo a la consolidación y fortalecimiento de la identidad cultural de las naciones y pueblos indígenas, originarios campesinos, comunidades interculturales y afrobolivianas, a partir de las ciencias técnicas, artes y tecnologías propias y complementariedad con los conocimientos de los sabios.

Cap 2, Categoría Bases, fines y objetivos de la educación, Articulo 5, Sub categoría Objetivos, #1
Desarrollar la formación integral de las personas y el fortalecimiento de la conciencia social crítica de la vida y en la vida para Vivir Bien, que vincule la teoría con la práctica productiva. La educación estará orientada a la formación individual y colectiva, sin discriminación alguna, desarrollando potencialidades y capacidades físicas, intelectuales, afectivas, culturales, artísticas, deportivas, creativas e innovadoras, con vocación de servicio a la sociedad y al Estado Plurinacional.

Cap 2, Categoría Bases, fines y objetivos de la educación, Articulo 5, Sub categoría Objetivos, #18
Garantizar integralmente la calidad de la educación en todo el Sistema Educativo Plurinacional, implementando estrategias de seguimiento, medición, evaluación y acreditación con participación social. En el marco de la soberanía e identidad plurinacional, plantear a nivel internacional indicadores, parámetros de evaluación y acreditación de la calidad educativa que respondan a la diversidad sociocultural y lingüística del país.

Cap 3, Categoría Diversidad Sociocultural y Lingüística, Articulo 6, Sub categoría Intraculturalidad #12
Intraculturalidad. La intraculturalidad promueve la recuperación fortalecimiento, desarrollo y cohesión al interior de las culturas de las misiones y pueblos indígenas originarios campesinos, comunidades inter-culturales y afrobolivianas para la consolidación del Estado Plurinacional, basado en la solidaridad, complementariedad, reciprocidad y justicia, en el currículo en el sistema educativo plurinacional. Se incorporan los saberes y conocimientos de cosmovisiones de las naciones y pueblos indígenas originarios campesinos, comunidades interculturales y afrobolivianos.

Cap 3, Categoría Diversidad Sociocultural y Lingüística, Articulo 6, Sub categoría Interculturalidad #12
Interculturalidad. El desarrollo de la interrelación e interacción de conocimientos, saberes, ciencia y tecnología propias de cada cultura con otras culturas, que fortalecen la identidad propia y la interacción en igualdad de condiciones entre todas las culturas bolivianas con las del resto del mundo. Se promueven prácticas de interacción entre diferentes pueblos y culturas desarrollando aptitudes de valoración, convivencia y diálogo entre distintas visiones del mundo para proyectar y universalizar la sabiduría propia.

Appendix C: Law 070 Articles *(Translation)*

Ch. 2, Category: Foundations, purposes and objectives of education, Article 3, Sub-cat. Foundations #1
It is decolonizing, liberating, revolutionary, anti-imperialist, depatriarchical and is transforming of the economic and social structure; it is oriented towards the cultural reaffirmation of indigenous peasant nations and peoples, intercultural and Afro-Bolivian communities to construct the Plurinational State and to "live well" (Vivir Bien).

Ch. 2, Category: Foundations, purposes and objectives of education, Article 3, Sub-cat. Foundations #7
It is inclusive; it accepts the diversity of the different population groups and individuals that live throughout the country, it offers an appropriate education that is relevant to the needs, expectations and interests of all inhabitants in the Plurinational State. Providing equal opportunity, equal conditions, free from discrimination according to Article 14 in the Constitution.

Ch. 2, Category: Foundations, purposes and objectives of education, Article 3, Sub-cat. Foundations #8
It is intercultural, intracultural and multilingual are integrated throughout the educational system. It promotes the wisdom, knowledge and language of indigenous peasant nations and peoples, Afro-Bolivians and intercultural communities. It promotes equal opportunity, interconnection and coexistence within all cultures by appreciation and mutual respect.

Ch. 2, Category: Foundations, purposes and objectives of education, Article 4, Sub-cat. Purposes #4
Strengthens the development of interculturality and multilingualism and the training and self-fulfillment of male and female Bolivians for a society of "living well" (Vivir Bien). It contributes to the consolidation and strengthening of a cultural identity for indigenous peasant nations and peoples, Afro-Bolivian and intercultural communities by teaching sciences, art and technology and by complementing it with the wisdom of the elders.

Ch. 2, Category: Foundations, purposes and objectives of education, Article 5, Objectives #1
Develop integral training and the strengthening of a critical social consciousness regarding life and in order to "live well", so as to link theory with hands on application. Education will be directed towards training at an individual and collective level, without discrimination, thereby developing people's potential and abilities in the following areas: physical, intellectual, affective, cultural, artistic, sports, creativity and innovation, focusing on serving society and the Plurinational State.

Ch. 2, Category: Foundations, purposes and objectives of education, Article 5, Objectives #18
Completely guaranteeing educational quality throughout the Plurinational Educational System, by implementing methods of participatory monitoring, measurement, evaluation and accreditation. Within the context of sovereignty and plurinational identity, we will propose international indicators, evaluation benchmarks and accreditation for educational quality that respond to the socio-cultural and linguistic diversity of the country.

Ch. 3, Category: Socio-cultural and linguistic diversity Article 6, sub-category Intraculturality #12 Intraculturality. Intraculturality helps the mission cultures, indigenous people, Afro-Bolivians and intercultural communities recover their strength, development and coherence so as to consolidate the Plurinational State; the plurinational educational system is based in solidarity, synergy, reciprocity and justice. The knowledge, wisdom and world views of indigenous peasant nations and peoples, Afro-Bolivian intercultural communities will be incorporated.

Ch. 3, Category: Socio-cultural and linguistic diversity, Article 6, sub-category Interculturality #12 Interculturality. It is the the development of interrelation and the interaction between cultures of their knowledge, wisdom, science and technology; this strengthens their own identity and Bolivian cultures interact with equality with the rest of the world. Practices on how to interact with diferent peoples and cultures will be promoted; skills in appreciation, coexistence and dialogue will be used to understand different world views to project and generalize one's own knowledge.

Appendix D: How each type of data (observations, interviews, student document analysis and policy document analysis) addresses each question

Table 3.0: *RQ, Type of Data, and How Data Addresses Question (Macro-Level)*

Research question #1	Type of data	How data addresses RQ
What are global discourses around intercultural, bilingual education? a) What are practices and ideologies maintained by international donors? b) How do they intersect with practices and ideologies at the national level?	Documents	Comparative DA document analysis of policies historical examination ideologies via entextualization and discourse-historical approach.

Table 3.1: *RQ, Type of Data, and How Data Addresses Question (Meso-Level)*

Research question #2	Type of data	How data addresses RQ
What is the policy discourse around diversity at the national (meso) level?	Observations	Examine out of class events & activities that focus on issues of language, culture, identity and education policy.
	Interviews (audio)	Analyze insights on professors' and administrators' views
	Documents Websites	Examination of beliefs, ideologies and language attitudes held by institution or governmental body via analysis of mission statements.

Table 3.2: *RQ, Type of Data and How Data Addresses Question (Micro-Level)*

Research question #3	Type of data	How data addresses RQ
How do students make meaning of Law 070?	Observations (video)	Research approach generates discussions about language, culture identity and policy.
	Interviews (audio)	Generate discussion and gain insights on student perspectives and views
	Documents	Insights held by students about Law ideology through journaling; ongoing examination of student documents such as reflective writing and other assignments.

Table 3.3: *RQ, Type of Data and How Data Addresses Question (All Levels)*

Research question #4	Type of data	How data addresses RQ
How is diversity understood by the different focal participants across each level?	Combination of inteviews (audio and video)	Examination of diversity discourse
	Documents	.Examination of diversity discourse

Appendix E: International donor discourse around BIE

Figure 2.1: *International Donor Organization with Mission Discourse Around Bilingual, Intercultural Education (BIE)*

International donor	Mission discourse around bilingual, intercultural education
WB	*To promote education for all, closing the "advantage" gap and making sure that rural, disadvantaged Indigenous students can achieve the same levels of learning as urban Spanish-speaking students through programs such as **intercultural bilingual education**.*
IADB	*To support social and rural development programs with a view to reducing poverty and improving living standards, particularly for the neediest population segments by improving access of the monolingual Indigenous language-speakers through **intercultural bilingual education**.*
UNESCO	*To promote quality education as a fundamental right for all by addressing a broad range of themes, which include respect for cultural and linguistic diversity*
UNICEF	*To promote the use of indigenous languages in education and in other sectors which are linked to the integral development of indigenous children and women.*
USAID	*To strengthen the participation of Quechua and Aymara communities in municipal and national governance activities…to promote sustainable, diversified economic and social development in Bolivia's coca growing regions and associated areas.*
GTZ	*To assist projects to improve basic education we direct our main efforts at **intercultural bilingual education***
JICA	*To offer high quality **Intercultural Bilingual Education** at all levels and in all modalities of the system, in order to improve the quality of life for indigenous peoples and nationalities and for Bolivian society*
AECID	*Through **Intercultural Bilingual Education**, we guarantee the recovery, support and development of heritage languages, and we promote the maintenance of knowledge, skills and values of each indigenous group*
DANIDA	*To promote basic education, bilingual education and technical education relevant To the labour market. In addition, a minor level of support for the indigenous peoples' educational councils is included, focusing on the promotion of indigenous rights in education, including **bilingual and intercultural education**.*
SIDA	*To improve the quality of **bilingual intercultural education**, through the active participation of Education Councils for Indigenous Peoples in Bolivia, CEPOS, in the formulation of education policies.*
Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs	*To improve educational quality through, among others, the development of management capacity of the national education system, teacher training, consolidating and generalizing the transformation of the curriculum and promoting citizen's participation through emancipation and inclusion of indigenous groups by rolling-out **intercultural and bilingual education**.*

Appendix F: Timelines situating national policy in global context

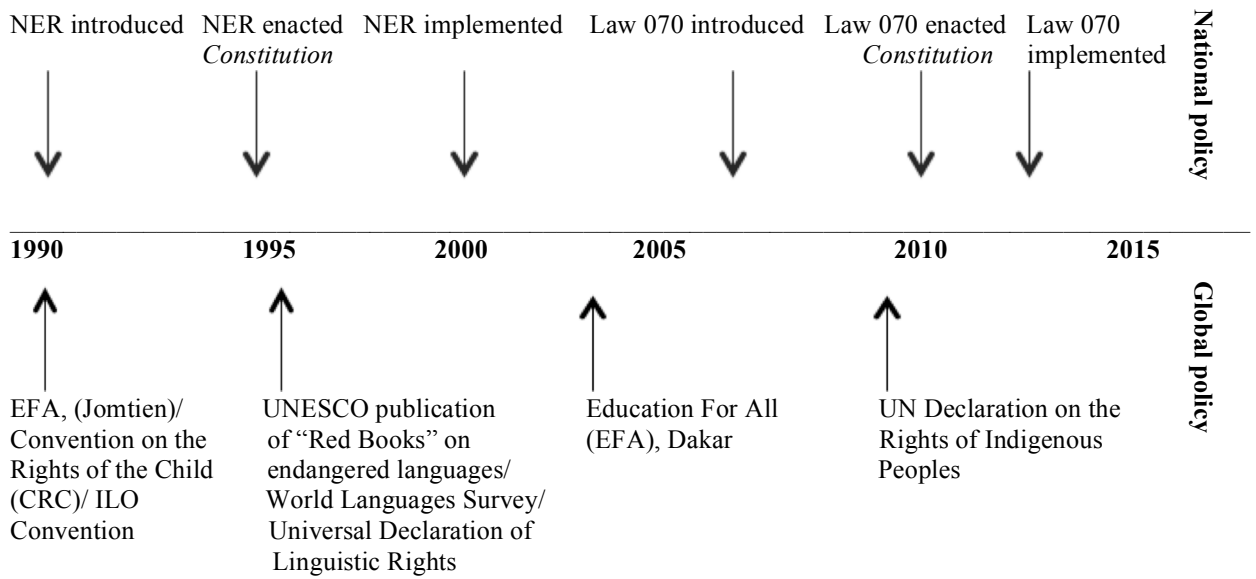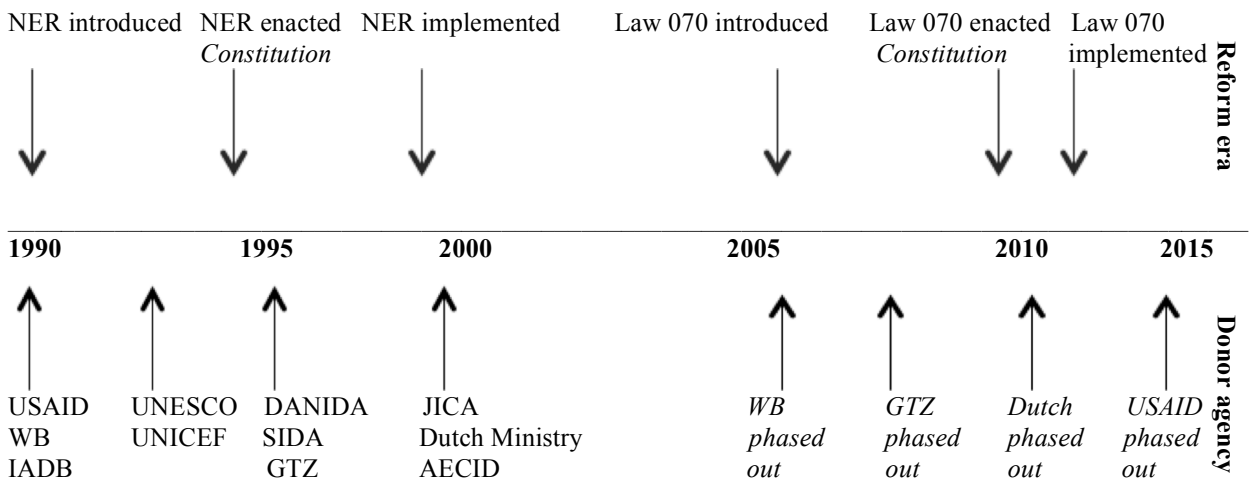Figure 2.2: *Timeline of Global Policy and Bolivian Reform Era Context*

National policy

| NER introduced | NER enacted *Constitution* | NER implemented | Law 070 introduced | Law 070 enacted *Constitution* | Law 070 implemented |

1990　　1995　　2000　　2005　　2010　　2015

Global policy

EFA, (Jomtien)/ Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC)/ ILO Convention

UNESCO publication of "Red Books" on endangered languages/ World Languages Survey/ Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights

Education For All (EFA), Dakar

UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples

Figure 2.3: *Timeline of International Donor Involvement and Bolivian Reform Context*

Reform era

| NER introduced | NER enacted *Constitution* | NER implemented | Law 070 introduced | Law 070 enacted *Constitution* | Law 070 implemented |

1990　　1995　　2000　　2005　　2010　　2015

Donor agency

USAID
WB
IADB

UNESCO
UNICEF

DANIDA
SIDA
GTZ

JICA
Dutch Ministry
AECID

WB phased out

GTZ phased out

Dutch phased out

USAID phased out

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Appendix G: Comparison of key discourses across two national policies

Table 9.0: *Comparison of "Inclusion" and "Decolonization" Across Policies [original]*

Reforma Educativa Nacional (1994)	Ley 070 (2010)
Título 1: La Educación en Bolivia, Capítulo Único: Bases y Fines de la Educación Boliviana; Artículo 2, #3	Título I: Marco Filosófico y Político de la Educación Boliviana, Capítulo 2: Bases, Fines y Objetivos de la Educación; Art. 3: Bases de la Educación, #1

01	*Promover la práctica de los valores humanos y*	*Es descolonizadora, liberadora,*
02	*de las normas éticas universalmente reconocidas,*	*revolucionaria, anti-imperialista,*
03	*así como las propias de nuestras culturas, fomentando*	*despatriarcalizadora y transformadora de las*
04	*la responsabilidad en la toma de decisiones personales,*	*estructuras económicas y sociales; orientada*
05	*el desarrollo del pensamiento crítico, el respeto a los*	*a la reafirmación cultural de las naciones y*
06	*derechos humanos, la preparación para una sexualidad*	*pueblos indígena originario campesinos, las*
07	*biológica y éticamente sana, como base de una vida*	*comunidades interculturales y afrobolivianas*
08	*familiar responsable, la conciencia del deber y la*	*en la construcción del Estado Plurinacional*
09	*disposición para la vida democrática, fortaleciendo*	*y el Vivir Bien.*
10	*la conciencia social de ser persona y de pertenecer a*	
11	*la colectividad.*	

Table 9.1: *Comparison of "Diversity" and "Pluralism" Across Policies [original]*

Reforma Educativa Nacional (1994)	Ley 070 (2010)
Título 1: La Educación en Bolivia, Capítulo Único: Bases y Fines de la Educación Boliviana; Art. 1, #5-6	Título I: Marco Filosófico y Político de la Educación Boliviana, Capítulo 1: Mandatos Constitucionales de la Educación Art. 1, #5-6

12	*Es intercultural y bilingüe porque asume la*	*La educación es unitaria, pública, universal,*
13	*la heterogeneidad socio cultural del país en un*	*democrática, participativa, comunitaria,*
14	*ambiente de respeto entre todos los bolivianos,*	*descolonizadora y de calidad.*
15	*hombres y mujeres.*	
16		
17	*It is the right and duty of every Bolivian, because*	*It is intracultural, intercultural and*
18	*it is organized and developed with participation of the*	*multilingual throughout the education system*
19	*whole society without restriction or discrimination of*	
20	*race, culture, region, social, physical, mental,*	
21	*sensory status, gender, creed or age.*	